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# THE EUROPEAN EXTERNAL ACTION SERVICE AND GENDER PROMOTION

A comparative text analysis of how the EEAS  
adapts its gender promotion messages to  
audiences in the west and east

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## Abstract

A qualitative text analysis on how the European External Action Service, EEAS, promotes gender. It examines how the former High Representative Federica Mogherini adjust her language towards a “western” and “eastern” region. The aim is to see if there are any differences in how the EEAS choose to approach different audience when speaking about gender equality. Previous research shows that there is a lot of research on gender and the EU, and its institutions including the EEAS. Though, there is research gap on how the EEAS represent gender towards different audiences. Theories that will be used to analyse the result is social constructivism and the concept of representation. The concept of representation is useful to see how actors frame and present their interest towards different audiences. A comparative text analysis of speeches made by Federica Mogherini, representing the EEAS, will be made to outsource possible differences in how she concepts gender equality. The analysis will be made through Bacchi’s framework “What is the problem represented to be?”. The results show that in general the aim of why gender equality is important does not differ but there is a difference within what topic on gender equality is discussed and how it is presented.

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# Introduction

The EEAS, European External Action Service, is the foreign policy institution of the European Union. They represent and present the EU:s interests and politics outside the union. This thesis will examine the speeches by the former High representative of the Union of Foreign affairs and Security policy, Federica Mogherini (EEAS, 2021). The aim is to see if there is a difference in how the EEAS expresses itself and if it changes its language and messaging towards different audiences when promoting gender equality.

The EEAS promotes gender equality in international contexts and discusses the issue of gender equality with countries all over the world. In the thesis, speeches to two audiences have been analysed and compared. The two audiences the thesis has selected are a “Western” and “Eastern” audience, since ideas about fundamental differences with respect to gender equality are prevalent (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Both audiences are in cooperation and relation with the EU, and the analysis aims to see how or if the EEAS adjusts its language and message within the same topic towards different audiences.

## Research aim and questions

The overarching aim is to examine how the EEAS presents gender equality in foreign policy debates, speeches and statements. Are there differences in their language and approach depending on audience? More specifically, the thesis asks:

1. What is “gender equality” made out to be in EEAS speeches?
2. What are the obstacles to “gender equality” made out to be – for instance, which actors are portrayed as unequal or in the way of gender equality?
3. What are the solutions to “gender equality” that the EEAS offers?
4. In what ways do these presentations of gender equality differ when addressing “Western” and “Eastern” audiences?

The rest of this thesis consists of six chapters. The first provides some more background details on the EU, EEAS and gender equality. The following chapter provides a review of existing scholarship on gender in the EU and EEAS, demonstrating that this scholarship has not yet examined how the EEAS portrays itself and others in debates, media and texts on gender to different audiences. The third chapter discusses the constructivist theoretical approach and concepts that are central to the thesis, such as the concept of “representation.” The following chapter discusses the qualitative and comparative research design and describes the selection of data (speeches by Mogherini) and how that data is analysed through the “What’s the Problem Represented to Be”-method. The fifth chapter is the analysis, where I compare the representations of gender equality to Western and Eastern audiences. The sixth and final chapter is the conclusions, where I summarize the findings, discuss them in light of previous research and draw out some directions for future research.

# Background: the EU, EEAS and Gender

## The EU and Gender policies

The EU works systematically the gender equality in all perspectives of the politics. The EU has implemented different methods to achieve gender equality. They work with gender policies, strategy plans and gender promotion. The EU has implemented a gender equality strategy plan for an efficient development. The goal is to achieve an equal society where everyone has the same opportunities to evolve and grow, each person owns their own right to decide in what direction you want to go. Women and girls today are more active on the labour market but there are still too few women on higher posts and higher educations. EU has made changes in policies and added measurements to achieve a higher number of women in higher positions and to get higher education. The improvement of the labour market is a part of the gender equality strategy 2020-2025, other main sections are to end gender-based violence, equal number of men and women in politics and counteract gender gaps. The EU also focuses on to be a role model in gender development. One of the main tasks in the gender equality strategy is to promote gender in neighbourhood countries and globally. This is where the EEAS plays an important role to mediate the message (European Commission, 2022).

The EU: s gender policies is partially based on already existed policies, such as the UN: s Sustainable Development Goals, which EU decided to adapt. The EU is also inspired from member states' successful development within gender policies. The Scandinavian states have been considered to have well-developed gender structures and more equal societies than many other states. Other member states can be inspired from the Scandinavian member states' models and reshape their own models. Member states has an executive role in the EU: s politics, also in forming gender politics. Politics in the EU can shape differently, either from a bottom-up perspective or from a top-bottom perspective. A combination of both is common in the implementation of the gender mainstreaming processes. Influences from other actors create a broader knowledge about gender development and contributes to an intersectional development (Elgström, 2017; European Commission, 2022; Melby et al, 2008).

The gender mainstreaming is a result of EU: s Gender Action Plan II, (GAP II ). GAP aimed to spread gender equal measurements within all policy areas.

## The EEAS- European External Action Service

The EEAS, European External Action Service is an intergovernmental institution that forms the foreign policies of the EU. The EEAS cooperates with the member states' national foreign and defence ministers. The Institution also cooperates with the other EU institutions, and especially the Commission, the Council, and the Parliament. They produce, present, and develop the foreign and defence policies of the EU and represent the union in external context within their expertise. The EEAS is the core of foreign policy and the junction for external staff of the EU, such as diplomats or ministers. (EEAS, 2019).

The EEAS is in relation to other EU institutions a young institution. It was implemented in 2009, an initiative in the Treaty of Lisbon, signed in 2007. The argumentation to why the EEAS was needed, was to improve the EU: s position and actorness globally (EEAS, 2019).

"It will help strengthen the European Union on the global stage, give it more profile, and enable it to project its interests and values more efficiently." (The Council, 2010; 8029/10, p.2)

Today the EEAS is led by Joseph Borrell (2019-2024), and he is the head of Foreign Affairs and Security policy, High Representative and Vice president of the Commission. The institution is advisory to other institutions in the EU and outside the EU. The EEAS is divided into five sections directed to five different geographical areas in the world. The division makes eventual aid and cooperation organized and facilitate to adjust to the area's certain demand and situation. The five sections are Europe, the Americas, the Greater middle east, Central Asia, and Asia-Pacific. The EEAS is the EU: s "face forward" in non-EU countries, they represent and promote the EU values. They play an important role in implementing EU: s interests in non-EU countries and interpreted political, social and civil spheres to understand each country's situation. The EU cooperate with national governments as a supportive global actor. The EU act differently depending on situation, some cases the aim is to contribute to retain peace or increase peace projects. The EU can provide with aid or work as an advisory actor. The EU promotes for their foundational values in neighbourhood countries and globally, for example human rights and gender mainstreaming. Human rights and gender equal policies covers in all of EU:s policies and values which means when working as a global actor these are two of many prioritised factors when promoting EU values and interests (EEAS, 2019).

## Gender mainstreaming

The EU's mission is to implement gender into all their politics and form their structures to be favourable for the gender equality development. The goal is to reach gender equality within each political sphere so the separate gender politics will diminish. The tool they use to conceive this is gender mainstreaming.

The aim is to create a long-lasting gender development. During the 1990s' the EU started to elaborate with gender mainstreaming and implemented it in the policies. Gender mainstreaming has different effect depending on context. Within some areas the gender mainstreaming and gender development has become further than in other areas, it is affected by social structures and the social development. Gender is a concept affected by trends, debates, and the civil society. The civil society can be an influential factor. Gender mainstreaming is a phenomenon that balances between being affected by institutional or social powers, meaning it can develop from both social movements or institutional development (Bretherton, 2001; Chappell & Guerrina, 2020; Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014).

For example, within the labour market gender mainstreaming has come further and is more developed than in security policy. Adjustments in policies for female workers has been on the agenda since the 1970's. The changes were discussed in policies regarding women's salaries, pregnancy, and maternal leave (Anagnostakis, 2021). Therefore, the implementation of gender norms in all policy areas are a challenge since gender is implemented within structures based on a male structure (European Commission, 2019; Chappell & Guerrina, 2020). Other challenges with gender politics are the first implementation made were focused to favour the economic development. Gender politics changed to increase the number of women on the labour market, in that sense the number of workers increased, and the economic milieu became more fruitful. Women were seen as labour force and as an opportunity to expand the markets further. The changes were made as a measurement to achieve gender equality, but the aim was to thrive the economic market, meaning not with the purpose to equalize women with men. The aim of gender politics has changed during the years and the aim is to support women to evolve on the market (Anagnostakis, 2021).

Given all the work the EU and EEAS have done with respect to gender, gender equality and gender mainstreaming, it is not surprising that there is a huge amount of scholarship analysing this work. In the next chapter, I will review this scholarship and outline my contribution to it.

## Literature review: Prior Scholarship on Gender in/and the EU

There is a lot of research on gender in the EU. During the last twenty years, the research on gender in the EU has exploded and scholars have both drilled deeper and developed new aspects of the topic. It seems like the gender research now covers all the main EU institutions, including the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Court of Justice and the EEAS. In my assessment, the scholarship seems to fall in three broad strands: (1) the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the EEAS and its foreign policy; (2) the position of men and women in the EEAS; and (3) representation of “Europe” and the “EU” in gender equality debates. Below, I will discuss the gender scholarship on the EEAS in these three strands. In short, as I will show below, there are still many questions about gender and the EEAS that remain to be studied, not least the question of how the EEAS portrays itself and others in debates, media and texts on gender.

