

KARADENİZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY * THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF WOMEN AND FAMILY STUDIES

MASTER’S PROGRAM

**GENDER AND FOREIGN POLICY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE
GENDERED MULTILEVEL GAMES CONCEPT IN WORLD ORDER
TRANSFORMATION**

MASTER’S THESIS

Betül TİRYAKİ

MAY-2025

TRABZON

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Supervisor: Doç. Dr. Özgür Tüfekçi

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APPROVAL

Upon the submission of the dissertation, **Betül TİRYAKİ** has defended the study “**Gender and Foreign Policy: A Comparative Analysis Of The Gendered Multilevel Games Concept In World Order Transformation**” in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Women and Family Studies at Karadeniz Technical University, and the study has been found fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis by **unanimous/ majority** vote on 18/09/ 2025.

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BİLDİRİM

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ABSTRACT

This research explores the relationship between gender and foreign policy according to the concept of gendered multilevel games during the transformative period of the world order. The research question is, to what extent did the leadership approaches of political leaders and their foreign policy perspectives differentiate according to the concept of gendered multilevel games during the transformative period of the world order? The years 1988-1990 were chosen as a representation of the transformative period of world order. In research, two female (Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto) and two male leaders (François Mitterrand, Rajiv Gandhi) were comparatively analyzed regarding their leadership and foreign policy approaches. This research aims to investigate the extent to which gender influences the leadership approaches and foreign policy perspectives of political leaders. Statements, interviews, speeches, and newspaper news of the period made by the four leaders were analyzed. According to the results, female leaders' leadership approaches were affected by gender norms and gendered structures and institutions rather than their gender identities. These structures and norms influence female leaders more than male leaders. It has been determined that female leaders sometimes turn to various strategies, such as hypermasculine leadership, to gain legitimacy in male-dominated political systems, but male leaders exhibit leadership without experiencing such concerns. This situation shows that to achieve a gender-sensitive transformation in foreign policy, it is not enough to simply increase female representation, but also to transform the gendered institutional structures that reproduce gender norms.

Key Words: gender and foreign policy, political leadership, gendered multilevel games concept.

ÖZET

Bu araştırma, dünya düzeninin dönüşüm döneminde cinsiyetçi çok düzeyli oyunlar kavramına göre cinsiyet ve dış politika arasındaki ilişkiyi araştırmaktadır. Araştırma sorusu şudur: Dünya düzeninin dönüşüm döneminde siyasi liderlerin liderlik yaklaşımları ve dış politika perspektifleri cinsiyetçi çok düzeyli oyunlar kavramına göre ne ölçüde farklılaşmıştır? Dünya düzeninin dönüşüm döneminin temsili olarak 1988-1990 yılları seçilmiştir. Araştırmada iki kadın (Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto) ve iki erkek lider (François Mitterrand, Rajiv Gandhi) liderlik ve dış politika yaklaşımları açısından karşılaştırmalı olarak analiz edilmiştir. Bu araştırma, cinsiyetin siyasi liderlerin liderlik yaklaşımlarını ve dış politika perspektiflerini ne ölçüde etkilediğini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Dört liderin yaptığı dönemin açıklamaları, röportajları, konuşmaları ve gazete haberleri analiz edilmiştir. Sonuçlara göre kadın liderlerin liderlik yaklaşımları, cinsiyet kimliklerinden ziyade cinsiyet normlarından ve cinsiyetçi yapı ve kurumlardan etkilenmiştir. Bu yapılar ve normlar kadın liderleri erkek liderlerden daha fazla etkilemektedir. Kadın liderlerin bazen erkek egemen siyasi sistemlerde meşruiyet kazanmak için hipermaskülen liderlik gibi çeşitli stratejilere başvurdıkları, ancak erkek liderlerin bu tür endişeler yaşamadan liderlik sergiledikleri belirlenmiştir. Bu durum, dış politikada cinsiyete duyarlı bir dönüşüm elde etmek için sadece kadın temsili artırmanın yeterli olmadığını, aynı zamanda cinsiyet normlarını yeniden üreten cinsiyetlendirilmiş kurumsal yapıları dönüştürmenin de gerekli olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: cinsiyet ve dış politika, siyasi liderlik, cinsiyetlendirilmiş çok seviyeli oyunlar kavramı.

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CHAPTER ONE:

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Gender is a critical subject analyzed in various contexts, including education, work life, health, culture, and politics. Women's active participation in these areas has accelerated gender studies within these domains. The increasing involvement of women in politics, traditionally viewed as a male-dominated field, has made gender studies particularly notable in this area. Women entered the political sphere by acquiring suffrage and the right to hold public office. Over time, their roles have expanded to include various positions, culminating in leadership roles such as the presidency (Paxton et al., 2007: 264). Serving as a female president or prime minister represents a significant milestone for gender equality. Therefore, the policies and attitudes of female presidents toward domestic and foreign affairs have been analyzed in diverse contexts and periods.

One of the key areas of focus in gender studies within politics is the leadership approaches of political leaders. Various dynamics influence the leadership approach of political leaders. Gender is thought to be one of the most significant dynamics among them. Furthermore, the situations that occur in domestic and foreign policy during a leader's tenure may impact their leadership. Considering these two significant dynamics, this study explored the leadership of four significant political figures from 1988-1990, a period marked by profound changes in the global order. The period was a crucial time because it was the transformation of the world order. Key events such as the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Gulf War, nuclear disarmament efforts, and the rising awareness of the climate crisis defined this era. Also, effective political leaders were in charge in this era. Therefore, Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto, François Mitterrand, and Rajiv Gandhi were chosen as the subjects for the study. Margaret Thatcher and Benazir Bhutto stand out as pioneering female leaders in a male-dominated field; meanwhile, François Mitterrand and Rajiv Gandhi provide valuable examples of male leadership during the same era. They were effective leaders in their countries and were in charge of the critical period of world order. Their foreign policies during this critical period provide an opportunity to explore the influence of gender on decision-making and governance.

This historical context not only underscores the significance of the chosen leaders but also highlights the need for a nuanced analytical framework to understand their foreign policy approaches, particularly gender dynamics. The gendered multilevel game concept is a concept that separates this thesis from other studies in the literature. The concept refers to the idea that foreign policy operates at national, international, and transnational levels, influenced by gender dynamics at each level

(Aggestaam, 2021: 391). This is a novelty concept, so studies evaluating political leaders within the framework of the concept are quite limited. Additionally, existing research has primarily focused on contemporary leaders. However, leaders' foreign policy came to the forefront, particularly in this period. Therefore, this thesis focuses on this understudied period and integrates this framework to fill a significant gap in the literature.

The leaders' policy decisions, public statements, speeches, and explanations were analyzed to address this research question. Content analysis was utilized to thoroughly understand how gender influenced their leadership during this transformative period. Each leader was examined individually, followed by a comparative analysis of the four leaders based on the findings. This comparison highlights the impact of gender and any potential differences that emerge.

The study offers a valuable contribution to understanding the impact of gender on foreign policy and leadership approaches. Understanding how gender influences leadership approaches during critical historical periods can provide insights into current and future political dynamics. The study contributes to academic literature and holds practical implications for promoting gender equality in political leadership and policymaking. Additionally, examining the concept within the framework of the gendered multilevel games is important for introducing and integrating this concept into the literature.

1.2. Literature Review

Gender and foreign policy have become controversial since women have taken leadership roles. Female and male political leaders have been compared in different contexts in the literature. Particularly in international affairs, the perception of gender and the effect of gender differences are examined in various contexts. Post and Sen (2019) analyzed the differences between the attitudes of female and male political leaders during bargains in militarized disputes. According to the results, female leaders encounter higher reciprocation and hostility from target states than male counterparts. Also, female leaders escalate the hostility level during the bargain. It was predicted that they behave like this because they try to compensate for their disadvantages due to gender bias and stereotypes. Gender biases and stereotypes influence the attitudes of female and male leaders during the bargains. They also affect women leaders' general attitudes during political life and leadership.

Regarding women's political leadership, traditional barriers and cultural structures are the most studied topics in the literature because they are significant barriers to women. While women are seen as belonging to the domestic sphere, politics is accepted as a male affair, especially in traditional cultures such as Africa (Kiamba, 2008: 94). According to Kiamba's research, political campaigns involve candidates spending time away from home, working hard and long hours, and traveling to distant places. However, these things are not appropriate for women because they are accepted as wives and mothers primarily in traditional and less egalitarian cultures.

Norris and Inglehart (2004) conducted another research about cultural barriers and attitudes to women's leadership in post-industrial, post-Communist, and developing societies. Post-industrial societies such as Norway and Finland have more support for women's political leadership. Japan showed lower support despite being at the same developing level (Norris and Inglehart, 2004: 6). Armenia and Belarus are post-Communist countries that demonstrate more traditional attitudes. Muslim countries such as Pakistan, Jordan, and Egypt were at the bottom of the chart in terms of supporting female political leadership (Norris and Inglehart, 2004: 7). The results showed that culture has a significant effect on supporting women's political leadership. Post-industrial societies display more egalitarian attitudes towards women by the impact of cultural modernization. Developing and post-Communist societies have more traditional beliefs, so some favorable attitudes toward female egalitarianism cannot change sex roles in the short term.

When gender and political leadership are the matter, one of the most prominent questions in the literature is what were the factors that brought women to these high positions? Therefore, in various studies, female leaders have been tried to be profiled by examining their education and family life, personal characteristics, living conditions, and personal lives. Jalalzai and College (2013) analyzed 44 female political leaders who served as prime ministers or presidents between 1960 and 2002, highlighting that many had extensive political backgrounds and family ties to former leaders, such as being wives or daughters of political figures. Similarly, Adler (1996) found that many women leaders came from wealthy families and adhered to religious traditions.

The literature has also compared political leaders' attitudes and leadership approaches. Ahmed and Bajwa (2016) compared two women leaders, Benazir Bhutto and Yingluck Shinawatra, in their work on women's empowerment in Asia (Ahmed and Bajwa, 2016: 102). While both leaders tried to constitute democracy in their countries, they encountered various obstacles. Even though Shinawatra attempted different initiatives to improve the country, she experienced trouble with the Thai army. On the other hand, Benazir also experienced the same problems with Ulema and the military force. However, both leaders were significant role models for women in their countries, enhancing women's political roles.

Leadership decisions have been analyzed extensively in critical periods like the COVID-19 pandemic. Research by Johnson and Williams (2020) highlighted that while male leaders are often favored during crises, female leaders exhibited empathy and decisiveness, managing the pandemic more effectively. For example, New Zealand's Jacinda Ardern demonstrated compassion and practical guidance during the crisis, and women-led countries had significantly lower mortality rates (Soares and Sidun, 2021). The end of the Cold War was also a critical time and, therefore, was chosen as the period of investigation for the thesis. Some studies research this period. For example, Malici (2008) examined the foreign policy of Mikhail Gorbachev and Kim Il Sung in the book "When Leaders Learn and When They Don't: Mikhail Gorbachev and Kim Il Sung at the End of the Cold

War". The study highlights the role of leaders' beliefs and perceptions in shaping foreign policy decisions, emphasizing how Gorbachev adopted a more cooperative approach while Kim Il Sung maintained a hostile worldview. By analyzing these contrasting leadership approaches, the book underscores the importance of individual learning processes and ideological shifts in transforming international relations during critical historical periods. This research provides valuable insights into the interplay between leadership and foreign policy. However, it focuses on male leaders and ignores the effect of female leaders of the same era.

Women's leadership approaches are another significant research matter in gender and politics. Eagly and Karau (2002) argued that people perceive women as less favorable than men regarding leadership roles. If women exhibit leadership behavior as expected in society, the behavior is evaluated as less appropriate for leadership. People generally also see women as less qualified for leadership positions than men because of their emotional state. Brescol (2016) argued that gender stereotypes of emotion present barriers to women's leadership ability and success. According to research, women are seen as more communal, which means they are warm, kind, and nurturing. However, men were seen as more agentic than women, so they were characterized as aggressive, ambitious, dominant, and independent. Leadership roles require more agentic, so people are prejudiced against women's leadership (Brescol, 2016: 2). İnal (2015) evaluated gender and political leadership using Tansu Çiller as an example. Çiller used traditional male leadership styles with her body language and gestures. She also adopted a hypermasculine leadership attitude against terrorism. However, Çiller did not put away her feminine image. She wore colorful suits, made-up, and feminine posture and did not avoid physical contact with male colleagues. With all her conduct, it was thought that she would change society's perception of female leadership. However, she was criticized for not being more just or compassionate than her male counterparts and for not benefiting the social status of women. In addition, there are prejudices about women's leadership regarding emotional states. These studies focus on how women leaders became leaders or what prevented them rather than their leadership periods.

There is also research that examines the relationship between gender and foreign policy. Fite, Genest, and Wilcox (1990) compared men's and women's foreign policy attitudes. They measure what factors lead to men and women behaving differently in foreign policy. The gender gap was assessed through the roles of social structure, maternal thinking, and general ideology. Women are less militarist and less supportive of using military force. Social structure and maternal thinking are insufficient to explain gender differences. According to the analysis, gender is one of the most significant predictors of attitude in foreign policy. However, the research focuses on the attitudes of regular people toward foreign policy. It is not focused on leaders' attitudes and decisions about foreign policy.

Recent studies have explored the intersection of women's leadership and gender equality in foreign policy. Aggestam and True (2020) analyzed the rise of pro-gender equality norms in foreign policy and their relationship with feminist theory. Their research compared middle and great powers, finding that middle powers, like Sweden and Canada, prioritized pro-gender norms more consistently. While Sweden and Canada adopted feminist foreign policies, countries like Australia and Norway mainstreamed gender without explicitly branding their policies as feminist. The study emphasized the role of feminist leadership, citing figures such as Margot Wallström (Sweden) and Justin Trudeau (Canada) in advancing pro-gender norms. However, constituting pro-gender foreign policy through leadership is controversial because it cannot be continued in bureaucratic structures after the changing leaders. Therefore, the study highlights institutionalizing gender equality within state structures, as seen in Norway's professional diplomacy and institutions.

Aggestam and True (2021) investigated a new concept: gendered multilevel games. The concept also forms the basis of this thesis. The article examines political leaders according to the idea of gendered multilevel games. The research shows how political leaders direct and use pro- and anti-gender norms in foreign policy to further their power, status, and authority. Political leaders were analyzed in four titles: hyper-masculine leadership and revisionist foreign policy, normative leadership and gendered nation-branding, compassionate leadership and gendered transnational symbolism, and contested leadership on pro- and anti-gender norms in foreign policy. The result demonstrated that while some leaders develop a foreign policy strategy by acting with pro-gender attitudes, some leaders attract attention with their anti-gender attitudes. No conclusion has been presented indicating that differences in attitudes directly connect with the gender of leaders. It was the first article that analyzed the gendered multilevel games. It was suggested that more systematic studies about gendered dynamics and regional comparisons of foreign policy are required.

Another study was conducted using gendered multilevel games. The research is based on the idea that gender has a power that shapes political practices in foreign policy (Kuteleva, 2023). Within the framework of this view, it was examined how Russian President Putin used gendered discourses and practices in domestic and foreign policy. The research consisted of two parts. The first part studied the Ministry of Foreign Policy reports, foreign policy documents, and speeches of Russian politicians. The second part of the research consisted of 28 semi-structured interviews of Russian activists, feminists, academics, and politicians. The result of the study showed that Putin's regime repressed activists and communities that supported gender equality norms and prevented the diffusion of gender equality discourses to the transnational arena. Also, Putin's regime was evaluated as a hypermasculine gendered game. The foreign policy of Putin's regime is based on gender blindness and anti-feminist. Studies conducted on gendered multilevel games are limited due to the recent concept. In addition, male leaders were generally evaluated.

1.3. Methodology

1.3.1. Research Question and Hypothesis

To examine whether and how gender influenced foreign policy, this study addresses the research question: To what extent did the leadership approaches of political leaders and their foreign policy perspectives differentiate according to the gendered multilevel games concept during the transformative period of the world order?

During the transformative period of the world order, political leaders' leadership approaches and foreign policy perspectives differed according to the concept of gendered multilevel games. The research hypothesis is that political leaders' leadership approaches and understanding of foreign policy differ according to gender. When evaluated from a gender perspective, it is expected that female leaders (Margaret Thatcher and Benazir Bhutto) display discourse and decisions that reflect more compassionate and conciliatory understandings of leadership, while male leaders (François Mitterrand and Rajiv Gandhi) display discourse and decisions that reflect more hyper-masculine and aggressive leadership approaches.

1.3.2. Research Aim and Objectives

This research aims to investigate the extent to which gender influences the leadership approaches and foreign policy perspectives of political leaders during the transformative period of the world order (1988-1990). The study analyzed the leadership approaches and foreign policy decisions of Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto, François Mitterrand, and Rajiv Gandhi through the lens of the gendered multilevel games concept. In this way, the study seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of the interplay between gender and foreign policy in critical historical contexts.

Other objectives of this thesis:

Objective 1 - To examine these leaders' foreign policy decisions and discourses to identify patterns or differences that can be attributed to gender within the gendered multilevel games concept framework.

Objective 2 - To conduct a comparative analysis of male and female leaders to determine whether gendered expectations influenced their approaches to governance and diplomacy.

Objective 3 - To assess how the leaders responded to major global events, such as the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the Gulf War, and explore whether their responses were affected by gendered norms.

1.3.3. Research Scope and Limitations

This research explores the gendered differences of political leaders in foreign policy at the end of the Cold War. The scope of the research covers the period between 1988 and 1990, when Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto, François Mitterrand, and Rajiv Gandhi served at the same time as political leaders of their countries. The study prioritizes critical events from this period, including the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Gulf War, nuclear armament, and emerging global challenges such as the climate crisis, to contextualize the leaders' actions and policies. The research focuses on the aforementioned four leaders and their interaction with other leaders, excluding other countries' leaders. Other leaders are only mentioned if they have interacted with the aforementioned leaders.

The research employs the gendered multilevel games concept as its theoretical framework, analyzing how gender dynamics influenced the decision-making processes of these leaders at national, international, and transnational levels.

The period is restricted to the years 1988-1990. It is a limitation of the thesis because it prevents the examination of long-term patterns of leadership approaches and foreign policy. The most significant limitation of the research is that it concentrates on four leaders. It is a limited sample size. That provides in-depth analysis but also leads to limited generalization of the findings to other leaders or contexts. Another limitation of the study is the inability to access equal sources about the four leaders. While some leaders have many statements in the international arena, others are pretty limited.

The gendered multilevel games concept is a relatively new theoretical framework. It has limited prior applications in historical contexts. Its application to this study may face challenges in integrating all aspects of the leaders' behaviors and decisions.

Limitations

The study acknowledges the following limitations:

1. **Scope of Data:** The focus on the 1988–1990 period may not capture the entirety of the leaders' political careers or broader gendered patterns.
2. **Subjectivity:** Interpretations of gender dynamics and leadership approaches rely on qualitative data, which may be influenced by the researcher's perspective.
3. **Comparative Constraints:** While the study includes two male and two female leaders, the results may not be generalizable to all leaders or contexts.

1.3.4. The original value of research

This thesis addresses a critical gap in the academic literature concerning the interplay between gender and foreign policy during a transformative historical period. The study has significant

originality and value because the literature reveals that studies comparing the leadership approaches of female and male leaders, particularly in the political sphere, are limited. Research on female political leaders typically focuses on obstacles or supporting factors influencing their access to leadership positions. Few studies examine female leaders' leadership styles or approaches once they assume office. The study uniquely compares the leadership approaches and foreign policy perspectives of two pioneering female leaders, Margaret Thatcher and Benazir Bhutto, with those of their male counterparts, François Mitterrand and Rajiv Gandhi. This comparative approach sheds light on potential gender-based differences and similarities in leadership during a male-dominated historical context.

Another unique value of the study is to examine the leadership approaches of male and female leaders through the concept of gendered multiple games. Unlike studies in which the idea is used, the end of the Cold War, when the world order began to transform, is taken as a basis. While the concept has primarily been applied to contemporary contexts, its application to the 1988–1990 period introduces a fresh perspective to historical political analysis.

The research examines the critical years between 1988 and 1990, a time marked by profound transformations in the global order, including the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall. By focusing on this era, the study contributes to understanding how gender dynamics shaped leadership and foreign policy during pivotal historical moments. For example, some studies evaluated leaders' decisions during critical periods such as the COVID-19 pandemic, but these studies primarily address domestic policy decisions and their outcomes rather than foreign policies.

The thesis has an interdisciplinary contribution. Situated at the intersection of gender studies, political science, and international relations, this research enhances interdisciplinary dialogue and bridges theoretical gaps between these fields.

