DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES (CES)

FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS FRAMING TO DIFFERENT AUDIENCES

A qualitative study of Swedish feminist foreign policy communication in four countries

Iryna Mikhnovets

Abstract

This thesis aims to investigate whether and in what ways Swedish foreign policy actors frame feminist foreign policy differently for audiences. The focus of this thesis concentrates on the single case of Swedish feminist foreign policy and contains comparative elements. This policy area was chosen with an aim to compare policy framing to domestic audience in Sweden and to three different national audiences in the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation.

Two fundamental theoretical assumptions of persuasion and framing in international politics are central in this thesis and provide supporting ground for analysis of framing differences for domestic and various international audiences. Carol Bacchi's framework for policy analysis and different components of frames was chosen in order to set out an analytical framework and to study framing of the feminist foreign policy.

Thesis is built on a qualitative research design that was guided by the concept of triangulation and was based on a qualitative text analysis. The findings demonstrated that Swedish feminist foreign policy framing does not really differ in all four contexts chosen for analysis. Three the same overarching frames appeared throughout policy communication in all chosen contexts overall and their characteristics seemed to vary depending on the context where the policy was discussed. A distinguishable tendency was observed in how feminism-related terminology was used in policy articulation. The study revealed that the "feminist" terms were expressed in the strongest way in those contexts where it does not provoke any controversy, and therefore might be least needed.

Keywords: cause of the problem, domestic audience, feminism, feminist foreign policy, foreign context, foreign policy actors, framing, gender equality, international audience, persuasion, policy analysis, policy communication, problem's framing, solution of the problem, two-level games

Word count: 17. 254

Table of content

1.Introduction and general aim

In a global context of female subordination to men and of widespread gender-based discrimination, Sweden launched a "feminist foreign policy" (FFP) in 2014. While Swedish foreign policy has sought to enhance gender equality and women's rights abroad for decades, the gender equality perspective is now to permeate all aspects of Swedish foreign policy. Labelling the pursuit of gender equality "feminist" furthermore signals an intensified commitment to equality between men and women abroad. As Aggestam and Bergman-Rosamond (2016) have argued, "adopting the ‚f-word' elevates politics from a broadly consensual orientation of gender mainstreaming toward more controversial politics, and specifically toward those that explicitly seek to renegotiate and challenge power hierarchies and gendered institutions" (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2016, p. 323).

The feminist quest for gender equality abroad has since aligned with the political aims and societal norms of some contexts around the world, while clashing with others. Although there are many supporters of gender equality around the world, gender equality also remains controversial in many quarters. What is more, the feminist terminology is controversial even among actors and in societies generally committed to equality between men and women. Given how much variation there is globally in views on gender relations, how do foreign policy actors try to "pitch" the policy to various audiences to make the FFP persuasive? The overarching aim of this thesis is to examine whether and how Swedish foreign policy actors adapt the framing of the Swedish FFP to the national context in which the policy is discussed.

In examining whether and how the FFP is framed, or communicated, differently to different national audiences, the thesis speaks to two bodies of foreign policy scholarship: one that deals with how foreign policy is adapted for different audiences, and one that centers on FFP. The first body of scholarship has demonstrated that foreign policy makers negotiate competing demands between domestic and international groups, a process referred to as "two-level games" by Robert Putnam (1988). The second body of scholarship on FFP has focused on the contents of the policy and the domestic factors that shape the policy's origins. Crucially, neither body of literature has examined how foreign policy is communicated to different audiences. Therefore, the main aim of this thesis is to compare the framing of the FFP to various national audiences: the domestic Swedish one and several foreign ones.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. Firstly, Chapter 2 will discuss prior scholarship on two-level games and FFP and inform the reader about the contribution of this thesis to existing scholarship. In Chapter 3, the general theoretical approach, theoretical assumptions on persuasion and framing, as well as analytical tools of policy framing analysis will be presented. In Chapter 4, the specified aim and research questions will be stated. Chapter 5 will present the research design and methodological tools applied in order to gather and analyse empirical data. In Chapter 6, the results and analysis of evidence will be presented, followed by Chapter 7 that will conclude the thesis with a summary of findings and implications for the research field of politics from a broad perspective.

2. Literature review: two-level games and the feminist foreign policy

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will review previous research conducted in two fields: (1) two-level games in foreign policy, and (2) feminist foreign policy. Although there are a large number of academic articles on "two-level games" and feminist foreign policy, very few sources compare the way in which foreign policy is communicated to groups on both the domestic and the international level. More specifically, there is no scholarship on how feminist foreign policy is communicated to audiences on these two levels. Thus, in my study, I will shed more light on the way foreign policy is communicated domestically and internationally, using feminist foreign policy as the policy area for comparing these two dimensions of policy communication. This chapter is divided into three parts, beginning with a review of existing scholarship on the "two-level games," followed by a review of scholarship on feminist foreign policy. The chapter ends with a concluding discussion that summarizes the reviews and the contribution of this thesis to the study of the communication of foreign policy.

2.2. Scholarship on Two-Level Games

There is a large body of scholarship on how governments negotiate their policies with international and domestic audiences (Ilda, 1993; Feliu, 2007; Verbeek et al., 2008; Panayirci et al., 2014; Conceição-Heldt et al., 2017; Bjola et al., 2018; Noone, 2019; Oppermann, 2019). This research started to develop in depth in the eighties with Robert Putnam's (1988) introduction of the concept of "two-level games", drawing attention to the relationship between international relations and domestic politics, and discussing whether domestic policy debates are decisive for the course of international relations or if the relationship is reversed. According to Putnam, the outcome of international negotiations mirrors the scope of possible results acceptable to domestic interest groups (Moravcsik, 1993 in Evans et al., 1993). Since then, many scholars have drawn analogies between two-level games and diplomacy in the European Union and beyond (Collinson, 1999; Menz, 2010; Cofelice, 2017). Prior to the concept of two-level games, James Rosenau (1969) linked domestic and international policy areas. However, these efforts did not lead to the extensive development of further research (Putnam, 1988, p. 430).

Much "two-level games" scholarship concentrates on the way foreign policy officials

negotiate and make political deals with international and domestic groups. This often implies simultaneous involvement of policy officials in domestic and international negotiations (Mo, 1994, p.402). International negotiations may affect the vector of participation in domestic policy processes, as well as the way in which policy proposals are created (Schoppa, 1993, p. 385). National decision-makers may play parallel games at the domestic and international negotiating tables, aiming to adopt state's specific foreign policy goals adapted in different community contexts, where these states operate (Cofelice, 2017, p. 247).

This thesis will analyse a specific type of domestic-international engagement: the *communication* of foreign policy to domestic versus international audiences. Scholarship on the way foreign policy is communicated to domestic versus international audiences is thus of particular relevance (Panayirci et al., 2014; McDonald, 2015; Jezierska & Towns, 2018; Oppermann, 2019). It is essential to note that the domestic/international communication of foreign policy has been transformed due to social media and digitalization. Previous research indicates that public diplomacy and its current challenges are linked to the fading delineation between international and domestic policy (Potter, 2003; Wang, 2006; Panayirci, 2014). Digitalization has become a crucial factor influencing an increase of online actors' capacity to challenge and oppose communication by state actors (Bjola et al., 2018). Moreover, social media serves today as an important tool for governments who use it in order to enlarge and strengthen the support required on a domestic level for their foreign policies (ibid).

However, there is very little scholarship that compares how foreign policy is communicated to a domestic versus an international public. Some scholars have discussed foreign policy communication in the context of comparison between how foreign policy is perceived internationally and domestically. For instance, in a study on perceptions of German foreign policy during Angela Merkel's third term**,** Oppermann (2019) argues that internationally, Germany was perceived as the state possessing the essential capacity and power in the area of international crisis management (Oppermann, 2019, p. 483). However, on a domestic level, the German public remained skeptical about Germany's ambitions to play a more significant role in international politics (Oppermann, 2019, p.483). Oppermann (2019) further argues that for Merkel's administration, it was a difficult task to keep the balance between domestic and international expectations (ibid, p. 483). Another study focuses on political elites as public opinion-makers in emerging democratic states, examining how they may hold a monopoly over different communication means, which allows them to politically control social media

(Panayirci et al., 2014, p. 65). This tendency may escalate during foreign policy crises, when the domestic audience's attention increases. In order to manage the expectations of audiences on both domestic and international levels, political leaders may use different communication tools, e.g. framing, with an aim to manage public opinion when policy crises start to develop (ibid). Constructivist scholarship in turn mentions the role of values, norms and identities that intensify disputes about foreign policy with different actors, who seek to "sell" their vision on foreign policy to different audiences (Holland, 2013 in McDonald, 2015, p. 654). Foreign policy actors may present different opinions about the aims of other states alongside those of opinions on what type of behavior is appropriate in international processes, which contributes to the formation of foreign policy on the domestic level (McDonald, 2015, p. 655).

This review of scholarship on "two-level games" has showcased a broad spectrum of studies focusing primarily on the interplay between negotiations of foreign policy makers and international and domestic groups, and domestic and international foreign policy perceptions. My study is inspired by its focus on policy engagements with international versus domestic policy audiences. However, there is not much research on communication of foreign policy to domestic versus international audiences. My study will contribute to this body of scholarship by shedding more light on the specifics of foreign policy presentations within and beyond a nation state.

The focus of my thesis on policy communication will further develop two-level games scholarship in two different ways. Firstly, it will contribute to filling an existing gap in two-level games scholarship through shifting from its current focus on policy negotiations to actual policy communication. Secondly, it will examine differences among international and domestic contexts, and the way foreign policy content is framed in communication to different national publics.

2.3. Scholarship on Feminist Foreign Policy

The scholarship on feminist foreign policy (FFP) and gender and foreign policy has grown dramatically in the past few years (Williams, 2017; Vucetic, 2018; Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond, 2019; Aggestam, Bergman Rosamond & Kronsell, 2019; Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019; Aggestam & True, 2020; Haastrup, 2020; Lee-Koo, 2020). Most of this scholarship focuses on the contents of this policy, and there are also studies that examine why feminist foreign policy has emerged. However, as my review will show below, there are virtually no

studies on how feminist foreign policy is communicated to foreign and domestic audiences.

Much of the scholarship on feminist foreign policy examines its content (D'Aoust, 2012; Bashevkin, 2014; Williams, 2017; Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond, 2019; Haastrup, Wright & Guerrina, 2019). A lot of this scholarship focuses on the Swedish FFP which was announced in 2014 (Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond, 2016; Jezierska & Towns, 2018; Bergman Rosamond, 2020). This emerging body of scholarship shows that the Swedish FFP was pioneering, subsequently followed by Canada, Australia, Norway, the United Kingdom, and lately South Africa. Some studies examine the contents of the policy with regards to women, peace and security which are based on the incorporation of the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) of 2000 (Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond, 2019; Aggestam, Bergman Rosamond & Kronsell, 2019; Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019; Aggestam & True, 2020; Bergman Rosamond, 2020; Haastrup, 2020).

The ethical contents of the policy have also been examined (Haastrup, 2020). The FFP tends to be used by "good states" which focus their security and foreign policies on impacting global justice in states affected by conflicts and injustice (Aggestam, Bergman Rosamond & Kronsell, 2019, p.26). Based on this argument, several previous studies raise the problem of portraying women in their foreign policy as victims and objects of developing world, instead of stressing the challenges for many women in the acquisition of agency and leadership (Aggestam & True, 2020; Bergman Rosamond, 2020, p. 12; Parisi, 2020, p.9).

Previous research on FFP content also explores whether pro-gender-based views have been extended to such "traditionally masculine" policy domains as multilateral trade, foreign investment, military and migration management and the arms trade (Lee- Koo, 2020, p. 2). One of the central ideas of the Swedish FFP is that it stresses that gender equality is a key factor in international peace and security policy, and presents three guiding "Rs" for policy implementation: representation, rights and resources (Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond, 2019, p. 37). Swedish policymakers claim that the FFP has a global vision for girls and women who lack access to human rights, representation and resources, especially in "traditionally masculine" policy domains, and aims to establish a global platform on realistic policy initiatives (Bergman Rosamond, 2020, p. 2). Other states have focused on the disproportionate impact on women caused by conflicts, and the need for enhanced female participation in peace and security processes in their foreign policies , for example, the United

Kingdom and its Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict Initiative (Haastrup, Wright & Guerrina, 2019, p. 65). However, despite such ambitious agendas, Scheyer and Kumskova (2019) question the effectiveness of the FFP and argue that it only focuses on appointing more women in decision-making positions and promoting broader support for women's rights but ignores intersectional groups (Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019, p.70). Some authors are critical of how the FFP overlooks women migrants, refugees, and stateless persons, who are often the subject of violence and discrimination (ibid, p.70).

