



Master's Thesis

**The Role of the EU HR/VP
in the Promotion of Gender Equality Norms**

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List of Abbreviations

CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
EEAS	European External Action Service
EU	European Union
GAP	Gender Action Plan
GENs	Gender Equality Norms
HR	High Representative
HR/VP	High Representative and Vice President of the European Union
KW	Key Word
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
LGBTIQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersexual, Queer
NPE	Normative Power Europe
QCA	Qualitative Content Analysis
TEU	Treaty on European Union
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

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Introduction

Putting gender equality at the heart of the Union's external policies was one of the key messages that Josep Borrell expressed when presenting the latest Gender Action Plan in November 2020 (EEAS, 2020b). Borrell is the current High Representative and Vice-President (HR/VP) of the European Union (EU) and is often considered the chief diplomat of the EU. The Lisbon Treaty mandates the HR/VP to conduct, represent and express the EU's foreign policy. The latter is shaped by a normative and value-based approach being guided by the principles of democracy, rule of law and human rights (Diez & Manners, 2007). In this context gender equality has become one of the core values of the EU and was included in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (Weiner & MacRae, 2014). According to the HR/VP, the EU takes concrete actions to build a gender-equal world. However, it may be wondered what role the HR/VP plays in reaching this goal. What can be expected from a HR/VP in the promotion of gender equality norms?

Expectations about the coherence and effectiveness of the EU's representation in the world have risen ever since the creation of the double-hatted post of the HR/VP in 2009 (Helwig, 2013). So far, Catherine Ashton, Federica Mogherini, and Josep Borrell have embodied the post of the EU's chief diplomat and were faced with various challenges (Emerson et al., 2011). Setting up the institution and surviving in a bureaucratic turf war as well as the response to the so-called "Arab Spring" were important milestones in Ashton's term (Howorth, 2011; Vanhoonaeker & Pomorska, 2016). Mogherini further developed the importance of the post by setting up the EU's Global Strategy, implementing the Permanent Structured Cooperation and coordinating a response to the Libyan crisis as well as the migration flows (Tocci, 2016). Both were also key figures in negotiating the Iran Nuclear Deal (Bassiri Tabrizi & Kienzle, 2020). Borrell is currently tasked to represent the EU as a more geopolitical actor and works on unifying European voices in the world (Blockmans, 2020). However, it may be wondered to what extent a HR/VPs actually acts upon specific norms such as democracy. The literature on the HR/VP offers insights into the evolving nature of the post institutionally (Denza, 2012; Dijkstra, 2011; Helwig, 2015b, 2017; Helwig & R ger, 2014; Howorth, 2011; R ger, 2011; Tonra, 2019) and its actions with regard to conflicts, crises and country cases (Amadio Vicer , 2016, 2018b, 2020; Bassiri Tabrizi & Kienzle, 2020; Sus, 2014) but it lacks investigations of the HR/VP's role in norm promotion. This thesis addresses the research gap by providing an analysis of the HR/VP's (in)actions in the promotion of the gender

equality norm (GEN). Gender equality is one of the EU's fundamental values and is to be implemented in all policy areas since the inclusion of gender-mainstreaming in the Treaty of Amsterdam (Weiner & MacRae, 2014, p. 5). The EU employs its normative power to teach others on gender issues and offers a comprehensive track record as a gender equality promoter in its foreign policy (Beier & Çağlar, 2020, p. 426; Debusscher & Manners, 2020). Hence, gender equality serves as a prime example for the analysis of the HR/VP's role in norm promotion because of its holistic application to all external actions. Therefore, this work poses the main research question: what role does the HR/VP play in promoting gender equality norms?

To develop a response, this thesis is structured according to the following sub-research questions. Starting off, it is inquired what actions can be expected from the HR/VP. In relation to this, it is asked whether and if so, to what extent does the HR/VP promote GENs. Further, it is asked how the HR/VP addresses GENs in public communications and how this developed throughout time. Before establishing the methodological framework, a literature review presents the EU's normative approach to foreign policy within the constructivist debate on norm diffusion. Subsequently, Ian Manners' concept of normative power Europe (NPE) is introduced with regard to GENs. This includes the definition of GENs being employed in this work. Furthermore, analyses of the EU's role in gender equality promotion in different policy areas are presented. Finally, the scholarly debate on the role of the HR/VP offers insights into different conceptualizations of the post. It also provides comparative assessments of performances by different officeholders and case-related analyses. This review provides grounds to claim the literature gap regarding the role of the HR/VP in the norm promotion of gender equality.

The methodological chapter is divided into two parts. Firstly, hypotheses about the ideal role of the HR/VP in norm promotion are developed based on the literature and the legal mandate of the HR/VP. They provide answers to the first sub-research question and guide the analytical process to respond to the remaining questions. Secondly, a content analysis is prepared to test the hypotheses. A 9-step model of investigation is designed based on Mayring's qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000, 2015; Mayring & Fenzl, 2019). Providing an overview of the process, in the beginning, the core elements of the research question and objectives are formulated that provide grounds to choose relevant sources. 311 public speeches by the HR/VP are used within an observation period starting at the beginning of Mogherini's term in 2015 and lasting up until early

June 2021. In general, a deductive research approach is applied. Therefore, relevant categories are developed based on the literature in order to apply them throughout the analysis. A set of general key words is established and used to filter the large number of sources. This work employs the software MAXQDA to explore the data. The speeches that entail at least one key word are further assessed in a context analysis. A second set of predetermined categories is crucial for the coding process. It is applied to the text and adjusted throughout the analysis. Finally, the operationalization of the 9-step model of investigation provides empirical data to test the hypotheses. It considers a variety of dimensions including time, frequency and meaning of GENs. Based on this, conclusions are drawn about the nature of the HR/VP's role in the promotion of GENs. Before summarizing the work, the limiting factors of this research design are made transparent. In the end, a research outlook provides recommendations for future work on the post of the HR/VP in the context of norm promotion.

Literature Review

The literature review takes a triangular approach. Firstly, the academic debate on norm diffusion and Ian Manners' NPE concept is introduced and considered in the context of gender equality. Secondly, the EU's role in the promotion of GENS is elaborated upon. Thirdly, the post of the HR/VP is presented based on its legal mandate and the research which has been conducted in this field. This review describes the gap in the scholarly debate which is addressed in this work. It also provides the ground to develop the research design in the next chapter.

