

Metropolitan University Prague
International Relations and European Studies

Master's Dissertation

Assessing the Contemporary EU Travel Diplomacy

The Role of the EU High Representative/ Vice-President

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Abstract

This dissertation offers an assessment of contemporary EU travel diplomacy with special emphasis on the role of the EU High Representative and Vice-President (HR/VP). An inductive multiple case study method is employed to provide an empirical analysis of travel data. It intends to fill the gap of a systematic account of bilateral EU travel diplomacy in the literature. This work develops nine hypotheses about the nature of the HR/VP's travel diplomacy and how it correlates with a selection of member state actors. It may be argued that the HR/VP generally focuses on the EU-relations with countries in South-Eastern Europe and manages crisis situations in the EU neighboring regions. Additionally, the HR/VP uses bilateral travel diplomacy to deepen EU-relations with medium-sized powers and tends to fulfill country-specific mandates during missions abroad. In comparison with member state actors, the HR/VP has an almost exclusive geographical focus. Measured by hierarchical indicators, host countries perceive the HR/VP as an average member state representative. Regarding agenda priorities, the HR/VP correlates more with bigger than smaller EU member states. Furthermore, the HR/VP is more similar to Foreign Ministers than Heads of Governments. Finally, considering similarities and differences with member state actors, this dissertation argues that the HR/VP has a unique role in bilateral EU travel diplomacy.

EU, diplomacy, travel diplomacy, bilateral relations, EU High Representative/Vice-President

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List of Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CC	Correlation Coefficient
CEE	Central and Eastern European
CFSP	EU Common Foreign and Security Policy
EaE	Eastern Europe
EAs&P	East Asia & Pacific
EC	European Commission
EEAS	European External Action Services
EU6	Average of six EU countries
EUCO	European Council
FM	Foreign Minister
FM6	Average of six Foreign Minister
HoG	Head of Government
HoG6	Average of six Head of Government
HR	High Representative
HR/VP	EU High Representative and Vice-President
JCPOA	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (Iran Nuclear Deal)
LA&C	Latin America & Caribbean
MENA	Middle East & North Africa
MS	Member States
NAm	North America
NEU	Non-EU Western Europe
PM	Prime Minister
SAs	South Asia
SEE	South-Eastern Europe
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America
VP	Vice-President

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Introduction

The ever-changing political landscape continuously questions the international balance of power. The current unipolar world system is tested by the rise of China and the increased importance of regional organizations in a globalized world. Countries and regions have to redefine their role and positions. This is especially true for the European Union. The EU has become a major global actor, but its appearance has been at times inconsistent or even contradictory¹. Therefore, the EU has to clearly determine which role it wants to play in the international arena and who acts upon its behalf.

Institutionally, the post of the EU High Representative and Vice President of the European Commission (HR/VP) was defined in the Treaty on the European Union in 2007 to represent the Common Foreign and Security Policy to external players. Currently, the post is held by the Spaniard Josep Borrell Fontelles following the Italian Federica Mogherini who ended her term in November 2019. Acknowledging the multi-faceted nature of the EU, it has been quite an ambitious task to unify different national positions on foreign policy and to shape a common EU position.

This work addresses this issue by analyzing the appearance of the EU in the world. It aims at making the complexity of EU foreign actions more transparent. It is crucial to understand the current state of affairs to develop coordinated and coherent actions in the future. Travel diplomacy serves as an indicator to measure the EU representation. It is one of the more traditional types of diplomatic interaction², and visits are central in the maintenance of international relations³. The EU is arguably also represented by Member State representatives including the Heads of Government as well as the Foreign Ministers. They also take part in EU travel diplomacy. Consequently, it may be wondered how the HR/VP uses travel diplomacy to meet the ambitious task of representing the EU and how it correlates with member states actors.

¹ Mai'a K. D. Cross, "Conceptualizing European Public Diplomacy," in *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work*, ed. Mai'a K. D. Cross and Jan Melissen, First publ, Palgrave Macmillan series in global public diplomacy (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 109.

² Erik Goldstein, "The Politics of the State Visit," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 3, no. 2 (2008), <https://doi.org/10.1163/187119108X323646>.

³ Volker Nitsch, "State Visits and International Trade," *The World Economy* 30, no. 12 (2007), <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9701.2007.01062.x>.

Research Design

Recognizing the need to investigate how the HR/VP uses travel diplomacy to represent the EU in the world and how this correlates with member state actors, in the following the research design centered around the research question will be presented. Subsequently, the research methods will be developed⁴.

The research design is centered around the main research question:

- How does the EU HR/VP conduct travel diplomacy?

To structure this assessment, the following sub-research questions will be considered:

- 1 How does the HR/VP fulfill her mandate through travel diplomacy?
- 2 How do individual member states conduct travel diplomacy?
- 3 How does the HR/VP travel diplomacy correlate with member state actors?

Referring to the research objective, this dissertation aims at developing a number of hypotheses about the nature of the HR/VP travel diplomacy. These shall address multiple dimensions and serve as structural guidelines for further research on the matter. These hypotheses shall address the fulfillment of the HR/VP mandate by stating certain regional as well as thematic priorities. In addition, the role of the HR/VP is defined by hierarchical indicators in relation to member state actors. This shall give an indication about the perceived importance of the HR/VP in representing the EU in the world.

Structural overview

In order to meet the research objectives, this work will be substantially based on multiple comparative case study analyses which establish the methodological framework. However, prior to this, the first chapter will offer a literature review giving an overview of the current state of research on the topic. Engaging with the different concepts of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy as well as investigating characteristics of travel diplomacy will be complemented by the analysis of EU diplomacy. Based on this, the bilateral travel diplomacy of the EU will be subject to inquiry which results into the identification of a research gap, that this work intends

⁴ Christopher K. Lamont, *Research Methods in International Relations* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2015).

to fill. Further, this chapter also elaborates upon definitions and key characteristics of relevant actors. Most importantly, the position of the HR/VP will be presented according to the Treaty on the European Union.

The second chapter will focus on research methods. In the beginning, the choice of methods will be debated. Comparing inductive and deductive approaches, differentiating between exploratory, descriptive, explanatory or interpretative methodology as well as discussing the balance between qualitative and quantitative analysis will determine the selection of methods. The methodological framework will be given by a comparative case study analysis because it allows the individual analysis of the HR/VP and member state actors as well as the comparison of them. Next, the concepts will be operationalized. Beginning with data gathering, primary travel data, published in official calendars, will be collected. Travel missions are only considered if the HR/VP or a member state actor is exclusively welcomed in a Non-EU country. Recognizing the limited resources of this work, the data sample will be limited to one year. The year of 2018 will be chosen because it was the last full year of the HR/VP's term, which ended in November 2019. Further, a lack of sufficient data for years prior 2018 also justifies this choice. Within this dissertation, travel data of the HR/VP as well as of six member states, being represented by their Heads of Government and Foreign Minister, will be collected. The country choice will primarily reflect the criteria of being a state that travelled most frequently. Additionally, the selection should resemble EU's geographic and demographic diversity. As a result of this Bulgaria, Estonia, France, Germany, Italy and Spain will be analyzed as individual country cases. In order to do so, the data will encompass certain characteristics of a travel missions. This includes the regional location of the destination, the position of the host and the agenda items. Furthermore, the structure of analysis will be introduced. It is divided into the three dimensions of geographical, hierarchical and content evaluation. Finally, this dissertation will elaborate upon data quality standards as well as limitations and their consequences.

The third chapter will focus on the travel diplomacy of the HR/VP Federica Mogherini. Her travel profile will be introduced and assessed. This will follow the three-dimensional structure of analysis. Based on this, her performance will be matched with Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) priorities that she is supposed to represent. Concluding, it will be interpreted how the HR/VP used her bilateral travel diplomacy to fulfill her mandate.

The fourth chapter will be the most comprehensive. It will contain the analysis of all individual country cases as well as the subsequent comparison of single member state actors with the HR/VP profile. Starting with Bulgaria, the first part will present its foreign policy priorities that serve as a basis for the assessment of Bulgarian travel data as a whole. Next, the travel diplomacy profile of the Bulgarian Head of Government will be compared to the HR/VP according to the three-dimensional analytical structure. For every dimension, the Bravais-Pearson Correlation Coefficient will be calculated to make the degree of similarity measurable. This will also be done for the Bulgarian Foreign Minister. This process will be continued for the remaining country cases Estonia, France, Germany, Italy and Spain. Furthermore, one part will focus on contrasting average travel data of all given member state actors, as well as the average data of the Heads of Governments and Foreign Ministers. Finally, the calculation of correlations will serve as the basis for ranking the member state actors according to their degree of positive or negative correlation with the HR/VP's bilateral travel diplomacy.

The fifth chapter will focus on presenting key findings. The results of the analyses will be consolidated and translated into hypotheses. These will cover the individual study of the HR/VP and her performance with regard to her CFSP priorities. In addition, the hypotheses will include statements about the correlation of the HR/VP and member state actors. These shall serve as guidelines for future research on EU travel diplomacy as well as the role of the HR/VP.

Finally, the concluding chapter will reflect upon the methodological structure of the work. It will summarize noteworthy results and will critically engage with the limitations of this dissertation. Further, the hypotheses will be contextualized before giving an outlook for future research areas.

1 Theoretical Background

Before focusing on the primary data analysis, it is worth having a look at the theoretical background encompassing a literature review and a definition of different EU actors. In order to elaborate on this, in the following the concept of diplomacy and the importance of travel diplomacy will be presented. Furthermore, the EU diplomacy will be subject to analysis before summarizing the current state of research on the concept of the bilateral EU travel diplomacy.

1.1 Literature Review

Defining diplomacy in its widest sense refers to the management of relationships between countries by official agents and by peaceful means⁵. Out of a state perspective, this includes advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy. Historically, the British parliamentarian Edmund Burke used the term in 1796 to describe this essential tool of statecraft which aims at communicating a state's interest in foreign policy without the use of force. It is conducted by formal as well as non-formal actors who express, coordinate and defend interests through official or private talks, lobbying, threats and visits. Aside from the classical dialogue between professional diplomats, there are also a variety of different approaches in which diplomacy is enacted by other players⁶. Presidents, Prime Ministers (PM), or Chancellors often conduct foreign policy when having direct contact and also NGOs shape the multi-faceted relations between different countries⁷. Hence, contemporary diplomacy is no longer restricted to and reserved for Foreign Ministers and the diplomatic service. It also includes a variety of politicians from various political dimensions and multiple stakeholders including representatives of economic sectors or civil societies⁸.

Bilateral and multilateral diplomacy are mutually exclusive. The former deals with the direct interaction between two states, whereas the later involves more than two countries. On a bilateral basis, a pair of countries tries to create mutual beneficial relations including

⁵ Hedley Bull, "Diplomacy and International Order," in *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, ed. Hedley Bull, 2. ed., 6. [reprint] (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2001); "Definition: Diplomacy," accessed May 15, 2020, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/diplomacy?q=diplomacy..>

⁶ G. R. Berridge, *Diplomacy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015). <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137445520>.

⁷ Juergen Kleiner, "The Inertia of Diplomacy," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 19, no. 2 (2008), <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592290802096380..>

⁸ R. P. Barston, *Modern Diplomacy*, 4th edition (London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2014), <http://gbv.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1701970>, 1.

cooperation in various policy areas. They commonly focus on facilitating trade and investments, increasing mutual security and promote socio-cultural exchanges. In comparison to the multilateral approach, bilateral channels are safer and allow confidentiality. Recognizing the increased number of multilateral summits and conferences, bilateral work has also intensified. Contemporary bilateral diplomacy is omnidirectional and rapidly changing because more domestic actors are occupied with foreign relations in a globalized world. On the one hand, state representation consists of more dimensions including the involvement of parliamentarians, sub states or ministries. On the other hand, non-state actors such as business organizations, science institutions or civil society have an effect on policies as well. Rana (2018) defines four pillars of bilateral diplomacy which are composed of the political, economic, public as well as the consular sphere. The first is the basis for external relations and addresses security, the second plays an important role for many states and the third covers the public diplomacy in the media and culture promoting a country's brand. The consular pillar deals with issues of international travel and migration. Acknowledging fundamental changes in the international arena, bilateral diplomacy has proven to stay focused on building mutually beneficial relationships with individual foreign states⁹.

The concept of travel diplomacy is not clearly defined in the literature. It can be approximated by describing it as a foreign mission by a state representative. One form of it could be a state visit, which is one of the oldest types of diplomatic interaction between two state representatives¹⁰. Visits are central in the management of international relations, especially in bilateral diplomacy. Politicians conduct missions for various reasons. They address politics, economic cooperation, rule of law, human rights, environmental protection, cultural exchange or other issues on a bilateral level. Furthermore, they may participate in multilateral meetings, such as forums, summits and conferences or attend presidential inaugurations which have become international events¹¹. Barston defines different purposes for the undertaking of a bilateral mission which may be symbolic, improve diplomatic space, address substantive issues or be an act of signaling. First, a symbolic mission demonstrates the link between two countries and may highlight a common historical episode but also a beginning of improving relations in

⁹ Kishan S. Rana, "Bilateral Diplomacy," in *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy*, ed. Gordon Martel (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018).

¹⁰ Goldstein, "The Politics of the State Visit".

¹¹ Nitsch, "State Visits and International Trade"; Goldstein, "The Politics of the State Visit".

the future. Second, visits may have the aim of enlarging the scope of cooperation and to improve diplomatic power. They may be used to build trust and to gain credibility as well as international reputation. This may include proclaiming new initiatives of working towards a greater good such as addressing climate change or conflicts in the world. Third, conducting trips to debate substantive issues include working meetings and specific negotiations. These are result-oriented and high-profile politicians use visits to either initiate negotiations or to close them. Finally, foreign missions are also used to signal a change in foreign policy such as visiting a country that was seen as hostile before¹².

However, it may be questioned how effective diplomatic visits are. They do not automatically bring desirable results just because a political leader attended a ceremony in a host country. Visits may potentially be misinterpreted, and they are no guarantee that the results of negotiations will actually be put into action. Furthermore, foreign missions may lack an appropriate timing, be inadequate to meet different expectations or only be used to distract from issues in domestic politics. The latter aspects show potential weaknesses of travel diplomacy¹³. More recent research has been conducted on travel diplomacy in the context of economy. For example, scholars have analyzed the effectiveness of travel diplomacy in correlation with bilateral trade within the China-Africa relations. It was found that Chinese exports and official aid significantly increased after state visits¹⁴. Furthermore, the impact of visits of the Brazilian president were investigated and a positive and statistically significant impact was found¹⁵. A majority of studies show that economic diplomacy is indeed working, and state and official visits correlate positively with economic activity¹⁶.

¹² Barston, *Modern diplomacy*, 39–45.

¹³ Barston, *Modern diplomacy*, 39–45.

¹⁴ Faqin Lin, Wenshou Yan, and Xiaosong Wang, “The Impact of Africa-China’s Diplomatic Visits on Bilateral Trade,” *Scottish Journal of Political Economy* 64, no. 3 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.1111/sjpe.12128>.

¹⁵ Fabrício Linhares and Martins, Jonatas de Pessoa Albuquerque, “Assessing the Effect of State Visits on International Trade: The Case of Brazilian Exports,” *Journal of International and Global Economic Studies*, no. 12 (2019), http://www2.southeastern.edu/orgs/econjournal/index_files/JIGES%20JUNE%202019%20LINHARES%20OCT-30-2019.pdf.

¹⁶ Selwyn Moons and Peter A. G. van Bergeijk, “Does Economic Diplomacy Work? A Meta Analysis on the Effect of Economic Diplomacy on International Economic Flows,” *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2011, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1908699>.

The literature offers the historic example of former UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld who often conducted travel diplomacy by going to the scene of a crisis and by personally engaging in negotiations. For instance, during the Congo crisis in the 1960s, Hammarskjöld was able to start his diplomacy already in New York because he gained personal insights and connections on his Africa tour in the year before. Furthermore, he led the first UN troops to go to Katanga in August 1960 himself. He personally negotiated the permission to land with the Katangese leader which was a courageous diplomatic move. Travel diplomacy became Hammarskjöld's trademark. Arguably, today it would be less effective because travelling has become easier. Instead of meeting just once within years, in today's world meetings are more frequent and other means of communication such as telephones are used as well. Nonetheless, mediators testify to the importance of actually being on the ground¹⁷. Likewise, although communication technology has made substantial advances, personal visits between countries' representatives have actually increased in recent decades. Engaged heads of states conduct around fifteen or more bilateral missions a year, in addition to attending multilateral summits¹⁸. This can be explained by the effective character of state visits which offer better circumstances for debates and closing agreements. Recognizing the higher costs in comparison to using telecommunication, it still appears to be profitable to invest these financial resources¹⁹.

¹⁷ C. Stahn and H. Melber, *Peace Diplomacy, Global Justice and International Agency: Rethinking Human Security and Ethics in the Spirit of Dag Hammarskjöld* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), <https://books.google.de/books?id=8zE4AwAAQBAJ>; Berridge, *Diplomacy*.

¹⁸ Rana, "Bilateral Diplomacy"

¹⁹ Lin, Yan and Wang, "The impact of Africa-China's diplomatic visits on bilateral trade"

When it comes to the bilateral travel diplomacy of the EU, it is worth noticing that there are internal bilateral and multilateral diplomatic relations among member states as well as external ones to Non-EU-Members. The EU uses several approaches to foreign policy which encompass unilateral, bilateral and multilateral strategies²⁰. These are not necessarily mutually exclusive because it is more effective to address political aims by using multilateral approaches which are backed up by active employment of bilateral or even unilateral actions. Unilateral combined with bilateral engagements may be decisive to achieve objectives on the multilateral level²¹.

This work focuses on the EU's bilateral strategies for which the competencies for representing the Union to a third country are shared. Some of the responsibilities to conduct talks and make decisions has been shifted from Member's States to different collective EU institutions²². Especially the High Representative and Vice President of the Commission (HR/VP) plays a crucial role which will be analyzed in more detail in the next chapter. More generally, the EU Diplomacy is guided by the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The EU's CFSP is supposed to enable the EU to be represented by a single voice in the global arena. It is used to address the challenges that member states cannot cope with on their own. These include ensuring peace, promoting democracy, rule of law and human rights in the world²³. The fact that the EU has developed its own diplomatic approach is neither sudden nor unexpected²⁴. Historically, for the first time, the Single European Act allowed the EC to be "fully associated" with the foreign policy. The fundamental intergovernmental approach has only been slowly and partly adjusted. Blurring lines between exclusive and shared competencies arguably served as basis for a more integrated approach giving the EU institutions more influence. The Commission advanced its actions in the field of trade, development and humanitarian policies by initiating new policies and advocating for attending international summits with an

²⁰ Knud E. Jørgensen, "The European Union in Multilateral Diplomacy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 4, no. 2 (2009), <https://doi.org/10.1163/187119109X440906>.

²¹ Knud E. Jørgensen, "EU Diplomacy in Global Governance: The Role of the European External Action Service," in *The European Union as a Diplomatic Actor*, ed. Joachim A. Koops, Gjovalin Macaj and Peter Debaere, European Union in International Affairs (Basingstoke, England, New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 7.

²² Rana, "Bilateral Diplomacy"

²³ "Foreign and Security Policy," accessed October 27, 2019, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/chapter/foreign_and_security_policy.html?root_default=SUM_1_CODED%3D25,SUM_2_CODED%3D2501&locale=en.

²⁴ Stephan Keukeleire, Michael Smith, and Sophie Vanhoonacker, "The Emerging EU System of Diplomacy: How Fit for Purpose?" (Loughborough University, Leicester, 2010).

independent mandate. Similarly, the Council and subsequently the HR/VP gained more competencies to ensure a consistent representation. However, it needs to be stressed that these remain very limited²⁵. In 2016, the HR/VP introduced the Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy which aims at stabilizing the EU neighborhood, boosting security and defense as well as meeting challenges including energy security, migration, climate change and terrorism²⁶. The Global Strategy defines shared interests and principles such as a rules-based global order and principled-pragmatism. Based on this, five priorities are stated encompassing the *Security of our Union, State and Societal Resilience to our East and South, an Integrated Approach to Conflicts, Cooperative Regional Orders and Global Governance for the 21st Century*. In order to meet the priorities, the Union shall act credibly, responsively and in a joint-up manner²⁷.

Finally, for the purposes of the thesis, *bilateral travel diplomacy can be conceptualized as the management of relationships between two states or state-like entities (EU) through conducting foreign missions to strengthen bilateral ties and to foster cooperation in various policy areas.*

Summarizing, it may be stated that while the concepts bilateral, travel as well as EU diplomacy have been investigated and debated individually, there has not been a joint approach inquiring the bilateral travel diplomacy of the EU. In other words, having reviewed the existing literature, it may be concluded that to date there has not been any systematic account available on the empirical analysis of the EU bilateral travel diplomacy. This dissertation aims to fill this gap by exploring travel data of EU actors conducting bilateral diplomacy in the world.

²⁵ Antonio Missiroli, ed., *The EU and the World: Players and Policies Post-Lisbon: A Handbook* (Paris, Luxembourg: European Union Institute for Security Studies; Publications Office, 2016), https://bookshop.europa.eu/en/the-eu-and-the-world-pbQN0616217/downloads/QN-06-16-217-EN-N/QN0616217ENN_002.pdf?FileName=QN0616217ENN_002.pdf&SKU=QN0616217ENN_PDF&CatalogueNumber=QN-06-16-217-EN-N, 10–17.

²⁶ European Union, *Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, What the European Union does* (Luxembourg: Publications Office, 2018).

²⁷ “Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe: A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy” (European Union External Action Service, 2016), http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf, 7–11.

1.2 Definition of Key Actors

There are three important EU positions which can be defined as relevant actors in representing the EU in the world. First, the President of the European Council participates in summits or provides fundamental positions in the foreign policy. In the fields of exclusive EU competence such as foreign trade, the President of the Commission being supported by individual Commissioners stands up for EU interests. Finally, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is the policy area of the HR/VP²⁸. This dissertation considers this position as a central role of the EU's external representation and will focus on their travel diplomacy. Before assessing how the mandate is fulfilled, the legal framework will be presented in the following. The position of the High Representative and Vice President of the European Union is legally defined in the Lisbon Treaty. Based on the existing post of the High Representative (HR), the Treaty on European Union (TEU) enriched this position by adding the function of Vice President of Commission to the position²⁹. This has clearly strengthened the role of the HR³⁰. The TEU defines the competencies and resources which are provided to the HR and the Vice-Commissioner (VC) separately. To improve the flow of reading, this dissertation uses the joint abbreviation "HR/VP" for both. According to Article 18 (1), the European Council (EUCO) appoints the HR/VP by qualified majority voting and the President of the European Commission (EC) approves the nomination. The same procedure applies to ending the term. In the Institutional Framework the HR/VP is a member of the Council³¹ and presides over the Foreign Affairs Council³².

*"The [HR/VP] shall conduct the Union's common foreign and security policy. He shall contribute by his proposals to the development of that policy, which he shall carry out as mandated by the Council. The same shall apply to the common security and defence policy."*³³

²⁸ Michael Emerson et al., "Upgrading the EU's Role as Global Actor: Institutions, Law and the Restructuring of European Diplomacy" (Brussels, 2011), <https://www.ceps.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Upgrading%20the%20EU%20as%20Global%20Actor%20e-version.pdf>.

²⁹ "High Representative/Vice President," European Union External Action Service, accessed October 26, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/3598/high-representativevice-president_en.

³⁰ Bart van Vooren and Ramses A. Wessel, *EU External Relations Law: Text, Cases and Materials* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014), 373.

³¹ Article 15 (2) TEU

³² Article 18 (3) TEU

³³ Article 18 (2) TEU

As VP of the EC, he

“shall ensure the consistency of the Union's external action. He shall be responsible within the Commission for responsibilities incumbent on it in external relations and for coordinating other aspects of the Union's external action”³⁴.

These may include trade, development and neighborhood policy³⁵. In a similar manner as HR, he shall ensure the unity, consistency and effectiveness of action by the Union in collaboration with the Council³⁶. He shall propose measures to develop the CFSP and ensure that decisions of the EUCO and the Council are implemented³⁷.

Most importantly for this dissertation, Article 27 (2) states that the HR/VP

“shall represent the Union for matters relating to the common foreign and security policy. He shall conduct political dialogue with third parties on the Union's behalf and shall express the Union's position in international organisations and at international conferences.”

In order to do so the HR/VP is the head of and assisted by the European External Action Services (EEAS) which is designed to communicate and cooperate with partners in the world³⁸. The EEAS was formally established by the Council Decision 2010/427³⁹. It is staffed with officials of the General Secretariat of the EUCO and the EC as well as representatives of the diplomatic services of the member states⁴⁰. This is in line with Article 26 (3) TEU stating that the CFSP shall be carried out by the High Representative and member states using national and Union capacities.

On the member state level, this dissertation defines the Head of Government (HoG), being Chancellor or Prime Minister (PM), as well as the Foreign Minister (FM) as key actors. Heads

³⁴ Article 18 (4) TEU

³⁵ EEAS, “High Representative/Vice President”

³⁶ Article 26 (2) TEU

³⁷ Article 27 (1) TEU

³⁸ Mai'a K. D. Cross and Jan Melissen, eds., *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work*, First publ, Palgrave Macmillan series in global public diplomacy (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

³⁹ Official Journal of the European Union, *Council Decision of 26 July 2010 Establishing the Organisation and Functioning of the European External Action Service: 2010/427/EU* (2010), https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/eeas_decision_en.pdf.

⁴⁰ Article 27 (3) TEU

of Government play an important role in modern diplomacy. They have become more mobile and visible. Their priorities and personality have a direct or indirect effect on central areas of foreign policy. They are able to set the agenda and thereby may reduce the influence of the FM or local ambassadors⁴¹. However, Foreign Ministers are generally responsible for foreign and diplomatic relations with other countries. They are cabinet ministers and the temporary political head of the foreign ministry. Their individual political weight as well as personal experience influence the strength of the position⁴².

Finally, this dissertation focuses on three different positions. First, the EU HR/VP is chosen as representative of the EU actors because it has been given the task to represent the EU's CFSP⁴³ and to ensure the consistency of the EU's external actions⁴⁴. Second, the HoGs and third, the FMs become subject to analysis because they jointly shape the country's foreign policy and embody diplomatic representation.

⁴¹ Barston, *Modern diplomacy*, 6–8.

⁴² Berridge, *Diplomacy*. "Minister of Foreign Affairs," accessed December 29, 2019, <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/Minister+of+Foreign+Affairs>.

⁴³ Article 27 (2) TEU

⁴⁴ Article 18 (4) TEU

2 Research Methods

The defined research questions will be inductively explored through multiple case studies. Firstly, the performance of HR/VP will be analyzed as a single case study of travel diplomacy. This will be complemented by a comparative case studies of selected EU countries, which is aimed to identify similarities and differences among particular states and to contrast those with the HR/VP performance.

In the following, the choice of research methods will be explained. There are two main approaches to conduct research. On the one hand, a deductive approach starts with a universal view of a situation and continues to focus on particulars. It could be based on superficial and rather general hypotheses. On the other hand, an induction commences with the fragmentary details and contextualizes it within the situation. Acknowledging the lack of research on EU travel diplomacy, the latter approach will be applied in this dissertation. In an inductive process, data collection is planned before observing any patterns emerging among variables. These findings can possibly be generalized and translated into a theory. Scholars often take multiple cases to ensure that conclusions have a high degree of reliability. However, contrasting it to the deduction, it would be false to argue that an inductive approach would be free of any hypothesis. The simple selection of a research puzzle implies judgement about the importance of the topic, which is influenced by concepts and values. Nonetheless, the induction differs in the fact that it does not try to falsify a theory but tries to detect patterns, consistencies and meanings in primary data⁴⁵. Further, this work is characterized by an exploratory methodology. It differs from descriptive, explanatory or interpretative studies because it questions what is happening. An exploratory methodology is selected for this dissertation because it is an adequate strategy to develop more knowledge about a phenomenon. Additionally, a valuable exploratory study lays the ground for further research on the topic⁴⁶.

This dissertation employs mixed methods. Primarily, a qualitative research approach will be applied. This includes an inductive data analysis, moving from particular to general insights. This style is flexible in nature and will be adjusted to the context. In addition, a quantitative approach is used to identify and measure variables which will complement the qualitative

⁴⁵ David E. Gray, *Doing Research in the Real World*, 2. ed., reprinted. (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2011).

⁴⁶ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 3. ed., Applied social research methods series 5 (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2003), <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/enhancements/fy0658/2002152696-d.html>.

instruments in the analysis of this work⁴⁷. Justifying the case study approach for this dissertation, it may be referred to Yin. He states that a case study research design fits studies that address “how” and “why” question. Considering the research question and the sub-research questions of this dissertation, this requirement is fulfilled⁴⁸.

The multiple case study analysis aims at understanding differences and similarities between cases⁴⁹. In a single case study, scholars research a process, program, structure or activity or one or more individuals in depth. A case is limited by time and activity and scholars gather various data over a sustained period of time⁵⁰. The single case study approach allows for a more-detailed analysis of a specific case. This results in more in-depth knowledge about existing phenomena⁵¹. When conducting multiple case studies, it is crucial that the data is converged ensuring that the overall case can be understood⁵². This approach allows the scholar to analyze each single case but also gain knowledge across different cases. Furthermore, multiple case studies are beneficial because they make findings more reliable and robust being based on different sources. It includes the perspective of generating theories and formulation future research questions⁵³. However, it involves a lot of resources and is relatively time-consuming⁵⁴. Therefore, it is important to consider how much new knowledge can be generated when increasing the number of cases⁵⁵.

⁴⁷ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 4th edition, international student edition (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington, DC: SAGE, 2014).

⁴⁸ Yin, *Case study research*.

⁴⁹ Yin, *Case study research*.

⁵⁰ Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*, [Nachdr.] (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publ, 2010).

⁵¹ Johanna Gustafsson, *Single Case Studies Vs. Multiple Case Studies: A Comparative Study* (2017), <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1064378/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.

⁵² P. Baxter and S. Jack, “Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers.: Baxter, P., Jack, S.” *Qualitative Report*, no. 13 (2008), <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1064378/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.

⁵³ Johanna Gustafsson, *Single Case Studies Vs. Multiple Case Studies: A Comparative Study* (2017), <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1064378/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.

⁵⁴ Yin, *Case study research*.

⁵⁵ Johanna Gustafsson, *Single Case Studies Vs. Multiple Case Studies: A Comparative Study* (2017), <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1064378/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.

2.1 Operationalization of Concepts

Methodologically, this work bases the assessment of EU Travel Diplomacy on individual case studies of the EU HR/VP and member state actors. Afterwards, the latter will be compared to the travel diplomacy of the HR/VP. Considering the scope of this work, the number of countries will be limited to six in order to ensure a sufficiently detailed analysis. Each country case includes data of the Head of Government as well as the FM. The country selection will primarily be guided by the highest total number of travels. Additional criteria are regional and demographic diversity.

Table 31⁵⁶ shows the number of bilateral visits to Non-EU countries in 2018. It ranks the member states by number of bilateral visits starting with France at the top whose HoG and FM conducted 40 missions in total. The top three countries also include Germany and Italy. Representatives of Poland, Sweden and Slovenia travelled the least amount of times to Non-EU countries; Slovenia did not have any bilateral missions at all. Considering the first criteria for the choice of six countries for the sample, France, Germany and Italy will be subject to analysis because they combine the highest amount of travels of all national actors combined. Second, the selection of the remaining three cases shall additionally take the overall geographical and demographical diversity into account. Therefore, the United Kingdom, being ranked fourth, will be disregarded because it has a big population and is located in Western Europe; both criteria are already represented by Germany and France. Further, the fact that the UK had already invoked Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty and had thereby started the departure from the EU already in 2017, would have made the selection as a representative of the EU MS questionable⁵⁷. Next, Spain and Bulgaria will be chosen having the fifth highest amount of total travels. Regarding the geographical dimension, Spain is located in Southern Europe and Bulgaria is a state within Central-Eastern Europe. Furthermore, Spain and Bulgaria can be grouped within the medium-sized countries, having about 47 and 7 million citizens. Finally, Estonia will be chosen because it was the Northern European country that travelled the most and is also characterized by a small population. Hence, the selection of Bulgaria, Estonia, France, Germany, Italy and Spain as individual country cases fulfills the criteria of choosing

⁵⁶ Refer to Appendix I

⁵⁷ "Countdown to the UK Triggering Brexit," accessed May 19, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-39422353>.

the most active countries while at the same time, it considers geographical and demographic diversity.

Having determined the individual cases, in the following the method of data gathering will be presented. The official public calendars of the governments as well as the EU institutions serve as sources. In an extensive research all official events in the year of 2018 will be checked whether they fulfill the criteria of a bilateral travel to a Non-EU country. Once a mission is recognized, it will be further investigated by assessing the official press release. If the information is not sufficient in the data scheme, which will be introduced below, secondary sources such as news articles will be considered additionally. This approach does not guarantee that all missions are published but it ensures a consistent approach to all cases.

Table 1 Example of data scheme

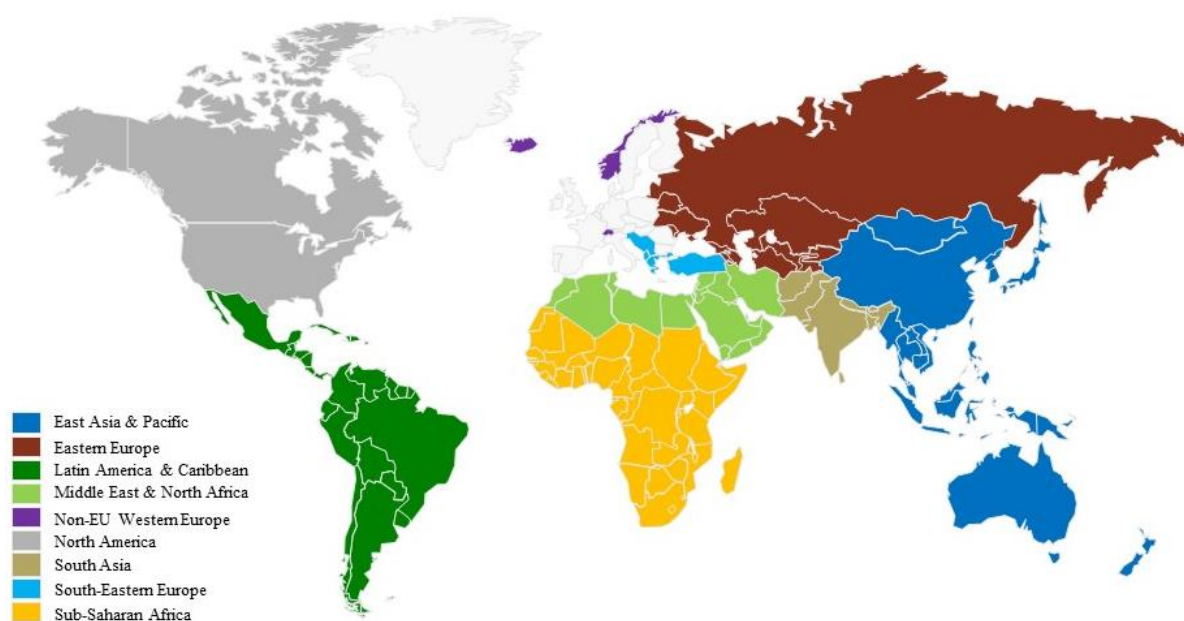
Variables	Example I	Example II
EU Country/ EU Position	HR/VP	France
Name of EU Representative	Federica Mogherini	Emmanuel Macron
Position of EU Representative (1 = HoG; 2 = FM; 3 = HR/VP)	3	1
Host Country	Albania	India
Region	South-Eastern Europe	South Asia
G20 Status	Non-G20	G20
Name of highest-ranked Host	Edi Ram	Narendra Modi
Position of Host (1 = Prime Rep; 2 = FM; 3 = Other)	1	1
Date of Arrival	17.04.2018	09.03.2018
Date of Departure	18.04.2018	12.03.2018
Topics of the meeting	EU-Membership, Rule of Law, Western Balkans, Peace, Corruption, Crime, Human Rights	Migration, Security, Defense, Terrorism, Environment, Technology, Culture, Syria, Iran, North Korea, EU, ...
Source	https://eeas.europa.eu/ (...) joint-press-conference-edi-rama-prime-minister-albania_en	https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/03/11/(...)narendra-modi-premier-ministre-de-la-republique-d-inde-a-new-delhi

Source: Created by author

Table 1 gives an example of which type of data will be collected. For each mission, the travelling actor will be defined by his/her EU MS or EU position, his/her name as well as the codified position. For each selected country, the head of government being member of the

EUCO will be assigned the number 1, the FM receives number 2, and the HR/VP is represented by the number 3. In case a HoG travels with his/her FM, the mission will only be counted for the HoG being the higher ranked representative. The host country of the EU representative is placed as the fourth variable. It is further characterized by its geographical location in different world regions and its G20 status. For each mission, the travelling actor will be defined by his/her EU MS or EU position, name as well as the codified position. For each selected country, the head of government being member of the EUCO will be assigned the number 1, FM receive number 2, and the HR/VP is represented by the number 3. In case a HoG travels with his/her FM, the mission will only be counted for the HoG being the higher ranked representative. The host country of the EU representative is placed as the fourth variable. It is further characterized by its geographical location in different world regions and the G20 status.

