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Submitted: 20 August 2023; Accepted: 5 April 2024

ABSTRAK

Kata Kunci: publik-swasta; perempuan; hubungan internasional; strategi

ABSTRACT
The dichotomy of public and private is always related to the binary oppositions of women and men in social realms. Men are always the representation of the public because masculinity emphasises public discourse, war, and peace, and vice versa with women. Consequently, exploring how women position themselves within the international public sphere is imperative, particularly as the boundary between the public and private realms becomes increasingly blurred. This article argues that women could play a crucial role in this more complex public-private dichotomy while facing the international realm. Nation-states have a role as publics domestically but then change their status quo and become private internationally. Besides, the increasing female population in the world also suggests that women's involvement should be considered in any decision-making process. With the help of deductive qualitative analysis and evidence from some parts of the world, this article shows that women should get more involved in the international public realm. At the same time, the public-private dichotomy becomes even more blurred. The increasing level of women's involvement, the blurred public-private dichotomy, and the procrastinating women's involvement are essential evidence of the argument of this article. Instead of debating sexual clichés, this article aims to show that women's involvement nowadays in the international public realm could be a strategic move by a nation-state regarding the domination of private and even public realms.

Keywords: public-private; women; international relations; strategy
INTRODUCTION

Gender awareness in international politics has led to more and more women getting involved in the global world in places like Europe, America, Asia, and even Africa. Four world conferences—in Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985, and Beijing in 1995—and a series of reviews done every five years by United Nations Women showed how important it is for women to be involved in international public affairs. Meanwhile, according to the Teaching, Research, and International Politics (TRIP) survey, women make up an even smaller percentage of International Relations (IR) scholars: 77% of IR faculty respondents are males, compared to 23% of women (Maliniak et al., 2008). Even though women make up half of the world's population, which reached 3.905 billion, or 49.58% of the world population (Statistics Times, 2021), the average worldwide percentage of women political representatives is under 50% in most regions (Figure 1). This data implies that women's participation in political realms, including the IR, is disproportionate compared to the women's population.

Figure 1. Women in National Parliaments as of January 2023

![Chart showing women's representation in national parliaments]

Source: UN Women (2023)

When speaking about gender or the differentiation of men and women, it always relates to the public-private divergence. Western scholars like Plato, Aristotle, and Hegel distinguished men and women and told them to go to the public or private sphere, where women are excluded from the "good" in the public realm (Elshtain, 1993). Even though there are anti-discrimination laws that question why women are put in the private sphere
and men are put in the public sphere; this binary opposition is still significant because it makes sure that changes in how men and women interact with each other do not threaten the safety of domestic life, which is the primary source of inequality for women (Thornton, 1991). However, the intricacy of contemporary IR also ushers in novel values that are not solely based on Western culture (Acharya, 2017). This complexity also introduces other values that emerge on an equal footing with the Western dichotomy of public-private, women-men, and so forth.

Consequently, it becomes evident that the world is more intricate. Before becoming more intricate, nation-states were consistently delineated by their military might, safeguarding capabilities, and other tangible forms of power. However, in the present era, nation-states have also taken charge of the intangible aspects of power, including economic influence. Furthermore, non-state actors have also assumed responsibility for global standardisation, even encroaching upon areas traditionally the domain of nation-states, such as security concerns. Therefore, the dichotomy of values put forth by Westerners can be redefined. This redefinition offers opportunities for women to participate in the public sphere. In simpler terms, due to the increasingly blurred boundaries between the public and private realms and their growing global presence, women can also play a significant role in IR.

Before going further, it is crucial to explain the contemporary dichotomy between public and private. It begins with the Athenian differentiation between men's political role and that of private citizens by Aristotle and the distinction between the significant causes of the public and the little causes of the personal by Xenophon (Cohen & Cohen, 1991). Women were regarded as providing care and were supposed to stay at home, take care of household duties, or engage in feminine-related professions like teaching or sewing (Fallon & Viterna, 2016). Furthermore, the Athenians not only created a divergence between public and private spaces but also created different roles in which men's and women's places were public (Cohen & Cohen, 1991). In this case, the public sphere is put above the private sphere because the politics of the public sphere are more critical to the common good and have a more comprehensive range of effects than those of the private sphere. On this historical background, the Westphalian state-centric model, which provides basic social needs or has broader implications, became the most powerful actor in the world in part because men were more powerful than women. Additionally, Western European society shaped the political system, and the colonisation process later spread these social and political constructs and Western gender discourses (Mamdani, 1999;
Oyewumi, 1997). However, according to Joan B. Landes (1984), one way women could participate in the public sphere was through the concept of republican motherhood. The concept emphasises the role of women in educating and nurturing future citizens, positioning them as essential to society’s functioning.