While most studies focus on the contents of FFP, there is also scholarship examining the domestic factors that cause or shape such policy (Haastrup, 2020; Lee-Koo, 2020; Parisi, 2020). Some study whether increased female representation is linked to a more women- and gender equality-oriented foreign policy (Bashevkin, 2014; Williams, 2017; Smith, 2020). In connection to this, Haastrup (2020) argues that a progressive and strong domestic framework on gender equality serves as a prerequisite for declarations of FFP (Haastrup, 2020, p.13). Electoral systems based on proportional representation and a commitment to the universal welfare state model have also been identified as playing an important role in shaping gender equality and women's representation in foreign policy (Bergman Rosamond, 2020, p. 4). Simply adding pro-equality norms to foreign policy is not sufficient - policy design needs to include comprehensive programs for change (Lee-Koo, 2020, p. 6).

However, very few studies have analysed how FFP is communicated. A recent study by Jezierska and Towns (2018) is a notable exception. It is a study that analyses the communication of gender and feminism in Sweden and closely examines the image of Sweden projected by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs through so-called nation branding. Analysing the narrative of a "Progressive Sweden", the authors reveal the duality of the narrative's nature where certain information, facts and actors are presented under a special light, and others remain under a veil (Jezierska & Towns, 2018, p. 6). As the image of a "Progressive Sweden" portrays the country as the most gender equal country in the world, this statement is often used as a powerful tool by groups on domestic level to prevent feminist attempts to continue further reforms (ibid, p. 8).

2.4. Concluding discussion: research gaps and the contributions of this study
In this chapter, existing sources on two-level games and FFP were reviewed and discussed. Much of the research on two-level games concentrates either on the way foreign policy

officials negotiate and make political deals with international and domestic groups, or on the perception of domestic and international foreign policy. However, this review demonstrated that there is limited research on the communication of foreign policy to domestic versus international audiences. The review further showed that most studies on FFP focus on policy content or examine the domestic factors that cause or shape FFP. Virtually no scholarship has analysed how FFP is communicated to audiences on both domestic and international levels. Taking into consideration these gaps in prior scholarship, my thesis will attend to a rather understudied dimension of the FFP: the foreign policy communication on domestic and international levels.

3. Theoretical approach

This chapter will present the theoretical foundations of this thesis and an analytical framework that will be used in the empirical analysis. The discussion will highlight two essential questions: why one should expect that governments may frame policies in a different way depending on the audience; and in what way this framing might vary depending on the audience. The latter question, of how framing might vary for different audiences, is the focus of the analytical framework. The chapter consists of three main sections. The first discusses the fundamental assumptions underlying the thesis and defines persuasion and framing in international politics; the second discusses why we should assume that governments may frame their policies in different ways depending on different audiences internationally and domestically; and the third discusses the way this framing might vary for different audiences, a discussion summarized in an analytical framework.

3.1. Persuasion and Framing in International Politics: Fundamental Assumptions

Established social facts and norms play a role in the way individuals perceive and interpret information. Thus, public perception of different issues may be persuaded depending on the way it is presented or framed by political actors. Taking into consideration importance of social facts and norms in society, the actors may adapt messages and communication with public to their normative and meaning-laden contexts.

The concept of *persuasion* plays an essential role in the process of message delivery and interaction between senders and recipients of information, as it helps to construct and reconstruct social facts (Payne, 2001, p.38). Persuasion in politics that is also known as rhetoric is achieved by political actors through a smart use of language (Pantington & Taylor, 2018, p.3). Persuasion is widely used by political actors and policy makers to "sell" their policy to different publics. Contextual factors play an essential role in achievement of communication's desired effect. Thus, when persuading others about the value of a policy, actors may change its original meaning, adapting the message to the type of audience and context.

Framing serves as an important component in the persuasion of the public. The tool of framing helps to select and increase an importance of certain "aspects of a perceived reality" in a manner that promotes a specific definition of a problem or a casual way of interpretation

of reality, as well as to shape perception of audiences about politics (Entman, 1993, p.53 in Semetko &Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94). Frames are mastered and adapted by actors in order to resonate with a target audience, to thus become more persuasive (Payne, 2001, p. 37). Actors may manipulate frames in a strategic way in order to achieve specific objectives (ibid).

Framing plays a central role when it comes to the building of policy agenda. When political actors apply framing to persuade audiences about their policy, the frame needs to be effective in the contextual arena, as similar policy components may have been already communicated by other actors through different frames. Actors may deliberately link new normative policy ideas with already established ones, which helps to make the message more persuasive (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 906-7 in Payne 2001, p.39; Price, 1998, p. 630).

3.2. Why do governments frame policies differently to different audiences?

Persuading audiences through framing involves adapting the frame to resonate with ideas and norms prevalent among the target audience. This fundamental fact implies that policy actors should adapt their framing of a policy to the target audience. Since the world is organized in terms of nation-states, it is feasible for policy actors to assume that there are national audiences to whom policy messages must be adapted in order to be persuasive. This thesis focuses on framing differences for domestic and international audiences, on the one hand, and for different international audiences, on the other.

3.2.1   Differences in policy framing to international and domestic audiences

The ways in which a policy is framed and presented may differ depending on whether it targets a domestic or an international audience. According to Putnam (1988), government foreign policy actors are "sandwiched" between international and domestic levels (Nau, 2017, in da Conceição-Heldt & Mello, 2017, p.7). Adapted to the aims of this thesis, we can hypothesize that political actors may apply different frames domestically and internationally, to help them to manage and persuade domestic and international publics simultaneously.

Political actors may adapt to international conditions and different normative frameworks and change frames of a policy in order to promote national interests of their state abroad and to brag about its image that may help to enhance business relations and trade. At the same time, these business-related policy frames may not cause the same resonance with domestic public. Then actors will frame foreign policy domestically in such a way that it may help them to increase electoral support. To appear to pursue successful foreign policy, actors must appeal

to prevalent domestic values and interests, perhaps including the demonstration of an international leadership image at home. Today it is frequently done with the help of social media that enables states to boost domestic support for their foreign policy. Through framing, foreign policy actors choose what to highlight, hide or modify. If domestic and international contexts differ, then the framing may differ. In the interplay between policy discourses for domestic versus international audiences, political actors may use an internationally communicated policy messages even for a domestic public, which may not necessarily reflect the national situation. It is done with the aim of drawing the attention of the domestic audience away from necessary domestic changes and reforms to the area of communicated foreign policy. Differences in the communication of a foreign policy abroad and at home lead to the shaping of contrasting policy expectations amongst domestic versus international audiences.

3.2.2 Differences in policy framing to different international audiences

The way political actors frame a policy may differ not only between the domestic and international audiences but also between different international audiences (i.e. different national audiences abroad). The reason is that for policy to be persuasive, its ideas and norms need to resonate with prevalent ideas and norms in the target audience (e.g. Checkel, 1997, p. 474). If the framing fits within already existing ideas in specific society, it will be more persuasive for that audience (Price, 1998, p. 630). New norms can be "grafted" or "nested" into already created norms and this "match" will become successful if it resonates with a particular discourse, where "matching" occurs (ibid). Being exposed to a message about international norms that resonates on a local level, may cause audiences to change what they think, do and say (Cloward, 2016, p. 4). That is why it is important for political actors to consider cultural, historical and regional variations prior to framing a policy for different international contexts.

3.3. In what ways does framing vary for different audiences?

In order to study how framing may vary in different contexts, it is important to analyse the components making up a policy frame, namely, framing of the problem the policy is intended to address, the cause of that problem and how the policy will solve the problem. Analyzing frames this way has its roots in a method of policy analysis called "What's the Problem Represented to be?" developed by Carol Bacchi (1999, 2009). In it she suggests that the way

in which a policy is represented - or framed - includes views of what is actually seen as "problematic" and what is seen as a "solution" (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010, p. 112; Towns, 2017, p.218). Below, I rely on this approach to set out an analytical framework for studying the different framing of the FFP.

3.3.1   How is the character of the problem framed?

A major component of a frame – and one which is often assumed rather than spelled out explicitly – is how the character of the policy problem is framed. What kind of a problem is the policy aiming to address? For whom or for what is the problem a problem? Whose lives are to be improved through the policy? Women's issues, gender equality and feminism comprise a broad spectrum of topics, which means that the framing of the character of the problem may vary quite a bit. The problem can be framed as a cultural one, a political one, or an economic one. And different actors can be identified as the main agents and beneficiaries of the policy.

In contexts where gender equality and the inherent worth of women are not valued as such, the problem of inequality may be framed as a problem for economic development and society in general, instead of pointing out that women are the principal beneficiary group (Towns, 2017, p. 218). To frame gender inequality as an economic problem is a frequent practice that helps to persuade audiences. To persuade a hesitant domestic audience that the state should pursue gender equality abroad, the problem of gender inequality abroad can be framed in nationalist terms, representing the home state as a "moral ideal" for others to imitate, or as an example of modernity on how this problem is dealt with for other states to look up to (Jezierska & Towns, 2018, p. 4).

Women's issues can be framed as a complex of different kinds of problems. In addition to being framed as a problem for economic development and society in general, previous research has indicated that women's issues may be presented with a help of political framing. Then women's issues may be discussed, for instance, as an inequality problem and framed as discrimination against women, a need to abolish the patriarchy and its legislation that prevents women from representation in negotiations or decision making. Violence against women or situation of "women in development" may be also framed as political problem in terms of the lack of rule of law and protective legislation that may benefit not only this vulnerable female group but as well all individuals. The problem of women's rights violations, frequently addressed with a help of *human rights* framing, is raised by many states in order to address

concerns about women's current status (Barnett, 2005 in Tsetsura, 2013, p. 407).

Another common problem, through which women's issues are discussed, deals with the patriarchal control of women's bodies and is represented through cultural framing. For instance, in a study on culture, ideology and strategic framing, Zald (1996) argues that the framing of women's issues as a problem that limits female liberty that is threatened by the patriarchy will have success in those contexts which focus on the importance of the freedom of individual choice and equal rights of all citizens irrespective of gender (Zald, 1996, p.267). The problem's character may be also presented in terms of cultural framing when it comes to women's performance of typically "male" work.

3.3.2   What is the cause of the problem framed as?

The *cause* of women-related issues is another important component of a frame that may also be differently communicated. What causes problems for women: problematic actors or structures? Are women's issues rooted in economic, political or cultural structures or actors? In the cultural framing, the causes of the oppression of women are framed as a structural problem rooted in traditional culture. This culture is framed as valuing women as mothers and wives, which turns women into socially connected but not independent agents. Physical violence against women may also be framed as caused by cultural beliefs and accepted customs which support, for example, female genital mutilation or wife battering (Cloward, 2016, p.31).

A different framing may emphasize the political causes of gender inequality and the subordination of women. For instance, restrictive policies on reproductive rights may be framed as part of a political agenda that denies the importance of individual liberties and promotes instead a collective social model (Zald, 1996, p. 267). The cause of the problem may be framed as governments refusing to recognize women's rights for political reasons.

A third way to frame the cause of the problem is to characterize it as an economic cause. The cause of discrimination against women can be framed through restricted access for women to resources that are controlled by male elites. Such frames may help to emphasize that women are left behind in competition for limited state - supported university places that guarantee a free higher education (Kazimova, 2013 in Tsetsura, 2013, p. 410).

3.3.3   What is the solution of the problem framed as?

The third component of frames is the representation of the solution to a problem. Is the

solution economic, political or cultural? What types of economic, political or cultural solutions are suggested through a foreign policy? The framing of solutions for gender - related problems for women seen as caused by traditional culture and values have a diverse scope, which varies depending on the type of culture and its historical backdrop. Thus, such norms as early marriage and female genital mutilation are seen as a part of local customs and traditions in some cultures but run counter to international norms that see in these local norms problems with regards to human rights, gender equality and women's health (Cloward, 2016, p.32). The solution to a problem of sexual violence against women in the context that accepts early marriages may be framed as economic solution that suggests to provide access for women to health care services that will benefit not only their wellbeing but the wellbeing of the society in general. Education may be framed as a cultural solution of the problematic societal situation of women in traditional contexts that oppose female empowerment.