Norms

There has been an elaborate discussion on norms in the constructivist literature (Checkel, 1999; Finnemore, 1996; Manners, 2002, 2006). Acknowledging that constructivism emphasizes normative as well as material structures, it is argued that the systems of shared ideas, beliefs and values exert powerful influence on societal and political actions (Reus-Smit, 2001, p. 217). Defining constructivism as the second wave of critical theory, scholars are faced with a dichotomy of modernist and postmodernist approaches (Reus-Smit, 2001). Alternatively, a tripartite categorization is proposed by Ruggie (1998, p. 881). Firstly, neo-classical constructivism builds upon epistemological affinity with pragmatism and a commitment to the idea of a social science. Scholars like Ruggie himself, Ernst and Peter Haas and Finnemore can be grouped within this first category. Secondly, postmodernism challenges the "hegemonic discourse" and "regime of truth" in social sciences which is rooted in the works of Friedrich Nietzsche, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida. Thirdly, scientific realism is placed within the continuum of the two previous categorizations being promoted by i.e. Roy Bhaskar and Alexander Wendt. Beyond this, a holistic form of constructivism as opposed to systematic (Wendt, 1992, 1995) or unit-level (Katzenstein, 1996) approaches, allows to integrate a range of factors that affect identities, interests and norms (Reus-Smit, 2001, p. 221). In general, critical debates regarding the importance of normative versus material forces (Ruggie, 1998) as well as questions regarding the nature of theory, relationship with rationalism, methodology and the relationship between modernist and postmodernists need to be considered throughout the research process. The latter can be distinguished between modernists posing why questions, while postmodernists ask how questions (Reus-Smit, 2001). As the modernist/ neo-classical form of constructivism allows for a holistic empirical analysis of relevant puzzles in world politics, it is employed in this research project.

Having contextualized this work within the scholarly debate on constructivism, the role of norms is further elaborated upon. Norms can either be defined as regulative and constitutive or prescriptive. The former serves in a problem-solving manner in relation to cooperation and conflicts. The latter proposes elements of an ideal society (Fejerskov et al., 2020). Across a range of different definitions of norms, there is a common understanding that norms are perceived as collective expectations or standards regarding appropriate behavior for particular actors and identities (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 891). The Universal Declarations of Human Rights and the Sustainable Development Goals are prime examples of prescriptive norms. They are widely acknowledged but not necessarily accepted. Many prescriptive norms are used to criticize and to delegitimize certain practices and views. Further, the understanding of norms varies across history and perspectives. Norms are unstable and are continuously contested and subject to change. The literature offers competing terms to describe the changing nature of norms as diffusion, translation (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Zwingel, 2012), adaptation (Ansari et al., 2010), vernacularisation (Levitt & Merry, 2009) and localization (Acharya, 2004). The process itself was also conceptualized as “norm life cycle”, “spiral model” or “world polity approach” (Fejerskov et al., 2020; Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). With regard to practical examples scholars have worked on norm diffusion in international organization (Acharya, 2004; Park, 2006) including the European Union (Johansson-Nogués et al., 2020; Swimelar, 2017). The impact of structure in contrast to agency and the role of norm entrepreneurs is explored across different spheres (Wunderlich, 2020). Among others, this scholarly debate regards gender norms in the context of gender mainstreaming (Abels, 2021; Engberg-Pedersen et al., 2020; True & Mintrom, 2001) including the implementation of the value of gender equality in trade relations (Garcia & Masselot, 2015; True, 2009).

The debate on the EU as a normative power can be traced back to Ian Manners’ seminal work published in 2002. He proclaimed that the EU’s power as an international actor derives from its identity and its ability to define what is “normal” in international relations (2002, p. 239). Manners defines five core norms which can be drawn from a series of declarations, treaties, policies, criteria, and conditions. They encompass peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law as well as human rights. Additionally, four “minor” norms are defined being social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development and good governance (p. 242). GENs can arguably be subsumed under a broader umbrella of human rights which shows an overlap with the “minor”

norm of anti-discrimination. However, to actually exert normative power, it does not suffice to establish a set of norms as a base. Norms need to be diffused and promoted to shape the behavior of international actors. Manner presents six forms of norm diffusion. Firstly, *contagion* describes the process in which norms are transmitted unintentionally, because of the EU's role as leader by example. Secondly, institutionalizing relationships with partners serves as a way of *procedural* diffusion. Thirdly, *transference* represents the spread of norms and standards because of exchanges of goods, trade, aid, or technical assistance. Fourthly, the physical presence of EU representatives such as the EU delegations are essential for the *overt* diffusion. Fifthly, the *cultural filter* has an impact on international norms as it leads to a learning, adaptation, or rejection of norms. Finally, a range of new policy or declaratory communications by EU representatives provide grounds for the *informational* diffusion. The latter is particularly relevant for this work because the HR/VP represents the EU foreign policy in public speeches or other forms of communications (pp. 244-245). Further, Manners argues that the EU is not only established on a normative base but that the EU is also able to act in a normative way. Building upon the conceptualization of the EU as a changer of norms, he claims that the EU should also promote its norms in external relations (p. 252). Hence, employing core foundational norms and values as base for policy formulation and projecting these in its foreign and security policy is central to the EU's role as a normative actor in the international arena. The literature on NPE provides extensive discussions on the conceptualization, application and critiques which are not presented in their entirety in this work (Bicchi, 2006; Björkdahl; Diez, 2005, 2013; Diez & Manners, 2007; Forsberg, 2011; Haukkala, 2014; Hyde-Price, 2006; Noutcheva, 2009; Scheipers & Sicurelli, 2007; Sjursen, 2006; Whitman, 2014; Zutter, 2010). It is rather focused on how Manners' normative power approach was used to engage with the EU as a gender equality promoter.

Gender Equality Norms

In the context of gender equality, a normative power approach focuses explicitly on questions such as whether, what and how should the EU advance gender equality in its external relations. Various scholars applied these normative lenses (Debusscher & Manners, 2020; Roggeband et al., 2014) when investigating the rationale of gender mainstreaming in the EU discourse (David & Guerrina, 2013), with regard to the development policy (Debusscher, 2011), trade (Garcia & Masselot, 2015) or the implementation of the UN women, peace and security agenda (WPS) (Guerrina & Wright, 2016). Hence, it is important to define GENs. This work

defines GENs as a prescriptive (Zwingel, 2016) and recognizes that some scholars concentrate on more narrowly defined concepts such as gender mainstreaming, gender-balanced decision-making, women's empowerment, preventing violence against women, women's labor rights as well as sexual and reproductive health and rights (Fejerskov et al., 2020, p. 11). This thesis subsumes these concepts under the broader umbrella of GENs. They are particularly important as they are used to define different understandings of GENs within the theoretical framework. The feminist literature offers a range of definitions and conceptualizations of gender equality (Ahrens & Vleuten, 2020; Avdeyeva, 2015; Bigio & Vogelstein, 2020; Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Davis, 2018; Hoijsink & Muehlenhoff, 2020; Zwingel, 2020). In particular, this work considers liberal and global intersectional feminist perspectives. On the one hand, liberal feminism emphasizes formal equality in law and existing institutions (Lazarou & Zamfir, 2021; Masselot & Brears, 2013). For instance, it concentrates on integrating women in leadership positions (Alwan & Weldon, 2017, p. 7). This definition is also prevalent in neoliberal thinking (Jacquot, 2015; Muehlenhoff, 2017). On the other hand, global intersectional feminism acknowledges numerous forms of oppression such as race or class that affect marginalized groups (Alwan & Weldon, 2017, p. 26; Thompson, 2020, p. 4). Quite ambiguously, gender equality has been criticized for being an empty signifier but also for being an overloaded signifier. In general, it can be stated that GENs are concerned with gender-based marginalization, discrimination, exploitation, and injustice. They are further inherently based on the construction of sexual differences (Scott, 2010) and affect several institutional spheres. The latter include gender norms in capitalism and market competition, politics, and families. Consequently, gender equality is referred to differently depending upon the actors and contexts. For instance, UN conventions highlight the positive implications for issues such as economic growth, peace, or family well-being. However, post-colonial feminists criticize the Western feminist scholars for seeing their gender norms as universal and imposing them on non-Western societies (David & Guerrina, 2013). Additionally, Debusscher & Manners (2020) pointed out that it needs a rethinking based on a holistic intersectional and inclusive approach of "gender+". They argue that the binary understanding which solely focuses on women and men neglects the broader picture and they favor an intersectional view. Intersectionality acknowledges multiple characteristics and identities creating individualized and unique positions of inequality. The concept of intersectionality was introduced by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in the context of Black women being discriminated against which was not solely based on their gender but also due