Will Kymlicka (2002) noted that the divergence between public and private is presented in at least three ways: state, civil society, and personal. While realism posits that the nation-state is the central participant in the field of international relations, the rise of entities that bear resemblances to nation-states, such as corporations partaking in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), and the proliferation of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) responsible for public realms further obfuscate the distinction between public and private domains. This escalating complexity challenges established boundaries in IR, underscoring the dynamic involvement of diverse actors in shaping global governance. NGOs or civil society are often depicted as private about the state and as public concerning the individual, resulting in a perplexing portrayal (Squires, 2018). Furthermore, globalisation has created many complex worlds, such as those involving the economy and politics, states and NGOs, multinational corporations (MNCs), and so forth (Gürcan, 2015). Therefore, separating public and private nowadays is not simple; it has become more complex. Also, each actor can cross beyond its boundaries, and it is intriguing how women's involvement in the international public realm could be assessed.

The current body of scholarly work often needs to recognise the potential for women to contribute actively to the IR field. This need for women’s contribution exists despite the ongoing changes in global governance and the blurring of traditional boundaries between the public and private sectors. This article argues that women can go beyond established norms and assume more influential positions in IR. By acknowledging the evolving landscape of global actors and the shifting dynamics between the public and private spheres, this article asserts that women can strategically utilise these transformations to play a more significant and impactful role in shaping IR. This article aims to contribute to a more inclusive understanding of global governance and the many actors involved.

Recognising non-state actors' power when dealing with public issues is essential because the lines between the public and private realms are becoming less clear (Johansen & Andrews, 2017), and the private sector's role in public affairs is growing (Cline, 2002). Consequently, the escalating prominence of private actors in tackling public problems should also underscore the specialised contribution of women, who are also limited as
private actors. This juncture marks a pivotal moment in women's engagement with the global public arena. Moreover, it calls for elucidating how women can be a strategic turning point in the fluid and borderless interplay between the public and private spheres. Additionally, it examines the extent to which women are better suited to navigate the intricate world of the public-private realm in IR.

So, the point of this article is not just to get rid of sexist ideas that only describe women as subjects in public realms but also to build a strong base for understanding women's public abilities by questioning the basic assumptions and frameworks of explanations of different views on the public-private divide. However, since there are more and more subtle differences between the public and private spheres, women's involvement in relations with the public and private spheres should change and move into a new, more complex phase. By highlighting the subtle but significant transformations in the public and private realms, this article asserts that women's engagement in the public sphere must evolve to address public-private complexities. This adaptation is essential as it ensures women's more comprehensive and relevant participation in decision-making processes, contributing to IR's overall effectiveness and responsiveness in a rapidly changing world.

**ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

In liberal politics, the public and private realms are separate areas of society. In the past, men had control over women in the public sphere and only allowed them to exist there (Gardiner, 2015; Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). The public-private distinction is a central theme in feminist writing and political struggle, with feminist legal theorising focusing on critiquing this dichotomy for over two decades (Higgins, 1999). Following that, political philosophers like Hobbes and Rousseau developed this dichotomy to explain how the state and government came to have legitimacy (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). From a realist point of view, this is the first work to place the nation-state as the leading actor in international relations. It also talks about the rise of private actors outside of nation-states. As a result, the difference between the public and private spheres regarding women's role in managing domestic matters versus non-domestic matters within the social contract has been linked to the fact that men always make up the governing body.
In the past, women worldwide have always had to deal with problems that keep them from reaching their full potential (Aggestam & True, 2020; Ansary, 2020). This women’s problem has led to a lack of progress in promoting gender rights and equality. Women are less likely to get involved in politics when men rule the public sphere, including IR. Morgenthau, who primarily advocates the idea of power, which is the cornerstone of IR, also did not mention women in his theory; instead, he mentioned men specifically (see Thompson & Morgenthau, 1985). These modern patriarchal homes grew because of industrialisation, the accumulation regime, and the rise of warring sovereign states. These states have historically put men and hegemonic masculinity first while putting women down in many ways (Parashar et al., 2018). Thus, women's actions were limited to physical and mental areas.