1.3.5. Research Method and Procedure

This study employs a qualitative research design to examine the leadership approaches and foreign policy perspectives of four prominent political leaders—Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto, François Mitterrand, and Rajiv Gandhi—during the transformative period of the world order (1988–1990). The analysis is based on the concept of gendered multilevel games, which emphasizes the interplay of gender dynamics at domestic, international, and transnational levels in shaping foreign policy and leadership attitudes.

The content analysis method is used in the research. The analysis is framed within gendered multilevel games, focusing on how gendered dynamics influence foreign policy decisions and political leaders' leadership approaches. Statements, interviews, speeches, and newspaper news of the period made by the four leaders were analyzed. Inferences were made about the leaders'

understanding of leadership from the compiled contents. The study focuses on leadership approaches such as hypermasculine, compassion, and so on, as well as gender dynamics that assess how gender influences foreign policy decisions.

Data Collection

Primary and secondary sources are utilized to collect data on the leaders' policy decisions, speeches, interviews, and public statements. Sources include:

1. Official government documents and archives.
2. Media and video recording from the period.
3. Academic studies and biographies about the leaders.
4. Analysis of key historical events, including the Cold War's conclusion, the Gulf War, and the fall of the Berlin Wall.

In the study, the data collection method has been mostly documented. As mentioned earlier, the thesis aims to investigate the extent to which gender influences the leadership approaches and foreign policy perspectives of political leaders during the transformative period of the world order. In doing so, speeches, writings, and conversations have been examined and analyzed to understand leaders' attitudes. In this context, the data gathering process has been conducted through searches of bibliographic databases as well as scanning of journals, newspapers, and library searches of books. The search was limited to the period 1988-1990.

Each leader's approach was compared across several dimensions: How each leader responded to international crises, differences in diplomacy and negotiation tactics, and identification of gendered symbols and behaviors in their leadership attitudes. Evaluation of what each leader emphasized and what they prioritized during the transformation of the world order.

Method of Analysis

The method of analysis is based on qualitatively interpreting leaders' discourses, decisions, and policy approaches within the framework of gendered multilevel games. Unlike classical content analysis, this study does not focus on word frequency or theme categorization but emphasizes the contextual meaning and impact of leaders' statements. The analysis aims to identify how gender norms influenced their political strategies and foreign policy decisions and compare the dynamics between male and female leaders in addressing the challenges of the era. The discourses and policies of each leader are analyzed separately, followed by a comparative assessment between male and female leaders. This aims to reveal the effects of gender norms on leadership and foreign policy.

1.4. Structure of The Thesis

The thesis is comprised of four chapters. The chapters reflect the analytical and practical consideration of gender, leadership, and foreign policy in 1988 - 1990. The first chapter begins with an introduction and includes a literature review and methodology. The methodology section involves research questions and hypotheses, research aims and objectives, research scope and limitations, the original value of research, and research method and procedure.

The second chapter provides general knowledge about gender and foreign policy. This section aims to explain the concepts that form the basis of the research. It clarifies the general context of the study by addressing the relationship between gender and foreign policy. The chapter also explores women's involvement in foreign policy decision-making, highlighting the barriers they face, their achievements, and the impact of gender dynamics. It further examines feminist foreign policy, a relatively recent concept, illustrating how gender dynamics shape leaders' policy-making processes.

Chapter three applies the concept of gendered multilevel games to analyze the leadership approaches of the four selected leaders. The chapter gives a theoretical overview of the concept of gendered multilevel games. After the theoretical background, the four leaders, Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto, François Mitterrand, and Rajiv Gandhi, are examined according to their foreign policy decisions, strategies, and explanations. The last section involves a comprehensive analysis of the leaders. Leaders are compared based on the concept of gendered multilevel games.

The final chapter draws together the arguments developed throughout the thesis. It summarizes the key findings of the study, discussing their implications for gender, leadership, and foreign policy. The chapter also offers recommendations for future research, emphasizing the potential for applying the concept of gendered multilevel games to other historical periods or regional contexts.

CHAPTER TWO:

2. GENDER AND FOREIGN POLICY

2.1. Introduction

Gender and gender equality are critical issues across various fields, becoming more prominent as women have gained active roles in many areas. These concepts, extensively researched in different disciplines, also hold significant relevance in foreign policy. Key topics in this domain include women's political participation, gender differences in political attitudes, female representation, and its impact, barriers to gender equality, and emerging approaches in recent years, such as feminist foreign policy.

Gender equality is a fundamental principle in many countries, particularly those that adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995, which seek to embed gender equality within their legal frameworks. Countries with strong commitments to gender equality are more likely to provide development aid, advocate for children's rights, and support anti-discrimination measures (Brysk and Mehta, 2014: 4). Governments establish various institutions and mechanisms to promote gender equality; however, these efforts are largely domestic in scope. Many countries fail to integrate gender equality into foreign policy or national security strategies (Bigio and Vogelstein, 2020: 3).

Discussions on increasing women's participation in foreign policy date back to the 1980s. Women's involvement was expected to introduce innovative paradigms to the field. However, due to insufficient representation, the anticipated transformation has yet to arise (Lazarou and Zamfir, 2021:2). Research on gender equality and women's empowerment in foreign policy remains relatively recent compared to other areas. One reason for this may be that women's rights to political participation were established later than other fundamental rights. Nevertheless, in recent years, many countries have taken steps to enhance women's roles in foreign policy and national security. For instance, in 2005, Denmark collaborated with 83 countries to develop a National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security. This plan had two primary objectives: first, to support women's participation in peace and security processes and foreign policy, and second, to protect women's rights in conflict situations (Bigio and Vogelstein, 2020: 7). The intersection of women and foreign policy consists of two key dimensions. First, policies must empower women to actively participate in foreign policy and national security decision-making. Second, these policies must ensure that

women's rights are safeguarded throughout these processes because the mere presence of women in decision-making roles does not automatically guarantee the protection of women's rights.

Before the Cold War, only a limited number of women held positions in foreign policy, foreign ministry, or political leadership. For a long time, women were confined to secretarial or low-level roles. In the United States and the United Kingdom, married women were barred from working in diplomacy until 1972 and 1973, respectively. However, with the repeal of these restrictions, the number of women in decision-making positions has gradually increased (Smith, 2019: 4). As women's representation has grown, scholars have examined women's roles in foreign policy, the differences in decision-making between men and women, and the impact of gender on this field. Despite this growing interest, research on women in foreign policy remains limited. The academic literature addressing women's impact in this area is scarce, and gender is often overlooked as a significant variable. For instance, the journal *Foreign Policy Analysis*, a major publication in the field, had published only four gender-related articles out of eighty by the end of 2018 (Smith, 2019: 3). According to Smith (2019), foreign policy is generally perceived as a gender-neutral field. However, studies suggest that gender does influence foreign policy decision-making.

Research on the role of women in foreign policy, though limited, provides valuable insights. Bashevkin (2014) found that female decision-makers were more likely than their male counterparts to advocate for gender equality. Similarly, Clement (2011) examined British public opinion regarding the country's involvement in the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts, incorporating variables such as gender, religion, and age. The findings revealed that men were more likely than women to support military interventions. These studies indicate that gender is a critical factor not only in decision-making roles but also in voting behavior and public opinion on foreign policy issues.

Another area where women influence foreign policy is in peace movements. Both the European Parliament and the United Nations emphasize that gender equality contributes to peace and enhances the effectiveness of peace negotiations. Women's participation in these processes has made them more sustainable and inclusive (Lazarou and Zamfir, 2021: 4). In post-conflict peacebuilding, women's involvement has particularly significant effects. Women's participation fosters more inclusive, long-lasting, and less conflict-prone resolutions. However, women should not be included in peace processes based on the assumption that they inherently favor peace. Instead, they should be involved because they are best positioned to address women's issues and propose relevant solutions (Council of Europe Report, 2020: 13). Despite these benefits, peacekeeping operations remain overwhelmingly male-dominated, with 95% of uniformed personnel being men. Although the number of women in diplomatic roles has increased over time, it remains insufficient. Diplomatic success has traditionally been associated with masculine traits, which has made it difficult for women to attain high-ranking positions (Council of Europe Report, 2020: 3).

During post-conflict periods, as countries navigate instability, women's issues have been relegated to the background. However, these matters must remain a priority. Women's active participation in post-conflict decision-making ensures that critical concerns—such as economic and social rights, gender-responsive budgeting, and gender equality in the security sector—receive attention (True, 2013: 4).

The relationship between gender and foreign policy is closely linked to a country's level of development and gender equality. Gender inequalities in everyday life and foreign policy are mutually reinforcing. Societies that achieve gender equality tend to experience stronger economic growth, improved health conditions, and greater security (Lazarou and Zamfir, 2021:5). Conversely, when gender equality is lacking within a country, this imbalance is often reflected in its foreign policy attitudes. To increase women's participation in foreign policy, gender equality must first be established at the domestic level (Council of Europe Report, 2020: 14). Thus, improving gender equality in foreign policy is directly related to a country's developmental progress. Nations that prioritize gender equality in public and social life also work toward empowering women in foreign policy. Countries with greater female empowerment are more likely to support humanitarian aid efforts and actively oppose sexual discrimination. Moreover, women who attain leadership positions in foreign policy institutions and civil society play a crucial role in shaping international policies. They advocate for gender-sensitive global measures and provide support for immigrant women in international contexts (Brysk and Mehta, 2014: 98).

Women in foreign policy also foster networks of support for other women, ensuring long-term structural changes. They mentor and uplift female colleagues, creating pathways for more women to enter and thrive in decision-making roles. This solidarity strengthens women's collective influence in diplomacy and global governance. Research supports this dynamic: a study covering 65 countries found that as the number of women in politics increases, governments place greater emphasis on social welfare, legal protections, and transparent governance (Hudson, 2008).

Most women experience violence, discrimination, and poverty, either directly or indirectly. Even if they are not personally subjected to such challenges, witnessing them in their environment can have a profound psychological impact. Research indicates that a significant number of women have observed community violence in their neighborhoods, and those exposed to violence indirectly are at an increased risk of developing depression and anxiety disorders (Clark et al., 2007). Women are inherently affected by societal events that place them at a disadvantage. Consequently, it is expected that empowered women would be more sensitive to issues such as violence and discrimination. For similar reasons, women are also more likely to be concerned with children's rights and child protection. In many societies, women are primarily viewed as mothers, and this perception shapes expectations regarding their priorities in foreign policy roles. As a result, women in political positions are often regarded as more competent in addressing issues such as the wage gap, abortion

rights, and sexual harassment, which are commonly classified as "women's issues" (Brysk and Mehta, 2014: 100; Huddy and Capelos, 2002: 32).

However, increasing women's participation in foreign policy and diplomacy alone is not sufficient to bring about structural change. Scholars in this field argue that the root of the problem lies in gendered power structures and institutional practices. Political institutions and government structures are inherently gendered, meaning that while a higher number of women in decision-making roles is necessary, it is not enough to achieve true gender equality (Smith, 2019: 5). Despite longstanding gender equality policies, progress remains insufficient. Although significant advancements have been made, gender equality has yet to be fully realized, particularly in foreign policy. One of the primary obstacles is the persistence of gendered institutions, regulations, and mechanisms. Political institutions shape individuals' behaviors, identities, and roles in governance, often reinforcing existing gender disparities. While institutional rules may appear gender-neutral, their impact on men and women differs significantly (Lowndes, 2019: 2). For instance, job requirements such as frequent travel may disproportionately disadvantage women, affecting their selection for key positions. Additionally, informal institutional norms, such as expectations to work long hours or attend networking events outside office hours, create further barriers for women in political careers (Lowndes, 2019: 4). To promote gender equality, governmental institutions must undergo structural reform to eliminate these systemic biases and foster a more inclusive environment.

Feminist foreign policy serves as a new instrument to restructure the gendered dynamics embedded within institutions. It asserts that gender is a fundamental component of diplomacy, the economy, and the military, shaping foreign policy at every level. Unlike traditional approaches that merely aim to increase women's participation, feminist foreign policy seeks to integrate feminist perspectives into the broader foreign policy framework. It calls for the redefinition of core concepts such as security, peace, sovereignty, sexuality, governance, and nation-building (Scheyer and Kumskova, 2019). Several countries, including Sweden and Norway, have officially adopted feminist foreign policy, and this approach is gaining increasing global recognition. As a transformative step toward addressing gendered structures in foreign policy, feminist foreign policy was analyzed in greater depth in a separate section.

As outlined above, the relationship between gender and foreign policy involves several critical dimensions. Historical factors that have shaped women's roles in foreign policy remain influential today. Additionally, emerging theoretical perspectives seek to redefine this relationship and introduce new frameworks. Key topics to be explored in the following sections include the historical evolution of women's roles in foreign policy, the challenges they have faced and continue to encounter, their current level of participation, and the expectations placed upon them. Furthermore, feminist foreign policy was examined as an alternative approach to transforming gendered structures. Before comparing the foreign policy attitudes of the leaders within the framework of the gendered

multilevel games concept, which is the main purpose of the study, information was given about the general situation of gender and foreign policy.

2.2. The Historical Process of Women in Foreign Policy

To fully examine the relationship between gender and foreign policy, it is essential to trace the historical progression of women's involvement in politics, from their initial exclusion to their gradual rise in leadership roles. Historically, men and women have assumed distinct roles in foreign policy, reflecting gender inequality. In the early stages of this process, women were denied even the most basic political rights, such as the right to vote. Over time, however, women gained suffrage and began participating in politics, though their representation in leadership positions has increased gradually. For instance, in the 1960s, there were only three female leaders globally, a number that remained relatively unchanged in the 1970s. By the 1990s, this figure had risen to 14 (Paxton and Hughes, 2007: 2). The advancement of gender equality in politics and foreign policy has been various across different historical periods and national contexts. As a result, significant disparities persist between countries, with some societies still exhibiting limited female participation in politics. This section explores the historical trajectory of gender equality in politics and foreign policy, with a focus on the process of women gaining suffrage and political representation in various countries. England, France, Pakistan, and India were discussed in more detail as they are the main subjects of this study.

The historical process of women's rights in politics and foreign policy has varied significantly across countries. For instance, in Finland and Scandinavian countries, women gained political rights earlier and faced fewer obstacles in exercising them. In contrast, other countries granted women political rights much later, often with significant resistance. For example, Danish women gained the right to vote in local council elections in 1903 and parliamentary elections in 1915, while Sweden extended political rights to women in 1919 (Devaud, 1968: 62). In the United States, the struggle for women's suffrage spanned 70 years and was marked by polarized perspectives. One group viewed women as a potential new voter base, while another opposed their enfranchisement, fearing it would lead to broader societal changes (Devaud, 1968: 56). Activist women's movements played a pivotal role in this process. Early organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the National Women Suffrage Association, and the American Women Suffrage Association spearheaded the fight for voting rights (Dolan and Deckman, 2022: 17). Women in the U.S. finally gained political rights in 1920. The social movements of the 1960s further empowered women, providing them with critical organizational skills and highlighting their unequal status in politics, particularly their underrepresentation in high-level positions (Dolan and Deckman, 2022: 25). Globally, New Zealand was the first country to grant women voting rights in 1893, followed by Australia in 1902 and Finland in 1906. Switzerland was among the last countries to extend suffrage to women in 1971 (Dolan and Deckman, 2022: 57). These timelines underscore the relatively recent inclusion of women in political spheres worldwide.

The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) was founded in 1903 to advocate for women's voting rights in the United Kingdom (Purvis, 2017: 2). Although the struggle for women's suffrage began early, achieving this right took considerable time. In the United Kingdom, women gained partial suffrage in 1918, which allowed women over the age of 30 who met specific property or education qualifications to vote. Full voting rights for women were not secured until 1928 (Thane, 2003: 268). Women argued that male-dominated political systems had failed to address their social conditions effectively. They believed that gaining the right to vote and participate in politics was essential to drive changes in areas such as health, education, and poverty. Many women actively campaigned for suffrage, but even after achieving voting rights, their impact was limited. In the early years, many women continued to face poverty and poor social conditions (Thane, 2003: 270). Merely gaining the right to vote was not enough; it took time for women to adapt to this new political process.

The first election in which women could vote was held in 1922. Nancy Astor became the first woman to serve in the UK Parliament. However, the low participation rate of women as candidates in this election drew criticism from some groups. Women's unions countered this criticism by highlighting the disparity in political experience: while men had been participating in elections since 1265, women had only been involved for four years (Thane, 2003: 271). Despite these challenges, women gradually began to take on roles in national and local governments. By 1937, women comprised 16% of the Lindro municipal councilors (Thane, 2003: 275). The significance of women's political participation, particularly through suffrage, in advancing gender equality is evident in the subsequent legislative changes. For example, after women gained the right to vote in the UK, the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919 was passed, abolishing gender discrimination and enabling women to enter various professions. Additionally, between 1918 and 1930, 23 laws were enacted in response to demands from women's groups for greater equality.

In France, women gained the right to vote relatively late compared to other countries, achieving suffrage in 1944. However, as in other nations, it took time for women to fully exercise this right. Initially, women avoided voting. For example, in the 1951 parliamentary elections, 24% of women did not vote (Mossuz-Lavau, 1992: 1). Despite this, the right to vote marked a significant shift in women's societal roles in France. Women began to gain greater freedom and visibility in public life (Mossuz-Lavau, 1992: 5). The history of voting rights in France reveals a pattern of gradual expansion. At the beginning of the 19th century, voting rights were tied to economic status, with only men from property-owning, tax-paying families eligible to vote. In low-income groups, neither men nor women could vote. From 1848 onward, voting rights were extended to all men, making gender discrimination in politics more apparent (Foley, 2004: 105).

Women played an active role during the French Revolution, demanding rights in education, politics, and the economy. Although they did not achieve significant gains during this period, it marked a critical step in raising women's political consciousness (Racz, 1952: 151). In the 20th

century, women's policy agencies emerged to advocate for women's rights, focusing primarily on increasing women's participation in economic life. For instance, the Equal Employment Law passed in 1983 aimed to address gender disparities in the workplace. These efforts also indirectly contributed to strengthening women's political influence (Revillard, 2007: 218). However, suffrage alone was insufficient to achieve gender equality in France. Women's voter turnout remained lower than men's, and the number of women elected to political office declined over time. For example, the number of women in parliament dropped from 40 in 1946 to just 11 in 1967 (Mossuz-Lavau, 1992: 6).

The process of women's political participation in Pakistan can be divided into two distinct eras. The first era, from 1947 to 2000, was marked by significant restrictions on women's involvement in politics. The second era, beginning in 2000 and continuing to the present, saw a notable increase in women's political participation (Syed et al., 2013: 102). Pakistan's trajectory regarding women's political rights differs from that of many other countries. Women gained suffrage with the establishment of the nation in 1947. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the country's founder, emphasized that the progress and existence of the nation were inseparable from women's participation in the political system. A symbolic moment in this regard was Miss Fatima Jinnah's candidacy in the 1965 presidential election, despite her ineligibility. Her participation served as a motivational milestone for women in Pakistan (Ghafoor and Haider, 2018: 67).

Despite these early efforts, gender inequality in politics persisted. Legal commitments played a crucial role in addressing this issue. International frameworks such as the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), alongside Pakistan's 1973 Constitution, were instrumental in promoting women's political participation (Awan, 2018: 1). However, as in other countries, granting women the right to participate in politics did not immediately translate into gender equality. Women constituted only 2% of the first parliament, and their representation dropped to zero in the second parliament formed in 1955. The 1956 constitution introduced a quota system, mandating that 3% of parliamentary seats be reserved for women, aiming to ensure their participation (Ghafoor and Haider, 2018: 68). This quota was later increased to 33% in 2000, significantly impacting women's representation. In the 2002 elections, 188 women participated in the general elections, with 101 nominated by political parties. Of these, 39 were elected. Although women's participation fluctuated in subsequent elections, their presence in politics remained consistent (Awan, 2018: 2). One of the critical reasons for not experiencing the expected equality in the field of politics is political parties. Gaining suffrage was not enough to attain politics equally with men. Political parties were reluctant to nominate women in elections. In Pakistan, political parties nominated women 3.5%, but men 96.5% (Awan, 2018: 4). That situation continued for a long time. This is a difficulty that continues today. This attitude of political parties is also reflected in senior positions. Even if women are given the right to participate in politics, their access to senior positions in political parties is very limited (Ghafoor, 2018: 66).