### Scholarship on the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the EEAS and its Foreign Policy

The oldest and most extensive body of scholarship on gender in the EU is that which deals with gender mainstreaming in the European Union (EEAS, 2021). Gender mainstreaming is more researched and implemented in EU bodies other than the EEAS, such as in those that deal with the social and labour dimensions internal to Europe. There are not quite as many studies of gender mainstreaming in the EEAS and foreign policy, but there are a few (e.g. David & Guerrina, 2012; Chappell & Guerrina, 2020; Bretherton, 2001; Taylor, 2021).

Prior scholarship on gender mainstreaming and the EEAS focuses on how gender mainstreaming has been implemented or how it functions in the EEAS (e.g. David & Guerrina, 2012; Chappell & Guerrina, 2020). Frequently asked questions in the literature concern how feminist initiatives will be implemented in the structure of the EEAS. Also, how powerful, or not powerful the gender measurements are or become. The questions often base its nature in how EU is a global actor of gender equality but not always success to deliver gender equal measurements. Scholars have then asked how gender will be visible in the foreign policy. The EEAS’ gender policies are affected by different gender initiatives such as UN’s Women, Peace

and Security agenda and EU's own Gender Action Plan. Scholarship on gender structures in the EEAS has been made in relation to how the EEAS respond to current gender measurement. How well does the EEAS adjust when gender measurements are implemented? For example, Guerrina and Wright (2016) examines how well the Women, Peace and Security values by the UN applies to the Common Security and Defence Policy by the EU. The initiatives are implemented to help the EEAS to be a gender-neutral foreign policy actor. Scholars have examined the interplay between the EEAS and gender equality initiatives, to see how effective they are and how much they permeate in EEAS' decisions (Guerrina et al., 2018, Guerrina & Wright, 2016; David & Guerrina, 2012; Bretherton, 2001).

David and Guerrina (2012) conclude that gender mainstreaming often succeeds to integrate better in "low politics." Low politics is referred to as "economic or other non-survival-oriented issues" whereas high politics is referred to as "state sovereignty and security," and the scholars conclude that gender mainstreaming fails to integrated as good in high politics (David & Guerrina, 2012:61). Bretherton's (2001) research on gender mainstreaming differs from the others in that case that the research tests the ability to combine political interests and policy enlargement, and especially in the enlargement in the Eastern Europe. The aim is to show the complexity in combining a demand and then implementing it.

The research made by Bretherton is from 2001, seen to that the research is more than twenty years old it might have looked different today in 2022 but it still shares some of the more recent opinions and results. Bretherton (2001) explains the lack of gender mainstreaming in the policies and that the aim to mainstream gender in the policies has not succeeded. The more recent research does not express the same "failure" as Bretherton claims, but the more recent scholarship still shows the difficulties to integrate gender into EEAS' policy areas (David & Guerrina, 2012; Chappell & Guerrina, 2020; Bretherton, 2001). In Taylor's research, on EU-China cooperation, similar obstacles are identified, and the research shows that EU' officials find it hard to mainstream their values into EU-China cooperation. The research confirms the difficulties other scholars have raised in the scholarships mentioned above, that gender mainstreaming is found hard to apply in foreign policy (Taylor, 2021).

The scholars have used different methods and theories to answer their research questions. David and Guerrina (2012) uses discourse analysis to identify gender in the EEAS. In Taylor (2021) the scholar uses interviews to collect information. A recurrent theory in the previous research

on how the institutional structures are formatted is Ian Manners “Normative Power Europe” and feminist institutionalism. Normative Power Europe is often mentioned by many of the scholars, whether they write about gender mainstreaming, representation, or institutions. It is often brought up as a useful tool and a theory explaining the constructions of a “modern” Europe (Guerrina & Wright, 2016; Hoijtink & L Muehlenhoff, 2019; David & Guerrina, 2012; Taylor, 2021; Manners, 2002). In Chappell and Guerrina (2020), the research is shaped by Walby’s theoretical frame on gender.

Another strand of important scholarship on gender and the EEAS is that which focuses on gender and the actual foreign policy content and behaviour of the EEAS (Guerrina et al., 2018; Guerrina & Wright, 2016; Hoijtink & L Muehlenhoff, 2019). Scholars have been looking into how much gender mainstreaming permeates the foreign policies of the EEAS (David & Guerrina, 2012). Guerrina et al. (2018) discusses the ability of EU: s structures to contribute to gender development. They focus on the development of gender mainstreaming in the CSDP, Common Security and Defence Policy. Guerrina et al. (2018) argues that gender mainstreaming in CDSP is challenging because of the structures the EEAS is founded on. Guerrina et al. (2018) criticize EU for failing to implement gender mainstreaming into the Common Defence and Security Policy. Chappell (2021) explains how the EEAS is more complex to gender mainstream since it has a lot of influence from the member states that often differ in how far the gender development has come. Different backgrounds have different norms which reflects in the structure of the EEAS. The discussion about the EEAS and defence policy is that the policy is based on male structures, which leads to a less inclusive policy. What has been proven by previous research is the difficulties to maintain gender neutral when the foundation is masculine (Hoijtink & L Muehlenhoff, 2019; Guerrina et al., 2018). The cause claims to be that leadership on gender in the EEAS is weak. There are too few persons responsible for the development of gender in the EEAS and the foreign policy (Guerrina & Wright, 2016; Chappell, 2021). The research of Guerrina and Wright (2016) shows that one measurement made to counteract male structures in the EEAS and an opportunity to make the gender mainstreaming more successful is a Gender Advisor. Chappell (2021) explains that the EEAS is one of the institutions working actively with gender question inside the institution, active education with the staff will result in a more successful gender mainstreaming within the EEAS and their foreign policy (Chappell, 2021).

Two scholars have examined the EEAS's relation to Eastern Europe and China to see how gender mainstreaming has been effectful in these areas (Bretherton, 2001; Taylor, 2021). The results are a bit different, but the research questions also vary. A general conclusion of the results is that many scholars consider it hard for gender mainstreaming to "break through" the political structures (David & Guerrina, 2012; Chappell & Guerrina, 2020).

## Scholarship on the Position of Men and Women in EEAS

A second strand of important scholarship on gender and the EEAS is that which focuses on gender representation within the institution (Murdoch et al., 2013). There are not quite as many studies as of gender mainstreaming in the EEAS, but there are a few (Murdoch et al., 2013, Juncos & Pomorska, 2013). Murdoch et al., (2013) collect their material through interviews and one of questions they ask is to analyse if there is some pattern in who get recruited to the EEAS. The question is interesting in a gender perspective to see if there is underlying masculine structures who stirs the recruitment.

The staff to the EEAS comes from other institutions in the EU and national diplomatic services. The recruitment process has been analysed by several scholars (e.g. Juncos & Pomorska, 2013; Murdoch et al., 2013). Why it is interested to see who gets recruited to the EEAS is because it can affect the development of the institution. Murdoch et al., (2013) claim that each person's background and aim to work at the EEAS can affect the decisions. Juncos & Pomorska (2013) on the other hand, analyse the behaviour of the staff in the EEAS by using sociological approaches. Murdoch et al. (2013) explain the relevance to discuss that EEAS staff often hold positions for short periods, which can cause a lack of continuity. Neither of the scholars above focuses on gender in particular but gender is integrated in each of the studies. In Murdoch et al. (2013), gender is relevant to see if normative patterns causes that a certain person, often male, get recruited and in Juncos & Pomorska (2013) they analyse how norms and structures are applicable into the political work from the staff.

## Scholarship on the EU/Europe/EEAS as a “Feminist Power”

Normative Power Europe is a well-researched area. There is a lot of research on this topic and well established in much research. The research is often in relation to how EU promote their values and norms in other areas outside the union. The scholars discuss Normative Power Europe in relation to what the effects are when the EU promotes their values in other areas (Diez, 2005; Hyde-Price, 2006; Forsberg, 2011; Bicchi, 2006). Normative Power Europe is useful for many different scholars in different areas which means it has been researched on and used in many contexts. Scholars have discussed the effects of the Normative Power Europe, some scholars mean it results in a division of the involved parts. The outside actor, for example neighbourhood countries, becomes “the other”. The others have other values and structures than the EU. In some cases, there is a demand to make a change and EU wants to promote their interests (Hornat, 2019). EU in this meaning becomes the main actor, “self” (Diez, 2005). The scholars examine how the external relations of EU is incused by normative powers, they examine in what way the power is used and how the power may change. The normative power comes in different shapes and depending on receiver, the power-relation can look very different. What the scholars have done is to see how the power relations varies and discussed the different variations of it.

Another recurrent topic within Normative Power Europe and how EU promote their values and norms in other regions is the discussion of how it will fit and work in another society. Diez (2005) and Bicchi (2006) discuss how EU manage or not manage to promote the European values. Critique against the Normative Power Europe is whether it has an effect in non-member states or not since the promotion is often made in countries of another structure. Scholars have research on how European values integrate or not in these states (Diez, 2005 & Bicchi, 2006). It has also led to discussions on whether it creates a hierarchical order where the EU is the main actor with “correct” values and the receiver, often neighbourhood countries or third countries, as the actor with a society that needs to be changed (Bicchi, 2006; Diez, 2005; Hyde-Price, 2006; Forsberg, 2011).

Scholarship on EU as a feminist power is also well-researched. There is less research on EU as a feminist power in relation to foreign policy but still a lot of research. There are many scholars who has discussed the relation between feminism and foreign policy in many different contexts.

The scholars have different backgrounds, aims and views with their research but they often discuss the same issues. Some of the issues discussed is how to manage to apply feminist approach on male structures and how feminist a policy or institution is (Kronsell, 2016; Haastrup et al., 2019; Elgström, 2000; Guerrina & Wright, 2016; Kunz & Maisenbacher, 2017).