On the other hand, men's domains were universal and comprehensive, and they could keep women who depended on them safe and protected (Wright, 2012; Enloe, 1993; True, 2015). Since then, women's representation in IR is still low and presumed to be almost childlike on a professional and academic level. Men continue to marginalise the research designs done by women in IR (Maliniak et al., 2008; Enloe, 1993). Moreover, Valerie Hudson et al. also show that more women's involvement in IR needs to be increased. In cases of security, war, health, and terrorism, even the war between Russia and Ukraine is always seen without the involvement of women in human decision-making at all levels (see Caprioli et al., 2023).

Intriguingly, J. Ann Tickner and Jacqui True (2018) stated that women's involvement in IR began in World War I (WWI) when the discipline of IR also first emerged. After the dichotomy of public and private, women's role in generating peace during WWI was the beginning of women's participation in IR. As the League of Nations and, later, the United Nations emerged, women's activities to create a peaceful world also played a crucial role (Tickner & True, 2018). However, rather than leading IR development, feminism is a latecomer to international affairs (Tickner & True, 2018). The evolution and dominance of Western tradition in Greek political philosophy also play a significant role in women's retreat in international relations.

Greek political philosophy set up a divide between the public and the private, which made it easier for men to be in charge of IR. Aristotle and Hegel distinguished between men and women and linked them to the public and private spheres. As previously mentioned, women are excluded from the "good" in the public sphere. According to these ancient scholars, bifurcated domains are needed to create politics. So, reducing these
differences is challenging; in other words, it could make politics less essential and even be removed (Elshtain, 1993).

Meanwhile, Jean Bethke did not eradicate the difference but preferred to use the word "complexity" between public and private or have blurred boundaries (Elshtain, 1993). The fundamental cause of the overlap between the public and private spheres is each domain’s existence. This signifies that the public sphere always encompasses the private sphere, and the more comprehensive the range of the public sphere, the more it must include the private sphere.

Several studies tingle with gender and public-private binary differentiation. It is easy to concur with the assertion that people have frequently, significantly, and successfully used binary oppositions to try and organise their mental and discursive worlds in the past and present (Klein, 1995). As a certainty of this binary differentiation, Lawrence E. Klein (1995) suggests that the possibilities of the different eras of culture could provide openings and opportunities that were not present in the ancient eras. Contemporary discussions about the complex binary of public and private should remake the position of women regarding their roles in the public sphere. Even these binary things are tangled up with the various discourses from the Greek era.

Therefore, Ulla Wischermann and Ilze Klavina Mueller (2004) said that to get up-to-date ideas, feminist views on the difference between the private and public must be seen as relational. This made it clear that it needs to consider how the private and public spheres interact and connect, stressing that they are not separate but linked parts of social life. The linkage between public and private divisions and women is singular in the international realms. Also, the report from the Lowy Institute said that gender diversity—and diversity in general—in international realms confers a distinct competitive advantage on an organisation: it fosters a more functional, cooperative, efficient, and effective work environment (Cave et al., 2019). Therefore, it is impossible to distinguish between the public sphere, to which men are affiliated, and the private sphere, to which women are affiliated. To elaborate, the existence of the public sphere necessitates the simultaneous existence of the private sphere.

However, in the last few decades, hybrid arrangements between domestic and international public and private institutions have made the lines between the public and private sectors more appealing to the public in the private realm. This means a shift from democratic nation-state institutions to transnational private regimes, public law to private law, and legislation to contracts (Kjaer, 2018). The change from the national to the
international realms signifies that the public national realm is displaced into the private international realm. The increasing private affiliation is also apparent in how international agreements incorporate private institutions into the public domain. For instance, the United Nations Global Compact urges private institutions to collaborate with public institutions to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which are public objectives. This highlights the potential for the private realm to assume a role in the international public sphere.