Figure 1 Definition of world regions



**Small Non-EU countries in Western Europe are not visible*

Source: The World Bank Group; Created by author

Figure 1 illustrates the definition of world regions, which is used in this dissertation⁵⁸. It is based on the classification of seven world regions according to the World Bank Group⁵⁹. It is arguably a common structure of regional grouping and can be further justified because it offers

⁵⁸ For list of regional categorizations of all destinations refer to table 32 in Appendix II.

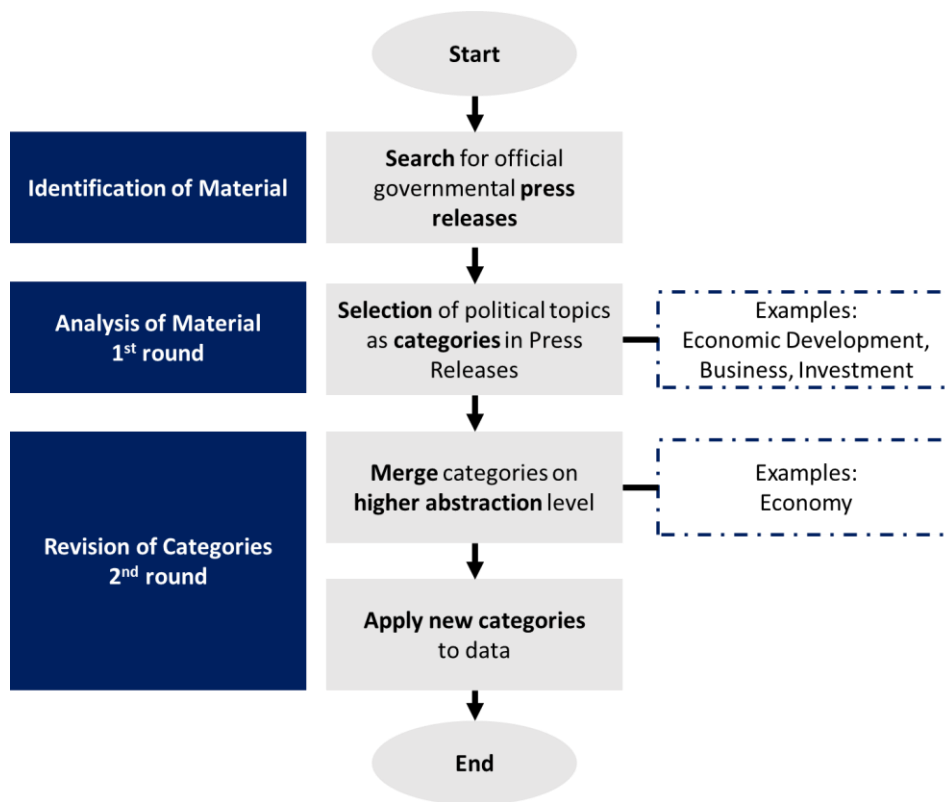
⁵⁹ “Data for North America, Latin America & Caribbean, Europe & Central Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia & Pacific, South Asia, Middle East & North Africa | Data,” accessed May 22, 2020, <https://data.worldbank.org/?locations=XU-ZJ-Z7-ZG-Z4-8S-ZQ>.

a manageable number of regions that can be assessed individually within the scope of this work. Considering the special interest in the analysis of the EU neighborhood, the Region Europe and Central Asia will be divided into three Non-EU groups. In order to allow for a practical use of the terms, the Western Balkan States and Turkey were named South-Eastern Europe. Eastern European as well as Central Asian countries sharing Soviet history are summarized as Eastern European countries. Finally, Non-EU member states in Western Europe include the visited countries Andorra, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, San Marino, Switzerland and Vatican City.

Further, the name and position of the highest-ranked host is noted. The position of the host will be codified similarly: Number 1 represents the Prime Representative, which may be the Head of State and/or Head of Government or an equivalent position, number 2 describes the FM and number 3 encompasses any other position ranging from governmental ministers to members of civil society. Noting the dates of arrival and departure and the source serve as further indicators of the mission. Major emphasis will be put on the topics of the meetings and their classification in abstract categories. The latter will be conducted through a content analysis. It describes a systematic qualitative and/or quantitative analysis of communication, including specific terms and text. It has the purpose to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner. It focuses on what and in which intensity is presented⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ Philipp Mayring, *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken*, 12., überarb. Aufl., Beltz Pädagogik (Weinheim: Beltz, 2015), http://content-select.com/index.php?id=bib_view&ean=9783407293930.

Figure 2 Inductive categorization process



Source: Created by author based on Mayring⁶¹

Figure 2 shows the inductive categorization process that will be applied. It is based on the model of Mayring and was adjusted to this research design. In order to classify the topics of bilateral meetings, official governmental press releases will be searched for to identify the material. The first round of analysis concerns the selection of political topics as preliminary categories. These encompass terms such as economic development, business and/or investment. In the second round, these categories will be revised and are merged on a higher abstraction level. Each topic will be assigned to exactly one higher-level category. Regarding the example, the term economy now encompasses the sub-categories economic development, business and investment. After inductively generating these new categories, they will be applied to the data.

⁶¹ Mayring, *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse*.

Table 2 Example of content categories

Content Categories	Example I	Example II
Governance	Corruption, Peace, Rule of Law, Human Rights	Migration
Science	-	Technology
Economy	-	South Asia
Socio-Culture	-	Culture
Security	Crime	Security, Defense, Terrorism
EU	EU-Membership	EU
Environment	-	Environment

Source: Created by author

Table 2 presents eight content categories which unify a variety of topics on a higher abstraction level. The introduced examples of bilateral visits by the HR/VP to Albania (Example I) and by the French President to India (Example II) illustrate how different topics have been categorized⁶². It is noticeable that the French President covered all content categories while the HR/VP only addressed topics that were assigned to four out of eight groups. These categories serve as indicators to develop a priority profile for EU actors within but also beyond single meetings.

Table 3 Sub-categories for specific cases

Africa	Asia	Balkans	Iran	Israel
Korea	Latin America	Libya	Middle East	Other
Russia	Supranational	Syria	Ukraine	US

Source: Created by author

Further, the category *Case* encompasses a variety of country specific or regional issues or crisis situations. In order to develop an understanding of which specific cases were focused on across different meetings, a number of case sub-categories were developed according to an adjusted inductive categorization process. Table 3 gives an overview of the fifteen sub-categories which vary in the degree of specificity because the frequency was considered as well. For example, Libya was mentioned twenty times whereas the situation in Venezuela, which is encompassed in the sub-group Latin America, was only covered three times.

After gathering all the information for the data scheme, they will be analyzed in individual cases. At this point, it is important to give an overview of the sequence of analytical steps. First

⁶² For the complete list of the content categorization refer to table 33 and table 34 in Appendix III.

of all, the HR/VP will be subject to analysis. Her travel diplomacy will be assessed individually before matching it with her CFSP mandate to evaluate her performance. Second, the six countries will be investigated each on their own. Third, each HoG and each FM will be matched with the HR/VP in a comparative analysis. Fourth, the average HoG and average FM profile as well as the average of both will be contrasted to the HR/VP. Fifth, a ranking according to correlation of the HR/VP and the fifteen single actors will be established. Finally, the results will be used to formulate hypotheses about the nature of the role of the HR/VP in EU travel diplomacy.

Table 4 Structure of analysis

Dimension	Indicators	Criteria
Geographical	Countries	Total Amount of Travels; Multiple visits to one destination?
	Regional Distribution	Defined Regions: East Asia & Pacific, Eastern Europe, Latin America & Caribbean, Middle East & North Africa, Non-EU Western Europe, North America, South Asia, South-Eastern Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa
Hierarchy	G20 Status	G20: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, US
	Position of Host	Prime Representative, Foreign Minister, Other
Content	Categories	Governance, Science, Case, Economy, Socio-Culture, Security, EU, Environment

Source: Created by author

Each single case analysis as well as the comparative assessments will follow a similar structure of analysis. Table 4 shows that the investigation can be separated into three dimensions. First, on a geographical level, the country choice will be analyzed. The total number of conducted missions as well as possible repetitions of host countries will be analyzed. In addition, the regional distribution will be explored to identify regional cumulations. Second, hierarchical indicators will be viewed in order to understand the external perception of a country or an actor. Therefore, the share of G20 and Non-G20 countries on the travel list and the level of seniority of the highest-ranked host will be assessed.

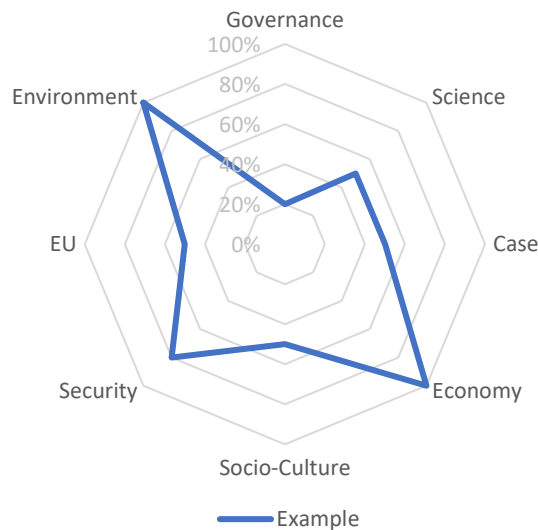
Table 5 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: Example

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	0	7	7
FM	9	1	10
Other	2	1	3
Total	11	9	20

Source: Created by author

Further, these two indicators will be viewed together to explore how the respective distribution of one indicator varies among the share of the other. Table 5 shows the example of a fictive actor who conducted 20 missions in total. The actor generally had a quite even balance of G20 and Non-G20 states but showed strong divergences among the hierarchical positions of the highest-ranked host.

Figure 3 Share of content categories: Example



Source: Created by author

Third, the content of the talks will be assessed. The average frequency of agenda items that fit one of the eight defined categories will be used as an indicator to determine priorities. Figure 3 presents an example of a fictive actor who addressed economic as well as environmental issues in all meetings. However, governance was only covered in 20% while security matters were discussed in 80% of all travels. The remaining categories were touched upon in half of the talks. This three-dimensional analytical approach will be applied to the single cases but even more importantly to the one-to-one comparison of single actors with the HR/VP. Here, it becomes especially interesting to identify similarities and differences among the different indicators. This is the basis for the critical contextualization and crucial to develop an understanding of

particularities. Having conducted the cross-case analysis, the Member State actors will be aggregated to the “EU6” which represents the average of all twelve national travel diplomacy profiles. In addition, the HoGs will be grouped as HoG6 and the FMs will be consolidated to FM6, which represent the average activity of the respective positions. These three average actors will also be contrasted to the HR/VP, following the same structure of analysis. Subsequently, this dissertation will have produced fifteen one-to-one comparisons with the HR/VP.

The next step aims at establishing a ranking of all actors according to their degree of similarity with the HR/VP. The Bravais-Pearson Correlation Coefficient (CC) will be calculated for each of the fifteen pairings. Acknowledging that this data sample offers n couples of continuous data, being gathered within the same experimental unit, the Bravais-Pearson correlation coefficient appears to be a suitable instrument⁶³.

Figure 4 Bravais-Pearson correlation coefficient formula

$$r_{xy} = \frac{n \cdot \sum x_i \cdot y_i - (\sum x_i) \cdot (\sum y_i)}{\sqrt{n \cdot \sum x_i^2 - (\sum x_i)^2} \cdot \sqrt{n \cdot \sum y_i^2 - (\sum y_i)^2}}$$

Source: Haeder 2015⁶⁴

Figure 4 shows the formula of how to calculate the value of r . The CC resembles the degree of positive or negative correlation of two sets of data. The value of the CC (r) varies from -1 (high negative correlation) to +1 (high positive correlation). The higher the value for r , the more similar the actors are in their travel profile and vice versa⁶⁵. Based on these calculations, ranking the correlations in the geographical, hierarchical and content dimensions will be the final step of the data analysis. Considering the various results of the multi-dimensional analysis, hypotheses about the nature of the HR/VP travel diplomacy will be developed. These shall

⁶³ R. Artusi, P. Verderio, and E. Marubini, “Bravais-Pearson and Spearman Correlation Coefficients: Meaning, Test of Hypothesis and Confidence Interval,” *The International Journal of Biological Markers* 17, no. 2 (2002), <https://doi.org/10.1177/172460080201700213>.

⁶⁴ Michael Häder, *Empirische Sozialforschung: Eine Einführung*, 3. Aufl. (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2015). <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-19675-6>.

⁶⁵ Wilhelm Kirch, ed., *Encyclopedia of Public Health: With 75 Figures and 86 Tables* ([Dordrecht]: Springer, 2008).

guide future research in the field of EU travel diplomacy as well as the role of the HR/VP in the world.

2.2 Data Quality and Limitations

In order to assess the data quality, it will be tested whether the five guidelines by King et. al are fulfilled. First, the process of data generation needs to be recorded and reported. This guideline has been applied above by describing the detailed process of data sourcing. Second, it is imperative that the data reflects the maximum observable implications as possible under consideration of time constraints and limited resources. It has been assessed that the number of six countries in addition to the analysis of the EU level are the maximum numbers of cases which can be analyzed within the scope of this work. Furthermore, the multiple dimensions of each travel mission including characteristics such as discussed topics and observing hierarchical positions have extended the workload to its limits. Third, the validity of measurements shall be maximized. Validity is the degree of precision to the extend the investigation fits and benefits the research project. Assessing the travel activities arguably serves as valid indicator to measure representational characteristics of the EU in the world. However, it needs to be acknowledged that it can only be one indicator among others. Fourth, data-collection methods need to be reliable which entails that if a procedure is applied in different circumstances, it will come to the same result. Regarding this aspect, the structured analysis of all data ensures that even in different circumstances, the results are comparable. This is connected to the fifth aspect, which postulates the replicability. The open access to the public data as well as the documentation of sources in the data set allows future scholars to replicate this analysis⁶⁶.

After defining what is the case and how to source data, it is even more important to determine what is excluded from the research. Therefore, it is crucial that clear boundaries are set with regard to time frame, scope of case numbers or content⁶⁷. The observation period for this investigation is limited to the year 2018. A more extended timeline would exceed the scope of this dissertation. Further, the year of 2019 will be disregarded because the term of the EU institutional representatives ended in November and data for the year 2017 was incomplete. The amount of cases was also decided because of the limited resources. Regarding the kind of

⁶⁶ Gary King, Robert O. Keohane and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*, [Nachdr.] (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994).

⁶⁷ Yin, *Case study research*.

travels that will be analyzed, this dissertation focuses on bilateral travel to Non-EU countries. Consequently, travels to another EU MS are not counted. Further, bilateral meetings during multilateral summits or on the sidelines of other multilateral events will not be considered either. They neither entail the special meaning of an official visit nor can be assured that all meetings are officially reported via a press release and communicated on the public governmental calendar.

Consequently, these limitations affect the results of the analysis and also the development of final hypotheses. Regarding the observation period, it needs to be pointed out that the actors have limited capacities to conduct trips. Setting a regional focus may just be part of a sequence of visits in different world regions throughout a longer time period. Furthermore, it needs to be highlighted that a change of government or a temporary presidency of a supra-national organization such as the EU or OSCE are rather exceptional which may influence the standard approach to bilateral travel diplomacy. It needs to be considered that six country cases with two positions each, do not represent all EU member states. On the one hand, six out of 28 countries only equal a share of about 20% which is not sufficient to generalize findings. On the other hand, criticizing the method of selection, it needs to be questioned, why countries with a high number of travels were primarily chosen. Acknowledging that a higher amount of travels would generate more data to be explored, the selection could still be considered arbitrary because it neglects representative approaches. Additionally, arguing that Bulgaria being a CEE and Estonia being a Northern member state may not be false, but it needs to be pointed out that Bulgaria is primarily an Eastern European country while Estonia belongs to the Baltics states. Both groups differ substantially from Visegrad countries in Central Europe as well as Scandinavian states in Northern Europe. Finally, reviewing the demographical perspective, it needs to be questioned whether countries like Spain and Bulgaria, whose population size differs by 40 million people, can both be considered medium-sized member countries.

Furthermore, focusing solely on exclusive bilateral meetings in host countries limits the scope of analysis. While it is necessary to determine specific guidelines for the data selection, it needs to be pointed out that certain trips that appear quite similar and worthy of analysis are disregarded. For example, if the HoG and FM travel together, the mission will only be accounted for the former. This arguably affects the travel diplomacy profile of the FM when being compared to the HR/VP. In extreme cases, this could mean that the data shows that a FM neglected a region completely while the FM actually travelled there. Further, if two EU

representatives from different countries travel together, the trip is neglected because it is not an exclusive visit. In case of the HR/VP, if she travels with the EC President or the EUCO President, the missions will be disregarded, too. A bilateral talk with a state representative on the margins of a multilateral meeting will also not be considered. Further, reflecting upon the content analysis, it should be pointed out that the selection of topics within a press release is certainly influenced by the researcher. The evaluation and decision of what can be seen as a topic is subjective. Therefore, the fundamental selection bias needs to be considered here.

Finally, it is important to highlight these limitations because they affect the results of the analysis considerably. However, the given approach can still be justified because it aims at developing hypotheses. It does not claim to be complete. It is rather a starting point to test the hypotheses within a more comprehensive data set that does not entail these limitations.

3 Single Case Analysis of HR/VP

Having introduced the profile and competencies of the HR/VP in representing the EU's foreign policy in the theoretical chapter, in the following, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) will be briefly elaborated upon, before analyzing the HR/VP's bilateral travel diplomacy in 2018. Based on this assessment, the HR/VP's role will be matched with the priorities defined in the CFSP Annual Report 2017. The EU's CFSP is supposed to enable the EU to be represented by a single voice in the global arena. It is used to address the challenges that member states (MS) cannot cope with on their own. These include ensuring peace, promoting democracy, rule of law and human rights in the world⁶⁸. Historically, for the first time, the Single European Act allowed the European Community to be "fully associated" with foreign policy. The fundamental intergovernmental approach has only been slowly and partly adjusted. Blurring lines between exclusive and shared competencies arguably served as basis for a more integrated approach giving the EU institutions more influence. The European Commission advanced its actions in the field of trade, development and humanitarian actions by initiating new policies and advocating for attending international summits with an independent mandate. Similarly, the Council and subsequently the HR/VP gained more competencies to ensure a consistent representation. However, it needs to be stressed that these remain very limited⁶⁹.

In 2016, the HR/VP introduced the Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy (GS) which aims at stabilizing the EU neighborhood, boosting security and defense as well as meeting challenges including energy security, migration, climate change and terrorism⁷⁰. The GS defines shared interests and principles such as a rules-based global order and principled-pragmatism. Based on this, five priorities are stated encompassing the *Security of our Union, State and Societal Resilience to our East and South, an Integrated Approach to Conflicts, Cooperative Regional Orders and Global Governance for the 21st Century*. In order to meet these priorities, the Union shall act credibly, responsively and in a joint-up manner⁷¹. Every year a report is published that specifies the priorities for the upcoming period. In the

⁶⁸ EUR-Lex, "Foreign and security policy"

⁶⁹ Missiroli, *The EU and the world: players and policies post-Lisbon*.

⁷⁰ European Union, *Foreign affairs and security policy*.

⁷¹ EEAS, "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe"

context of this dissertation, the CFSP Annual Report 2017 will be subject to analysis⁷². Prior to this the travel diplomacy of the HR/VP will be presented and interpreted.

3.1 Travel Diplomacy of HR/VP

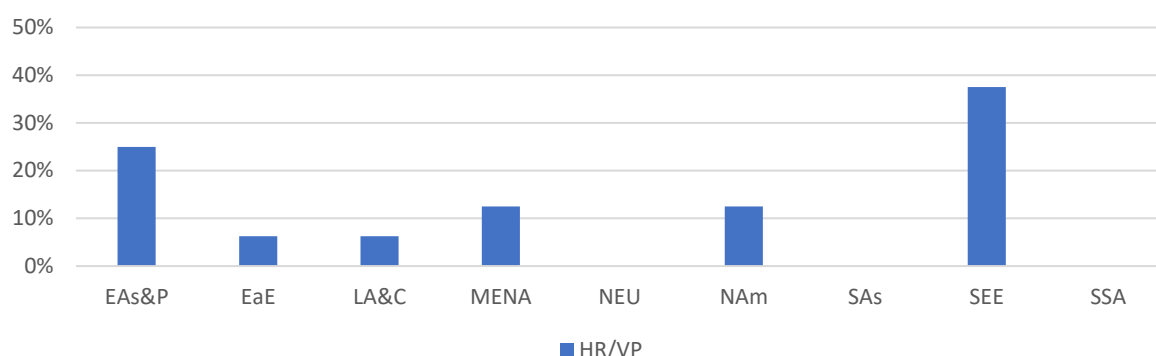
Assessing the travel diplomacy, the structural analysis starts with the geographical inquiry of country destinations and their regional distribution. This will be followed by the analysis of the hierarchical dimension and the content priorities. In 2018, the HR/VP Federica Mogherini conducted 16 missions to 15 different countries outside of the EU. She visited North Macedonia twice. In spring, she was accompanied by EU Enlargement Commissioner Johannes Hahn to meet PM Zoran Zaev. They discussed the adapted reforms which could increase the chance of a recommendation for accession talks. A main obstacle was the long-running bilateral name dispute between Macedonia and Greece which was eventually voted upon in September 2018. The name dispute was based on the Greek claim that the name 'Macedonia' should only refer to the northern Greek province of the same name⁷³. In fall, Mogherini returned prior to the referendum to support a vote for a name change which would open a door to EU and NATO membership for the country. She declared that the referendum would be a historic chance to achieve prosperity, security and stability together⁷⁴. These two missions contribute to the total of six travels to South-Eastern Europe.

⁷² "Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)," European Union External Action Service, accessed October 27, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/common-foreign-security-policy-cfsp/8427/cfsp-annual-reports_en.

⁷³ Sinisa J. Marusic, "Macedonia's Accession Hopes Rise as EU Officials Visit," accessed May 3, 2020, <https://balkaninsight.com/2018/04/16/macedonia-steps-up-eu-agenda-ahead-of-hahn-mogherini-visit-04-13-2018/>.

⁷⁴ RFE/RL, "Mogherini Tells Macedonians to Seize 'Historic Opportunity' in Name-Change Referendum," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, September 13, 2018, accessed May 3, 2020, <https://www.rferl.org/a/mogherini-tells-macedonians-to-seize-historic-opportunity-in-name-change-referendum/29488561.html>.

Figure 5 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP



Source: Created by author

As figure 5 illustrates, this equals 38% of all trips and South-Eastern Europe ranks first as a region ahead of East Asia & Pacific, where four countries were visited. The former also include Albania, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey and the latter encompasses Australia, Korea, New Zealand as well as Singapore. MENA and North America were visited twice. Cuba and Ukraine were the only host countries in Latin America & Caribbean and Eastern Europe. Non-EU Western European, South Asian and Sub-Saharan countries were not travelled to.

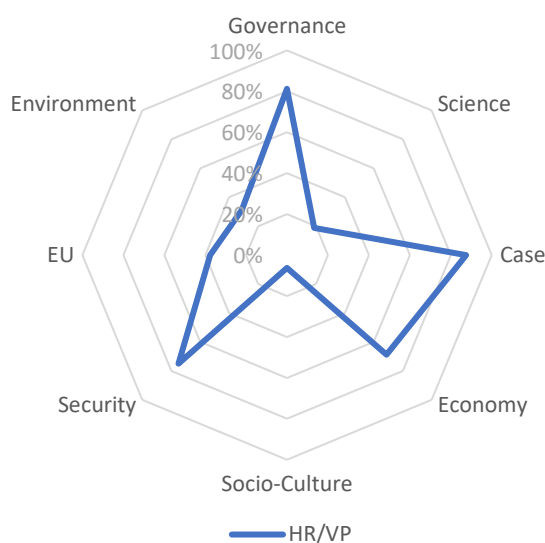
Table 6 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11
FM	2	1	3
Other	1	1	2
Total	5	11	16

Source: Created by author

Furthermore, table 6 indicates that Mogherini was hosted in five G20 member states where she met Canadian PM Justin Trudeau and Korean PM Lee Nak-yeon as the highest-ranked representative. FM Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu welcomed the HR/VP in Turkey and FM Julie Bishop received her in Australia. In the US she did not meet any high-profile politicians but limited her actions to delivering a speech at the Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. In Non-G20 countries, she was usually hosted by the highest-ranked representative. Only the FM of New Zealand and the Foreign Investment and Cooperation Minister of Cuba were exceptions to this.

Figure 6 Share of content categories: HR/VP



Source: Created by author

Reviewing the content of the missions, figure 6 shows that the discussion of specific cases was most prominent. Among the cases, the situation in the Western Balkan region was discussed the most. However, this topic was only addressed in the region as well as during Mogherini’s speech in the US. This phenomenon is also applicable to Asian matters like the nature of ASEAN. On the other hand, the situation in Ukraine and the Middle East as well as the nuclearization of Iran and North Korea were debated in New Zealand and addressed in Mogherini’s speech at Harvard⁷⁵. In addition, the situation in North Korea was also discussed with the Korean PM with the intention of securing peace and security on the Korean peninsula⁷⁶. The situation in the Middle East and the case Iran and the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) were also covered in Turkey. Finally, Mogherini addressed the situation in Libya herself by travelling to Tripoli. She talked to PM Fayed Sarraj and reiterated the EU’s support to the country and inquired how to make it most effective. The European Union is the main

⁷⁵ “EU High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini Meets New Zealand Foreign Minister Winston Peters,” European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/new-zealand/49164/eu-high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-meets-new-zealand-foreign-minister_en; Federica Mogherini, “Speech by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs,” European Union External Action Service, accessed May 3, 2020, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/54773/speech-high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-harvard-kennedy-school-belfer_en.

⁷⁶ “HRVP Mogherini Visits the Republic of Korea,” European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/south-korea_en/49138/HRVP%20Mogherini%20visits%20the%20Republic%20of%20Korea.

provider of assistance and helps to rebuild the country politically, socially and economically. Both interlocutors agreed upon new initiatives to improve health, education, security and media freedom as well as to create opportunities for the youth and to establish good governance⁷⁷. Among the other content categories, governance and security issues rank second and third. In South-Eastern Europe governance issues encompassed primarily rule of law, independent judicial system, media freedom and human rights. Security is a geographically widespread matter and cannot be clearly associated with one of the defined regions. For instance, the agenda in Algeria, Australia, Libya and Turkey included counterterrorism measures. Furthermore, eleven trips included economic matters which were subject to debate in all East Asian & Pacific states. EU and environment-related issues were discussed about every third time. The former reflects talks about EU membership in South-Eastern Europe and in Ukraine. The later was primarily dealt with G20 member states. Science and socio-cultural relations were the least frequent agenda items. Only the mission to Cuba explicitly included social modernization in the press coverage. Finally, comparing G20 and Non-G20 countries as well as acknowledging the observations above, it may be highlighted that the share of economic issues among G20 members is smaller than among Non-G20 states.

Concluding, the HR/VP set a clear focus on travelling to countries in EU's neighboring regions. EU-membership in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe as well as economic development and security in North Africa were dominant discussion points. Further, she visited the G20 states Australia, Canada, Korea and the US where she met with PMs, a FM or spoke at a university. Cuba was the only destination in Latin America & Caribbean. South Asia as well as Sub-Saharan Africa were not on the HR/VP's bilateral travel list.

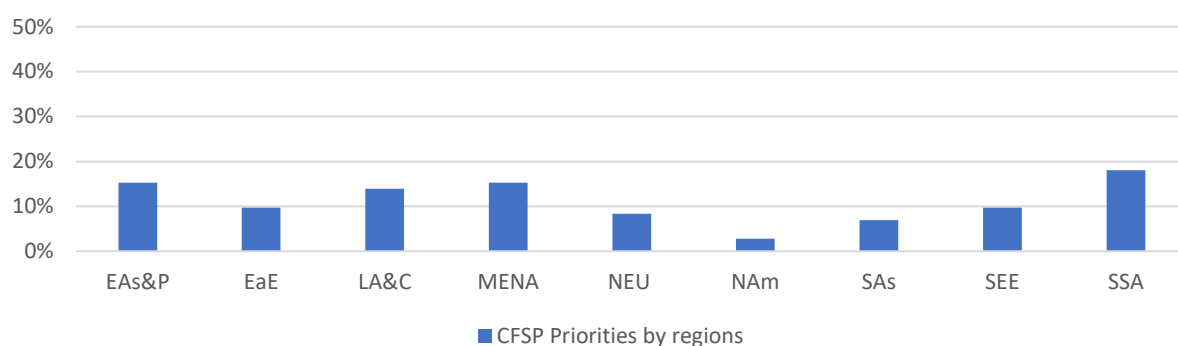
3.2 Match of Travel Diplomacy with HR/VP Mandate

In order to define the HR/VP's mandate, the CFSP priorities will be seen as guiding principle. Having a closer look at the CFSP report of July 2017, it sets out the main aspects and basic choices of the CFSP provided each year based on the Inter-Institutional Agreement signed in 2013. 77 priorities in total are divided into the four chapters *Introduction*, *Geographical*, *Global Issues* and *CSDP and Crisis Management*. This work focuses on the content of the second

⁷⁷ "High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini Visits Libya," European Union External Action Service, accessed May 3, 2020, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/48409/high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-visits-libya_en.

chapter which encompasses 48 points regarding individual countries or groups of countries. These are organized in the six sub-regions *Africa, Americas, Asia-Pacific, Europe & Central Asia, Iran and Middle East & North Africa (MENA)*. It may be pointed out that the size of regions as well as the quantity of included countries varies a lot. For example, Iran is covered by two priorities and seen as a sub-topic whereas China is part of Asia-Pacific and shares its point of priority with Mongolia. Further, the report explicitly mentions 72 individual countries in total⁷⁸.

Figure 7 Regional distribution of CFSP Priorities



Source: Created by author

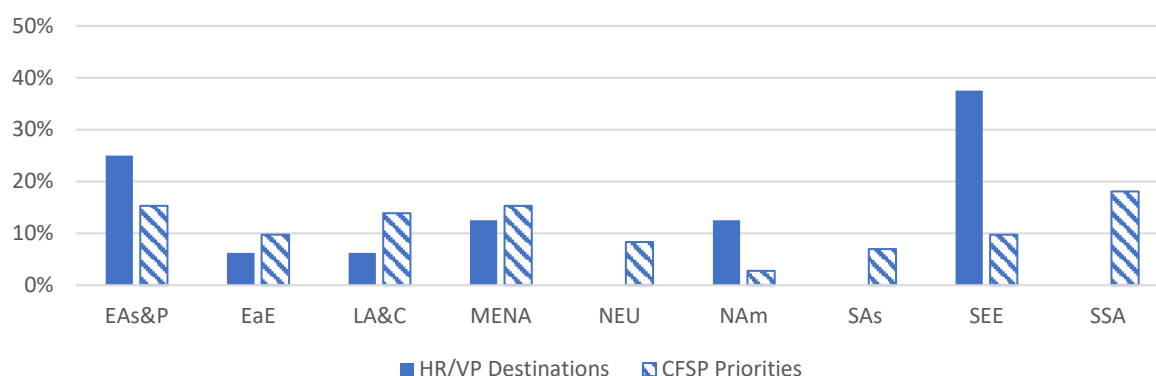
In order to ensure comparability within this dissertation, the individual countries will be regrouped according to the defined regions. Re-allocating the priorities, Figure 7 presents that Sub-Saharan Africa is ranked first with a share of 18%, being followed by East Asia & Pacific and MENA with 15% each. However, the European sub-regions add up to 28% which mirrors a strong focus on the immediate EU neighborhood. This quantitative count has limited informative value because the size of regions varies a lot. Nonetheless, it gives an indication of how the EU’s priorities are widely distributed across the globe.

3.2.1 Comparison of Travels and CFSP Priorities

The CFSP report serves as a framework to assess how the HR/VP carried out her mandate and whether her bilateral travel diplomacy reflects the given priorities. Hence, the general geographical distribution will be compared before matching the content of the meetings and of the CFSP report.

⁷⁸ “CFSP Report – Our priorities in 2017” (Council of the European Union, Brussels, 2017), https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/st10650_en-cfsp_report_2017.pdf.

Figure 8 Regional distribution of HR/VP destinations v CFSP priorities



Source: Created by author

When matching the share of priorities being assigned to the regions and the foreign visits by the HR/VP, it can be noticed that only six out of nine regions were on the travel list. Figure 8 illustrates that Non-EU Members in Western Europe, South-Asian and Sub-Saharan countries were neglected and also within a region certain sub-region were disregarded as well, such as South American countries in Latin America & Caribbean. Acknowledging this, the country visits are analyzed with regard to their content communicated via press releases and news articles. Only 14 out of 16 trips are investigated because the HR/VP travelled to North Macedonia twice and in the case of Singapore, the report does not propose any priorities for the country.

Table 35 and table 36⁷⁹ present the comparison of the CFSP priorities and the content of the HR/VP’s travel missions. It offers a summary of the main aspects of the priorities and subjects debated in the bilateral discussions. The fourth column indicates the extent to which priorities were met. In the majority of visits the topics of the meetings generally corresponded with the content of the priorities. Mogherini debated the future relationship with the EU in all Western Balkan States which she travelled to. In Albania, she addressed the issue of rule of law as part of her five key priorities in the context of the recommendation to open EU accession negotiations⁸⁰. Her meeting in Montenegro fulfilled similar criteria considering that she welcomed the progress in areas such as rule of law and media freedom⁸¹. The CFSP report

⁷⁹ Refer to Appendix IV

⁸⁰ “Mogherini: Albania Is Ready to Open Negotiations, Maintaining and Deepening Reforms Ahead,” European Union External Action Service, accessed May 4, 2020, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/43154/mogherini-albania-ready-open-negotiations-maintaining-and-deepening-reforms-ahead_fi.

⁸¹ “Mogherini Commends Montenegro’s Regional Role During the Western Balkans Visit,” European Union External Action Service, accessed May 4, 2020,

asked to support the new government in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which the HR/VP did by travelling to Skopje twice. In addition, she publicly supported the name-change-referendum which would eventually allow the state to proceed with the next steps toward EU membership⁸². All four missions generally met the given priorities. However, the agenda for the remaining two trips to South-Eastern Europe was not completely fulfilled. The consultation in Serbia lacked the clear demand to apply the principles of rule of law as it was communicated in Albania and Montenegro. Nonetheless, by addressing the dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina and referring to the Brussels Agreement, she worked towards mitigating the instability risks as demanded in the CFSP report⁸³. In Turkey, the comprehensive talks with FM Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu encompassed a wide range of CFSP topics covering the multidimensional EU-Turkey relations and cooperation to counter terrorism. Yet, the issue of Cyprus' sovereignty over its territorial sea was not discussed⁸⁴.

In Eastern Europe, Mogherini reiterated the EU's support for Ukraine in terms of reforms and sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence including the provision of Humanitarian Assistance. This fits the requirements of the CFSP report to assist the Ukrainian authorities in developing effective, sustainable and accountable civilian security services that contribute to strengthening the rule of law. In North Africa, Mogherini generally fulfilled her mandate during her missions to Algeria and Libya. The aspired defeat of Da'esh was arguably raised during the discussions about security and counterterrorism with Algerian PM Ahmed Ouyahia⁸⁵. The support for the internationally recognized Libyan government and the intention to preserve the country's unity was expressed through talks with PM Fayeze Sarraj, the UN and Libyan stakeholders⁸⁶.

https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/montenegro/43277/mogherini-commends-montenegro%E2%80%99s-regional-role-during-western-balkans-visit_en.

⁸² RFE/RL, "Mogherini Tells Macedonians To Seize 'Historic Opportunity' In Name-Change Referendum"

⁸³ "Mogherini in Serbia: Negotiations Are Advancing Well on the Country's EU Integration Path," European Union External Action Service, accessed May 4, 2020, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_hu/43302/Mogherini%20in%20Serbia:%20Negotiations%20are%20advancing%20well%20on%20the%20country%27s%20EU%20integration%20path.

⁸⁴ "Federica Mogherini and Johannes Hahn in Ankara for the High Level Political Dialogue," European Union External Action Service, accessed May 4, 2020, https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/eu-enlargement-and-neighbourhood-relations/53916/federica-mogherini-and-johannes-hahn-ankara-high-level-political-dialogue_en.

⁸⁵ "Mogherini in Algeria to Discuss Combating Terrorism and Illegal Immigration," accessed May 4, 2020, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20181113-mogherini-in-algeria-to-discuss-combating-terrorism-and-illegal-immigration/>.

⁸⁶ EEAS, "High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini visits Libya"

In East Asia & Pacific, Mogherini visited Singapore which was not assigned a priority in the CFSP report. In Korea, the desire to further enhance the cooperation, acknowledging the strategic partnership and discussion the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula generally met the assigned priorities to foster joint action facing common security and stability challenges⁸⁷. Furthermore, launching negotiations for comprehensive and ambitious Free Trade Agreements and discussing the implementation of the Framework Agreements fulfilled the criteria for Australia and New Zealand⁸⁸. In the Americas, the Canadian strategic partnership, the comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement as well as Strategic Partnership Agreement were all dealt with according to the CFSP report. During her visit in Cuba, the HR/VP debated a closer and more constructive partnership as well as economic and social modernization which can be seen as being part of the Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement which the CFSP report defines as a priority⁸⁹. Finally, Mogherini's trip to the US in December 2018 was the only mission in which she did not achieve the priorities because she did not talk to appropriate state representatives but delivered a speech at Harvard University and participated in a discussion with students and faculty members.