When gender-related problems for women are caused by political structures or actors, who promote certain norms locally and take decisions affecting the situation of women, representation of the solution to such types of problems will depend on the prevalent political regime. Focus on the enhancement of the role of civil society will help challenge the state's control, as it would monitor operations that negatively affect women's situation. Additionally, taking into consideration that women's abuse is often carried out by private individuals, for example family members or husbands, it is important to emphasize for governments with weak judiciary systems the necessity of the development of mechanisms that control individuals' activities (Cloward, 2016, p. 13).

3.4. What is "feminism" made to be in women-related frames and how much is feminism emphasized?

The meaning of "feminism" can also be framed differently, to fit different audiences. The term feminism may also be completely excluded from a frame if the term really clashes with audience's norms. There are scholars who suggest that the term feminism may be excluded from discourse, as it may provoke associations with political struggle and may be antagonistic (Jezierska & Towns, 2018, p. 7). Even though "feminism" may not be overtly present in policy messages, it may be highlighted through specific frames, which might be interpreted as more or less feminist. A study about the collision of domestic and international norms suggests that some discourses are embraced by audiences more than others due to their "neutral" context and whether or not the frames' language is carefully adapted in order to

match local context (Boyle et al., 2006 in Cloward, 2016, p. 33).

If feminism is perceived negatively by the intended audience, the framing may be adapted accordingly. Some scholars explain that, for example, in former Soviet countries, "feminism" is perceived negatively and the discourse on women's rights is marked as feminist talk that threatens established norms and historically formed social practices (Tsetsura, 2013, p. 412). In these cases, women's rights are directly associated by the public with feminism and cause negative response, even though the word "feminism" is hidden in this frame. It is important to remember that what is accepted in one context as feminism may be criticized and excluded in another context. It should be taken into consideration that the Western perception of feminism featuring in multiple international contexts does not exist in many other states in the same way. Therefore, common frames that are linked with feminism may be reframed in order for the FFP to be persuasive.

To sum up, through framing policy can be communicated very differently, and framing serves as an important mechanism for political actors in their persuasion of audiences about the value of policies they want to promote. Differences in political, cultural and economic contexts help determine the way actors frame policies, as summary in Table 1 demonstrates. In order to persuade audiences about a policy's value, actors may cover original meaning of policy and use different frames that will fit contexts. Actors also emphasize different policy components depending on whether the policy is presented in the domestic or the international realm, or for diverse international audiences. This thesis aims to shed light on how framing may vary depending on the audience, exploring how the Swedish FFP is communicated to an international versus a domestic audience, and to different international audiences. In the following chapter, after setting out the specified aim and research questions, the methods for carrying out this analysis will be discussed.

Table 1. *Variation of framing*

	Questions	Examples of framing
Framing of the problem	For whom it is a problem?	• Women, state, certain groups of women, society
	Type of addressed problem	• Economic: gender inequality • Political: discrimination and violence against women, patriarchy political systems, lack of gender-sensitive laws • Cultural: patriarchal control of women's bodies

Framing of the problem's cause	What is the problem caused by?	• Problematic structures • Problematic actors
	Economic structure/actors Political structure/actors Cultural structure/actors	• Economic: lack of access to resources • Political structure: restrictive policies for women, non-recognition of women's rights • Cultural structure: traditional perception of women as mothers and wives, discriminative cultural beliefs
Framing of the solution	Economic solution Political solution Cultural solution	• Economic solution: provision of access for women to public and health services • Political: enhancement of the role of civil society, development of legal mechanisms that control and prevent violence against women • Cultural solution: education for women
Framing of feminism and FFP government	Framing of feminism	• Completely hidden • Highlighted and explained through other frames
	Representation of the government responsible for FFP	• Example of modernity
	Representation of the home state	• Moral ideal • Superpower

4.Specified aim and research questions

Drawing on Carol Bacchi's framework for policy analysis, the aim for this thesis is to investigate whether and in what ways Swedish foreign policy actors frame the FFP differently for audiences. More specifically, the thesis asks:

1. Does the framing of the FFP by Swedish foreign policy actors vary for the domestic audience in Sweden and international audiences? If so, in what ways?

2. Does the framing of the FFP by Swedish foreign policy actors vary between different international audiences (the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation), as described below? If so, in what ways?

5. Research design and methods: a comparative qualitative text analysis of a single case

5.1. The research design: a Qualitative Single Case Study with Comparative Elements

Research design generally refers to a guiding framework that helps to execute a research method and analyse the data (Bryman, 2012; Flick, 2014; Gray, 2018). The empirical analysis of this thesis aims to find an answer to the question of how feminist foreign policy (FFP) is communicated to different audiences on domestic and international levels. Therefore, it will focus its data collection process and analysis on the meaning of words rather than quantification. A qualitative rather than a quantitative design is considered to be more suitable for this study for three reasons. Firstly, it allows the researcher to gain both an in-depth and comprehensive context overview. Secondly, it focuses primarily on an understanding of the ways in which subjects behave and the interpretation of what they say in natural settings. Lastly, it allows flexibility in the adoption of strategies and methods of data collection, thereby allowing for the use of a combination of several strategies and methodologies in one research design. The way FFP and "feminism" are framed by governments for different audiences constitute the main focus of this thesis. In this regard, a qualitative research design will assist in focusing comprehensively on shared interpretation of the concept of "feminism", and how foreign policy actors frame the FFP to different audiences.

An open form of the deductive approach, in which theory informs the research questions asked in a study and its analytical framework, is applied in this study. The deductive approach implies that both the research design and the empirical data collection are guided by research questions, arising from a theoretical background (Bryman, 2012, p. 69). In the deductive approach the main theoretical and conceptual terms are set during the initial research stage which helps define the area of study prior to the process of data collection (ibid, p.111). Being guided by a deductive standpoint and having a theoretical background as a basis for this thesis, the generalizable conclusions and assumptions will be drawn from empirical observations of a state representative communicating foreign policy to both domestic and international audiences.

5.1.1 The case selection: a single case study with comparative elements

This thesis focuses on a single case: the case of Swedish feminist foreign policy and how it is communicated to domestic and international audiences. The case study design incorporates an in-depth and detailed examination of a single case with analysis from a broad perspective (Bryman, 2012, p.46). Scholars argue that a case study of a concrete case may serve as an instructive or typical example of a more general problem (Flick, 2014, p.381). Furthermore, in case studies the researcher strives to clarify the uniqueness of the case which is known as an idiographic approach (Bryman, 2012, p. 69).

In order to be able to generalize from empirical results, careful attention should be paid to the selection of the sample. Prior to an attempt to formulate a generalization in qualitative research, Payne and Williams (2005) have four actions (Payne & Williams, 2005 in Gray, 2018, p.183). Firstly, be cautious with regards to generalizing from conclusions. Secondly, recognize the limitations of current time periods in projecting forward. Thirdly, demonstrate with precision a connection between generalized conclusions and the data that has formed the basis for them. Lastly, carefully report alternative explanations related to generalization. Dey (1993) argues that qualitative analysis is suggestive rather than conclusive and thus, as an alternative to generalization, it is suggested seeing whether empirical findings from Context A might be transferrable to Context B (Dey, 1993 in Gray, 2018, p. 183).

The selection of the Swedish FFP as a single case of foreign policy communication to domestic versus international audiences combines elements of a "critical" and an "exemplifying" case. A critical case is a type of case where a developed theory already exists and a case is chosen, as it will help to better understand a situation to see if a hypothesis will hold or not (Bryman, 2012, p.71). The case of Swedish FFP has elements of critical case, as if framing of Swedish FFP differs depending on the type of audience, then it may be extrapolated upon and assumed that FFP presented by another country with a similar context to that of the Swedish one, will also have different framing for domestic and international audiences. However, Swedish FFP can also be seen as an "exemplifying" case. An exemplifying case is a case that epitomizes a broader category of cases or provides an appropriate context in order to find an answer to specific research questions (Bryman, 2012, p.71). Here, the case of Swedish FFP was chosen, as it symbolizes a broader category of cases and illustrates FFP communication mechanisms not only by the Swedish state but also by other states that have women's and gender issues on their agenda.

The Swedish case was chosen for this case study as it represents a feminist foreign policy introduced by Sweden domestically, as well as to the international community in 2014 and represents a pioneering case of women-oriented policy. According to an insight report of the Global Gender Gap Index 2020 rankings, Sweden is ranked 4th in the list of 153 countries in terms of the gender gap and belongs to the top five gender equal countries in the world (World Economic Forum, 2020). The broader category of cases will illustrate how other feminist foreign policies are communicated to different audiences by other states that have articulated feminism in their foreign policy framework in a similar way to Sweden. Therefore, the case of Sweden and its feminist foreign policy will be generalized in this study to encompass other countries with other feminist foreign policies. The degree of generalizability of findings from the Swedish case study to cases of other states is connected to the type of state which communicates feminist foreign policy. After the pioneering adoption of a FFP by Sweden, there have been several other countries such as Australia, Canada, Norway, the United Kingdom, and more recently South Africa that have adopted a feminist and gender-based approach to their foreign policies. However, there are differences between countries from the Global North and the Global South, such as levels of democracy or the persistence of colonialism in everyday life that may affect gender justice and influence the domestic context of gender equality and women's issues. Due to these discrepancies, the findings from the Swedish case study may only be generalized to countries from the Global North that have articulated feminism in their foreign policies and share a similar background in relation to the development of women's rights, gender justice and the general situation of women.

The communication of the Swedish FFP is a single case. However, this single case contains comparisons. On the one hand, the thesis compares whether the FFP is communicated differently to foreign and to domestic audiences. On the other hand, the thesis also compares whether the FFP is communicated differently to different foreign national audiences. The selection of the foreign national audiences also needs justification. The thesis focuses on three countries that represent different cultural, historical and political dominant normative contexts distinctive from the Scandinavian social democratic context in the West: liberal (USA), conservative social democracy (Germany), and orthodox conservative (the Russian Federation). These are three normative contexts where we would expect Swedish foreign policy actors to have to frame the FFP differently to appeal to the general public. The choice

of these particular states – the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation – will be explained below.

Firstly, these three states were chosen over others as national contexts because they represent states of a large size and power in the foreign policy arena, and thus, play an important role in Sweden's foreign policy. Multilateral diplomacy is important for Sweden, being a small state and having a smaller capacity to act compared to large states. Secondly, the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation represent three distinctive national and cultural contexts among Western and European countries, illustrating different situations with regards to women's movements, attitudes to feminism and gender equality culture, respectively, liberal, social-democratic with some conservative elements, and orthodox with gender conservative attitudes. These differences are reflected in their different positions on the Global Gender Gap Index rankings: the liberal USA is ranked 53rd, Germany 10th, and the orthodox conservative Russian Federation is in 81st position (World Economic Forum, 2020). This selection of national normative contexts thus provides the "most different" comparative designs and the most contrasting designs available for comparison (among Western/European national contexts). The implication for the generalizability of the findings is this: if we cannot detect adaptation in how Sweden frames its FFP in these different national contexts, it is highly unlikely that the FFP is adapted to national contexts at all, at least not among Western/European audiences.

Furthermore, the findings derived from the comparison of these three foreign, national contexts representing the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation respectively may be generalized to other Western/European cases that share similarities in contexts with these three states. Thus, the findings from the USA case, representing framing in liberal contexts, may be generalized to how the FFP is likely framed in other Western, liberal contexts such as Canada and the United Kingdom. Findings from policy framings in the conservative, social-democratic context of Germany may be generalized to what framing might look like in Austria and Switzerland, and empirical outcomes derived from the analysis of framing in the Russian Federation's conservative, orthodox context may be generalized to European states such as Greece, Romania and Bulgaria.

I speak Russian, German, Swedish and English fluently, and these language skills have enabled analysis of relevant materials published in their original languages.

5.2. The data: Speeches and statements by key foreign policy elites

The data selected to study the framing of the FFP consists of speeches and statements about the FFP in the public domain given by elite foreign policy actors. More specifically, statements in interviews, debates and speeches directed at foreign and domestic audiences by (a) the former Minister for Foreign Affairs for Sweden, Margot Wallström, during her political mandate between 2014-2019 and (b) the Swedish ambassadors to Germany, the USA and the Russian Federation during the same time frame are suitable choices for empirical data. Wallström initiated and launched the Swedish FFP, and therefore frequently communicated and framed its content to both domestic and international audiences. Statements by the Swedish ambassadors have been chosen as empirical material for this thesis, as ambassadors are responsible for interpreting foreign policy for the national context where they are posted.