The study of women's participation in private entities also shows the increasing performance of private organisations. However, positive organisational views toward women's leadership and the successor's internal origin can lessen the adverse effects of male-to-female succession on company performance (Zhang & Qu, 2016). Also, Kallie Smith argues in her thesis that NGOs should provide more opportunities for women to develop their leadership skills, potentially leading to increased organisational performance (Smith, 2018). Besides, creating an environment more conducive to women occupying leadership roles could lead to a more diverse and inclusive workplace, which has positively impacted organisational performance (Fritz & Knippenberg, 2017). These findings encourage women's participation in the private realm and private entities and must be considered a potential strategic movement.

**RESEARCH METHOD**

This article employs deductive methodology by formulating a theory grounded in ideas and facts. This article suggests that more women should be involved in international public spheres because nation-states are constantly moving from public to private while still being involved with international spheres. Based on popular ideas, mainly from Greek philosophers, about the difference between the public and private spheres and the blurring border of public and private, this article starts by suggesting that men, who usually control the public sphere before, should also control the private sphere and vice versa to the women. Even though the distinction between the public and private domains will persist indefinitely and is indispensable, this article suggests that it must be more precisely delineated due to the increasingly intricate nature of the evolving world, which may, in turn, alter the private-public dichotomy.
This article looks at writings by feminist, developmental, and IR scholars to show how the changing roles of the public and private spheres in IR affect the number of women who work in the field and how much power they have. Ultimately, by conducting a literature review from secondary sources, like libraries, news, and other related sources, this article will understand how more women are involved in international public affairs, which could be a strategic turning point for nation-states. The quantification of women's involvement and the qualitative contribution of women in IR reveals the complex dichotomy between public and private in IR.

DISCUSSION
After preliminary theoretical research on the turning point, explained in the previous section, this article shows three data collections used for analysis. These three primary data sets show how modern women are involved in the international world, how the lines between public and private are blurred, and how strong women are in this situation. Each of the three data points will be described in the following passages:

Increasing Women's Involvement in the International Public Realms
Neşe Öztimur wrote that women could be strategic agents of global capitalism through their roles as reproducers and consumers (Öztimur, 2007) but not yet as producers. She wrote that women are the ones who play a significant role in keeping the system going, but with self-construction processes, women can also change established unequal networks. Although Steven Goldberg (1999) also describes the dominance of men over women by promoting their inherent differences, he acknowledges that women should embrace their respective roles. Nevertheless, the impediment to women's involvement in public life diminishes when closely examining the complex differentiation between the public and private domains. Therefore, in addition to the women's movements, women could use the complexity of globalisation to become more essential people in the international public sphere. Also, António Guterres (United Nations, 2017) says that women and men are equally able to take on responsibilities in this world at all levels, including in politics, even though men still make up most of the world's population. It says that even though women are still mistreated, they should use their power to help themselves by creating a protection agenda. Even more, the fact that women are treated the same as men is essential to keeping the liberal democratic system going (Piccone,
2017). Even though violence has become more common (Mary et al., 2016), this lack of bias makes it less likely that people will fight for their rights.

It is not a balance of men and women because, as Elshtain pointed out, the difference between men and women is a crucial part of politics. It means that men and women are not the same; they play different roles with their differences, so it needs to be transparent about when and where they play their roles. Aurea Carolina says that women's power is not based on competition, destroying each other, violence, or shutting down the conversation. However, there are possibilities to increase women's involvement in decision-making when the right moment comes (Carolina cited in Roth et al., 2020). Thompson and Clement (2019) make it clear that the goal of the gender or feminist agenda is not to create dominance based on differences between men and women but to encourage everyone to participate in the international public realm.

Democratically, women's involvement in the international public realm should be on the agenda. In the 18th century, philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau observed that to attain collective welfare, a collective consciousness must exist that prioritises the well-being of all individuals (Sharma, 2021). From there, the population is the primary consideration for democracy. Regarding the number of men and women worldwide, democracy started considering the number of women. As of 2021, nearly 4 billion women are estimated to be in the world, representing 49.58% of the world population, as most countries and regions have more women than men (Statistics Times, 2021). So, since democracy is based on the number of people, there is much room for women to join the international public sphere, not just as objects or parts of the public but also as subjects that are important as decision-makers.