Kronsell (2016) discusses how EU understands and explains gender in European integration. The conclusion Kronsell makes is that gender shifts during time and looks different in different context. Kronsell also emphasise on that gender politics does not only include women it includes men as well. Haastrup et al. (2019) has another view of foreign policy and feminist power than the others, they examine how the integration of gender in foreign policy has changed due to Brexit. Haastrup et al. claims that the UK has had a lot of impact on gender politics in the security and defence policy, their interest is then to see if the implementation of gender in security and defence policy has changed. Guerrina & Wright (2016) combines the effect of Normative power Europe and EU gender promotion, they examine how EU works as a normative gender actor. Both Kronsell (2016) and Guerrina & Wright (2016) examines the relationship between European integration and gender promotion. The scholars mean that both European integration and gender promotion is (or should be) linked together, as a gender actor the EU is, gender should be implemented in the enlargement of the EU. This also means they claim that gender should be implemented in the European external action since it takes a part in how EU grows and extended itself. They conclude (Kronsell, 2016; Guerrina & Wright, 2016), like scholars in previous chapters, that there is a challenge to implement feminist approaches in security and defence policy due to masculine structures.

Kunz & Maisenbacher (2017) discuss the EU as gender actor in relation to the Neighbourhood policy. The neighbourhood policy has been developed and there has been more focus on the gender promotion. What the scholars examine is how the other, meaning the neighbourhood countries, can adopt the gender values that is being promoted by the EU.

The previous scholarship on EU/EEAS and gender mainstreaming has been researched quite broadly. There are still some areas less researched than others, however. The scholarship covers how EU works as a gender actor, the representation of women and men in the EEAS and how gender mainstreaming works in and outside the union and also how it is implemented. The previous scholarship does not discuss how the EEAS portrays itself in gender politics. The previous scholarship does not explain how EEAS respond and integrate with different

audiences in relation to gender equality. This thesis will therefore conduct information and make research on how the EEAS portrait themselves and if there are different languages depending on who the receiver is.

## Theory: constructivist assumptions and representation

This chapter begins by presenting and discussing the constructivist theoretical assumptions that give rise to the study. It then defines its central theoretical concept – representation – and introduces Carol Bacchi’s approach of studying public policy in terms of representations. The chapter then presents its main analytical framework, consisting of three main analytical components of representations of policy problems: (1) what the problem (of gender equality) is represented to be, (2) what the causes and obstacles (to gender equality) are represented to be, and (3) what the solutions (to gender equality) are represented to be. This analytical framework is developed by drawing not only on Bacchi but also on other feminist theory and on theories of “Self/Other” differentiations. This analytical framework will be used to answer the questions of the thesis.

### Basic Constructivist Assumptions

Social constructivism is a broad ontological approach whose main form has changed over time. Early versions of social constructivism arose from and had affinities with postmodernism and poststructuralism, but from the 1980s and forward, a modern version of social constructivism has emerged and become dominant. From the 80’s, the constructivist approach has been used for more “normal science,” and it has been more common to use social constructivism to explain political phenomena and developments (Elder-Vass, 2012). A basic premise of social constructivism is that most political phenomena are *social* in nature, meaning that shared ideas, norms, social rules, identities and discourses fundamentally shape what actors, objects and relations are. Actors, objects and relations are always meaning-laden. A second basic premise is that actors act based on the meaning they attribute to themselves, others, relations and phenomena. Thus, the meaning of a phenomenon such as money depends on the socially shared ideas people have about that phenomenon, the norms and social rules guiding how one is supposed to act with respect to the phenomenon, and so on. Social constructivism highlights collectively shared, rather than individually held, norms, ideas and identities. This means that collectively shared ideas and norms “decide” how much something is worth or how something should be done (even if it is, of course, people who come up with those ideas and norms). Elder-

Vass (2012; p. 5) uses the example of the value of money, which is wholly dependent on collectively shared ideas about its value. If the collective “decides” that money does not have a value, it will no longer have the same value because the value of money is socially constructed (Elder-Vass, 2012; Kim, 2001).

Social constructivism is useful in analysing European integration and gender mainstreaming (Lombardo & Kantola, 2021). Social constructivism is helpful since it can be applied on different levels, macro, meso or micro. When examining the EU, it is valuable to take into account that the union is constantly changing and that each change can affect the EU’s actors and politics, which in their hand change the norms and structures. Everything is linked together, and social constructivism can help explain how (Lombardo & Kantola, 2021). Constructivists are interested in how different backgrounds and language can affect outcomes. When the EU discusses gender issues in other regions, the communication can be deteriorated by different approaches the actors might have. The debates and policies on gender equality will probably have different outcomes due to who the receiver is.

As mentioned, social constructivism focuses on common ideas and understandings, but that doesn’t mean that ideas and understandings may not vary among different collective (or even individual) actors, based on their own interpretation of phenomena or on how they adjust their message to fit the audience (I return to this question further below). Actors may understand phenomena somewhat differently depending on background and knowledge. These assumptions can be understood from different perspectives. Something that could be seen as a problem for someone can be the solution for someone else, depending on their ideas and values. This is important to consider when discussing and theorizing socially constructed phenomena. Gender equality can have many different meanings, for someone equal pay for equal job means gender equality while for someone else it means a whole lot more than only economic justice. When analysing how to mainstream gender in a society, these assumptions are important to understand to be able to implement gender (or any other phenomena, such as immigration).

## The Concept of “Representation”

For constructivists, language is a crucial factor that makes it possible for people to express themselves, interact, and know how to be in the world. Without language, phenomena could not be explained and theorized (Hirtle, 1996; Elder-Vass, 2012; Adams, 2007). Social theorist Stuart Hall uses the concept of “representation” to highlight the importance of language to human existence and action. Hall conceptualizes *representation* as the person’s ability to understand or describe something (Hall, 1997). Hall explains the importance of representations and sharing ideas. If individuals did not share the same representations, a conversation would not be possible, nor would action be meaningful.

While Hall emphasizes the shared nature of representations, he also underscores those different representations may appear in different parts of the world or in different contexts in a national society. People may come to understand and represent phenomena differently, often due to background, culture and/or interests. Even if language is the main tool to understand each other and explain different phenomena for each other, even language can be disputed. To put something into context can mean one thing for one person and a different meaning for someone else. Even when speaking the same language, uncertainties and confusion can appear. The persons involved can have different backgrounds and filters and might interpret the concepts differently. An interesting aspect when studying representations, according to Hall, is thus to examine different interpretations of “the same” phenomenon or concept. Different representations of phenomena are often what scholars make research on because it is interesting to examine and explain such differences (Esaiasson et al., 2017).

All of this said, even if an actor has its own interpretation of something, that interpretation is never entirely individual - it is still constructed by socially shared ideas and understandings. Just like an individual cannot decide the meaning of a word, an actor cannot “own” or decide the meaning of a phenomenon, as others would not understand if the actor would decide on their own definitions. A person’s “opinion” or interpretation must be an implemented conceptualization of something to be understood, otherwise it will be meaningless (Hirtle, 1996; Risse, 2004).

The nature of gender inequality can be understood very differently. Depending on context and actors, issues can vary very much. The problem of gender equality may be represented as an

issue on how to implement gender equality on masculine structures within security and defence policy. Or, alternatively, it may be represented as a problem of there being too few women on higher posts in the institutions. In this rendering, more equal number of women and men in higher positions contribute to a gender positive development. Another obstacle for a gender equal development in foreign policy is the many different backgrounds and way of representing what gender is.

The cause of gender inequality as a problem may also be represented differently depending on context. For instance, in some representations, what hinders gender equality in policy development is the foundation of older structures that are based on masculine structures. When older structures and norms are used, they reproduce and continue to develop which inhibits new structures to break through. The cause of the problem may in turn be represented as embodied by a hierarchical order by men. Many of the policies and implementation is still profitable only for men (Esaiasson et al., 2017).

## Adjusting Representations for Different Audiences

The aim of the thesis is to see if there are any differences in how the EEAS/EU approaches and represents gender equality, and the analysis will be on how the EEAS/EU acts towards actors outside the union. The constructivist approach on how actors change their language and attitude in different contexts suggests that it is very likely that the analysis will show differences in the EU's approach towards different actors/ audiences. Social constructivism explains that actors' approaches change due to the receiver/audience. The approach changes so the receiver will comprehend. Actors adjust their language, so it is suitable for the audience. The language changes depending on the receiver's knowledge, status and the reason for conversation. In the analysis, it is very likely that there will be differences in how the EU speaks towards different part of the world. Why actors change their approach is to optimize the chance to be understood correctly and have a conversation that is effective. When speaking the "same language" debates and discussions are easier to hold.

Framing increases the effects and understandings of something. Actors can be helped by framing their arguments with the surroundings and way of presentation. If the surroundings are suitable for the topic and for the receivers, the receivers' emotions will increase and their own experience and knowledge will appear stronger than if the milieu were expressionless. Framing is a tactic to combine several of a person's senses. When a person hears, sees and experiences something, the feelings will grow stronger (Heaney- Rojas, 2006). Framing is profitable for the actor since it works as a tool to appear more powerful, agreeable and successful. Actors use framing to empower themselves, to create a clearer picture of the message they want to spread. Media, newspapers and opponents can distort a message of an actor, but if the actor has a clear framework of its message it facilitates for the audience to outsource possible rumors or misunderstandings from the message the actor choose to promote (Entman, 2003).

The location also has a valid point for the impression of an event. A place or location can extend the emotions for an event and draw different types of audiences. The audience can also relate an event to a certain place and the emotions will increase. Actors use framing in this way to reenforce the experience for the audience, it is also a way to adjust the event to the audience (Heaney-Rojas, 2006).