In summary, the HR/VP met the identified country-specific priorities eleven out of fourteen times which equals a share of 79%. She only exceptionally missed to discuss certain topics, or they were not communicated in the press releases. It may be stated, that the HR/VP used her travel diplomacy successfully to represent the EU's CFSP priorities in the world.

3.2.2 Interpretation of Results

Contextualizing the results above, a pattern explaining the lack of achievement cannot be identified because the small number of cases encompasses very diverse countries in terms of geography and nature of relationship with the EU. In order to structure the further interpretations, the regions will be elaborated upon in more detail.

⁸⁷ EEAS, "HRVP Mogherini visits the Republic of Korea"

⁸⁸ "Joint Press Release by EU's HR/VP Federica Mogherini and Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop," European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/49206/joint-press-release-eus-hrvp-federica-mogherini-and-australian-foreign-minister-julie-bishop_en.

⁸⁹ Mark Armstrong, "EU's Top Diplomat Tells Cubans That Relations with Europe Are Stronger Than Ever," accessed May 10, 2020, <https://www.euronews.com/2018/01/04/eu-s-top-diplomat-tells-cubans-that-relations-with-europe-are-stronger-than-ever>.

European regions

Considering that countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe are part of the European Neighborhood Policy, the three European sub-regions, including Non-EU Western European countries, will be viewed together as one European region. The European Neighborhood Policy aims at fostering stabilization, security and prosperity in line with the Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy⁹⁰. The HR/VP Mogherini focused on priority #14 of the CFSP report 2017 referring to the Western Balkans. She visited four out of the six countries mentioned. As the results described in the previous chapter have shown, she was generally successful. However, the fact that she did not visit Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina may support the thesis that she focused on Enlargement Candidates rather than Potential Candidates⁹¹.

The meetings in Turkey and Ukraine share the characteristics that both states share a border with the EU. Mogherini's meeting in Ankara, where she only partially fulfilled her mandate, was already covered in the previous chapter. In Ukraine she met with President Poroshenko to reiterate EU's support for Ukraine in terms of reforms and sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence as well as Humanitarian Assistance⁹². In this context, it needs to be pointed out that the HR/VP did not visit Russia. This is particularly significant because both the Ukrainian as well as Russian priorities (#8; #6) regard the Ukraine-conflict. Priority #6 further addresses Russia's role in International Crisis, Human Rights and Disinformation Campaigns, which Mogherini could not address personally on a foreign trip in 2018. Focusing on the EU Eastern Partnership Program, which is an element of the European Neighborhood Policy, only one out of six partner countries were visited. Aside from Ukraine, the five remaining states Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia and the Republic of Moldova were neglected⁹³. However, it is worth contextualizing these findings, because the HR/VP welcomed the Heads of States of the Republic of Moldova and Georgia for individual Association Councils in Brussels. Similarly,

⁹⁰ "European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)" (European Union External Action Service, Brussels, 2016), https://eeas.europa.eu/diplomatic-network/european-neighbourhood-policy-enp_en.

⁹¹ "Candidate Countries - Enlargement - Environment - European Commission," European Commission, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://ec.europa.eu/environment/enlarg/candidates.htm>.

⁹² "EU Is Ukraine's Strongest Supporter, Says Mogherini in Kyiv," European Union External Action Service, accessed May 4, 2020, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/41258/eu-ukraines-strongest-supporter-says-mogherini-kyiv_en.

⁹³ "Eastern Partnership" (European Union External Action Service, Brussels, 2016), https://eeas.europa.eu/diplomatic-network/eastern-partnership/419/eastern-partnership_en.

Mogherini invited the respective FMs to the Azerbaijan Cooperation Council and the Armenian Partnership Council⁹⁴. As already pointed out above, the HR/VP did not visit any Non-EU Western European states and thereby failed to represent EU's position defined in priority #17. It entailed the strengthening of the European Economic Area with Switzerland and Norway as well as negotiating Association Agreements with Andorra, Monaco and San Marino to enable full participation in the EU's common market in the future.

In summary, the HR/VP focused on Western Balkan states being EU membership candidate countries. Further, during the trips to Turkey and Ukraine the HR/VP was able to communicate key aspects of the EU's foreign policy. However, the powerful player Russia, Central Asian countries and Non-EU members in Western Europe were disregarded as travel destinations. It may be argued that a trip to the former would have been very important to strengthen the challenged EU-Russia relations.

East Asia & Pacific

Australia, New Zealand, Korea and Singapore are the Asian-Pacific destinations that the HR/VP travelled to. Mogherini delivered on priority #49 which includes the negotiation of Free Trade Agreements and implementation of the Framework Agreements with Australia and New Zealand⁹⁵. In Korea, Mogherini involved herself in the denuclearization process of the Korean Peninsula when talking to PM Lee Nak-Yeon⁹⁶. The bilateral meeting in Singapore needs to be seen in the context of the EU-ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference taking place during that time. Acknowledging this, it can be assumed that the HR/VP chose an interregional approach to foster relations with individual ASEAN countries⁹⁷.

⁹⁴ "EU-Armenia Partnership Council," European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-ministerial-meetings/2018/06/21/armenia/>; "EU-Azerbaijan Cooperation Council," European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-ministerial-meetings/2018/02/09/>; "EU-Georgia Association Council," European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-ministerial-meetings/2018/02/05/georgia/>; "EU-Moldova Association Council," European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-ministerial-meetings/2018/05/03/>.

⁹⁵ EEAS, "EU High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini meets New Zealand Foreign Minister Winston Peters"

⁹⁶ EEAS, "HRVP Mogherini visits the Republic of Korea"

⁹⁷ "MFA Press Statement: Visit of European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission Federica Mogherini to Singapore," accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.mfa.gov.sg/Newsroom/Press-Statements-Transcripts-and-Photos/2018/08/EuropeanUnion>.

Furthermore, it is noticeable that Mogherini did not visit China and therefore did not address priority #46 referring to principled, practical and pragmatic relations following EU's interests and values bilaterally with China. Arguably, she addressed the issues in the European Commission's Strategic Outlook published in 2019. It states that China is seen as a cooperation partner with aligned objectives, a negotiating partner and economic competitor as well as a systemic rival promoting different models of governance⁹⁸. Later in the year 2019, Mogherini travelled to Beijing to hold talks with Premier of the State Council, Li Keqiang, and State Councilor and FM, Wang Yi about developments in the EU-China relations. They discussed the upcoming EU-China Summit in 2020 and international crisis including the case of Hong Kong. Mogherini declared that the EU will continuously stand up for the universality, interdependence, and indivisibility of human rights. This statement actually meets the priority #46 defined by the CFSP report 2017⁹⁹. Further, she did not visit the East Asian G20 members Japan and Indonesia.

Concluding, the HR/VP used her bilateral travel diplomacy to strengthen relations with Australia and New Zealand but applied an interregional approach to foster relations with ASEAN countries. Further, she did not conduct any missions to powerful actors and G20 members China, Japan and Indonesia in 2018. However, evidence has been presented that she met with Chinese representatives in 2019 which shows that the data sample may not be sufficient to make assumptions about certain gaps in the fulfillment of her mandate.

Latin America & Caribbean

Discussing the future relations with Cuban Foreign Investment and Cooperation Minister was the only political interaction in the region. The remaining Central and especially Southern American countries were neglected by Mogherini. She did not even participate in the G20 Summit in Buenos Aires although she met with Argentinian PM Macri one year earlier to

⁹⁸ "EU-China – A strategic outlook: European Commission and HR/VP contribution to the European Council" (European Commission, 2019), 1.

⁹⁹ "HR/VP Federica Mogherini Visits Beijing to Discuss Bilateral Relations and Foreign Policy Cooperation," European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/regions/asia/69388/hrvp-federica-mogherini-visits-beijing-discuss-bilateral-relations-and-foreign-policy_en.

express EU's support during the Argentinian G20 presidency¹⁰⁰. At the actual meeting the EU was represented by EC President Juncker and EUCO President Tusk¹⁰¹. Additionally, recognizing the ongoing negotiations about an EU-MERCOSUR Free Trade Agreement, Mogherini did not engage in the process by demonstrating public support in one of the MERCOSUR members. Concluding, the HR/VP addressed only one priority in the region while conducting her travel diplomacy. Cuba being the only destination is also located in Central America, which shows that the HR/VP disregarded the EU-relations with South America during her travel diplomacy in 2018.

Middle East and North Africa

In EU's Southern neighborhood, the visits were limited to Algeria and Libya. The Algerian priority number #24 focusing on the defeat of Da'esh was met by Mogherini's security dialogue dealing with counterterrorism measures and instruments addressing illegal immigration. In Libya, she held bilateral talks with the internationally recognized government to promote close cooperation. This is in line with priority #20 aiming at ensuring stability and preserving the country's unity and territorial integrity. The remaining eight priorities for the region, encompassing the Middle East Peace Process or the wars in Syria and Yemen, were not directly addressed in the respective countries. However, it may be referred to Mogherini's remarks during the opening session of 29th Summit of the League of Arab States. She covered various priorities when stating that the terrorists of Da'esh had almost been defeated territorially because of collaboration. In addition, she addressed the ongoing wars in Syria and Yemen and promoted a meaningful restart in the peace process between Palestine and Israel. The HR/VP also addressed the entire region by expressing that the EU believed in investing in all people to create prosperity and security¹⁰².

¹⁰⁰ "High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini Visits Argentina," European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/argentina/27059/high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-visits-argentina_es.

¹⁰¹ "G20 Summit in Buenos Aires, Argentina," accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2018/11/30-01/>.

¹⁰² "Remarks by High Representative Mogherini During the Opening Session of 29th Summit of the League of Arab States," European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/diplomatic-network/league-arab-states-las/42933/remarks-high-representatie-mogherini-during-opening-session-29th%C2%A0summit-league-arab-states_en.

In addition, the priorities #28 and #29 deal with Iran and focus on the JCPOA and Cooperation across a number of areas. More specifically, the CFSP report states that the HR/VP shall coordinate a Joint Commission to oversee the implementation of the agreement¹⁰³. Although Mogherini did not travel to Iran within the observation period, she played quite a significant role in the negotiations of the JCPOA and afterwards. She coordinated one united European approach and fought for keeping the agreement in place even despite the US withdrawal¹⁰⁴. In a joint statement with FMs and Finance Ministers of France, Germany and the United Kingdom, she expressed that the EU remains committed to keep the JCPOA honoring the international agreement¹⁰⁵. Therefore, it needs to be acknowledged that the HR/VP played a significant role in this complex and high-profile case.

In summary, aside from her bilateral travels to Northern Africa, the HR/VP mostly focused on multilateral summits. It may be argued that she applied this diplomatic approach successfully to meet the CFSP priorities in 2018 for MENA.

¹⁰³ Council of the European Union, “CFSP Report – Our priorities in 2017”

¹⁰⁴ “No Alternative' to Iran Deal, Mogherini Tells Pompeo,” Euroactiv Media Network BV., accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/no-alternative-to-iran-deal-mogherini-tells-pompeo/>; Garret Martin, “European Diplomacy and the Iranian Nuclear Negotiations,” accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.europeaninstitute.org/index.php/252-european-affairs/ea-may-2015/2066-auto-generate-from-title>.

¹⁰⁵ “Joint Statement by High Representative Federica Mogherini and Foreign Ministers Jean-Yves Le Drian, Heiko Maas and Jeremy Hunt, and Finance Ministers Bruno Le Maire, Olaf Scholz and Philip Hammond,” European Union External Action Service, accessed November 5, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/53230/joint-statement-high-representative-federica-mogherini-and-foreign-ministers-jean-yves-le_en.

North America

Both Canada and the US were visited by the HR/VP in 2018, but the nature of the trips differed a lot. Whereas Mogherini met with Canadian PM Justin Trudeau, she did not meet any high-profile US politicians. Instead, she went to Harvard University to deliver a speech in front of students. Arguably this may be explained by the varying kind of relations with the EU. On the one hand, the EU and Canada recently signed a Strategic Partnership Agreement to increase cooperation in the years ahead. This includes diverse areas such the promotion of effective multilateralism and also the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement¹⁰⁶. On the other hand, the US and EU have conflicting views on issues including trade, climate or the JCPOA with Iran¹⁰⁷. Nonetheless, it needs to be recognized that the HR/VP was not the only EU representative in the US. The European Commission President Juncker travelled to Washington D.C. in July 2018 debating foreign and security policy, counterterrorism, energy security, and economic growth with President Donald Trump¹⁰⁸. In this case, it can be argued that the US government did not perceive the HR/VP as the highest representative of the EU in the discussed policy areas.

Summarizing, Mogherini successfully communicated EU's priorities to high-level politicians in Canada but did not have the chance to do so in the US. This job was rather conducted by EC President Juncker who met the US President.

South Asia

South Asian states such as Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, Nepal or Bangladesh were not visited in 2018 although priority #47 explicitly asks for fostering the EU Afghanistan Strategy; EU-India Strategic Partnership and EU-Pakistan Readmission Agreement. It is worth noticing that there have been diplomatic interactions between the HR/VP and the FMs of India and Pakistan the year after. In 2019, she spoke with both actors by telephone to discuss the Kashmir conflict.

¹⁰⁶ "Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini in Montreal for the 2nd EU-Canada Joint Ministerial Committee," European Union External Action Service, accessed November 4, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/canada/53557/representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-montreal-2nd-eu-canada-joint-ministerial_en.

¹⁰⁷ Jennifer Rankin, "EU Urges US Congress to Preserve Iran Nuclear Deal Trump Threatened," accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/16/eu-urges-us-congress-to-preserve-iran-nuclear-deal-trump-threatened>.

¹⁰⁸ European Commission, "Statement on the Visit of President Juncker to Washington," news release, July 17, 2018, accessed November 4, 2019, https://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_AC-18-4564_en.htm.

Mogherini expressed that the EU supported a bilateral political solution which would remain the only way to solve a long-lasting dispute that could create stability and security in the region¹⁰⁹.

Consequently, the HR/VP neglected this region including India as a G20 member and strong regional actor completely. However, it may be considered that this region contains a relatively small number of countries which may reduce the significance of this finding.

Sub-Saharan Africa

The CFSP-Report 2017 addresses 13 Sub-Saharan countries and defines priorities encompassing topics such as democratic consolidation, promotion and protection of human rights (#33) as well as economic and investment aspects (#34). Recognizing these, it is surprising that the HR/VP did not travel to the region to hold any bilateral talks in 2018. However, focusing only on this aspect may not be sufficient to judge the overall engagement. In fact, she conducted a diplomatic mission to the region in 2019. Mogherini visited the Horn of Africa in May and conducted bilateral talks with heads of states like Somali PM Hassan Ali Khaire or representatives of Kenya, Djibouti and Ethiopia¹¹⁰. Aside from the bilateral dimension, Mogherini participated in the fifth African Union – European Union summit in November 2017 in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire¹¹¹. Further, she hosted a meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs from EU and AU in Brussels in January 2019, in which she put topics including peace, security and multilateralism as well as trade, investment and continental economic integration on the agenda which can be seen as an effort to meet the priorities for Sub-Saharan

¹⁰⁹ “High Representative Vice-President Federica Mogherini Speaks to the Minister of External Affairs of India Subrahmanyam Jaishankar and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan Shah Mahmood Qureshi,” European Union External Action Service, accessed May 4, 2020, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/66286/high-representative-vice-president-federica-mogherini-speaks-minister-external-affairs-india_en.

¹¹⁰ Abdur R. S. Alfa, “EU – Horn of Africa: Mogherini Visits Somalia, Kenya, Djibouti, Ethiopia,” accessed November 1, 2019, <https://www.africanews.com/2019/05/21/eu-horn-of-africa-mogherini-visits-somalia-kenya-djibouti-ethiopia/>; “High Representative/ Vice-President Federica Mogherini Visits Mogadishu,” European Union External Action Service, accessed November 1, 2019, <https://eunavfor.eu/high-representative-vice-president-federica-mogherini-visits-mogadishu/>.

¹¹¹ “5th African Union - EU Summit, 29-30/11/2017,” European Union External Action Service, accessed November 1, 2019, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2017/11/29-30/>.

Africa defined in the CFSP report¹¹². If these trips were included in the sample size, the picture would change significantly.

It may be concluded that the HR/VP conducted bilateral visits to the region but not within the observation period and also used a multilateral approach to achieve the priorities. In terms of representation it needs to be pointed out that representatives of member states also participate in summits, which limits the representational powers of the HR/VP.

Finally, it may be summarized that the HR/VP focused on EU neighboring regions by visiting EU candidate countries in the Western Balkans and serving as a crisis manager in Libya and Ukraine. Furthermore, she strengthened relations with medium-sized G20 states Australia, Canada, Korea and Turkey. However, she did neither visit any BRICS countries nor Sub-Saharan Africa in 2018. Overall, she addressed governance, case and security matters most frequently. Consequently, it may be argued that the HR/VP met her CFSP priorities in the countries she travelled to.

¹¹² “European Union and African Union Foreign Ministers Take Stock of Their Strong Partnership,” European Union External Action Service, accessed November 1, 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/56991/european-union-and-african-union-foreign-ministers-take-stock-their-strong-partnership_en.

4 Comparative Analyses of HR/VP and Member State Actors

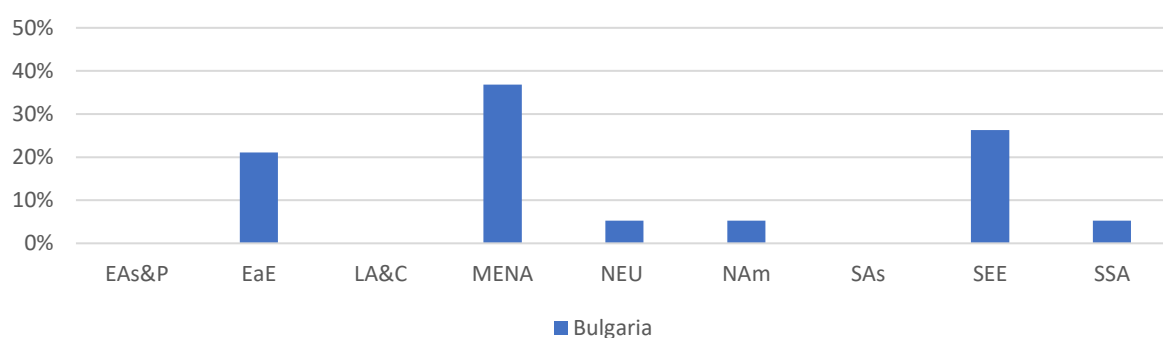
In the following, the travel diplomacy of the six country cases will be assessed. First, the respective foreign policy profile of the country will briefly be presented before analyzing the country's travel diplomacy, represented by the activity of the Head of Governments as well as the Foreign Minister. In a next step, the individual roles of the latter actors in conducting national diplomacy will be contrasted. Understanding these different aspects of the national profile serves as a basis for the comparison with the role of the HR/VP. In order to assess the latter, the one-to-one relationship will be explored by contrasting the activities of each national head of government as well as of each FM with the travel diplomacy of the HR/VP. These are crucial steps to develop an understanding of similarities and differences beyond individual comparisons, which will be further elaborated upon later.

4.1 Bulgaria

The first country case analysis focuses on Bulgaria. Before analyzing individual roles of the HoG and the FM, the country profile will be presented as a whole. Acknowledging that Bulgaria took over the Presidency of the Council of the European Union in the first six months of the observation period, further information in this regard will be presented. The Bulgarian government set out the goal to be a representative of the EU as well as promoting security, solidarity and stability within but also outside of the European Union. Further, it defined two key subject areas in foreign policy. On the one hand, it was a priority to foster the relations with the Western Balkans and to establish closer connectivity. On the other hand, addressing the migration crisis and terrorism were on the agenda to secure Europe¹¹³.

¹¹³ “Bulgarian Presidency of the Council of the European Union: Priorities,” Council of Ministers, accessed May 2, 2020, <https://eu2018bg.bg/en/priorities>.

Figure 9 Regional distribution of destinations: Bulgaria



Source: Created by author

In 2018, 19 missions to 14 different countries were concluded. Israel, Ukraine and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) were visited twice and Turkey three times. As Figure 9 illustrates, the regional focus was on the EU-neighboring countries in the East and South-East. Liechtenstein was the only Non-EU Western European state visited. Furthermore, the Middle East and North Africa combined one third of all destinations. Trips to the United States and South Africa completed the travel list. Latin American as well as Asian nations were neglected.

Table 7 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: Bulgaria

Bulgaria	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	3	11	14
FM	3	2	5
Other	0	0	0
Total	6	13	19

Source: Created by author

In order to indicate a certain degree of importance, the destinations will be characterized according to their G20 membership status. Contextualizing the data in Table 7, it is noticeable that despite the concentration on neighboring regions, six missions were destined to G20 countries. Whereas Turkey was even travelled to three times, Russia, South Africa and the US were only once on the mission plan. Furthermore, the position of the highest-ranked host arguably serves as an indicator of the relevance of bilateral relations with Bulgaria for the host. It stands out that the PM as well as the FM only met with their respective counterparts regardless of the host's G20-status.

Figure 10 Share of content categories of Bulgaria



Source: Created by author

The empirical content analysis of the trips, presented in figure 10, suggests a clear profile of Bulgarian foreign policy priorities. In 84% of the trips, economic issues were discussed, being followed by governance issues, cultural aspects and different cases. These are summarized by the categories Balkans and Middle East which were both addressed in a quarter of all travels. The independent categories Syria and issues on the African continent were also discussed during the missions. In Egypt, Israel, the UAE and the US, the Bulgarian representatives discussed peace and stability in the Middle East. Syria was specifically covered in the talks in Russia, Jordan and the UAE. The situation in the Western Balkans was debated in Liechtenstein, Kosovo, Russia, Turkey and the UAE. The final aspect of the case analysis regards the African continent, where regional issues such as development and migration were addressed during talks in Egypt, Morocco and South Africa. On a broader scale, it is remarkable that environmental issues were not discussed at all. Among different countries, there are also differences in the number of issues addressed. In the UAE, almost all defined categories can be checked off, whereas in Azerbaijan only economic and socio-cultural relations were on the agenda. The involvement of the UAE can be highlighted here. Contextualizing the wide range of topics, PM Borisov was the first Bulgarian PM to ever visit the country and the opening of

embassies at the beginning of 2018 in both countries are indicators that the diplomatic relations are not matured and give room for multi-dimensional talks¹¹⁴.

On a regional level, it is worth having a look at the Middle East & North Africa, where security issues are among the second most debated topics after addressing specific cases. On the other hand, in South-Eastern Europe, economy and governance keep their leading role and security is amongst the least discussed topics. In addition, the relations with the EU were discussed with every host in this region, which relates to Bulgaria's EU Presidency priority to deepen the EU-relations with the Western Balkans. For instance, the EU membership-perspective was discussed with the representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo including the promotion of infrastructure, transport and digital connectivity projects¹¹⁵. In Turkey, the talks included various aspects such as the way Bulgaria would foster the relations during its EU Presidency in the first half of 2018. Both countries share a border and common cultural traditions and religious rituals. Furthermore, both states are NATO members and the Bulgarian PM also addressed the topics of migration and the fight against terrorism¹¹⁶. When visiting G20 countries, Bulgaria debated governance and socio-cultural topics with each host. Whereas in talks with non-G20 members, economic and case issues were most dominant.

Having a closer look at individual actors, the Bulgarian PM Borisov travelled 14 times. He visited Israel, Turkey and Ukraine twice. His regional focus was restricted to the EU's neighboring regions in the East, South-East and South, which he travelled to quite evenly. He met with the leaders of both G20 states in the region, Russia and Turkey¹¹⁷. On the other hand, FM Zakhariyeva travelled considerably less and focused on destinations beyond the neighboring

¹¹⁴ "Prime Minister Borissov Met with the Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi Sheikh Mohammed Bin Zayed Al-Nahyan," Government Information Service, accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.gov.bg/en/Press-center/News/Prime-Minister-Borissov-met-with-the-Crown-Prince-of-Abu-Dhabi-Sheikh-Mohammed-Bin-Zayed-Al-Nahyan>.

¹¹⁵ "Prime Minister Borissov in Sarajevo: The Western Balkans Remain a EU Priority, but the Countries from the Region Must Overcome Their Differences," Government Information Service, accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.gov.bg/en/press-center/news/prime-minister-borissov-in-sarajevo-the-western-balkans-remain-a-eu-priority-but-the-countries-from-the-region-must-overcome-their-differences>.

¹¹⁶ "Prime Minister Borissov: The Sustainable Development of Bilateral Relations with Turkey Are a Priority for the Bulgarian Foreign Policy," Government Information Service, accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.gov.bg/en/press-center/news/prime-minister-borissov-the-sustainable-development-of-bilateral-relations-with-turkey-are-a-priority-for-the-bulgarian-foreign-policy>.

¹¹⁷ "Borissov and Putin Discussed Cooperation in the Security Field and the Development of Our Bilateral Relations," accessed May 5, 2020, <https://www.gov.bg/en/press-center/news/borissov-and-putin-discussed-cooperation-in-the-security-field-and-the-development-of-our-bilateral-relations>.

regions. Besides her trip to bordering Turkey, she was welcomed by the FMs in Jordan, South Africa, the UAE and the US. Like Borisov, she also met her counterparts regardless of the G20 status of the host nation.

Referring to the content analysis, Borisov seemed to have had a more selective approach adjusting topics to the host. He addressed economic and governance aspects in almost all his visits, but others less frequently. The FM put economy, governance and socio-cultural relations on the agenda almost all the time. Considering Bulgaria's country and regional preferences, it is Borisov who especially concentrated on economic and socio-cultural links during his two trips to Turkey and Ukraine. Furthermore, he predominantly addressed the situation in Israel as a case. In this regard, Zakhariyeva discussed regional development in South Africa as well as the situation in the Middle East, emphasizing Syria in Jordan, the UAE and the US. Assessing the G20 dimension, it is interesting to see that the proportion of topics debated among G20 and Non-G20 countries did not change depending on who conducted the talks. In other words, it did not affect the agenda whether the PM or FM traveled to a G20 or Non-G20 member.

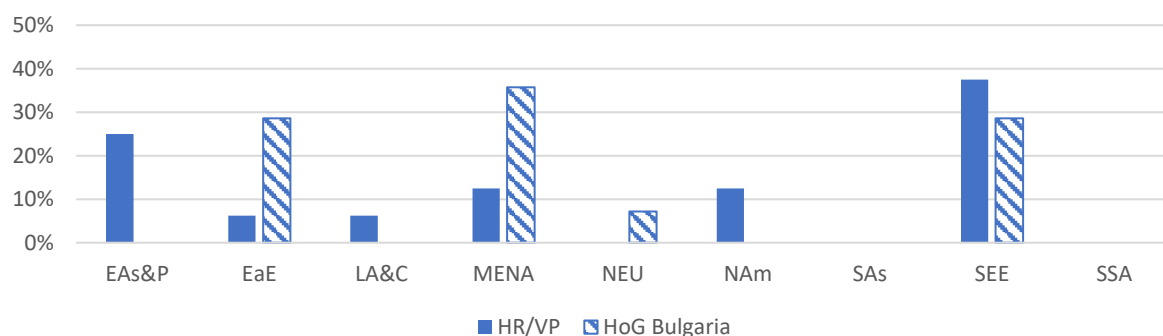
Concluding, Bulgarian representatives generally focused their travel diplomacy on EU neighboring regions. They emphasized economic rather than environmental issues and the actors consistently met their counterparts. Revising the Bulgarian priorities for its EU Presidency, it may be stated that the foreign affairs priorities Western Balkans and the migration crisis were frequently addressed during talks with partners in the world. It may be argued that the Bulgarian travel diplomacy played an important role in achieving the foreign policy aims of the EU Presidency.

4.1.1 Comparison of HR/VP and Head of Government Bulgaria

Comparing the HR/VP and the Bulgarian Case, it needs to be stated that the individual positions will be matched. Starting with PM Borisov, it is noticeable that he almost travelled as much as the HR/VP in 2018. His 14 missions had 11 different destinations whereas Mogherini travelled 16 times to 15 different countries. Both share Turkey and Ukraine as common destinations, where the Bulgarian PM travelled to even twice. He was welcomed by President Erdogan in January and by PM Binali Yildirim in June. The talks covered multiple aspects ranging from cultural and religious relations, economic cooperation including the establishment of a gas

pipeline as well as migration and security-related issues¹¹⁸. The HR/VP focused on the latter topics. During the high-level Political Dialogue, she emphasized the common interest to cooperate on migration and counter-terrorism matters. In addition to Borisov, she specifically addressed the cases Syria, Iraq and Iran¹¹⁹. In Ukraine, Borisov was welcomed by PM Groyzman in May and President Poroshenko in October. They discussed economic opportunities in infrastructure, transport and trade but also cooperation in education and cultural projects. Further, the joint remembrance of a Bulgarian politician who saved Bulgarian Jews in Kyiv during WWII is an example of expressing the socio-cultural link. Similar to the Turkish case, the HR/VP had a narrower focus on governance and case issues, including humanitarian aid and the EU's support for Ukraine in the conflict with Russia over the Crimean Peninsula. Further, she discussed the path to Ukrainian EU Membership and highlighted the need for judiciary reforms¹²⁰. In both cases, the HR/VP appeared as a European crisis manager whereas Borisov had a multi-dimensional approach and also considered bilateral economic as well as socio-cultural relations.

Figure 11 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v HoG Bulgaria



Source: Created by author

Figure 11 offers an overview of regional distribution of destinations. Borisov focused on EU's neighboring regions. Aside from Ukraine, he visited Azerbaijan and Russia in Eastern Europe and exclusively traveled to the Western Balkan states Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo which Mogherini did not visit. Recognizing that Bulgaria made fostering the relations and connecting with the Western Balkans a priority of its EU Presidency, Borisov offered support

¹¹⁸ Council of Ministers, "Prime minister Borissov: the sustainable development of bilateral relations with turkey are a priority for the Bulgarian foreign policy"

¹¹⁹ EEAS, "Federica Mogherini and Johannes Hahn in Ankara for the High Level Political Dialogue"

¹²⁰ EEAS, "EU is Ukraine's strongest supporter, says Mogherini in Kyiv"

for infrastructure, transport and digital connectivity projects. However, he also pointed out that internal conflicts among different groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the conflict between Kosovo and Serbia needed to be resolved before talking about effective EU membership¹²¹. Complementing to this, the HR/VP addressed the bilateral dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina during her trip to Serbia and debated individual EU-membership perspectives in the remaining Western Balkan countries¹²². Regarding the Southern EU-neighborhood, both actors complement one another again. Mogherini debated security-related issues as well as economic cooperation in Libya and Algeria. Borisov addressed them in a similar manner in Egypt and Morocco, too. Further, the Bulgarian PM strengthened relations with Israel and the UAE whereas Mogherini did not conduct bilateral travel diplomacy in the region. She also flew to Asia and the Americas which Borisov disregarded. Calculating the degree of correlation, the CC of 0.376 shows a rather weak positive correlation and thereby summarizes the regional comparison.

Table 8 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v HoG Bulgaria

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	HoG Bulgaria	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	3	11	14
FM	2	1	3	FM	0	0	0
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	0	0
Total	5	11	16	Total	3	11	14

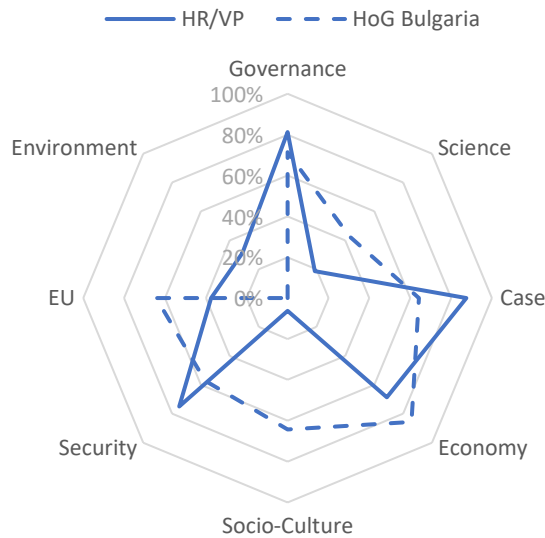
Source: Created by author

Referring to the analysis of hierarchical indicators, table 8 shows that Borisov travelled to two G20 members which equals about 20% of all travels, Mogherini visited five G20 countries which makes up about 30% of all travels. Borisov was always welcomed by the highest-ranked actor of the host country whereas for Mogherini, this was only the case in two out of three times. Nonetheless, the correlation coefficient of 0.977 expresses a strong positive correlation between the hierarchical profiles of both actors.

¹²¹ “Prime Minister Borissov in Pristina: The EU Will Look at the Region with Different Eyes If We Solve Our Problems Ourselves,” accessed May 5, 2020, <https://www.gov.bg/en/press-center/news/prime-minister-borissov-in-pristina-the-eu-will-look-at-the-region-with-different-eyes-if-we-solve-our-problems-ourselves>.

¹²² EEAS, “Mogherini in Serbia: Negotiations are advancing well on the country's EU integration path”

Figure 12 Share of content categories: HR/VP v HoG Bulgaria



Source: Created by author

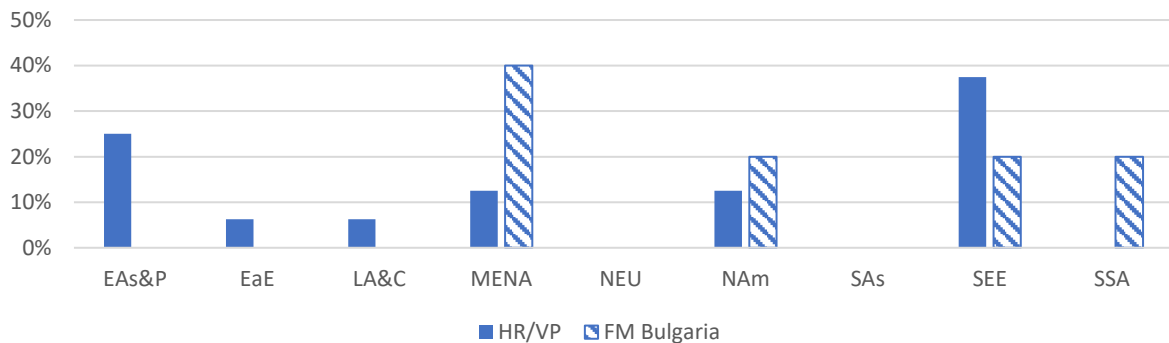
Contrasting the overall agenda items of the actors, figure 12 shows that Borisov mainly focused on economic aspects (86%) whereas Mogherini mostly emphasized case-specific and governance issues (88%; 81%). Further, the HR/VP raised discussions about the environment every third time, whereas the Bulgarian PM did not do so at all. On the other hand, he fostered socio-cultural relations quite frequently (63%), which the HR/VP barely did (6%). Overall, considering the correlation coefficient of 0.424, it may be evaluated that there is a relatively weak positive correlation between content priorities of both actors.

Concluding, the travel diplomacy of the Bulgarian PM and the HR/VP had a weak positive regional and content correlation while the hierarchical profiles had a strong positive link. They complemented each other in South-Eastern and Southern Europe in terms of country destinations but also agenda items. Further, both travelled to Turkey and Ukraine, where Borisov addressed a variety of different issues but Mogherini rather focused on security and case related topics. Overall, Borisov stayed within the EU neighboring regions and primarily emphasized economic relations being accompanied by a wide range of security and socio-cultural matters. Mogherini was rather occupied with governance and case issues located in the Western Balkans, Northern Africa but also in other world regions.

4.1.2 Comparison of HR/VP and Foreign Minister Bulgaria

Having a closer look at the role of the Bulgarian FM in contrast to the HR/VP, it can be highlighted that FM Ekaterina Zakhariyeva only travelled five times. Her destinations are geographically spread across the globe. Zakhariyeva and Mogherini were both welcomed in Turkey and in the US. FM Çavuşoğlu invited the Bulgarian FM to an unveiling ceremony of the restored St. Stefan Church in Istanbul and awarded her a commemorative medal¹²³. This does not relate to Mogherini’s “crisis-agenda”, which was described above. US FM Mike Pompeo hosted Zakhariyeva to discuss a wide range of topics, including the bilateral strategic partnership, the situation of Bulgarian nationals living in the US but also the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Middle East. Further, both shared a similar view on the Western Balkans, being a priority of Bulgaria’s EU Presidency¹²⁴. Acknowledging Mogherini’s lack of a high-level political meeting in the US, it may be argued that the Bulgarian FM filled this gap of EU representation within the scope of the EU Presidency.

Figure 13 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v FM Bulgaria



Source: Created by author

On a regional level, figure 13 illustrates that Zakhariyeva conducted a bilateral mission to Sub-Saharan Africa. In South Africa, she was welcomed by FM Lindiwe Sisulu to cover a wide range of topics. Discussing business, trade and investment opportunities, cooperation in education and the human rights situation as well as visiting a Bulgarian diaspora were important agenda items. However, in contrast to her trip to the US, the Bulgarian FM did not highlight

¹²³ “Top Diplomats of Bulgaria and Turkey Meet in Istanbul,” accessed May 6, 2020, <https://www.mfa.bg/en/news/16547>.