Moreover, with the ultimate aspects of international public realms being war and peace, the presence of women's role in peace has no doubt. The United Nations (UN), an international regime with a peace agenda, calls women the key to a successful peace arrangement. As a highlight, the UN mentions that women peacekeepers are key to peace, and women's leadership positions in UN peacekeeping are growing more than ever (United Nations, 2020). The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) said that women are the key to maintaining peace, stability, and development in the region and that helping women is a top priority (ASEAN, 2020). Also, Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) was created as a political framework to encourage women to play essential roles in world peace and security (USIP, n.d.). The acknowledgement of the United States (US) described in the Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017 also strengthens women's role
in international public realms. This Act says that the role of women in conflict-affected areas is very effective at reducing violence, fighting terrorism, settling disputes through nonviolent mediation and negotiation, and stabilising societies (US Government Publishing Office, 2017).

According to a Pew Research Center survey, no significant difference exists between men and women, as reviewed by leadership in political organisations. This survey indicated that, on average, 63.7% of respondents were willing to say that there is no difference between men's and women's leadership in politics and the business sector (Pew Research Center, 2014). Unwillingly, in political terms that involve the public realm, women's leadership is significantly superior to men's. Working with compromises honestly and ethically, standing up for beliefs, and tending to increase the quality of life are indicators that show women's superiority (Paw Research Center, 2014). In more instances, the foreign policy that develops in several countries implements women's existence and prominence in IR. Sweden and Canada were the first countries that implemented feminist foreign policy (FFP) in the last decade. This was a new way to include women in international affairs. Sweden's foreign policy focuses on the 3 Rs: women's rights, resources, and representation. This is done through diplomacy, development, and defence, with the addition of a fourth R called research (Thompson & Clement, 2019). Also, women's experiences with inequality are a big part of the international scene, but women are still seen as essential players in political, social, and economic processes. However, with women's issues, consideration is being put aside (Smith, 2018). Even so, the recognition of women on the international stage cannot be seen as an object, only as a subject.

Public-Private Borderless: The Private Women Breaking Through the Public Realms

There is a contradiction in the demarcation between the state and other segments of society that makes the distinction between private and public unclear and blurred (Kjaer, 2018). This contradiction could be either overlapping or conflictual. According to this statement, the concept of nation-states as a primary actor that should provide society with security, freedom, order, justice, and welfare (see Møller et al., 2022) is, in some cases, handed over to private actors owned by individuals outside the nation-state. The emergence of private security, such as security guards, became a basic need for some strata of society. Furthermore, the trends of mercenaries also prove that privateers enter the public realm, and Sean McFate (2019) noted that the market cannot be killed. This
phenomenon shows us that private realms in the market are inevitable and challenging to abolish, and they play a role in one of the fundamental public spheres: security.

The development of international regimes tends to diminish the domination of one actor to address the international public realm. This decreasing sign shows combining public and private transnational areas for shared value is needed to maximise the gains (Veiga & Zacareli, 2017). Additionally, Westerners are undermining the dichotomy between public and private that Western culture produces. Alain Supiot (2013) also points out an increasing number of cases where people have the right to choose the law that applies to their interests and thus elude the common rule. This phenomenon could be antagonistic to the public-private dichotomy, where the distinction between public and private is more static and cannot be changed easily.

Separating the public and private realms was primarily necessary rather than a mere division of power. The justification for this need lies in the understanding that social stability is contingent upon the inherent differences between men and women. Consequently, the education provided to boys and girls should be based on the societal roles they fulfil (Rousseau in Ackelsberg and Shanley, 1996). Another argument was the need for equal education between women and men. This implies that to lead a democratic life, it is imperative to attain equality in the social sphere (Ackelsberg & Shanley, 1996). However, V. Spike Peterson (2000) contends that the public-private dichotomy is not a sufficient analysis since social or public life is dynamic, intricate, and multifaceted. Hence, the relevance of this dichotomy is questionable and should be further scrutinised, even though it hinders women from making more significant contributions to public life. Based on these perspectives, a public-private dichotomy is required. On the other hand, it must also exhibit greater flexibility to accommodate public life's dynamic, complex, and multifaceted nature.

As globalisation, or the massive movement of globalisation, crept into every aspect of social life, even the most basic, this dominance slowly changed. As Thomas L. Friedman quotes about globalisation, "Every corner of the world would take part of the world either as an object or subject" (Friedman, 2007). The globalisation narratives, therefore, produce a tendency to reduce the centrality of the state as a source of public power and authority (Kjaer, 2018) since it is possible for everyone to take part in the world. Additionally, it promotes the public realm, which, in the case of the state, the private realm might also reclaim. Therefore, the distinction between public and private
has changed; the public-private dichotomy, which was formerly firmly established, is currently under attack (Owens, 2008).