The world contains different conceptions and ideas. People's different perceptions shape how gender equality is understood and interpreted. Another important dimension in the analysis is to take into account that people also have different perceptions of each other. The analysis will be thus on how the EEAS promotes gender equality to "Eastern" vs "Western" audiences. The discourse on "west" versus "east" is often brought up in many contexts and their "differences" are often compared, often using the status of women or gender equality as a point of comparison (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Often western societies are seen, from a western perspective, as a gender equal and well-developed part of the world, while the east is portrayed as patriarchal, traditional and less developed (in comparison to the west) (Hobson, 2012). These kinds of representations of course vary over time and space. The focus of this thesis will be on a Western actor – the EEAS – and how or if its language changes depending on audience: are there different ways of representing gender equality towards west and east? Or does the EU not make any differences in its representations? If there is a difference, in what ways may the representations differ?

The promotion of gender equality can be represented as “successful” in different ways in the “west” and the “east.” It depends on what is seen as successful. If successful means, gender being promoted in like-minded regions and where gender is well fitted in the social structures, then gender promotion in western countries will be successful. Furthermore, if successful means promoting the EU’s gender interests, norms and values in the implementation in countries considered to be different from western countries, in this case the eastern promotion can be seen as successful. Social constructivism explains how actors may change representations and language towards different audiences.

My expectation is that the EU will represent the problem of and solutions to gender inequality differently in its interactions with different audiences, for the reasons discussed above. The EU might also represent itself and Others differently in its interactions with different audiences. The actor, the self, is the natural state and the norm, while the other is seen as the one who is different and less developed than the self. The self identifies itself in the relation to the other, by identifying itself in the other, the self receives a lot of power and sometimes have a lot of influence towards the other. Self and othering is often acquired in international relations, the self is often in another state than the other but still get compared. When comparing the self and othering, the comparison is often imbalanced, which means that the two actor do not have the same level of social, economic or cultural capital. This is the reason for the power that the self can get, since the self often is economically stronger (Neumann, 1996).

West and east are often compared to each other in many contexts. The comparison on the east is often in relation to how it differs from the west. Historically, the west and east have had different history and different presumptions is a well discussed fact but it does not ensure how the conditions in the east are and how developed the east is. There are many Eurocentric assumptions that has affected the “western believes” about the east. The west is often seen as the well-developed, wealthier, and more equal (Schenk, 2017). This point of the view is interesting to analyse to see how and if global actors change their language towards western and eastern audiences when discussing gender equality. Even if societies may have differences, gender equality is still an unreachable goal in both “worlds”, therefore, the analysis on if the language change is very interesting. I am aware that there are other factors that affects why gender equality may have developed differently in different regions, but in this thesis, I will only analyse the differences in EEAS languages and not the influential factors. I want to identify where the EEAS have their focus on gender equality in west and east.

The theoretical framework will be useful when doing the analyses. The social constructivist assumptions will be helpful to see if and how the EEAS change their approach towards different audiences. It can help me understand on how to interpret the speeches and why they choose to speak the way they do. I will look for how they represent and frame gender equality towards each audience and see what the possible differences are. The concept of representation and framing will help to understand and interpret why the EEAS choose to act they way they do and what the aim is with it. Inductive research will be helpful in this research so there are no predetermined patterns. Table 1 shows how the analytical framework looks like.

**Table 1. Analytical framework: summary of the theoretical discussion**

	“Western” audiences	“Eastern” audiences
What is the <b>nature</b> of the problem represented to be – what <i>is</i> gender inequality? For whom/what is gender inequality a problem? In what ways?		
What are the main <b>causes</b> of the problem represented to be? Who/what actors are represented as causes of the problem?		
What are the main <b>solutions</b> to the problem represented to be? Who/what provides solutions?		

## Method and material: Qualitative Text Analysis of EEAS Speeches

In this section the method and material will be presented. The thesis is a qualitative text analysis to achieve an in-depth examination of the EEAS and how they promote gender equality outside the union. The analysis is comparative, examining EEAS speeches to different audiences. In this chapter, the research design, material, and method of analysis will be presented and explained. The data is collected from EU-databases and especially the EEAS. The former High Representative of the European Union on Foreign affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini's speeches and statements make up the material. The analysis will be elaborated with Carol Bacchi's methodology on how to systematically work with a problem's representation. The material is represented in a table of content below to show how Bacchi's method will be used on the material.

### Research design: Comparative text analysis

The thesis will be analysed through a comparative text analysis. The meaning of text and statements are not ensured, text need to be interpreted and understood in contexts. A comparative text analysis is interesting and valuable in that it explains and analyzes text to make it possible for the audience to understand and contextualize conceptions in the author's meaning (Esaiasson, 2017). In the thesis, speeches and statements are the main documents that will be analyzed and carefully examined to discern possible differences between EEAS: s promotion to a "western" audience respective an "eastern" audience. The analysis will be comparative, and the comparison will be to examine differences in representations towards different audiences.

To study how the EEAS represents gender equality towards "the East," I use the MENA-region as an "eastern" audience. The MENA region varies depending on actor and position. The thesis will focus on EEAS definition of the MENA region, which includes: Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, State of Kuwait, State of Qatar, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine (? Westbank and Gaza strip), Saudi Arabia, The Kingdom of Bahrain, the Sultanate of Oman, Syria, Tunisia,

United Arab Emirates and Yemen (EEAS, 2021). The Western is delimited to North America, United States and Canada and an European audience.

The result from the analysis is very likely to fit into other regions and areas. If the results show there is a difference in how they speak towards different regions I think it differs when compare other regions as well. Therefore, I think the answers is possible to generalize to a certain degree. I think the foundation and the aim of why the EU promotes gender will be the same but that the topics on what they discuss can change due to region. I think that different “Eastern” regions will like any other region discuss gender for the same reason, to achieve gender equality, but with different point of view.

To get a valid result of a comparative text analysis it is important to stay consistent between the two chosen actors. The analysis needs to be operated within the same sphere and topic to be valid (Boreus & Bergström, 2018).

In the analysis, I will carefully examine the content and the arguments in the text. Since gender equality is the main topic, the theme of the texts and speeches will probably have the same aim, *how to reach gender equality*, but with different arguments and different representations of self and other. What separates the speeches and statements content is the argument on how to make it possible and agreeable to the certain audiences. A comparative text analysis can be made within different sections, but suitable for the thesis is an argumentation analysis to compare the text’s meanings (Boreus & Bergström, 2018). An argumentation analysis is often made within the political sphere, especially towards speeches. The rhetoric technique in both oral speeches and argumentation texts is combined with different techniques of texts and way of speaking (Boreus & Bergström, 2018).

## Material: EEAS speeches

The data will be primary sources and produced by the actors itself, the EEAS and Federica Mogherini. The material is based on EEAS actions and Federica Mogherini’s speeches as the former High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. The position means that she represented the EU in foreign policy in other regions and countries outside the union. Federica Mogherini is interesting to analyze because of her former position

and her experiences of meeting many people in many different countries. She is also the first woman as High Representative in the EEAS which makes interesting to see in what way she discusses gender equality in other regions. It is possible that the answers would be different today when there is another High Representative or if the thesis examined another person of the EEAS. It is also possible there is a difference in how gender is presented by a woman and a man in the same position and institution.

The speeches will be gathered online. The data will be collected from webpages, mainly on Federica's own webpage and selection of speeches on gender equality and women. The speeches are analyzed in video-form and will be linked below.

The speeches by Federica Mogherini are only from the time when she was the High Representative for the EEAS and worked very much abroad. The speeches are from different conventions and events but limited to speeches that refers to the MENA region and western audiences, focusing on gender equality. The audience is often other public persons, leaders, high positioned people in the public sector or spokespersons of NGO: s working with gender equality. The events take place in different countries. The forums are official events and planned meetings. Some of the speeches directed to the MENA region is held in a western country but the speech is not always directed to a western audience even if the event is in a western country. The audience can be different from the host country. The speeches are therefore selected from whom the audience is and not the location of the speech.

### **List of the chosen material:**

#### **East:**

Federica Mogherini, press conference with Saudi foreign minister Adel al Jubeir. Saudi Arabia 31<sup>st</sup> May 2016.

Federica Mogherini, Women on the Frontline in Yemen and Syria. New York 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

Federica Mogherini, With Syrian women at the third Brussels-conference. Brussels 13th March 2019.

Federica Mogherini, Opening the third Brussels conference on the future of Syria. Brussels 14th March 2019.

Federica Mogherini, Ministerial meeting on Syria. New York 24<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

**West:**

Federica Mogherini, Launching the Spotlight Initiative to fight violence against women. New York 20<sup>th</sup> September 2017.

Federica Mogherini, at Fortune Most Powerful Women. Montreal 9<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

Federica Mogherini, press conference with Chrystia Freeland. Montreal 6<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

Federica Mogherini, opening speech Women Foreign Ministers. Montreal 21<sup>st</sup> September 2018.

Federica Mogherini, Women's Power in Politics. Brussels, 7<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

Federica Mogherini, Status of Women. New York, 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

## Method of Analysis: Bacchi's What's the Problem represented to Be?

The analysis of the speeches will be made systematically. A systematic method of textual analysis means that the text is analysed with the lenses of the chosen tools. Carol Bacchi has developed a method for analysing representations in text, a method that is called "What's the Problem Represented to be?" or the WPR-approach. Bacchi proposes a method of textual analysis that consists of analytical questions being posed systematically to the material in order to examine how a problem is represented. The analysis will be by inductive method. Why inductive is suitable for the thesis is because analysis can be made with new lenses and not be affected or limited by previous results. An inductive method means that the analysis is made without an intended framework and that the result will lead to the conclusion (Esaiasson, 2017).

There are three main analytical questions structuring the inductive analysis, based on the theoretical discussion of representations above. The first question is to answer what the problem is represented to be and for whom. Second, examines what the cause of the problem is represented to be and who/what is represented as the cause(s) of the problem? The third set of questions center on the representations of the solution to the problem. What or who is represented as offering a solution to the problem (Ibid)? The questions are placed in the

framework below to sectionalize and structure the material. The aim of using the method is to actively be questioned and analyse the material to identify differences and similarities.