The situation in India regarding women's political participation was not different from that of other countries. In ancient India, women enjoyed equal rights with men, but their status began to decline during the Smriti period. The 19th century saw the emergence of reform movements that sought to improve women's status. By the early 20th century, women's movements had begun to pave the way for their entry into politics. Key figures such as Annie Besant, who entered Indian politics in 1914 and became the first female president of the Indian National Congress, and Mahatma Gandhi played pivotal roles in fostering political awareness among women. The Swadeshi Movement of 1905 also contributed to this awakening. Women responded enthusiastically to these calls for freedom, participating as actively as men in the Indian independence movement. However, when it came to representation in legislative bodies and positions of power, gender equality remained elusive, with men significantly higher than women (Chadha, 2014: 93–94).

India's colonial context further complicated women's political participation. Women had to advocate for their rights not only against the British government but also within the national leadership. Between 1917 and 1928, women campaigned for the right to vote, and from 1928 to 1937, they demanded greater female representation in the legislature. The 1935 constitution granted voting rights to women over the age of 21, though this right was limited by property and education qualifications, which excluded the majority of women. It was only with the adoption of the 1950 constitution that all citizens, regardless of gender, were granted equal political rights without conditions (Chadha, 2014: 95; Khanna, 2009).

The first election in which women participated was held in 1937. In this election, 42 women were elected from separate constituencies, and 8 were elected from general constituencies. Many of these women later served in ministerial and executive roles. Despite these early gains, women's political participation did not increase proportionally in subsequent years, with the number of female representatives consistently lagging behind that of men (Chadha, 2014: 95).

Leaders such as Sarojini Naidu and Aruna Asaf Ali played critical roles in advancing women's movements in India. To address the persistent underrepresentation of women in politics, India introduced a quota system. In 1993, a constitutional amendment established a 33% reservation for women in local governance, marking a significant step toward gender equality in political representation (Chary, 2012: 122).

When examining the historical participation of women in politics, similar patterns emerge across nearly all countries. For many years, women were unable to achieve political representation on equal terms with men. Even after gaining the right to participate in politics, they faced numerous challenges. Women's movements and quota systems have been highly effective in securing women's political rights throughout history. The first-wave feminist movement initially focused on achieving equal voting rights for women, later expanding its goals to include broader social and political rights.

The challenges women encounter in political life and leadership after gaining representation were explored in greater detail in the following section.

2.3. The Evolving Role of Women in Foreign Policy

Women have actively participated in politics since gaining the right to vote. Their involvement has introduced different perspectives and dynamics in politics and foreign policy, making this an area of extensive research. Scholars analyze whether women in leadership positions exhibit different decision-making patterns compared to men and how societal and media perceptions of female leaders influence their roles in foreign policy. For these reasons, gender is a crucial variable in political and foreign policy studies.

The relationship between gender and political decision-making has been widely examined, particularly in conflict resolution, foreign policy, and governance. Research suggests that women tend to support anti-war policies and humanitarian interventions. Historically, women have opposed militarism, war, and nuclear weapons. Some studies indicate a correlation between higher female representation in parliaments and reduced military expenditures (Bendix and Jeong, 2019: 2). A study analyzing 139 states between 1995 and 2012 found that quota systems increased the number of women in parliament, leading to increased healthcare budgets and reduced military spending (Mechkova, 2021: 9). However, a different study analyzing the military spending behavior of three female leaders—Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, and Golda Meir—using the synthetic counterfactual method found no significant difference in military spending had male leaders been in their place. The study proposed two possible explanations: either female leaders adopt more aggressive and masculine policies to counteract gender stereotypes, or both male and female leaders share similar foreign policy preferences. Further research is needed to clarify this issue (Imamverdiyeva and Shea, 2022).

Some studies argue that women tend to adopt more passive policies than men (Bendix and Jeong, 2019: 1). Historical evidence suggests that women were less supportive of World War II, the Vietnam War, and the Gulf War (Besley, 2017: 203). One possible explanation for this passivity is that post-conflict conditions disproportionately impact women. Increased sexual and physical violence against women during and after conflicts, along with higher levels of hunger among women in refugee camps, may influence female politicians' attitudes toward military intervention (Besley, 2017: 204). However, in cases involving direct security threats, gender differences in military interventions and expenditures diminish. Studies also indicate no significant gender differences in military attitudes within post-communist and Middle Eastern countries (Besley, 2017: 203). Another area of research examines whether female leaders pursue moderate policies due to their social and biological nature or because they represent a more moderate electorate. Findings suggest that both gender and constituency interests influence decision-making, but voter preferences have a stronger

impact than gender alone (Bendix and Jeong, 2019: 12). Thus, the characteristics of a leader's voter base shape foreign policy decisions more than the leader's gender

Women also play a significant role in peacebuilding. The United Nations Security Council launched the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda in 2000 with Resolution 1325 to increase women's participation in peace processes and integrate their needs into security policies. The UN aims to elevate women's roles in peace operations and leadership positions because local communities tend to trust peace initiatives that include women (Sharland, 2021). Despite these efforts, women are frequently excluded from formal peace negotiations and must engage informally through civil society. Female politicians and activists involved in peace processes prioritize issues such as health, housing, and humanitarian aid. Research indicates that women's participation creates more inclusive and sustainable peace agreements (Porter, 2003: 255-256). However, women remain underrepresented in high-level negotiations, as war and peace processes are traditionally viewed as male-dominated domains. When included, women are often assigned observational or monitoring roles. Their participation, however, is crucial for ensuring long-term stability, as they focus on addressing the root causes of conflict and introducing innovative, nonviolent solutions (Mbabazi et al., 2020).

Although differences between men and women are often shaped by societal constructs, their experiences in political, economic, and social contexts vary. Women and men may approach politics differently. Female politicians are generally expected to prioritize policies that benefit women (Mechkova, 2021: 7-8). Interviews with female politicians reveal that many perceive politics as an extension of their roles as mothers and wives, leading them to focus on child protection, family issues, education, and healthcare (Schwindt-Bayer, 2006: 570). A comparative study of Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica found that female MPs were more engaged with women's, family, and children's issues than their male counterparts. However, no significant gender-based differences emerged in education, healthcare, or economic policies. Additionally, female MPs were often excluded from traditionally male-dominated policy areas, demonstrating the persistent influence of gender roles and societal expectations in politics (Schwindt-Bayer, 2006). As women become more active in politics, they are often expected to focus on women's issues rather than foreign policy. A study on Rwanda's parliament found that female MPs introduced women's issues more frequently. However, these discussions rarely translated into concrete policy changes (Devlin and Elgie, 2008).

Perceptions of female politicians significantly influence their roles in foreign policy. Voter expectations and media portrayals shape public opinion and impact women's political careers. When political leaders are defined, adjectives such as active, dominating, successful, independent, intelligent, and male are used. These properties are not biological; they are constructed by culture (White, 1994: 57). Trait stereotypes, such as associating women with warmth and compassion while viewing men as assertive and dominant, create biases against female leaders in military and foreign

affairs. Men were considered more appropriate for international negotiation and the military due to their assertive and aggressive traits (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 121-122). Similarly, the belief stereotype suggests that women are perceived as more competent in social and domestic policies but worse for defense and economic matters. People believe that women are more liberal and democratic than men. While democrats try to overcome unemployment or poverty, republicans are better at handling military and defense issues. Women were not seen as appropriate for foreign policy issues because they were seen as democrats (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 123). A study of 297 university students across various countries confirmed that voters tend to expect male leaders to have greater expertise in military and defense, while women are seen as more capable in social policies (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 141).

The media plays a crucial role in shaping public perceptions of gender. It reinforces gendered leadership stereotypes in news coverage, reports, and interviews. When reporting on male politicians, the media tends to highlight traits traditionally associated with male leadership. In contrast, female politicians are often framed through gendered stereotypes that do not align with voter expectations (Aaldering, 2018: 2). Aaldering examined media attitudes toward political leadership by analyzing Dutch newspapers between 2006 and 2012. The study focused on five leadership traits: political craftsmanship, vigor, integrity, communication skills, and consistency. Male leaders were more frequently associated with political mastery and energy, whereas honesty and consistency were mentioned equally for both genders. Additionally, male leaders received greater media attention during routine periods than during election campaigns. This disproportionate emphasis on male leadership qualities diminishes the visibility of female leaders and negatively impacts their representation in politics, reinforcing biased perceptions of their capabilities (Aaldering, 2018). The media's portrayal of female politicians is crucial in shaping their political careers and access to leadership positions. To examine gender inequality in this area, a study analyzed the language, symbols, and visuals used in political advertisements for male and female candidates. The findings revealed that media symbolism is often associated with male leadership. For instance, when male politicians present themselves as father figures, they are more readily perceived as strong leaders—a perception deeply rooted in cultural structures (White, 1994).

A separate study focused on the media's portrayal of Julia Gillard, Australia's first female prime minister, who took office in 2010. The research analyzed 229 articles published in 11 national and state newspapers within five days of her appointment. Some articles framed Gillard's ambition as a negative trait for a female leader, while others presented it as a necessary quality for any political figure. The study found that when her ambition was portrayed in a collectivist manner—emphasizing national benefit—it contributed to a more favorable media image. In contrast, female leaders often face harsh criticism for displaying ambition, reinforcing gendered double standards in leadership perception (Hall and Donaghue, 2013). Moreover, biases against female leaders are influenced by broader national contexts. A study by Kim and Kang (2020) examined data from over 200,000

individuals across 84 countries to assess public agreement with the statement, “Men are better political leaders than women.” The results indicated that male leaders were preferred in countries facing high-security threats, suggesting that national security concerns reinforce traditional gender biases in political leadership.

Gendered perceptions in politics play a crucial role in shaping the leadership styles of women in conflict resolution. Studies suggest that gender stereotypes influence female leaders’ approaches to international negotiations and crisis management. Women often adopt more aggressive bargaining strategies to compensate for gender-based disadvantages. For the same reason, female political leaders tend to embrace masculine leadership traits to establish credibility (Caprioli and Boyer, 2001). However, adopting these traits does not eliminate the challenges posed by gender stereotypes. Women who display characteristics such as aggression, ambition, and dominance frequently face backlash, reinforcing the very biases they seek to overcome (Brescol, 2016).

This complexity in leadership expectations significantly impacts women’s roles in international conflict resolution. Post and Sen (2019) conducted a study examining how gender influences reactions to female-led foreign policy. Analyzing crises between 1980 and 2010 using the Militarized Interstate Dispute (MID) dataset, the study found that female leaders encounter greater resistance from opposing parties, with their threats being rejected at higher rates than those of male counterparts. Additionally, female leaders tend to take more assertive actions to escalate confrontations, likely in response to skepticism about their authority. These findings highlight the extent to which gender-based perceptions shape international crisis management, forcing female leaders to exert greater effort to continue their legitimacy and decisiveness.

In another study, Caprioli and Boyer (2001) examined the role and impact of female political leaders in conflict resolution. Their hypothesis suggested that women in leadership positions adopt more peaceful and cooperative approaches to resolving conflicts compared to their male counterparts. The findings indicated that female political leaders are generally less militaristic than male leaders and prioritize diplomacy in conflict resolution. However, women in leadership are often perceived as “weak” in the international arena, which may push them to adopt more aggressive policies to counteract this perception. Additionally, conflicts tend to be less severe when women lead the resolution processes. These results underscore the importance of gender equality in foreign policy as a key factor in mitigating international conflicts. While women may be less supportive of war than men, female political leaders exhibit similar attitudes toward aggression and violence when necessary (Paxton and Hughes, 2007: 20). Although they are often viewed as symbols of peace, they do not hesitate to use force when required. Gender remains a critical variable in leadership behavior during international crises. Studies show that female leaders are generally more cautious than male leaders when making threats but face harsher criticism if they later withdraw them (Schwartz and Blair, 2020: 3-7).

A study investigating public perceptions of leadership in crisis scenarios further illustrates this dynamic. Participants were presented with hypothetical crises where a male or female leader had to choose between threatening, retreating, or military intervention. The study assessed how credible and acceptable participants found these responses. Results indicated that while both male and female leaders who retracted threats were perceived as weak, female leaders faced significantly harsher criticism. This reaction reinforces gender biases in leadership and strengthens the perception of female leaders as weak. Furthermore, the study suggested that female leaders' increased aggressiveness compared to male leaders could be an attempt to counteract these prejudices (Schwartz and Blair, 2020).

In 2005, leaders from more than 170 countries gathered to commemorate the founding of the United Nations. However, only eight of these leaders were women. Despite the absence of formal legal restrictions on women holding political leadership positions, their representation remained disproportionately low. The primary reason for this disparity lies in both legal and non-legal barriers that hinder women's political leadership (Paxton and Hughes, 2007: 1). Women face numerous challenges throughout their political careers, including cultural, religious, and traditional obstacles that limit their access to leadership roles. For example, in Afghanistan, women struggle to participate in politics due to societal norms and the influence of religious leaders, who have historically kept them away from governance (Hamdard and Firozi, 2024: 95).

Additionally, in many cultures, women are perceived as subordinate to men, further reinforcing male dominance in leadership positions (Paxton and Hughes, 2007: 17). Before analyzing women's decision-making in foreign policy, it is essential to consider their participation in the field. Historically, foreign policy has been a male-dominated arena, where women's inclusion in decision-making has faced significant challenges. In its early stages, foreign policy was not viewed as separate from gender norms; instead, women's roles and career progression in diplomacy were dictated by their gender. For decades, women were assigned only secretarial or administrative roles in foreign policy institutions (Smith, 2019: 4). Although women gained access to public office in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century, three sectors remained largely closed to them: the church, the military, and diplomacy. Moreover, various institutional bans restricted women's participation in diplomacy and foreign policy. One such restriction was the marriage ban, which forced women pursuing diplomatic careers to choose between marriage and their profession. This ban remained in effect until the 1970s (Towns et al., 2018: 187). Considering these historical barriers, it is evident that foreign policy has long been shaped by gendered perspectives. Only in recent decades have women begun to gain access to leadership roles in this field, often through persistent struggles for gender equality. Their increasing presence in foreign policy marks a significant shift toward greater inclusivity in global governance.

The underrepresentation of women in political leadership is also influenced by the attitudes of political parties. For women to attain national leadership positions, they must first secure leadership within their parties. However, many political parties fail to provide equal opportunities for female candidates. Wauters and Pilet (2015) conducted a study examining the barriers to women's party leadership, analyzing the elections of 535 party leaders across 14 countries between 1965 and 2012. Their findings revealed that only 10% of the leaders were women. The election rate of female leaders was notably higher in countries with strong gender equality policies. The primary obstacles to women's party leadership include gender roles, male-dominated party cultures, intense internal competition, and limited media recognition of female candidates. Since party leadership is a prerequisite for national leadership, these barriers extend beyond political parties and contribute to broader gender disparities in governance (Wauters and Pilet, 2015: 76).

As women became more involved in foreign policy and diplomacy, researchers began examining gender differences in decision-making and policy implementation. Some scholars argue that the gender gap in leadership decisions stems from stronger compassion and maternal instincts among women. Due to their maternal experiences, women are often perceived as more caring and compassionate than men, and these traits are believed to influence their foreign policy approaches (Togeby, 1994: 377). Additionally, societal expectations shape leadership behaviors based on gender norms. Women are often expected to exhibit nurturing and cooperative traits, while men are associated with assertiveness and decisiveness. Some theories attribute behavioral differences to biological factors, yet this remains a contentious issue. Research has demonstrated that gender alone does not determine leadership behavior (Smith, 2019: 6).

While some studies indicate behavioral differences between male and female leaders, these differences cannot be solely attributed to sex. Research suggests that women tend to be more cooperative, compassionate, and hesitant to use force compared to men (Karpowitz and Mendelberg, 2014: 19). However, individual differences, personal histories, educational background, ethnicity, and the degree of gender inequality within a society all contribute to variations in foreign policy decision-making. Gender stereotypes also shape perceptions of physical appearance and role-related behaviors (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 122).

Female leaders often face role conflict, as societal expectations for women and leadership expectations frequently contradict each other. Should a female leader adopt a supportive and empathetic approach to align with traditional gender norms, or should she embrace aggressiveness and dominance to conform to traditional leadership traits? Regardless of her choice, she is subject to criticism for failing to meet either societal or leadership expectations (Paxton and Hughes, 2007: 18). This double standard complicates women's paths to leadership and reinforces the persistent challenges they encounter in political and foreign policy spheres.

The extent to which the rise of women in high political offices, particularly in leadership roles, has influenced foreign policy processes has become a central research question in gender and foreign policy studies. The impact of women in foreign policy remains a critical area of examination. According to Francis Fukuyama (1998: 27), if more women held positions shaping global politics, the world might become less aggressive, less competitive, and more peaceful. Similarly, research conducted by Sylvia Bashevkin (2014) found that female decision-makers emphasize gender equality more than their male counterparts (as cited in Smith, 2019, p. 3).

Some studies suggest that men and women hold different attitudes toward foreign policy, with women generally being more peaceful and less aggressive than men. However, these findings do not necessarily indicate that gender alone determines political behavior. Instead, research suggests that feminist men and women tend to be more liberal than others, implying that political attitudes may be shaped by ideological beliefs rather than biological sex. Additionally, some male politicians have implemented policies aimed at preventing sexual violence, demonstrating that gender-sensitive policymaking is not exclusive to women (Smith, 2019: 3-4).

Perceptions of women's political leadership vary across cultures and economic contexts. Post-industrial societies such as Norway and Finland exhibit stronger support for female leaders, whereas societies with deep-rooted religious and cultural values tend to be less accepting of women in leadership roles. Countries that adhere to traditional societal norms often hold negative attitudes toward female leadership, reinforcing gender-based barriers to political participation (Norris and Inglehart, 2004: 6-7).

Gender plays a significant role in shaping foreign policy leadership approaches and decision-making processes, particularly in conflict resolution and peace-building efforts. While female leaders frequently face stereotypes regarding their capabilities, their approaches to international crises often blend collaboration and assertiveness. These leadership approaches are largely influenced by societal expectations and systemic barriers, such as gender biases. Despite these challenges, female leaders frequently exceed expectations by prioritizing inclusive diplomacy and long-term stability. They challenge conventional norms in foreign policy leadership.

However, these achievements do not eliminate the structural barriers that continue to hinder women's full participation in global governance. Women remain underrepresented in critical decision-making bodies and often bear the dual burden of managing both personal and professional responsibilities. Addressing these systemic inequalities is essential for fostering genuine gender equality in foreign policy. Empowering women in foreign policy is not merely a moral obligation but a strategic necessity for achieving sustainable peace and security. Moving forward, removing gender stereotypes, promoting inclusive leadership, and recognizing the transformative potential of women in diplomacy are essential in overcoming these challenges. This intersection of gender and

leadership not only enriches discussions on foreign policy but also highlights the need to embrace diversity in addressing an evolving global order.

2.3. Feminist Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice

In discussions on gender and foreign policy, feminist foreign policy (FFP) has emerged as a significant topic in the literature. FFP is a recent approach that examines gender equality, human rights, and the rights of marginalized groups within international relations. Consequently, the intersection of gender and foreign policy is central to feminist foreign policy discourse. However, merely increasing the number of women in politics and foreign policy is insufficient for achieving transformative outcomes. The extent of women's influence in decision-making processes is critical. Achieving meaningful change requires more than representation; it necessitates structural shifts in power dynamics. Feminist foreign policy serves as a strategic tool for driving this transformation (Scheyer and Kumskova, 2019: 60).

There are multiple definitions of feminist foreign policy. According to Thompson et al. (2020: 5), FFP is a foreign policy approach in which a country prioritizes peace, gender equality, and environmental integrity in its interactions with other states. It seeks to extinguish racist, patriarchal, and male-dominated structures in political and diplomatic frameworks. Zilla (2022: 4) identifies five key principles of FFP: intersectionality, self-critical awareness and responsiveness to others' needs, substantive representation and participation, accountability, and a strong commitment to peace.

Another definition of feminist foreign policy describes it as a framework guiding sovereign states' interactions with one another based on political, economic, and social equality to advance women's rights (Thompson et al. 2021: 22). FFP is an approach that not only aims to enhance gender equality but also seeks to increase the representation and participation of women and other marginalized groups in the foreign policy practices of states. Among its fundamental objectives is expanding the role of women and local communities in policy-making processes, ensuring a more inclusive and participatory foreign policy approach (Aggestam et al., 2018: 11).