Only those statements by Wallström and the respective ambassadors were selected which were directed at general national audiences (in Sweden, the USA, Germany, and the Russian Federation). Since a "national" context is characterised by complexity and a lack of uniformity, there are many ideological contexts that may exist in one country. That is why in order to determine that the speeches were targeting general, national audiences, the choice of empirical data was focused on a selection of statements in national languages featured in the public domain in the national media channels of these respective countries such as national radio, large, national digital newspapers, and recorded interviews and speeches addressed to a broad public, published in YouTube. It was important to ensure that chosen statements targeted a general, national audience, and not narrower audiences such as feminist or "anti-gender" groups. The analysis includes only quoted statements by Wallström and the Swedish ambassadors, as it is their framing and not the framing of the journalists, interviewers or national newspapers that is the focus of this thesis.

In addition, the national language used in the interviews and speeches helped to identify the data required with regards to respective national context. However, the English language was used in both national statements in the USA and in statements addressed to a global audience via international organizations. Since statements in English may be addressed to both national and international audiences, an additional control of the media channel was performed to make sure that the statement was addressed to the national audience in the USA.

5.3. The data collection

The interviews, debates and speeches are gathered from three extensive channels: on-line social media channels, large on-line newspapers and magazines. Thus, through triangulation, I used multiple methods of data collection in order to study a chosen social phenomenon (Bryman, 2012, p. 392). Methodological triangulation within one research method allows the researcher to apply different types of data collection techniques (Gray, 2018, p.184). Triangulation in this qualitative study will contribute to the improvement of the level of reliability by including data collected not only through one method, but several (ibid).

A combination of search words with identical meanings in English, Swedish, German and Russian were used to find the statements: *interview with Margot Wallström in the USA, interview with Swedish ambassador to the USA, intervju med Margot Wallström, Interview mit Margot Wallström, Interview mit Botschafterin/dem Botschafter Schwedens in Deutschland, интервью с Маргот Вальстроем, интервью с послом Швеции в России, Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy, svensk feministisk utrikespolitik, feministische Außenpolitik Schwedens, шведская внешная гендерная политика, policy debate with Margot Wallström in the USA, utrikespolitiska debatt med Margot Wallström, politische Debatte mit Margot Wallström, политические дебаты с Маргот Вальстроем, Sweden's feminist agenda, handlingsplan för svensk feministisk utrikespolitik, schwedische feministische Agenda* and *шведская феминистическая программа.*

Five speeches/interviews made by Wallström and the Swedish ambassador were selected per country. A selection of five statements for each country is an optimal choice in order to conduct an in-depth empirical analysis, taking into consideration the size of this thesis. However, the search yielded some variation in the total number of speeches and interviews to choose from. In Swedish, the search yielded the highest number, of at least forty speeches/interviews by Wallström on the FFP. In addition, some recorded video statements of Wallström were published in English in Sweden and were found with a help of English search words. In fact, there were more than five statements that could be chosen in the Swedish case due to its high correspondence to the criteria for data selection, described in previous section.

In this case those five chosen statements represent material dedicated entirely to the FFP, and material where FFP was frequently mentioned.

The search in English for speeches/interviews in the US media also provided a large amount of results at least thirty virtual sources where interviews with Wallström and the Swedish ambassador to the USA were interpreted by journalists borrowed from other foreign media sources with an indication of the initial reference and recorded or cited in a form of a direct dialogue quotation of an entire or a partially presented interview. Here, as in the Swedish case, more than five statements matched the predetermined criteria for data selection. In order to narrow it down to five statements, the focus was put on information about the FFP that highlighted frames in the most precise way possible for "problem", "cause" and "solution of the problem".

Somewhat similar results were observed during the search for statements and interviews by Wallström and the Swedish ambassador to Germany when using mixed search terms both in German and English. However, the majority of available sources for Germany were statements and interviews interpreted and summarized by journalists, and not given directly by Wallström or the Swedish ambassador. That is why in the case of Germany it was more difficult to choose five sources that derived from direct interviews and statements, in comparison with the USA or Swedish cases. Due to this hindrance, the five that were most relevant to the data selection criteria were chosen, where the FFP is mentioned in one way or another, even though in some statements the FFP was explained only to a certain degree. Also, due to the limited amount of relevant material, one speech by Wallström given in English, to the audience at Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, without a translation, was included in the list of relevant sources.

The most limited amount of relevant material was from the Russian Federation. Despite the fact that at least fifteen articles in the Russian language were available on Google relating to Wallström, this material presented summaries of interviews and statements translated into Russian, previously published by foreign and the Swedish media and therefore were not considered for analysis. It is worth noting that at least seven additional sources in Russian were found with interviews with the Swedish ambassador to the Russian Federation. That is why, four out of five sources chosen for analysis of the Russian national context, highlight

interviews with the Swedish ambassadors to the Russian Federation, which were recorded and published on Youtube and a Russian radio web-site. A scarce number of sources capturing Wallström in the Russian media were all dated 2017, which may be explained by Wallström's rare visits to the Russian Federation due to strained political relationship between the two countries. In fact, none of these sources contained an interview given directly by Wallström to the Russian media.

The speeches and interviews that were published on YouTube and various radio channels were transcribed prior to empirical analysis. A complete list of the twenty statements and interviews conducted with Wallström and the Swedish ambassadors in Sweden, the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation between 2014 - 2019 is presented in *Appendix 1.*

5.4. The data analysis: using the analytical framework

The data will be analysed using a qualitative text analysis, following the method set out in Bacchi's "What's the Problem Represented to Be" framework that was discussed in the theory chapter (Bacchi, 1999). The thesis also relies on the methodological guidance on analysing frames in Towns 2017 (in Esaiasson et al., 2017). Accordingly, the empirical analysis was carried out in several steps:

1.) Interview and debate speeches published in a virtual recorded form were transcribed by the author of the thesis and saved in an electronic form. Materials published in textual form in the public domain were downloaded and saved in Word format;

2.) An initial reading of the empirical material was conducted, in order to become familiarized with the overall tenor of the statements;

3.) A detailed analytical reading of the empirical materials was then conducted, using the analytical framework (see Table 2 below) to identify manifest meanings that are open, clearly stated and articulated. This reading included:

(a) applying the analytical questions of the analytical framework to the empirical material (see Table 2);

(b) a detailed coding of snippets of text within each speech/interview. Generally, text snippets were coded in four ways. Text snippets that indicated a possible answer

to the question *How is the main character of the problem framed (or, what is the main "problem" framed as)?* were coded with the letter "P" (problem). Snippets indicating a possible answer to the *cause of the problem* were coded with the letter "C" (cause). Text indicating an answer on *how problem's solution is framed as* were coded with the letter "S" (solution). Additionally, text snippets on feminism were coded with the letter "F" (feminism). These snippets were reassembled to form coherent frames.

4.) A comparison of the frames used for foreign versus Swedish audiences, on the one hand, and between the frames used for foreign audiences, on the other was then undertaken.

Table 2. *Analytical questions for the empirical analysis*

Questions asked of texts to determine frames	
1. How is the main character of the "problem" framed as?	For whom it is a problem? For women or for others? If for others, what others?
	The character of the problem is: Economic? Political? Cultural? Other?
2. What is the "cause" of the problem framed as?	Problem caused by structure or by problematic actors?
	Economic structure/actors? Political structure/actors? Cultural structure/actors? Other structure/actors?
3. What is the "solution" of the problem framed as?	Economic? If so, what kinds of economic solutions? Political? If so, what kinds of political solutions? Cultural? If so, what kinds of cultural solutions? Other? If so, what kinds of other solutions?
4. Feminist foreign policy, state and feminism	What is "feminism" made to be? Is feminism emphasized as a solution, and if so, as what kind?
	What is the government responsible for the FFP made to be?
	What is the home state represented to be? In what way is the state pursuing FFP framed as a role model?

5.5. The limitations of the study

One factor that might impact this study is that the number of interviews given by Swedish

foreign policy actors varies depending on the country. Wallström and the Swedish ambassadors appeared more frequently in interviews and talks in the USA than in the Russian Federation, where I found not one direct interview with Wallström in the Russian national media. Thus, there is an imbalance in the amount of empirical data available for the four selected countries. Taking into consideration the complexity of each national context, a possible alternative design for this thesis could have been a comparison of framing to a global audience through statements given in international organisations, and to domestic audiences in Sweden. Since an empirical analysis of this thesis relies on materials published by various media channels in the public domain, the possibility of journalists omitting potentially relevant parts of the original text prior to publishing, creates an additional limitation to this study.

6. Results and analysis

6.1. Introduction

In 2014, the Swedish FFP was announced by the coalition government led by the Social Democrats, and it has since received a great deal of attention around the world. The Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Margot Wallström, who was greatly involved in the policy, visited many countries during her mandate. She participated in many debates and meetings on the FFP, both in Sweden and abroad, speaking to audiences supportive of the FFP as well as to audiences fundamentally suspicious of the policy. Along with the Swedish ambassadors, Wallström attracted a lot of attention around the world, not least due to the policy's controversial normative reorientation that is reflected in the selected statements and speeches, reviewed and analysed in this chapter.

This chapter consists of three main sections. In the first section, a comparison of the domestic FFP framing in Sweden and the international shared framing will be conducted. The second section will compare how the FFP framing is adapted by Swedish government actors in the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation. In the third section, a short concluding discussion will sum up the findings. The main findings are presented in a table at the beginning of each section to help orient the reader. In short, as the analysis will show below, on one hand general frames related to human rights, peace and security and economic growth dominate in the communication of FFP to all audiences irrespective of context, but a different spectrum of components is highlighted depending on the audience. On the other hand, distinctive features were found in the presentation of the term "feminism" in the FFP that differed in all contexts chosen for analysis.

6.2. A Comparison between domestic and international framing

Sweden's emergence as a state with more gender equality than most others has led to high rankings in various international gender equality indicators (Towns, 2002, p. 162). Thus, the international profiling of Sweden as a particularly gender equal country has become prevalent (ibid). It is in this context that the expressly "feminist" foreign policy was declared in 2014. However, feminism is not accepted by all in Sweden. For instance, feminism-related debates in Sweden are heated and the populist, xenophobic party the Sweden Democrats - with 20% of popular support - has an anti-feminist platform. In addition, critique of the FFP is expressed in Sweden by some political opponents to the Social Democratic party.

So, how has the Swedish government, represented by Margot Wallström, framed the FFP to the Swedish and foreign general public? The domestic framing of the Swedish FFP will be presented below and compared to the framing abroad, specifically to the framing for the US, German and Russian national audiences. In sum, as Table 3 shows below, there were several general frames applied throughout in both domestic and international contexts. However, the presentation of components of these general frames, as well as the concept of feminism differs depending on the type of the audience.