**Table 2: Method of Analysis: Comparing Problem Representations Through Systematic Questions**

Analytical questions:	Speeches to “Western” audiences	Speeches to “MENA” audiences
What is the <b>nature</b> of the problem represented to be – what <i>is</i> gender inequality? For whom/what is gender inequality a problem? In what ways?		
What are the main <b>causes</b> of the problem represented to be? Who/what actors are represented as causes of the problem?		
What are the main <b>solutions</b> to the problem represented to be? Who/what provides solutions?		

## **Analysis: Comparing EEAS Representations of Gender (In)Equality to Western and Eastern Audiences**

The analysis examines the chosen speeches by Federica Mogherini to answer how the EEAS addresses western and MENA audiences. The analysis is made in the structure of Bacchi's framework on representations. Before the analysis, I provide some background information on who Federica Mogherini is and what she worked with in the EEAS, as well as what way the EEAS has worked with gender equality. Then, the analysis is structured as follows: first, the analysis goes through what is the problem with gender equality in a western world represented to be in Mogherini's speeches. Second, the analysis continues with the causes and solutions that Mogherini states. Third, the analysis continues with representations of the MENA region's problem, causes and solutions based on Mogherini's speeches. When presenting the result of the MENA region, a comparison of the two audiences will be made. The comparison will also be summarized in a table.

The result of the analysis shows that there is a difference in how Mogherini speaks towards different audiences. She changes her vocabulary, way of speaking and focus on the different audiences. Towards the western audience, Mogherini speaks about women in their professional careers, parental leave, cultural stereotypes and how to interest men in gender equality. Towards the MENA region, her speeches promotes gender equality with a different approach. A common statement she made, was on how women contribute to peaceful negotiations and the importance on to bring women forward in society. That said, there were important similarities in how Mogherini represented gender equality to these audiences: for both Western and MENA audiences, she discussed the need for society to be better in bringing women forward and up, to increase the numbers of women in institutions, women's leadership roles and to get more women into higher education.

### **Background: Federica Mogherini and EEAS Work on Gender Equality**

In this section some additional background information on EEAS and Federica Mogherini is necessary for the context and clarification for the analysis. Federica Mogherini started as the foreign minister of Italy in 2008, and then in 2014 she became the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security policy and the Vice-President of the European

Commission (Federica Mogherini, 2015). By being the High Representative means representing the EU in international contexts, meeting with member states' foreign ministers. The High Representative is in charge for the EU's external actions and elaborate and develop the neighbourhood policy, the EU's relation with the UN for example or humanitarian aid in different contexts (EEAS, 2021). Today she is the Rector of College of Europe where she started in September 2020 (College of Europe, 2022).

The EEAS has worked with the implementation of gender equality in different ways. For example, except that they promote gender equality in other regions and countries, they also have the Gender Action Plan to increase equality. The Gender Action Plan's aim is to make equality be a part of all EU's frameworks and politics. EU strives for a sustainable and long-lasting improvement, they want to develop the EU's gender equality and with their partners and states outside the union. Except for the Gender Action Plan, the EU also has other implementations to increase equality. For example, there are EU Gender Equality Strategy, European Pillar of social rights and Action plan on human rights and democracy. All of them includes forms on how to increase gender equality in our society. The Women, Peace and Security agenda is developed to increase the equality in defence and security policies, it is made to make sure that women are protected and participates in decision-making concerning security policies. The EEAS works consistently with gender equality and how to mainstream gender in their policies (EEAS, 2021).

So, how does the EEAS discuss and represent gender equality to different audiences? I will turn to this question next. After each quote below, a date and a region/country are written, it is the audience Mogherini turns to in her speeches.

## Representations of Gender (In)Equality to Western Audiences

### *What is the Nature of the Problem Represented to be to Western Audiences?*

A repetitive issue in speeches towards western and MENA audiences is the low number of women in politics. Women in politics, is something that Mogherini often raises – for instance, she speaks about how the presence of women in negotiations changes the environment in the room. Mogherini points out the often very low numbers of women around the table. It is one

the main issues that Mogherini often speaks about, towards the western and MENA audience, but with different perspectives. First, towards the western audience, Mogherini repeatedly through the speeches explains that we need to encourage women and girls that they can be whatever they want. Mogherini says that it is important that we inform girls that their career is not limited and that any job a man has, can be a girl's reality. In a speech on women at the European Parliament 7<sup>th</sup> March 2019 Federica Mogherini states:

“I think we have all met young women...asking for advice, on how, first of all how to survive, how to engage in politics, in institutions, in economy, in society. And I think there is a reason why they ask us, and less to men, basic reason we look the same. They are asking for confirmation that they can make it that it is possible.” (Mogherini, European audience 7<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

This statement by Mogherini confirms the obstacles that girls and women feel in their lives. It confirms the differences in men's and women's careers. The problem of gender equality is that girls and women must fight more than men to reach the same positions or careers. Men can fight hard, but a woman always need to fight harder. One of the causes to this issue is women's educational level. Many women around the world get jobs “suitable” for women, stereotypes decide the future for many women. Mogherini speaks about this, to make awareness and inspire women to think big and go against the norms. In her opening speech towards women foreign ministers 21<sup>st</sup> September 2018 Mogherini states:

“We have the responsibility to show women and girls around the world to be what they want.” (Mogherini, Canada 21<sup>st</sup> September 2018)

The nature of the problem of gender equality is represented to in part consist of stereotypes. Stereotypes lead women and men to certain jobs, Mogherini contends. That is why it is so important to tell children and especially girls that they can become whatever they like. Structures and norms contribute to a unequal and exclusive society. Mogherini means that it is not only important to make sure girls can be whatever they want to be, but also for the balance in society that there is mix of women and men. By not mixing women and men in jobs, society misses out on possible employers. Mogherini says following in relation to this:

“We are here today so girls can have the same opportunities... it is a waste of human capital!” (Mogherini, Canada 21<sup>st</sup> September 2018)

The stated above goes hand in hand with another problem of gender inequality, and that is the low number of women in politics and higher institutional posts. Mogherini throughout some of

the speeches stresses that she is often the only woman in the room. There are too few women climbing to the higher posts as leaders and managers. Mogherini argues that the institutions do not reflect the society when only men are the one taking decisions. Mogherini says following in her speech the 7<sup>th</sup> March 2019:

“You need to identify yourself in those who have responsibility on institutional level, and if you only see 50-60 years old men in ties, white and the society does not look that way you might feel a certain distance... a lack of trust” (Mogherini, European audience 7<sup>th</sup> March 2019).

On 20<sup>th</sup> September 2017 in New York, Mogherini held a speech at the *Spotlight Initiative to fight violence against women*. It is an initiative by the UN to reduce all form of violence against women, the initiative is developed in cooperation with the European Union (Spotlight initiative, 2022). The speech is held in a public forum with leaders from the UN and their partners. Mogherini represents the European Union as her role of High Representative. In the speech Mogherini discusses violence against women and girls, and underline what a global issue it is. Mogherini (2017) explains that three out of four women in their working life have been sexual harassed. Next to her in the room sits the UN: s Secretary General Antonio Guterres. Mogherini states during the meeting:

“I have heard myself, from migrant women, from girls, sometimes even children, about abuses they suffered a long the route... stories once you hear them are impossible to forget... no continent is spared, every culture, every country, including our own European Union still harbours forms of discrimination and violence. Three out of four women in a professional job have been sexually harassed, including online.” (Mogherini, USA 20<sup>th</sup> September 2017)

Sexual harassment and violence against women are an issue of gender equality. It is a global issue of gender inequality, in the speech towards a western audience, she focusses on violence against women in the workplace and to make awareness on how broad the issue is. Mogherini also stresses the issue of gender inequality as an issue for all the society. Gender inequality is not a fight for only women, it is also a fight for men. The problem of gender equality is that most of the promoters are women, still many men do not actively support the development of gender equality. There are often women alone who fight gender inequality. In her speech “status for women” from 12<sup>th</sup> Mars 2019 Mogherini speaks about breaking down stereotypes and encourage men to support the fight for women, she says:

“...And for all the men in the room, I don’t think gender equality is an women’s issue. This is your responsibility as it is ours. This is to benefit men as well.” (Mogherini, USA 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

Differences in maternity and paternity leave is also stressed as an issue to gender equality. The legal and stereotypical differences in parental leave affects both the mother and father. Parental leave looks different in different countries, but a general problem is that mothers stay at home longer than men, and some women only stay at home with their children, which affects their career possibilities and economic situation, for men, the career and economy is not as affected as for women, but many fathers miss to raise and take care of their children. The difference in parental leave is mentioned as a problem of gender equality and Mogherini speaks about that the conditions for women and men having children should be equal. Mogherini means that longer and paid paternity leave is necessary for both women, the children, and the men. She says in her speech:

“Paternity and maternity leave should be the same in Europe. It will be the same if they will have children. Less discrimination.” (Mogherini, European audience 7<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

### ***What is the Cause of the problem represented to be to Western audiences?***

In her speeches to Western audiences, Mogherini stresses many factors that cause the problems of gender equality. One of the main issues of too few women in politics is the issue of women’s low educational level. As mentioned, the fact that women have lower education is for instance affected by stereotypes, many jobs that women are overrepresented in the world are of lower range and lower pay. Women are overrepresented in jobs with no education or short education. But it is not only their educational level, it is also affected by if and when women break through, and reach the same posts as men. Mogherini turns a question towards men that they barely get but women gets often:

“... Is he really qualified for that position?” (Mogherini, European audience 7<sup>th</sup> March 2019).