Feminist foreign policy is guided by several key indicators: political dialogue, feminist political economy, individual safety and well-being, empathic communities, inclusivity, and gender analysis. Political dialogue emphasizes resolving international crises through peaceful, inclusive, and conciliatory methods. A feminist approach argues that such dialogue is more effective when it prioritizes gender equality. Feminist political economy critiques the traditional understanding of security in foreign policy, which often focuses narrowly on military spending and state-centered measures. Instead, it advocates for a broader conception of safety and well-being, which includes not only the absence of war but also social and political security, as well as the fulfillment of basic social needs. Protecting individual rights, enhancing societal welfare, and prioritizing issues such as human rights and gender equality are central to this approach (Scheyer and Kumskova, 2019: 62). The third

indicator, empathetic communities, challenges the foundations of classical foreign policy alliances, which are often based on military strategies and defense, involving hostility, threats, and power struggles.

In contrast, feminist foreign policy promotes peace, mutually beneficial trade agreements, and communities focused on disarmament. Inclusivity and intersectionality address the underrepresentation of diverse social groups in international relations and foreign policy. Feminist foreign policy argues for the inclusion of civil society organizations that advocate for inclusiveness in policy-making processes. Finally, gender analysis serves as the foundational methodology for feminist foreign policy. It examines who is represented and who is excluded in policy processes. This approach also analyzes military alliances and militarism from a gender perspective, seeking answers to questions such as why certain communities experience more violence, which policies disproportionately affect different groups, and how these impacts can be reduced (Scheyer and Kumskova, 2019: 63). While these principles form the basis of feminist foreign policy, their application varies depending on the specific context and priorities of each country.

Sweden was the first country to adopt feminist foreign policy as a formal framework, declaring itself a “feminist government” in 2014. This branding signified a commitment to integrating a gender perspective into all aspects of foreign policy, development cooperation, and trade (Zilla, 2022: 5). While the principles of feminist foreign policy vary across countries, Sweden’s approach is rooted in the belief that women’s participation in peace processes correlates with greater stability and sustainability of peace. The Swedish Foreign Minister emphasized that the country’s feminist foreign policy prioritizes combating gender-based and sexual violence. Its action plan focuses on key areas such as the economic empowerment of women, sustainable development, and sexual and reproductive health and rights (Aggestam and Rosamond, 2016: 325).

Sweden defines its feminist foreign policy as a framework aimed at eliminating discrimination against women and improving their conditions globally. This includes a commitment to safeguarding women’s safety, physical integrity, and access to justice, both domestically and internationally (Rosamond, 2020: 1). The policy is structured around three core principles, known as the “3 Rs”: rights, representation, and resources. Rights ensure that all women and girls are protected and can exercise their human rights without discrimination. Representation promotes women’s participation in decision-making processes across all sectors, including peace negotiations, political leadership, and foreign policy. Resources involve the allocation of political, economic, and social resources to advance gender equality and enable women to fully enjoy their human rights (Zilla, 2022: 5; Rosamond, 2020: 11).

A key component of Sweden's feminist foreign policy is the reality check, which involves regular monitoring and evaluation of policy implementation. Sweden actively applies this framework in both its domestic and international affairs. For instance, it supports women's participation in peace negotiations as part of the UN Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda. It has also developed policies to prevent gender-based violence and invests in projects that promote women's economic and social independence. Additionally, Sweden recognizes the link between arms trade and gender-based violence, striving to establish ethical arms trade policies to decrease these effects (Rosamond, 2020).

Canada became the second country to declare a Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) in 2017 under Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. The policy aimed to incorporate a feminist perspective into trade, defense strategy, and all aspects of Canada's international engagement (Thompson, Ahmed and Khokhar, 2021: 4-5). Trudeau, who formed a gender-balanced cabinet and identified himself as a feminist, stated that the goal of FIAP was to empower women and girls so they could, in turn, strengthen families and contribute to economic growth (Robinson, 2019: 6). Canada defined its broader objective as creating a more peaceful, inclusive, and prosperous world, emphasizing that promoting gender equality and empowering women were essential to achieving this vision (Thompson, 2020: 7).

While Sweden placed gender equality at the core of its feminist foreign policy (FFP), Canada's primary focus was on global poverty reduction (Thompson, 2020: 10). Canada viewed gender equality as a tool to combat global poverty and applied FFP accordingly. The country prioritized private sector investment, economic growth, and entrepreneurship, launching programs aimed at empowering women and girls. Canada allocated 150 million Canadian dollars to these initiatives and expanded foreign aid and trade partnerships. Additionally, it actively supported female entrepreneurship in developing countries. However, despite these efforts, Canada's main objective remained the economic empowerment of its own country (Rosamond, 2020: 9).

In 2018, Luxembourg announced the implementation of a feminist foreign policy, seeking to integrate a feminist approach into its defense, diplomacy, and development strategies. Luxembourg's key priorities included the protection and promotion of women's and girls' rights, ensuring women's representation and participation, and advancing gender equality within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thompson et al., 2021: 7). Mexico became the first country in Latin America and the Global South to adopt a feminist foreign policy in 2020. Mexico's approach aimed to integrate a gender perspective into all aspects of foreign policy, promote gender equality within the foreign ministry, and make women's contributions and feminist leadership more visible. Additionally, it sought to incorporate feminist principles into all foreign policy actions and eliminate gender-based violence (Thompson, Ahmed and Khokhar, 2021: 12).

In 2021, Najla Mangoush, Libya's first female Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, announced that Libya had become the first African country to adopt a feminist foreign policy (Thompson et al, 2021: 18). Meanwhile, in the United Kingdom and Australia, several political parties have pledged to implement feminist foreign policy if elected (Thompson and Clement, 2019: 1).

The next phase of Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) involves a re-evaluation of its framework and objectives. One of the key aspects of this reassessment is the terminology used to define the policy. In particular, there is growing debate over the use of the term "feminist." Some argue that the word feminist limits the scope of the policy by implying a focus solely on women and girls. However, many scholars and policymakers emphasize that FFP should adopt a broader, more inclusive approach that encompasses race, ethnicity, disability, class, and refugee rights (Thompson and Clement, 2019: 5).

All research on feminist foreign policy (FFP) initiatives demonstrates that gender remains a contentious issue in foreign policy. Notably, many believe that a leader's sex influences their decisions and policies. However, the extent to which sex is a determining factor in foreign policy decisions remains highly debated. While some studies support this idea, others oppose it (Bendix and Jeong, 2019: 2). Differences between male and female leaders' decisions may stem from personal backgrounds, individual experiences, national conditions, and other contextual factors. Therefore, attributing all policy differences to the biological sex of leaders can be misleading. However, gender inequality—both domestically and internationally—does influence foreign policy. As a result, variations in foreign policy are not necessarily due to biological differences but are instead shaped by gendered structures and systemic inequalities in governance.

Although feminist foreign policy is often regarded as an ideal framework for achieving gender equality in foreign policy, it has also faced significant criticism. One major concern is that a country's national interests—such as security, trade, economic growth, immigration, border policies, diplomacy, and geopolitical strategy—can sometimes conflict with feminist foreign policy principles (UN Women Summary). Critics argue that Western nations impose their ethical frameworks globally, shaping feminist foreign policy according to their own perspectives. For example, Sweden's FFP has been criticized for promoting a Western-centric view of women's rights (Rosamond, 2020: 5).

Some critiques are country-specific. Sweden, for instance, has faced backlash for continuing arms trade with Saudi Arabia despite officially adopting feminist foreign policy. Similarly, while Sweden advocates for women's rights, it has imposed restrictive refugee policies, which many argue contradict feminist principles. Critics contend that Sweden's FFP lacks intersectionality and does not sufficiently address the needs of other marginalized groups (Rosamond, 2020: 9). Canada's FFP has also been criticized, particularly regarding its primary objectives. Some argue that Canada uses

gender equality as a tool for economic growth rather than as a genuine commitment to feminist ideals. Critics claim that Canadian feminist foreign policy serves capitalist economic interests rather than true gender equality (Thompson, 2020: 10). Additionally, contradictions exist between Canada's international advocacy and its domestic policies, as discrimination and violence against Indigenous women persist within the country (Thompson, 2020: 6).

Despite its growing influence, feminist foreign policy remains a developing framework that requires continued support from academics and feminist organizations. Both Sweden and Canada, despite their commitment to FFP, have faced harsh criticism for maintaining arms trade agreements with authoritarian states such as the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia (Thompson and Clement, 2019: 6). Furthermore, while FFP emphasizes human rights and inclusivity, many countries have marginalized these concerns in favor of strict national security policies. For example, Germany and France, despite their advocacy for feminist foreign policy, have implemented restrictive immigration and refugee policies, particularly affecting immigrant and refugee women (Rosamond, 2020: 12).

CHAPTER THREE

3. GENDERED MULTILEVEL GAMES CONCEPT

3.1. Theoretical Overview

Interactions between domestic, international, and transnational forces shape foreign policy leadership. Traditional foreign policy analysis has focused mainly on these interactions through the lens of state actors and rational decision-making processes. However, gender as a crucial structuring force in political leadership and diplomacy has often been overlooked. To address this gap, Aggestam and True (2021) introduce the Gendered Multilevel Games Concept. The concept highlights how foreign policy is shaped by gender dynamics at national, international, and transnational levels (Aggestam and True, 2021: 391). It examined how political leaders behave in gendered norms, institutions, and structures to consolidate power and authority in foreign policy. This chapter provides the theoretical foundation for this concept. The concept was derived from Putnam's Two-Level Games Theory, so the chapter mentioned this theory. Harding's structuration and standpoint theories also inspired the concept of gendered multilevel games. The chapter outlines how the Gendered Multilevel Games Concept builds upon and extends these frameworks, offering a novel perspective on how leaders strategically mobilize gendered dynamics in global politics.

According to the Two-Level Games Theory, the politics of international negotiations can be considered a two-level game. The one level of the game is the national level. Domestic groups tried to influence government and political leaders according to their benefit. Politicians who desire to win domestic political support consider the benefits of these groups. The other side of the game is international level. While governments and political leaders try to meet domestic policy pressures best, they try to maximize the country's interests in the international arena. Every leader has a role on two sides of the political game. Leaders are required to balance between two sides. For instance, if a country imposes trade restrictions due to international pressures, domestic business people may oppose it (Putnam, 1988: 434). Traditional foreign policy analysis, particularly within the framework of Putnam's Two-Level Games theory, has largely overlooked the role of gender in shaping international negotiations. While Two-Level Games effectively captures the interplay between domestic and international constraints, it fails to account for how gender norms, leadership approaches, and institutional structures shape diplomatic decision-making.

To address this gap, Aggestam and True (2021) introduced the Gendered Multilevel Games Concept, which extends Putnam's model by incorporating a gender-sensitive approach to foreign

policy leadership. This framework suggests that leaders navigate not only domestic and international pressures but also gendered expectations, institutional biases, and structural constraints. It analyzes not only the balance between domestic and foreign policy of leaders but also how they operate within gendered norms and structures. Leaders' attitudes are affected by gender and gendered perspectives. While some leaders adopt hyper-masculine leadership approaches and use different strategies in domestic and foreign policy, some may act within a feminist foreign policy framework.

Another theory that inspired the concept of gendered multilevel games is Harding's structuration and standpoint theories. According to the structuration theory, individual and social structures influence each other mutually. Individuals live according to the social structure of society. However, they change and transform social structures while they live in society (Jones and Karsten, 2008: 129). From this angle, political leaders' actions are shaped by their gender roles and norms. Political leaders' behaviors that are related to gender are reflections of social norms. On the other hand, political leaders can recreate or transform these gender roles and norms again. Standpoint theory is related to the social position of individuals. According to the theory, the social positions of individuals affect their experience and their perception of the world. It argues that marginal groups, such as women or ethnic minorities, have more valuable perspectives than others because they have different kinds of experiences. Standpoint theory is significant for feminist theory since women's experiences are excellent sources to evaluate patriarchy and gender inequality (Rolin, 2009: 219).

The concept of Gendered Multilevel Games was developed by being influenced by both Sandra Harding's Structuration and Standpoint Theories and Robert Putnam's Two-Level Games approach. Harding's theories emphasize that gender is not only an element of individual identity but also a factor that shapes state structures and international systems. From this perspective, Gendered Multilevel Games analyzes how foreign policy leaders strategically use gender norms and how these norms are shaped at national, international, and transnational levels. On the other hand, while Putnam's Two-Level Games theory explains how leaders have to balance domestic and foreign policy negotiations, Gendered Multilevel Games integrates gender dynamics into this process. In other words, leaders are stuck between national and international pressures and have to manage the interaction between gendered institutions, leadership styles, and global structures. Thus, by combining Harding's gendered structural analysis and Putnam's framework for negotiation processes, Gendered Multilevel Games offers a comprehensive conceptual tool for understanding foreign policy leadership and the role of gender in international relations.

The concept of gendered multilevel games is a recent framework that examines how political leaders gain power and authority from a gender perspective. Its main questions are: How do foreign policy leaders acquire power and authority through gendered dynamics? How does gender shape and constrain foreign policy leadership? How does the concept of gendered multilevel games provide a new perspective on understanding foreign policy leadership? (Aggestam and True, 2021: 387).

Aggestam and True (2021) examines the interaction between gendered institutions, leadership styles, and global structures at three levels. This concept's fundamental components are Gendered leadership, institutions, and structures. Gendered institutions investigate how gender norms and inequality influence institutions and political structures. It explains the commitments of governments and international organizations to gender equality politics. This concept examines how institutions and states adopt or reject gender norms and how these norms affect foreign policy decisions. Aggestam and True (2021) discuss the gendered institutions by analyzing states' gender-based policies. For instance, some governments adopt feminist foreign policy and support gender equality at the institutional level, while others resist global norms for gender equality. Also, gendered institutions ensure an understanding of how leaders establish their authority by using gender norms.

Gendered structures consider how gender impacts social and economic frameworks, as well as the effects of these structures on leadership and foreign policy. According to gendered structures, foreign policy processes and global political order are shaped by gender hierarchies. Factors such as patriarchal norms, gender roles, and male dominance in international relations create and maintain gendered structures. Masculine norms and patriarchal dynamics shape global politics. Leadership, authority, and decision-making process are defined generally as masculine properties. Women leaders and feminist foreign policy initiatives are interpreted as a challenge inside masculine structures. Also, even if organizations such as the UN and NATO adopt politics that support gender equality, international politics are shaped by masculine norms, and these structures resist change. Some leaders support these structures. For instance, The Trump administration has strengthened patriarchal structures by cutting international institutional support for women's rights (Aggestam and True, 2021: 392). According to this concept, the power and authority of political leaders to act are linked to gendered leadership, institutions, and structures. In short, while gendered institutions examine gender through the policies implemented by countries, gendered structures examine how patriarchal structures shape the international system and global politics.

While the gendered multilevel games concept researched the gendered leadership, it benefits from the logic of dual interaction in structuration theory. Political leaders are influenced not only by gendered structures but also by recreating and changing them. The maneuvers of political leaders are shaped by gendered contexts. On the other hand, the concept benefits from standpoint theory while it examines the women political leaders' perspective and how their viewpoint shaped their policies. Women's political leaders are evaluated as a marginal group. It is considering that they have learned better how to navigate within gendered structures due to being more subjected to the pressures of gendered structures. The two theories generally inspired the concept of gendered multilevel games. Also, the concept of the game used here is a metaphorical term representing diplomatic interactions among countries in foreign policy (Aggestam and True, 2021: 391).

The gendered multilevel games concept emphasizes that domestic, international, and transnational structures create various opportunities for the diffusion of or resistance to pro-gender equality norms in foreign policy. It demonstrates these structures and their opportunities by examining political leaders. They are the main actors in the concept analysis since political leaders are in positions to perceive and navigate gendered dynamics (Aggestam and True, 2021: 392). Political leaders engage in a complex social world where gender symbols hold significant influence. Therefore, the concept argues that understanding gender dynamics is essential to comprehend how political leaders exercise their authority in foreign policy. Gender dynamics are predicted to have a critical impact on how leaders use power and authority in foreign policy. It can be said that gender roles and symbols significantly influence leaders' leadership styles and decisions. Additionally, the international social world is composed of gender dynamics. As political leaders interact with this world, gender symbols affect their perceptions and leadership (Aggestam and True, 2021: 393).

According to the concept of gendered multilevel games, there are various ways in which gender equality norms can be both promoted and hindered in foreign policy. Chief among these are global incentive structures. Political leaders can advance gender equality norms through objectives such as economic growth and sustainable peace. However, the general difficulty of effecting change in the world order and the prevalence of entrenched patriarchal structures pose significant barriers to the spread of gender equality norms. Particularly, displays of hard power and gendered contests in foreign policy contribute to resistance against gender equality norms (Aggestam and True, 2021: 393).

Four leadership approaches are examined in the context of gendered multilevel games. These four titles are hyper-masculine leadership and revisionist foreign policy, normative leadership and gendered nation-branding, compassionate leadership and gendered transnational symbolism, and contested leadership on pro- and anti-gender norms in foreign policy. Each of them investigates specific types of leadership styles and how those leadership styles reflect on foreign policy (Aggestam and True, 2021: 394). Hyper-masculine leadership and revisionist foreign policy emphasize an aggressive leadership approach in foreign policy, often associated with male dominance and power. Leaders who adopt this type of leadership engage in revisionist actions characterized by masculine traits such as assertiveness and aggression. Normative leadership and gendered nation-branding focus on promoting gender equality norms, with leaders emphasizing the portrayal of their nation as a champion of gender equality. Compassionate leadership and gendered transnational symbolism relate to empathy and humanitarian issues, with leaders using gendered symbolism to promote peace and highlight women's rights and gender-specific issues in foreign policy. Contested leadership on pro- and anti-gender norms in foreign policy reflects broader societal tensions and debates over gender roles, where some leaders advocate for pro-gender equality norms while others resist these norms (Aggestam and True, 2021: 394-402).

In conclusion, gendered multilevel games offer a comprehensive framework for understanding the complex interplay between gender dynamics and foreign policy leadership. By categorizing different leadership styles—such as hyper-masculine, normative, compassionate, and contested—this concept highlights how gender influences political decision-making and the execution of foreign policy. It reveals how leaders navigate the gendered symbols and norms, thereby shaping both their domestic and international policies. This framework not only explains the various strategies used by leaders but also emphasizes the importance of gender as a critical factor in the analysis of foreign policy. As such, the gendered multilevel games concept serves as a significant tool for analyzing the roles of gender in shaping the trajectories of political leaders and their policies.

In this chapter, the Gendered Multilevel Games Concept was applied to analyze how political leaders interact with and utilize gender norms at national, international, and transnational levels. As suggested by Aggestam and True, this was achieved by examining leaders' discourses and foreign policy decisions. The discourses, attitudes about women's rights and gender equality, and foreign policy decisions of four selected leaders were analyzed. Therefore, it was understood how foreign policy is shaped not only by national or international interests but also by gender norms.

3.2. Margaret Thatcher: A Women Leading in a Man's World

Margaret Thatcher was the first female Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, serving from 1979 to 1990. Born in 1925 in Grantham, she pursued a degree in chemistry at Oxford University before becoming interested in law and politics (Özdikmen and Kartın, 2021: 52). Her political career began when she was elected as the Member of Parliament for Finchley in 1959, representing the Conservative Party (Blundell, 2008: 44). At the time, there were 630 MPs in parliament, of which only 25 were women, and 12 were Conservative Party (Aitken, 2013: 87).

Margaret Thatcher was appointed Minister of Education in 1970, a position she held until 1974. In 1975, Thatcher became the leader of the Conservative Party and, in 1979, was elected as the first female Prime Minister. She became the longest-serving British Prime Minister of the 20th century, holding office for 11 years. Margaret Thatcher held four top positions during her time in office: Home Secretary, Foreign Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Prime Minister (Özdikmen and Kartın, 2021: 50).

When Thatcher took office, the United Kingdom faced significant challenges. Economically, the country was ranked 19th out of 22 countries in the OECD. The nation had high inflation, unemployment, and stagnant economic growth. Social unrest was widespread, with personal freedoms, tolerance, and social norms under strain. Thatcher inherited a complex political and economic situation, making her tenure particularly challenging as the first female Prime Minister (Blundell, 2008: 13).

3.2.1. Margaret Thatcher's Prime Ministerial Era

Margaret Thatcher was anticipating a challenging prime ministerial tenure. Firstly, she was a minority in her party and also the government. She had few supporters even if she was chosen as party president (King, 1985: 97). Many leaders have ideas about world peace and unemployment, which others have supported. However, Margaret Thatcher had a political agenda that was special to her. She had unique ideas about taxation, public spending, the welfare state, relations with the Soviet Union, the Common Market, etc. The important thing for herself was not a party victory; she gave importance to her perspective and political opinion and made them real even if her perspective was against her party (King, 1985: 98). The most important reason Margaret Thatcher was elected as Prime Minister was the economic problems of the United Kingdom. People expected her to decrease tax rates and cut government borrowing. However, the first years of her presidency did not pass as expected. The tax rate and public expenditure were increased, and the inflation rate doubled from %11%22. Also, the economic growth of the United Kingdom decreased, and the private sector's bankruptcy increased. The unemployment rate was %5 in 1979, and it rose to %12 in 1981 (King, 1985: 102). Therefore, the first years of Margaret Thatcher could have been more brilliant for her and the United Kingdom, but it was filled with economic difficulties.