There was a movement between public and private actors in international relations when the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations (UNCTC) became the UN Global Compact. The UNCTC handles the code of conduct for multinational corporations, while the UN Global Compact works with corporations. This UN Global Compact represents a significant shift in development thinking, where the UN and businesses acknowledge their shared interest in promoting sustainable development (Thérien & Pouliot, 2006). With around 22,356 participants involving corporations and NGOs and only nearly 200 states, this indicates a more significant number of non-state actors in this arrangement of sustainable development. It also indicates that the separation of public and private objections is becoming blurry, and the public or private can unite to overcome the public's problems.

Figure 2. Public-Private Complex on State in IR

IR's historical view of the public-private dichotomy is scarce at the beginning of state-making or war-making, so the public-private dichotomy in IR should start somewhere else (Owens, 2008). Domestic states frequently qualify as public realms; citizens make this confession in light of the state realms that support their citizens' public interests. Meanwhile, states also play a private role when they enter international affairs. As the UN Charter noted, international law consists of the national jurisdictions of states, which are "private," and international concern, which is "public" (Owens, 2008). As Habermas (in Crossley & Roberts, 2004) noted, the public sphere is perceived as involving individuals or the private. Figure 2 describes that domestically, the state is a public organisation that provides for citizens' private needs. However, while they face international realms, they change into private organisations that face international public realms.
According to Alex Demirovic (2004), the term "private" refers to both the home and the place of employment, whereas "workplace" and "politics" are considered to be part of the public sphere. From this perspective, the public sphere has a broader impact on its actions, whereas the private sphere has a more limited scope. Since there is no clear distinction between the public and private realms, either the public or private sectors could address the public realm problem. Therefore, both public men and private women have the same position in order to alleviate the problems in the public realm. Although the involvement of the private sector in public realms is an implication of the eroded power of states (see Hart, 2005), the UN Global Compact, or, practically, the Public-Private Partnership (PPP), indicates that there is an opportunity for cross-sector solutions to other sector's main problems. Therefore, the dominance of the private sector in the public realm in this globalisation era should integrate the involvement of all sectors, including women's involvement in the public realm.

*Women's Revival in a public-private Complex Divergence*

Anne Sisson Runyan and V. Spike Peterson (1991) argued that women's agendas only make more choices in politics. Beyond that argument, or for the sake of fourth-wave feminism, this article argues that women's choices and involvement in the international public realm are potentially more suitable for the sake of national interest than men's in the international area. Also, the development of IR, seen as male-dominated, should consider women's participation in democratic decision-making. More than one perspective is needed to describe the international public realm. The need for other perspectives sufficiently creates a deep understanding of the public realm. So, putting more value on a broader range of leadership qualities, like those of women in this case, will make decision-making more fair, democratic, responsive, and competent (Ormerod, 2023). In line with that, women leaders are also often adaptive to change, which the world is undergoing rapidly, and could strengthen their communities. They tend to respond with the protection of the planet (Women in Power and Decision-Making | UN Women, Asia-Pacific, n.d.).

In order to strengthen the argument of this article, empirical evidence about how women face international public realms without endangering state or private national interests is also needed. The involvement of women ministers in state administration in international public realms could be best illustrated. This section should include the minister of foreign affairs and ministers who contribute to the international public realm.
According to the 2019 Global Thinkers, at least 29 women contribute globally, but it was interesting to remark on several examples. This implies that women can significantly contribute more in public domains, a fact acknowledged globally. For this reason, this article uses three of the best examples to strengthen its argument. Susi Pudjiastuti, the former Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries of Indonesia; Jacinda Ardern, the former Prime Minister of New Zealand; and Angela Merkel, the former Chancellor of Germany.

*Susi Pudjiastuti*

Pudjiastuti, as former Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries of Indonesia, is one of the best examples of women fighting for their private national interests in international public realms. Foreign Policy wrote about the reason for choosing Pudjiastuti: she committed to regenerating fish stocks in Indonesia and using distinct tactics (blowing up illegal ships) to recover Indonesia's territorial waters (Carter et al., 2019). From 2014 until the middle of 2017, Pudjiastuti was sinking 317 ships in various regions of Indonesia from other countries like Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Papua Nugini, China, and Belize, including Indonesian ships that were illegal (Pregiwati, 2017). She also assesses that this policy could provide a deterrent effect for perpetrators of illegal fishing (Pregiwati, 2017). With 65% of Indonesia's sovereignty territory in the sea, this policy could be strategic to achieve the three dimensions of maritime diplomacy: sovereignty, security, and prosperity (see Cassidy, 2016).