Mogherini discusses women and career building, that women need to work harder than men and that it complicates for women’s careers. The longer way for women causes that it is harder for women to achieve the higher posts and fewer women who ends up fighting for the institutional jobs or higher positioned jobs. She says:

“She probably has to work three, four, ten, twenty times harder than a colleague ... and its not only in politics and institutions that are numbers that are sad, its society as a whole who is not bringing women up and forward...” (Mogherini, European audience 7<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

As referred to the quote above, women more often get questioned about their competence than men. Women in male-dominant jobs get questioned about their positions and choice of career, it is based in stereotypes and how the structures in society are. Mogherini speaks about stereotypes and that it is important to work against them,

“Breaking down all the stereotypes, breaking down all the limits or ceilings” (Mogherini, USA 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

This problem of gender equality is not only an issue for women, but for the entire society. One of causes to the problem about gender equality is that men are not as interested to defeat gender inequality as women. Mogherini discusses that some believes that it only benefits women and does not matter to them. Mogherini comments on this in her speeches. She makes clear that this societal issue is an issue for everyone and not only women, she states:

“I am convinced that we will reach equality only if we will teach our sons...to teach them to respect girls, to teach them to fight for women’s rights, because this is not to the benefit of women, this is to benefit men as well.” (Mogherini, USA 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

Mogherini also stresses that she can see some backlashes in the society. She brings up that there are times when society takes a step back, and the development goes in the wrong direction. For example, Mogherini discusses the problem of differences in parental leave. The cause to the inequalities is affected by how companies, employers and institutions make a difference between men and women. They are not seen as parents, they are seen as a mother and a father with different starting points. Mogherini in several of her speeches towards the western audience brings up those men and women are needed in all categories. One of the main causes to the imbalance that exist in the working and family life is that society to get stuck on stereotypes and follows norms and structures. Mogherini talks about how the society often stresses how to bring more women into male-stereotypical jobs, but it is also the way around, she says:

“...but we also need more men to do jobs traditionally perceived for women.” (Mogherini, Canada 21<sup>st</sup> September 2018)

Mogherini also points out, as mentioned above, a problem of gender equality is that the institutions do not reflect the society, there is a lack of role models. If young women see women in institutions the possibility that they want to be a part of politics increases. Mogherini often discusses the same pattern but in broader scales. She means just like young women inspirers from women in institutions she discusses that the world needs leaders. Mogherini often

mentions the EU's close relationship to both Canada and United States. Another cause of gender inequality in the world according to Mogherini's statements is low cooperation. She says following about EU and North America cooperation, which she claims to be very good:

"...does not only bring benefits to our people but to the rest of the world, as Canada and the European Union together are in a certain way, the center of a world alliance. Presence and promote a certain way of looking at the world based on cooperation." (Mogherini, Canada 6<sup>th</sup> November 2018).

### ***What is the solution to problem represented to be for Western audiences?***

Federica Mogherini's speeches are often built up to explain the problem and then the solution. She says in some speeches that she likes to focus on the solution to the issue and not what caused the issue, and it is very clear while analysing her speeches. On the 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019 Mogherini holds a speech in New York on the status of women. Mogherini is solution-oriented and says:

"...Not focusing on who's responsibilities it is, but what is the way forward and that is why we have an interest to empowering women to do it and... you can account on the European Union to work consistently to empower women..." (Mogherini, USA 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019).

In every speech on gender equality, she presents a solution but do not discuss the causes as much. It is interesting to hear the solutions and it creates an optimistic sphere. She says:

"We have walked an incredible path to get here, some of us is the first to graduate in our families, most of us where the first female foreign ministers in our countries... Our stories can tell girls they can be whatever they want." (Mogherini, Canada 21st September 2018)

Mogherini aims to inspire girls and women to be what they want to be. The speech is held in room full of female foreign ministers in the world, and Mogherini speaks about how women's careers often look different than men's. In the speech they discuss the importance to have an event with only women, an event for only female foreign ministers. Mogherini stress the importance of having an event with only the women and how powerful it is. In another speech from 2018, Mogherini states about women in politics:

"...Women talking about women, we need to overcome this, women talking about conflict, about crisis, about business... We do not only have to talk about women..." (Mogherini, Canada 6<sup>th</sup> November 2018)

The cause of the issue is men's violence against women, they discuss violence against women in their everyday lives, at their workplace and online. The Spotlight Initiative were implemented as a solution to defeat violence against women. To make awareness and make a structural change in society. Mogherini has stated following:

“Change is possible, but it requires determination and action. When women are better off, it is the entire community better off, men and children... This is not a battle for women it is a for the entire society... Culture can change, social norms can evolve...” (Mogherini, USA 20th September 2017)

Mogherini clearly states the solution to the issue in her speech. She explains that determination and action will make change possible and that violence against women are not only women's fight. The speech is focused on the solutions, and she mentions a few. She continues:

“Laws are important, conventions are important. It is a part of the change in mentality and the system, recognizing the problem and facing it...” (Mogherini, USA 20th September 2017).

In this sentence she emphasizes how to take action, the measurements, laws and conventions will make structural changes make awareness. Mogherini often underlines how the EU can help to increase gender equality. She talks about global solutions that the EU will help to fund, support or promote. The 20<sup>th</sup> September 2017 she calls the European Union as an investor of gender equality, she states:

“... the European Union is already by far the first investor in gender equality and change. Let me just mention two initiatives, first the European Union call to action and protection from gender based violence, in emergencies. Second... Our recent decision to sign ...Istanbul Convention.” (Mogherini, USA 20<sup>th</sup> September 2017).

At the Spotlight Initiative it is possible to see that there is a mix of women and men in the room, Federica also remarks the mixture of people in the beginning of the speech. Since mentioned above, she underlines that it is not a battle for women and she continues to encourage civilians to continue to contribute to the structural changes and stop violence against women, Mogherini states:

“Women need to tell other women that it is right to speak up, men need to show courage and leadership, and strength, and tell other men what is right and what is wrong.” (Mogherini, USA 20th September 2017).

For the paternity leave Federica stresses some important points to improve this. This is made not only for each individual, but for the quality of the society. Improvements on paternal leave,

increases the chances for women to take a step forward. Mogherini says the following about the shared fight and paternity leave in Europe:

“I am convinced that the fight for women’s rights, and for equal opportunities, and for equal societies, is not a fight that women just should make but I think it is a fight that is much more effective when it is men doing them together with women. It is not a matter of protecting one category, it is the matter of improving the quality of our society...” (Mogherini, European audience 7<sup>th</sup> March 2019).

“...The European Parliament has backed the commission proposal to introduce something that is very basic but can be revolutionary, a ten-day paternity leave across the European Union... We should introduce equal and compulsory parental leave... exactly the same duration, exactly the same pay, because this will be the only way to convince... companies that if they have a man or a woman having children... it will bring down the discrimination...”(Mogherini, European audience 7<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

This speech and this sentence gave a lot of reaction in the room, people started to applaud. It was very effectful and well received. As Federica mentions in her other speeches, the solutions are to make implementations and that is what she discusses in the speech on parental leave. She mentions how the EU is working for an equal plan for both parents to reduce the discrimination on women, it is also to create a chance for fathers to spend more time with their families.

Mogherini talks about the importance of cooperation. Cooperation leads to a stronger alliance, she means that EU, Canada and United States are great friends and cooperate together to promote their interests. In some of her speeches she explains how EU:s and North Americas friendship will show leadership in the world and that their values should be promoted. Mogherini says at the press conference with Chrystia Freeland (currently deputy prime minister of Canada) (Canada, 2022).

“EU and Canada are closer than ever... We share the same values... Protecting and promoting our values, which are the universal ones.” (Mogherini, Canada 6<sup>th</sup> November 2018)

About the relationship with United States of America, Mogherini says:

“EU and United Nations, I believe is the perfect couple, we can do great things together, and I do believe the world needs us to show leadership.” (Mogherini, USA 20<sup>th</sup> September 2017)

The statements are from different speeches in different times but there are similarities with the aim of the statement. Mogherini sees potential in EU: s relationship with Canada and United States, she means that together change is possible. In both statement she also mentions that in some way they are leaders of the world’s values.

## Representations of Gender (In)Equality to MENA Audiences

Throughout almost all speeches Federica Mogherini speaks about the importance of bringing women forward in different contexts. There are some points that does not change regardless the audience, for example that there are too few women in politics, leaders or as in higher posts. Mogherini brings up in both contexts that the world needs to support girls, young women and women to dream big and that they should all be able to become whatever they like. Despite this, there are some differences in the focus on speeches. Before the western audiences, Mogherini is more likely to bring up gender equality in terms of business, economy and parental issues while towards MENA region she repeatedly mentions gender equality in the context of peace negotiations and give women more space. It is also possible to identify that in many of the speeches towards MENA audiences, Mogherini does not go as in depth in gender equality issues as to the western audience. The speeches towards the western audience were more detailed and developed than towards MENA region.