Also, Margaret Thatcher struggled with the division of the cabinet, in addition to the economic problems. A small group of people supported her ideas and policies. She was given critical positions, such as chancellor of the exchequer, chief secretary to the treasury, secretary of state for industry, and secretary of state for trade, to her strongest supporters as a precaution. The cabinet divided every political movement of Margaret Thatcher and prevented her from taking action (King, 1985: 103). However, all these opposition movements made her leadership stronger. She addressed the issue of the Cabinet, and after 1981, her leadership became more solid, which was reflected in the country's governance. Public spending was under control, and interest rates started to go down. The inflation rate decreased from % 22 to 12 gradually (King, 1985: 104). The Falklands War was the most significant event in which Margaret Thatcher proved her leadership and earned the respect of the opposition. Following this war, she could take full responsibility for the government and assert her authority (King, 1985: 107).

Margaret Thatcher gave importance to the economy and foreign policy. However, she did not support the feminist movement and women's rights during her presidency. She did not support the feminist movement because she saw it as left-wing (Ribberink, 2005: 172). She did not conduct policies that took women to the center. She idealized full-time motherhood, and she cut government support for working mothers (Ribberink, 2005: 176). Although she did not stand out in her support for women and her policies, she became a role model for women in the country through her successes in politics (Ribberink, 2005: 177).

The Falkland War

The Falkland War was between the United Kingdom and Argentina in 1982. The war started when Argentina had a military invasion of Falkland Island. It continued for 10 weeks and resulted in the United Kingdom's victory. The manner and leadership of Margaret Thatcher rose in value in the country. After the victory of the Falkland War, the cabinet's opposition to Margaret Thatcher's decisions decreased. Her supporters increased with the Falkland War victory (Özdikmen and Kartın, 2021: 56-57).

When the invasion began, Margaret Thatcher first guaranteed the support of her cabinet and then focused on international supporters. She began a military response after the United Nations Security Council approved the legal justification of the United Kingdom (Dastyh, 2016: 22). Margaret Thatcher saw war as a solution, but the British people did not support the option of war. Therefore, Margaret Thatcher slipped down in the election polls. She did interviews with the BBC in the meantime to convince the British people to go to war (Dastyh, 2016: 25). Margaret Thatcher made an effort to implement the solution she had devised for the issue by confronting challenges within her cabinet, with the British public, and on the international stage. The Falkland War positively impacted Thatcher's politics and the 1983 general election. The victory of the United Kingdom meant the victory of Margaret Thatcher. She became the most popular British President, and her party won the general election the following year (Sunders et al., 1987: 283).

After the victory, Margaret Thatcher gained international popularity. The relationship between Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Regan strengthened with the victory (Dastyh, 2016: 38). Therefore, the leadership of Margaret Thatcher in the Falkland War could be a milestone for Margaret Thatcher's political career. Despite all opposition, she behaved decisively and did not take back her military plan. The Falkland Victory was evaluated as an outstanding achievement. Margaret Thatcher was seen as a courageous and determined Prime Minister. It was believed that Margaret Thatcher saved Britain's position and reputation in the international community (Minogue and Biddiss, 1987: 106).

3.2.2. Economic and Social Policies

The era when Margaret Thatcher began taking office was a challenging time for the United Kingdom regarding the economy. One of the critical aims of Margaret Thatcher's government was to decrease the high inflation and unemployment rates (Buiter and Miller, 1983: 306). The first year of Margaret Thatcher was not as planned. The United Kingdom's economy passed challenging times between 1981 and 1983 because of external conditions. The world trade rate has also decreased in those years (Buiter and Miller, 1983: 309).

In 1981, the unemployment rate in the United Kingdom reached a record high since World War II (p.335). To address the economic challenges, Margaret Thatcher implemented her signature

economic approach, later known as "Thatcherism," which emphasized privatization and a free-market economy. Privatization transferred responsibility from the government to the private sector, leading to increased ownership between 1980 and 1990—a shift that was interpreted as encapsulating the Thatcher era (Kaddour, 2017: 25). Thatcherism sought to transition from a mixed economy to one driven by the private sector and to encourage property ownership. Thatcher believed trade unions contributed to economic instability and high inflation, so she curbed the power of trade unions. The 1980 and 1982 Employment Acts were designed to limit union influence, including restricting the right to strike.

Additionally, Thatcher raised interest rates, cut public spending, and lowered taxes on high-income individuals and companies to stimulate investment. The primary goal of her policies was to control inflation, even at the cost of rising unemployment (Green, 1999: 19). The results of the economic policies of Margaret Thatcher were both positive and negative. Even if these initiatives decreased high inflation, the unemployment rate increased. Also, the government's responsibilities decreased, and they were distributed to the private sector and individuals. This meant that the welfare state conception lost its importance and that the United Kingdom moved away from being a welfare state. That situation influenced citizens's lives negatively.

Many governments give priority to improving the well-being of society, but Margaret Thatcher was against the idea that improving the welfare of nations was the responsibility of the government. Margaret Thatcher's government first privatized the national health service that was established after World War 2 as a free service. After the privatization, the health spending was reduced from 21000 million to 8000 million sterling' (Kaddour, 2017: 34). The hospitals were inspected to decrease financial expenditure and provide more services with less budget. However, these policies influenced disadvantaged groups adversely. They had trouble reaching health services (Elhefnawy, 2020: 41).

Margaret Thatcher's government privatization policy was also applied to education. The government established new schools that were not dependent on local government. The schools began to compete to attract students, so the education system became a marketplace (Elhefnawy, 2020: 42). In the educational area, the number of schools decreased, leading to another type of unemployment. She also reduced salaries and made financial cuts in education (Kaddour, 2017: 36).

Margaret Thatcher gave importance to economic reforms and decreasing the inflation rate, so she did not take meaningful actions against disadvantaged individuals in society, such as women and children. On the contrary, the lives of people became more complicated because of her policies. In particular, privatization policies put many people in a difficult financial situation. Moreover, the discontinuation of the welfare state concept is a key factor in this regard (Rogowski, 2015: 62).

3.2.3. Foreign Policy

Margaret Thatcher's attitude toward foreign policy is examined based on the end of the Cold War era. Her decision and attitude in this critical era give essential clues because this era was substantial in terms of the transformation of the world order and the attitudes of leaders. Her interviews, speeches, and public statements provide a substantial view of how she navigated the complex world of international politics. The major affairs between 1989 and 1991 were the Cold War, the Fall of the Berlin Wall, nuclear weapons, and the Climate Crisis. This section consists of Margaret Thatcher's decisions, speeches, and attitudes about these important affairs.

Margaret Thatcher played a significant role in world affairs due to Britain's unique position and her ability to influence the outcomes of significant events. The United Kingdom was a member of NATO, the European Community, a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, a founder member of the Council of Europe and the OECD, and one of the seven members of the World Economic Summit. Also, it had a special relationship with the United States (Minogue and Biddiss, 1987: 96). These memberships made Margaret Thatcher's attitude more crucial in foreign policy. Particularly, being the women leader in all these communities made her attitude and decisions more attention-grabbing.

The first principle of Margaret Thatcher was to defend citizens from external threats. Therefore, she made expenditures for military forces while cutting public spending. She said in one of her speeches, "As long as we have potential enemies, we must recognize that peace can ... be maintained [only] through strength." (Minogue and Biddiss, 1987: 97). The United Kingdom was an internal part of the European Scene under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher (Minogue and Biddiss, 1987: 101). Also, Margaret Thatcher gave special importance to the relationship between the United Kingdom and the United States. When the Soviet Union tried to create separation between the United States and the European Community, Margaret Thatcher strongly objected to this attempt, and she emphasized the United States' substantial role in the security and survival of Western Europe. However, alongside this supportive stance, she did not hesitate to clash with the United States when the interests of the United Kingdom were at stake. Therefore, the important thing about Margaret Thatcher's foreign policy was the benefits to the United Kingdom and its citizens (Minogue and Biddiss, 1987: 105). Margaret Thatcher was not a hardliner leader. She could make flexible decisions according to external factors. She was also honest and explicit. She becomes prominent with these properties. Although some of her politics were criticized, her stability in protecting the United Kingdom's benefits was always accepted and supported. The United Kingdom won great power and position in world politics in her leadership era (Minogue and Biddiss, 1987: 110).

Margaret Thatcher always prioritized the United Kingdom's benefits and highlighted the United Kingdom's efforts to help other countries in foreign policy. All these things took part in her

speech at the College of Europe in 1988. Margaret Thatcher highlighted the United Kingdom struggled to empower Europe, and their soldiers died far away from their country for Belgium. In her speech, she also said that she could not think of the United Kingdom apart from Europe. After she underlined the support of the United Kingdom, she convoked unity and solidarity between Europe and the United Kingdom. She said that the United Kingdom and Europe could do better together, and Europe would be stronger when they did (Thatcher, 1988).

In her speech, Margaret Thatcher not only called for unity and solidarity but also made several recommendations to the European community. For instance, she proposed a savings policy for the European community. She highlighted that the agriculture budget should be cut and resources redirected to other areas, such as aiding less well-off regions. Additionally, Margaret Thatcher suggested agriculture policies, including a common agricultural policy and an efficient farming industry. She emphasized the need for policies that reduce overproduction and limit costs. Furthermore, she advocated for free market actions and proposed reducing government intervention to achieve this goal. Free market principles were among the policies adopted to address economic challenges in the United Kingdom. She recommended this approach because she argued that London was the largest and most successful financial center in Europe, owing to these policies. She stated that the United Kingdom was a pioneer in opening its markets to others. Margaret Thatcher believed that they were responsible for supporting developing countries in terms of economic strength and independence, just as developed countries do (Thatcher, 1988).

Margaret Thatcher talked about NATO as a member of it. She explained that the European countries needed to give importance to NATO for the defense of Europe. Even though it required difficult decisions and heavy costs, countries should continue their efforts because she believed that the peace maintained over 40 years was thanks to NATO (Thatcher, 1988). Margaret Thatcher also saw nuclear weapons as a part of the defense mechanism and supported it. She argued that they needed to get public support for nuclear defense because weapons mechanisms were obsolete, so they needed modernization. She specified Europe should empower defense mechanisms against the Soviet Union since Soviet forces empowered themselves regularly. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had an uncertain political atmosphere, so she believed that Europe was required to protect and continue its union. She gave NATO paramount significance, and she underlined it in her interviews. She expressed the importance of NATO in various speeches. While she talked about the remarks on the Berlin Wall, she also touched upon NATO. She believed that if NATO existed after World War I, World War II would not have happened (Thatcher, 1989).

Another significant speech delivered by Margaret Thatcher during this period was her address at the United Nations Conference on Climate Change in 1989. She highlighted common acts in the United Nations. Margaret Thatcher underscores that the hostilities between Western nations and the

Soviet Union had ended, and she brought attention to the positive developments between the two sides. She emphasized that a foundation has now been established for collaborative action. She indicated that the United Nations is now more effective in achieving these goals compared to the past. Margaret Thatcher argued that the United Kingdom was responsible for the countries' comfort, peace, and freedom. She provided examples of reducing conflicts in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa, as well as Europe becoming a more liberated region (Thatcher, 1989).

Margaret Thatcher, after she mentioned peace and the union of countries, touched upon the other critical problem of the world, which was climate change. She said that after the wars, the most dangerous problems in the world were climate change and environmental pollution. Margaret Thatcher was worried about the future of the world. She claimed that environmental pollution and climate change lead to negative changes in people's lives in the future, and she explained that precautions should be taken to prevent these negative changes. She gave some advice about how they can prevent environmental pollution, such as by improving agricultural methods and preventing river pollution. She also touched upon nuclear energy as a green energy, so it was safe for the environment (Thatcher, 1989).

While she talked about climate change, she showed evidence from some research that was done by British scientists. She emphasized that British scientists took charge on the front row in climate research. Margaret Thatcher announced that the United Kingdom would establish a center focused on climate issues, highlighting that this center's work would be instrumental in anticipating and addressing related dangers. She expressed her satisfaction in announcing that her country would take a leading role in such an initiative. She offered to help experts who work on climate change in developing countries come to the United Kingdom and use the facilities. She emphasized that the United Kingdom had increased its contribution to UNEP and other countries should do this. Margaret Thatcher proposed signing an agreement at the 1992 World Conference on Environment and Development, suggesting that protocols be established to which each country would adhere (Thatcher, 1989).

After presenting her proposals, Margaret Thatcher talked about the measures her country was taking to combat environmental pollution. She mentioned that the United Kingdom would establish a pollution control system and aim to recycle 50% of its household waste. Additionally, she highlighted initiatives in reforestation, wildlife conservation, and protective measures for endangered species. She further focused on the UK's commitment to investing in environmental research and providing assistance to developing countries on these issues. Thatcher underscored that every country bears responsibility for this problem and that each must contribute to its resolution (Thatcher, 1989). Even during a critical period of global transformation, Margaret Thatcher's guidance in foreign policy

on the climate crisis and environmental issues—along with her proposals and the actions implemented in her own country—demonstrates her leadership qualities.

Margaret Thatcher also had interviews and speeches about the fall of the Berlin Wall. She described the Remarks of the Berlin Wall as a great day of freedom. She hoped that the event could be a prelude to the Berlin Wall coming down. She evaluated the fall of the Berlin Wall as a sign of change and revolt in East Europe. She hoped that it would be spread to other East European countries after East Germany. Margaret Thatcher was asked about the idea of the reunification of Germany during the interview. Margaret Thatcher thought that the first step was to establish a multi-party democracy in East Germany. It needed to build an election system and a real democracy (Thatcher, 1989).

Margaret Thatcher's comments on German reunification also gained attention in the print media. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Irish Times published news in 1989 indicating that Thatcher was strongly opposed to Germany's reunification (The Irish Times, 2019). Various newspapers also stated that Margaret Thatcher saw the reunification of Germany as a threat to Europe. Thatcher suggested that the two German states should unite after a five-year transition period. She also suggested that, in this case, Germany would become a dominant and active factor in Europe. Margaret Thatcher displayed a different stance from other leaders in foreign policy, with doubts about this issue (Volkery, 2009). Margaret Thatcher was opposed to the unification of Germany from the beginning. When she entered Down Street the first year, she explicitly remarked her idea that unification was not on the agenda. She thought that the reunification of Germany was a threat to the stability of Europe (MUELLER, 2014: 356). Margaret Thatcher also contradicted the British Foreign Office about the unification of Germany. The Foreign Office had a moderate attitude toward the situation. The authorities thought that preventing German unification would isolate Britain from Europe, which could make Britain perceived as an outsider (Pedersen, 2021: 32). Although Margaret Thatcher disagreed with authorities and other leaders about the subject, she did not change her ideas for a long time. Margaret Thatcher was one of the leaders who resisted reunification for the longest (MUELLER, 2014: 371).

Also, Margaret Thatcher evaluated the end of the Cold War. According to Margaret Thatcher, the West rethought its relationship between itself and with the East in this process. She thought that they could have a closer relationship with ABD and establish a free trade area. She saw the end of the Cold War as an opportunity. Margaret Thatcher believed that they needed to be interested in foreign affairs and regional problems because what happened in the world affected their home countries. Therefore, when she got together with other leaders, they also talked about problems that happened outside of their countries. She got together with American President George Bush, Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of Germany at times, or she talked to them

on the phone. She explained that her priority was peace, but that needed to be made possible with their secure borders. She did not support a non-weapon policy. Margaret Thatcher thought countries should defend themselves from any attack. Margaret Thatcher argued that the West should pursue a united and strong defense policy. She did not have an agreeable attitude during the Cold War. She had a rough attitude against SSCB. She viewed the Soviet Union as the West's most significant threat and supported nuclear armament to deter the USSR. However, her relationship with Garbaçov was significant to the end of the Cold War. He recognized that Mikhail Gorbachev was pro-reform and encouraged him to establish dialogue with the West. Margaret Thatcher had a critical role that was a bridge between the West and SSCB (Gardiner, 2019).

Margaret Thatcher's relationship with Mikhail Garbaçov in foreign affairs had a crucial effect on the end of the Cold War. When elected prime minister, she saw SSCB as a threat (Brown, 2010: 17). The visit of Garbaçov to the United Kingdom changed Margaret's opinion. Margaret Thatcher said, "We can do a job with this guy" (Brown, 2010: 23). Although Margaret Thatcher was anti-communist, Gorbachev's reform and change stance changed her mind. She became the first Western leader to support Gorbachev and the transformation of the USSR. She became a supportive bridge between the Western world and Gorbachev. However, she also showed a cautious attitude towards the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Brown, 2010: 30).

Margaret Thatcher demonstrated hyper-masculine and authoritarian leadership. She had a highly male-dominated political environment, and she adapted to this masculine environment. She gave importance to authority and strength. In foreign policy, Margaret Thatcher was military power, national interests, and power-centered. She did not challenge gendered institutions. On the contrary, she reinforced them and did not promote institutional change for gender equality. According to the gendered multilevel games concept, she navigated within male-dominated structures and strategically conformed to masculine expectations. In table 1, it can be seen the summary of Margaret Thatcher foreign policy.

Table 1: Margaret Thatcher

Leadership Category	Hyper-masculine, authoritarian
Gendered Strategy	Adapted to masculine norms; emphasized strength and authority rather than care and consensus.
Foreign Policy	Military power, national interests, Power-centered
Engagement with Gender Norms	Reinforced dominant gendered institutional norms rather than challenging them.

Contribution to Gendered Structures	Maintained status quo; did not promote institutional change for gender equality.
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3.3. Benazir Bhutto: Female Leadership Under Structural Constraint

Benazir Bhutto was the first female prime minister of Pakistan. Her ministry was important because she was also the first prime minister in a Muslim country. She was elected prime minister in 1988, the first democratic election in Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto took charge between 1988 and 1990 and 1993 and 1996 positions two times (Genovese and Steckenrider, 2013: 80).

Benazir Bhutto's political life was affected by her family background and her father, Zulfikar Bhutto. Zulfikar Bhutto was the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the pioneer of the democracy movement. He supported gender equality, education, and women's political rights and tried to shape his studies in that direction. He raised Benazir Bhutto in the political environment and supported her political participation. Benazir Bhutto was deliberately prepared for a leadership role by her father. Other factors that influenced her political career were the execution of her father, her prison experiences, the Islamization policies of General Zia, and the politics of electoral competition (Shafqat, 1996: 656). Therefore, both because of the environment in which she was raised and the training and experience she received; Benazir Bhutto was ready to rule the country after Zulfikar Bhutto was executed.

When Benazir Bhutto was elected prime minister, Pakistan was experiencing tough times. The political atmosphere was controversial, and the country's transition to a democratic process was fraught with challenges. The Ulema and military were against Benazir Bhutto's prime minister. The Ulema made declarations against Benazir Bhutto. Benazir Bhutto suffered from military intervention during her presidency. Also, Pakistan had economic problems. Benazir Bhutto needed to make significant economic decisions that led to disappointment in citizens.

3.3.1. Prime Ministerial Time of Benazir Bhutto

The most challenging thing in Benazir Bhutto's term was the social and political atmosphere shaped by General Zia's administration. After Zulfikar Bhutto was executed, General Zia's government managed Pakistan for 10 years. General Zia launched the Islamization program in 1979, and the country conducted it according to Sharia law. The democratization process was interrupted, and an authoritarian regime was strengthened. The election of Benazir Bhutto marked a renewed momentum for democratization efforts. She became the first democratically elected prime minister following the military coup. When she was 35, she became the youngest Prime Minister of Pakistan and also the first woman Prime Minister of a Muslim nation (Richter, 1989: 433).

Benazir Bhutto was the leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). The PPP had more chairs than other parties in the National Assembly, but it was not enough for an absolute majority, so Benazir Bhutto had to establish a coalition government. There were smear campaigns against Benazir Bhutto during the election process, but she conducted the process successfully thanks to her leadership skills and her reputation not being influenced by them (Shafqat, 1996: 659). Even if Benazir Bhutto was elected leader through the democratic process, it did not mean that democracy was established in Pakistan. The election of Benazir Bhutto as a prime minister created hope in Pakistan. People believed that the era of genuine democracy and stability had begun. However, the process did not progress as expected. Pakistan had seven governments between 1988-1999, and four had military intervention (Shah, 2001: 352). The military still had power, and it tried to keep the government under control. Also, the head of the state gained power during General Zia, and he tried to use his power in the government's decisions. So, Benazir Bhutto did not govern Pakistan in a free democratic environment. Pakistan had moved far from the democracy that Zulfikar Bhutto had sought to establish. Therefore, Benazir Bhutto prioritized creating a permanent political system (Richter, 1989: 433).