Although it has its pros and cons, this policy describes Indonesia's position in the international public realm and strengthens Indonesia's position as one of the global maritime axes. In order to receive international recognition, Pudjiastuti called the international representative, or ambassador, and business representative to discuss the policy before implementing it (Wijaya & Marta, 2019). Even more, the representation of NGOs such as Greenpeace has also contributed to giving suggestions about the operationalisation of policy. Arifsay Nasution (in Wijaya & Marta, 2019), as one of Greenpeace's researchers, advises the safest way to sink the ship that does not impact environmental degradation and supports the policy. It describes implementing the Pudjiastuti policy based on sound governance principles, considering all elements: state, corporate, and civil society.
**Jacinda Ardern**

While Pudjiastuti was concerned with the security of the marine environment, Ardern noted how she handled the COVID-19 breakout. With around 2 million cases of COVID-19, only 4 thousand people died because of this virus, or just 0.2% of deaths in New Zealand (Worldometers, 2023). In the dizziness of every country facing a choice between economy and health, Ardern empathetically prioritises health issues. She also stated in her press conference that she wanted to get citizens’ health right in the first place (Grant, 2020). Without a doubt, she changes the paradigm of liberal countries. The breakout of COVID-19 awakened state intervention long hidden in the Western liberal paradigm. Also, she put the economy into hibernation, closed the border, and managed it tightly (Grant, 2020).

Not only the COVID-19 crisis but also how she handled the terrorist attack in New Zealand became a worldwide moment. Only a day after the terror attack in two mosques in Christchurch, Ardern demanded changes to the weapons law immediately, and it was the quickest response ever by a state leader who modified the Act right away in response to a terror incident (Mustaqim, 2019). These two crises indicate that Ardern's main concern on global issues is domestic, or mainly her citizens, who become her main priority rather than others.

**Angela Merkel**

While serving as chancellor for 16 years, Merkel faced many national and regional challenges in the European Union (EU). Merkel faced at least three crises: the economic crisis of 2008, the migrant crisis of 2015, and the Covid-19 crisis. When the euro was seriously threatened during the 2008 financial catastrophe, Merkel assisted in guiding the bloc out of both situations, and she says that if the euro fails, then Europe fails too (Dettmer, 2021). While facing the pros and cons of this policy, Merkel decided to implement it to save Europe from further economic crises and end it with a highly controversial policy that almost led Greece out of the Eurozone (Rios, 2020). Christiane Lemke said Merkel was crucial in maintaining the Eurozone's unity throughout the 2010–2013 financial crisis (in American-German Institute, 2021).

Also, in the migrant crisis from Syria, Germany is the country that uses a "welcome policy" for asylum seekers. Merkel received praise from Filippo Grandi, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, for her dedication to defending asylum seekers and upholding human rights, humanitarian values, and international law (UNHCR, 2022).
Merkel's personality also appears in how she manages the COVID-19 crisis. Despite the virus's lenient handling, Chancellor Merkel was reportedly in charge of the decision-making process that united all the elements of government (Michelangelo, n.d.). Furthermore, Merkel also successfully reunited West and East Germany in further unification, and the unification of Germany could be the best opportunity for Germany to become a superpower country.

Although these instances highlight the success of women's leadership, which typically occurs in public organisations to address public issues, there are other situations where women's private inclinations prevail even when they hold positions in public institutions. A prime example is Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, the former president of the Philippines, whose private interests overshadowed the public interest. Allegations of power abuse and political unrest marred Arroyo's administration (Brillo, 2008; Hutchcroft, 2008). Similarly, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's presidency in Argentina (2007–2015) was characterised by numerous controversies and conflicts. While Kirchner attempted institutional reforms, they proved unsuccessful, and her misuse of executive power hindered significant change (Brito, 2016). In another case, South Korea witnessed the abuse of power by a female leader, Park Geun-hye. Park was impeached and removed from office due to her involvement in an influence-peddling scandal with her confidante Choi Soon-sil and her abuse of authority (Kim, 2017; Sung, 2017). During Park's presidency, South Korea's foreign policy capabilities were compromised, particularly with North Korea. North Korea conducted multiple missile and nuclear tests during this period, and Park seemed to have lost diplomatic leverage in addressing North Korean issues (Bargh, 2015).