¹²⁴ “Ekaterina Zahariyeva, Mike Pompeo Reconfirm Strategic Partnership Between Bulgaria, United States,” accessed May 6, 2020, <https://www.mfa.bg/en/news/19836>.

her role as EU representative holding the EU Presidency¹²⁵. Zakharijeva’s remaining trips to Jordan and UAE in the Middle East also appeared geographically complementary to the HR/VP’s travel plan but did not explicitly cover EU-relations. The complementary nature of both actors is also represented in the CC of 0.143 which indicates a very weak positive correlation.

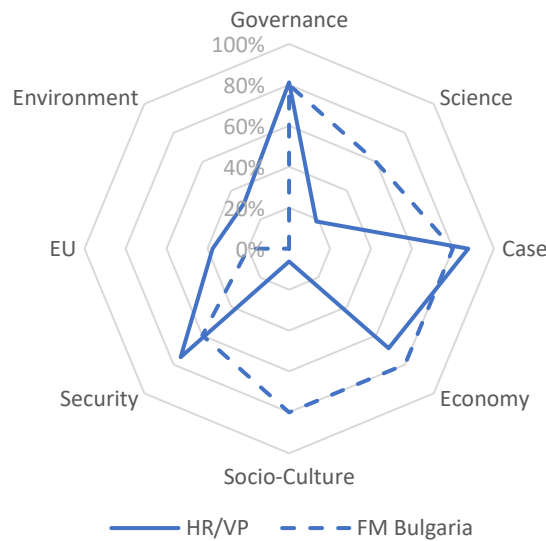
Table 9 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v FM Bulgaria

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	FM Bulgaria	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	0	0	0
FM	2	1	3	FM	3	2	5
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	0	0
Total	5	11	16	Total	3	2	5

Source: Created by author

Recognizing table 9, it is noticeable that the Bulgarian FM only met her counterparts while the HR/VP had a greater variety of hosts and also a contrasting distribution of G20 and Non-G20 host countries. This explains the CC of -0.255.

Figure 14 Share of content categories: HR/VP v FM Bulgaria



Source: Created by author

¹²⁵ “Ekaterina Zaharieva Meeting the Foreign Minister of the South African Republic,” accessed May 6, 2020, <https://www.mfa.bg/en/news/17732>.

Figure 14 presents the diverging content priorities of the HR/VP and the Bulgarian FM. The relatively high share of science and socio-culture aspects covered by the FM become apparent. The respective CC of 0.373 expresses this rather weak positive correlation.

Concluding, the Bulgarian FM and the HR/VP share two trips to G20 members whose nature varies a lot. On the one hand, Mogherini focused on addressing political issues with the Turkish FM, but she did not meet US politicians. On the other hand, Zakhariyeva participated in a socio-cultural event in Istanbul, but met US FM Pompeo to discuss matters including the priorities within Bulgaria's EU Presidency. Furthermore, apart from this FM Zakhariyeva exclusively travelled to countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East, which the HR/VP left out completely. Analyzing the three correlation coefficients, it may be stated that their hierarchical profiles correlate negatively whereas the regional and content focus hardly correlate positively.

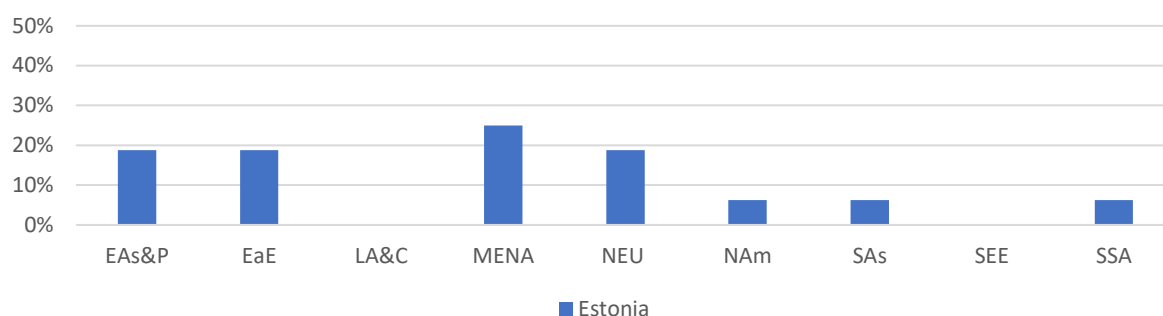
4.2 Estonia

Estonia is perceived as a leading nation in digitalization and in e-Governance. It is recognized by international experts and also stands out by hosting the NATO cyber security center in its capital. The Estonian government attempts to include this asset as a soft power instrument to foster international relations¹²⁶. For instance, it is one of Estonia's foreign policy objectives to gain reputation as an innovative state. In addition, these include deep connections within the EU but also strong ties with the US¹²⁷. Acknowledging these fundamental characteristics of Estonian foreign policy, the travel diplomacy will be assessed as a whole and according to different positions.

¹²⁶ Alex Hardy, "Estonia's Soft Power Through Technology," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/02/14/opinion-estonias-soft-power-through-technology/>.

¹²⁷ "Estonia's Foreign Policy Objectives," Republic of Estonia, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://vm.ee/en/estonias-foreign-policy-objectives>.

Figure 15 Regional distribution of destinations: Estonia



Source: Created by author

Estonian PM Jüri Ratas and FM Sven Mikser conducted a total of 16 missions to Non-EU countries in 2018. Ratas travelled nine times and Mikser seven times to fifteen different destinations. Only Lebanon was travelled to by both Estonian politicians. As presented in figure 15, they visited seven of the nine regions defined in this dissertation. One in four trips was destined to MENA, three missions each were conducted to Eastern Europe, East Asia & Pacific and Non-EU members in Western Europe each. In North America, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa the respective Estonian politician only visited one country. Latin America & Caribbean as well as South-Eastern Europe were not on the travel plan.

Table 10 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: Estonia

Estonia	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11
FM	1	3	4
Other	0	1	1
Total	3	13	16

Source: Created by author

Regarding the hierarchical indicators of the meetings, table 10 shows the distribution of missions according to their G20 status and the position of the highest-ranked representative of the host state. Among the visited countries, three are G20 members where the Estonian representatives met with their respective counterparts.

Figure 16 Share of content categories: Estonia



Source: Created by author

Analyzing the content of the meetings, being presented in figure 16, science-related topics were most frequent and account for 63% of all talks. These center around the aspect of digitalization and promoting the Estonian e-Governance model. FM Mikser actually flew to Brunei as the first Estonian high-level representative to present opportunities to cooperate in e-governance or e-services¹²⁸. Further, governance, specific case issues as well as security were debated in one out of two meetings on average. The latter included talks about cooperation in cyber security matters in Korea, Ukraine and Iceland. For instance, PM Ratas and Icelandic PM Jakobsdóttir expressed their shared interest of guaranteeing internet freedom and security¹²⁹. The meeting in Reykjavik was also one of two missions in which environmental issues were discussed. The other mission was conducted to Moldova where common projects for environmental sustainability were covered¹³⁰. On a regional scale science-related aspects were addressed in all travels to East Asia & Pacific but not predominantly in MENA, where governance issues and specific cases received more attention. During the visit in Saudi Arabia, the Estonian agenda

¹²⁸ “Foreign Minister Mikser on a Visit to Brunei,” Republic of Estonia, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://vm.ee/en/news/foreign-minister-mikser-visit-brunei>.

¹²⁹ “Jüri Ratas Discussed Building New Cultural and Science Networks with the Icelandic Leaders,” accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.valitsus.ee/en/news/juri-ratas-discussed-building-new-cultural-and-science-networks-icelandic-leaders>.

¹³⁰ “The Prime Minister Will Head for a Visit to Romania and Moldova,” accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.valitsus.ee/en/news/prime-minister-will-head-visit-romania-and-moldova>.

included the situation in Syria, Iran and the stability in the region. Further, FM Mikser discussed the state of affairs in Libya, Yemen and Iraq with his Saudi counterpart¹³¹.

Having a closer look at the difference between both Estonian positions, it is noticeable that the PM travelled slightly more than the FM. Ratas focused on neighboring European countries such as Norway, Iceland and Moldova. On the other hand, Mikser focused on MENA, visiting Lebanon, Morocco and Saudi Arabia. With respect to the G20 status, Ratas met with his counterparts in Canada and Korea, which are arguably not the most important actors within the G20 group and Mikser focused on Non-G20 members, where he met with the highest-ranked representative of Lebanon and Vietnam, four of his counterparts and the minister of trade of Brunei.

With respect to the difference in addressing content, Mikser dealt with almost all specific cases whereas Ratas only addressed the situation in Ukraine during his visit in Canada. With Canadian PM Trudeau, he also discussed the defense cooperation within the NATO¹³². Both, the PM and the FM represent the Estonian digital innovation capabilities in the world considering the presented trips to Iceland and Brunei. In addition, Ratas is most concerned with broad security issues that he addressed almost always. However, these missions do not share similar characteristics such as regions or G20 status which could suggest a pattern. With regard to the Estonian-US relations, it is worth pointing out that the Estonian President went to Washington D.C. in April 2018. However, she was joint by her counterparts from the fellow Baltic states and did not meet President Trump exclusively¹³³. Finally, it may be pointed out that the PM attended the Winter Olympic Games in Korea and supported Estonian athletes. Afterwards, he travelled to Seoul and was welcomed by the Korean PM. They elaborated upon cyber security economy and digitalization. It may be wondered, if he had conducted this mission regardless of the sports event or whether it facilitated the meeting¹³⁴.

¹³¹ “Foreign Minister Mikser: Estonia Would Like to Strengthen Relations with Saudi Arabia,” Republic of Estonia, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://vm.ee/en/news/foreign-minister-mikser-estonia-would-strengthen-relations-saudi-arabia>.

¹³² “Ratas Is Meeting with the Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau,” accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.valitsus.ee/en/news/ratas-meeting-canadian-prime-minister-justin-trudeau>.

¹³³ “Visits and Agreements - Washington,” Embassy of Estonia Washington, D.C., accessed May 5, 2020, <https://washington.mfa.ee/visits-and-agreements/>.

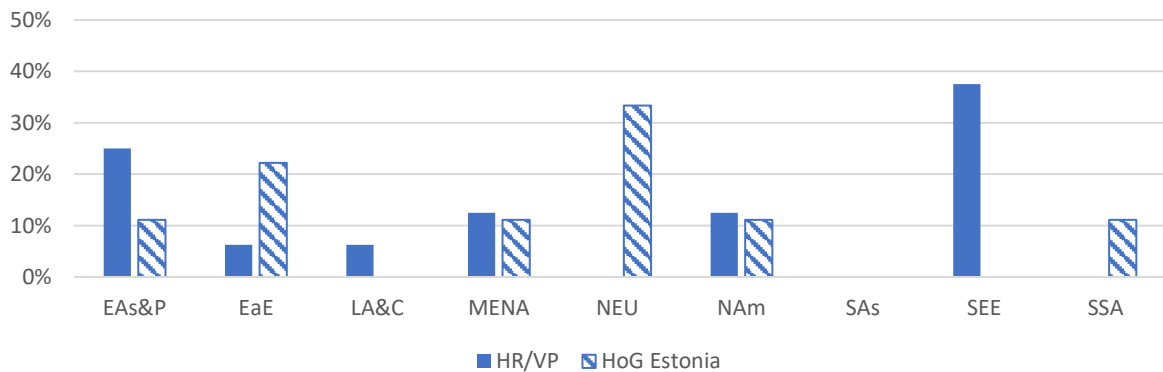
¹³⁴ “Ratas to Visit Winter Olympic Games and Meet with the Prime Minister of South Korea,” accessed May 6, 2020, <https://www.valitsus.ee/en/news/ratas-visit-winter-olympic-games-and-meet-prime-minister-south-korea>.

Concluding, matching Estonian foreign policy with the bilateral travel diplomacy conducted by its PM and FM in 2018, it can be assessed, that they acted as strong representatives of a digital and innovative Estonia. They used their niche position to strengthen bilateral ties with different countries across the world. Furthermore, they were concerned with security putting special emphasis on the NATO and cyber security. However, they did not travel to the US to express and to further develop the relations with its important partner.

4.2.1 Comparison of HR/VP and Head of Government Estonia

In 2018, Estonian PM Jüri Ratas conducted nine bilateral missions to Non-EU countries. This is substantially less than the 16 travels of the HR/VP. Both actors travelled to Canada and Korea. Canadian PM Justin Trudeau welcomed them to discuss security and defense cooperation. However, the further agenda items diverged. Ratas emphasized the trade relations and digitalization whereas Mogherini focused on multilateralism as a shared international governance instrument and addressed climate change. In Korea, both covered economic relations and addressed security issues. However, it is striking that the HR/VP mostly focused on the conflict with North Korea and the nuclear threat whereas Ratas exclusively put emphasis on cyber security.

Figure 17 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v HoG Estonia



Source: Created by author

Additionally, figure 17 illustrates that Ratas generally focused on Non-EU Western countries, which make up one third of his destinations. These include the Nordic states Iceland and Norway, where he addressed digitalization, security as well as EU relations. Regarding the

latter, the nature of the common market after Brexit was discussed in Reykjavik¹³⁵. In Oslo, European security as well as Eastern Partnerships with special emphasis on Russia were debated. Mogherini entirely disregarded this region. In Eastern Europe, the Estonian PM visited Kazakhstan and the Republic of Moldova and covered EU-related matters. He highlighted the EU's important strategic partnership with Kazakhstan and gave a lecture at the Moldova State University on the integration of Estonia into the EU and stated that Estonia prioritized the development cooperation with Moldova¹³⁶. Ratas arguably complemented the HR/VP's representation in Eastern Europe because the latter only travelled to Ukraine during the observation period. Furthermore, Ratas conducted single country trips to Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East which the HR/VP disregarded. He met the President as well as PM of Mali and visited Estonian troops fighting against Islamic terrorists and preventing illegal migration and human trafficking¹³⁷. In Lebanon, he was also welcomed by the head of state and observed the UN peacekeeping mission which encompassed members of the Estonian Defence Forces¹³⁸. These complementary travel activities may also explain the weak negative correlation coefficient of -0.366.

Table 11 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v HoG Estonia

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	HoG Estonia	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	2	7	9
FM	2	1	3	FM	0	0	0
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	0	0
Total	5	11	16	Total	2	7	9

Source: Created by author

Comparing the hierarchical indicators, the Estonian PM and the HR/VP were both hosted by the highest representative of the G20 states Canada and Korea. Table 11 shows that all of Ratas' remaining missions were destined to Non-G20 members where he always met his counterparts.

¹³⁵ Government of the Republic of Estonia, "Jüri Ratas discussed building new cultural and science networks with the Icelandic leaders"

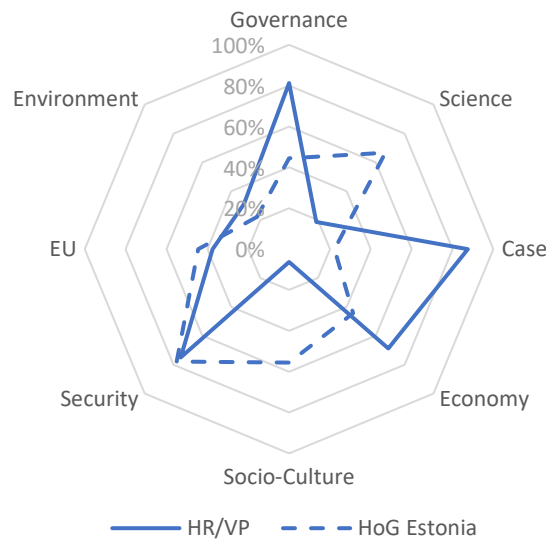
¹³⁶ Government of the Republic of Estonia, "The prime minister will head for a visit to Romania and Moldova"; "Ratas Headed for an Official Visit to Kazakhstan," accessed May 6, 2020, <https://www.valitsus.ee/en/news/ratas-headed-official-visit-kazakhstan>.

¹³⁷ "The Prime Minister Along with the Commander of the Defence Forces Are Travelling to Mali to Acquaint with the Work of the Estonian Troops," accessed May 6, 2020, <https://www.valitsus.ee/en/news/prime-minister-along-commander-defence-forces-are-travelling-mali-acquaint-work-estonian-troops>.

¹³⁸ "Ratas Will Visit Lebanon and the Members of the Estonian Defence Forces Serving on UN Missions in the Country," accessed May 6, 2020, <https://www.valitsus.ee/en/news/ratas-will-visit-lebanon-and-members-estonian-defence-forces-serving-un-missions-country>.

This varied in the case of Mogherini. Nonetheless, the correlation of coefficient of 0.974 suggests a strong positive relation which may be explained by the distribution of travels among G20 and Non-G20 countries.

Figure 18 Share of content categories: HR/VP v HoG Estonia



Source: Created by author

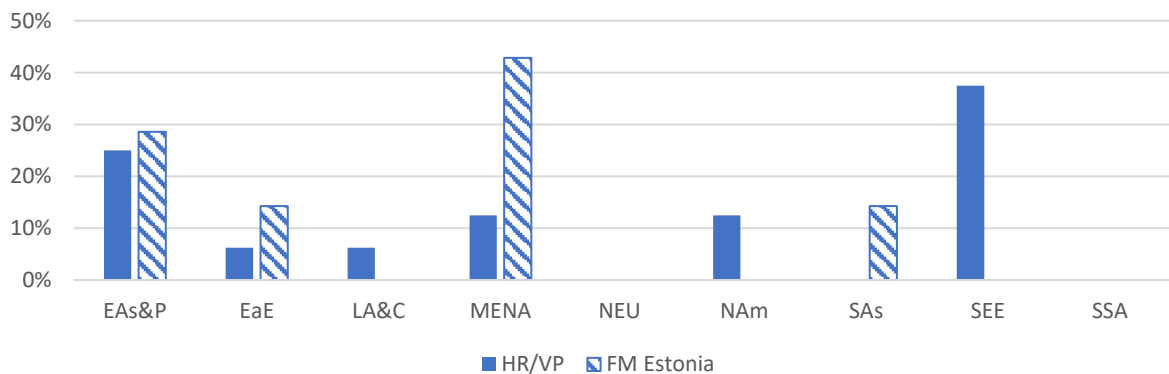
Considering the content of the talks, Ratas represented digitalization as Estonia’s unique characteristic which also covered security aspects in cyber space. The strong emphasis on these science-related aspects is reflected in figure 18. The HR/VP rather focused on specific cases and governance issues. This has become clearly visible when contrasting the agenda of their trips to Canada and Korea. Overall, the CC of -0.185 reflects a rather weak but negative correlation supporting the claim of acting in a complementary manner.

Summarizing, the HR/VP and the Estonian PM both travelled to Canada and Korea where they addressed diverging issues. PM Ratas especially emphasized the Estonian niche topic of digitalization during his travels to Non-EU Western European and Eastern European countries and visited Estonian troops in Sub-Saharan Africa and in the Middle East. This rather complements the travel plan of Mogherini who travelled to other regions, including the South-Eastern and Southern EU neighborhood that the Estonian PM did not cover. Hence, the CCs mirror the data by expressing negative correlations in the geographical and hierarchical dimensions.

4.2.2 Comparison of HR/VP and Foreign Minister Estonia

Contrasting the bilateral travel diplomacy of the HR/VP and Estonian FM Sven Mikser, the latter travelled less than half of the times than Federica Mogherini. He conducted seven missions to different countries and put a regional focus on Asia and MENA. Grouping Mikser’s destinations in East and South Asia, Bangladesh, Brunei and Vietnam combined almost half of his missions. Specific cases and digitalization were central aspects in Bangladesh and Brunei. Regarding the former, he also discussed the Rohingya refugee crisis and the human rights situation with his counterpart¹³⁹. In Vietnam, the FM was welcomed by PM Nguyen Xuan Phuc with whom he mainly discussed cooperation in education, trade and tourism. The HR/VP was less active in the region. Aside from her engagement in Korea, she travelled to Singapore and likewise covered economic aspects such as welcoming the EU-Singapore Free Trade Agreement but also debated climate change¹⁴⁰.

Figure 19 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v FM Estonia



Source: Created by author

Viewing figure 19, it is noticeable, that both actors have little similarities which is also expressed in the CC of 0.143. Mikser focused on MENA where he visited Lebanon, Morocco and Saudi Arabia. While the HR/VP did not travel to the Middle East, she visited Morocco’s neighbor Algeria as well as the Northern African state Libya. In Marrakech, Mikser met with his Moroccan counterpart Nasser Bourita to discuss migration issues and Morocco’s

¹³⁹ “Foreign Minister Mikser Meets with Foreign Minister of Bangladesh,” Republic of Estonia, accessed May 6, 2020, <https://vm.ee/en/news/foreign-minister-mikser-meets-foreign-minister-bangladesh>.

¹⁴⁰ Government of Singapore, “MFA Press Statement: Visit of European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission Federica Mogherini to Singapore”

membership in the African Union as well as offering Estonian digitalization expertise¹⁴¹. Mogherini’s agenda in the region also addressed migration but rather emphasized economic development and the establishment of security in Algeria and Libya. Furthermore, both actors addressed similar topics in Ukraine encompassing the conflict with Russia, EU membership and good governance. Debating with his counterpart, Mikser further offered assistance in cybersecurity and recognized Ukrainian reforms to draw closer to a NATO-membership¹⁴². Mogherini was hosted by President Petro Poroshenko being the highest-ranked Ukrainian representative. In this regard, the Estonian FM met the highest-ranked representative of Lebanon and Vietnam, four of his counterparts and the minister of trade of Brunei. Further, he met the FM of Saudi-Arabia to strengthen economic relations and to discuss cases in the region, being the only G20 member country on his flight schedule¹⁴³.

Table 12 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v FM Estonia

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	FM Estonia	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	0	2	2
FM	2	1	3	FM	1	3	4
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	1	1
Total	5	11	16	Total	1	6	7

Source: Created by author

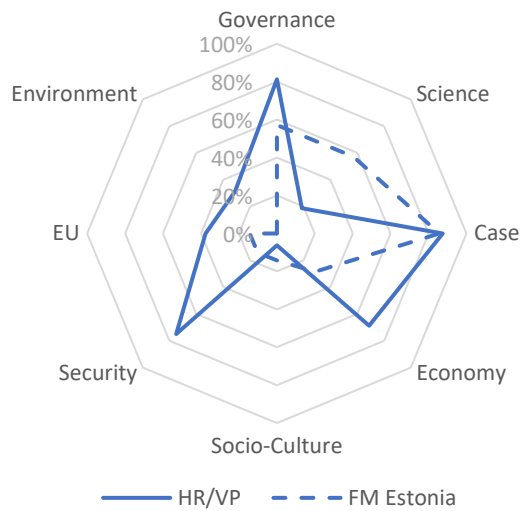
Recognizing the data in table 15, the HR/VP Federica Mogherini was welcomed in G20 states more often. During her five visits, she was even welcomed twice by their PM. In addition, among the Non-G20 countries, Mikser met the highest-ranked representative two out of six times, whereas it was the exception for Mogherini not to be hosted by the prime representative. The CC for this hierarchical dimension arguably represents these differences by showing a weak positive correlation of 0.290.

¹⁴¹ “Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs / Välisministeerium,” Republic of Estonia, accessed May 6, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/valismin/posts/foreign-minister-sven-mikser-met-with-his-moroccan-counterpart-nasser-bourita-in/10157944406886980/>.

¹⁴² “Foreign Minister Mikser in Ukraine: Situation in the Sea of Azov Needs Greater International Attention,” Republic of Estonia, accessed May 6, 2020, <https://vm.ee/en/news/foreign-minister-mikser-ukraine-situation-sea-azov-needs-greater-international-attention>.

¹⁴³ “Foreign Minister Mikser Is on a Visit in Saudi Arabia,” Republic of Estonia, accessed May 6, 2020, <https://vm.ee/en/news/foreign-minister-mikser-visit-saudi-arabia>.

Figure 20 Share of content categories: HR/VP v FM Estonia



Source: Created by author

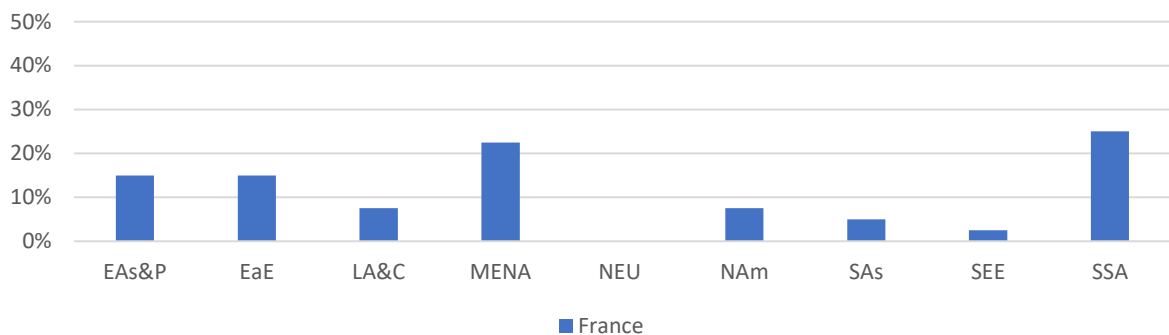
Assessing the content priorities in figure 20, it is noticeable that both actors focused on specific cases. Mikser (86%) covered issues such as the refugee crisis in Bangladesh and Syria during his trips to Lebanon and Saudi-Arabia or the situation on the Crimean Peninsula in Ukraine. Mogherini also worked on the latter two in 2018. Despite this, the content priorities only moderately correlated positively considering the CC of 0.482. This may be reasoned by the fact that, unsurprisingly, digitalization was the second most frequented topic. On the other hand, the HR/VP did not make science a priority on her travel agenda.

Concluding, the Estonian FM travelled less than the HR/VP and focused mostly on MENA as well as Asia and only shared Ukraine as one common destination. In contrast to Mogherini, he usually flew to Non-G20 members and was hosted by different actors ranging from PMs to a Minister of trade. Both EU representatives followed a case-specific agenda which was adjusted to the host country and its region. FM Mikser also embodied a digital ambassador of an innovative Estonia addressing the topic of digitalization more than half of the times.

4.3 France

In order to give a brief overview of French foreign policy aims, the main themes and issues will be presented. In his New Year greetings to the French diplomatic core in 2018, French President Emmanuel Macron communicated four priorities encompassing security, independence, solidarity and influence. He applied them to different cases. First, he highlighted the fight against terrorism in MENA but also in the Sahel region. He asked for specific support for the G5 Sahel Joint Force but also saw education and economic development as crucial elements to stabilize the region. He further defined migration as a complex challenge affecting not only the migrants and refugees but also the transition and destination countries. In this context, he hoped for a military victory over Daesh in Syria to achieve peace and aimed to stabilize the situation in Libya. Macron also focused on the issue of nuclear proliferation in North Korea and Iran, which he criticized for human rights violations, too. Further, he favored strong multilateralism and saw La Francophonie as linguistic communities that foster cultural aspects and support diversity. Finally, he made the environment a priority and proclaimed to further follow the Paris Climate Agreement¹⁴⁴.

Figure 21 Regional distribution of destinations: France



Source: Created by author

Considering this, French representatives travelled 40 times to Non-EU members to have bilateral talks. President Macron conducted every fourth mission whereas FM Jean-Yves Le Drian was three times more active. Among the 31 different countries visited, China received French representatives three times and seven countries were travelled to twice. Referring to figure 21, they are mostly located on the African continent including Chad, Egypt, Senegal and

¹⁴⁴ “President Sets Out Foreign Policy Goals for 2018,” accessed May 2, 2020, <https://uk.ambafrance.org/President-sets-out-foreign-policy-goals-for-2018>.

Tunisia. The remaining countries are India, Russia and the US. Across different world regions, only Non-EU members in Western Europe were not visited. The French President and FM prioritized Sub-Saharan Africa and MENA combining almost 25% of the travels each. Six missions to East Asia & Pacific as well as to Eastern Europe make up 30% in total. The visit in Serbia represents South-Eastern Europe, both missions to India reflect the engagement in South Asia and in Latin America & Caribbean, Colombia, Cuba and Mexico welcomed French actors.

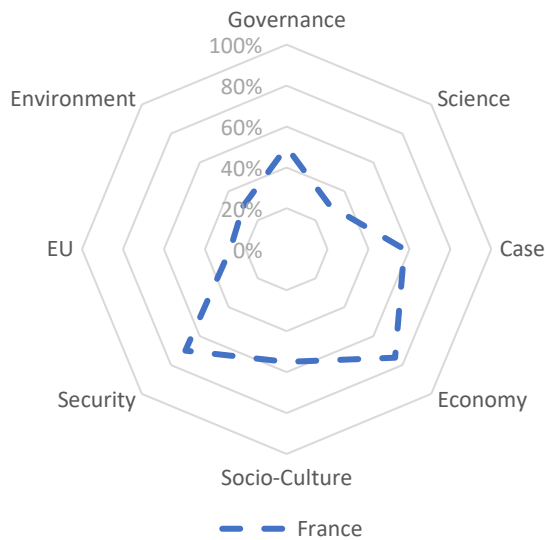
Table 13 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: France

France	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	10	25	35
FM	3	0	3
Other	1	1	2
Total	14	26	40

Source: Created by author

Regarding the overall hierarchical indicators, which can be viewed in table 13, 35% of missions were conducted to G20 members and in 35 out of 40 travels the French President or FM was welcomed by the highest ranked representative of the host nation. FM Le Drian met his counterparts in Korea, Russia as well as in the US and was received by the Deputy PM of Ethiopia and the Chinese Minister of Commerce.

Figure 22 Share of content categories of France



Source: Created by author

When having a closer look at the content of the talks, it is noticeable that in three out of four meetings economic issues were discussed. Recognizing figure 22, this is followed by 70% of matters related to security and 58% dealing with specific cases. Further, each category was at least debated eleven times which indicates that a wide range of topics were addressed in French foreign policy. The least-frequent topics related to the role of the EU, environmental issues as well as science. Assessing the country-related aspects, it stands out that all topics were eventually dealt with during the two missions to India. Further, the meetings in Washington D.C. and Tunisia covered an amplified range of issues. On the other hand, seven missions were only concentrated on matters that related to two of the defined categories. Many of them included references to security such as in Congo, Ethiopia, Iraq, Israel and Mali. Investigating regional differences, all six missions to East Asia & Pacific focused on economic relations and five included environmental issues. The emphasis on economy was similar in Eastern Europe, where socio-cultural connections were also a dominant agenda item. Security was the central topic in MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa which can be related to the instability and terrorist threats in the regions. For instance, Macron debated the fight against the terrorist organization Boko Haram with the Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari¹⁴⁵. Comparing the content of meetings between G20 and Non-G20 members, multiple divergences become apparent. On the one hand, missions to G20 members almost always included economic aspects, being followed by specific cases and even environmental matters were addressed in two out of three meetings. This is quite different for Non-G20 members, the latter topics were only discussed three out of 26 times. Furthermore, only two-thirds of the missions included economy, the focus was rather set on security and governance. However, the difference between science and socio-cultural relations was small.

Assessing the President and FM individually, Macron conducted multiple travels to Sub-Saharan Africa, North America as well as East Asia & Pacific. He visited the former French colonies Chad and Senegal. Both are members of the International Organisation of La Francophonie which is sometimes considered a French Commonwealth¹⁴⁶. Macron discussed

¹⁴⁵ “Conférence De Presse Conjointe Du Président De La République, Emmanuel Macron, Avec Muhammadu Buhari, Président De La République Fédérale Du Nigeria,” accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/07/03/conference-de-presse-conjointe-du-president-de-la-republique-emmanuel-macron-avec-muhammadu-buhari-president-de-la-republique-federale-du-nigeria>.

¹⁴⁶ Christina Okello, “Can "French Commonwealth" Work for Peace in Africa?,” *RFI*, March 21, 2019, accessed May 2, 2020, <http://www.rfi.fr/en/france/20190321-francophonie-can%20french-commonwealth-be-architect-peace-conflict-resolution-africa>.

governance issues such as development aid as well as economic, security and defense cooperations. This was quite similar to the agenda in Nigeria, with the addition of the socio-cultural aspect sports. The President proposed a sports partnership which could be launched all over Africa¹⁴⁷. When meeting US President Trump and Canadian PM Trudeau in North America, economy, scientific and technological innovations, socio-cultural ties as well as the role of the EU and climate change were debated. In Washington D.C., Macron also addressed the cases of nuclear proliferation in Iran and North Korea as well as the situation in Syria¹⁴⁸. These topics were also part of the discussions with Chinese President Xi Jinping. A Joint declaration with 27 paragraphs summarizes the comprehensive talks and describes the multi-faceted bilateral relations. The trip to the G20 member Australia completes the travel record of East Asia & Pacific. Macron further visited Russia and India which adds up to a ratio of six G20 to four Non-G20 members, which were visited. In addition to the already described content, it is noticeable that he puts more emphasis on EU and science-related issues when meeting with G20 representatives as he did in Canada and India.

Reflecting upon the travel activities of French FM Le Drian, he travelled thirty times to 28 different Non-EU destinations. He visited China and Egypt twice. When meeting Chinese PM Li Keqiang, he concentrated on economic issues, the cases of nuclear proliferation in Iran and North Korea as well as the situation in Syria. Further, Le Drian debated the implementation of the Paris Climate Agreement and the negotiations on the adoption of a Global Pact for the Environment ahead of the One Planet Summit later that year¹⁴⁹. Both talks with Egyptian President Abdel Fatah Al-Sissi followed the same agenda encompassing security, terrorism in the region as well as in Libya and Syria. In addition, a dialogue on economic partnership and Human Rights was held in Egypt¹⁵⁰. On a regional level, Le Drian focused on MENA and Sub-

¹⁴⁷ “Conférence De Presse Conjointe Du Président De La République, Emmanuel Macron, Avec Muhammadu Buhari, Président De La République Fédérale Du Nigeria,” accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/07/03/conference-de-presse-conjointe-du-president-de-la-republique-emmanuel-macron-avec-muhammadu-buhari-president-de-la-republique-federale-du-nigeria>.

¹⁴⁸ “Conférence De Presse Conjointe Du Président De La République, Emmanuel Macron Et De Donald Trump, Président Des États-Unis D'amérique À La Maison Blanche,” accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/04/24/conference-de-presse-conjointe-du-president-de-la-republique-emmanuel-macron-et-de-donald-trump-president-des-etats-unis-damerique-a-la-maison-blanche>.

¹⁴⁹ “Visit by the Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs to China (13-14.09.18),” accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/china/news/article/visit-by-the-minister-for-europe-and-foreign-affairs-to-china-13-14-09-18>.

¹⁵⁰ “Egypt –Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (28.06.18),” accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/egypt/news/article/egypt-visit-by-jean-yves-le-drian-28-06-18>.

Saharan Africa, where security aspects were by far the most important issues. In addition, the FM discussed the situation in Libya with representatives of Chad, Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia and Tunisia. He also conducted five missions to Eastern Europe where socio-cultural links and economic cooperation were most frequently debated. Whereas Macron focused on six regions, Le Drian also flew to Serbia in South-Eastern Europe and travelled to three Latin American countries. Among others, he met Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić and discussed the Serbian integration process into the EU and the normalization of the relations with Kosovo¹⁵¹. Further, the FM strengthened ties with Cuba and Colombia, where he also supported the peace process¹⁵². In Mexico, Le Drian stated French support for an Economic Partnership and a Political Coordination and Cooperation Agreement between the EU and Mexico. On a bilateral basis, he highlighted the educational and cultural cooperation¹⁵³. Furthermore, Le Drian represented President Macron at the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games in Pyeongchang. At this point, it may be speculated if he had conducted the mission without the sports event or whether this had a decisive influence on his counterpart to discuss the denuclearization and business opportunities¹⁵⁴.

Elaborating upon the external perception of the French FM, the G20 status as well as the position of the highest-ranked host will be assessed. Le Drian, like Macron, conducted 35% of his missions to G20 members which included all fellow Non-European permanent UN Security Council members. Although it has already been introduced above, it needs to be highlighted that the FM usually met the highest-ranked representative of a state. Only in the G20 states Korea, Russia and US, he was received by his counterparts. In comparison to the French President, Le Drian focused a little less on science-related topics in G20 states but generally mirrored the actions of Macron.

¹⁵¹ “Serbia – Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (12.04.18),” accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/serbia/news/article/serbia-visit-by-jean-yves-le-drian-12-04-18>.

¹⁵² “Colombia – Cuba – Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (26-29.07.18),” accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/colombia/news/article/colombia-cuba-visit-by-jean-yves-le-drian-26-29-07-18>.

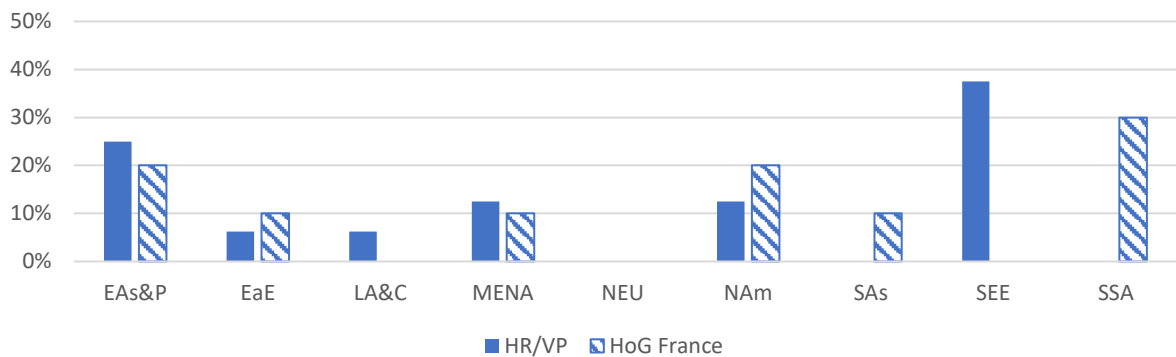
¹⁵³ “Mexico – Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (25-28.10.18),” accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/mexico/news/article/mexico-visit-by-jean-yves-le-drian-25-28-10-18>.