to their racial belonging. It is argued that characteristics such as gender, race, class, sexuality, age, ethnicity or ability are intertwined and cannot be studied individually (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1244; Debusscher, 2021; Debusscher & Manners, 2020). In sum, this work considers GENs as an umbrella term for different concepts that address gender-based discrimination in a liberal, holistic, and intersectional manner (Debusscher & Manners, 2020; Fejerskov et al., 2020, p. 14).

Having a closer look at the EU as a gender equality promoter, historically, the EU institutions started promoting gender equality internally before expanding beyond its borders. Already in 1957, gender equality was introduced in the Treaty of Rome. It encompassed the principle of equal pay for male and female workers. It ensured that lower wages for women would not lead to unfair competition. This economic justification illustrates the rationale behind granting women's rights at that time. Gender equality was not seen as an end in itself, but rather as a means to achieve a level playing field for competition (Jacquot, 2015). This neoliberal motivation has shaped the EU's understanding of gender equality substantially. For instance, in the 1980s, "positive" measures to establish a more family-friendly work environment and to train women were actually intended to attract more women into the workforce to foster economic growth (Weiner & MacRae, 2014, p. 4). However, in 1997, the Treaty of Amsterdam defined gender mainstreaming as a core principle obliging all EU entities to encompass gender dimensions in their policy areas. Gender equality was now defined as a substantive goal making its promotion essential in all measures. A transformed understanding of gender as an end in itself led to its inclusion in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (p. 5). However, different motivations for and diverging understandings of gender equality norms and significant differences between member states persist up until today.

In addition to the internal dimensions, gender mainstreaming also led to an expansion of the EU's efforts in external relations. The EU incorporates gender aspects in a variety of its external actions. It includes GENs in the enlargement and neighborhood policy which is monitored by the European Institute for Gender Equality. Further, the EU puts efforts into mainstreaming gender in its civilian missions and also considers the issue in its trade policy. For example, the modernized EU-Chile Association Agreement entails a gender impact assessment as well as an entire chapter devoted to gender equality (European Commission, 2021; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019, p. 62; Šimáková, 2018; Woodward & van der Vleuten, 2014). Many of the EU's

activities are guided by the UN ‘women, peace and security’ agenda, which was established by the landmark UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (Guerrina et al., 2018, p. 1044). Among others, the resolution emphasizes the importance of women’s representation and equal participation to maintain and to promote peace and security (United Nations Security Council, 2000). In this context, the EU developed a comprehensive approach to implement the resolution in 2008, which set targets to include more women mediators and negotiators as well as civil society groups in peace negotiations. In 2015, the Council of the EU stated that the EU aims to be a frontrunner in the protection, fulfilment, and enjoyment of human rights by women and girls and strongly promotes them in all external relations (Council of the European Union, 2015). The EU’s efforts in external relations were further institutionalized by the creation of the post of the Principal Advisor on Gender within the European External Action Service (EEAS) (European Commission, 2021; Lazarou & Zamfir, 2021, p. 6). According to former HR/VP Federica Mogherini, the advisor was to manage the EEAS’s work on gender equality and women’s empowerment, and on WPS as well as to increase accountability and to ensure internal and external coherence. Unsurprisingly, this broad mandate was criticized for being unclear. Further, the position was not sufficiently funded considering that a small staff of two and a second expert, constrained by limited financial resources were to fulfill this complex mandate (Horst, 2016). A year later, the EU Global Strategy defined gender equality as crucial to develop an integrated approach to conflicts and crises (EEAS, 2016, p. 31).

Since 2010, the EU has developed three five-year Gender Action Plans (GAP) to foster the implementation of gender mainstreaming in its external relations. The first Gender Action Plan (GAP I) mainly focuses on gender equality and women’s empowerment with regard to development. It takes a triangular approach encompassing political and policy dialogue, gender mainstreaming as well as specific actions (European Commission, 2010). The GAP II has a bigger scope promoting gender equality measures in all areas of the EU’s external actions. These range from the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Commercial Policy to Area of Freedom, Security and Justice including immigration and asylum. This serves as the basis for achieving the EU’s objective of guaranteeing socioeconomic rights of women and girls, stopping violence against them, as well as their representation and participation (European Commission, 2021). Beier & Çağlar consider the GAP II ambitious, going beyond political and institutional reach to demonstrate the EU’s global leadership role in gender equality (2020, p. 427). The latest

GAP III reiterates the EU's role as a global front-runner in promoting gender equality. It provides a tripartite approach including gender mainstreaming, targeted actions, and political dialogue (High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2020, p. 2). The GAP III is structured according to five pillars. Firstly, a cross-cutting priority improves gender mainstreaming in all external sectors and policies. This encompasses an intersectional, rights-based, and gender-transformative approach. A gender transformative approach aims to establish a gender-power balance and to prevent existing structures from reproducing discrimination and inequalities. Intersectionality acknowledges multiple characteristics and identities creating individualized and unique positions of inequality. Secondly, the GAP III proposes a multi-level approach fostering strategic EU engagement at multilateral, regional and country level with various partners. Thirdly, key priorities are set including the prevention of gender-based violence or the advancement of equal participation and leadership. Fourthly, the document highlights the EU's role to lead by example. It aims for a gender-responsive and gender-balanced leadership at top EU political and management levels. To achieve this, investments in training, knowledge and pooling actions with member states are needed. Finally, reporting and communicating the results is seen as a crucial pillar to increase public accountability, to show transparency and to allow access to information (High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2020). In summary, this overview traced the fundamental theoretical discussions on norms within the constructivist literature, its employment within European Studies and Manners' NPE concept. It further presented how GENs have been applied and how they were translated into policies. At this point it is worth exploring how the post of the HR/VP has been debated. More concretely, it is inquired whether the literature offers accounts of the HR/VP's role GEN promotion.