Although these three instances are insufficient to encompass the overall status of women, there exists substantiation that women possess the potential to make more significant contributions within larger domains commonly referred to as the public sphere. The leadership of Pudjiastuti, Ardern, and Merkel serves as evidence that women can effectively contribute to the public sphere by extending their private influence into new areas. These leaders adeptly utilise their private inclinations to engage more individuals in their private roles. However, it is essential to note that this private approach may only apply to some women leaders, particularly in the cases of the Philippines, Argentina, and South Korea. These contradictory examples also highlight that women possess power in the public sphere, demonstrating that the contributions of women in the public sphere are both positive and negative, as are those of men.
Nevertheless, this reduced dichotomy only partially eliminates the distinction between the public and private domains. In other words, the influence of women's contributions in the public sphere does not automatically eradicate the public-private dichotomy. Furthermore, the positive impact of women in the public sphere necessitates leveraging their private realms to incorporate a more significant segment of the population while navigating the broader public arena.

CONCLUSION
The discourse surrounding patriarchy in the global order, particularly within international public spheres, continues to exert significant theoretical and practical influence. The level of women's participation in public spheres remains disproportionately low compared to that of their male counterparts. A contributing factor to this imbalance can be traced back to Western culture, which historically marginalised the involvement of women in public spheres. This cultural bias can be traced back to Greek philosophy, which was responsible for denying women access to standard public goods. Consequently, women are still predominantly associated with private domains, while men are expected to navigate public spaces. Despite the emergence of the women's movement in the 19th century, their participation in World War I did not solely serve to raise awareness of their capabilities within the international public realm. This infiltration of values has imposed numerous disadvantages on women, both in terms of their positioning and physical well-being. Although the proliferation of women's organisations does not guarantee their increased involvement in international public spheres, it is evident that undue discrimination against women persists.

Globalisation also allows various actors to address public issues, including states, corporations, and NGOs. This phenomenon signifies that globalisation has blurred the boundaries between nation-states and engendered a borderless environment for all actors to operate within. Given the limitations state actors face in handling diverse and intricate public problems, the involvement of other actors becomes imperative to alleviate these challenges. Consequently, the proliferation of private actors, both in terms of quantity and quality, becomes an inevitable outcome. NGOs and corporations, through their respective programs, also contribute to addressing public issues. Despite criticisms surrounding the involvement of private actors in international public realms, their actions could be viewed as potential solutions to these global challenges. Thus, the demarcation between public and private realms becomes increasingly ambiguous at this juncture.
This blurred distinction between public and private realms within the international arena should catalyse women’s enhancement of their capabilities in navigating international public spheres. Recognising the absence of inherent differences in organisational capabilities between men and women, the strategic selection of women in decision-making processes within the international public realm becomes imperative. His approach not only serves to address the need for increased women's participation in international public spheres but also offers more significant opportunities for successfully tackling public problems. The instances presented by Pudjiastuti, Ardern, and Merkel illustrate accomplished female participation in decision-making processes, accentuating their capability to safeguard private national interests within the broader scope of international public realms. Consequently, the current climate presents a pivotal moment for women to focus on their advancement and actively engage with the broader international public realm. The blurred distinction between the public and private realms and the absence of dominant actors within international public spheres provide a unique momentum for women to transcend the dichotomy between the public and private domains.

Regrettably, this opportunity also emerges from the abuse of power by women, who are trusted as public leaders. The abuse of power ultimately arose from the limited understanding of women that the dichotomy of public and private was changing over time. Because of this, it is essential to know that the public and private domains are always different, even though the positions of these domains can be very complicated. Ultimately, this article offers additional research exploring how the assimilation of significance and the divergence between public and private can catalyse women to engage in public spheres. As the world becomes more complicated, or as Amitav Acharya put it, "multiplex," women can make a positive difference in the international public sphere by understanding the position of public-private divergence. However, it is imperative to note that they must exploit the private sphere, which encompasses a broader array of individuals.

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