¹⁵⁴ “South Korea – Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (PyeongChang, 9-11.02.18),” accessed May 6, 2020, <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/south-korea/events/article/south-korea-visit-by-jean-yves-le-drian-pyeongchang-9-11-02-18>.

Overall, economic, security and socio-cultural relations were emphasized while EU and science were among the least-frequented topics. For example, both actors addressed the economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as the strengthening of cultural relations with Eastern European countries. Among G20 countries, economic and environmental matters were more prominent while security and governance issues were more relevant in Non-G20 states. Reflecting upon individual actors, the French President visited the China, India, Russia and the US to have comprehensive talks. Additionally, he emphasized relations with former colonies in Sub-Saharan Africa. The French FM also focused on Sub-Saharan Africa but prioritized MENA, too. Furthermore, he used his travels to engage with countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe as well as in Latin America & Caribbean. Both actors addressed the initially defined French foreign policy priorities by debating the nuclear proliferation of North Korea and Iran in China and the US. Additionally, they travelled to crucial players in MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa to work on the regional issues and addressed environmental issues in every third meeting they conducted in 2018.

4.3.1 Comparison of HR/VP and Head of Government France

Figure 23 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v HoG France



Source: Created by author

Contrasting the travel diplomacy of the French Head of Government and the HR/VP, figure 23 illustrates the regional distribution of travel destinations of both actors. President Emmanuel Macron conducted ten missions to ten Non-EU countries in 2018. He shared three destinations with the HR/VP who travelled 16 times. Both flew to the G20 countries Australia, Canada and the US. In Sydney, Macron was welcomed by Australian PM Malcolm Turnbull whereas Mogherini was hosted by Australian FM Julie Bishop. Both talks covered a variety of issues including security, the fight against terrorism, defense and economic cooperation but also the environment. Macron specifically addressed the cultural relations as well as the situation in

Syria¹⁵⁵. Mogherini further emphasized the work with the regional organization ASEAN, the situation in the Pacific and highlighted joint efforts in education, research and innovation¹⁵⁶. In Canada, PM Trudeau hosted Macron and Mogherini. The talks with the latter had a rather narrow focus on security and environmental issues. The French President followed a more extensive agenda which also covered cultural links, science and climate-related issues as well as economic relations with the EU¹⁵⁷. During his meeting with his counterpart Donald Trump in the US, Macron also addressed these issues. He further elaborated up the situation in Syria as well as the nuclear proliferation of Iran and of North Korea¹⁵⁸. As already portrayed, Mogherini did not meet any high-level politicians but spoke to an American audience during an event at Harvard university where she underlined the importance of transatlantic relations. President Macron further travelled to China and Russia which the HR/VP did not visit. The topics of the discussions with Chinese President Xi Jinping were quite similar to the ones in the US but the content was of a different nature. In Saint Petersburg, Macron and Russian President Putin focused economic and cultural relations, covered security aspects but also debated the situation in Iran, Syria and Ukraine. Considering the latter, the HR/VP visited Ukrainian President Poroshenko. Macron and Mogherini both offered their support to bring the conflict to an end and implement the Minsk Agreement¹⁵⁹.

Acknowledging that Macron mainly just flew to G20 member within a defined region, his trips to Tunisia and to Chad, Nigeria and Senegal in Sub-Saharan Africa are the exceptions. Whereas Mogherini only travelled to Tunisia's neighbors Algeria and Libya on the African continent, Macron also visited former French colonies Chad and Senegal as well as Nigeria. Consequently,

¹⁵⁵ "Highlights of the Presidential Visit to Sydney," accessed May 7, 2020, <https://au.ambafrance.org/Highlights-of-the-Presidential-visit-to-Sydney-7569>; "Opening Remarks at the Joint Press Conference with His Excellency Mr Emmanuel Macron," accessed May 7, 2020, <https://www.malcolmturnbull.com.au/media/opening-remarks-at-the-joint-press-conference-with-his-excellency-mr-emmanu>.

¹⁵⁶ EEAS, "Joint Press Release by EU's HR/VP Federica Mogherini and Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop"

¹⁵⁷ "Conférence De Presse Conjointe D'emmanuel Macron Et De Justin Trudeau, Premier Ministre Du Canada," accessed May 7, 2020, <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/06/07/conference-de-presse-conjointe-demmanuel-macron-et-de-justin-trudeau-premier-ministre-du-canada>; "Déclaration Franco-Canadienne," accessed May 7, 2020, <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/06/07/declaration-franco-canadienne>.

¹⁵⁸ Présidence de la République, "Conférence de presse conjointe du Président de la République, Emmanuel Macron et de Donald Trump, Président des États-Unis d'Amérique à la Maison Blanche"

¹⁵⁹ "Conférence De Presse Conjointe Du Président De La République, Emmanuel Macron Et De Vladimir Poutine À Saint-Pétersbourg," accessed May 7, 2020, <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/05/24/conference-de-presse-conjointe-du-president-de-la-republique-emmanuel-macron-et-de-vladimir-poutine-a-saint-petersbourg>; EEAS, "EU is Ukraine's strongest supporter, says Mogherini in Kyiv"

it may be focused on comparing the missions to the Maghreb countries. The agenda of the HR/VP in Libya and of the French President in Tunisia looked very alike. Both covered the same categories of issues including governance of migration, education and research, regional stability and the fight against terrorism as well as economic development. Mogherini’s talk with Algerian PM Ahmed Ouyahia had a narrower focus on economy and security. Further, Macron and Mogherini complemented each other. On the one hand, Mogherini was quite active in South-Eastern Europe, which the French President did not visit. On the other hand, Macron went to India and covered South Asia, which the HR/VP neglected. In addition, both actors disregarded South America as well as Non-EU Western European states. Summarizing, the correlation coefficient of -0.161 reflects the weak negative correlation between the French HoG and the HR/VP on a regional level.

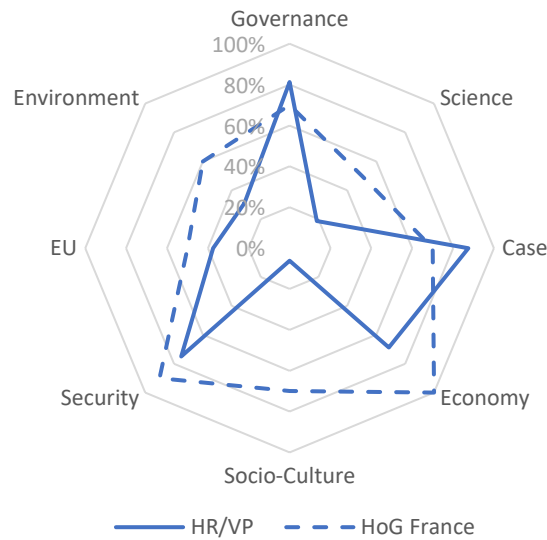
Table 14 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v HoG France

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	HoG France	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	6	4	10
FM	2	1	3	FM	0	0	0
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	0	0
Total	5	11	16	Total	6	4	10

Source: Created by author

Having contrasted both positions on a country and regional level, the hierarchical indicators, presented in table 14, show that the French President mainly visited G20 countries where he was welcomed by the highest ranked representative. Considering the countries that both EU actors visited, for the HR/VP this was only the case in Canada. The CC of 0.511 describes this moderate positive correlation between the hierarchical profiles of the two profiles.

Figure 24 Share of content categories: HR/VP v HoG France



Source: Created by author

Figure 24 offers an overview of the frequency of topics debated across the individual meetings which were analyzed above. Macron’s comprehensive agendas including the focus on security, socio-cultural and economic relations have a moderate positive correlation (0.551) with the content priorities of the HR/VP.

Ultimately, Macron was less active than Mogherini but exclusively met high-level politicians in six G20 states while also putting a regional focus on the African continent. Besides Australia and Canada Mogherini rather covered Non-G20 states in similar regions where she was welcomed by prime representatives. Regarding the content of the talks, the French President usually covered a wide range of topics, always including economy, whereas the HR/VP emphasized specific issues.

4.3.2 Comparison of HR/VP and Foreign Minister France

Comparing the HR/VP and the French FM Le Drian, it is noticeable that the FM travelled almost twice as much as Mogherini. Both shared five common destinations being Cuba, Korea, Serbia, Ukraine and the US. For the HR/VP Cuba was the only country that she visited in Latin American & Caribbean. She was hosted by Cuban Minister of Foreign Trade Rodrigo Malmierca to discuss the economic relations and opportunities for social modernization. The French FM Le Drian was hosted by the new president, Miguel Díaz-Canel. He was the first European FM to visit the country after the election in July 2018. Similar to Mogherini, who arrived in Cuba in January 2018, he discussed economic opportunities and strengthened

cultural, academic and scientific relations¹⁶⁰. In Korea, Le Drian represented President Macron at the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games and was hosted by his counterpart to discuss security matters including the nuclear threat of North Korea, to elaborate on strong economic and cultural relations as well as to cooperate in combatting climate change¹⁶¹. Likewise, Mogherini addressed some of these topics during her talk with PM Lee Nak-Yeon but generally kept a focus on trade, security and the conflict with North Korea¹⁶². Further, both EU representatives travelled to Serbia. For Le Drian, it was his only trip to South-Eastern Europe, whereas Mogherini travelled there six times in 2018. Both were welcomed by Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić being the prime representative. The French FM and the HR/VP both debated the Serbian EU-membership perspective, covered the conflict with Kosovo and highlighted the importance of the Western Balkans. In addition, Le Drian emphasized security aspects while Mogherini stressed trade and investment opportunities¹⁶³. Analogous to Serbia, both EU actors were hosted by Ukrainian President Poroshenko and followed a similar agenda. It contained expressing the support for Ukrainian territorial integrity, urging for judiciary reforms and the fight against corruption to achieve good governance as well as debating the EU-relations. Further, Le Drian referred to economic opportunities whereas the HR/VP underlined the humanitarian aid offered by the EU¹⁶⁴. Finally, in the US, the French FM was hosted by his counterpart Mike Pompeo. The working meeting covered various cases encompassing Libya, Israel, Syria, Iran and North Korea¹⁶⁵. These were also considered in Mogherini's speech which she delivered at an American University.

¹⁶⁰ Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires, "Colombia – Cuba – Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (26-29.07.18)"

¹⁶¹ Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères, "South Korea – Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (PyeongChang, 9-11.02.18)"

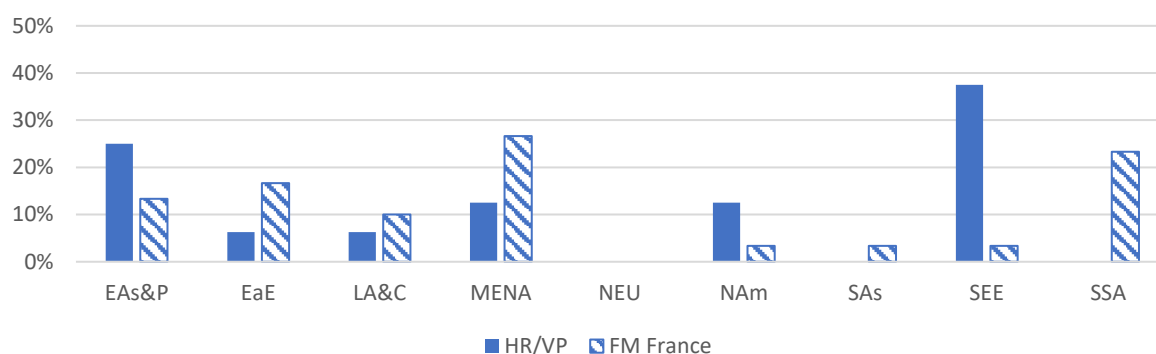
¹⁶² EEAS, "HRVP Mogherini visits the Republic of Korea"

¹⁶³ Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires, "Serbia – Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (12.04.18)"; EEAS, "Mogherini in Serbia: Negotiations are advancing well on the country's EU integration path"

¹⁶⁴ EEAS, "EU is Ukraine's strongest supporter, says Mogherini in Kyiv"; "Ukraine – Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (22-23.03.18)," accessed May 7, 2020, <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/ukraine/news/article/ukraine-visit-by-jean-yves-le-drian-22-23-03-18>.

¹⁶⁵ "United States - Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (Washington, 4-5 October 2018)," <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/united-states/events/article/united-states-visit-by-jean-yves-le-drian-washington-4-5-10-18>.

Figure 25 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v FM France



Source: Created by author

On a regional level, the HR/VP flew to six out of the nine defined regions in this dissertation. Figure 25 shows that Le Drian only missed one being Non-EU Western Europe. Whereas 38% of Mogherini’s travels were directed towards South-Eastern Europe, Le Drian’s trip to Serbia was the only one to the region. In opposition to this, the French FM visited five Eastern European countries where Mogherini only travelled to Ukraine. Both conducted four missions to East Asia & Pacific. In addition to their common destination in Korea, Le Drian went to China twice. Further, he was met by the PM of the G20 country Japan. Mogherini was hosted by the FM of Australia and New Zealand as well as by the PM of Singapore. Le Drian’s regional focus was set on MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa which added up to 50% of all his missions. Here, security aspects were by far the most important issue. The HR/VP only visited Algeria and Libya in the region. Comparing her trips to Le Drian’s missions to Egypt and Tunisia, it is noticeable that all of them included economic as well as security-related agenda items. Both EU actors met the highest-ranked representatives of the states and the trips to Tunisia and Libya had a very comprehensive lists of topics. During his two talks with Egyptian President Abdel Fatah Al-Sissi, Le Drian covered security, terrorism in the region as well as Libya and Syria, which was similar to Mogherini’s mission to Algeria¹⁶⁶. Further, the French FM debated the situation in Libya with representatives of Chad, Congo and Ethiopia during his trips to Sub-Saharan Africa where Mogherini was not present in 2018. This statement is also true for South Asia and South America, where Le Drian visited one country each. In India, he was welcomed by PM Narendra Modi and in Colombia by President Ivan Duque.

¹⁶⁶ Ministère de l’Europe et des Affaires, “Egypt – Visit by Jean-Yves Le Drian (28.06.18)”

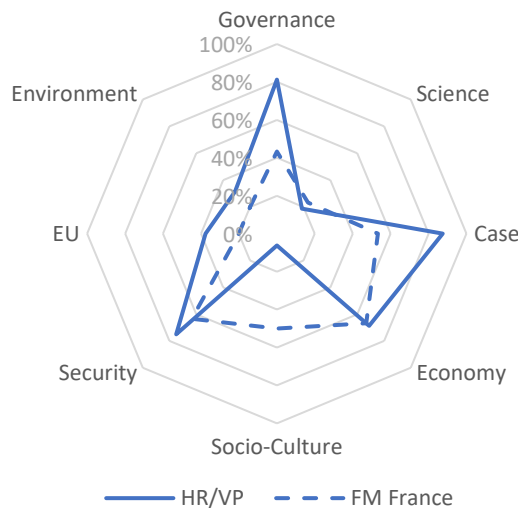
Table 15 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v FM France

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	FM France	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	4	21	25
FM	2	1	3	FM	3	0	3
Other	1	1	2	Other	1	1	2
Total	5	11	16	Total	8	22	30

Source: Created by author

Comparing hierarchical indicators, the CC of 0.998 expresses a very high positive correlation. As table 15 indicates, Le Drian was usually hosted by the highest-ranked representative of a host country except for the G20 states Korea, Russia and the US, where he was welcomed by FMs. It is remarkable though, that Mogherini was actually hosted by the Korean PM. In addition, the share of G20 states visited appears to be similar, but Le Drian's talks with the Chinese PM, Russian FM and US FM are arguably higher-level talks than Mogherini's meeting with the PM of Canada and Korea as well as the Australian FM. Finally, while the CC shows a strong positive correlation among the indicators, it may be pointed out that the French FM visited more powerful G20 member states and was arguably perceived as a higher representative than the HR/VP.

Figure 26 Share of content categories: HR/VP v FM France



Source: Created by author

Finally, reviewing the share of topics discussed on average, both actors have a moderate positive correlation of 0.571. As figure 26 shows, the HR/VP was more persistent in addressing different cases and governance issues (88%; 81%) Le Drian's highest ranked categories encompass economy and security (67%; 63%). Additionally, the French FM addressed socio-cultural relations half of the time while it was the lowest frequented category for Mogherini.

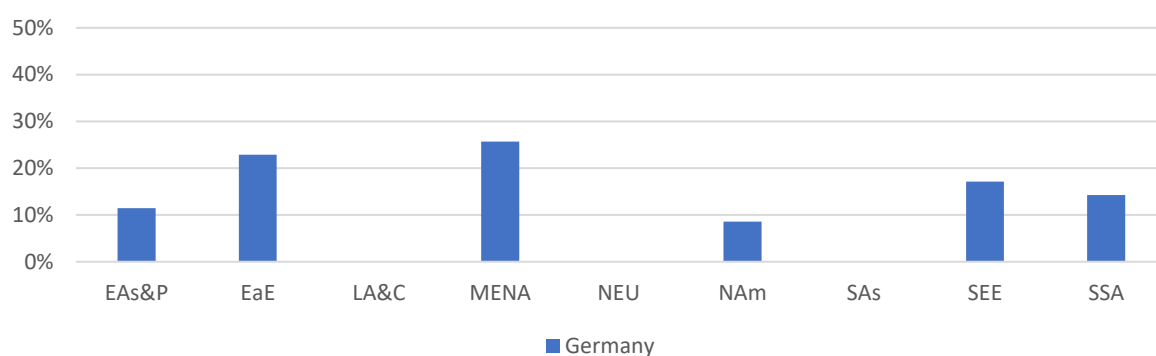
Summarizing, it can be argued that the French FM is seen as a more prestigious European representative than the HR/VP. Le Drian was more active, was hosted by more prime representatives and covered almost all world regions. However, the actions of both actors appear to be complementary considering that among the 28 destinations of French FM, they only had five in common and that they visited neighboring countries in North Africa. Furthermore, the HR/VP frequently travelled to South-Eastern Europe while the French FM covered the Eastern European neighborhood. Their agendas generally centered around similar topics but diverged in the socio-cultural and case-specific categories.

4.4 Germany

Analyzing the German case, it may be referred to Germany's self-proclaimed guiding principles in foreign policy as a foundation. Based on a sovereign Europe, Germany prioritizes a strong transatlantic partnership, works to support peace and security and promotes democracy and human rights. It is committed to multilateralism and free trade as well as fostering cultural relations and education¹⁶⁷. Contextualizing the data, first the country profile be introduced which is the foundation for the individualized assessment for each actor. In 2018, 35 missions to 25 different countries were concluded. Germany was the second most active EU member in this regard. Israel, Ukraine and the US hosted German representatives three times. Four countries were travelled to twice, namely China, Jordan, North Macedonia and Russia. This reflects Germany's special bilateral relations based on e.g. historical ties with Israel and Russia as well as economic relations with China and the US. Germany travelled to six out of nine defined regions.

¹⁶⁷ "Germany's Foreign and European policy Principles," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/policy-principles/229790>.

Figure 27 Regional distribution of destinations: Germany



Source: Created by author

Figure 27 shows that special emphasis was put on the Middle East and North Africa as well as Eastern Europe considering that nine missions were conducted to the former and eight travels to the latter. This reflects Germany’s aim to stabilize the EU’s neighborhood in MENA. South-East Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa were also travelled to more than four times. Non-EU-Western Europe, Latin America & Caribbean and South Asia were disregarded. Categorizing the host countries according to their G20 status, six G20 members were visited ten times in total. The US is leading by three missions, being followed by China and Russia receiving German representatives twice. All of them are located in the Northern Hemisphere. Among the nineteen Non-G20 hosts, most of them were travelled to only once with exception of Israel, Jordan, North Macedonia and Ukraine, adding up to a total of 25 missions.

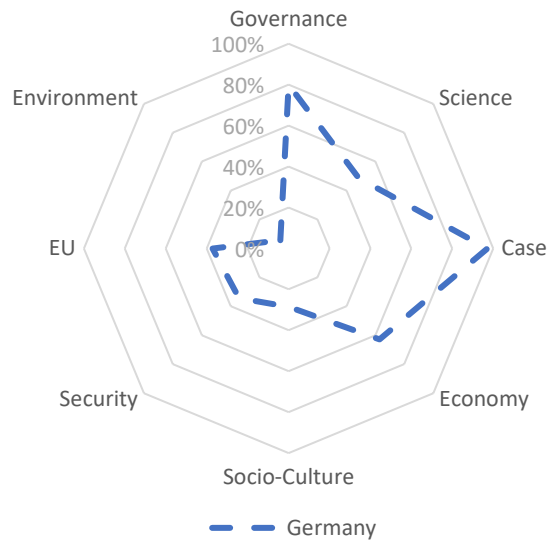
Table 16 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: Germany

Germany	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	5	20	25
FM	5	4	9
Other	0	1	1
Total	10	25	35

Source: Created by author

Comparing this to the ten travels to G20 states, it appears to be a balanced approach because it reflects the general importance of G20 but also considers the majority of countries that are not members. Investigating the hierarchy of the hosts presented in table 16, it can be seen that German actors were welcomed by 25 heads of states, nine FMs and one other actor being the highest ranked host. German Chancellor Merkel always met with the highest ranked person regardless of the G20 status. This differed from the FM position, which will be further analyzed within the individual assessment of the FM’s role.

Figure 28 Share of content categories of Germany



Source: Created by author

Figure 28 shows the results of the empirical content analysis of the eight defined categories, of which case issues were addressed in 97% of the missions. Only in Albania, there was no reference to other cases¹⁶⁸. This trip was concentrated on talking about future EU membership and the reforms that needed to be conducted. Governance was debated four out of five times and economy two out of three times. Environmental issues were only regarded in trips to Israel and the US. Having a closer look at the distribution of topics among different countries, it is noticeable that Israel and the US were the only two destinations, where the diverse topics could be related to all defined categories. The other extreme was Kuwait, where discussions solely focused on the situation in the region. FM Maas and his counterpart debated the crisis in Yemen and Syria as well as the power play of Saudi-Arabia and Iran. Adding the regional perspective, governance was especially discussed in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, economy was prioritized in East Asia & Pacific and Sub-Saharan Africa, security was a strong focus in North America and the EU was a central discussion point in South-Eastern European countries including North Macedonia and Turkey. Differentiating between G20 and Non-G20 countries, it can be highlighted that in general, governance issues are more focused on in Non-20 members

¹⁶⁸ “Für Ein Einiges Europa Eintreten – Außenminister Maas Reist Nach Bukarest, Skopje, Tirana Und Athen,” accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/europa/maas-reise-bukarest-skopje-tirana-athen/2136954>.

whereas economic topics are prioritized in G20 countries. The latter is not surprising since the G20 are a collective of the most important industrialized and developed countries.

Concerning the individual actors, German chancellor Angela Merkel visited 15 countries and each of them only once. Besides her visits to Germany's major partners and permanent UN Security Council members China, Russia and the US, she visited Central Asia during her three-country mission to Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Another regional tour took place in Western Africa with stops in Ghana, Senegal and Nigeria. In terms of hierarchy, she only met with the highest representatives of the host states. Consequently, there is no difference among G20 and Non-G20 countries, of which she visited three members. Germany's preoccupation about different international cases in its trips has been mentioned before. In 2018, Merkel addressed four major cases during her visits to other countries. In Western Africa, she emphasized the need for supranational cooperation in the region in every country she visited. This included economic development and cross-country coordination¹⁶⁹. Iran and the JCPOA were discussed in China, Israel, Russia and the US. Germany strongly supports the Iran nuclear deal and has historic relations with Iran. After US President Trump pulled out of the agreement, Germany wanted to keep it in place and tried to convince other signatories like China and Russia to do so, too¹⁷⁰. The Syrian conflict was addressed during Merkel's trips to Jordan and Lebanon as well as when meeting Russian President Vladimir Putin. In Moscow, she highlighted the importance of the UN in the conflict and the need for reforms¹⁷¹. Further, Putin's role and Russian involvement in Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine were debated when talking to representatives of the respective countries.

The position of the German FM was embodied by Sigmar Gabriel in the first two months before being succeeded by Heiko Maas. They conducted 20 missions combined. Gabriel visited Kosovo, Serbia, Israel and Ukraine. The latter two were also travelled to by Maas who flew to every country once with the exception of the US where he met FM Mike Pompeo twice. On a

¹⁶⁹ "Bundeskanzlerin Merkel Reist in Den Senegal, Nach Ghana Und Nigeria," Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/suche/bundeskanzlerin-merkel-reist-in-den-senegal-nach-ghana-und-nigeria-1503990>.

¹⁷⁰ Jefferson Chase, "Iran nuclear deal: Germany's special role and plans | DW | 08.05.2018," Deutsche Welle (www.dw.com), accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/iran-nuclear-deal-germanys-special-role-and-plans/a-43701214>.

¹⁷¹ "Alle Möglichkeiten Zum Gespräch Ausloten," Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.bundeskanzlerin.de/bkin-de/angela-merkel/terminkalender/reiseberichte/alle-moeglichkeiten-zum-gespraech-ausloten-1010976>.

regional level, the German FMs were most active in South-Eastern Europe and MENA. Especially, when visiting the Western Balkan States Albania, Kosovo, North Macedonia and Serbia, the relations with the EU and a future membership were widely debated. It is worth pointing out, that Merkel also travelled to North Macedonia right before the referendum on the name of the country which would be an important stepping stone to EU accession¹⁷².

Regarding the position of the host, half of the times German FMs met with the highest representative of a host state. They were welcomed by their counterpart nine times and Maas was received by the Vice-FM of Ethiopia once. Within the seven travels to G20 countries, the German FM met prime representatives two times, being Turkish President Erdogan and Japanese PM Shinzō Abe. In Russia, China, Korea and the US, he met his counterpart. When it comes to the content of the talks, the FMs did not differ substantially from Merkel's agenda. The priorities did neither shift among different regions nor different G20 status. The data suggests that the FM did not emphasize economic aspects as much as the German Chancellor. He rather focused on the cases of Syria and Iran. He addressed the former in seven missions to destinations like Jordan, Turkey, Russia and the US. In Washington D.C., he also referred to the conflict with Iran and stated Germany's as well as the EU's commitment to keep the JCPOA in place¹⁷³. Overall, the data indicates quite a coherent agenda among Merkel and her FMs. A broad distribution of work or specialization on certain major categories cannot be witnessed.

Concluding, it may be argued that the German representatives used travel diplomacy to achieve their foreign policy aims. They travelled to the US to strengthen transatlantic relations and visited crisis regions to support peace processes and to foster democracy. For example, this includes missions to Central Asia or Western Africa. Their overall focus was mainly on countries in the European neighborhood as well as Sub-Saharan Africa. They were usually met by prime representatives and emphasized case, governance and economic issues most frequently. Finally, they also discussed trade and economic development quite often to fulfill their foreign policy aim of advocating for free trade.

¹⁷² "Bundeskanzlerin Merkel Reist in Die Ehemalige Jugoslawische Republik Mazedonien," Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/suche/bundeskanzlerin-merkel-reist-in-die-ehemalige-jugoslawische-republik-mazedonien-1529088>.

¹⁷³ "Europas Sicht Erklären: Maas in Washington," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/laender/usa-node/maas-pompeo/2084280>.

4.4.1 Comparison of HR/VP and Head of Government Germany

In 2018, the HR/VP and the German Chancellor visited the same amount of countries. Among the actor's 15 destinations, they both went to Algeria, North Macedonia and Ukraine in EU's neighboring regions as well as to the US. In Algeria, PM Ahmed Ouyahia hosted Merkel for extensive talks about economy, security, education, human rights as well as the situation in Mali and Libya¹⁷⁴. Further, he welcomed Mogherini to exclusively discuss economic as well as security matters¹⁷⁵. Merkel and Mogherini followed almost the same agenda during their trips to North-Macedonia. Both met PM Zaev in September prior to the name referendum to support the pro-European path. Additionally, the security and governance issues such as the implementation of the rule of law as well as the regional situation on the Western Balkans were addressed likewise¹⁷⁶. During their missions to Ukraine, the German Chancellor and the HR/VP were hosted by President Petro Poroshenko. The conflict with Russia over the Crimean Peninsula, the need for reforms as well development cooperation were common topics. Further, Merkel visited the Maidan square and highlighted opportunities for joint science projects. However, she did not explicitly address the Ukrainian EU-membership perspective, which was done by Mogherini¹⁷⁷. Finally, Merkel was hosted by US President Trump, mainly focusing on economic and transatlantic relations as well as the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. This stands in strong contrast to Mogherini's visit at Harvard University.

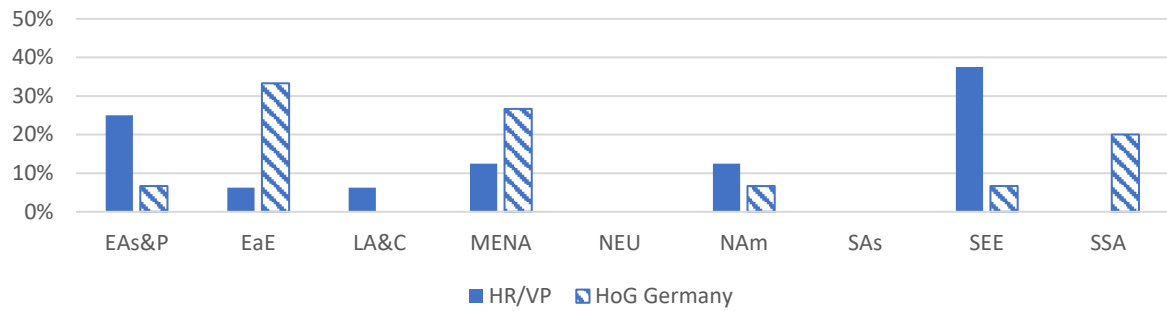
¹⁷⁴ "Gute Zusammenarbeit Bei Rückführungen," Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, accessed May 8, 2020, <https://www.bundestkanzlerin.de/bkin-de/angela-merkel/terminkalender/reiseberichte/gute-zusammenarbeit-bei-rueckfuehrungen-1522710>.

¹⁷⁵ The Middle East Monitor, "Mogherini in Algeria to discuss combating terrorism and illegal immigration"

¹⁷⁶ Bundesregierung, "Bundeskanzlerin Merkel reist in die ehemalige jugoslawische Republik Mazedonien"; RFE/RL, "Mogherini Tells Macedonians To Seize 'Historic Opportunity' In Name-Change Referendum"

¹⁷⁷ "Beistand in Schwierigen Zeiten - Hilfe Bei Reformen," Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, accessed May 8, 2020, <https://www.bundestkanzlerin.de/bkin-de/angela-merkel/terminkalender/reiseberichte/beistand-in-schwierigen-zeiten-hilfe-bei-reformen-1544348>; EEAS, "EU is Ukraine's strongest supporter, says Mogherini in Kyiv"

Figure 29 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v HoG Germany



Source: Created by author

On a regional level, figure 29 demonstrates that the individual travel activities in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe mirror each other. Both have one common destination in each region (Ukraine; North Macedonia). While Merkel additionally visited four of EU’s Eastern neighbors including G20 member Russia, Mogherini traveled to four more South-Eastern EU neighbors encompassing the G20 member Turkey. The German Chancellor further put her focus on MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa, while Mogherini only travelled to countries in Northern Africa. However, she directly addressed the situation in Libya during her mission there. In East Asia & Pacific the HR/VP conducted more travels than the Chancellor, who solely went to China. Further, both actors did neither fly to Latin America & Caribbean nor South Asia. Finally, this results into a correlation coefficient of -0.054 expressing a moderate negative correlation.

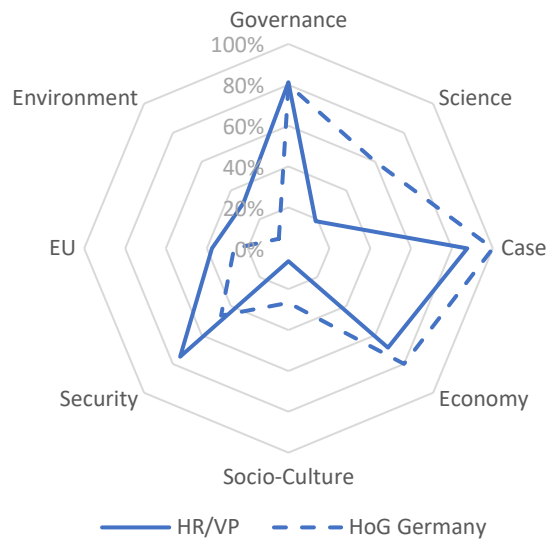
Table 17 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v HoG Germany

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	HoG Germany	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	3	12	15
FM	2	1	3	FM	0	0	0
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	0	0
Total	5	11	16	Total	3	12	15

Source: Created by author

Regarding hierarchical indicators, the HR/VP went to more G20 countries than Merkel, who was exclusively welcomed by the highest representatives of all host states. Considering table 17, this varied in the case of Mogherini. However, during their trips to the common destinations Algeria, North-Macedonia and Ukraine, they both met the highest-ranked representative of the state. The hierarchical CC equals 0.980.

Figure 30 Share of content categories: HR/VP v HoG Germany



Source: Created by author

Considering content priorities, the German Chancellor and the HR/VP had very similar priorities. As presented in figure 30, specific cases ranked first for both of them, being followed by governance. Merkel emphasized different forms of supranational cooperation, Russian involvement in its neighboring regions, the situation in Syria as well as Iran and the JCPOA. For Mogherini, the situation on the Balkans as well as Asian developments were important cases. These observations are arguably in line with the regional focus of their respective bilateral travel plans. Additionally, Merkel addressed economy and science more frequently whereas Mogherini highlighted security aspects, too. Finally, it is noticeable that the German

Chancellor paid more attention to socio-cultural links than the HR/VP (27%;7%), the opposite is true for environmental issues.

Concluding, the German Chancellor and the EU HR/VP both travelled to 15 different destinations and had four in common where Merkel had a more extensive agenda. The individual regional concentrations rather complemented each other, considering that Mogherini prioritized South-Eastern Europe and East Asia & Pacific, whereas Merkel covered Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, in contrast to Mogherini, the German representative was hosted by the Presidents of China, Russia and the US. Lastly, both EU actors frequently addressed specific cases in the region they travelled to but varied among the share of topics referring to culture, environment, science and security.

4.4.2 Comparison of HR/VP and Foreign Minister Germany

First, it needs to be acknowledged that the position of the German FM was embodied by two politicians during the observation period. Within the scope of this comparison, the differences among them will not be considered but it will be focused on the travel diplomacy of the German FMs as one. In 2018, the German FMs conducted 20 missions to 17 different countries. Seven of them were also travelled to by the HR/VP. They encompassed the South-Eastern European countries Albania, North Macedonia, Serbia and Turkey as well as Korea, Ukraine and the US. The Albanian PM Edi Rama hosted both EU actors and debated the EU-membership perspective as well as the ongoing reforms in the country. Additionally, Mogherini specifically addressed rule of law, corruption, crime as well as peace and the situation in the region¹⁷⁸. Regarding a fellow Western Balkan country, the German FM went to North Macedonia only five days after Mogherini's second visit in 2018. Both supported PM Zoran Zaev in the name referendum. FM Maas emphasized the potential EU and NATO-membership and the situation in the region. This was also done by the HR/VP who further pointed out the economic opportunities as well as the continuous need for reforms to establish stability and security¹⁷⁹. Serbia was the third Western Balkan state where President Aleksandar Vučić met the HR/VP and the German FM to discuss trade and investment opportunities, future Serbian EU

¹⁷⁸ EEAS, "Mogherini: Albania is ready to open negotiations, maintaining and deepening reforms ahead"; Auswärtiges Amt, "Für ein einiges Europa eintreten – Außenminister Maas reist nach Bukarest, Skopje, Tirana und Athen"

¹⁷⁹ RFE/RL, "Mogherini Tells Macedonians To Seize 'Historic Opportunity' In Name-Change Referendum"; Auswärtiges Amt, "Für ein einiges Europa eintreten – Außenminister Maas reist nach Bukarest, Skopje, Tirana und Athen"

membership as well as the situation in the region¹⁸⁰. Additionally, FM Gabriel broadened the scope of discussions by addressing reforms to establish rule of law, to respect human rights and to fight corruption. He further highlighted the need for reconciliation and offered cooperation in the areas of youth and education¹⁸¹. The final common destination in the region was Turkey. While the German FM was welcomed by President Erdogan as highest-ranked Turkish representative, the HR/VP met his counterpart FM Çavuşoğlu. Comparing the content of the talks, it is remarkable that FM Maas covered a variety of economic aspects, addressed topics ranging from security, Syria to the human rights situation in Turkey, but did not openly discuss migration¹⁸². Among others, this was covered during the talks of the Turkish FM and the HR/VP two months later in November 2018¹⁸³. In Korea, the German FM was welcomed by his counterpart, whereas the HR/VP was hosted by the PM. The case of North Korea, security cooperation as well as trade opportunities were likewise on the agenda in both visits¹⁸⁴. Referring to EU's Eastern neighbor Ukraine, the two German FMs and the HR/VP travelled there to discuss governance reforms and the establishment of peace in the Crimean conflict. Whereas FM Gabriel was hosted by his counterpart, FM Maas and the HR/VP were welcomed by President Poroshenko. However, only Mogherini elaborated specifically upon the Ukrainian path to EU-membership¹⁸⁵. Finally, in contrast to Mogherini's speech at Harvard University, the German FM Maas was hosted by US FM Pompeo twice. During their meetings they covered topics of all defined categories within this dissertation. They included the specific cases Iran and Syria but also climate change and digitalization¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸⁰ EEAS, "Mogherini in Serbia: Negotiations are advancing well on the country's EU integration path"

¹⁸¹ "Gabriel in Serbien Und Kosovo: Aussöhnung Und Reformen Fördern," accessed May 8, 2020, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aamt/bm-reisen/serbien-kosovo/1516756>.