Benazir encountered strong opposition from other parties. In 1989, the Combined Opposition Party (COP) was established in the National Assembly. Although the party consisted of rightist parties such as Jamaat-i-Islami and leftist members such as Awami National Party, its common goal was keeping Benazir Bhutto in check. Benazir also encountered opposition in the provinces. The president had great power, which was given by General Zia. That situation forced Benazir because the President used his powers to prevent the actions of Benazir's government. Therefore, Benazir made some attempts to restrict the president's power. However, she failed with this move (Richter, 1989: 436). Benazir began her work by changing people in management positions. She discharged the chief of the Inter-Services Intelligence. She also desired to remove the chief of staff committee, Admiral Iftikhar Ahmed Sirohey, but she took the attention of the military. She needed to make a deal with the President and Army Chief.

According to the deal, the chief of the staff committee will leave the position, but the successor will be appointed by the president, not Benazir Bhutto. Benazir Bhutto encountered this type of dispute in almost every movement of her. It was the result of ten years of General Zia's regime. Many politicians who supported his regime gained power and experience in politics during this period. In Benazir's era, they became influential politicians and positioned themselves within the opposition. Additionally, a group opposing her existed due to her father's political history (Richter, 1989: 436). Also, one of the most notable aspects of Benazir Bhutto's administrative appointments was the inclusion of female ministers in key positions. There were 5 women ministers in her cabinet. That was criticized by the opposition. However, that created hope for women's rights in society because women were restricted and became of secondary importance in General Zia's period (Shafqat, 1996:

659). During Benazir Bhutto's presidency, in addition to her clashes with the army and strengthening democracy movements, other important issues came to the fore. The Kashmir issue, which caused a dispute with India, and her relations with the US were prominent topics in foreign policy. In the country, women's rights, health services, and economic reforms were noteworthy.

3.3.2. Economic and Social Policies

The economy was another critical challenge for Benazir Bhutto's government in Pakistan. The economy has grown since 1977, and the average personal growth income rate has increased by six percent per capita. However, economic inequalities and foreign debt continued to increase. Pakistan had one of the highest foreign debts among other countries. Therefore, Benazir Bhutto reserved a significant part of her agenda for foreign debt (Richter, 1989: 449). Benazir Bhutto had restricted movements to fix the economy. She could not cut the defense budget because the army opposed it. If she decreased development expenditure, she endangered the popularity of her government. The economy of the country was based on agrarians, but she could not increase the tax collection from agrarians since the feudal were high in number in parliament. Despite these restricted situations, she had to improve the economy and enhance the lives of citizens. Otherwise, her leadership charisma was endangered (Azeem et al.,2020: 149). Benazir Bhutto's economic and social policies played a critical role in the country's modernization. She adopted privatization policies to decrease government involvement in the economy. The private sector began to be active in the free market. However, she encountered political obstacles and corruption (Bhutto, 2023: 2). Also, Benazir Bhutto did tax reform to try to control the economy. She decreased public expenditure and cooperated with the IMF to conduct foreign debt. She also gave importance to agricultural policies to support the economy. She created support funds with loans for farmers to increase agricultural production. She improved irrigation systems and tried to make access to water resources more equitable in the country (Bhutto, 2023: 5). She encouraged international investments by signing trade agreements with the US, China, and the European Union. Thus, she increased the inflow of foreign capital to Pakistan and supported economic growth (Bhutto, 2023: 10).

Benazir Bhutto aimed to increase the welfare of the country with social policies. She expanded social assistance to increase the economic well-being of the people. Within the framework of this assistance, she provided financial support to low-income families. Education was one of the significant investment areas for her government. She focused on women's education particularly. She established schools and universities to empower the education system (Bhutto, 2023: 7). As a female prime minister in a Muslim country, she was well aware of the difficulties women faced. For this reason, she supported women's rights. She supported women's entrepreneurship to increase women's participation in the economy and the workforce. She created special entrepreneurship loans for women. She passed laws for women's rights and tried to ensure that women were active in politics (Bhutto, 2023: 9).

To increase the active participation of women in social life, he introduced the quota system in both workplaces and parliament. There were 5 female ministers in the cabinet he formed during his term. This was a very critical step in the period and the conditions of the country. He also gave important duties to women in the country in addition to the ministry. For example, Raana Liaquat Ali Khan was appointed as the first female governor in Pakistan's history. Raana Liaquat, who was also a women's rights advocate and diplomat, pioneered the inclusion of women in administrative positions. Ashraf Abbasi was appointed as the Vice President of the National Assembly and ensured that women were more active in the legislative processes. Kaniz Fatima Yusuf served as the Vice Chancellor of Islamabad University, encouraging women's leadership in the field of education. The first female pilot was appointed during the Benazir Bhutto period. It is an important step in encouraging women to participate in non-traditional professions (Shafqat, 1996: 657). Benazir Bhutto's economic and social policies are essential for the development of Pakistan. She tried to take practical steps to modernize the country and bring it to a position where it could compete with developed countries. She especially tried to be effective in the field of women's rights as a female leader (Weiss, 1990: 435).

3.3.3. Foreign Policy

Benazir Bhutto sought to foster smooth relationships with other countries in her foreign policy. She was a proactive, peaceful, visionary Prime Minister who championed regional peace with neighboring nations. She placed special importance on the Pakistan-U.S. relationship. Additionally, she made significant remarks regarding the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, nuclear weapons, and the climate crisis. This section highlights Benazir Bhutto's decisions, speeches, and perspectives on these critical issues (Azeem et al., 2020: 153).

Benazir Bhutto's foreign policy attitudes can be observed in her speech at the US Joint Meeting Congress in 1989. Benazir Bhutto highlighted freedom, democracy, unity, and solidarity during her speech. She gave examples of freedom movements from various areas of the world, such as Afghanistan, South America, and the Orient. She also talked about freedom movements in her country. She touched upon the innovations that she made for freedom and democracy in Pakistan and the restrictions faced before democracy. In the previous government, the constitution was suspended, and political opponents were imprisoned or executed. On the other hand, she said that her government has brought the opposition to the point it should be in a democratic society. She stated that she gave to support Afghanistan and other countries that struggle to reach freedom because they share the same fate. While talking about her support for other countries, she also expressed her thoughts on the refugee issue. She stated that they have sheltered and taken care of more than three million refugees. One of the main focuses of her speech was Afghanistan. She explained that the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the country was not enough. She expressed Afghanistan's problems in the

international arena. She emphasized the importance of supporting the cause of freedom in the international arena. Also, Benazir Bhutto remarked that democratic countries must focus on urgent problems of the world, such as the widening gap between rich and poor countries, environmental pollution, drug abuse and trafficking, the pressure of population on world resources, and full economic participation for women everywhere (Bhutto, 1989).

Benazir Bhutto gave special importance to the relationship with the USA. She specified how she appreciated the USA's contribution to peace and security in Pakistan and also the South Asia region. Also, according to Benazir Bhutto, the greatest contribution of America to the world was freedom of action, speech, and thought. Clues to her views on nuclear armament were also included in the speech. She highlighted that Pakistan did not have any nuclear weapons, and they did not think of it. Benazir Bhutto explicitly stated that they were opposed to nuclear weapons as a country. She said that she desired to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in their regions (Bhutto, 1989).

Benazir Bhutto began her speech at Harvard University the same year by emphasizing democracy and freedom. She stated that coming from a country where democracy and freedom were not recognized, she learned these concepts for the first time at a university in America. In the continuation of this speech, she again touches upon the previously dominant repressive environment in Pakistan. She mentioned that after the period of military repression, his father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was elected Prime Minister and brought the country back to its feet with social and economic reforms. She stated that after the subsequent turbulent period, they brought an environment of freedom to the country during her government. Benazir Bhutto recalled the coup attempts against democracy in Argentina, Peru, and the Philippines, in addition to her own experiences. She emphasized that newly established democracies are fragile and need support. She stated that support from countries where democracy is established, such as the United States, England, Canada, and Germany, is critical on this issue. She commented that these countries are sending delegations to investigate human rights violations in Pakistan as a result of this support. However, she put forward the idea that the support given to these new democracies should be formalized with a more formal association. Thus, the support of this association could be used to solve the financial difficulties caused by dictatorial regimes in new democracies. She suggested the name of the association, The Association of Democratic Nations. She stated that this association could encourage countries to use their foreign aid to establish and support democracies (Bhutto, 1989).

In this speech, Benazir Bhutto also responded to criticisms against her own country. She emphasized that she is against everyone who thinks that democracy cannot be established in a Muslim country. She highlighted that Islam is based on democracy, justice, equality, and brotherhood. She said that the point that the founders of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, tried to take the country to was tolerance, open-mindedness, equality,

encouragement of scientific research, and understanding of social justice. She stated that xenophobia and prejudice against Western or non-Western civilizations were against their perspective. Finally, she ended her speech with the message, "Let's come together to protect freedom. Democratic nations unite." She emphasized democracy and unity again (Bhutto, 1989).

One of the most critical issues in Pakistan's foreign policy is its relations with India. Benazir Bhutto's views on relations with India could be observed in her speech at the University of Islamabad, where she hosted Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. In her speech, Benazir Bhutto mentioned the Pakistan-India joint commission to be established between the two countries. She stated that this commission would increase contact between the two countries in terms of culture, commerce, and other areas. She emphasized that she wants to establish a meaningful relationship between the two countries based on equality and mutual benefit. She also drew attention to regional cooperation in her speech. She mentioned that the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is an important step they have taken for regional peace. She also stated that this association has made more progress than other regional organizations in the world. She emphasized that Pakistan and India have a common history and that, due to this, both countries have a deep commitment to freedom and democracy. She mentioned that the citizens of both countries want progress, development, and a better quality of life and that they can give this to them through the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. She also reminded them of the Simla Agreement and assured them they would act accordingly in their bilateral relations (Doherty and Doherty, 1990).

Benazir Bhutto touched upon changing world order in her speech. She highlighted how many countries preferred cooperation instead of confrontation. She gave the Soviet Union as an example of this matter. The Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan, and it took steps to fix the relationship with China. She remarked that the superpowers agreed to decrease their nuclear arsenals. Starting from this point, she said that Pakistan was ready to support arrangements for decreasing nuclear weapons. Also, she said that they desired to prevent an arms race in South Asia. She offered arms control talks for this purpose (Doherty and Doherty, 1990).

Benazir Bhutto made her first official state visit to the United States after being elected Prime Minister. Benazir Bhutto, who met with then-President George Bush at the White House, was seen to have drawn attention to the friendly relations, unity, and solidarity between the two countries in her speech there. Benazir Bhutto began her speech here by stating that she was pleased to be in America, the capital of freedom. She continued to associate America with freedom and independence throughout her speech. She recalled that their first meeting was in 1971, a critical period for Pakistan. She stated that the friendship between the USA and Pakistan had grown and strengthened since then and that they were two friendly and partner countries. She stated that the dictatorship in Pakistan had ended and that they had fought a long struggle for freedom until they reached this point. She stated

that they had come together to talk about what they could do for their citizens in the economic, social, and educational fields and how they could come together as partners. She also expressed here, as in her other speeches, that Afghanistan needed support to establish its independence. The leaders were given the floor again at the dinner given as part of the same visit. In this speech, Benazir Bhutto said that she was looking forward to new collaborations to be established between the two countries. She stated that they wanted to carry the two countries into the 21st century by enriching their friendship and partnership. She did not end this short speech without mentioning Afghanistan. She mentioned that she eagerly awaited the day when real peace and stability would return to Afghanistan (Bhutto, 1989).

Benazir Bhutto's foreign policy moves were also covered in the written press. The meeting of America and Pakistan for peace in Afghanistan was reported in the La Times newspaper with the title "Bush, Bhutto Agree to Seek Afghan Peace: Pakistani Leader, in The S., Denies Rebel Military Victory Is Goal". Benazir Bhutto stated that Afghanistan's struggle for independence brought with it a different problem. She mentioned that more than 3.5 million Afghan refugees posed a serious threat to the peace environment in the region. She said that Afghan policy was constantly being reviewed because it profoundly affected Pakistan. Another prominent topic in the meeting was the issue of nuclear weapons. It was stated that Pakistan had assured America that its nuclear program was utterly devoted to peaceful purposes. In addition, the American president stated that if Pakistan did not openly confirm that it did not have a nuclear device, the military and economic aid to be provided by America of \$621 million would be lost. In this meeting, Benazir Bhutto also requested the purchase of 60 advanced F-16 fighter jets to be added to the Pakistani fleet.

Benazir Bhutto's foreign policy stance and statements between 1988-1990 are as mentioned. Benazir Bhutto did not make direct statements about the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviets. She generally gave priority to regional problems and fought against internal conflicts. Benazir Bhutto demonstrated compassionate leadership. There was feminist diplomacy in her political leadership. Even though she encountered some structural limitations, such as military or religious, she aimed to display more inclusive and care-oriented leadership. She tried to emphasize democracy and peace in foreign policy. She drew attention as a first Muslim woman, and she attempted to challenge patriarchal norms. However, she had limited power to transform male-dominated gendered structures. In Table 2, it can be observed the summary of her leadership profile.

Table 2: Benazir Bhutto

Leadership Category	Compassionate leadership - Feminine
Gendered Strategy	Aimed to introduce more inclusive and care-oriented leadership; but faced structural limits.

Foreign Policy	Balancing global diplomacy with national constraints; cautious feminist diplomacy.
Engagement with Gender Norms	Attempted to challenge patriarchal norms, though constrained by institutional pressures.
Contribution to Gendered Structures	Symbolic breakthrough as first Muslim woman PM, but limited structural transformation.

3.4. François Mitterrand: Strategic Leadership in Gendered Structure

François Mitterrand was President of France from 1981 to 1995. Mitterrand was born in 1916 and studied law and political science at university. He became a cabinet minister of the Fourth Republic in the government of Paul Ramadier in 1947. He continued various cabinet positions over 12 years. He was the sole candidate on the socialist and communist left in 1965. He became the candidate and took 32% of the vote but couldn't win the election. After the defeat, François Mitterrand continued to ally with the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. Thus, he won the election in 1981, and it was a Socialist victory (Britannica, t.y.).

François Mitterrand served two terms as president. His first term began with the 1981 elections, and his second term began with the 1988 elections. In his first term, in 1986, he had to ensure that Jacques Chirac, a right-wing leader, became prime minister because the right-wing parties won the majority in the National Assembly. In this power-sharing process, Mitterrand took responsibility for foreign policy. In the 1988 elections, he defeated Chirac and secured another term (Britannica, t.y.). During Mitterrand's second term, unemployment rose to 12%, especially in 1993. François Mitterrand was less successful in domestic matters. In 1991, he appointed socialist Edith Cresson as prime minister, making her the first woman in French history to hold that office. The socialist party was defeated in the 1993 parliamentary elections. Mitterrand had to spend his last two years working with the center-right government (Britannica, t.y.).

3.4.1. Prime Ministerial Era of François Mitterrand

François Mitterrand was the longest-serving president of France. His term was a period of political, economic, and social transformation for France. François Mitterrand built a close relationship with Germany and took important steps towards the integration of Europe. He was a critical actor for the European Union. François Mitterrand supported the West European Union at the end of the Cold War. He was distant from the unification of Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall, but he supported it later. In the Gulf War, he moved with the USA (Maclean, 1998: 2).

François Mitterrand had to work with the opposition during his presidency, which made it very difficult for him. The left-wing group he was running for in France lost the majority in the elections 1986. For this reason, Mitterrand had to appoint Jacques Chirac as prime minister. Thus, he had to share power with his most significant political rival for two years. A similar situation occurred once more during his presidency. Edouard Balladur was from the opposition and served as prime minister during the last years of François. This situation is called cohabitation. Cohabitation refers to the political tension experienced when the president and prime minister are from different political parties. François Mitterrand had difficulty implementing the policy decisions he made due to this situation. The political impotence and conflicts caused by this situation negatively affected François Mitterrand's presidency (Duhamel, 2008: 3).

François Mitterrand made various reforms in domestic policy. He removed the death penalty. That was the symbol of the development of France in human rights. He also supported cultural and artistic investment. The Louvre Pyramid was constructed in his era (Maclean, 1998: 2). One of François Mitterrand's critical moves in domestic politics was to include the French Communist Party (PCF) in the government. It was an important move to unite left-wing voters. However, the party withdrew from the government due to Mitterrand's economic policies shifting to the right (Antonian and Wall, 1985: 273).

3.4.2. Economic and Social Policy

François' economic policies were separated into two periods. In the first period, François Mitterrand adopted socialist economic policies between 1981 and 1983. The minimum wage was raised, and social benefits were increased to increase workers' incomes and expand social welfare. Workers' rights at work were expanded with the Auroux Laws. The power of the central government was distributed to local governments, and regions were given greater autonomy. He expropriated banks and big companies (Antonian and Wall, 1985: 255). However, they led to an increase in inflation and a high unemployment rate, so the government began to cut spending. Therefore, François Mitterrand changed the economic policy. He began to apply austerity policies. He reduced public spending and tried to control the budget deficit. These policies were met with backlash from left-wing parties and labor unions. (Antonian and Wall, 1985: 261). Although he was a socialist party leader, he did not apply the socialist policies. He adopted free-market liberalism. Also, François Mitterrand was a great supporter of European Unity because he wanted to prevent the German economic domination of France. He advocated a centralized European banking system, a common currency, and a unified foreign policy, particularly during his second prime minister era (Britannica, t.y.; Maclean, 1998: 1).

François Mitterrand also made improvements in the field of health and social security. He made improvements in the social security system to increase access to health services. He banned private

patients from being accepted in public hospitals. Family benefits and social support programs were expanded. However, while these policies expanded social rights in France, they also caused economic hardship (Antonian and Wall, 1985: 266).

3.4.3. Foreign Policy

François Mitterrand was one of the important political figures at the end of the Cold War in Europe. He had significant explanations for the fall of the Berlin Wall, nuclear weapons, the establishment of the European Union, and the climate crisis. While François Mitterrand advocated a relatively hard stance toward the Soviet Union, he had a good relationship with the United States (Britannica, t.y.).

In his speech at the 40th anniversary of the European Council in 1989, François Mitterrand touched upon critical issues affecting the world's transformation. He began his speech by stating that the Council of Europe is the result of Europe's commitment to human rights and that the women and men who contribute to it and work to expand this unity are highly valued. He argued that free countries should react and show solidarity against human rights violations in other countries. He stated that this was one of the duties of the Council of Europe. According to François Mitterrand, one of the important tasks of the Europe Council is to respond to the expectations of all societies that value freedom and embrace European values. He emphasized the idea that the Council of Europe should not be limited to the member states but should address all societies that embrace European values. He also said that there was no European issue that could not be discussed in the Council of Europe. François Mitterrand gave examples of the problems addressed by the European Council. These are North-South problems, the European Code of Social Security, the conventions to protect migrant workers, health problems, consumer protection, cultural exchanges, legal and judicial cooperation, and local and regional authorities (Mitterrand, 1989).

He also touched upon the measures taken by the council regarding the climate crisis. He recalled the European Council's Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats of 1979. However, he mentioned that there is still much to be done due to the problems caused by the warming of the atmosphere. He mentioned that the critical effect in this regard was the high amount of carbonic gas released by human activities. François Mitterrand stated that the assembly needed to struggle to prevent everything that endangered the future of humanity, and the climate crisis was one of them (Mitterrand, 1989).

In the later parts of his speech, he complained about the high rate of Europe importing technology from other countries. He mentioned that this was a shame for Europe and that Europe was no less capable than others in making its programs. François Mitterrand expressed his concern about the damage to their own culture and history. He argued that Europe should be sensitive to

global issues while strengthening itself. He also stated that he expects Europe to act sensitively to urgent humanitarian needs and ethical issues. At the end of his speech, he proposed that the European Council reconsider the conditions of observer status and thus allow more states to establish links with the Council of Europe. He also proposed establishing new types of cooperation mechanisms with countries that are not members of the Council of Europe, which he defines as "other Europe." François Mitterrand believed that Europe and the Soviet Union needed to establish a closer relationship. That relationship should be new and different from the previous framework (Mitterrand, 1989).