HR/VP

The role of the HR/VP is of particular interest because it is tasked with conducting and representing the EU's foreign policy including its normative positions. The EU's external actions often entail contradictions and incoherencies across different foreign policy areas which is certainly not a new phenomenon in the EU. Historically, member states have conducted their own external policies and prioritized different aspects which resulted in conflicting perceptions of the EU in the world (Cross, 2013). Addressing this issue, the EU strengthened the role of the High Representative (HR) in the Lisbon Treaty (van Vooren & Wessel, 2014). The post of the HR gained the Vice-Presidency of the European Commission and received the mandate to ensure consistency of the Union's external action and to coordinate coherent measures. The HR/VP is often perceived as the EU's chief diplomat tasked with conducting the EU's foreign, security and defense policies (Emerson et al., 2011). However, the nature of the position makes simple categorization difficult.

Legally, the Treaty on European Union (TEU) defines the competencies and resources which are provided to the HR/VP (European Union, 2007). Institutionally, the HR/VP is a member of the European Council and presides over the Foreign Affairs Council (Art. 15 (2) TEU; Art. 18 (3) TEU). Further, she¹ is given the task to conduct the Union's common foreign and security policy. In particular, this entails making proposals to the development of that policy, which she shall carry out as mandated by the Council (Art. 18 (2) TEU). Further, the HR/VP shall ensure the consistency of the Union's external action (Art. 18 (4) TEU) including trade, development and neighborhood policies (EEAS, 2021a). In a similar manner, she shall ensure the unity, consistency, and effectiveness of action by the Union in collaboration with the Council (Art. 26 (2)). Additionally, it is stated that the HR/VP shall represent the Union through political dialogue with third parties by expressing the Union's position in international organisations and at international conferences (Art. 27 (2)). The EEAS assists the HR/VP in communicating and cooperating with partners in the world (Cross & Melissen, 2013).

Complementing this legal perspective, the literature offers different conceptualizations of the post, comparisons of different officeholders, and case-related analyses which are presented in the following. Scholars investigated the evolving nature of the HR/VP (Rüger, 2011; Tonra, 2019)

¹ This thesis uses the female form when referring to the post of the HR/VP. This is solely for better readability of the text and includes male officeholders.

and considered the rationale behind the treaty changes. Denza (2012) identified three main objectives. They encompass increasing the independence from the Council and Presidency, developing a higher international profile for the post, and establishing a unitary representation of the Union. However, the Lisbon Treaty remains unclear about the role of the HR/VP. Some view the HR/VP's role varying between coordinator and a leader (Howorth, 2011, p. 319) or as the Union's foreign minister while the role may appear to be closer to an 'executive head' of an international organization (Bassiri Tabrizi & Kienzle, 2020, p. 322). Helwig & Rüger (2014) offer four different role expectations, starting with the *co-leader*. While the HR/VP cannot be *the* leader due to its limited mandate, the post should be at least *a* leader which is also described in the TEU. Secondly, the HR/VP was conceptualized as a *broker* between conflicting preferences of member states as opposed to focusing on her own initiatives. Thirdly, as a *manager* the HR/VP is concerned with establishing coherence, managing the agenda, and allowing for a smooth functioning. Fourthly, the core function encompasses the role of a *diplomat* representing the EU's policies and negotiating between third parties (pp. 4–5). Additionally, the HR/VP is often described as a bridge-builder (Bassiri Tabrizi & Kienzle, 2020, p. 333).

In practice, there have been high expectations concerning the HR/VP to shape and align the positions of member states and EU institutions to speak with one voice (Alcaro & Shapiro, 2014). However, there are clear limitations to the HR/VP's room for maneuver because the Commission takes the lead in integrated aspects of external relations such as trade and the CFSP remains largely of intergovernmental nature. The European Council has clear control of the HR/VP which restricts her power of independent actions (Amadio Viceré, 2018a, p. 251). Furthermore, the European Parliament has budgetary control and the European Commission implements major aspects of external relations (Koops & Tercovich, 2020, p. 283). Therefore, it is up to the political will of the stakeholders to allow the HR/VP to act upon the delegated institutional powers of representation and agenda-setting (Helwig, 2013). Hence, the assessment that formal rules are less relevant in practice than on paper provides the HR/VP with more leeway to follow her agenda (Dijkstra, 2011). Additionally, personal characteristics of the incumbent might have a substantial impact on the policies as well (Amadio Viceré et al., 2020, p. 264).

Theoretically, the HR/VP has been assessed by comparing neo-functionalist and intergovernmental perspectives (Amadio Viceré, 2020). The role of the HR/VP was assessed

within a range from purely intergovernmental to solely supranational by comparing the defense and security dimension and the defense-industrial complex (Calcara, 2020). The concept of agenda-setting was also applied to the HR/VP. While the unanimity and consensus-based decision-making in the CFSP tend to limit the power to set the agenda, three advantages were identified. Firstly, having her own foreign policy administration offers a valuable source of information and expertise. Secondly, the HR/VP and her representatives chair working groups, the Political and Security Committee and the Council the HR/VP which allows them to raise issues and to steer the debate. Thirdly, frequent crisis-situations in which timely responses are needed may privilege the HR/VP to shape the desired outcome (Vanhoonacker & Pomorska, 2013, p. 1320). Additionally, the principal-agent structure served as an analytical perspective (Helwig, 2015a, 2015b, 2017) and the concept of “leaderisation” was applied to the HR/VP in the context of new media in International Relations theory (Aggestam & Hedling, 2020). Further, the importance of personal qualities was highlighted when establishing more coherence of the EU’s foreign policy, increasing the relevance of the EEAS and winning support internally as well as externally. Further, decisive soft skills encompass strategic thinking, tactical skills and mobilizing allies (Koops & Tercovich, 2020, p. 280).

Based on this range of conceptualizations, former HR Solana and the HR/VPs Ashton and Mogherini were subject to comparisons. For instance, Solana and Mogherini were contrasted based on the discourse on the Southern Mediterranean and the process of European Security Strategy and EU Global Strategy (Bremberg, 2020). Ashton’s term was analyzed with regard to improvements in the field of continuity, coherent action, and leadership. Whereas the post of the HR/VP allowed for more continuity in comparison to the rotating presidencies, incoherencies remained an enduring challenge. Considering the leadership role, Ashton was not able to take a more advanced position in comparison to Solana being her predecessor as HR (Vanhoonacker & Pomorska, 2016, p. 60). The leadership skills of Ashton and Mogherini were assessed in the analysis of how the EEAS was structured and the crisis management system developed (Koops & Tercovich, 2020). In general, both Ashton and Mogherini were criticized for being inexperienced (Dempsey, 2014; Gardner, 2014; Müller, 2016). However, this picture changed throughout their term. Former United States Secretary of State John Kerry respected Ashton for her negotiating skills, her stamina and her diplomatic talent and perceived Mogherini as a good, thoughtful and constructive partner (Hansen, 2016; Schmitz & Schult, 2013).