Table 3. *Summary: Framing in domestic versus international contexts*

Questions asked of texts to determine frames		Domestic (Sweden)	International
1.What is the main "problem" framed as?	For whom it is a problem?	• All people • Women	• Women

	Is this problem:
	   Economic?
	   Political?
	   Cultural?
	   Other?
		• Political:
		 ➤ Human rights' violations
		 ➤ Problems of violent conflict
		 ➤ Gender inequality
		 ➤ Lack of female peace mediators
		 ➤ Sexual violence
			• Political:
			 ➤ Subordination of women
			 ➤ Sexual violence
			• Economic:
			 ➤ Gender inequality and discrimination against women in the labor market

2.What is the "cause" of the problem framed as?	Problem caused by structure or by problematic actors?	• Structure • Problematic actors	• Structure
	Economic structure/actors? Political structure/actors? Cultural structure/actors? Other structure/actors?	• Political structure: ➤ lack of gender-inclusive policies • Political actors: ISIS	• Political structure: ➤ Impunity re sexual and gender-based violence • Cultural actors: men that dominate certain professions
3.What is the "solution" of the problem framed as?	Economic? If so, what kinds of economic solutions? Political? If so, what kinds of political solutions? Cultural? If so, what kinds of cultural solutions? Other? If so, what kinds of other solutions?	• Economic solution: ➤ Provision of more resources for women • Political solution: ➤ Female mediation group	• Political solution: ➤ Authority that monitors implementation of laws ➤ Provision of women's rights in a labor market ➤ Gender-sensitive reforms

Questions asked of texts to determine frames		Domestic (Sweden)	International
4.Feminist foreign policy, state and feminism	What is "feminism" made to be? Is feminism emphasized as a solution, and if so, as what kind?	• Gender equality • Human rights • Women's rights Solution: "Smart power"	• Equality • " Smart economics" Solution: "More women, more peace"
	What is the government responsible for the FFP made to be?	• Government that respects human rights and women's rights	• Feminist government
	What is the home state represented to be? In what way is the state pursuing FFP framed as a role model?	• Initiates thoughtful and consistent policy • Dares to influence other countries • Initiates fight for people's sexual and reproductive health and rights	• Peaceful country • Scores high for gender equality and women's participation in the labor market

6.2.1 Framing the FFP for a Swedish audience

Starting with the framing of the character of the problem that the FFP tries to address, the prevailing rhetoric of Wallström, when addressing a Swedish national audience, is that the "problem" that the FFP addresses is not just a problem for women but a problem for all people. She makes this claim by invoking a human rights framework. Wallström frequently calls the Swedish public's attention to violations of different kinds of human rights: political, civil, economic, social, cultural and reproductive. Typically, she argues that the FFP helps to protect all rights (The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 2015). In her speech about human rights at the Raoul Wallenberg Institute, she emphasizes the rights of "all people," of which women are but one group:

> And we must be the initiators of the fight for all peoples' reproductive and sexual health and rights, so this is one of the priority areas that we have in our action plan in feminist foreign policy (Raoul Wallenberg Institute, 2015).

Reproductive rights and sexual health rights are thus framed as a part of the broader human rights package, and any violation of these rights is thus represented as a violation of basic human rights, whose protection all individuals are entitled to.

The FFP is also framed as addressing "problems of violent conflict" that affect populations in general. In a speech for Swedish Radio in 2014, Wallström links human rights violations to violent conflict. Gender inequality is related to violent conflict, she argues, whereas gender

equality – which the FFP seeks to accomplish – brings peace. In Wallström's words:

> It is basically about human rights. Then there will be, as well, a connection to countries where you can see that a high level of gender equality and parity between sexes and between different groups of people actually leads to peaceful societies. That is why this question about equality becomes a key question for Swedish foreign policy (Swedish Radio, 2014).

In short, then, for the Swedish general public, Wallström emphasizes that women's rights are inseparable both from the broader human rights' package and from security issues. As she argues repeatedly, "…human rights are women's rights. It is a dimension that I want to incorporate into the traditionally male foreign and security policy" (The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 2015).

The peace and security frame includes a broader range of issues when Wallström talks to the public in Sweden. Thus, a lack of female peace mediators constitutes a "problem" for the field of peace and security, where, according to Wallström's interview, given for Swedish Radio at the very beginning of her mandate as a Minister in 2014, women are deprived of a chance to be around the table, mediate and to sign peace agreements in areas affected by armed civil conflicts. Another issue that belongs to the domain of peace and security is the issue of sexual violence against women. Recalling her time as the UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Wallström frequently named violence, forced prostitution and abortions in armed conflict areas as serious challenges for women.

Representation of the problem's "cause" belongs to the second component of Swedish feminist foreign policy framing. As in the case of the problem, Wallström comes back to a broader human rights' frame and specifies in her statement about the FFP in the interview for Swedish Radio that women are "not involved in decisions that affect them" (Swedish Radio, 2014). Furthermore, she clarifies that generally low female representation in decision making is caused by limitations with regards to human rights in general. What is more, an absence of female participation in peace negotiations, as the FFP frames it, is caused by a prevalent, non-inclusive perception of women as being a separate group in a peace dialogue. Wallström states in her speech in Sweden about human rights that women's voices are not taken seriously which affects their participation in peace process:

> Look today when one reports about peace changes in Libya, Mali, Syria. Hopefully, it will, as well, become a proper process. Where are the women? Often, they have side activities, or appear afterwards or have separate peace conferences where their voices are heard, and this we, of course, must change (Raoul

Wallenberg Institute, 2015).

The cause of sexual violence against women is framed as related to peace and security. As Wallström regularly describes, in her statements on Swedish Radio and in the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, sexual violence results from organised crime in areas of war and conflict, and serves as one of ISIS' strategies that targets the female population.

Turning, finally, to the framing of the "solution" that the Swedish FFP offers, Wallström mainly emphasizes "political" solutions of different kinds. In an interview for Swedish Radio, she argues that the essence of FFP – equal rights and representation - are the key solutions that will make a visible difference for human rights and peace. A political solution stressed by Wallström in the same interview is the creation of female mediation groups and is relevant to the FFP pillar of "representation". In addition to this political "solution", Wallström refers to another pillar of FFP which is that of "resources" and suggests in the same interview an economic "solution", that FFP is also about the provision of economic resources that help to ensure women's rights and to fight violence against women:

> It is about efforts for education for women. To continue that girls should have the same right to education, to go to school. It is about giving support to their health and access to all societal functions, and it is also about giving support to infrastructure and everything that builds a society and women's rights as well. And then that they, as it was said, are included. And these are often projects that are supported to stop violence and make sure that you guarantee women's safety. You should have glasses on with a gender lens (Swedish Radio, 2014).

It should be noted that the word "feminism" was completely excluded from the domestic framing of the FFP. Instead, the FFP was repeatedly described by Wallström as a policy about gender equality, human rights, women's rights, and even "smart power," thereby mirroring Hillary Clinton during her tenure as the United States Secretary of State. In an interview for Sweden's third biggest newspaper, *Svenska Dagbladet* in 2018, where Wallström addresses the conflicting goals of the Swedish arms export trade and the FFP, she states:

> Our starting point is a respect for human rights, including women's rights. I think that when we praise ourselves for it, it gains more weight. Then there will be greater expectations about us (Svenska Dagbladet, 2018).

Here, it becomes evident that the FFP's human rights frame helps to redirect the public's attention and improve the image of the Swedish government domestically in order to be viewed in a better light.

6.2.2 *Shared framing of the FFP in the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation*

During her political mandate, Wallström visited a large number of states in different parts of the world, including the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation. Many media sources demonstrate that Wallström, together with the Swedish ambassadors, often interacted with national audiences through the Swedish embassy's events and talks on TV and radio programs. Following the same outline developed in the methodological chapter, a shared framing of the FFP in the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation will be presented below.

As in the Swedish case, Wallström and the Swedish ambassadors used a human rights, peace and security framework to frame "problems" that the FFP seeks to address. However, different components of this broader framework were emphasized to foreign national audiences focusing in particular on violence against women, the "MeToo" movement and discrimination against women in the labor market.

For instance, in a Forum on Security and Gender, organized in the USA in 2015 by the United States Institute of Peace, Wallström stressed that many countries, including Sweden "are still characterized by the systematic subordination of women". She further explained that subordination of women and girls implies, as in the Swedish case, a denial of their human rights and that subordination constitutes "a growing threat to peace and security". Whilst in Sweden FFP addressed a problem of sexual violence that was typically seen as a war weapon in conflict areas through the security frame, for international audiences it was frequently stressed that this problem also concerns Sweden.

Thus, the problem of sexual violence was linked by Wallström in her interview abroad for the USA radio Monocle to the "MeToo" campaign and, in her own words, this problem was also present in Sweden (Monocle, 2017). The Swedish ambassador Thöresson (posted in Germany), when asked about the situation with regards to gender equality in Sweden, highlighted in 2019, in his interview for a German diplomacy magazine that "fighting male violence towards women, violence in same-sex relationships, and so-called honour killings" are problems that take place domestically and that a new Gender Equality Agency in Sweden deals with them.

Another "problem" that the FFP seeks to address and that belongs to a broader human rights framework is the problem of discrimination against women in the labor market. This issue was never mentioned to a Swedish audience, it was, however, frequently emphasized abroad.

For example, when the Swedish ambassador Olofsdotter (posted in Washington D.C.) gave an interview for a TV program in the USA, where she was asked to describe a great example of Swedish equality, she revealed that despite high female participation in the labor market in Sweden, which is almost 80%, women in Sweden face a challenge in the private sector in reaching leading positions, as well as in recruitment to the military:

> We still have not really succeeded when it comes to the private sector. For instance, CEOs. Only 6% of the Swedish companies on the stock exchange have female CEOs…You have much higher percentage of women in leading positions in your private sector. You are much better at recruiting women into the military than we are… (The Next Word, 2019).

Following a similar theme, Ambassador Ericson (posted in Moscow) argued in a statement for Russian radio that women are those who are generally affected by gender inequality in the labor market, emphasizing that "where women are in the majority, in general, salaries are lower compared to professions where the majority are men" (Echo of Moscow, 2019). In addition, in Wallström's words for German students in Berlin, the FFP was framed as conveying the issue of discrimination against women in the labor market, where women's opinions are often not taken into account:

> Taking the example of Russia, which was to the extreme in one direction: 456 jobs were identified on the list that women cannot have. Jobs that women cannot take that included driving metro trains. I do not know why women would not be able to do that. But also in a country like France. I do not know what were…if there are examples from Germany, but in France there are also restrictions towards jobs women can have. For example, jobs where women will have to carry something that weights more than twenty-five kilograms (Hertie School of Governance, 2016).

Furthermore, an unequal representation of women in the labor force was framed as a "problem" for the economy and economic growth of a country in general, and not only a problem for women. As Wallström argued in the same speech: "if women's and men's labor force participation rates in the EU were the same, the GDP would increase by twelve percent by 2030" (Hertie School of Governance, 2016).

Turning to the framing of the "cause" of the problem, the cause is generally framed as related to the women's rights, peace and security framework but unlike in the Swedish case these broader frames were described as rooted in a weakened rule of law and discriminatory legislation against women in a labor market that favours the patriarchy. Thus, for the public in the USA, the rhetoric of Wallström in the frames used by her when she participated in the Forum on Global Security and Gender stated that the problem of sexual violence against

women is rooted in an *"impunity of sexual violence and gender-based violence in peace time as in conflict"* (The United States Institute for Peace, 2015). By referring to ISIS and that "there is nothing stopping them" Wallström stressed that punitive mechanisms lack a gender perspective that is promoted by the FFP (The United States Institute for Peace, 2015).

The "cause" of the problematic situation of women in the labor market is rooted in the disproportionate employment representation between women and men which limits women's rights. While talking about the FFP abroad, Wallström frequently argued that "it is not actually a glass ceiling; it is a thick layer of men" (The United States Institute for Peace, 2015). Similarly, a prevalence of men in conflict and peace settings was connected by Wallström with a disproportionate representation between women and men: "there are men who represent the military, men who represent the parties to a conflict, men who negotiate peace, men who take decisions and so on…"(The United States Institute for Peace, 2015). The "cause" of the problem of discrimination against women in the labor market, emphasized by the FFP, was, also frequently framed as political "cause". Thus, while talking on US radio, Wallström connected the limited opportunities for women in the labor market with discriminatory legislation that "forbids women from having a credit card or starting a business of their own" (Monocle, 2017).

Two main "solutions" connected to the FFP pillars of "rights" were identified as prevalent, when Wallström and the Swedish ambassadors communicated with foreign audiences about the FFP. In order to "solve" a problem of sexual and gender-based violence that is "caused" by impunity, a special authority to monitor the implementation of law and the protection of individuals' rights, when it comes to honour killing or violence against women should be established. As Ambassador Thöresson commented in a German magazine on the Swedish example of a special Agency that already deals with similar issues:

> The authority for gender equality is a relatively new development that will accompany, evaluate, and, where necessary, coordinate the integral implementation of this policy of equality (Diplomatisches Magazin, 2019).

Wallström also specified in her statements to the US public that when the rule of law is generally in place and women are provided with access to justice, the "overall human rights agenda" will be achieved (The United States Institute for Peace, 2015).

The second type of "solution" is connected to women and the labor market - related problem.

In an interview for a Russian virtual platform about Europe, Ambassador Ericson stressed that the provision of women's rights will help to preserve the talents that women bring to a labor market that will stimulate economic growth. Ericson emphasizes that "if the rights of a half population are limited, then half of the talent is lost" (EuroPulse, 2017). When Ambassador Olofsdotter in the USA gave an interview to a TV program featuring diplomats in Washington, she stressed a similar "solution" suggesting that when women's rights are limited it negatively affects all people, as it is bad for the general economic growth of a country: "If you will get more women into the labour market, you would grow your economy of course" (The Next Word, 2019). On a similar note, a new Ambassador Mård mentioned during her visit to a university in the Russian Federation that "women who are working, of course, it gives many pluses for the economy" (Voronezh State University, 2019).