François Mitterrand gave a speech in 1990 at the United Nations meeting, where he also touched upon important points. He started his speech by emphasizing freedom. He mentioned that democracy gained power even in the most unthinkable countries and that the critical movement that affected this was the French Revolution. François Mitterrand referred to the Berlin Wall, stating that walls separating peoples are wrong and unsustainable. He also touched on the fact that military blocs during the Cold War constantly caused regional conflicts despite their rhetoric of peace and reconciliation. He also stated that many religious and ethnic minority groups were oppressed during this process. He emphasized that all of this should end with the end of the Cold War and that the democratization process should not be postponed (Mitterrand, 1990).

François Mitterrand gave examples of universal values that are accepted worldwide, such as freedom of expression, freedom of movement, the right to hold leaders accountable, equality, justice, respect for people's rights, tolerance, and acceptance of differences. He drew attention to the fact that there is a consensus on this issue. He stated that the United Nations had not fulfilled its duty for a while, but now it should be more active in protecting these accepted values. He also supported this by saying that the United Nations was more active in intervening in regional conflicts, with examples such as the conflicts in Nicaragua in Central America, the Iran-Iraq War, and the recent crisis in Cambodia.

François Mitterrand also touched on the Gulf crisis in part of his speech. He stated that the UN Security Council responded quickly to the situation. He emphasized that France, as a permanent member of the Security Council, was in solidarity with the international community during this process, supported the decisions taken, and contributed to the implementation of these decisions. He recalled France's past friendly relations with Iraq and France's support for Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War. He explained France's support during that period as an effort to maintain regional stability. Mitterrand stated that France was committed to UN Security Council resolutions, supported the embargo imposed on Iraq, and opposed Iraq's aggressive stance. He also brought up the attacks on the French embassy in Kuwait and the hostages taken, emphasizing that Iraq violated international law. He emphasized that France is acting together with the European Community, the United States,

and allied forces in the Middle East on this issue and opposes the invasion of Iraq as part of a broad international coalition. He added that France primarily supports peaceful solutions and is open to evaluating all diplomatic opportunities. François Mitterrand also stated that France and the West have formed a united front against Iraq and that although they are trying peaceful means in the face of this crisis, no concessions will be made as long as Iraq does not comply with UN resolutions. He also hinted that he hoped the Arab world would find a solution within itself, but if this did not happen, the international community would resort to military force (Mitterrand, 1990).

In his speech, François also touched on issues such as the Palestinian issue, instability in the Middle East, the role of the United Nations (UN), and the economic impact of these situations. He stated that the Palestinians were facing the danger of extinction and were being dragged into various political and military adventures. He emphasized that they had the right to establish a homeland and that this right should be recognized. He also said that the region, which stretches from the Middle East to Morocco and even to the Atlantic, has historically been unstable. He stated that this instability should be resolved through regional cooperation. He emphasized that this situation has caused increases in oil prices and has worsened the already difficult developing countries (Mitterrand, 1990).

At the end of his speech, François Mitterrand touched on the inequalities between the countries of the world. He said that industrialized countries should support poor countries that cannot pay their debts and rebuild their economies and that the gap between rich and poor countries should be closed. He stated that Germany and France have compromised by putting their historical hostility aside and that Eastern and Western Europe should move forward with a similar integration. He suggested that East Europe and the members of the European Community should gather together. He advocates the establishment of an organization where these countries can cooperate within the framework of common rules. Finally, he emphasized that the proliferation of biological, chemical, and strategic weapons must be prevented. He stated that the new world order must be built on the principles of disarmament, international arbitration (mediation), and collective security. In other words, he argued that peaceful solutions should be preferred over war in international relations (Mitterrand, 1990).

François Mitterrand spoke at the UN General Assembly in 1988. He highlighted that the conflict between the East and West had disappeared, and they moved to unity and peace. He said that Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev showed great courage and intelligence for world peace. He mentioned that they took critical steps to end the arms race and that this was a hopeful development. He stated that for the first time since the Second World War, two powers took steps towards disarmament and that France supported the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty they signed between them. Also, he emphasized that they should be destroyed entirely regarding chemical weapons. He stated that France wanted to increase the role of the UN in preventing the spread and use of chemical weapons. He said that a decision was taken in the UN under the leadership of France

in 1982 and that this decision allowed for investigations in places where chemical weapons were used. He emphasized the importance of using peaceful means to resolve regional conflicts, touching on the Gulf, Afghanistan, Western Sahara, and Cambodia. He criticized the fact that states spend heavily on war but do not allocate sufficient resources when it comes to peace efforts. He specifically mentioned Afghanistan and stated that he did not want the international conflict there to turn into a civil war. He stated that the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan should be an opportunity for the country to regain its sovereignty (Mitterrand, 1988).

François Mitterrand touched on regional conflicts in the Middle East, such as the Iran-Iraq and Israel-Palestine issues, and emphasized that international efforts should be increased to resolve these conflicts. He said that issues such as disarmament and eliminating global economic inequalities were among his top priorities. François Mitterrand continued his speech by touching on economic inequalities between countries. He said that he had previously suggested that industrialized countries should ease the debt payment conditions of the poorest countries. He also stated that France had canceled one-third of the debts of these countries to France. He also emphasized that the fact that industrialized Northern countries sent their waste to Southern countries posed a great threat to the environment regarding environmental issues. He stated that the international community should agree on regulations that would protect the environment. He also suggested cooperating with Southern countries on technology transfer. He suggested developing an approach similar to Europe's Eureka Project (a scientific and technological cooperation model) on this issue. He reminded us of the French Revolution at the end of his speech. He said that the revolution changed world history and initiated the struggle for freedom, equality, and fraternity. However, he stated that millions of people are still deprived of fundamental rights and live in poverty. He emphasized that human rights should be truly defined and accepted on a global level (Mitterrand, 1988).

A newspaper article from 1990 gives an idea of François Mitterrand's attitude towards the Soviet Union. François Mitterrand argued that Mikhail Gorbachev's call for urgent economic aid should be supported. France and Britain clashed on this issue, which was also supported by Germany. In an interview with *Le Monde*, Mitterrand stated that if Gorbachev failed, there would be serious international consequences and that this failure could lead to a new cycle of conflict and violence. He stated that this would have profound effects on international peace and stability. However, since Britain did not accept direct financial aid, no agreement could be reached.

François Mitterrand demonstrated normative leadership and nation-branding in his political leadership. He gave importance to European Union integration and international cooperation. He integrated both masculine (strategic power politics) and feminine (welfare policies) traits in his leadership. He didn't try to change the masculine gendered political institutions and gender norms,

but allowed some progressive social changes. In Table 3, it can be seen leadership traits of François Mitterrand.

Table 3: François Mitterrand

Leadership Category	Normative leadership and nation-branding
Gendered Strategy	Integrated both masculine (strategic power politics) and feminine (welfare policies) traits.
Foreign Policy	European Union integration, international cooperation, diplomacy-oriented
Engagement with Gender Norms	Did not explicitly challenge gender norms but allowed some progressive social changes.
Contribution to Gendered Structures	Maintained institutional continuity with minor social liberalization.

3.5. Rajiv Gandhi: Modernizing in a Gendered System

Rajiv Gandhi was elected prime minister of India in 1984. He was the youngest prime minister in India, at 41. His mother, Indira Gandhi, was a candidate for the election. However, she was assassinated on 31 October 1984 and died. Then, Rajiv Gandhi replaced her mother in the election, and he won a great election victory. Rajiv Gandhi was recently involved in politics in those days. Indira Gandhi had prepared his younger brother as a successor in politics. However, he died in an airplane crash in 1980. After his younger brother's death, Rajiv Gandhi entered politics as a successor of his mother. With the death of his mother, Rajiv Gandhi found a chance to break away from his ideological and political methods and the traditional methods implemented in the party. He harshly criticized the corruption in the party. Although this situation caused his political influence to decrease over time, he remained strong enough to implement his methods (Malone et al., 2015: 118). Rajiv Gandhi was known as “Mr. Clean.” People saw him as the representative of a new style of government. He condemned outdated techniques and moved towards new and modern techniques (Chand, 1991: 6).

Rajiv Gandhi began his political leadership at a time when the international scene began to change. Particularly, Mihail Gorbachev's coming to power in the Soviet Union had a significant impact on the world stage. Therefore, Rajiv Gandhi needed to review India's foreign policy attitude. As Rajiv Gandhi took office, he found himself in a rapidly changing India, both domestically and

internationally. His prime minister era consisted of ambitious reforms, modernization efforts, and significant shifts in foreign policy (Chand, 1991: 5). Despite all his well-intentioned efforts during his term as Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi was constantly under threat. There were two unsuccessful assassination attempts against him. The first was in 1986, and the second was in 1987. He survived the second attempt with injuries. Despite his effective work in domestic and foreign policy, Rajiv Gandhi lost the elections held in 1989 against a united opposition (Chand, 1991: 6). Losing his political power did not end his political life. He worked hard as the Congress president in the 1991 elections. However, he lost his life in an assassination attempt in 1991 before he could reap the results of this effort (Chand, 1991: 10).

3.5.1. Prime Ministerial Era of Rajiv Gandhi

Rajiv Gandhi tried to advance his term as Prime Minister in two parallel areas. He tried to protect the country's interests in foreign policy and ensure that the country had a say in developing events, and he tried to solve the economic and social problems within the country. With the movement in foreign policy, he focused on negotiations and agreements with world leaders. However, Rajiv Gandhi realized that foreign policy change was possible through domestic policy. Therefore, in his first speech as Prime Minister, he stated that he aimed to "build for an India of the twenty-first century." He also focused on reform and modernization efforts within the country. To achieve this goal, he gave importance to high technology, especially information technology. Rajiv Gandhi advocated that exports should become the primary focus to improve the country's economy. Therefore, he worked to loosen import restrictions and encourage exports (Malone et al., 2015: 118).

3.5.2. Economic and Social Policy

Rajiv Gandhi tried to develop not only foreign policy but also economic and social policies in India. He recognized that economic growth played a crucial role in the country's development. India experienced significant growth during the Rajiv Gandhi era. The Net National Product (NNP) index, which recorded a growth rate of 17% in the final four years of Indira Gandhi, increased to 22% during Rajiv Gandhi's tenure. In 1988-89, India achieved a historic double-digit growth rate of 10.6% for the first time (Aiyar, 2002: 248). He decreased the tax rate to encourage investment in the country. His main aim was to attract foreign investment. He took certain steps to achieve this but did not open the economy completely to the outside. He reduced the public sector and tried to increase private sector investments (Aiyar, 2002: 249). He took important steps to support the agricultural sector. He launched the "Oilseeds Technology Mission" to increase oilseed production. It was successful, and India's oilseed production increased significantly. It stimulated machinery manufacturing, power generation, and automotive sectors. It made reforms in the information technology and telecommunication sectors, which laid the foundation for India to become a major power in the IT sector in the coming years (Aiyar, 2002: 252-253).

In 1989, Rajiv Gandhi introduced the Jawahar Rozgar Yojna and Panchayati Raj Institution Bills for the betterment of the poor. These bills aimed to increase employment opportunities in rural areas and reduce unemployment. They aimed to employ poor villagers in public projects such as road construction, water supply, and agricultural irrigation systems. They also gave more power to local governments, allowing village and town governments to manage their own economic and development projects. He tried to increase investments in education and health, but these reforms were not entirely successful due to budget constraints. Defense spending was increased, but the emphasis on military spending instead of diplomacy was criticized (Aiyar, 2002: 248).

3.5.3. Foreign Policy

Rajiv Gandhi's era was one of the most dynamic periods in foreign policy. Mikhail Gorbachev rose to power as the head of the Soviet Union. Alongside world events like the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall, discussions surrounding nuclear armament were also prevalent. During his tenure, he communicated messages of peace, unity, and solidarity both regionally and globally in his foreign policy. He signed a peace treaty between India and Sri Lanka in 1987. He ensured that humanitarian aid was sent to the Maldives in 1988. He established trade agreements with Pakistan and China. In 1988, he visited Beijing to enhance relations between China and India (Chand, 1991: 9).

Rajiv Gandhi made a speech on the Independence Day of India in 1988. He touched upon foreign and domestic policy and his ideas about world affairs. He said that India handled a terrifying drought. That led to a decrease in the pace of development, but it demonstrated to the world that India is as strong a country as it is and that it could handle a major crisis. He highlighted that today, India cannot be suppressed or stopped. According to him, the country's development slowed down but did not stop (Gandhi, 1988).

He expressed that they encountered Sri Lanka and Tamil problems in foreign policy, but they made significant progress on the problems. He emphasized India's strength and unity and stated that no external power could weaken the country. He mentioned that the country will become stronger in the future, will stand completely on its own feet, and will continue to be an independent and powerful actor on the world stage. He stated that India has raised its reputation in the international arena, wants to establish friendly relations with all, and strives to spread the principles of non-violence and tolerance throughout the world. In this context, he underlined the importance of the Non-Aligned Movement and said that through this movement, India is trying to spread peaceful values throughout the world. He also expressed his support for the peace process in the region by referring to the developments in Afghanistan and Madhumayya and the Geneva Agreement. He stated that India wants to contribute to peace as a strong regional actor. He also emphasized the world's need to eradicate global poverty and develop weak countries.

He stated that India has a strong stance in the nuclear field and that it is necessary to make progress in this field. Here, he underlined India's importance in nuclear technology and its strategies in the field of defense. Rajiv Gandhi said India's rise in the nuclear field was significant for the world. Moreover, he said India submitted a concrete action plan for global peace for the first time at the United Nations. The plan aimed to spread global peace and ensure that all countries acted together. He says India plays an important role in ensuring global peace. He also stated that his government endeavors to eliminate poverty and waste. He believed India should regain its former glory. He said that he was ready to make any sacrifice to strengthen and move India forward and called on all citizens to unite and make sacrifices to make India greater and stronger (Gandhi, 1988).

Rajiv Gandhi made a speech in 1988 at the UN General Assembly. He started his speech by explaining against nuclear war. He stated that nuclear war would be the end of the world, and he desired support from other countries to put a stop to it. According to Rajiv Gandhi, the world was at a crossroads. The first road was a nuclear deterrent doctrine based on the traditional understanding of the balance of power. The second road was a doctrine of peaceful coexistence based on nonviolence, tolerance, and compassion. The second one was a chance for humanity. Rajiv Gandhi highlighted that the belief that nuclear weapons bring peace was an illusion. He also stated that he was against this by saying that the spending of scientific and technological capabilities on armament has made the culture of violence widespread. Rajiv Gandhi continued his speech by arguing that nuclear weapons, like biological weapons, should be banned and eliminated. According to his idea, weapons developed for defensive purposes also contributed to the arms race. He said that this situation should be eliminated because it creates new threats. He emphasized that there have been many false prejudices throughout history and that the claim that nuclear armament provides security is one of them. He also stated that a true disarmament process would reduce military expenditures and increase the welfare of all countries. He argued that if peaceful coexistence is achieved with disarmament, all countries, regardless of their level of development, would have opportunities. Rajiv Gandhi also mentioned the action plan they presented as India. The action plan aimed to eliminate all nuclear weapons in three stages within 22 years from the date of their discovery. He stated that an international agreement should be made to ban the use and threat of all nuclear weapons and that just as biological weapons are prohibited by international law, chemical and radiological weapons should also be banned (Gandhi, 1988).

Rajiv Gandhi had a strong commitment to prevent spreading nuclear weapons. The Washington Post newspaper mentioned the nuclear weapons treaty between India and Pakistan. The agreement contained both countries to inform each other of the locations of their nuclear facilities and to undertake not to attack these facilities. Gandhi supported diplomatic efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia, emphasizing dialogue and cooperation in his foreign

policy. The New York Times reported the meeting of Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto at a reception in honor of Rajiv Gandhi in 1989. Both leaders emphasized the ban on nuclear weapons in their speeches. In this speech, Gandhi stated that India pursued a peaceful foreign policy and aimed to establish friendly relations with all countries in the region. Both leaders emphasized the importance of dialogue and cooperation in ensuring regional stability and security.

Rajiv Gandhi supported regional peace and took responsibility for it in foreign policy. He tried to solve the Tamil Problem. He sent an Indian military force to Sri Lanka and signed an agreement with Junius Jayewardene, the President of Sri Lanka. Also, his visit to China was evaluated as a historical movement. The two countries decided to cooperate in science, technology, and civil aviation. Also, they established a working group to solve boundary problems (Chand, 1991: 20).

Rajiv Gandhi exhibited normative leadership and nation-branding political leadership like François Mitterrand. He gave importance to regional leadership, economic reforms, and peace. He supported women participating in politics and technology, but implementation remained limited. He was progressive in discourse, but he lagged in taking action. Even if he tried to be inclusive, he stayed within the limits of traditional male-dominated structures. Table 4 shows the leadership traits of Rajiv Gandhi as a summary.

Table 4: Rajiv Gandhi

Leadership Category	Normative leadership and nation-branding
Gendered Strategy	Promoted women's inclusion in politics and technology sectors; progressive in discourse.
Foreign Policy	Regional leadership, economic reforms
Engagement with Gender Norms	Advocated for women's participation, but implementation remained limited.
Contribution to Gendered Structures	Initiated reforms, but deep institutional change was modest.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. Conclusion

This chapter provides a comparative analysis of the foreign policy decisions and leadership styles of Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto, François Mitterrand, and Rajiv Gandhi within the framework of the Gendered Multilevel Games Concept. In the previous section, the foreign policy discourses of the leaders during the transformation of the world order were stated. This section analyzed, based on these discourses, statements, and decisions, how much the leadership styles differ from each other and how much gender, gendered structures, and gendered institutions impact this. According to the gendered multilevel games concept, political leaders act under the influence of three different factors: gendered leadership, gendered institutions, and gendered structures. These gendered factors influence their leadership styles and their attitude toward foreign and domestic policy.

Margaret Thatcher often called for unity and solidarity in her speeches, but this was in a way that emphasized the partnership between the UK and Europe rather than a unity that would encompass the countries of the world. She sought to establish close relations with both Europe and America in the interests of the UK. However, she did not avoid conflict in the interests of her country. In her speech at the College of Europe, she stated that the United Kingdom was responsible for the comfort and freedom of countries, so it can be said that Margaret Thatcher aimed to bring the United Kingdom to a pioneering and leading position in various areas against European countries. Also, she recommended the free-market economy and privatization policies implemented by the United Kingdom to European states. She made statements that would put the United Kingdom in a leadership position on the climate crisis. She emphasized the work the United Kingdom has done and plans to do in the future to prevent the climate crisis and tried to encourage scientists from other countries by inviting them to the center she will establish. She attached importance to NATO and invited other European countries to do the same. Unlike other leaders, she has made statements indicating that she sees nuclear armament as necessary. Margaret Thatcher, especially in her meetings with the other leaders, clearly stated that she did not support the disarmament policy. Even if she was in favor of peace, the security of the borders should be ensured. She also opposed the fall of the Berlin Wall and the unification of Germany, thinking that it would disrupt stability in Europe.

In general, she displayed a leadership style that did not shy away from conflict in foreign policy and prioritized the interests of the country. When evaluated within the scope of gendered leadership, this situation shows that she developed a hyper-masculine leadership style to be a powerful figure in the male-dominated international arena. When evaluated within the framework of the gendered institution, it is seen that she had to act within the male-dominated balance of power within the Western bloc. Margaret Thatcher, portraying a warrior and authoritarian leader profile, did not exhibit a traditional feminine (care-oriented) approach to international relations. The international system was undergoing a structural change at the end of the Cold War, and the political scene was male-dominated. To exist within this structure, she had to adopt a harsh foreign policy discourse. On the other hand, political parties are also gendered institutions. Naturally, Margaret Thatcher may have had to be tougher than men to be a political leader in a male-dominated and conservative political party and be a leader in the patriarchal global world. Thatcher adopted leadership styles traditionally attributed to men by exhibiting a hyper-masculine leadership model and pursued a strong, competitive, war-oriented foreign policy. Margaret Thatcher's supportive attitude towards NATO and nuclear armament is also at a point that serves the hyper-masculine leadership approach.

The theory that women leaders exhibit conciliatory and compassionate leadership is not supported by Margaret Thatcher's leadership. Both her decisions in the Falklands War and her statements and attitudes in foreign policy are consistent with a hyper-masculine leadership approach rather than a conciliatory and compassionate leadership approach. Margaret Thatcher's statements and leadership style in foreign policy show how the positions of women leaders in foreign policy are shaped by gender norms and power balances. Thatcher tries to prove herself by being a "masculine" leader in the traditional male-dominated foreign policy structure. Her policy supports the fact that women leaders are not always peaceful and cooperative, and some develop hyper-masculine leadership strategies to exist in the patriarchal system.