Additionally, the role of the HR/VP was analyzed in the context of case studies on Kosovo, Ukraine (Amadio Viceré, 2016, 2020) and the nuclear negotiations with Iran. The latter highlighted the importance of the HR/VP's role in these high-profile policy cases (Bassiri Tabrizi & Kienzle, 2020). The position of the HR/VP was further explored with regard to shaping coherence within, across and beyond institutions in the Eastern Partnership (Sus, 2014). Summarizing, the scholarly debate has focused on the conceptualization of the HR/VP and its coverage of different officeholders and case-related analyses. However, the literature lacks an assessment of the HR/VPs role of promoting policies and European values – in particular, gender equality.

Methodology

The methodological chapter follows the structure of the sub-research questions. Firstly, the theoretical framework considers the expectations of how the HR/VP would act. Drawing from the NPE concept and building upon the EU's self-perception being at the forefront of the promotion of women's rights (Council of the European Union, 2015; Debusscher & Manners, 2020), hypotheses about the ideal role are developed. They consider the relevance, understanding and progress of the HR/VP's norm promotion. Secondly, an analytical framework is developed to test the hypotheses. It is based on Mayring's conceptualization of a qualitative content analysis. A 9-step model of investigation is developed to structure the research. Subsequently, the process is operationalized before assessing the results in the following chapter of the analysis.

Theoretical Framework

Considering the constructivist approach to norm diffusion, this work employs a modernist form of constructivism because it allows for a holistic empirical analysis of relevant puzzles in world politics (Reus-Smit, 2001). Manners' NPE concept serves as a frame to analyze the HR/VP's role in the promotion of GENs. First of all, Manners claims that the EU should promote its norms in its foreign policy (2002, p. 252). This is the theoretical foundation to develop this research design which develops expectations under the assumption that the EU intends to promote norms. Secondly, Manners defines human rights as one of the five core norms and characterizes anti-discrimination as one of the four minor norms (p. 242). In relation to this, gender equality has been conceptualized as a normative regime that addresses gender-based discrimination in a holistic and intersectional manner. Further, it builds upon the protection of women's and girls' rights. The latter

can arguably be subsumed under the broader umbrella of the core norm human rights whereas the former relates to the minor norm of anti-discrimination. Therefore, this work considers the gender equality norm within Manners' conceptualization of norms which should be promoted by the EU. Thirdly, Manners describes six forms of norm diffusion. The informational diffusion is of particular interest because it recognizes the actorness of EU representatives through a range of strategic communications. This encompasses new policies and declarations (p. 245). This work identifies the HR/VP as one of the latter because she is legally mandated to represent and to conduct the EU's foreign policy (Art. 27 (2); Art. 18 (2) TEU). This is reflected in the scholarly debate because it matches one of the core expectations of the HR/VP to be a diplomat. The literature considers the representation of the EU's policies as a key function (Helwig & Ruger, 2014, p. 5). Hence, it can be argued that the HR/VP can take an active role in norm diffusion through strategic communications. Based on Manners' first claim, it can even be argued that the HR/VP should take an active role in norm promotion. This triangular reasoning provides grounds to hypothesize that the HR/VP promotes GENs publicly. More concretely, this work formulates the first hypothesis as follows:

H1: The HR/VPs addresses the issue of gender equality in public communications.

H1 addresses the second sub-research question regarding the extent to which the HR/VP promotes GENs, which is tested in the analytical chapter of this work. The third sub-research question concerns the nature of how the HR/VP addresses GENs in her communication. This work argues that it is crucial to analyze the understanding of gender equality in order to interpret the discourse. Two main conceptualizations of gender equality are distinguished by drawing upon the distinction between liberal and global intersectional feminism (Alwan & Weldon, 2017). This is also reflected in the EU's track record as a gender equality promoter. Whereas gender equality was seen as a means to achieve fair competition and not as an end in itself in the 20th century, this began to change after the Treaty of Amsterdam. In 1997, the treaty introduced the principle of gender mainstreaming which meant that gender dimensions had to be incorporated in all policy areas. Gender equality was declared a core value of the EU and was perceived beyond its purely liberal categorization (Jacquot, 2015; Weiner & MacRae, 2014). Applying this dichotomy to the role of the HR/VP, it can either be expected that the HR/VP would mainly focus on aspects of women's working rights, equal opportunities, and the importance of women to provide prosperity

in a liberal manner. However, following the more holistic definition of gender equality in global intersectional feminism, the HR/VP would predominantly address the issue in a more-encompassing manner. This would include recognizing unique positions of inequality and demonstrating a gender+ understanding (Crenshaw, 1991; Debusscher & Manners, 2020). At this point it should be highlighted that these definitions offer a certain overlap. They are not mutually exclusive but also not entirely complementary. This is further addressed in the analytical framework. Considering that Manners' himself developed his conceptualization to include a broader understanding of gender and that the GAP III includes an intersectional approach, this work expects that the HR/VP would also predominantly employ a holistic understanding. In other words, the second hypothesis is phrased as follows:

H2: The HR/VP predominantly addresses the gender equality norm holistically.

Finally, addressing the fourth sub-research question, it is worth engaging with the development throughout time. Based on the EU's normative approach to gender equality promotion, it can be expected that the issue was continuously addressed by the HR/VP. However, it can even be argued that the HR/VP increasingly took actions to promote gender equality norms. Considering the terms of Ashton and Mogherini, the former was occupied with establishing the post and involved in bureaucratic turf wars (Helwig & Rüger, 2014; Koops & Tercovich, 2020). Additionally, the EEAS still needed to be established in her early years. Consequently, her successor would have had the chance to take advantage of the institutional set-up and build up more capacities. This argument can be substantiated by the fact, that Mogherini created the post of Principal Advisor on Gender within the EEAS (European Commission, 2021; Lazarou & Zamfir, 2021, p. 6). Therefore, the final hypothesis assumes that:

H3: The HR/VPs increasingly addresses gender equality norms.

In the following an analytical framework is established that structures the research. It is crucial to choose adequate methods and data sources. This provides grounds for addressing the gap in the literature as well as to respond to the main research question. Additionally, it is important to follow the remaining sub-research questions as guiding elements and to be able to provide sufficient data to test the hypotheses in the end.

Analytical Framework

To test the hypotheses, this work employs a mixed-methods approach. It combines and integrates qualitative and quantitative analyses by using descriptions, measurements, and interpretations. In the following, the analytical framework is developed based on Mayring's concept of a qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000; Mayring & Fenzl, 2019, p. 641). The qualitative content analysis (QCA) is an instrument that combines qualitative approaches to text analysis with the techniques of a quantitative content analysis. The latter allows for the investigation of large amounts of material while it keeps a qualitative-interpretative perspective (Mayring & Fenzl, 2019, p. 633). Hence, this method is chosen for this work that is interested in a quantitative dimension of gender equality promotion. However, the remaining sub-research questions require a more qualitative approach. The QCA can be distinguished from other methods of text analyses because it is led by categorization. This is central to a QCA which either takes an inductive or a deductive method. The former develops a system of categories while exploring primary data whereas the latter draws from existing theories and the literature to establish a scheme of different categories. This research design takes a deductive approach. It draws categorizations from the literature and applies them to the relevant texts. This can be justified because the established hypotheses are to be tested. In contrast to open coding in other methods, the QCA strictly follows the rules of categorization. This is fundamental in processing large amounts of data as being done in this work. Additionally, a QCA is employed to contextualize the material within a broader range of communications to draw conclusions beyond the content of the texts (Mayring, 2015; Mayring & Fenzl, 2019, pp. 634–635). This is another characteristic of the QCA that fits the research design of the thesis as it explores a large amount of data, and it investigates the HR/VP's role in the promotion of GENs.