### *What is the Nature of the Problem Represented to be to MENA Audiences?*

To begin with, to identify the issues of gender equality in MENA region is as mentioned similar to the western world. What is similar is how she speaks about women's subordination in society and that women are not heard enough. The problem of gender equality in the MENA region is often mentioned as the lack of space women gets and that women are not heard enough. In the speech from 12<sup>th</sup> March Mogherini explains that in an earlier meeting with the Syrian and Yemeni women in the room, she had asked them:

“What can we do to help?” (Mogherini, Yemen, Syria 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

They had answered that they wanted space, to make their voices heard, and that is what Mogherini wanted to guarantee them, Mogherini says:

“We need to guarantee that your voices can be heard” (Mogherini, Yemen, Syria 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

By this statement she focuses on women in general and by “we”, I interpreted that she meant the EU, Mogherini wants to ensure that the EU works to make women's voices heard and meaningful in any context. Though, a difference towards the western audience is when she discusses that women have too little space in society, Mogherini focuses more on how to make awareness among men to also take the fight for gender equality, but towards the eastern

audience Mogherini instead focuses on how EU can support women. So to say the solutions are different even if the problems are the same, she states:

“You can always count on us to fight with you, for guaranteeing that you have your space, your voice to be heard” (Mogherini, Yemen, Syria 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

In two other speeches in the same context Mogherini states:

“We need to make certainty that the voices of women are heard...” (Mogherini, Syria 13<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

“This week we have brought them and their stories to Brussels and international community...I decided to begin this conference with their voice and to make it heard...” (Mogherini, Syria 14<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

Mogherini often says that MENA women’s voices need to be heard, and since that was the Syrian and Yemeni women’s answer to Mogherini’s question, it is possible to interpret the lack of space on women is a problem of gender equality in the MENA region. There is a non-stated statement about how the women feel that they are not listened to. Another problem with gender equality that is stressed towards MENA audience is the lack of security for women and children. Mogherini often discusses the issue of women being victims. Mogherini means that every woman is a victim, but being a victim in unsafe conditions is something that no one should go through. Mogherini says following:

“It is women on the frontlines, women the EU has met several of times, has supported, in their daily fights, and when I say fights I mean literally fights...” (Mogherini, Syria 12 March 2019)

She continues to underline that women are very exposed in crisis, conflicts and wars. A problem of gender equality in affected areas is that women and children are nonprotected and not safe. Men suffers in wars, but women are not only victims to war but also to men. Women who escape and run away with children are very exposed and often is it hard to protect these women, it is a problem of equality, Mogherini says:

“Women are not just victims, they are also the major victims of conflict...” (Mogherini, Syria 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

Compared to the western audience, women as victims in conflict is not mentioned. Mogherini might have aimed to say that women are exposed and victims of society in other words, but in the terms of conflict it is the matter of life or death for some women.

A similarity between the audiences is that she expresses the dissatisfaction of too few women in politics and in negotiating. Mogherini towards both audiences' stresses that she often is the only woman in the room and how she wants the society to push for more women working in the same spheres as she does. She mentions though, that she is convinced that all women working in institutions today inspire girls to dream big, this promotion is towards both audiences, but still with different takes. Towards the MENA audience, Mogherini often speaks about that many conflicts would have been more peaceful with women in negotiation.

***What is the Cause of the problem represented to be to MENA audiences?***

Except for that there are similarities in the speeches, one of the main differences is how often she mentions "peace" and how often she speaks in terms of gender equality and women in peace negotiations when addressing MENA audiences. Mogherini argues that war and conflict can not be solved by an expanded and developed military measurements. Mogherini means that the cause to unsolved conflicts is the lack of negotiation. Leaders do not negotiate as much as needed and there are no clear solution to the problems. With a more equal balance of men and women Mogherini is convinced that negotiation would have been more successful. She says in her speech with Syrian women on the 13<sup>th</sup> March:

"In my experience, and I have met most of these incredible women and young women... and I have seen with my own eyes, if it was just for them, peace in Syria would have been achieved long ago..." (Mogherini, Syria 13<sup>th</sup> March 2019).

Another cause of the gender equality issue is that the society is not inclusive enough. Mogherini repeatedly in many of her speeches to both audiences promotes inclusive societies. With more inclusive societies politics, institutions and societies will be more balanced. The exclusive society is the cause to several of factors of gender inequality. An exclusive society affects that it is harder for women to be a part of negotiations and have jobs institutions. Mogherini underlines that without women and gender equality the agreements and measurements will not work. Mogherini states:

"Without half of the population, there is no way in which these agreements can be sustainable..." (Mogherini, Syria 12<sup>th</sup> March 2019).

An issue to gender inequality in some of the MENA region countries is the issue of conflicts and for some women, war. In these affected regions, it is relevant to start discussing gender inequality in the terms on the society's state of mind. It will not be a priority to discuss the differences in for example, parental leave when there is a conflict or war going on. It affects what Mogherini choose to speak about on gender equality. Mogherini discuss the lack of shelter for women and children in these affected areas. She says on the meeting with the Saudi foreign minister Adel al Jubeir 31<sup>st</sup> of May 2016 that cooperation to support and protect Syrians is very important. She says in her speech:

“We feel that it is our duty to support our Syrian friends, and their lives. We are talking about war, about women, children, men living in terrible conditions...” (Mogherini, Saudi Arabia, Syria 31<sup>st</sup> of May 2016).

Mogherini means that the shelter for humans is not good enough and that the EU needs to help. She wants to start by helping people in Syria and work their way outside, she says:

“...to provide humanitarian support, first of all inside Syria...” (Mogherini, Saudi Arabia, Syria 31<sup>st</sup> May 2016).

The lack of protection of humans in crisis create even larger gaps between men and women's safety.

### ***What is the solution of the problem represented to be to MENA audiences?***

In almost every speech Mogherini have on women regardless the audience, in some way express that she is convinced that more women will facilitates for decision-making, bring peace and make the world a better place. Towards the MENA region she often has as a solution to promote for more women in politics and negotiations. She says:

“Every time I have met with them over the years, I have seen completely different point of view, completely different background, cultures, everything is different. But one thing that units them... and I think, should be an aspiration for us, that rather than focusing on whose fault it is, they first try to find the common ground and the solution and move forward... That is so precious.” (Mogherini, Syria 13<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

Mogherini often discusses the value of women in decision making and especially in the MENA region. She explains that politics and society would benefit from women's presence in negotiating and underline the importance of continuing good partnership between different regions and countries. International cooperation is a key to conventions and meetings, these

meetings are important for progress and Mogherini means the system that EU and UN have developed and promoted together is a step forward. Mogherini expresses at a conference with UN-Women and women from Syria and Yemen that their partnership is important for both parts, Mogherini says:

“...UN-women sharing an event with Syrian and Yemeni women involved in the peace making and peace building...the partnership we have with the women in the reason of conflict is key for us, we will continue working to protect victims but to empower decision making role of women in peace processes...It also shows the incredible friendship and partnership that ties the UN and EU system these days.” (Mogherini, Syria 13<sup>th</sup> March 2019)

She discusses the solutions for increasing the gender equality in Syria by expressing that Syrian women have to little space in politics. Mogherini claims more women in negotiation, Syria would have become further. She says:

“Let me underline this, of the Syrian women... On a personal level, I have to say, that the result, the determination, the wisdom of the Syrian women have giving the hope. If they, coming from different backgrounds manage to find some common ground in very hard times, I believe that the entire society of Syria will be able to reconcile and find a peaceful future that they deserve.” (Mogherini, Syria 24<sup>th</sup> September 2019).

Mogherini expresses that the determinate discussion that the Syrian women have is a possible solution to solve the conflicts. She is convinced once again that women bring peace, and that the society would have looked different with more female power.

Mogherini continues that the women give hope and that with them a future Syria will look different, she also means that war is not the solution, and that negotiation will have the answers to the issue, she says:

“Syria can only be reborn, and can only move forward, with a negotiated political solution. A political solution that opens the way to a united, democratic, independent and inclusive Syria... A future Syria that is strong, peaceful and inclusive...” (Mogherini, Syria 24<sup>th</sup> September 2019).

Towards the western audience, she has the same approach, that women bring more peaceful debates, but she does not speak towards western women as different groupings as she does with the MENA women, for example “Syrian women” and “Yemeni women”. The solutions to gender equality towards the western audience is more objective and on more topics. The solutions towards MENA audience are more focused on peace building and making women heard. The speeches are clearly adjusted towards the different audiences in that way that

Mogherini does not even mention economics or business in the speeches on gender equality towards MENA region, even if that is their reality of gender inequality as well.

In the analysis, the results have shown that the conversations do change towards different audiences. The language, some words and the topic on gender equality change depending on how Mogherini speaks too. Towards the western audience, gender equality where often discussed in wider terms. The speeches were on how to make more room for women in institutions and leadership roles, Mogherini also discussed the differences in parental leaves and how to implement new laws too increase the equality. Mogherini also stressed the importance of educated both men and women in gender issues and that it is not only a women’s fight, it is a fight for the whole society. While towards the MENA region Mogherini discussed gender equality in term of peace negotiations mostly and how to bring women forward as well. The discussions were not as broad as towards the western audience. To the MENA region she also discussed the deficiency of security for women and children in uncertain conditions and how to help with humanitarian aid. Mogherini also discussed women’s rights to be heard and how women contribute to better conditions. Towards both audiences Mogherini showed her trust in women and that women need more space in negotiation and institutions. Even if the topics changed towards the different audiences, the fact that women need more space were clear. Towards both audiences she spoked about solutions and implementations the EU wants to do to increase gender equality and how important it is to do so.