¹⁸² "Zeit Für Dialog: Außenminister Maas in Der Türkei ," accessed May 8, 2020, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/laender/tuerkei-node/maas-tuerkei/2132814>.

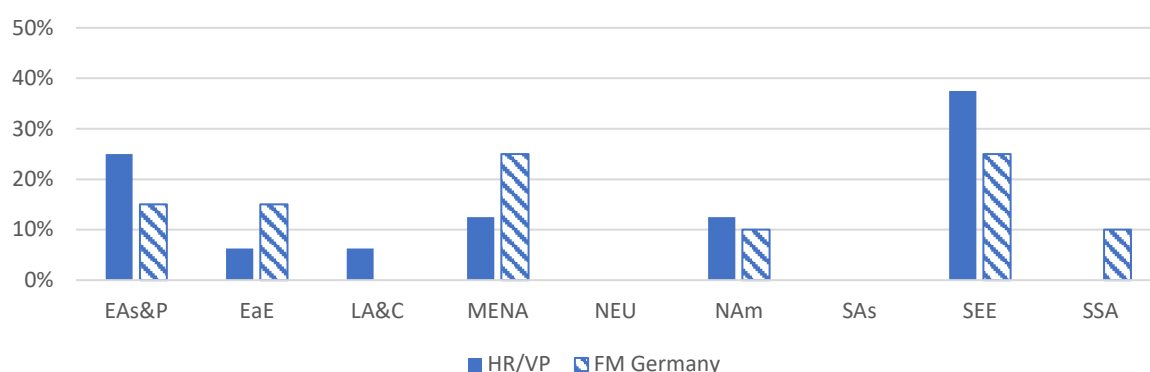
¹⁸³ EEAS, "Federica Mogherini and Johannes Hahn in Ankara for the High Level Political Dialogue"

¹⁸⁴ "Korea: Maas Reist in Demilitarisierte Zone," accessed May 8, 2020, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/laender/korearepublik-node/maas-korea/2121682>; EEAS, "HRVP Mogherini visits the Republic of Korea"

¹⁸⁵ EEAS, "EU is Ukraine's strongest supporter, says Mogherini in Kyiv"

¹⁸⁶ Auswärtiges Amt, "Europas Sicht erklären: Maas in Washington"; "Mehr in Die Partnerschaft Investieren," accessed May 8, 2020, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/laender/usa-node/maas-usa-deutschlandjahr/2142894>.

Figure 31 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v FM Germany



Source: Created by author

Taking a regional perspective, both the HR/VP and the German FMs were most active in South-Eastern Europe which is illustrated in figure 31. Considering that they both visited Albania, they also travelled to North Macedonia, Serbia and Turkey. The German FMs also conducted the same amount of travels to the MENA region. Actually, their destinations were all located in the Middle East while Mogherini only visited North African countries. In addition, the German FMs were additionally hosted by G20 members Russia in Eastern Europe as well as China and Japan in East Asia & Pacific. In contrast, Mogherini met the FM of the G20 member Australia in the Pacific region and was welcomed by Canadian PM in North America. Further, while FM Maas travelled to Ethiopia and Tanzania in Sub-Saharan Africa, Mogherini was hosted by Cuban Minister of Foreign Trade in Latin America & Caribbean which were the only missions to the regions by these actors. Furthermore, Non-EU Western Europe and South Asia were completely disregarded. Overall, both actors had a relatively strong positive correlation of 0.720.

Table 18 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v FM Germany

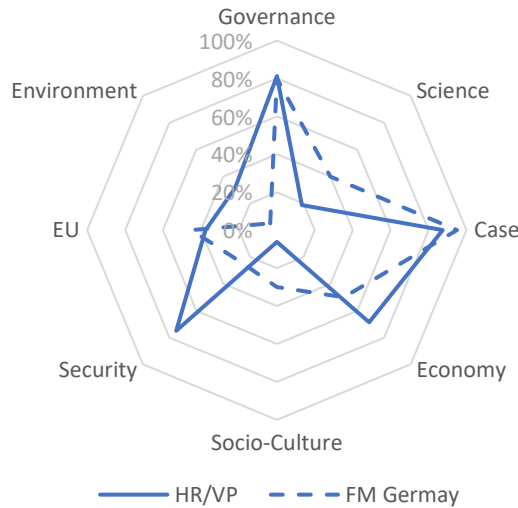
HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	FM Germany	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	2	8	10
FM	2	1	3	FM	5	4	9
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	1	1
Total	5	11	16	Total	7	13	20

Source: Created by author

Reviewing the hierarchical indicators in table 18, both EU positions visited a similar share of G20 countries. They were each hosted by the respective highest-ranked representative twice. In the remaining cases, the German FMs met their counterparts. Mogherini was hosted by two FMs and by one university. Among Non-G20 members, the HR/VP met the prime

representative nine out of eleven times. The German FMs did so only in eight out of 13 cases. The hierarchical indicator can be summarized by the CC of 0.815.

Figure 32 Share of content categories: HR/VP v FM Germany



Source: Created by author

Contrasting the share of topics of all missions in figure 32, it needs to be highlighted that the FMs and the HR/VP both prioritized specific cases (95%; 88%) as well as governance issues (81%; 80%). The German FMs especially emphasized the situations in Syria and Iran during talks with G20 members and in Jordan and Kuwait. Mogherini also concentrated on the situation in Iran and around the JCPOA three times but did not follow up on Syria that much. In fact, the situation on the Western Balkan was her most frequented case, which she addressed during her travels in the region. The German FMs acted similarly. Furthermore, the German FMs emphasized science and socio-cultural topics more than the HR/VP, who, on the other hand, focused more on security and environmental matters. These similarities and differences translate to a CC of 0.647.

Concluding, the bilateral travel diplomacy of the HR/VP and the German FMs offered a lot of similarities. They shared seven common destinations and put special emphasis on South-Eastern Europe. Furthermore, they paid a lot of attention to specific cases such as Iran and addressed governance issues in a majority of their missions. On the other hand, German FMs were hosted by their counterparts in China, Russia and the US and exclusively covered the Middle East. In addition, Mogherini concentrated relatively more on security and the environment while the German FMs focused more on science and socio-cultural topics than the HR/VP. In terms of hierarchy, there is no clear division between the two actors. Whereas the

German FMs met more G20 members, they were welcomed by the same number of prime representatives compared to the HR/VP. Mogherini even met more prime representatives in Non-G20 states although she travelled less than the German FMs.

4.5 Italy

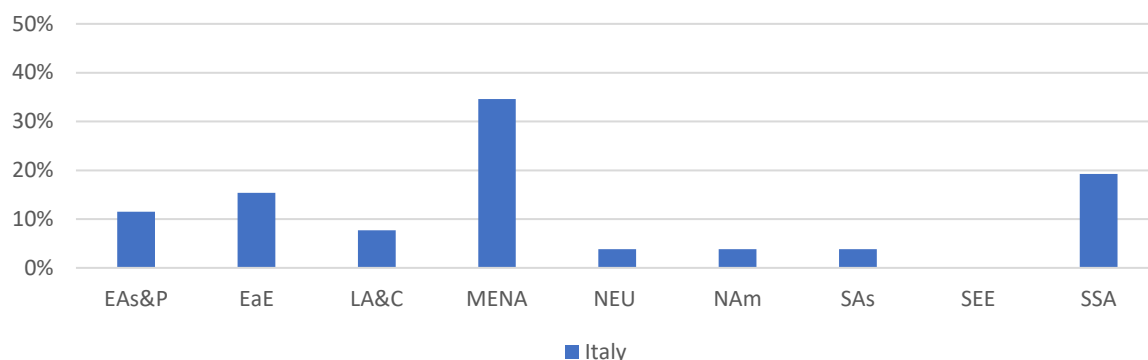
Offering a brief introduction into the background of the Italian case, the year of 2018 was a turbulent year in domestic politics. After intense negotiations, a new government supported by an unprecedented alliance between the Lega and M5S party took office in June. Giuseppe Conte became PM and followed Paolo Gentiloni. Former FM Angelino Alfano was substituted by Enzo Moavero Milanesi. Arguably foreign policy is not automatically affected by a change in government because national interests are rather constant. In his inaugural speech, Conte reaffirmed Italian membership in NATO and the privileged alliance with the US. However, he openly stated to support an opening to Russia and that his government will push for reviewing the sanctions that would humiliate Russian civil society¹⁸⁷. This statement needs to be viewed in the context of Italy's good economic relations with Russia and its diplomatic approach to reach a diplomatic solution for the Crimea crisis through sustained and meaningful dialogue. Another focus was on the Mediterranean region where the Italian government identified migration and anti-terrorism as two central issues¹⁸⁸. Beyond these geographical aspects, Italy engages in policy areas such as human rights, disarmament, environment and energy¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁷ "New Italian PM Giuseppe Conte vows radical change in inaugural speech | DW | 05.06.2018," Deutsche Welle (www.dw.com), accessed May 3, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/new-italian-pm-giuseppe-conte-vows-radical-change-in-inaugural-speech/a-44083685>.

¹⁸⁸ Alessandro Marrone, "The Conte Government: Radical Change or Pragmatic Continuity in Italian Foreign and Defence Policy?," accessed May 3, 2020, <https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/conte-government-radical-change-or-pragmatic-continuity-italian-foreign-and-defence>.

¹⁸⁹ "Policy Areas," Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale, accessed May 3, 2020, https://www.esteri.it/mae/en/politica_estera/temi_globali.

Figure 33 Regional distribution of destinations: Italy



Source: Created by author

Acknowledging the Italian context, the bilateral travel diplomacy will be analyzed as a whole before differentiating between different positions and actors. In 2018, Italian PMs and FMs conducted 26 missions and travelled to 21 different countries. They visited Russia and the UAE three times each and Tunisia twice. Regarding the former, the relatively high frequency of visits arguably reflected Italy’s special relationship with Russia. The latter two are located in MENA which is the region that was travelled to the most. Referring to figure 33, Sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Europe and East Asia & Pacific combine more than two missions each. San Marino, India and US were the only representatives of their regions. Finally, it can be noticed that the neighboring South-Eastern European states were disregarded.

Table 19 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: Italy

Italy	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	4	16	20
FM	3	3	6
Other	0	0	0
Total	7	19	26

Source: Created by author

As table 19 shows, Italian representatives went to seven G20 member state encompassing Brazil, India, Indonesia, Russia and the US. Considering another grouping of states, the BRICS countries China and South Africa were not on the travel list. This is striking because Italy already joint China’s New Silk Road project in March 2019¹⁹⁰. In terms of hierarchy, Italian representatives were welcomed by the highest-ranked representative in three out of four

¹⁹⁰ “Italy Joins China’s New Silk Road Project,” accessed May 3, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-47679760>.

missions. The Italian PMs always met with them and the FMs met them once in the G20 state Brazil and ten times in the Non-G20 members. Among six talks with their counterparts, they were evenly distributed according to the G20 status. They met Russian FM Sergej Lawrow twice and Indonesian FM Retno Marsudi once. The Non-G20 states included the UAE, Singapore and San Marino.

Figure 34 Share of content categories of Italy



Source: Created by author

When assessing the content of the talks, figure 34 illustrates that economic and governance issues were debate the most. The former was very dominant across all regions visited, especially in Qatar where it was the only topic discussed when Italian FM Alfano met investors and opened the Giornata del Design Italiano at a commercial fair¹⁹¹. However, Sub-Saharan Africa was an exception because governance issues and security were crucial aspects, too. PM Conte visited Ethiopia and Eritrea five days after reaching their peace agreement after twenty years of war to congratulate both parties. He hoped for positive developments which could subsequently reduce the migratory flow from the region¹⁹². In Niger, Senegal and Guinea, cooperation in

¹⁹¹ “Il Ministro Alfano in Missione a Doha,” Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale, accessed May 3, 2020, https://www.esteri.it/mae/it/sala_stampa/archivionotizie/comunicati/2018/02/il-ministro-alfano-in-missione_23.html.

¹⁹² Raffaella Di Scuderi, “Il Premier Conte Andrà in Etiopia Ed Eritrea a Ottobre,” *Repubblica.it*, September 21, 2018, accessed May 3, 2020, https://www.repubblica.it/esteri/2018/09/21/news/il_premier_conte_andra_in_etiopia_ed_eritrea_a_ottobre-207019947/.

development and migration management were debated as governance issues¹⁹³. In addition, security as well as specific cases such as Libya were part of about 50% of discussions with international partners. PM Conte addressed the Libyan situation in the high-level meetings with US President Trump and Russian President Putin. In addition, Libya was subject to debate in its neighboring countries Algeria and Tunisia where strategies to stabilizing the region in cooperation with the United Nations were developed¹⁹⁴. Environmental or science-related topics were only addressed twice while travelling to the Asian countries India, Indonesia and Singapore. When comparing the distribution of topics between G20 and Non-G20 member states, it is noticeable that issues related to the environment and cases were addressed more often when meeting the former. Economy and governance were among the most prominent matters regardless of the G20 status.

Differentiating between the PMs and FMs, the PMs travelled substantially less. Within the last month of his term, PM Gentiloni only visited the UAE, which was also travelled to by his FM Alfano and his successor PM Conte. These trips were mainly motivated by economic rationale. During Conte's first official visit to the Persian Gulf, he was accompanied by representatives of various Italian companies such as energy company Eni and major companies in the field of refineries, infrastructure and banking. Conte tried to attract investments and prepared the Italian participation in the Expo 2020¹⁹⁵. Whereas PM Conte conducted significantly more missions than his predecessor, the former FM Alfano was three times more active than his successor. In 2018, Italy took over the chairmanship of the OSCE whose function is exercised by the FM of the respective state. In this context, Alfano defined Italian priorities as the crisis in and around Ukraine, protracted conflicts, Mediterranean security and migration¹⁹⁶. Considering this, he

¹⁹³ "Il Ministro Alfano in Africa," Ministero de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación, accessed May 3, 2020, https://www.esteri.it/mae/it/sala_stamp/archivionotizie/comunicati/2018/01/il-ministro-alfano-in-africa.html.

¹⁹⁴ "Conte: con Algeria sforzo per migliorare su rimpatri," Radiotelevisione Italiana Spa, accessed May 3, 2020, <https://www.rainews.it/dl/rainews/media/Conte-con-Algeria-sforzo-per-migliorare-su-rimpatri-b9506ead-e521-4872-8999-701a39e1203a.html>.

¹⁹⁵ Sofia Cecinini, "Conte in Visita Negli Emirati Arabi Uniti, Prima Visita Nel Golfo Persico," LUISS Guido Carli, accessed May 3, 2020, <https://sicurezzainternazionale.luiss.it/2018/11/16/contе-visita-negli-emirati-arabi-uniti-visita-nel-golfo-persico/>.

¹⁹⁶ "Crisis in and Around Ukraine, Protracted Conflicts, Mediterranean Security, Migration Among Italy's OSCE Priorities," Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, accessed May 3, 2020, <https://www.osce.org/chairmanship/365651>.

visited Russia and Ukraine to promote inclusive dialogue in the Crimean conflict¹⁹⁷. The Italian approach to this case was underlined by PM Conte's meeting with President Putin in Moscow and Milanese's talk with Russian FM Lawrow. Reviewing the aggregated data of PMs and FMs, it may be highlighted that both were very active in MENA, the PMs exclusively covered North America and South Asia whereas the FMs were single representatives in East Asia & Pacific and Latin America & Caribbean. Regarding the former, the Italian PMs met with the President of the US and PM of India. PM Conte met with US President Trump to discuss various topics including migration, tariffs, military cooperation as well as the situation in Libya and relations with Russia and Iran¹⁹⁸. In India, Conte and the Indian PM Narendra Modi rather focused on technology, innovation, digitalization and the environment¹⁹⁹. The FMs travelled to Indonesia, Singapore as well as Thailand and visited Brazil and Colombia in Latin America. Comparing the topics of the agenda between the two positions, they were rather similar. It may be pointed out that the FMs raised the issue of EU relations with the respective host in Indonesia, Brazil and San Marino while the PMs did not explicitly debate the issue. However, this fact was arguably related to the host country than to the position of the Italian representative.

Concluding, Italian actors have addressed three central issues of their foreign policy aims. They included strong relations with the US, which were fostered by Conte's visit to the White House, improving relations with Russia by openly engaging with them during three missions and addressing migration while travelling to affected countries on the African continent. However, they were not openly prioritizing their additional policy areas encompassing human rights, disarmament or environment.

¹⁹⁷ "Alfano in Missione in Ucraina E Russia in Qualità Di Presidente in Esercizio Dell'osce," Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale, accessed May 3, 2020, https://www.esteri.it/mae/it/sala_stampa/archivionotizie/comunicati/2018/01/alfano-in-missione-in-ucraina-e.html.

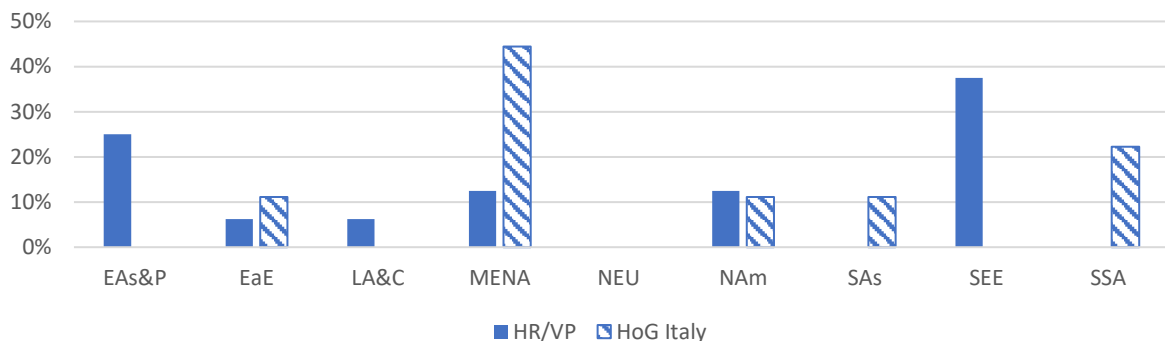
¹⁹⁸ Silvio Buzzanca, "Trump Incontra Conte: Gli Usa Riconoscono La Leadership Italiana in Libia," *Repubblica.it*, July 30, 2018, accessed May 3, 2020, https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2018/07/30/news/conte_ricevuto_da_trump_alla_casa_bianca-203005358/.

¹⁹⁹ "Conte in India Incontra Modi: Dall'hi-Tech Al Commercio Equo, I Temi Della Missione," accessed May 3, 2020, https://www.ilmessaggero.it/politica/conte_india_modi-4074094.html.

4.5.1 Comparison of HR/VP and Head of Government Italy

Before comparing the HR/VP with the position of the Italian head of government, it needs to be pointed out that the position of the Prime Minister was embodied by Paolo Gentiloni at the beginning of the year. With the change of government PM Giuseppe Conte took over in June. Nonetheless, the Italian PMs will be seen as one single actor who travelled nine times in total. The HR/VP conducted 16 missions and shared two common destinations with the Italian representatives. In November 2018, PM Conte and the HR/VP were welcomed by Algerian PM Ahmed Ouyahia. On the one hand, the Italian PM solely debated migration and the situation in Libya²⁰⁰. On the other hand, Federica Mogherini addressed economic development and broader security issues including the fight against terrorism, illegal migration and the establishment of stability in the region²⁰¹. The US was the second destination which was visited by Conte and Mogherini. While the latter covered various topics during her speech at Harvard University, the Italian PM was welcomed by US President Donald Trump. Within in the area of economy, they discussed tariffs and the purchase of American planes, shared their insights on migration as well as discussing the Libyan, Iranian and Russian cases²⁰².

Figure 35 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v HoG Italy



Source: Created by author

On a regional level, the Italian PMs covered five of the defined nine regions. As it is illustrated in figure 35, special emphasis was put on MENA. Aside from their common destination Algeria, the Italian PM visited Tunisia and the UAE. The HR/VP remained in North Africa and flew to Libya. Both travelled to Eastern Europe once. The Russian President Putin welcomed Conte to discuss economic relations, EU sanctions as well as the situation in Libya and

²⁰⁰ Rai, “Conte: con Algeria sforzo per migliorare su rimpatri”

²⁰¹ The Middle East Monitor, “Mogherini in Algeria to discuss combating terrorism and illegal immigration”

²⁰² Buzzanca, “Trump incontra Conte: gli Usa riconoscono la leadership italiana in Libia”

Ukraine²⁰³. The latter was also addressed during Mogherini’s meeting with Ukrainian President Poroshenko. In addition, the remaining EU neighbors in South-Eastern Europe and the region East Asia & Pacific as well as Latin America & Caribbean were only visited by the HR/VP. On the contrary, the Italian PM went to India in South Asia, as well as to Eritrea and Ethiopia in Sub-Saharan Africa where Mogherini did not conduct any bilateral travel diplomacy. The regional correlation of both actors can be expressed by the CC of -0.231.

Table 20 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v HoG Italy

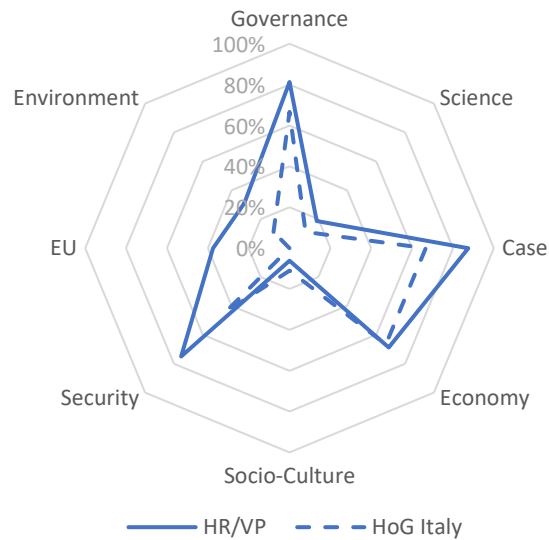
HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	HoG Italy	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	3	6	9
FM	2	1	3	FM	0	0	0
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	0	0
Total	5	11	16	Total	3	6	9

Source: Created by author

Referring to hierarchical indicators in table 20, the Italian PMs and the HR/VP conducted a third of their missions to G20 members. The PMs were always welcomed by the prime representatives in India, Russia and the US, which was different in the respective missions of Mogherini. Overall, Gentiloni and Conte only met their counterparts whereas the HR/VP was also welcomed by FMs and other actors. This is represented by the CC of 0.913.

²⁰³ Andrea Carli, “Conte in Russia, Domani Vedrà Putin: Sul Tavolo Intese Commerciali E Libia,” *Il Sole 24 ORE*, October 23, 2018, accessed May 9, 2020, <https://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/conte-russia-domani-vedra-putin-tavolo-intese-commerciali-e-libia---AE4rIBUG>.

Figure 36 Share of content categories: HR/VP v HoG Italy



Source: Created by author

When reviewing frequently discussed topics in figure 36, it can be highlighted that, like Mogherini, the Italian PMs mainly addressed governance and economic issues as well as specific cases. The latter mostly covered the situation in Libya which was debated in Russia and the US as well as during trips to the respective region. The HR/VP actually went to Libya to support the stabilization process. However, her most frequented issue regarded the situation on the Western Balkans, a region that is neighboring Italy but was not travelled to by the PMs at all. This may also explain why the HR/VP discussed a country’s relation with the EU six times while Italian representatives did not. Both actors similarly put little emphasis on science and socio-cultural-related issues during their missions. The great plurality of similarities serves as explanation for the high CC of 0.891.

Concluding, the HR/VP and the Italian PMs had rather complementary travel plans. There was little overlap among the countries and regions visited. Acknowledging that the Italian representatives travelled less, they put their emphasis on MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa. On the other hand, Mogherini conducted relatively more missions to South-Eastern Europe and East Asia & Pacific. In contrast to the HR/VP, Italian PMs were always welcomed by the prime representative of a state regardless of their G20-status. Finally, the prioritized as well as the neglected agenda items appear to be quite similar, emphasizing case, governance and economic issues while disregarding science and socio-cultural relations.

4.5.2 Comparison of HR/VP and Foreign Minister Italy

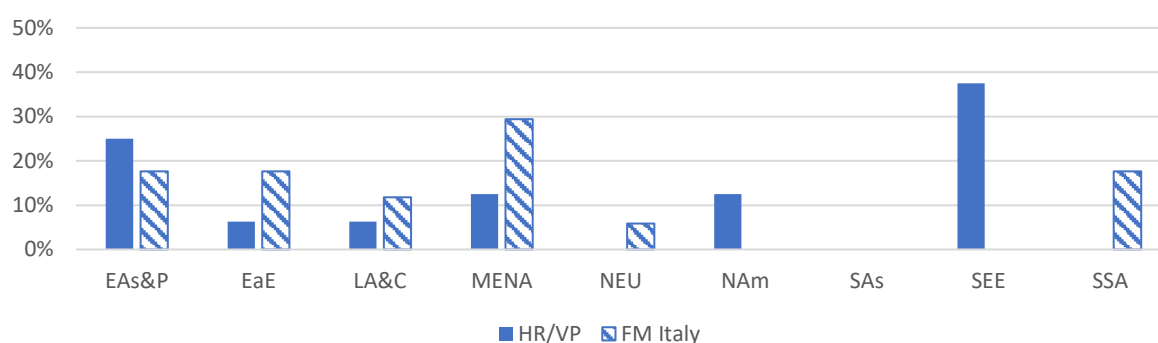
Contrasting the position of the Italian FM with the role of the HR/VP, it needs to be considered that there was a change of government in June 2018. The FM Enzo Moavero Milanesi replaced incumbent FM Angelino Alfano. The individual travel profiles will be consolidated and seen as one. Based on this, it can be assessed that the HR/VP and FMs conducted a similar amount of bilateral missions. During their 17 trips, the Italian FMs flew to 16 countries, of whom three were also visited by the HR/VP. In Ukraine, FM Alfano and the HR/VP were individually welcomed by President Poroshenko at the beginning of the year. The overlapping agenda items included humanitarian aid and the conflict with Russia. Further, the Italian FM, also acting as OSCE chairman, emphasized economic relations and business opportunities while the HR/VP highlighted the need for reforms and discussed the Ukrainian path to EU membership²⁰⁴. In July, the two EU representatives were individually hosted by Libyan PM Fayed Sarraj. They discussed the economic, security as well as migratory situation. Further, Mogherini exclusively addressed health, education and support for municipalities as governance matters²⁰⁵. In Singapore, the HR/VP was welcomed by PM Lee Hsien Loong and FM Alfano met his counterpart Vivian Balakrishnan. The talks covered economic issues such as free trade, regional cooperation within the regional organization ASEAN and measures to foster security and stability. Mogherini further emphasized climate change whereas the Italian FM highlighted socio-cultural links and science cooperation²⁰⁶.

²⁰⁴ Ministero degli Affari Esteri, “Alfano in missione in Ucraina e Russia in qualità di presidente in esercizio dell’OSCE”; EEAS, “EU is Ukraine's strongest supporter, says Mogherini in Kyiv”

²⁰⁵ EEAS, “High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini visits Libya”; “Visita a Tripoli Del Ministro Moavero Milanesi,” Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale, accessed May 9, 2020, https://www.esteri.it/mae/it/sala_stampa/archivionotizie/comunicati/2018/07/missione-a-tripoli-del-ministro-moavero-milanesi.html.

²⁰⁶ “Incontro Del Ministro Alfano Con Il Suo Omologo Di Singapore,” Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale, accessed May 9, 2020, https://www.esteri.it/mae/it/sala_stampa/archivionotizie/approfondimenti/2018/02/incontro-del-ministro-alfano-con_19.html; EEAS, “HRVP Mogherini visits the Republic of Korea”

Figure 37 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v FM Italy



Source: Created by author

On a regional level, figure 37 presents that the Italian FMs focused on MENA. Besides the trip to Libya, they were welcomed in the fellow Northern African states Egypt and Tunisia as well as Qatar and UAE in the Middle East. The HR/VP limited her travel activity in the region to Algeria and Libya. Mogherini was most active in South-Eastern Europe. It is remarkable that no Italian FM was present there, although many of the states are fellow Mediterranean countries. The latter rather conducted a set of three missions to three distinct regions which were treated differently by the HR/VP. For example, during her four missions to East Asia & Pacific, Mogherini flew to Australia and New Zealand whereas the Italian FM travelled to Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand. In Eastern Europe, the Italian FMs went to Russia twice while the HR/VP neglected other countries beyond their shared destination Ukraine. Finally, Guinea, Niger and Senegal were visited in Sub-Saharan Africa by an Italian representative while the HR/VP disregarded the region completely. Additionally, in the Americas, Mogherini travelled to Canada and the US in North America as well as to Cuba in Central America while the Italian FMs went to Colombia and Brazil in South America. Finally, neither of the actors went to any country in South Asia and solely FM Milanese went to San Marino being the only Non-EU Western European country on the travel lists. Overall, the HR/VP and Italian FMs had an almost negligible CC value of -0.111.

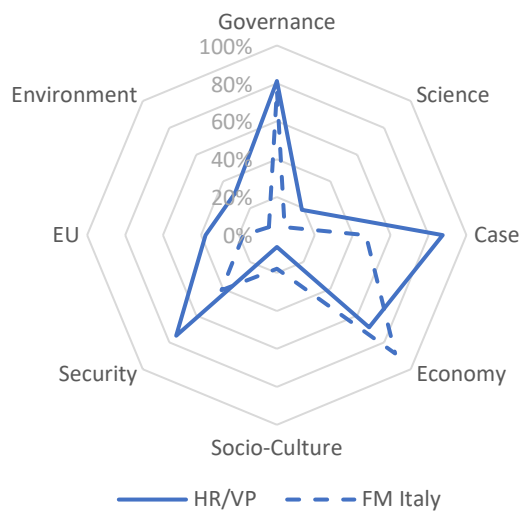
Table 21 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v FM Italy

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	FM Italy	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	1	10	11
FM	2	1	3	FM	3	3	6
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	0	0
Total	5	11	16	Total	4	13	17

Source: Created by author

Regarding the hierarchical indicators in table 21, the share of G20 and Non-G20 as well as the proportion of different hierarchical positions of hosts appears to be quite similar which is also reflected in the CC of 0.942. Having a closer look, the Italian FMs were only hosted by one prime representative in a G20 state but always met at least their counterpart. On the other hand, the HR/VP was greeted by the highest-ranked representative of a state more often but was also welcomed by other actors twice.

Figure 38 Share of content categories: HR/VP v FM Italy



Source: Created by author

Assessing the agenda items presented in figure 38, the Italian FMs prioritized economy whereas the HR/VP addressed specific cases most frequently. The latter was only done in about a half of the FMs' meetings. Analyzing the specific cases, it is noticeable that they correlated with issues in the visited region. For instance, the Western Balkans were addressed during Mogherini's trips to South-Eastern Europe and the situation in Venezuela was discussed by FM Alfano in Brazil. Furthermore, both discussed the nature of the regional organization ASEAN while travelling in East Asia & Pacific. Governance issues were the second most debated aspects. On the other hand, science and environment were only addressed once by the Italian representatives which mirrored Mogherini's activity with respect to socio-cultural relations. Overall, both content profiles have a relatively strong positive correlation of 0.774.

Concluding, the Italian FMs and the HR/VP conducted almost the same amount of travels, including three common destinations, where they shared central agenda items but also raised some specific topics. Besides this, there was little regional overlap. For example, Mogherini exclusively visited South-Eastern Europe and North America whereas the Italian representatives exclusively conducted missions to Sub-Saharan Africa and South America. In East Asia & Pacific as well as in North Africa, they rather complemented each other by flying

to neighboring countries. In terms of hierarchy, both actors had a similar profile with respect to G20 status and the position of the prime representative of a host country. Finally, economic, governance as well as case-related topics were mainly discussed by both EU representatives who varied between the intensity of different fewer debated topics.

4.6 Spain

Before assessing the travel diplomacy, key aspects of the Spanish foreign policy profile will be outlined according to the official communication. Based on an a strong and more integrated European Union, Spain engages in different world regions, favors multilateral approaches and addresses current issues. In Africa, the Spanish Government supports inclusive and sustainable growth to reach a state of peace and security while respecting human rights. At a sub-regional level, Spain focuses on the Sahel, West Africa, Horn of Africa, the Southern African Development Community Members and Equatorial Guinea. In Asia & Pacific, Spain wants to engage in the dynamic economic and scientific developments. In Latin America & Caribbean, Spain aims at strengthening the relations among very diverse countries and hopes for qualitative advances in cooperation²⁰⁷. Within NATO, Spain favors the Atlantic alliance and partners with the US regarding foreign policy, defense, security and economic and technological development²⁰⁸. The stability and prosperity of the bordering Mediterranean regions remains a priority, too. This includes establishing stability and dissolving existing conflicts in the Middle East and the Maghreb as well as supporting the comprehensive European Neighborhood Policy. To address current issues such as non-proliferation and sustainable development, Spain contributes to multilateral actions²⁰⁹.

Acknowledging these central pillars of Spanish foreign policy, the travel diplomacy will be analyzed as a whole before differentiating between the HoG and FM. Prior to this, it is important to point out that there was a change of government during the observation period. Former

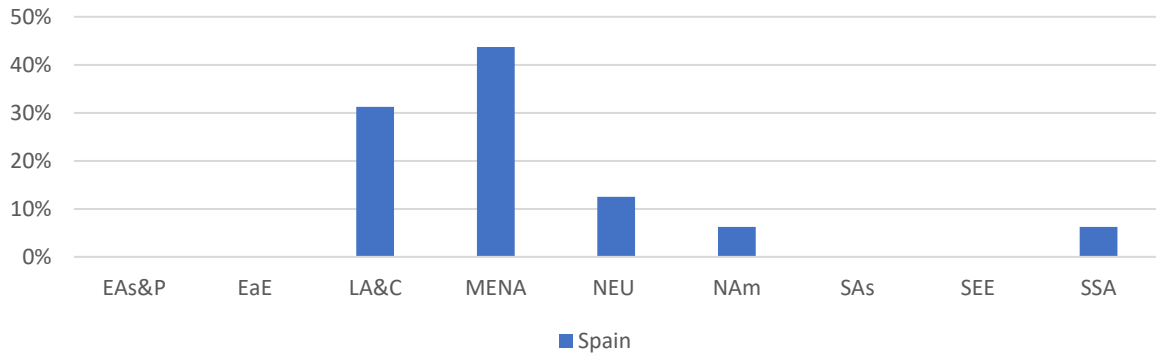
²⁰⁷ “Strategy for External Action” (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación, 2015), <http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/es/SalaDePrensa/Multimedia/Publicaciones/Documents/ESTRATEGIA%20DE%20ACCION%20EXTERIOR%20ingles.pdf>.

²⁰⁸ “Spain and the United States,” Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación, accessed May 2, 2020, <http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/en/PoliticaExteriorCooperacion/Espa%c3%b1ayEEUU/Paginas/inicio.aspx>.

²⁰⁹ “FOREIGN AFFAIRS and COOPERATION,” Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación, accessed May 2, 2020, <http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/en/PoliticaExteriorCooperacion/Paginas/inicio.aspx>.

conservative PM Mariano Rajoy was replaced by the socialist Pedro Sánchez in June 2018, after losing a vote of confidence over a corruption scandal in the party²¹⁰. Subsequently, FM Alfonso Dastis being member of the Rajoy administration was substituted by Josep Borrell.

Figure 39 Regional distribution of destinations: Spain



Source: Created by author

In 2018, these Spanish representatives travelled 16 times to 13 different countries. Algeria was visited twice, and Morocco welcomed the PM and FM on three occasions. Both countries are located in MENA, which is the region that was travelled to the most. In addition, figure 39 illustrates that one in three missions were conducted to Latin America & Caribbean. Visits to Andorra and Switzerland represented the Non-EU Western Europe. The regions Eastern Europe, South-Eastern Europe, East Asia & Pacific as well as South Asia were disregarded. During the remaining trips to North America and Sub-Saharan Africa the PMs of Canada and Mali were met. Canada was also the only G20 member state on the Spanish travel plan.

²¹⁰ Sam Jones, “Mariano Rajoy Ousted as Spain's Prime Minister,” *The Guardian*, June 1, 2018, accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jun/01/mariano-rajoy-ousted-as-spain-prime-minister>.