Operationalizing the QCA follows a predetermined process. Mayring & Brunner (2006) developed a step model for conducting the deductive application of categories in the analysis. In the beginning, the research questioned needs to be precisely formulated and justified before selecting the material. The material is characterized and contextualized within the broader framework of the assessment of the communication. This provides grounds for the determination of the units of analysis and the development of categories being based on the literature. Subsequently, the coding guidelines are formulated. They define the category, provide an example, and describe the coding rules. Based on this, the deductive process of analysis is conducted and

reviewed. The latter step is used to redefine and to improve the categorization scheme that is applied to all material in a final exploration of all data. Consequently, the results are qualitatively and/or quantitatively assessed (Mayring & Fenzl, 2019, p. 640). This work draws from the process by Mayring & Brunner and adjusts it to the research project. A 9-step model of investigation is developed and illustrated in figure 1.

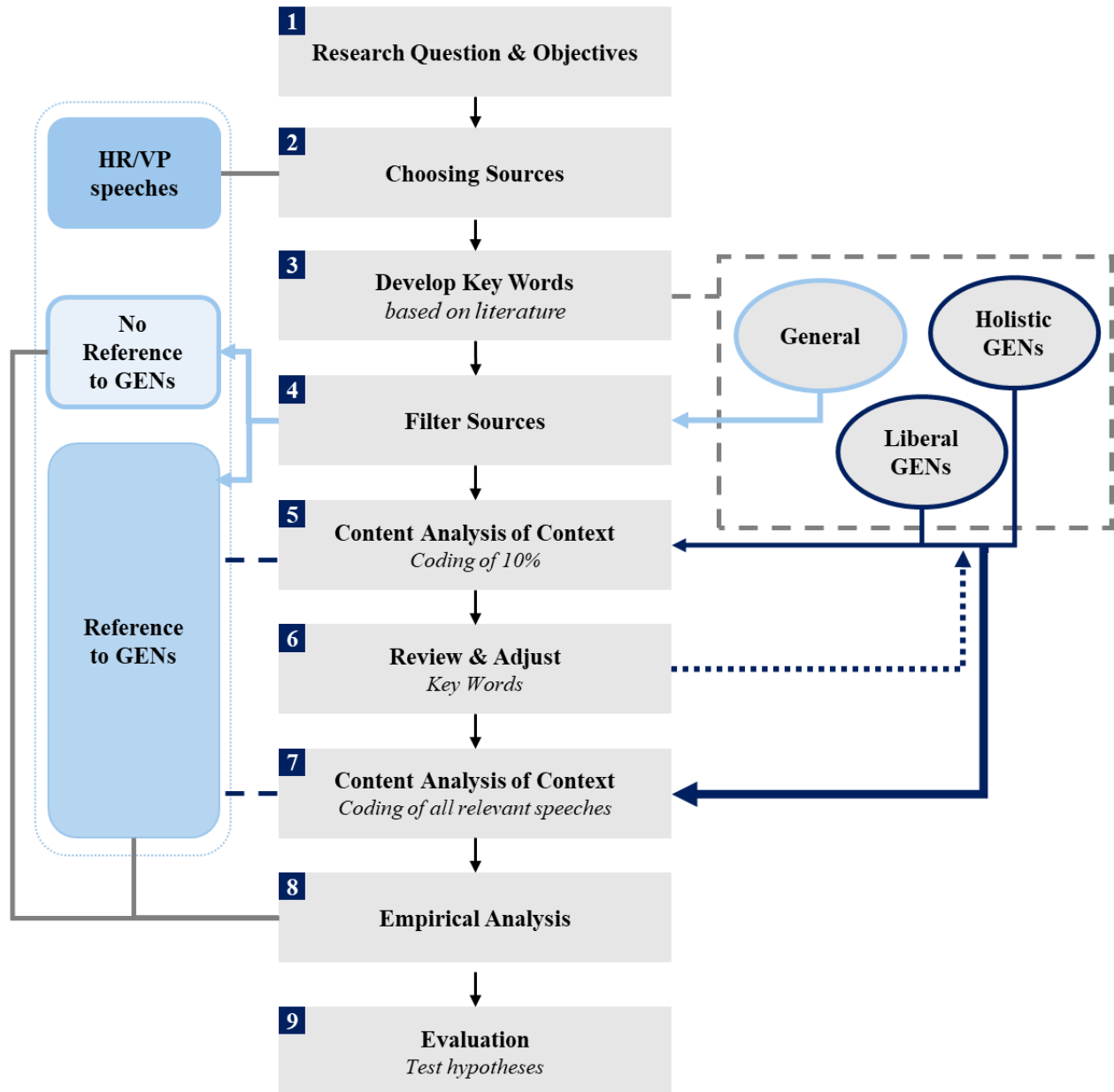


Figure 1
9-Step Model of Investigation
Source: Inspired by Mayring (2000); Own Representation

The model serves as a guiding structure for the analysis. It is briefly introduced before being applied. Firstly, key elements of the research question and research objectives are defined before choosing relevant sources of the HR/VP in a second step. Thirdly, a tripartite set of key words is developed drawing from on the literature. They encompass general terms as well as specific terms that can be grouped within a liberal or holistic understanding of GENs. This is fundamental for the deductive approach of this work. Fourthly, the general key words are employed to filter the large number of sources. It is aimed to distinguish them into two groups. This is conducted by using the search function “keyword-in-context” in MAXQDA. The speeches with no reference to GENs are considered later on while the documents with references to GENs are subject to a more thorough investigation. The result of this search function not only shows the relevant speeches but also compiles a list of phrases that include the general key words to establish the context. Fifthly, the predetermined key words for a liberal and holistic understanding of GENs are used in a coding scheme. A code book is developed encompassing the main categories and sub-categories as well as specific codes and examples. The latter are added as soon as the coding process starts. In the beginning, ten percent of the speeches are coded. Each code word is interpreted in the context of up to fifteen words which were mentioned before and afterwards. In the case that the phrase being listed by the MAXQDA function does not suffice to make a clear assessment, the entire paragraph in the respective speech is investigated. Sixthly, the analytical work is reviewed and adjusted. Seventh, the content analysis of the context is conducted for all phrases that include GEN references. Based on this, the eight step describes the empirical analysis of the results. The investigation of the data is structured according to the research puzzle and intends to provide sufficient information to test the hypotheses. An overview of the characteristics of the relevant speeches is offered. It includes the exploration of the number of key words in speeches across a range of years and different terms of officeholders. Following this, the context of key words is subject to analysis. It is explored how they relate to the categories of liberal or holistic understanding of the GENs and how they are organized in sub-categories. Additionally, the time dimension is further elaborated upon to address the third hypothesis. It is considered how the number of GEN-references and the understanding of GENs developed over time. Finally, the empirical results are evaluated and contextualized. This provides grounds to test the hypotheses in the subsequent section.