**Table 3. Summary of the Representations to Western and MENA audiences**

Analytical questions:	“Western” audiences	“MENA” audiences
<p>What is the <b>nature</b> of the problem represented to be – what <i>is</i> gender inequality? For whom/what is gender inequality a problem? In what ways?</p>	<p>Unequal number of women and men in institutions            Unused labour force            A “women’s fight”            Different presumptions for men and women            Unfair treatments of women in society            Economic differences            Differences in educations</p>	<p>Unequal number of women and men in institutions            Women and children are not less safe and more exposed in warzones            Women are not heard            Peace negotiations are ineffective            Differences in educations            Unequal number of women and men inhibits peace projects/negotiations</p>

<p>What are the main <b>causes</b> of the problem represented to be? Who/what actors are represented as causes of the problem?</p>	<p>Few measurements on how to bring women forward, in education and career</p> <p>Low interest among men</p> <p>Traditions and cultures</p> <p>Stereotypes</p> <p>Absence of political solutions</p> <p>Unequal economic conditions</p>	<p>Lack of measurements on how to bring women forward, in education and career</p> <p>Traditions and cultures</p> <p>Stereotypes</p> <p>Lack in how to protect civilians in war, women and children is often more exposed</p> <p>Participants in peace negotiations are majority men</p>
<p>What are the main <b>solutions</b> to the problem represented to be? Who/what provides solutions?</p>	<p>Bring women and girls forward in all categories</p> <p>Reflect society in institutions, increase diversity</p> <p>Regulations and laws</p> <p>Break stereotypes</p>	<p>Bring women and girls forward in all categories</p> <p>Give women the space they need and request</p> <p>More women in peace negotiations and institutions</p> <p>Protect women and children in warzones</p>

## **Conclusions: EEAS Representations of Gender (In)Equality to Western and Eastern Audiences**

The result of the analysis answers the thesis research questions. What gender equality is what changes depending on who the audience is, which also mean that many of the causes and solutions mentioned are also different from each other. The first research question is the reason for not defining gender equality earlier because the definition of gender equality is supposed to be answered through the analysis. The first question is answered in the analysis. To answer the first question, the definition of gender equality is explained as equal rights, conditions, and career possibilities for everyone. Equality is that men and women have the same possibilities to work in institutions and have the same jobs as men. Gender equality is that men and women have the same rights and possibilities to parental leave. Gender equality is also explained as no violence towards women. Gender equality is understood in many contexts and is defined in many ways. Mogherini do not focus on one certain definition on what gender equality means but all of them together answers clearly to the question on what gender equality is according to Mogherini since many of the answers are repeated.

To the MENA region there were many similarities. Mogherini brought for example up the absences of women in institutions and negotiations in both regions, even if they might be on different levels, it was a similar issue. She also spoke about women and girls struggle with stereotypes and traditions in society in both regions. Though, Mogherini had a little different take on her focus in her speeches. She instead discussed women in relation to how well the society would have developed with women in peace negotiations. Gender equality towards this audience were discussed in a broader range that women need more space both listen to and physical space. Gender equality was also discussed in terms of how to increase the safety for women and children in exposed areas. In the MENA region, gender equality was understood in broader strand than towards the western region. According to the analysis I think Mogherini discussed gender equality more detailed and developed than towards MENA. The reason for this is not definite but the homogeneity the western regions claims to have towards each other might be the reason for how the discussion goes. Towards MENA region where the discussion where more focused on the basic assumptions of gender equality and safety for women, it could be caused by the same reason the previous research discuss gender mainstreaming. Chappell

(2021) in the previous research discuss the difficulties that gender mainstreaming has in security policies, while it is easier to implement gender equality in economics, social structures and similar “low” politics. Security and foreign policies have been mentioned by the previous research to be harder to implement gender structure due to how the security policies are constructed. This could be a reason for why Mogherini do not discuss the gender policies more in depth towards the MENA region since the discussion where often in term of security questions.

What the obstacles to gender equality is, can sometimes be the same obstacles but have different outcomes in different regions. For example, in both regions Mogherini discusses the issue of too few women in politics, institutions or higher posts, and the problems are both related to women lack in higher educations. So, the causes are the same in both regions, but the causes of too few women in institutions in the western world were referred to as the society needs to break stereotypes and make sure that girls dream big and that they can become whatever they like. To the MENA region Mogherini discussed the cause of too few women in institutions as an issue of women do not have enough space. Men take a lot of space in politics. Mogherini claimed the MENA region to have exclusive structures and norms which cause that the institutions does not reflect how the society looks. Also, the way Mogherini speaks about the women in the MENA region, the women themselves are not blamed to be the cause of the issue. Her chosen rhetoric underlines that the women are peacebuilders and the ones who could change the world around. Mogherini focuses on to praise the women, instead of blaming the men even if in that context, means that the men and the structures and norms are the cause of worsened conditions for women and less influence.

The clearest focus Mogherini has is how she speaks about the solutions. She is very solution oriented and speak most of her speeches on how to solve the issue than speaking of how the issue appeared. Towards the western audience Mogherini discussed the importance of implementations and laws as a solution to gender equality. She also discussed often in different context how to get men on board, to get men interested and understanding that gender equality is not only a women’s fight.

The major difference of the two audiences is how she presented on how to support women, towards the MENA region Mogherini said that the EU wants to make room and space for the women to be heard, something that she did not mention towards the western region. Why she did not mention it might be because Mogherini did not discuss with the women in the western audience that they were not heard, the focus was instead on increasing gender equality that still need measurements to be achieved, also towards the western audience and in particular Canada, Mogherini had meeting with their deputy prime minister who is a women. When Canada is represented by a female leader, some of the issues Mogherini speaks about, can she probably conclude that the other female leader does as well unlike if there were male leaders. Towards the MENA region she underlines that the EU wants to ensure that the women achieve the space they desire, since they had requested space as aid to increase gender equality. The solution to gender equality in the MENA region is more abstract and not as explained in different social categories. The solution is more fundamental like, bringing women up, give them space to talk and be heard and make sure they are safe. While towards the western audience, there were more focus on different social areas within gender equality and how to reach them. Even if gender-based violence and insecurity in society for women in the west exists too (Mogherini speaks about this as well but not as much), the focus were more on social politics and bringing women up and forward in their careers and institutions.

The answers the analysis gave is familiar to what some of the previous research said. The previous research mentions the EEAS as a global gender actor, and what is possible to conclude due to the analysis is that Mogherini travelled a lot and discussed women's rights in different context and spheres. There were many speeches I did not choose to analyse since they were not in my field. The previous research also discuss in how the EEAS is affected by other gender actors and that the EU's gender plans are formed and affected by the other gender structures, for example from the UN. Something that also shows in my research. Many of the speeches towards both audiences were in collaboration with the UN on different levels.

The previous research also stresses the challenges that gender equality has in foreign, security and defence policies. The differences in regions and different countries make it challenging to implement common gender laws to increase gender equality, Mogherini in the speeches mentions the challenges the EU faces and that it is not always easy. The previous research explains that security and defence policies are traditionally founded on male structures which

makes it more difficult for gender equality structures to be implemented. It might also explain why Mogherini's focuses are so different toward the two audiences. Mogherini's speeches indicates that the western region is more developed in gender equality and that the MENA region has not become as far according to how she speaks to them. She speaks to the western audience with a language and context that they already work with their gender policies. Mogherini does not discuss the issue of that women are not heard as broad as she does to the MENA region, it seems like according to Mogherini that step one for MENA region is that women first need to be heard and then the other gender issues can be discussed. The chosen topics and discussions indicate for a start on how to increase gender equality, while her speeches towards west starts somewhere in the middle of the development. This shows the differences in chosen languages towards different audience that social constructivism explains. Social constructivism means that actors change their ways of speaking and acting to adjust to the audience. Constructivists are interested in the audience's different backgrounds to be able to adjust their language and acting to be able to achieve the most from the audience. For example when Mogherini choose to speak about the differences in parental leave towards the western audience she capture the audience interest and issue with parental leave, while if Mogherini brought up the issue of differences in parental leave, the audience might have agreed but thought there were other issues to bring up instead, like the women from Syria who asked for space in the EU to be heard and increase gender equality in Syria through the EU.

One notice I made while listening and analysing the speeches is how Mogherini addresses the women in the west respective the MENA region. This answers the fourth and last question on in what ways do the presentation differ, when she spoke to a western audience, Mogherini did not make any extra emphasis on the word women or how she spoke to the women, she only referred to them as "we" or "women", like the women are the same women with the same struggles in EU and North America. Though, when Mogherini spoke to the MENA region, she often added a word. She addressed the women as "women of Syria" or "women of Yemen", she also used the other way around repeatedly, "Syrian women". It does not necessarily be a negative addressing but in the context, it was often very clear that she meant the women of Syria or Yemen. She did not address the women in USA or Canada at any meeting, speech or context. Mogherini never said, "women of Canada" and in the context there were no need for addressing the women differently. The speeches were just as clear as when she meant women in Canada or Syria, the "women of" were not needed in any case. While analysing the speeches

I could not see any reason for addressing women differently in different regions since most of the speeches, regardless audience, were held in rooms with many different people with different titles, positions or gender.

This is one of the clearest proofs of self and othering. Mogherini probably do not do this on purpose since her speeches are very friendly, gender promoting and focused on a fair development. The aim Mogherini has with her speeches is to increase gender equality and help women around the world, but with this clear division of addressing it shows in some way that the western women “are the same” and did not need any other addressing while the MENA women were addressed with their ethnicity even if I believe it was not necessary, just as it was not necessary towards western women. In the end they are all women, fighting the same fight just like how Mogherini promotes that gender equality is not only a women’s fight it is also men’s fight. The same with gender equality in the world, it is not only a certain women’s fight that women in Syria are not safe it is a fight for everyone on increasing gender equality. This way of speaking creates a we and them, a self and other. The western region becomes the self, the developed and powerful self while the MENA region is someone else and is addressed as not only *women*.

I believe that these finding are very important for future research. I believe that this shows how, I would like to say unconsciously, self and othering is made in politics and international relations. My chosen speeches are just a part of all the speeches Mogherini has on gender equality, the speeches I have is the one only matching my research, but it is possible to believe that these structures are the same in other contexts and towards other regions as well. It is obvious that Mogherini fights for women’s rights and women prosperity and not only for women in the EU, but for women in the world. I would also like to believe that her work has made a change for women in world, but a simple thing as on how to address women shows how the world is seen and unfortunately reflects how the world is often seen. We can see in my previous research that western world is very linked together and have a lot in common which means that other regions, “below” the western world is a possible victim of becoming the other. These finding are important for future research because it is important to prove that even when actors want to help and act, the actions are not always helpful, in this case the way of speaking to the MENA audience does not harm them or inhibits their development but put in context there are a difference in how the women are addressed and should there really be a difference?

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