Table 22 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: Spain

Spain	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	1	13	14
FM	0	2	2
Other	0	0	0
Total	1	15	16

Source: Created by author

In terms of hierarchical positions, table 22 shows that Spanish actors were almost always welcomed by the highest-ranked politician in the host country. The Spanish FM only discussed with his counterpart in Switzerland and once in Morocco.

Figure 40 Share of content categories of Spain



Source: Created by author

The content analysis in figure 40 shows that economy, being followed by governance, were the central aspects of the discussions in Non-EU nations. Environmental and science-related matters were the least debated topics. Whereas there was a comprehensive agenda during the meetings in Algeria and Morocco, FM Alfonso Dastis exclusively focused on economy when debating trade and commerce with Iranian President Hasan Rohani²¹¹. Taking a regional perspective, it is noticeable that economy was addressed in every meeting in Latin America & Caribbean, ranking right above socio-cultural ties. The environment was only focused on in

²¹¹ “Alfonso Dastis Visita Irán,” Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación, accessed May 2, 2020, http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/es/SalaDePrensa/ElMinisterioInforma/Paginas/Noticias/20180220_MINISTERIO8.aspx.

Costa Rica but received special attention by proclaiming a joint approach to fight climate change. For instance, this includes the de-carbonization of the economy and environmental protection. Further, it needs to be pointed out that the situation in Nicaragua was subject to debate²¹². This case was also addressed in Cuba, where the crisis in Venezuela was also discussed. In MENA, economic cooperation was also debated during each trip. Governance and security were the second and third priority. In this case, migration and refugee movements are seen as governance issues and security encompasses the fight against terrorism and human trafficking. The situation in the Sahel region and Libya was elaborated on in Algeria and Morocco to stabilize the region²¹³.

Considering the change of government in June 2018, the position of PM and FM are generally seen as one – regardless of the politician. However, it is worth differentiating when it comes to the total amount of travels. PM Rajoy travelled to neighboring Algeria and Tunisia; PM Sánchez conducted eight trips in total and crossed the Atlantic. The FMs visited three countries each within Europe and its neighboring regions. Aggregating the individual actors to their two positions, it is noticeable that the PMs travelled more than FMs. Further, the latter stayed within the close Spanish neighborhood whereas the PM represented Spain in the Americas and Mali. Sánchez travelled to the Sub-Saharan Republic of Mali to meet PM Soumeylou Boubèye Maïga and visited Spanish troops taking part in the European Union Training Mission aiming at fighting terrorism and stabilizing the region²¹⁴. Considering the external perception of the Spanish PM, it may be pointed out that he was always welcomed by the highest-ranked representative of the host country. However, he only visited one G20 member when travelling to Canada to debate NATO, climate change and gender equality with PM Trudeau²¹⁵. Across

²¹² “Spain and Costa Rica Boost Joint Action to Combat Climate Change,” Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación, accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/presidente/news/Paginas/2018/20180831sanchez-costarica.aspx>.

²¹³ “The Minister of Foreign Affairs, the European Union and Cooperation Travels to Algiers,” Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación, accessed May 2, 2020, http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/en/SalaDePrensa/NotasdePrensa/Paginas/2018_NOTAS_P/20180907_NOTA076.aspx.

²¹⁴ “Pedro Sánchez Thanks Spanish Troops Deployed in Mali for Their Contribution to Global Security,” Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación, accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/presidente/news/Paginas/2018/20181227triptomali2.aspx>.

²¹⁵ “Pedro Sánchez and Justin Trudeau Back a Common Agenda Between Spain and Canada in Favour of Gender Equality and Climate Change,” Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación, accessed May 2, 2020, <https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/presidente/news/Paginas/2018/20180923sanchezcanada.aspx>.

multiple topics, the PMs and FMs did not substantially differ in their priorities which allowed for a coherent external perception of different Spanish actors.

Finally, evaluating Spanish travel diplomacy in 2018, the change of government in June needs to be considered. This possibly affected the travel plans seeing that PM Rajoy only conducted trips in the beginning of the year. On the other hand, Sánchez was even more active than his FM at the beginning of his term. Recognizing the priorities presented above, PM Sánchez underlined Spanish support for the African sub-region Sahel. Further, the Southern EU neighborhood and Mediterranean region were frequently visited and there was an intensive exchange with Maghreb states. Viewing the bilateral diplomacy as an indicator to assess the enactment of foreign policy aspects, it may be concluded that Spain strengthened its ties with Latin American & Caribbean nations and also intensified the collaboration with the North American NATO member Canada. However, Spanish representatives were neither able to visit its defined partner US nor the economically dynamic countries in Asia & Pacific. Considering the broad range of foreign policy objectives, which were introduced above, travel diplomacy was only employed to address a few.

4.6.1 Comparison of HR/VP and Head of Government Spain

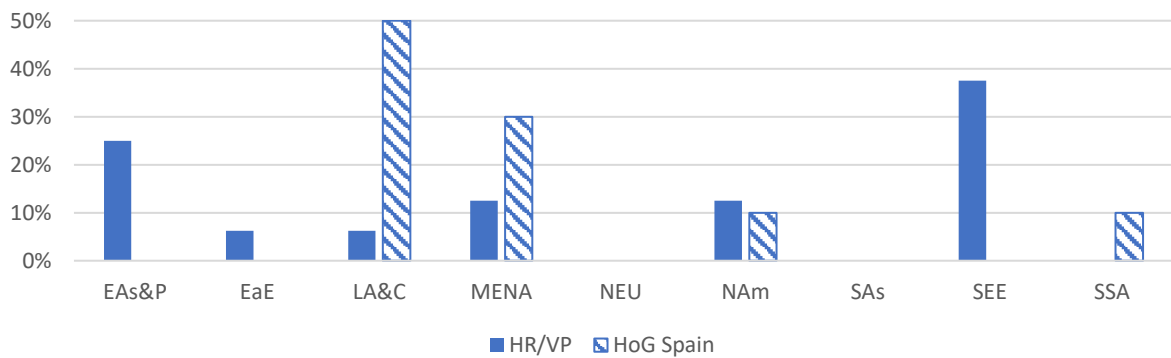
Considering the change of government in June 2018, the Spanish PMs Rajoy and Sánchez conducted ten bilateral missions in total. They visited fewer countries than the HR/VP but shared the three common destinations Algeria, Canada and Cuba. In Algeria, both actors were welcomed by PM Ahmed Ouyahia and included economic and security topics including the fight against terrorism and regional stability in their discussions. The Spanish PM even further addressed the situation in the Sahel region and the Middle East as well as the management of migration²¹⁶. Additionally, the Canadian PM Justin Trudeau hosted both EU representatives to address the issue of climate change and to support multilateralism. Whereas the HR/VP further highlighted security and defense cooperation, PM Sánchez specifically emphasized the meaning of NATO and the EU for the relationship. Further, the PMs discussed measures of how to achieve gender equality²¹⁷. Finally, the PM and HR/VP went to Cuba, where Pedro

²¹⁶ ““Algeria Is a Very Important Destination for Spanish Companies”, Says Mariano Rajoy,” accessed May 10, 2020, <https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/presidente/news/Paginas/2018/20180403forum-algiers.aspx>.

²¹⁷ Gobierno de España, “Pedro Sánchez and Justin Trudeau back a common agenda between Spain and Canada in favour of gender equality and climate change”; EEAS, “Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini in Montreal for the 2nd EU-Canada Joint Ministerial Committee”

Sánchez was hosted by President Miguel Díaz-Canel, who was likewise elected in the summer of 2018. The Minister of Foreign Trade Rodrigo Malmierca was Cuba’s prime representative when Mogherini visited the country at the beginning of the year. Similar to Algeria, both agendas covered opportunities for economic cooperation and development. Furthermore, the strengthening of social and cultural ties was emphasized. Additionally, the HR/VP openly addressed the human rights situation and nature of relations with the US. PM Sánchez also concentrated on the cases of Nicaragua and Venezuela²¹⁸.

Figure 41 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v HoG Spain



Source: Created by author

Comparing the regional distribution of travels in figure 41, it is noticeable that PM Sánchez mainly travelled to Latin America & Caribbean while Mogherini focused on South-Eastern Europe and East Asia & Pacific, where the Spanish PMs did not travel to at all. However, the HR/VP and the Spanish PMs both travelled to Northern Africa in a similar manner and were welcomed in Canada. Among both positions, the PM’s visit of Spanish troops in Mali was the only mission to Sub-Saharan Africa while the HR/VP’s visit to Ukraine was the only trip to Eastern Europe. Furthermore, Non-EU Western Europe as well as South Asia were completely neglected. Overall, the regional CC has a value of -0.165.

²¹⁸ “Pedro Sánchez Arrives in Cuba to Re-Launch Relations Between Spain and the Caribbean Island,” accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/presidente/news/Paginas/2018/20181122cuba.aspx>; Armstrong, “EU’s top diplomat tells Cubans that relations with Europe are stronger than ever”

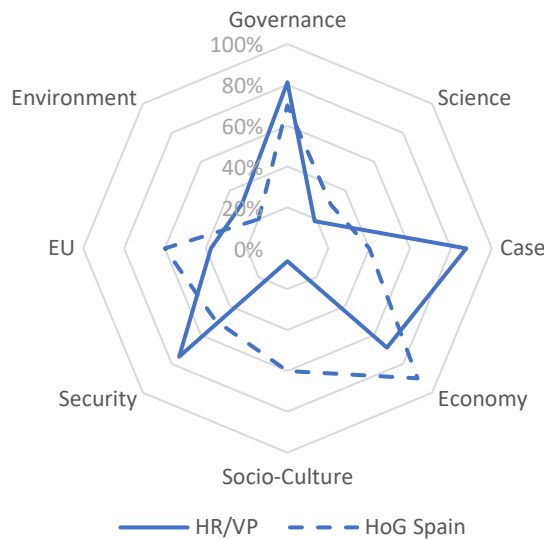
Table 23 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v HoG Spain

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	HoG Spain	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	1	9	10
FM	2	1	3	FM	0	0	0
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	0	0
Total	5	11	16	Total	1	9	10

Source: Created by author

Assessing the hierarchical indicators in table 23, the Spanish PMs only travelled to one G20 state and were always welcomed by a prime representative. The HR/VP had a greater share of G20 states, but her hosts had varying positions. Regarding the common destinations, both were hosted by the PMs of Algeria and Canada, but Mogherini only met the Minister for Foreign Trade in Cuba. Mathematically their correlation can be expressed by the CC of 0.992.

Figure 42 Share of content categories: HR/VP v HoG Spain



Source: Created by author

Contrasting the frequency of agenda items in figure 42, the Spanish PMs mostly addressed economic issues being followed by governance issues. The HR/VP prioritized specific cases most of the time ranking before governance, security and economic matters. The difference between the share of socio-cultural aspects is especially significant. They were usually addressed during trips to Latin America & Caribbean regardless of the actors. What is more, the PMs covered specific cases considerably less while they discussed EU relations with the host country more often in relative terms and even climate change was debated twice. In

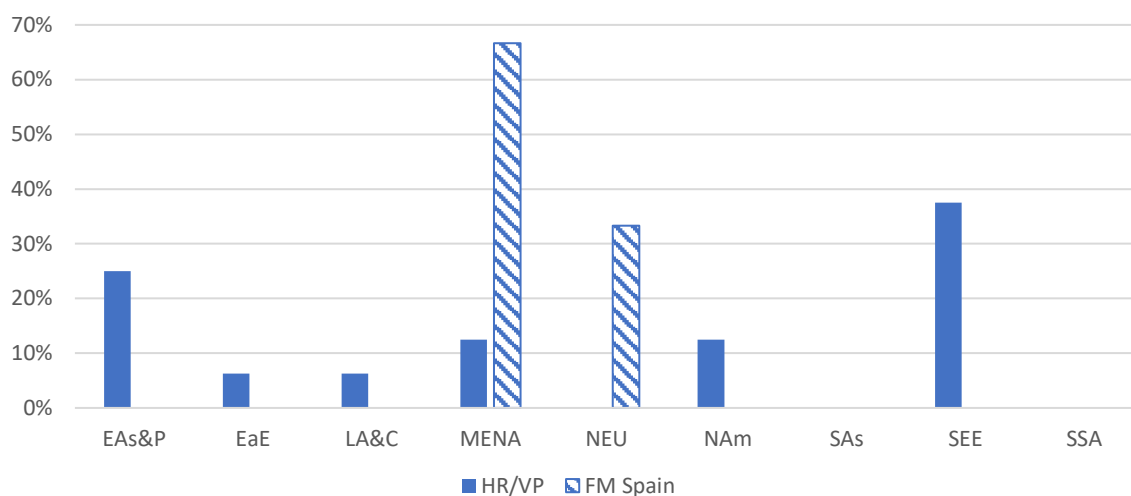
absolute numbers, the HR/VP emphasized the EU six times, too and recognized environmental issues five times. In summary, the CC of 0.329 resembles little positive correlation.

Concluding, the Spanish PMs travelled less than the HR/VP and put their main emphasis on the Americas. In opposition to this, the HR/VP focused on South-Eastern Europe and East Asia & Pacific. Nonetheless, both EU actors shared three common destinations including the G20 state Canada and visited Algeria as well as neighboring Maghreb countries. Reviewing the agenda items, the Spanish PMs addressed economic and socio-cultural aspects more often than the HR/VP who covered specific cases and governance issues more frequently.

4.6.2 Comparison of HR/VP and Foreign Minister Spain

In the context of the change of the Spanish government the incumbent FM Alfonso Dastis was replaced by Josep Borrell. The Spanish FMs travelled six times to five different destinations in 2018. They visited only a third of the number of countries that the HR/VP flew to.

Figure 43 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v FM Spain



Source: Created by author

They shared one common destination in Northern Africa. FM Borrell and Mogherini met the Algerian PM Ahmed Ouyahia to debate security as well as economic issues. Furthermore, stability in the region and joint counterterrorism measures were common agenda items. The Spanish FM also regarded the case of Libya and Sahel countries and elaborated upon the challenge of migration with his interlocutor²¹⁹. Besides Algeria, the Spanish FMs were

²¹⁹ Gobierno de España, “The Minister of Foreign Affairs, the European Union and Cooperation Travels to Algiers”

welcomed in Morocco twice and went to Iran once. As figure 43 indicates, these four trips make up two thirds of the travel activity and demonstrate the strong regional focus on MENA. Within the region, the HR/VP limited missions to Algeria and Libya. Andorra and Switzerland were the remaining destinations on the travel agenda of the Spanish FMs. They represented Non-EU Western Europe, a region that Mogherini neglected. Recognizing that the small number of missions of the Spanish FMs were limited to two regions, it is quite obvious that the HR/VP covered more world regions and put a diverging geographical focus. The CC has the value of -0.115.

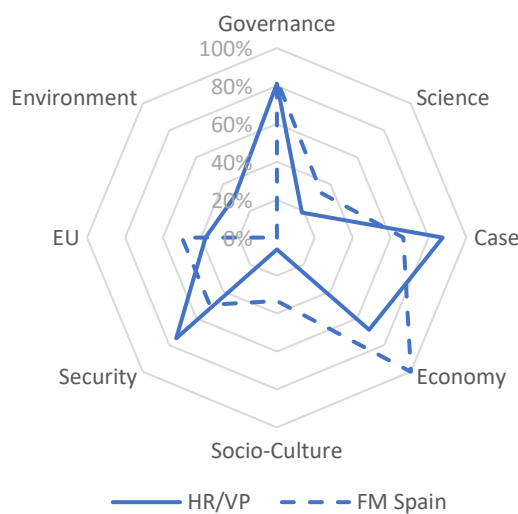
Table 24 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v FM Spain

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	FM Spain	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	0	4	4
FM	2	1	3	FM	0	2	2
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	0	0
Total	5	11	16	Total	0	6	6

Source: Created by author

Considering the hierarchical indicators in table 24, the Spanish FMs were only hosted by Non-G20 members whereas the HR/VP visited five different G20 members. Like the latter, the Spanish FMs were mostly hosted by the highest-ranked representative of the country. Exceptionally, FM Dastis was welcomed by his Swiss counterpart and FM Borrell only met the Moroccan FM Nasser Bourita during one of the two trips. This is reflected in the CC of 0.837.

Figure 44 Share of content categories: HR/VP v FM Spain



Source: Created by author

Reviewing the different agenda items in figure 44, the Spanish FMs always raised economic matters during their talks being followed by governance issues in five out of six meetings. It is remarkable that FM Dastis exclusively discussed commercial and investment opportunities with Iranian President Hassan Rohani and did not openly address discussion about the US withdrawing from the Iran nuclear deal²²⁰. It may be added that US President Trump actually withdrew from the treaty three months later which eventually worsened the economic situation in Iran²²¹. Furthermore, the Spanish FMs also emphasized specific cases including Libya during their trips to Northern Africa. This contrasts the high frequency of various cases addressed by the HR/VP in different world regions as well as her focus on security matters. Finally, in comparison to Mogherini, Spanish representatives addressed science and socio-cultural relations relatively more often while they neglected environmental aspects completely. Overall, their correlation is represented by the CC of 0.700.

Concluding, the Spanish FMs only conducted six travels which were limited to the EU's neighbors in Western Europe and North Africa as well as one trip to Iran. This limited their choice of countries to Non-G20 members. The HR/VP went to five G20 members and covered more world regions as well as she also addressed specific cases and security aspects more frequently. On the other hand, the Spanish FMs focused especially on economic relations and addressed Libya as a specific case.

²²⁰ Gobierno de España, "Alfonso Dastis visita Irán"

²²¹ Mark Landler, "Trump Abandons Iran Nuclear Deal He Long Scorned," *The New York Times*, May 8, 2018, accessed May 10, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/world/middleeast/trump-iran-nuclear-deal.html>.

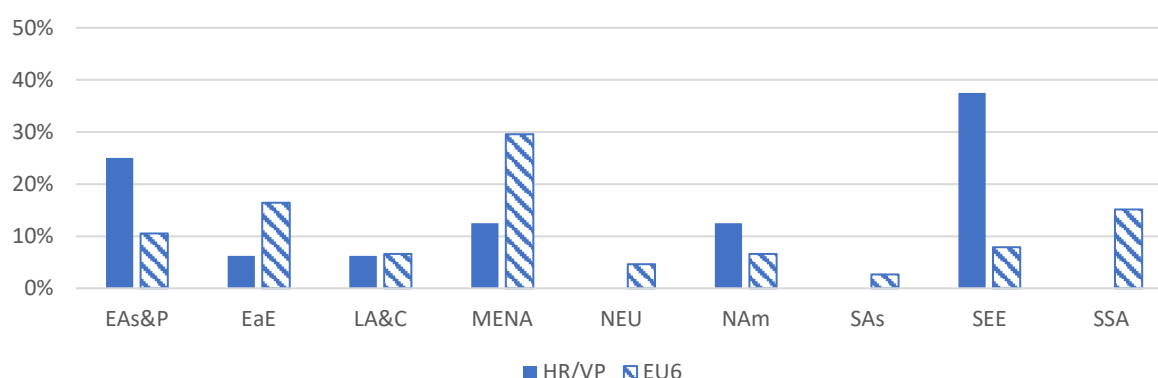
4.7 Average Member State Actors

At this point the individual travel diplomacy of the HR/VP and of country actors were assessed on an intra-case level. Additionally, the role of the HR/VP was compared to its mandate and to the chosen twelve member state positions on an inter-case level. In the following, the data and the findings will be analyzed and contextualized on a supra-case-level. This contains the comparison of the HR/VP with the “EU6”. The EU6 is made up of the average data of all twelve national actors. Furthermore, the HR/VP will be contrasted with the “HoG6” and the “FM6” which each combine the respective average data for the six Head of Government positions and the six Foreign Minister positions. In order to do so, the previous structural approach of investigation will be applied again. This encompasses that first; the different country destinations will be viewed before they are contextualized within a regional perspective. Second, the hierarchical indicators will be subject to analysis before evaluating certain agenda priorities based on the results of the content analysis.

4.7.1 Comparison of HR/VP and all Average Member State Actors

Contrasting individual destination, it may be stated that the EU6 conducted 152 missions in total, which translates into an average of 12.67 bilateral visits in 2018. This is less than the number of HR/VP missions. Among the HoGs and the FM6s, the latter were more active than the former travelling around seven times on average while the HoG only had an average of about six bilateral missions. The EU6 went to Russia and Ukraine most frequently, adding up to eight missions in absolute terms. The US ranks third being ahead of Israel and the UAE. The list of the five most frequented countries includes two destinations which were also flown to by the HR/VP. On the one hand, she went to Ukraine like three HoGs and five FM6s. On the other hand, during her trip to the US she was not hosted by a high-level politician, this stands in strong contrast to the seven missions conducted by the EU6 and the meetings with the counterparts of Bulgarian, French, German and Italian representatives. In addition, the HR/VP travelled to Montenegro and New Zealand, which were neglected by all twelve national actors in 2018.

Figure 45 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v EU6



Source: Created by author

On a regional level, strong divergences become apparent. As figure 45 illustrates, the HR/VP’s emphasis on East Asia & Pacific and South-Eastern Europe does not correspond with the average regional distribution of the EU6. The latter rather conducted about 30% of its missions to MENA which is more than double the share of Mogherini’s travels to the region. This is similar in Eastern Europe where the average EU6 representative conducted two missions while the HR/VP only went to Ukraine. Furthermore, while EU6 covered Sub-Saharan Africa as well as Non-EU Western Europe and South Asia, the HR/VP did not travel there at all. Further, it may be pointed out that both met a considerable number of leaders in North America as well as they attended meetings in Latin America & Caribbean. Overall, the EU6 and the HR/VP have a CC of 0.052 which practically expresses the lack of correlation.

Table 25 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v EU6

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	EU6	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	12.5%	56.3%	68.8%	Prime Rep.	16.4%	61.8%	78.3%
FM	12.5%	6.3%	18.8%	FM	9.9%	9.2%	19.1%
Other	6.3%	6.3%	12.5%	Other	0.7%	2.0%	2.6%
Total	31.3%	68.8%	100.0%	Total	27.0%	73.0%	100.0%

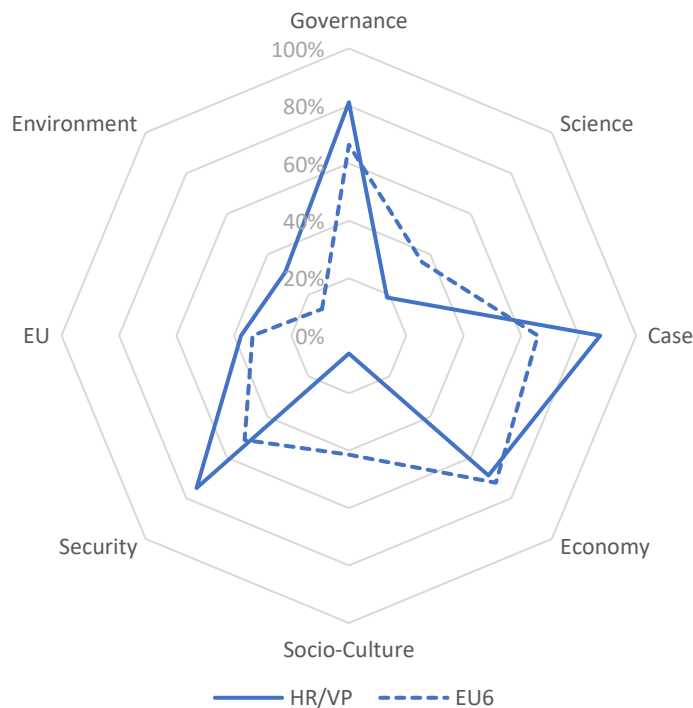
*Values rounded to one decimal point

Source: Created by author

Having a closer look at the hierarchical indicators in table 25, it is noticeable that both actors travelled significantly more often to Non-G20 countries than to G20 states. It is important to highlight that the HR/VP had a slightly bigger share of G20 visits than the EU6. Regarding the hierarchical positions of the prime representative, it can clearly be seen that the EU6 were welcomed by the highest-ranked representative more frequently. Acknowledging that the

number of meetings with FMs is quite similar, the share of other actors explains the difference. The HR/VP was welcomed twice by other actors, whereas this only happened four times out of 152 missions for the EU6. Assessing the cross-dimensional relations, the EU6 is slightly ahead of the HR/VP when contrasting the percentage of meetings with the highest ranked representative in both G20 and Non-G20 countries. The CC of 0.987 summarizes this interpretation.

Figure 46 Share of content categories: HR/VP v EU6



Source: Created by author

Comparing the agenda priorities in figure 46, it may be highlighted that the EU6 prioritized economy, governance as well as EU specific issues quite evenly. However, they are by far less dominant compared to case and governance matters being dealt with by the HR/VP. Furthermore, Mogherini emphasized security as well as environmental issues substantially more often than the EU6. On the other hand, the EU6 were more focused on socio-cultural relations as well as science cooperation. EU relations were covered by both actors in about a third of the missions. Having a closer look at specific cases, the EU6 covered the case of Syria in 18% of the missions being followed by other country specific cases like Libya and Iran. The

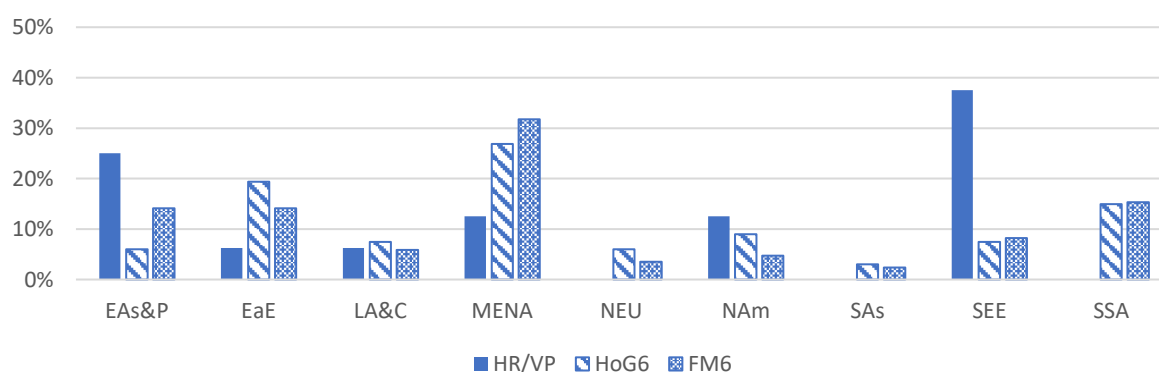
HR/VP rather focused on regional aspects in the area where she travelled to including the situation on the Balkans as well as in Asia. Subsequently, the CC has the value of 0.745.

Summarizing, the HR/VP travelled more often than the EU6. They both visited Ukraine and the US which were among the five most frequented countries of the EU6. The regional profiles diverged remarkably, the HR/VP focused on East Asia & Pacific and South-Eastern Europe whereas the EU6 travelled to MENA, Eastern Europe as well as Sub-Saharan African most frequently. Assessing hierarchical indicators, it is most noticeable that the HR/VP had a greater share of G20 countries while the EU6 were welcomed by the prime representative of the host state more often. Finally, the analysis of the content priorities shows similarities in the degree to which governance, economic and EU-related issues were prioritized. However, the importance of security and case matters was higher for the HR/VP while the EU6 tended to put more emphasis on science as well as socio-cultural relations.

4.7.2 Comparison of HR/VP and Average Head of Government/ Foreign Minister

Acknowledging the EU6 assessment, the average travel diplomacy of the HoG6 and the FM6 shall be inquired to gain a deeper understanding of how the activity of the HR/VP correlated with these groups. The HoG6 conducted about six missions on average. Russia was the most frequented destination. The second place is taken by seven countries including Algeria, Canada, Ukraine and the US, which were also visited by the HR/VP. The FM6 travelled about seven times. The biggest share of the missions was conducted to Ukraine. Russia and the US are ranked second being followed by six countries which were not visited by the HR/VP.

Figure 47 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v HoG6 v FM6



Source: Created by author

Contrasting the HR/VP and HoG6 as well as the FM6 on a regional level, it is noticeable that the distribution among the latter appears to be quite similar. Nonetheless, it may be pointed out that the FM6 were substantially more active in East Asia & Pacific than their HoGs which brings them closer to the travel profile of the HR/VP in the area. However, in Eastern Europe the smaller amount of missions by the FM6 brings them closer to the low number of travels by the HR/VP. In addition, it is worth pointing out that FM6 put even more emphasis on MENA than the HoGs who already had more than double the share of travels that Mogherini attributed to the respective region. On the other hand, the HR/VP's active involvement in South-Eastern Europe was neither matched by the HoG6 nor the FM6. In North America, the HoG6 almost caught up with the HR/VP while the FM6 did not surpass the 5% line. Finally, engagement of different national actors in regions that Mogherini neglected does not vary a lot. Overall, both average actors have a negligible correlation with the travel profile of the HR/VP (HoG6: -0.083; FM6: 0.140).

Table 26 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v HoG6

HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	HoG6	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	2	9	11	Prime Rep.	18	49	67
FM	2	1	3	FM	0	0	0
Other	1	1	2	Other	0	0	0
Total	5	11	16	Total	18	49	67

Source: Created by author

Regarding the hierarchical indicators, the comparison of the HoG6 and the FM6 with the HR/VP diverges clearly. In table 26, the absolute numbers reflect this. Whereas the distribution among travel to G20 and Non-G20 states was quite similar, the HoG6 were exclusively welcomed with the highest ranked representatives of the host state, which explains the CC of 0.955.

Table 27 Hierarchical indicators of host countries: HR/VP v FM6

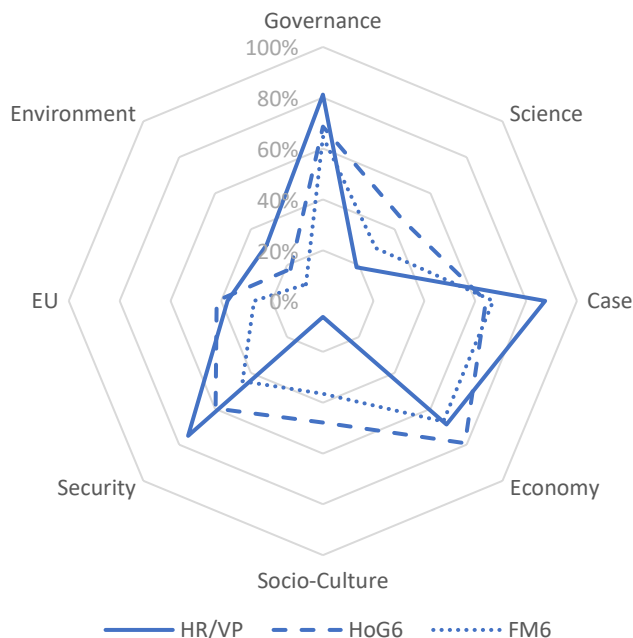
HR/VP	G20	Non-G20	Total	FM6	G20	Non-G20	Total
Prime Rep.	12.5%	56.3%	68.8%	Prime Rep.	8.2%	52.9%	61.2%
FM	12.5%	6.3%	18.8%	FM	17.6%	16.5%	34.1%
Other	6.3%	6.3%	12.5%	Other	1.2%	3.5%	4.7%
Total	31.3%	68.8%	100.0%	Total	27.1%	72.9%	100.0%

*Values rounded to one decimal point

Source: Created by author

As table 27 shows, the FM6 were hosted by prime representatives 61.2% of the times which is less than the HR/VP (68.8%). Furthermore, they met their counterparts about every third time, which left only a small share of other actors. The latter share was bigger for the HR/VP. Referring to the G20 status, it is remarkable that the HR/VP met a greater share of highest-ranked representatives of G20 states than the FM6. Further, her share of meetings with FMs of G20 members is higher than with FMs of Non-G20 states. The FM6 present a rather balanced distribution among G20 and Non-G20 member states. The CC of 0.949 is quite similar to the one above.

Figure 48 Share of content categories: HR/VP v HoG6 v FM6



Source: Created by author

Finally, the different agenda priorities between the HR/VP, HoG6 and FM6 are presented in figure 48. It is noticeable that the FM6 agenda appears to be closer to the HR/VP when it comes to science-related and socio-cultural aspects. This is also true for the economic dimension in

which both have about the same share size. On the other hand, the HoG6 come slightly closer to the HR/VP performance in governance and EU issues. Further, the HoG6 and the HR/VP both put more emphasis on security and environmental matters than the FM6. Comparing the CCs, the FM6 have a higher positive correlation (0.772) than the HoG (0.687).

Concluding, there are negligible differences between the HoG6 and FM6 when contrasting their travel activity with the HR/VP on a geographical level. However, the hierarchical indicators show that HoG6 exclusively met the highest-ranked representatives whereas this varied among the HR/VP and FM6. Regarding the former, she was hosted by more prime representatives overall, including a greater share of G20 countries in comparison to the FM6. Referring to the content priorities, they indicate that the FM6 followed a more similar agenda in assigning economic, science and socio-cultural issues a lower priority than the HoG6. On the other hand, the HR/VP put strong emphasis on governance as well as security topics which rather correlated with the HoG6.

4.8 Correlation Rankings

In the following, the correlation coefficients of the individual comparisons between the HR/VP and national actors will be ranked. This serves as a crucial stepping stone to develop a concluding understanding of the multi-dimensional similarities and differences between the HR/VP and national actors. Considering the three main dimensions of analysis, the regional, hierarchical as well as content level will be assessed. The respective correlation coefficient was already calculated and presented above. At this point, they will be ordered according to their degree of correlation. The first place will be assigned to the actor who has the highest positive correlation with the HR/VP in the respective dimension. The correlation coefficient is an indicator that ranges from -1 to +1. The former describes complete negative correlation, the later the extreme positive correlation and 0 represents no correlation whatsoever.

4.8.1 Regional Correlation

Table 28 Regional correlation of HR/VP and national actors

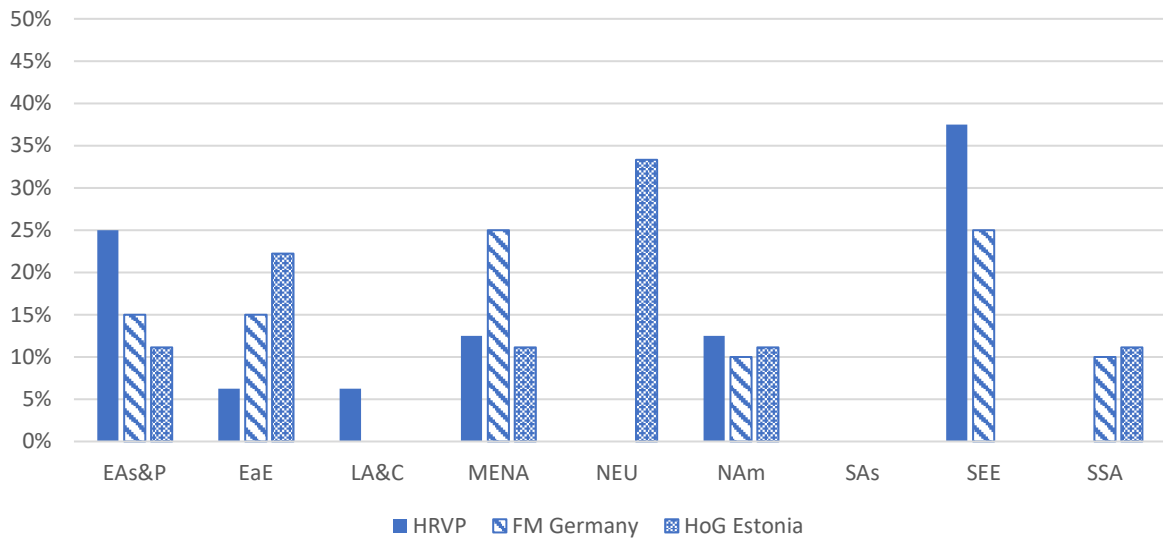
Ranking*	EU Position	Country	Correlation Coefficient
1	FM	Germany	0.720
2	HoG	Bulgaria	0.376
3	FM	Bulgaria	0.261
4	FM	Estonia	0.143
5	FM6	-	0.140
6	EU6	-	0.052
7	HoG	Germany	-0.054
8	HoG6	-	-0.083
9	FM	Italy	-0.111
10	FM	France	-0.113
11	FM	Spain	-0.115
12	HoG	France	-0.161
13	HoG	Spain	-0.165
14	HoG	Italy	-0.231
15	HoG	Estonia	-0.366

*1=highest positive correlation; 15=highest negative correlation

Source: Created by author

Table 28 shows a ranking of the regional correlation coefficient of the HR/VP in contrast to fifteen other actors. It differentiates between different types of EU positions being the HoG, FM as well as the average of all national actors as well as the average of the six HoGs and six FMs. It can be seen that the travel activity of the German FM correlates the most with the mission plan of the HR/VP in 2018. There is a relatively strong positive correlation considering the value of 0.72 on a range of -1 to +1. The German FM is ahead of the Bulgarian PM and the FMs of Bulgaria and Estonia who all have a positive correlation. However, the remaining national actors generally have a rather weak negative correlation. The HoGs of Italy and Estonia show a stronger negative correlation being ranked last.