Operationalization of 9-Step Model of Investigation

Operationalizing the 9-step model of investigation, firstly the main research question is considered. It inquires the role of the HR/VP in the promotion of GENs. In the previous chapter, the theoretical framework was established formulating three hypotheses which are to be tested. The latter are specific objectives which are to be met. The aim is to be able to provide sufficient evidence to prove or to disprove of the hypotheses. Secondly, relevant sources are chosen. The HR/VP's public speeches are subject to analysis because they are arguably an important element in public communication. In contrast to other sources such as press releases, they are usually more elaborate and offer more text. This allows for a thorough investigation of the understanding of GENs as well as the context. Both are relevant for the second hypothesis. Addressing the other hypotheses, a quantitative assessment of larger amounts of data is needed to make conclusions about the extent and development over time. Hence, 311 speeches by the HR/VPs were collected in the press and media section on the official website of the EEAS. This is the maximum number of speeches which could be accessed. The speeches cover the observation period starting at the beginning of Mogherini's term in 2015 and lasting up until early June 2021. This arguably suffices to make claims about the extent as well as development over time. Thirdly, the deductive research perspective requires to develop categories based on the literature. They are drawn from the scholarly debate presented in this thesis and the gender equality glossary of gender norms by the European Institute for Gender Equality. A tripartite set of categories is developed. This includes a collection of 14 general key words. They are used to distinguish the large number of sources and to identify the speeches which address GENs. Figure 2 provides an overview. They include broader terms such as "gender", "sex", and "discrimination" but also more specific words encompassing "LGBT" or "patriarch" which hint at a more holistic understanding of gender equality.

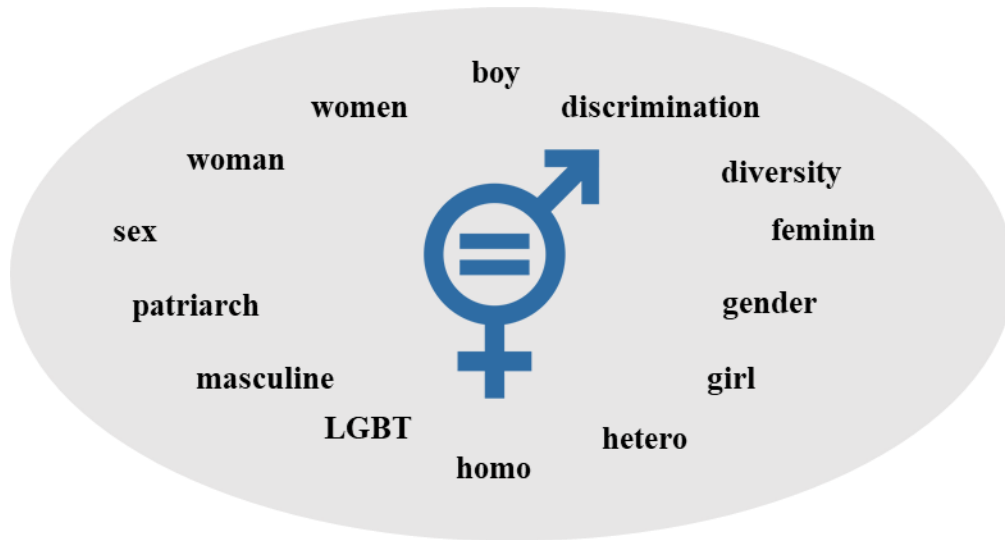


Figure 2
General Key Words of GENs
Source: Own Representation

The remaining two categories cover codes indicating either a liberal or a holistic understanding of gender equality. The terms were assigned to the different categories based on the literature and to the discretion of the informed author of this work. This certainly includes a subjective influence which is open to criticism. Based on the simplified binary understanding of liberal and more holistic understandings of GENs, two main categories are defined. To structure the analysis, five clusters of codes are formed. This framework is presented in figure 3.