However, in order to encourage women to work concrete steps are needed. Traditional norms and problematic laws that prevent women from taking certain typically "male" jobs in a labor market were mentioned repeatedly by Wallström in Germany and the USA. In order to solve this issue, the need for reforms with the incorporation of a gender perspective was seen as necessary. As Wallström proposed during her interview for a radio channel in the USA:

> To make sure that women can enter the workforce you need to have child care, you need to make sure of course that women get education, proper education throughout and also enjoy other rights, sort of social security in every way (Monocle, 2017).

Contrary to the Swedish domestic context, where "feminism" was completely excluded from the FFP narrative, this word appeared several times in the shared framing of the USA and Germany. For example, while describing the main pillars of the FFP, Wallström concluded in her statement to the US Institute for Peace that FFP will "offer important opportunities to mobilize a feminism agenda and gender-sensitive approaches in all of these areas" (The United States Institute for Peace, 2015). In addition, Ambassador Thöresson (posted in Germany) openly stated to a magazine that his government's policy is "decidedly feminist" (Diplomatisches Magazin, 2019). Alongside being described as feminist, the FFP was described to foreign audiences as "more women, more peace", "equality", "gender issues", and even "smart economics" (Georgetown University, 2016; Diplomatisches Magazin, 2019; The Next Word, 2019). These frames were closely connected to how the Swedish state was presented to audiences abroad. A shared image of Sweden as a peaceful country that scores as one of the highest in the world in international indexes when it comes to a high quality of life,

gender equality and women's participation in the labor market was echoed by speakers in all three foreign, national contexts.

6.3. A Comparison between three different international framings

The second question this thesis poses is whether and how the framing of the FFP differs for different national audiences - the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation, respectively. Table 4 below presents a brief overview of the empirical findings that will be discussed in detail in the following sub-sections:

Table 4. A *Summary: Framing of Swedish feminist foreign policy in three international contexts*

Questions asked of texts to determine frames		The USA	Germany	The Russian Federation
1. What is the main "problem" framed as??	For whom it is a problem?	• All people • Women	• All people • Women	• State's economy
	Is this problem: Economic? Political? Cultural? Other?	• Political: ➢ Endangered democracy ➢ Discrimination re sexual and reproductive rights ➢ Prostitution and pornography • Other: ➢ Climate change	• Political: ➢ Weak peace and security ➢ Injustice against women in conflict ➢ Sexual violence ➢ Situation of refugees	• Economic: ➢ Slow growth • Political: ➢ Gender inequality in the labor market
2. What is the "cause" of the problem framed as?	Problem caused by structure or by problematic actors	• Structure	• Structure • Problematic actors	• Structure
	Economic structure/actors? Political structure/actors? Cultural structure/actors? Other structure/actors?	• Political structure: ➢ Autocracy ➢ Lack of gender-oriented reforms ➢ Discriminatory laws	• Political structure: ➢ Geopolitical rivalries and nationalism • Problematic actors: ➢ Vladimir Putin and Bashar al-Assad	• Political structure: ➢ Discriminatory labor market laws

Questions asked of texts to determine frames		The USA	Germany	The Russian Federation

3.What is the "solution" of the problem framed as?	Economic? If so, what kinds of economic solutions? Political? If so, what kinds of political solutions? Cultural? If so, what kinds of cultural solutions? Other? If so, what kinds of other solutions?	• Economic solution:
		  ➢ to increase gender-specific resources
		• Other solution:
		  ➢ Practical activities to promote women
			• Economic:
			  ➢ Support for women-oriented projects
			• Political solution:
			  ➢ Integration policies for refugees
				• Political solution:
				  ➢ Gender-oriented reforms
				  ➢ Labor market-oriented policies for women

4.Feminist foreign policy, state and feminism	What is "feminism" made to be? Is feminism emphasized as a solution, and if so, as what kind?	• Democracy • A solution: tactic against authoritarianism	• Gender equality • A solution: application of gender perspective	• Equality for all • Gender equality • A solution: working women enhance economy
	What is the government responsible for the FFP made to be?	• Part of the strengthening of democracy • A government that promotes diversity and tolerance	• A government with decidedly feminist foreign policy	• A government with a policy of gender equality
	What is the home state represented to be? In what way is the state pursuing FFP framed as a role model?	• A champion for sexual and reproductive health and rights • A humanitarian superpower • A huge donor to the UN • Militarily non-aligned and a non-coloniser • A state with credibility that leads by example	• A state with the strictest rules in the world when it comes to arms' deals • An example for Canada and other states	• Highly ranked by the World Economic Forum as a good place for women • A leader for f e m a l e participation in the labor market

6.3.1 Framing in the USA

The USA became the most visited country by Wallström during her tenure as the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, having been visited officially at least five times (The Swedish Government Offices, 2020). Wallström and Ambassador Karin Olofsdotter participated in discussions and debates in the USA on sustainable peace and the role of women, security and gender, women and foreign policy, and other topics focused on women. In her interviews and statements in the USA, Wallström typically cited Hillary Clinton and her "smart policy" when she talked about the FFP.

The framing of FFP issues in the liberal context of the USA was related to already familiar framework of human rights, peace and security and consisted of several components. Thus, one of the FFP's frames addressed the climate change challenge described by Wallström as an expansion of security policy and presented as a problem that lacks gender perspective but which first and foremost affects women in the developing world today (The United States Institute for Peace, 2015).

Having repeatedly referred to the current Russian political vector in her various speeches presented to audiences in the USA, Wallström stressed another challenge in connection to peace and security concerns which is endangered democracy. According to Wallström's argument in her presentation about the FFP to the Council on Foreign Relations:

> Everywhere in the world there is so much of identity politics, there is so much of polarization that it will lead to an undermining of democratic principles and democracy as such (Council on Foreign Relations, 2019).

Democracy at risk was described by Wallström as a threat that "undermines the rights of women" and excludes women from many spheres of society (Council of Foreign Relations, 2019). Here women's rights, as well as the sexual and reproductive rights of people in general, were linked to a broader framework of human rights. The current situation on sexual and reproductive rights was described by Wallström as "controversial" and undermined in many countries, and it is one of the tasks of the FFP agenda to lift it up (The United States Institute for Peace, 2015). Prostitution and pornography alongside human trafficking were mentioned by Wallström in her speech about the FFP in the Council of Foreign Relations as problems for gender equality, named often by Wallström as "a great unfinished business of the 21st century" recalling the renowned expression of Hillary Clinton (The United States

Institute for Peace, 2015; Council on Foreign Relations, 2019).

In the USA the "cause" of endangered democracy that affects women's rights, human rights and gender equality was presented as structural and rooted in autocratic political regimes that the FFP's agenda seeks to oppose. Wallström explained the relationship between political regimes and women's rights in her presentation about the FFP in the Council on Foreign Relations, when she stated:

> In those countries with autocrats taking power, they often start by attacking women in one way or the other or making reforms that undermine the rights of women. So, this is definitely an element that we can see in many countries right now. And we have to look out for that, and we have to fight back (Council on Foreign Relations, 2019).

According to Wallström's rhetoric in an interview for the US radio station Monocle, reforms of autocratic states lack gender perspective and cause the oppression of women "meaning legal rights, meaning human rights" (Monocle, 2017). Furthermore, non-democratic regimes were seen by Wallström in the same speech as negative in relation to the problem of sexual and reproductive rights, as in the case of child marriages (Council on Foreign Relations, 2019).

In order to fight a "problem" of weakened democracy that is connected with discrimination against women, lack of gender equality and general controversy with regards to sexual and reproductive rights "caused" by autocratic states with their reforms, the FFP, in Wallström's words, offered very practical solutions. One example was a photo exhibition entitled "Swedish Dads", promoted by Sweden's embassies in many countries in the world. It was cited by Wallström in her FFP's presentation in the Council of Foreign Relations as an innovative and simple approach that helped to provoke debates and even improved parental leave legislation in some countries. Another practical solution, linked by Wallström to democracy and real change for women was a virtual initiative entitled "Wiki gap" that promoted female editors in Wikipedia (Council of Foreign Relations, 2019). The word "feminism" was expressed without constraint in the USA, and also connected to a "democracy" frame when the FFP and the Swedish government were highlighted by Wallström in her statements and speeches. In her words "a feminist foreign policy or a feminist policy, a feminist government is really a part of strengthening democracy" (Council of Foreign Relations, 2019).

"Increasing and re-directing resources towards gender-specific targets" and towards women in

development cooperation was repeatedly mentioned as the right strategy by Ambassador Olofsdotter and Wallström among other practical solutions (The United States Institute of Peace, 2015; Georgetown University, 2016; The Next Word, 2019). The FFP's focus on resources for development aid with a gender perspective that prioritizes the needs of women and girls was described as an exemplary solution, as it helps to save female lives and involves women at a local level in employment through development projects (Council of Foreign Relations, 2019). In connection to this argument, Sweden was portrayed by Wallström to an audience of radio Monocle as an "humanitarian superpower" and "a huge donor to the UN" (Monocle, 2017).

6.3.2   Framing in Germany

When Wallström talked about the situation in the EU at Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, she mentioned that "Germany is not only Sweden's largest trading partner but also a very important political ally" (Hertie School of Governance, 2016). Despite this fact, Wallström visited Germany less often compared to the USA which was reflected in a fewer number of interviews available in the German media.

For the German audience, a dominant narrative of the "problem" that the FFP aims to address was connected in part, as in the USA, to a peace and security framework. Referring to German social democrat Willy Brandt and his saying that "peace is not everything but without peace everything is nothing", Wallström stressed the "problem" of weakened peace when she spoke to German students and scholars at the Hertie School of Governance. Similarly, wrongdoing in relation to women was connected by Wallström in her other interview for a German on-line newspaper to weakened peace and security that may affect the whole population:

> I am concerned with a big picture: the fact that there is still serious injustice against women, that sexual violence is used as a weapon in conflict, is a question of peace and security for all people (TAZ, 2018).

By calling the attention of German students and scholars to the internationally renowned story of the former slave, Nadia Murad, Wallström connects the ''desperation of refugees'' to peace and security issues in her speech about the EU at the Hertie School of Governance (Hertie School of Governance, 2016). In addition to the problem of refugees, the unstable situation in Syria, peace and security concerns were mentioned by Wallström in the same speech where

she emphasizes similarities between Sweden and Germany in migration crisis management.

The problematic situation with regards to peace and security was rooted, according to Wallström, in a structural "cause" related to "geopolitical rivalries and aggressive nationalism" (Hertie School of Governance, 2016). The expansionist steps of political leaders were frequently described by Wallström as warning signs and a risk to peace (Hertie School of Governance 2016; TAZ, 2018).

Following the peace and security framework, the three FFP pillars of rights, representation and resources were emphasized as a "solution" for the "problem" of weakened peace and security, and injustice and violence against women in conflict. In his interview to a German diplomatic magazine on the topic of refugees, Ambassador Thöresson emphasized that the FFP of his feminist government supports and promotes refugee women upon arrival to their destination country through universal integration policies (Diplomatisches Magazin, 2019). To give women a voice and make them active participants in a peace dialogue through the improvement of their representation in conflict, as was done with the help of funded projects for women in Colombia and Syria, was yet another "solution" for a weakened peace presented by Wallström to various audiences in Germany (Hertie School of Governance, 2016; TAZ, 2018).

The word "feminism" was not excluded, just as in the USA, from speeches to the German public. This word appeared several times in the speeches of Wallström and Ambassador Thöresson, who even described himself as a feminist when highlighting the distinctiveness of the FFP and Sweden's current feminist government (Business and Diplomacy, 2017; TAZ, 2018). In Wallström's words, "feminism" did not have any negative connotations and was simply explained as equality between women and men that makes Sweden an inspiring example for Canada and other states which also supported the FFP (TAZ, 2018).