Figure 49 Regional distribution of destinations: HR/VP v FM Germany v HoG Estonia



Source: Created by author

Figure 49 illustrates the regional distribution of travel destinations of the HR/VP as well as of the German FM who has the most positive correlation and the Estonian HoG who has the highest negative correlation. This becomes especially visible when analyzing Non-EU Western Europe (NEU) as well as South-Eastern Europe (SEE). The former was exclusively travelled to by the Estonian HoG while the HR/VP and the German FM put a lot of emphasis on the latter region. Overall, it is noticeable that the FMs tend to have a more positive correlation which is also expressed by the FM6 being ranked fifth. Four out of six HoGs have the strongest negative correlation within the sample. It may be argued that on a regional level, the HR/VP tends to have a unique travel profile which is only similar to the German FM. There is little correlation with the travel profile of FMs and HoGs rather show a stronger negative correlation.

4.8.2 Hierarchical Correlation

Regarding the investigation of similarities and differences between the hierarchical indicators, the correlation coefficient reflects to which degree the HR/VP and the respective actor met the same share of different hierarchical positions. These are the prime representative of a country as well as they consider the share of travels to G20 and Non-G20 member states.

Table 29 Hierarchical indicators of host countries and national actors

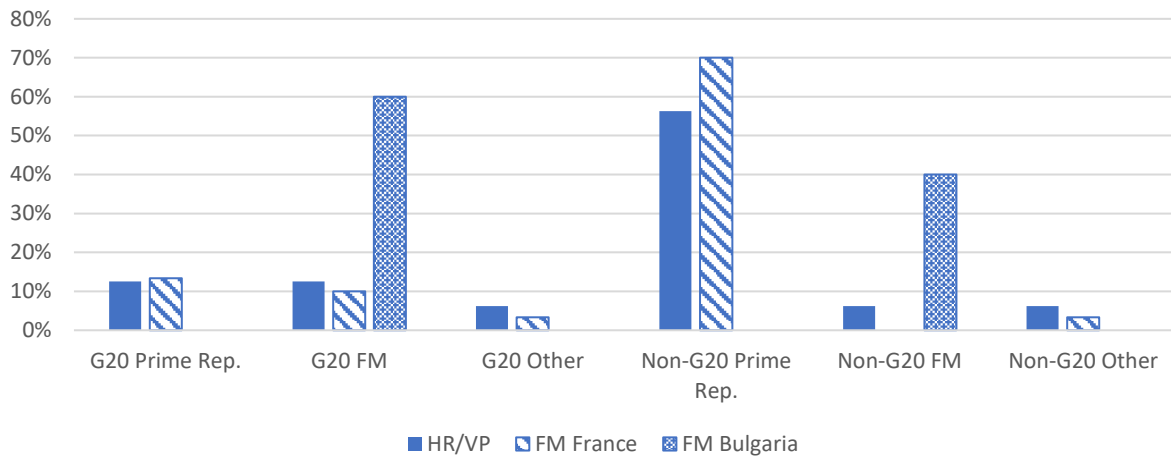
Ranking*	EU Position	Country	Correlation Coefficient
1	FM	France	0.998
2	HoG	Spain	0.992
3	EU6	-	0.987
4	HoG	Germany	0.980
5	HoG	Bulgaria	0.977
6	HoG	Estonia	0.974
7	HoG6	-	0.955
8	FM6	-	0.949
9	FM	Italy	0.942
10	HoG	Italy	0.913
11	FM	Spain	0.837
12	FM	Germany	0.815
13	HoG	France	0.511
14	FM	Estonia	0.290
15	FM	Bulgaria	-0.255

*1=highest positive correlation; 15=highest negative correlation

Source: Created by author

Regarding the results, table 29 presents that ten out of 15 actors arguably have a very strong positive correlation with the hierarchical profile of the HR/VP. Their value is higher than 0.9 and encompasses the three average-positions of the EU6, HoG6 as well as FM6. The former even ranks third, behind the Spanish HoG and the French FM. The majority of very similar actors are HoGs who only met their counterparts.

Figure 50 Distribution of hierarchical indicators: HR/VP v FM France v FM Bulgaria



Source: Created by author

Figure 50 presents data of the HR/VP along with that of the French FM, who has the highest positive correlation, and of the Bulgarian FM who is the only actor with a negative correlation. The latter exclusively met FMs while the French FM as well as the HR/VP were mostly hosted by the prime representative of Non-G20 countries and have a similar distribution among the remaining dimensions. Summarizing, it can be stated that the EU6 tend to have a strong positive correlation when comparing the hierarchical profile to the HR/VP. While the French FM is ranked first, the majority of similar actors are HoGs. It is remarkable that the FMs of Estonia and Bulgaria have a smaller correlation of which the latter is even negative.

4.8.3 Content Correlation

Finally, the content correlation shows to which degree the HR/VP agenda priorities corresponded with the content of the talks of the fifteen defined actors. It can be stated that the correlation was mostly positive. The Italian HoG as well as FM had the most similar content of the bilateral talks in Non-EU countries.

Table 30 Content correlation of HR/VP and national actors

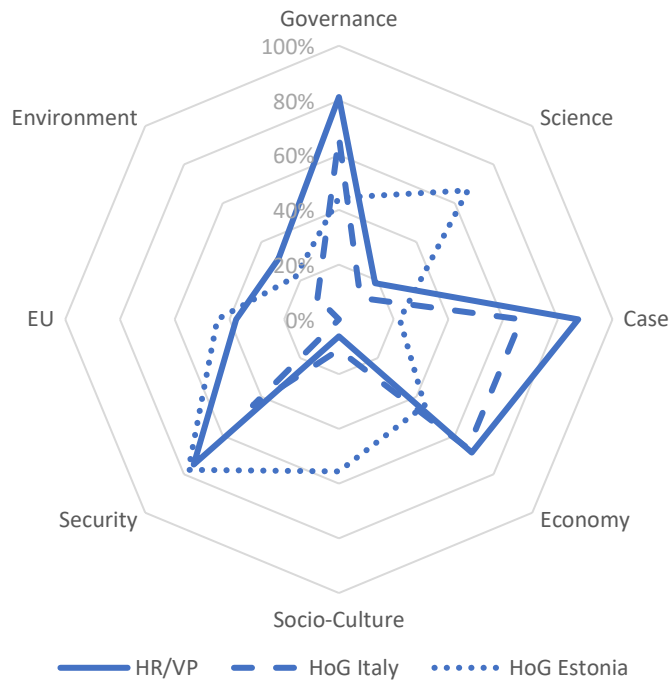
Ranking*	EU Position	Country	Correlation Coefficient
1	HoG	Italy	0.891
2	FM	Italy	0.774
3	FM6	-	0.772
4	EU6	-	0.745
5	HoG	Germany	0.725
6	FM	Spain	0.700
7	HoG6	-	0.687
8	FM	Germany	0.647
9	FM	France	0.571
10	HoG	France	0.551
11	FM	Estonia	0.482
12	HoG	Bulgaria	0.424
13	FM	Bulgaria	0.373
14	HoG	Spain	0.329
15	HoG	Estonia	-0.185

*1=highest positive correlation; 15=highest negative correlation

Source: Created by author

Furthermore, table 30 presents the correlation coefficient of the FM6 and the EU6 representing the average of all six FMs as well as of all twelve national actors. They are ranked third and fourth which suggests that the HR/VP follows a quite similar agenda to the FMs but also to the average national actor in general. However, this varies individually considering that the Bulgarian and Estonian actors have a rather small correlation. The HoG of the latter is actually the only national representative whose agenda correlates negatively with the content priorities of the HR/VP.

Figure 51 Share of content categories: HR/VP v HoG Italy v HoG Estonia



Source: Created by author

Figure 51 highlights the difference between the most similar and most different content profiles. It demonstrates how the Estonian emphasis on science and socio-cultural aspects contrasts the strong focus on economy and specific case matters by the HR/VP and the HoG of Italy. Considering the distribution of country actors, it is noticeable that they follow quite similar agendas. Italian actors are ranked first and French actors have almost the same correlation coefficient. Therefore, it may be argued that the agenda of the HR/VP correlates more positively with the content priorities of big EU countries like Italy, Germany and France, while there is smaller and sometimes even negative correlation with smaller and younger EU member states.

5 Key Findings

In this chapter the multiple results of the individual case analysis as well as of the numerous comparative case analyses will be summarized by formulating nine hypotheses about the nature of the HR/VP bilateral travel diplomacy. The individual case of the HR/VP will be reviewed in order to explore her travel profile and assess the fulfillment of her mandate. Furthermore, the comparative cases serve as basis for developing statements about the relationship between the bilateral travel diplomacy of the HR/VP Federica Mogherini in contrast to member state actors. A hypothesis will be introduced and justified by considering the outcome of the analysis within this dissertation.

- I. The HR/VP uses bilateral travel diplomacy to focus on the EU-relations with countries in the South-Eastern EU neighborhood.

This statement reflects the HR/VP's geographical emphasis on the region. The largest share of her travels was destined to countries in South-Eastern Europe. She discussed different EU-Membership scenarios for Western Balkan states. For example, she urged for reforms in governance and actively supported the name-change-referendum in North-Macedonia, both being important steps on the path towards EU-Membership²²². Acknowledging that managing the EU neighborhood policy can be seen as part of the HR/VP's mandate, it seems plausible that she used her travel diplomacy to engage with these countries²²³.

²²² RFE/RL, "Mogherini Tells Macedonians To Seize 'Historic Opportunity' In Name-Change Referendum"

²²³ EEAS, "High Representative/Vice President"

- II. The HR/VP uses bilateral travel diplomacy to manage crisis situations in the EU neighborhood.

Recognizing that the HR/VP visited Ukraine to discuss the Crimean Conflict²²⁴ and acknowledging that the HR/VP travelled to Libya to support the political and developing processes²²⁵, it may be argued that she adjusted her travel plans according to these cases. Furthermore, she travelled to Turkey where she also addressed the challenging migration flows. She appeared to be a crisis manager taking country-specific, regional as well as security and governance matters into account.

- III. The HR/VP uses bilateral travel diplomacy to foster EU-relations with medium-sized powers.

In 2018, in a quarter of her travels, the HR/VP was welcomed by a high-level politician in a G20 country. These encompassed Australia, Canada, Korea and Turkey, which are arguably medium-sized countries. The HR/VP emphasized the comprehensive bilateral partnership with the EU and initiated further collaboration. For example, this included the deepening of the strategic partnership with Canada²²⁶ and Korea²²⁷ as well as the implementation of the Framework Agreements with Australia²²⁸.

²²⁴ EEAS, “EU is Ukraine's strongest supporter, says Mogherini in Kyiv”

²²⁵ EEAS, “High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini visits Libya”

²²⁶ EEAS, “Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini in Montreal for the 2nd EU-Canada Joint Ministerial Committee”

²²⁷ EEAS, “HRVP Mogherini visits the Republic of Korea”

²²⁸ EEAS, “Joint Press Release by EU's HR/VP Federica Mogherini and Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop”

IV. The HR/VP generally fulfills her country-specific mandate during her visits.

Contrasting the content of the travel missions with her mandate, the HR/VP mostly met the identified country-specific priorities eleven out of fourteen times which amounts to a share of 79%. This calculation is based on the analysis of the country-specific Common Foreign and Security Policy priorities being matched with the travel diplomacy of the HR/VP. For instance, she succeeded in communicating the need for reforms in the Western Balkan states and offered opportunities for a closer and more constructive partnership with Cuba²²⁹.

V. The HR/VP has an almost exclusive geographical focus that complements most EU member states.

Table 28 showed that only the German Foreign Minister had a significant positive correlation. The majority of national representatives had negligible correlation coefficient values which point to almost no correlation. This can be partly explained by the fact that the HR/VP and the German FM put a lot of emphasis on South-Eastern Europe whereas others travelled to Latin America & Caribbean or Sub-Saharan Africa more frequently while Mogherini rather disregarded those regions. Further, within this data sample, the HR/VP was the only actor that visited Montenegro and New Zealand.

VI. The hierarchical position of the HR/VP is perceived like an average member state representative by the host countries.

Comparing the distribution of travels among G20 and Non-G20 countries as well as the hierarchical position of the highest-ranked host, it is noticeable that the HR/VP and most member state representatives had a very similar profile. The average member state actor ranked third in table 29. However, it needs to be pointed out that the average value does not represent the extreme divergences between different profiles.

²²⁹ Armstrong, “EU's top diplomat tells Cubans that relations with Europe are stronger than ever”

VII. The HR/VP addresses similar topics like big EU member states.

This hypothesis can be justified by the correlation coefficient being calculated on the basis of how often different content categories were covered in the talks. It has been analyzed that the agenda of Italian, German and French representatives had the most positive correlation with the HR/VP priorities. For example, the Italian representatives are ranked first because they put similar emphasis on governance and economy and assigned science as well as socio-cultural matters lower priorities, like the HR/VP. This leaves room for speculation about the dominance of big EU members influencing the HR/VP agenda.

VIII. The HR/VP's agenda priorities are more similar to a Foreign Minister than to a Head of Government.

The data analysis has shown that the HR/VP content profile correlates more positively with the average Foreign Minister. It may be considered that there were certain similarities with both national actors (HoG and FM). The common relatively low prioritization of socio-cultural and science-related issues may explain the divergences expressed through the higher value of the correlation coefficient of the average Foreign Minister.

IX. The HR/VP acts uniquely in comparison to individual member state actors.

The HR/VP has shown a unique regional profile putting a strong emphasis on South-Eastern Europe as well as visiting two countries exclusively. Furthermore, on the content-level, the HR/VP put special emphasis on governance as well as case and security issues while national actors generally had a more extended agenda and also emphasized economic and socio-cultural relations more frequently.

Conclusion

This dissertation has assessed key elements of contemporary EU travel diplomacy. Recognizing the multitude of the EU as well as member state actors representing European interests in the world, it has been the aim of this work to make the interconnectedness more transparent. The focus has been on the role of the EU High Representative and Vice-President of the Commission (HR/VP) Federica Mogherini in the year of 2018. Her position has the task to represent the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) as well as to ensure coherent external actions of the EU. As a structural element, the main research question addressed this by inquiring how the HR/VP conducted travel diplomacy. In order to find a proper response, this work defined three sub-research questions. First, it questioned how the HR/VP used travel diplomacy to fulfill her mandate; second, it was investigated how member state representatives employed travel diplomacy; third, based on the former, it was questioned how the HR/VP travel diplomacy correlated with member state actors.

In order to respond to these questions, a literature review on the topic of EU bilateral travel diplomacy was conducted. It became clear that scholars investigated the individual elements, but none had specifically investigated the characteristics of travel diplomacy being employed to manage bilateral relations of the EU. Recognizing the need to understand more about the nature of EU's representation in the world through travel diplomacy, a research design was developed to fill this gap. This work used an inductive exploratory approach to travel data analysis of the HR/VP and a selection of member state actors to develop concluding hypotheses. These hypotheses should contribute to the scholarly debate and guide future research on the nature of EU travel diplomacy as well as on the role of the HR/VP in representing the EU in the world. Before summarizing the results, the key elements of the research design will be introduced.

Elaborating upon the research methods, this study is based on primary travel data which was gathered by analyzing the official calendars published on the respective official websites. It contains every visit fulfilling the criteria of taking place in the interlocutor's home country, being outside of the EU and being exclusively bilateral. The data sample includes the travel activity of the HR/VP as well as of the Heads of Government (HoG) and Foreign Ministers (FM) of six selected member states. The latter were chosen because of their high travel frequency in the first place but also under consideration of geographical and demographical

diversity. Consequently, Bulgaria, Estonia, France, Germany, Italy and Spain were subject to data gathering. The data included, among others, the regional location of a country, the position of the host as well as the content of the meetings. Fundamentally, it was decided to conduct two analytical steps. First, the bilateral travel diplomacy of the HR/VP was investigated as an individual case. It included the inquiry of the travel profile as well as matching it with the defined CFSP priorities. Second, a comparative case analysis encompassed the one-to-one match of the HR/VP with a member state representative. Each individual analysis followed a similar three-dimensional structure encompassing the assessment of geographical indicators such as the number and frequency of visited countries as well as their regional location. Further, two hierarchical indicators were investigated. The position of the highest-ranked host as well as the G20-member status of a state were interpreted. Finally, the content of the meetings was categorized and subsequently the distribution of priorities was interpreted.

Based on the individual case analysis of the HR/VP, each of the six member states was subject to inquiry. First, the national foreign policy was introduced before assessing the nation's travel diplomacy profile as a whole. This served as the foundation for the one-to-one comparison of the HR/VP and the individual country actors. After the inquiry of all six countries and the following single actor comparison with each HoG and each FM, the final step of cross-case analysis included the average performance of all national actors. All of these comparisons followed the same three-dimensional analysis approach, which was crucial to establish a final ranking of correlations. The final chapter of the comparative analysis addressed each of the three dimensions individually. By calculating the Bravais-Pearson Correlation Coefficient of the HR/VP profile and the individual member state actor's profile, the identified similarities and differences became measurable. The correlation coefficients were ranked according to their degree of positive correlation to negative correlation with the HR/VP. This was conducted for the regional, hierarchical as well as content dimension. Finally, the results of these analyses were translated into nine hypotheses about the bilateral travel diplomacy of the HR/VP as an individual case as well as in comparison to a selection of member state Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers.

Prior to presenting key findings, it is important to highlight the main limitations of this work. The data set only included travels of one year and of six EU member states. Furthermore, the selection of bilateral missions was limited to published information and exclusive meetings. Having a closer look at the results, first, the individual case of the HR/VP will be reflected

upon. Overall, it may be stated that the HR/VP used her travel diplomacy to emphasize EU-relations with countries in its neighboring regions. These predominantly entailed economic as well as security aspects. Furthermore, the HR/VP Mogherini was hosted by Prime Ministers, a Foreign Minister and a university in Australia, Canada, Korea and the US, all being G20 countries. Mogherini neglected South Asian and Sub-Saharan countries on her travel plan and solely visited Cuba representing Latin America & Caribbean. Contrasting the HR/VP's travel profile and the CFSP priorities, it may be concluded that Mogherini generally met the requirements in the countries she travelled to. Consequently, it may be argued that she used her travel diplomacy activities to represent EU's foreign policy in the host countries.

In the following, the results of the regional analysis will be presented. In Europe, the HR/VP focused on the EU candidate countries in the Western Balkans and conveyed EU priorities to leaders in Turkey and Ukraine. However, Mogherini did not use her travel activity to improve relations with Russian representatives. Additionally, she neglected Central Asian and Non-EU countries in Western Europe. Further, the HR/VP focused on the Southern EU neighborhood by conducting bilateral travels to Northern Africa. However, she generally employed a multilateral approach to the whole region of Northern Africa and the Middle East which allowed her to address the CFSP priorities there. In East Asia & Pacific, Mogherini strengthened bilateral relations with Australia and New Zealand but applied an interregional approach to interact with ASEAN states. Similar to the Russian case, she did not travel to any of the powerful G20 members in the region such as China or Japan during the observation period. Regarding the Americas, the HR/VP fulfilled her mandate when representing EU's priorities to the Canadian Head of Government, but she was unable to do so in the US, where she did not meet any high-level politicians. Arguably, the HR/VP's job was taken by European Commission President Juncker who met the US President instead. In Latin America, Cuba was the only destination which at the same time expresses Mogherini's disregard for South America in 2018. Likewise, the HR/VP did neither travel to South Asia nor Sub-Saharan Africa. Consequently, it may be stated that the HR/VP did not travel to any so-called BRICS countries, which represent a grouping of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. It could be assumed that the HR/VP does not conduct bilateral travel diplomacy to engage with countries in the BRICS group or in the neglected regions. However, it is important to add that the HR/VP conducted bilateral trips to China, Russia and Sub-Saharan countries in the year prior to and after 2018. This shall put her travel activities into perspective and exemplifies that it is important to conduct further research for years outside of this work's observation period.

Reviewing individual country cases, Bulgaria arguably used bilateral travel diplomacy to achieve the foreign policy objective to strengthen relations with Western Balkans during its EU Presidency in the first half of 2018. Contrasting the Bulgarian actors with the HR/VP, the Bulgarian Prime Minister (PM) Borisov had a weak positive regional and content correlation while the hierarchical profiles had a strong positive link. Both had a complementary selection of destinations and topics in South-Eastern and Southern Europe. The Bulgarian FM Zakharieva only travelled five times and still shared the common destinations Turkey and the US. Nonetheless, their hierarchical profiles correlated negatively, because the FM only met her counterparts while the HR/VP was also hosted by prime representatives.

Acknowledging that Estonia is a leading country in the field of digitalization, using these competences is part of the Estonian foreign policy. In 2018, the Estonian Head of Government and Foreign Minister used travel diplomacy to represent digital Estonia in the world but also used it as a diplomatic instrument to strengthen international relations. For example, they offered knowledge sharing and cooperation in the field of cyber security. Comparing individual actors, the Estonian PM had a negative correlation with the travel as well as agenda profile of the HR/VP. The Estonian FM had a more similar agenda in certain categories and relatively more geographical overlap which translates into weak positive correlations in these dimensions. Contrasting the hierarchical profiles concludes a similar result.

Assessing the French travel diplomacy, it may be stated that it focused to a large extent on the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and Sub-Saharan Africa, but also included meetings with leaders of powerful countries across the globe. The latter included China, India, Russia and the US. In general, French actors discussed very comprehensive agendas with their interlocutors. Economic, security and socio-cultural relations were prioritized whereas science and EU matters were only occasionally dealt with. Summarizing, French representatives were very active and arguably used travel diplomacy to address a variety of foreign policy priorities ranging from economic development, environmental protection to fostering cultural relations. In comparison to the HR/VP, the French HoG was less active but met more high-level politicians in more powerful G20 states. Additionally, the French President generally addressed a wide range of topics whereas the HR/VP rather focused on specific matters. Referring to the HR/VP's comparison with the French FM, they appeared to be complementary on a regional level. The HR/VP visited more South-Eastern European countries while the French FM covered the Eastern European neighborhood. Overall, their content priorities have a moderate positive

correlation. The FM was more active, was hosted by more prime representatives, visited more powerful G20 countries and covered almost all world regions. Finally, it may be argued that the French FM was seen as a more prestigious European representative than the HR/VP.

Referring to the case of Germany, it may be stated that the representatives used travel diplomacy to achieve their foreign policy goals. They conducted missions to the US to strengthen transatlantic relations and visited crisis regions to support peace processes and to foster democracy mainly in EU neighboring regions and Sub-Saharan Africa. Further, they frequently debated case, governance and economic matters to mitigate conflicts, to strengthen multilateralism and to foster economic relations. Contrasting the individual roles, the HR/VP shared a relatively high number of common destinations with both actors. However, on a regional level, the German HoG prioritized Eastern Europe and MENA while the HR/VP focused on South-Eastern Europe and East Asia & Pacific. Furthermore, in contrast to the HR/VP, the German Chancellor Merkel was hosted by prime representatives in China, Russia and the US and generally debated a wider range of topics. Overall, both frequently addressed specific cases in the region they travelled to but varied among the share of topics referring to culture, environment, science and security. In addition, the German FM and the HR/VP had very similar regional priorities and emphasized specific cases such as Iran and governance matters alike. However, the German FM exclusively conducted missions to powerful G20 states and to the Middle East. Across all travels, the HR/VP discussed security and the environment more often whereas the German FMs emphasized science and socio-cultural cooperation.

Italian actors arguably employed travel diplomacy to address three foreign policy priorities. They used a trip to the US to strengthen the comprehensive bilateral relations, they were welcomed in Russia three times to foster economic relations and emphasized migration during trips to the affected regions. However, self-proclaimed targets of promoting human rights, disarmament and environmental protection were not openly addressed. It is noticeable that the Italian HoG as well as FM had very similar results in the analysis of geographical, hierarchical and content indicators. Therefore, it seems reasonable to summarize the individual comparisons with the HR/VP. The Italian representatives and the HR/VP had differing regional priorities. While the HR/VP focused on neighboring South-Eastern Europe and East Asia & Pacific, the Italian HoG and FM focused on MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa. However, all three actors similarly emphasized case, governance and economic matters and likewise neglected science and culture.

Reviewing the Spanish case, it may be argued that Spanish actors employed travel diplomacy to deepen relations with countries in Latin American & Caribbean. However, they did not use it to address other foreign policy priorities such as the partnership with the US or economic cooperation with Asian states. Comparing Spanish representatives to the HR/VP, it can be stated that they generally emphasized economic and socio-cultural matters while the HR/VP focused on specific cases and governance aspects more often. On a regional level, the Spanish Head of Government mainly prioritized the Americas, the Spanish FM – Non-EU Western Europe and the HR/VP – South-Eastern Europe.

Considering the average data of all member state actors, it is noticeable that the HR/VP travelled more often and had a relatively unique travel profile. Overall, the HR/VP visited a greater share of G20 countries whereas the average member state actor was hosted by prime representatives more often. In general, governance, economic and EU-related matters were addressed in a similar manner. However, the HR/VP emphasized security and specific cases more frequently while the average member state actor highlighted science and socio-cultural relations more often. Differences among the average of HoGs and FMs were negligible when contrasting the geographical distribution of destinations and hierarchical level of hosts. Regarding the agenda priorities, it may be stated that the average FM had a slightly higher positive correlation with the HR/VP than the average HoG.

Finally, the correlation coefficients, being calculated for every individual comparison with the HR/VP, were ranked. On a regional level, the HR/VP seemed to have an almost unique travel profile which diverged from the majority of other actors. Furthermore, it needs to be pointed out that the average member state actor has a high positive correlation with the hierarchical profile of the HR/VP. In addition, the HR/VP's content priorities were quite similar to France, Germany and Italy and differed substantially from Bulgarian and Estonian agendas.

The concluding hypotheses state with regard to the individual role of the HR/VP, that the HR/VP focuses on the EU-relations with countries in South-Eastern Europe and manages crisis situations in the EU neighboring regions. Further, the HR/VP uses bilateral travel diplomacy to foster EU-relations with medium-sized powers and tends to fulfill country-specific mandate during visits. In contrast to member state actors, the HR/VP has an almost exclusive geographical focus that complements most activities of national actors. Regarding the hierarchical dimension, the HR/VP appears to be perceived as an average member state

representative by a host country. Referring to the content priorities it may be argued that the HR/VP addresses similar topics like big EU member states. Further, the agenda tends to be more similar to Foreign Ministers than to Heads of Governments. Finally, the HR/VP does not adhere to a certain member state position but acts uniquely when conducting bilateral travel diplomacy.

Based on these key findings, future research may enlarge the sample size to test the hypotheses. All EU member states should ideally be analyzed within a longer observation period. Additionally, it is worth considering the travel diplomacy of other EU representatives like the Presidents of the European Commission and of the European Council as well as EU Commissioners. Furthermore, the fact that the HR/VP was not welcomed by any high-level politicians in the US or BRICS states may deserve further inquiry into the external perception of the role of the HR/VP by powerful countries in the world.

Concluding, this dissertation has made the contemporary EU travel diplomacy more transparent. It has shown that the HR/VP generally succeeded in representing the EU foreign policy during her trips abroad. Furthermore, the HR/VP has shown a unique travel diplomacy profile in comparison to member state actors. Consequently, further research shall be conducted to enlarge the data sample and to validate these findings. This dissertation offers guiding hypotheses to further investigate the role of the HR/VP in EU travel diplomacy and beyond.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Table 31 Travel diplomacy of EU28

Country	Number of Visits in 2018			Geographical Categorization	Population (tds.) ²³⁰
	Total	Head of Government	Foreign Minister		
France	40	10	30	West	66.919
Germany	35	15	20	West	82.792
Italy	29	9	20	South	60.484
United Kingdom	24	6	18	West	66.274
Spain	19	10	9	South	46.658
Bulgaria	19	14	5	Central/ East	7.050
Malta	17	4	13	South	476
Netherlands	17	4	13	West	17.181
Estonia	17	9	8	North	1.319
Austria	16	9	7	Central/ East	8.822
Luxembourg	13	0	13	West	602
Lithuania	12	3	9	North	2.809
Greece	11	0	11	South	10.741
Finland	11	2	9	North	5.513
Belgium	11	4	7	West	11.399
Romania	11	10	1	Central/ East	19.531
Croatia	10	2	8	Central/ East	4.105
Ireland	9	1	8	North	4.830
Portugal	9	6	3	South	10.291
Hungary	8	4	4	Central/ East	9.778
Latvia	7	1	6	North	1.934
Czech Republic	7	1	6	Central/ East	10.610
Cyprus	7	2	5	South	864
Slovakia	7	3	4	Central/ East	5.443
Denmark	6	1	5	North	5.781
Poland	3	1	2	Central/ East	37.977
Sweden	2	1	1	North	10.120
Slovenia	0	0	0	Central/ East	2.067

Source: Kolleg Europa III²³¹; Created by author

²³⁰ “Eurostat - Tables, Graphs and Maps Interface (TGM) Table: Population on 1 January,” accessed May 15, 2020, <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00001>.

²³¹ Jonas Borgmeier et al., *EU Travel Diplomacy: Who Represents the EU in the World?* (2020).

Appendix II

Table 32 Regional categorization of destinations

East Asia & Pacific	Middle East & North Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa	Non-EU Western Europe
Australia	Algeria	Angola	Andorra
Brunei Darussalam	Egypt, Arab Rep.	Chad	Iceland
China	Iran, Islamic Rep.	Congo, Rep.	Liechtenstein
Indonesia	Iraq	Eritrea	Norway
Japan	Israel	Ethiopia	San Marino
Korea, Rep.	Jordan	Gambia, The	Switzerland
New Zealand	Kuwait	Ghana	Vatican City
Singapore	Lebanon	Guinea	
Thailand	Libya	Mali	
Vietnam	Morocco	Niger	
	Qatar	Nigeria	
	Saudi Arabia	Senegal	
	Tunisia	South Africa	
		Tanzania	
North America	Eastern Europe	Latin America & Caribbean	South-Eastern Europe
Canada	Armenia	Bolivia	Albania
United States	Azerbaijan	Brazil	Bosnia and Herzegovina
	Georgia	Chile	Kosovo
	Kazakhstan	Colombia	Montenegro
South Asia	Moldova	Costa Rica	North Macedonia
Bangladesh	Russian Federation	Cuba	Serbia
India	Ukraine	Mexico	Turkey

Source: Created by author

Appendix III

Table 33 List of content categorization (1/2)

Environment	EU	Science	Socio-Culture
Climate	Eastern Partnership	Academics	Anti-Semitism
Climate Change	EU	Aeronautics	Art
Environment	EU Assistance	Artificial Intelligence	Civil Society
Paris Agreement	EU Membership	Aviation	Cultural Exchange
Renewable Energies	EU Partner	Digitalization	Culture
Sustainability	EU Presidency	Education	Diaspora
Sustainable Development	EU Relations	High Tech	Historical Event
Environment and Energy	EU Security	Innovation	Islam
		Research	Olympic Games
		Science	Reconciliation
		Scientific Research	Religion
		Space	Social Modernization
		Technology	Sport

Source: Created by author

Table 34 List of content categorization (2/2)

Governance	Case	Economy	Security
Corruption	Afghanistan	Agra-Products	Counter-Terrorism
Democracy	Africa	Agriculture	Crime
Democratic Governability	African Union	Agro-Industrial	Cyber Security
Democratization	ASEAN	Air Traffic	Defense
Development	Atlantic Relations	Business	Denuclearization
Development Aid	Central African Republic	Commerce	Disarmament
Diplomatic Representation	China	Commercial	Drug Trafficking
Freedom of Press	Democratic Republic Of Congo	Construction	Extremism
Gender Equality	Eu-China	Economic	Islamic Terrorists
Good Governance	Iran	Economy	Maritime
Governance	Iraq	Employment	Military
Health	Israel	Energy	Military Base
Human Rights	JCPOA	Expo	Organized Crime
Human Trafficking	Jerusalem	Finance	Piracy
Humanitarian Aid	Kongo	Food Products	Police
Illegal Migration	Korea	Free Trade	Regional Stability

Judiciary	Kosovo	Growth	Security
Media	Lebanon	Industry	Terrorism
Media Freedom	Libya	Infrastructure	The Fight Against Terrorism
Migrants	Macedonia-Name	Investments	
Migration	Mali	Logistics	
Multilateralism	Mediterranean	Military Industry	
Neighborhood	Mercosur	Mobility	
Peace	Middle East	Nuclear Energy	
Peace Process	NATO	Pharmacy	
Peace-Agreement	Nagorno-Karabakh	Prosperity	
Peacekeeping	Nicaragua	Start-Ups	
Peacekeeping Operations	North Korea	Tariffs	
Political Cooperation	OSCE	Tourism	
Public Administration	Pacific	Trade	
Reforms	Palestine	Transport	
Refugees	Qatar		
Rule Of Law	Region		
Security Council	Regional		
Stability	Regional Cooperation		
Stabilization	Rohingya Refugee Crisis		
Strategic Partnership	Russia		
Support Of Forces	Sahel		
Support To Municipalities	Sanctions		
Territorial Integrity	Saudi-Arabia		
Transparency	Somalia		
Un Peacekeeping	South Sudan		
Un Stabilization Mission	Syria		
Visa	Syrian Refugees		
Women's Rights	Transatlantic Relations		
Youth	Ukraine		
	Ukraine Conflict		
	Un		
	United Nations		
	Us		
	Venezuela		

Source: Created by author

Appendix IV

Table 35 Comparison of CFSP priorities and meetings of HR/VP (1/2)

Country	CFSP Priorities 2017	Topics of Meetings	Evaluation
Albania	Overall Enlargement and Stabilization and Association process; Further strengthening reform and the rule of law in Albania	Opening of EU accession negotiations - five key priorities (reforming the judiciary and the public administration, fighting corruption and organized crime, and protecting human rights)	Generally Met
Algeria	Hoped-for military defeat of Da'esh	Bilateral visit to meet the Algerian authorities including second high level security dialogue; security, counterterrorism, and illegal immigration issues.	Generally Met
Australia	FTA negotiations with Australia and the implementation of the Framework Agreements	EU-Australia partnership; The Framework will enhance dialogue and cooperation on issues such as terrorism, non-proliferation, the environment and energy, human rights, migration, trade, education and science, research and innovation; EU-Australia Free Trade Agreement	Generally Met
Canada	Strategic partnership is based on shared common values; Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement and Strategic Partnership Agreement	Meeting of the Joint Ministerial Committee and bilateral meetings; EU-Canada Strategic Partnership Agreement; increase cooperation in the year ahead in areas as diverse as promoting effective multilateralism; Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement	Generally Met
Cuba	Putting in practice, as soon as possible, the Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement signed with Cuba will be among the main priorities for the coming year	Closer and more constructive partnership, economic and social modernization, Human Rights	Generally Met
Korea, Republic	Important security and stability challenges; The EU-ROK Framework Participation Agreement allows for a framework for joint crisis management operations, and the EU welcomes the ROK's participation to EU's counter-piracy efforts off the Horn of Africa, notably in the EU led Atalanta operation.	Bilateral visit (Strategic Partnership); further enhance our cooperation; strategic partners; denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula	Generally Met
Libya	Libya Political Agreement ensure stability and preserve the country's unity and territorial integrity; supporting the internationally recognized Government of National Accord and the Presidency Council	Official bilateral visit to meet with the internationally recognized government, the UN and Libyan stakeholders; close cooperation of the EU with the Libyan authorities and the United Nations agencies	Generally Met

Source: Created by author

Table 36 Comparison of CFSP priorities and meetings of HR/VP (2/2)

Country	CFSP Priorities 2017	Topics of Meetings	Evaluation
Montenegro	Enlargement and Stabilization and Association process; further strengthening reform and the rule of law; consolidating European Perspective	Constructive and reliable role Montenegro is playing in the Western Balkans region; looking forward to progress in areas such as rule of law and media freedom; "doors of the European Union are open for you [Montenegro] and that negotiations are going well"	Generally Met
New Zealand	FTA negotiations with Australia and the implementation of the Framework Agreements	Bilateral visit; EU-NZ Free Trade Agreement; Partnership Agreement on Relations and Cooperation	Generally Met
North Macedonia	Enlargement and Stabilization and Association process; supporting the new government in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in the reform process and in addressing risk from political polarization	Accession; High level meetings in view of the referendum on the name agreement with Greece	Generally Met
Serbia	Enlargement and Stabilization and Association process; further strengthening reform and the rule of law; consolidating European Perspective; Mitigating stability risks between Belgrade and Pristina	Negotiations are advancing well on the country's EU integration path; "determination and political commitment" of the Serbian leadership "to make swift progress in the coming period also in these areas".	Partially Met
Singapore	-	Singapore: EU-ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference / ASEAN Regional Forum / bilateral meetings	-
Turkey	Condemned the coup attempt of 15 July 2016; candidate country, implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement; important joint interests: counterterrorism; Visa liberalization; EU-Turkey Customs Union; respect Cyprus' sovereignty over its territorial sea	EU-TR High Level Political Dialogue; Syria, Iran, and Iraq. They will also discuss bilateral relations between the EU and Turkey, cooperation on migration and counterterrorism and other important sectoral issues.	Partially Met
Ukraine	Application of the Association Agreement, EU Advisory Mission (EUAM) to Ukraine; assists the Ukrainian authorities in developing effective, sustainable and accountable civilian security services that contribute to strengthening the rule of law in Ukraine	Reiterate the EU's support for Ukraine in terms of reforms and sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence, Humanitarian Assistance	Generally Met
United States	Transatlantic relationship global peace, security and prosperity; challenges including inter alia Syria, Libya, counterterrorism and monitoring the implementation of the JCPOA with Iran, developments in Ukraine and Russia	Speech and meetings with students and faculty members at Harvard University	Not Met

Source: Created by author