Benazir Bhutto emphasized unity, solidarity, and world peace in her foreign policy. She sought to cultivate close relationships with developing countries, particularly the United States. In her discussions on international matters, she highlighted the rise of democracy in her own country. Benazir Bhutto adopted an inclusive foreign policy. She carried women's rights, refugees, and the countries that had regional turmoil into international areas. When evaluated in terms of gendered leadership, Benazir Bhutto managed a diplomatic foreign policy process with a feminine and compassionate leadership approach. Compassionate leadership patterns expected from women leaders are observed in Benazir's foreign policy.

As in almost every country, politics in Pakistan was a gendered institution structure. However, unlike other contexts, Islamist pressure combined with the male-dominated system further influenced Benazir Bhutto's leadership. Throughout her tenure, she faced military pressure and ideological

opposition, requiring her to continuously defend her legitimacy as a female leader. Her approach, which prioritized regional stability and peaceful relations with India and the United States, reflects the constraints of gendered structures. Operating within an international system dominated by hard power and masculine leadership norms, she pursued a more conciliatory and diplomatic policy to safeguard her country's interests. Additionally, Bhutto frequently emphasized that Islam does not contradict democracy and freedom. She also may have adopted a soft foreign policy approach to reinforce this message.

Bhutto focused primarily on regional policies, striving to maintain domestic stability by emphasizing democracy. Compared to Margaret Thatcher's global approach, Bhutto's leadership was more nationally oriented. Notably, she was the only leader among those analyzed leaders who openly supported women's movements and incorporated them into foreign policy. In contrast to Thatcher's hyper-masculine leadership, Bhutto adopted a traditionally feminine leadership style characterized by diplomacy and reconciliation. Her soft foreign policy approach particularly emphasized women's rights, social justice, and democracy.

Despite this, Bhutto faced continuous pressure from Pakistan's military system, where her gender identity was perceived as a threat to her authority. Constantly challenged by Islamist groups and the military elite, she frequently sought international support to sustain her political position. Her collaboration with democratic nations and calls for assistance in supporting democratization efforts could reflect this strategic necessity. Her leadership directly challenged traditional gender roles, making her a frequent target of opposition. This persistent marginalization shaped both her leadership style and foreign policy stance. Therefore, she may have adopted a softer leadership approach to navigate these constraints without jeopardizing her position.

Benazir Bhutto's leadership approach aligns with compassionate leadership and gendered transnational symbolism within the gendered multilevel games framework, yet she did not adhere to a single leadership style. Her foreign policy discourse and leadership stance also reflect normative leadership and gendered nation-branding, as she consistently emphasized Pakistan's democratic transformation, portraying it as a nation governed by democracy and freedom. Additionally, her efforts to bring women's rights and gender equality into international discussions helped position Pakistan as a country that prioritizes these issues. Within this framework, normative leadership and gendered nation-branding are recognized as gender-sensitive policymaking approaches, and Bhutto's leadership aligns with both. Her advocacy for gender equality in foreign policy parallels the approaches of Canada and Switzerland, particularly their adoption of feminist foreign policy. Therefore, alongside compassionate leadership, her leadership can also be evaluated through the lens of gendered nation branding.

Although Bhutto pursued a peace-oriented foreign policy, she simultaneously continued nuclear weapons development in Pakistan, demonstrating a dual stance, even if primarily for defensive purposes. This can be understood within the framework of gendered institutions and gendered structures. Operating under military and conservative pressures, she was unable to fully implement her preferred policies at the national level. Furthermore, advocating for peace in defense and security, traditionally male-dominated fields, risked her leadership being perceived as weak. Bhutto's contrasting international rhetoric and domestic policies reflect an attempt to balance her leadership vision and the gendered structures she navigated. Her experience illustrates how women leaders are constrained in male-dominated security and political arenas, with their leadership often shaped by gender-based expectations and stereotypes.

François Mitterrand invited unity and solidarity in most of the speeches, just like other leaders. However, his priority was Europe and the unity of Europe. He supported the idea of political and economic unification of Europe after the Cold War. François Mitterrand did not demonstrate the hyper-masculine leadership traits that are expected of male political leaders. He carried out mostly pragmatic and balanced foreign policy. He emphasized European integration, human rights, and social policies. He acted with the male-dominated diplomatic mechanisms he was involved in. In foreign policy, he adopted a conciliatory leadership style. His initial distance from German unification and later support for it can be used as an indicator of this. He adopted policies that would strengthen France's position in Europe without taking a harsh stance.

When François Mitterrand's foreign policy approach is evaluated within the framework of the gendered multilevel games concept, it is close to the normative leadership and gendered nation branding approach, as in Benazir Bhutto. He tried to give the image of France as a country consisting of democracy, freedom, and human rights. This may be one of the reasons why human rights and social policies came to the fore. His emphasis on old democratic movements by reminding us of the French Revolution may also be evidence of his inclination towards this type of leadership. François Mitterrand's statements on regional peace also overlap with normative leadership and nation-branding leadership. His defense that regional peace is possible with sustainable development and economic cooperation and his constant emphasis on international cooperation for this purpose can be evaluated as statements highlighting France's regional leadership. He tried to position France as a peaceful, democratic, and diplomatic power. In this case, it can be said that the statements made overlap with a "nation-branding" strategy aimed at increasing France's international prestige. François Mitterrand touched upon regional peace in Europe and regional conflicts in different parts of the world, such as the Middle East, in his speeches. However, his reminder that the conflicts in these areas harm the world economy shows that he prioritizes his own national interests. In addition, his statements about global peace and his references to peace processes in distant regions such as the Middle East show that he is conducting a broader diplomacy. The statements made serve France's

efforts to protect its international prestige and to continue its existence as a global power. This situation also highlights the normative leadership approach.

In addition, François Mitterrand's leadership also shows the leadership characteristics of Contested Leadership on Pro- and Anti-Gender Norms. Contested Leadership on Pro- and Anti-Gender Norms is defined as a leadership model in which leaders try to establish a balance between both supporting and opposing actors regarding gender norms within the Gendered Multilevel Games Concept. François Mitterrand's support for the European Union and social policies, while not taking radical steps regarding women's rights, can be seen as a characteristic of this leadership style. He also supported both social state policies and acted according to the expectations of the business world. In other words, while trying to innovate on the one hand, he continued to protect traditional structures on the other. At this point, it is seen that he chose a balanced leadership style, compromising and progressing with strategic movements.

Rajiv Gandhi is the last leader evaluated in terms of leadership attitude according to the concept of gendered multilevel games. His advocacy for a peaceful foreign policy and opposition to nuclear weapons were prominent in his statements. He lacks many remarks on critical issues such as the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the unification of Germany, all of which significantly influenced global transformation. Based on his statements, one can observe that he generally focuses on regional issues. Rajiv Gandhi placed greater emphasis on India's transformation and technological modernization during his leadership. However, in these innovative initiatives, he made no attempts to address patriarchal structures. On the contrary, he supported the strong bureaucratic and patriarchal political structure predominant in India. In foreign policy, his main objective was to enhance India's effectiveness. Nevertheless, he did not pursue radical structural changes in either domestic or foreign policy. He displayed leadership within gendered institutions and structures.

Rajiv Gandhi's leadership approach closely aligns with the normative leadership model within the concept of gendered multilevel games. Similar to François Mitterrand, he did not exhibit a traditionally masculine leadership style. His efforts to position India as a modern and technological power, along with his strategic branding of the country, can be interpreted through the lens of normative leadership. His statements regarding relations with Pakistan and nuclear armament also reflect this approach. By taking steps to limit the nuclear arms race with Pakistan, he aimed to present India as a responsible and stable actor on the international stage. His rhetoric and policies sought to position India as a peaceful, modern, and diplomatic power. However, despite these modernization efforts, Rajiv Gandhi did not actively challenge or reshape gender norms. Unlike his approach to technological and geopolitical positioning, he did not attempt to brand India in a manner that emphasized gender-related change. The leaders' leadership approaches and the issues they prioritize in foreign policy are presented in summary in Table 5.

Table 5: Summary of Leadership Approach of Leaders

	Leadership Approach	Foreign Policy Priority
Margaret Thatcher	Hyper-masculine, authoritarian	Military power, national interests, Power-centered
Benazir Bhutto	Compassionate leadership	Peaceful diplomacy, women's rights and development
François Mitterrand	Normative leadership and nation-branding	European Union integration, international cooperation, diplomacy-oriented
Rajiv Gandhi	Normative leadership and nation-branding	Regional leadership, economic reforms

Although Margaret Thatcher and François Mitterrand had statements on issues such as the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the unification of Germany that affected the transformation of the world, Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi have no statements on issues such as. Both leaders have focused more on regional dynamics in foreign policy. The reasons could be the developmental level of countries and regional proximity.

4.2. General Summary and Discussion

The study examined the relationship between foreign policy and gender by analyzing the foreign policy statements of leaders and evaluating these within the framework of the gendered multilevel games concept. It focused on two female and two male leaders from West and South Asia during a transformative period in the world when the leaders' foreign policy attitudes were particularly significant. Male leaders from similar geographical regions were selected to compare two female political leaders who served during this critical time. This approach allowed for comparing female and male leaders under almost similar conditions.

The research hypothesis is that political leaders' leadership approaches and understanding of foreign policy differ according to gender. When evaluated from a gender perspective, it is expected that female leaders (Margaret Thatcher and Benazir Bhutto) display discourse and decisions that reflect more compassionate and conciliatory understandings of leadership, while male leaders (François Mitterrand and Rajiv Gandhi) display discourse and decisions that reflect more hyper-

masculine and aggressive leadership styles. However, even if political leaders have different leadership attitudes and gender is a significant factor in these attitudes, the hypothesis was not approved. Because, unlike expectations, male leaders did not show hypermasculine leadership, and no pattern of compassionate leadership was observed among female leaders.

When evaluated according to the gendered multilevel games, Margaret Thatcher stood out in foreign policy and political life with her hypermasculine leadership approach. On the other hand, Benazir Bhutto draws attention with her compassionate leadership, normative leadership, and gendered nation branding approaches. No similar leadership approach was observed between the two female leaders examined in the study. However, it is seen that male political leaders exhibited a similar leadership approach. The foreign policy approaches of François Mitterrand and Rajiv Gandhi overlap with normative leadership and gendered nation-branding leadership. However, normative leadership is more prominent in this leadership approach. Male leaders did not make any attempts regarding gendered nation-branding; on the contrary, they adapted to gendered structures.

There may be more than one reason why Margaret Thatcher adopted a hypermasculine leadership approach, unlike expectations. The primary reason is that political leadership is a male-dominated field, and female political leadership is not easily accepted and supported. Female politicians, most of the time, encounter gender discrimination that comes from their peers, the public, and the media. The media indicates that men are the norm and women are novelties in politics. This situation shaped the public perception that female political leaders were not normal but rather unexpected (Williams, 2020: 3). Politics and leadership matched with men and masculinity. That situation settled into the perspective of society in the same way. Therefore, according to McDonagh (2009), women need to prove that they are the same or similar to men to be considered appropriate for public office (p.7). If women desire to attend politics and leadership positions, they have to demonstrate that they are strong, determined, and have as many leadership features as men (Stevens, 2012: 208). In this context, prejudice against female political leaders emerges. The voters define ideal political leaders as competent, intelligent, and aggressive, and these features are seen to belong to men. While female candidates are seen as compassionate, humane, and honest, male candidates are defined as tough, aggressive, and determined. Also, male candidates are seen as more capable in the economy and foreign policy. Another gender stereotype is related to high-level positions. Even if female candidates are evaluated more equally with men in local positions, male candidates are seen as more appropriate for the head of government (Banducci et al., 2002: 22-23). To exist within this perspective and gendered structures, female leaders adopt the hypermasculine leadership approach often seen in male leaders. For this reason, Margaret may have adopted this leadership approach to be accepted in politics. Especially her determined and tough stance in the Falklands War and the ease with which she was accepted as a political leader after this victory support this conclusion. At this point, it can be questioned why Margaret Thatcher needed such a victory as a political leader. Because she is a female leader or because she does not inspire confidence as a political leader?

On the other hand, the reason why female leaders adopted a hypermasculine leadership approach cannot be explained only as a way to gain acceptance in the political arena. If that were the case, it would be expected that all women leaders would adopt a similar leadership approach. However, it is seen that the two women political leaders in the study, Margaret Thatcher and Benazir Bhutto, adopted different leadership approaches. The differences between the leaderships of Margaret Thatcher and Benazir Bhutto can be explained by various reasons. The first reason is the personal features of leaders. The personality characteristics of leaders are effective in their leadership approaches and foreign policy decision-making processes. Facing structural constraints is common for almost every leader. However, personal characteristics are an important determinant of how they react to these constraints and differentiate leaders from each other (Çuhadar and Kaarbo, 2020: 2). Leaders differentiate from each other at this point. Margaret Thatcher and Benazir Bhutto may have adopted different leadership approaches within gendered structures because they have different personality characteristics. Also, the internal political dynamics and cultural and regional differences that the leaders were in may have caused them to adopt different leadership approaches. Margaret Thatcher and Benazir Bhutto led in completely different country structures. Margaret Thatcher led in a country where women's rights were relatively better in an established democracy.

On the other hand, Benazir Bhutto tried to exist under the pressure of military and religious groups in a country where democracy was just beginning to be established. Research shows that patriarchal values are stronger in countries where Muslims are the majority, and Muslim individuals support patriarchal norms more than other religious groups (Alexander and Welzel, 2011). When viewed from this perspective, while politics with patriarchal norms is already difficult for women leaders, trying to be a leader in a Muslim country makes the situation even more difficult. Benazir Bhutto's leadership process involved more struggle than Margaret Thatcher's. Therefore, it is understandable that the two women leaders adopted different leadership approaches. For this reason, it can be said that she adopted a softer leadership approach. These differences may also be one of the reasons why women leaders choose different leadership approaches.

According to the results of the study, it is not right to expect only a feminine leadership approach from female leaders, and it is not right to expect only masculine and aggressive leadership from male leaders. In the study, Margaret Thatcher's leadership approach conflicted with the traditional feminine leadership approach. Similarly, both François Mitterrand and Rajiv Gandhi's leadership approaches conflicted with the traditional masculine leadership approach. Gendered constraints shape and influence leaders' approach. However, the notion that a specific leadership approach is adopted by biological sex is not supported within this study's scope. While female leaders can adopt militaristic and aggressive policies, male leaders can pursue diplomatic and cooperative foreign policy strategies. This finding aligns with newer feminist critiques that emphasize gender as a structural force rather than an innate determinant of leadership behavior (Aggestam and True, 2020).

The result demonstrates that gender was a more effective factor for female political leaders than male leaders. Gender influenced how female leaders did leadership. However, the situation was not similar for male political leaders. Gender is not a factor that directly affects male leaders' leadership attitudes, as male leaders are not disadvantaged because of their gender. Unlike female leaders, they do not have to make extra efforts to stay in the political arena because of their gender. Women leaders are not seen as suitable for politics because they are women and do not have masculine characteristics. Therefore, they adopted various types of leadership. The hyper-masculine leadership approach is the most prevalent one. However, adopting a hypermasculine leadership approach to exist in politics leaves them with a different problem. In this case, women leaders are accused of being aggressive and too masculine (Banducci et al., 2002: 2). In both cases, their leadership is a subject of debate by society due to their gender.

The most important point that was true for all of the leaders was that they all had to lead within very masculine and gendered structures and institutions. In addition, all four leaders were trying to position their country as a new brand in the changing world order. They have tried to make their own countries pioneers in this regard by highlighting the call for democracy and freedom in their speeches. Although their goals are similar, male and female leaders differ in terms of methods. Female leaders also differ among themselves. These differences originated from gender. Gender and gender norms affect the leadership approaches of female leaders more than men. It also causes female leaders to differentiate among themselves. Female leaders have tried to cope with the disadvantages they are exposed to in the political arena differently. At this point, no similar pattern can be seen in their leadership approaches.

The study shows that leaders operate within multiple constraints, including local institutions, international norms, and societal expectations regarding gender. Gendered institutions and structures shape leadership choices. However, these constraints most significantly impact the leadership of women leaders. Male-dominated political and security institutions limit women leaders, forcing them to navigate legitimacy challenges and structural constraints. Male and female leaders interacted differently when operating within gendered institutions. The findings suggest that women leaders do not inherently pursue feminist or peaceful foreign policies; somewhat, their decisions are shaped by institutional constraints and strategic calculations.

In addition, according to the study results, feminist institutionalism, gendered multilevel game concepts, and feminist foreign policy arguments complement each other. Feminist institutionalism argues that political institutions and structures are gendered structures and that the leadership approaches and behaviors of leaders are shaped by the institutional structures they are in rather than their gender identities (Waylen, 2013: 4). For example, even if a female leader wants to exhibit a more peaceful or gender-sensitive attitude in foreign policy, if the political system she is in is a

structure based on military power and male-dominated norms, it may be highly challenging for this leader to follow a different path than male leaders. Margaret Thatcher's leadership can be considered as an example of this view.

Similarly, the gendered multilevel games concept suggests that leaders have to negotiate not only with domestic political actors but also with international power dynamics and gender norms (Aggestaam and True, 2021: 392). For instance, Margaret Thatcher's adoption of a hypermasculine leadership style likely reflected not her personal preferences but the constraints of the male-dominated political culture in Britain and the competitive pressures of the Cold War. A similar situation can be observed in the case of Benazir Bhutto. Bhutto's leadership may have been shaped by the patriarchal institutional structures in Pakistan. Also, she had to struggle with leadership perceptions in the Islamic world at the international level, global diplomatic pressures, and economic aid. Therefore, it would be more meaningful to consider the political and institutional structures in which leaders are located, as well as the impact of international gender dynamics, to understand the foreign policy approaches of political leaders.

From this perspective, the view advocated by feminist foreign policy that increasing women's numbers in politics and leadership is not sufficient for change is also confirmed (Aggestam et al., 2018: 6). This is because the structures they are in are male-dominated and gendered institutions. According to gendered multilevel games, women leaders have to struggle not only with domestic political dynamics but also with the balance of power and gender norms of the international system (Aggestam and True, 2021: 393). Within these structures, women leaders often feel obliged to act according to predetermined rules and male-dominated norms. For real and lasting change, the structural obstacles that women leaders face, both nationally and internationally, must be eliminated. Only in this way can a gender-sensitive transformation in foreign policy be achieved.

4.3. Future Research Suggestion

The leadership of women and men leaders has been studied in various ways, but gendered multilevel games are a new research concept in the literature. The study reveals the effect of the gender factor by examining the leadership approaches of leaders. It compares the gendered attitudes of political leaders or how actively they strive to destroy existing gendered structures. While the study has demonstrated the effectiveness of the gendered multilevel games concept in analyzing gendered leadership in foreign policy, it also reveals certain limitations and areas for further exploration. Since the concept is new in the literature, future studies are needed to expand, improve, and apply the gendered multilevel games concept in different ways.

The gendered multilevel games concept focuses primarily on gendered institutions, structures, and leadership. However, leadership attitude can be affected by ethnicity, religion, historical

background, and countries' democratic levels, so future research can examine the intersectionality between these factors and the concept of gendered multilevel games. Also, the gendered multilevel games concept examines the political leaders of countries. However, in foreign policy, not only political leaders but also foreign ministers, diplomats, and international organizations are influential. Gendered institutions and gendered structures also affect the policy decisions of those in these positions. Therefore, future studies could provide comprehensive research results on how mid-level policymakers are affected by gendered structures or how they overcome the constraints stemming from these structures. Thus, a broader perspective on gendered decision-making could be obtained. The gendered multilevel game concept studies usually focus on leaders of democratic or semi-democratic countries. However, it can be investigated how gendered structures affect the attitudes of leaders in different political regimes, such as authoritarian regimes or totalitarian regimes, and whether there are differences between them.

Since the original study evaluated political leadership within the framework of four leadership categories, this study also examined leaders according to these four categories. However, future studies can expand the analytical framework. A more comprehensive examination can be conducted by including different gendered leadership approaches.

Countries that implemented this policy during the period when feminist foreign policy was on the rise could also be examined. It could be investigated whether these countries really challenged gendered institutions and gendered structures and how much they changed these structures within the country. Also, how much the practices and the policies find a response in society, and the media and how much they contribute to changing the widespread gender perception can also be considered as a critical area of research. In addition, comparative case studies could be used to examine the differences in foreign policy between countries that did not implement it. These studies could be critical research studies in the field of gender and foreign policy.

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