6.3.3 Framing in the Russian Federation

The political tension which has escalated between Sweden and the Russian Federation since the beginning of Crimea conflict in 2014, has led to limited visits by Wallström to the Russian Federation, which she visited officially only once, in 2017. That is why the limited statements of Wallström in the Russian media mainly covered the conflict-related situation in the Ukraine. Instead, several interviews with the Swedish ambassadors Peter Ericson and his successor Malena Mård touched on the issue of women and indirectly mentioned the FFP in a

few Russian on-line media sources.

Unlike in the USA and Germany, in the Russian Federation the findings demonstrated that the "problem" to be solved by the FFP was merely related to the problematic situation of women in the labor market and to gender inequality that negatively impacts economic growth. In his interview for a Russian radio program, Ambassador Ericson highlighted his experiences of being an ambassador in the Russian Federation, shared his opinion about wages for women and men and emphasized that "there is no 100% gender equality. It is correct" (Echo of Moscow, 2019). With the help of a frame of economic injustice in the labor market that was dominant in the Russian case, Ambassador Ericson invoked a broader framework of human rights. In his other interview to a Russian social media platform about Europe he emphasized the importance of equal opportunities and that "all people should have equal rights" (EuroPulse, 2017). In the same interview, Ericson called attention to economic injustice by saying that "morally and rationally from the point of economics that women and men have the same opportunities and rights" (EuroPulse, 2017).

A "cause" of the problematic situation of women in the labor market was framed as being connected to discriminatory labor market mechanisms that lack a gender-sensitive perspective and thus contribute to further discrimination of women through, for example, differences in salaries between people in the same profession. Ambassador Ericson stressed for a Russian audience in a radio interview in Moscow that:

> And it depends on the fact that, for example, where women are in a majority, in general salaries are lower compared to professions, where the majority are men. And if to look at salaries of a person in the same profession for men and women, the difference is lower, but it still exists. It is, of course, not satisfactory (Echo of Moscow, 2019).

By using a broader framework of human rights, the "solution" to the "problem" of the problematic situation of women in the labor market was directly associated with the economic growth frame that was repeatedly emphasized only for Russian audiences, unlike in the USA or Germany. Thus, for Ambassador Ericson the provision of women's rights would bring more talent into the labor market through enhanced female participation and would help to retain it. In his interview for a Russian virtual platform the ambassador stressed a direct connection between women's rights and benefits to the labor market and economy: "if the rights of half of a population are limited, then half of the talent is lost" (EuroPulse, 2017). Gender-focused social policies, such as paternity leave, were also seen as a "solution" that is

beneficial for the economy by Ambassador Ericson:

> This of course, influences salaries. Because if before employers could say that women disappear for years "because of children", now it is a "risk" for employer, as it is the same for a man and a woman (Echo of Moscow, 2019).

Continuing on the same theme, the phenomenon of working women, active in the labor market, was highlighted several times by Ambassador Mård in her speech to students and academic staff at the university in Voronezh. Mård's solution illustrated two partners in a family active on the labor market, and that "women who are working…Of course it gives many pluses for the economy" (Voronezh State University, 2019).

In comparison to the US and German contexts, the word "feminism" was not present in any of the speeches and statements of Swedish government actors in the Russian Federation, and was instead framed as "gender equality" or "equality" from a broader perspective. Furthermore, the issues related to women were discussed solely in connection to the labor market. Moreover, the FFP as such was not mentioned directly in any of speeches analysed. Instead, it was presented to the Russian audience as a "topic of equal opportunities" and a policy of "equality between women and men". These frames of the FFP were highlighted especially for the Russian audience when ambassadors, in particularly Mård, elevated the Swedish example and talked about the Swedish social welfare model which is beneficial for women:

> *I am convinced that this is, as well, a strong equality policy between men and women. Because it means that yes, we are leading as well when it comes to women who work…For this we were building quite strong social base. As you know, in Sweden for example, a high education is possible for everyone to enter because government gives quite good scholarships. So everyone irrespective of economic situation or the situation of parents has an opportunity for a higher education* (Voronezh State University, 2019).

6.4. Summary

With the help of an empirical analysis of statements and speeches presented by Swedish foreign policy actors in Sweden and in three other countries, several findings were identified. The analysis has identified an overall tendency adopted by Swedish government actors in applying the same general, broad frames - human rights, peace and security, and an economic growth, throughout all four contexts, to a greater or lesser degree. Despite similar general frames, the analysis highlights differences in how the characteristics of these frames are described to different publics, and presented as economic, political or cultural.

In sum, for the domestic audience in Sweden the FFP's framework of human rights and peace and security were highlighted through concerns related to low female representation in peace negotiations and decision making in the context of armed conflict, as well as violence against women in conflict areas. Whereas, for the international audience, discrimination against women was grafted into the general human rights frame stressing gender inequality issues in the labor market and connecting the human rights frame to the economic growth of the state.

Following a similar pattern, women's issues, promoted by the FFP, tended to be grafted into the same broad frames of human rights, peace and security and economic growth in three national, foreign contexts also stressing, their different components. Thus, in the case of the USA, human rights, peace and security and economic growth frames tended to be featured, for instance, through the security-related issue of climate change that affects women's rights in a development setting, as well as through autocratic laws that discriminate against women's rights in peace and conflict. In Germany, the human rights and peace and security framework tended to be predominantly addressed through the situation of female refugees in recent refugee crises and geopolitical conflicts. Meanwhile for Russian audiences, the focus on the human rights framework was stressed with the help of gender inequality for women in the labor market that impacts, above all, the state's economic growth.

The fact that pretty much the same general framing was used for domestic and international audiences, notwithstanding, the analysis has also demonstrated differences in how feminism in the FFP was expressed which clearly varied in all contexts.

7. Conclusions

This thesis has presented the analysis of a specific type of domestic-international engagement that is the communication of foreign policy by foreign policy actors to various national audiences: the domestic one in Sweden and foreign ones in the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation. This thesis focused on the single case of Swedish FFP and contains comparative elements. It is built on a qualitative research design that was guided by the concept of triangulation.

The thesis has identified that the Swedish FFP framing does not really differ in the different contexts. Empirical analysis, based on the assessment of statements and speeches given by Swedish foreign policy actors, helped detect three overarching frames, those of human rights, peace and security and economic growth which were used throughout communication to both domestic and international audiences. Although the same frames were used in all chosen contexts overall, characteristics of these frames' different dimensions seemed to vary when Swedish foreign policy actors discussed the FFP, its problems, causes and solutions. Nonetheless, the analysis of empirical data pointed out one apparent distinction when it comes to how and where a clearly "feminist" terminology was applied.

Thus, the framing of the policy in a Swedish social democratic context is characterized by complete exclusion of feminism from its narrative, and a redirection of public attention from women-related issues present in the domestic realm such as sexual violence, female subordination or low female representation in leading positions in the Swedish private sector, towards the need to help to solve challenges that other countries, especially those experiencing conflict, meet in the world today. The framing of the policy for international audiences is generally characterized by more open references to feminism in the narrative, with a particular emphasis on an economic frame and the problematic position of women in the labor market which has become central for policy framing for foreign audiences.

Similarly, the empirical analysis of framing in three different states – the USA, Germany and the Russian Federation illustrated that overall the frames of human rights, peace and security and economic growth tended to be used by Swedish foreign policy actors variously highlighting the frames' broad characteristics for each audience. What tended to be distinguishable in the FFP framing in these three foreign, national contexts is how feminism-

related terminology was applied. The most "feminist" terms were expressed to US audiences, where the word "feminism" itself was frequently cited without hindrance. Here, for a better reception, feminism was closely associated with democracy and described in the FFP framing narrative as a tactic against the political problem of autocracy and authoritarianism whilst invoking the overarching frames of human rights, and peace and security.

Feminism as a term was also used in a similarly open manner in the framing of the FFP to German audiences, although whilst stating that this term means nothing negative but simply equality between women and men. Gender equality thus became an important part of the narrative in Germany, grafted into the general peace and security frame's characteristics in connection to the refugee crisis. Lastly, the most dissimilar way of expressing feminism was observed in the analysis of the Russian case. There, this term, as well as the full name of the policy, was never communicated to the audience and was instead linked to economics, inequality in general and gender in the labor market whilst highlighting a general human rights' frame, which was wholly connected with the economic growth of the state.

The broad spectrum of prior scholarship on "two-level games" and FFP has primarily focused on policy negotiations on two levels and domestic and international perceptions of foreign policy, or on FFP policy content and domestic factors that may cause or shape it. Having examined and compared foreign policy communication to different audiences domestically and internationally, this thesis undertakes a rather unexplored direction by shifting from the focus of existing literature and bringing another insight to the analysed research area through showing the different ways in which the framing of the FFP is applied in an attempt to make the policy persuasive.

With the help of a qualitative empirical study, this thesis is somewhat controversial in indicating that despite the fact that the presentation of the frames' characteristics may vary for different audiences, the main frames of the policy still remain the same irrespective of the context in which policy is discussed. Furthermore, when it comes to the FFP and its feminist agenda, the thesis has demonstrated that contrary to existing scholarship on the FFP which emphasizes its global vision for the improvement of the situation of girls and women, in contexts where the situation with regards to women's empowerment, gender relations and feminism really differs, feminism remains hidden and overlooked, whilst the FFP is referred to as something else and is not spoken of directly. In addition, these paradoxical findings

point out that the FFP and its women-focused agenda are presented through the most expressly "feminist" terms in those contexts where feminism causes no controversial reaction, and therefore might be least needed compared to those contexts that lie furthest from the FFP.

Since the body of prior literature has examined very little with regards to the specifics of such domestic-international engagement as the communication of foreign policy to domestic and international audiences, including the FFP, as well as that of the comparative perspective on how a foreign policy may be communicated in different national contexts, there is a broad range of fragments that could be examined in order to further develop the direction of this field of research. Drawing on the findings of this thesis and on what has been already studied in prior scholarship, other questions that closely explore the interplay between the FFP's different components, the national context where the FFP is presented and actual policy understanding on a local level may provide fertile ground for complementary future in-depth research.

References

Aggestam, Karin & Bergman Rosamond, Annika (2016) "Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy in the Making: Ethics, Politics and Gender." *Ethics and International Affairs,* 30(3):323-34. doi:10.1017/S0892679416000241

Aggestam, Karin & Towns, Ann (2018) "The gender turn in diplomacy: a new research agenda." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 21(1): 9-28. doi: 10.1080/14616742.2018.1483206

Aggestam, Karin & Bergman Rosamond, Annika (2019) "Feminist Foreign Policy 3.0: Advancing Ethics and Gender Equality in Global Politics." *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 39(1):37-48. doi:10.1017/S0892679416000241

Aggestam, Karin, Bergman Rosamond, Annika & Kronsell, Annica (2019) "Theorising feminist foreign policy." *International Relations,* 33 (1): 23-39. doi:10.1177/0047117818811892

Aggestam, Karin & True, Jacqui (2020) "Gendering Foreign Policy: A Comparative Framework for Analysis." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16 (2):143–162. doi:10.1093/fpa/orz026

Bacchi, Carol Lee (1999) Women, policy and politics: the construction of policy problems. London: SAGE Publications.

Bacchi, Carol Lee (2009) Analysing policy: what's the problem represented to be? Australia: Pearson Australia.

Bacchi, Carol Lee & Eveline, Joan (2010) Mainstreaming politics: gendering practices and feminist theory. Australia: University of Adelaide Press.

Bashevkin, Sylvia (2014) "Numerical and Policy Representation on the International Stage: Women Foreign Policy Leaders in Western Industrialized Systems." *International Political Science Review,* 35(4):409-29. doi:10.1177/0192512113516029

Bergman Rosamond, Annika (2020) "Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy and 'Gender Cosmopolitanism." *Foreign Policy Analysis,* 26 (4): 217–235. doi:10.1093/fpa/orz025

Bjola, Corneliu & Manor, Ilan (2018) "Revisiting Putnam's two-level game theory in the digital age: domestic digital diplomacy and the Iran nuclear deal." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs,* 31(1): 3-32. doi:10.1080/09557571.2018.1476836

Bryman, Alan (2012) Social research methods. 4th Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Checkel, Jeffrey (1997) "International norms and domestic politics: bridging the rationalist-constructivist divide." *Sage Journals*, 3 (4): 473-495.
Retrieved 2020-04-15, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1354066197003004003

Cloward, Karisa (2016) When norms collide. Local responses to activism against female genital mutilation and early marriage. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cofelice, Andrea (2017) "Italy and the Universal Periodic Review of the United Nations Human Rights Council. Playing the two-level game." *Italian Political Science Review*, 47 (2): 227-250
doi: 10.1017/ipo.2017.6

Collinson, Sarah (1999) "Issue-systems', 'multi-level games' and the analysis of the EU's external commercial and associated policies: a research agenda." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6 (2): 206-224.
doi: 10.1080/135017699343685

Conceição-Heldt, Eugenia & Mello, Patrick A (2017) "Two-level games in Foreign Policy analysis", in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Politics* (p.1-31). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
doi:10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.496

D'Aoust, Anne-Marie (2012) "Feminist Perspectives on Foreign Policy" in R. Denemark (Ed.) *The International Studies Encydopedia* (p.1-32). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Retrieved 2020-03-20, https://www.academia.edu/3786249/Feminist_Perspectives_On_Foreign_Policy_ISA_Compendium_Entry

Evans, Peter (Ed.) (1993) *Double – Edged Diplomacy. International Bargaining and Domestic Politics.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Feliu, Laura (2007) "A Two-Level Game: Spain and the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights in Morocco." *Mediterranean Politics*, 8 (2-3): 90-111.
doi:10.1080/13629390308230007

Finnemore, Martha & Sikkink, Kathryn (1998) "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization*, 52 (4): 887-917.
Retrieved 2020-03-20, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601361?seq=1

Flick, Uwe (2014) An introduction to qualitative research. 5th Edition. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Gray, David (2018) Doing research in the real word. 4th edition. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Haastrup, Toni, Wright, Katharine A.M & Guerrina, Roberta (2019) "Bringing Gender In? EU Foreign Policy and Security Policy After Brexit." *Politics and Governance,* 7(3):62-71.
doi:10.17645/pag.v7i3.2153

Haastrup, Toni (2020) "Gendering South Africa's Foreign Policy: Toward a Feminist Approach?" *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16 (2): 199-216.
doi:10.1093/fpa/orz030

Ilda, Keisuke (1993) "When and how do domestic constraints matter? Two-level games with uncertainty." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 37 (3): 403-426.
doi:10.1177/0022002793037003001

Jezierska, Katarzyna & Towns, Ann (2018) "Taming feminism? The place of gender equality in the "Progressive Sweden" brand." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 14: 55- 63.
doi:10.1057/s41254-017-0091-5

Keck, Margaret E. & Sikkink, Kathryn (1998) Activists beyond borders. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Lee-Koo, Katrina (2020) "Pro-Gender Foreign Policy by Stealth: Navigating Global and Domestic Politics in Australian Foreign Policy Making." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16 (2):236–249.
doi:10.1093/fpa/orz029

McDonald, Matt (2015) "Australian Foreign Policy under the Abbott Government: Foreign Policy as Domestic Politics?" *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 69 (6): 651-669.
doi:10.1080/10357718.2015.1056514

Menz, Georg (2010) "Stopping, sharing and moulding Europe: two-level games, non-state actors and the Europeanization of migration policies." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49 (2): 437-462.
doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5965.2010.02123.x

Mo, Jongryn (1994) "The logic of two-level games with endogenous domestic coalitions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 38 (3): 402-422. doi:10.1177/0022002794038003003

Noone, Harry (2019) "Two-level games and the policy progress: assessing domestic-foreign policy linkage theory", *World Affairs* ,182 (2): 165-186.
doi:10.1177/0043820019839074

Oppermann, Kai (2019) "Between a Rock and a Hard Place? Navigating Domestic and International Expectations on German Foreign Policy." *German Politics*, 28 (3): 482-498.
doi:10.1080/09644008.2018.1481208

Panayirci, Ugur C. & Iseri, Emre (2014) "A Content Analysis of the AKP's "Honorable" Foreign Policy Discourse: The Nexus of Domestic–International Politics." *Turkish Studies*, 15(1): 62-80.
doi:10.1080/14683849.2014.890414

Pantington, Alan & Taylor, Charlotte (2018) The language of persuasion in politics. New

York: Routledge.

Parisi, Laura (2020) "Canada's New Feminist International Assistance Policy: Business as Usual." *Foreign Policy Analysis,* 16 (2): 163–180.
doi:10.1093/fpa/orz027

Payne, Rodger A. (2001) "Persuasion, Frames and Norm Construction." *European Journal of international Relations,* 7 (1): 37-61.
doi: 10.1177/1354066101007001002

Price, Richard (1998) "Reversing the gun sights: transnational civil society targets land mines." *International Organization*, 52 (3): 613 - 644.
Retrieved 2020-05-20, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601403?seq=1

Potter, Evan (2003) "Canada and the New Public Diplomacy." *Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis*, 58 (1): 43-64.
https://doi.org/10.1177/002070200305800103

Putnam, Robert D. (1988) "Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level games." *International Organization*, 42 (3): 427- 460.
Retrieved 2020-03-07, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706785?seq=1

Scheyer, Victoria & Kumskova, Marina (2019). "Feminist foreign policy: a fine line between "adding women" and pursuing a feminist agenda." *Journal of International Affairs*, 72(2):57-76.
Retrieved 2020-04-06, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26760832?seq=1

Schoppa, Leonard (1993) "Two-level games and bargaining outcomes: why gaiatsu succeeds in Japan in some cases but not others." *International Organisation*, 47 (3): 353-386
Retrieved 2020-04-12, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706980?seq=1

Semetko, Holli A. & Valkenburg, Patti M. (2000) "Framing European politics: a content analysis of press and television news". *Journal of Communication*, 50 (2): 93-109.
doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02843.x

Smith, Karen E. (2020) "Missing in analysis: women in foreign policy-making." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16 (1): 130–141.
doi: 10.1093/fpa/orz019

The Government Offices of Sweden (2020). *Statsbesök och oficiella besök.* Retrieved 2020-07-23, https://www.regeringen.se/regeringens-politik/statsbesok-och-officiella-besok/

Towns, Ann (2002) "Paradoxes of in (equality): something is rotten in the gender equal state of Sweden." *Cooperation and Conflict*, 37 (2): 157-179.
doi:10.1177/0010836702037002975

Towns, Ann (2017) "Kvalitativ textanalys" in P. Esaiasson, M.Gilljam, H.Oscarsson, A.E. Towns & L.Wängnerud *Metodpraktikan: konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad,*

5th Edition (p.211-234). Stockholm: Wolters Kluver.

Tsetsura, Katerina (2013) "Challenges in framing women's rights as human rights at the domestic level: a case study of NGOs in the post-Soviet countries. *Public Relations Review,* 39 (4): 406-416.
doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2013.07.018

Verbeek, Bertjan & Vleuten, Anna (2008) "The domestication of foreign policy of the Netherlands (1989 – 2007): the paradoxical results of Europeanization and Internalization." *Acta Politica*, 43: 357-377.
doi:10.1057/ap.2008.12

Vucetic, Srdjan (2018) "The Uneasy Co-existence of Arms Exports and Feminist Foreign Policy." *The Conversation*. Retrieved 2020-03-15,
https://theconversation.com/the-uneasy-co-existence-of-arms-exports-andfeminist-foreign-policy-93930

Wang, Jian (2006) "Managing national reputation and international relations in the global era: public diplomacy revisited." *Public Relations Review*, 32 (2): 91-96.
doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2005.12.001

Williams, Kristen P. (2017) "Feminism in Foreign Policy" in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Politics* (p.1-23). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
doi: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.368

World Economic Forum (2020). *Mind the 100 year gap*.
Retrieved 2020-07-06, https://www.weforum.org/reports/gender-gap-2020-report-100-years-pay-equality

Zald, Mayer N. (1996) "Culture, ideology, and strategic framing" in D. McAdam, J. McCarthy, & M. Zald (Eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (pp. 261-274). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
doi:10.1017/CBO9780511803987.013

Appendix 1

1. Sweden

1.1. Vad är feministisk utrikespolitik? (20 December 2014, recorded interview for Swedish Radio). Retrieved from: https://sverigesradio.se/sida/avsnitt/475259?programid=1300

1.2. Tal av Margot Wallström på Utrikespolitiska institutet (8 June 2015, Government Offices of Sweden). Retrieved from: https://www.gov.se/tal/2015/06/tal-pa-utrikespolitiska-institutet-den-8-juni-2015/

1.3. Margot Wallström at the Raoul Wallenberg Institute (in Swedish) (11 December 2015, recorded speech at the Raoul Wallenberg Institute, YouTube). Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JgMM_eyyxWs

1.4. "Förstår inte hur vapenexport rör feministisk utrikespolitik" (20 April 2018, interview with Margot Wallström in newspaper Svenska Dagbladet). Retrieved from: https://www.svd.se/forstar-inte-hur-vapenexport-ror-feministisk-utrikespolitik

1.5. Margot Wallström (S): Fler kvinnliga röster behövs i världskonflikter (17 April 2018, interview for SVT Nyheter). Retrieved from: https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/margot-wallstrom-s-1

2.The USA:

2.1. Global Security and Gender - A Forum with Sweden's Foreign Minister Margot Wallström (28 January 2015, recorded speech at the United States Institute of Peace, YouTube). Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4hY2hwtHJNA

2.2. Margot Wallström, Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Georgetown University (3 April 2016, recorded speech at Georgetown University, YouTube). Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wE7R-Y8gXfo

2.3. The big interview: Margot Wallström (29 October 2017, recorded interview, Monocle magazine). Retrieved from: https://monocle.com/radio/shows/the-big-interview/73/

2.4. The Swedish Ambassador to the United States (28 February 2019, recorded interview with Ambassador Karin Olofsdotter, The Next Word program). Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JdYOEKNY4CE

2.5. Feminist Foreign Policy: A Conversation With Former Foreign Minister Margot Wallström of Sweden (1 October 2019, Council on Foreign Relations).Retrieved from: https://www.cfr.org/event/feminist-foreign-policy-conversation-former-foreign-minister-margot-wallstrom-sweden-0

3.Germany

3.1. EU in a rapidly changing word: Where do we go from here? Keynote and discussion with Margot Wallström (7 October 2016, recorded speech at Hertie School of Governance, YouTube). Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2cd1M_KVN4M

3.2. „Die große ungelöste Aufgabe". Margot Wallström über Feminismus (25 May 2018, Tageszeitung TAZ). Retrieved from: https://taz.de/Margot-Wallstroem-ueber-Feminismus/!5505669/

3.3. „Schweden hat erstaunlich viele multinationale Konzerne hervorgebracht, was uns auch zum stolzen Partner der diesjährigen Hannover Messe macht." Interview mit dem Botschafter Schwedens S.E Per Thöresson (28 March 2019, Diplomatisches Magazin). Retrieved from: https://www.diplomatisches-magazin.de/artikel/interview-mit-dem-botschafter-schwedens-se-per-thoeresson-schweden-hat-erstaunlich-viele-multinat/

3.4. „Wir sind ein exportorientiertes Land." (interview with Sweden's Ambassador Per Thöresson, 2019, Magazin "Business & Diplomacy"). Retrieved from: https://www.business-diplomacy.de/aktuelles/schweden-partnerland-der-hannover-messe/

3.5. Wie geht feministishe Ausen- und Handelspolitik (4 June 2018, Deutschlandfunk). Retrieved from: https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/gleichberechtigung-in-schweden-1-5-wie-geht-feministische.795.de.html?dram:article_id=419275

4. *The Russian Federation*

4.1. Петер Эриксон, посол Швеции в России (30 July 2019, recorded interview with Peter Ericson, Sweden's ambassador to Russian Federation for Russian radio Echo of Moscow). Retrieved from: https://echo.msk.ru/programs/sorokina/2473079-echo/

4.2. Визит посла Швеции Малены Мард в Воронежский государственный университет (15 November 2019, recorded interview with Sweden's ambassador Malena Mård to Voronezh State University, YouTube). Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SnOsIDehr8U

4.3. Lavrov and the head of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Sweden discuss the results of negotiations (19 October 2017, recorded video Russia Today, YouTube). Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ikhF25_N6g

4.4. Europeans in Russia. Interview with Sweden's ambassador Peter Ericson (recorded video, EuroPuls, YouTube, 22 February 2017). Retrieved from: https://euro-pulse.ru/video/evropeytsyi-v-rossii-peter-erikson-posol-korolevstva-shvetsii-v-rossii

4.5. Live dialogue between Sweden's ambassador and students at Voronezh State University (14 November 2019, Voronezh State University on-line magazine). Retrieved from: https://www.vsu.ru/ru/news/feed/2019/11/11729.