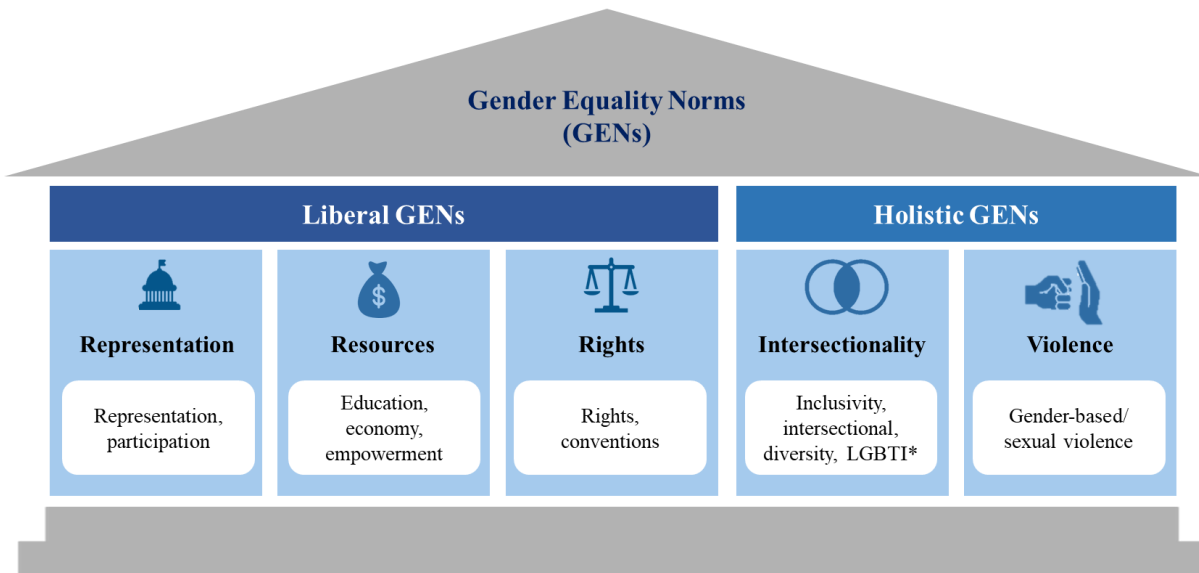


Figure 3
Liberal and Holistic Gender Equality Norms
Own Representation

Three sub-categories are subsumed under the umbrella of liberal GENs. They include “representation”, “resources”, and “rights”. This is drawn from the scholarly debate as well as conceptualizations of practical policy making, which were presented in the previous chapter (Fejerskov et al., 2020; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). Representation addresses one of the core elements of GENs being equality. The physical gender-balance in organizations, staff or other societal entities is the precondition to guarantee equal participation. The sub-category resources combines different codes which share a common rationale. Education, economic activity as well as a general sense of empowerment may largely be motivated by functional and problem-solving intentions. They give agency to individuals which suffer from imbalances, and it becomes their responsibility to address the structural issues. Additionally, it can be argued that rather than adjusting the division of responsibilities, women are generally expected to take on more without being compensated. For example, empowerment of women in the workforce may improve certain imbalances such as the gender pay gap but does not automatically mean that the unpaid care work, which is traditionally done women, is equally distributed. In other words, offering opportunities for women to act within a system that discriminates against and disadvantages them without adjusting the system appropriately does arguably not lead to gender equality in a holistic sense (Davis, 2018). The final liberal category “rights” summarizes references to human rights, international conventions or other legal documents which codify women’s rights. This may include

the UNSC resolution on Women, Peace and Security or the Istanbul Convention. In contrast to the liberal codes, the holistic understanding of GENS is divided into the sub-categories “intersectionality” and “violence”. On the one hand, the term intersectionality subsumes expressions that hint towards an inclusive and intersectional understanding of GENS. For instance, the emphasis of minority rights or highlighting the interests of the LGBTIQ communities may be an indication of this. In general, “diversity” is another key term. On the other hand, the issue of gender-based and sexual violence is considered within the holistic understanding of GENS. While it is recognized that conventions or empowerment also address the matter, this sub-category targets destructive elements that includes harsh forms of discrimination and abusive practices. These terms are further defined throughout the first phase of the context analysis by providing examples and updating the code book.

Fourthly, all of the 311 speeches are filtered by searching for the fourteen key words. It is aimed to distinguish relevant speeches from others that do not address GENS. The “keyword-in-context” search function in MAXQDA is used to identify the speeches. This step divides the sources into a set of 129 speeches that include references to gender equality and the remaining 182 speeches, which do not. While this work focuses on the former, the latter are re-considered in the empirical analysis. Fifthly, the content analysis is further conducted by analyzing the context. More concretely, the phrases including the general key words are assessed. They are mentioned 491 times. Hence, hundreds of phrases are coded by applying the predetermined scheme of categories. It is aimed to categorize a phrase as clearly as possible which includes the exploration of an entire paragraph if the extract is not sufficient. However, there may be phrases that cannot be categorized which are marked accordingly. Furthermore, examples are collected to develop a coding book with adequate coding guidelines. They are summarized in table 1 which shows the code book being adjusted in the sixth step.

(Sub-) Categories		Codes	Examples
Liberal	Representation	Representation, participation, <i>decision-making</i>	Promote participation of women and girls (B16), gender balance (B49), women and girls at the center of decision-making (B49), bring women to the negotiation and mediation tables (M11)
	Resources	Education, economy, empowerment, <i>opportunities, support, functional, problem-solving</i>	Shared vision for supporting women, (B16); once again: women need to be empowered (B49); policies to give women the opportunities they deserve (M2); EU funded project that employs women in the field of solar panels (B49); towards closing the gender pay gap (M85); women need to lead the way towards reconciliation (M121); can contribute to solving conflicts
	Rights	Rights, conventions, <i>policies</i>	Women's rights at the core of our policy (M11); Istanbul Convention (M184); EU policy framework WPS (B49)
Holistic	Intersectionality	Inclusive, intersectional, diversity, LGBTI*, <i>homophobia</i>	indigenous women, afro-descendant people (B20), minorities (B21), attention to discrimination based on age, ethnicity, or sexual orientation, to women with disabilities (B49); LGBTI-related human rights violations (B70); international day against homophobia, transphobia and biphobia (M190)
	Violence	Gender-based/ sexual violence	Sexual violence as weapon of war (B43), gender-based violence (B70), physical, mental, and emotional violence against mainly against women girls (M2)
Other	People	<i>Women and men</i>	Represented by our men and women in uniform (M149); thousands of African men and women, brothers and sisters who are in terrible conditions (M158)
	None		Biodiversity (B5); unity in diversity (B196)

Table 1

Code Book;

Codes in italics were added in sixth step;

See Table 11 in appendices for an overview of the speeches being employed as examples

Source: Own Representation

In contrast to the predetermined categorization scheme, the coding book includes a total of seven sub-categories. On the one hand, one main category “other” was introduced that covers key words that are not used to refer to the identified GENs. For example, the term diversity was also used in the environmental context of biodiversity (B5) or the EU’s motto “united in diversity” (M196). They are organized in the sub-category “none”. On the other hand, the list of sub-categories was expanded by a sub-category “people”. The respective phrases mostly encompass the key word “women” in combination with “men” and serve as synonyms for terms like people, inhabitants or soldiers being women and men in uniform (M149, M158). Having a closer look at how the list of key words was modified, it is noticeable that sub-category representation also includes “decision-making” which logically builds upon gender balance (B49) and the promotion of participation (B16) and results in taking decisions at negotiation and mediation tables (M11). The sub-category resources covers additional terms such as “opportunities”, “support” and “labor” that arguably complement the predetermined codes education, economy and empowerment. The economic aspect is exemplified by the EU’s project funding the employment of women in the solar sector (B49) as well as the reference to the gender pay gap (M85). The functional nature is also reflected in women’s role in problem-solving and working towards reconciliation (M121). Furthermore, the sub-category rights was expanded to include “policies” such as the EU policy on the UNSC resolution WPS (B49). Reviewing the holistic GENs, the number of sub-categories was kept constant. Only one code was added, which covers “homophobia” as one form of discrimination among other characteristics such as age or ethnicity (M190;B49). Hence, paying attention to LGBTI-related human rights violations in public appears to be an important example (B70). Furthermore, the intersectional and inclusive elements can be exemplified by referring to indigenous or migrant women (B20) or other minorities (B21). Based on the updated coding scheme, the seventh step includes the coding of all phrases. This is fundamental in generating data about the HR/VP’s role in the promotion of GENs. The final two steps of the process are presented in the following chapters of the analysis.

Analysis

Acknowledging the operationalized 9-step model of investigation, the analytical chapter provides the empirical data, which is introduced, described, and discussed. Subsequently, the results and generated insights are used to test the hypotheses which were developed in the theoretical framework being part of the methodological section of this work. This chapter provides answers to the research question. This is reflected upon by highlighting limitations of the work. The subsequent chapter summarizes the main results which are developed in the following.

Empirical Analysis

Based on the comprehensive and detailed context analysis, the eight step covers the empirical analysis. Addressing the three hypotheses, a tripartite approach is taken. Based on the fourth step of filtering the data, an overview of the characteristics of the relevant speeches is provided. It encompasses exploration of the number of key words in speeches across a range of years and different terms of officeholders. Subsequently, the context of key words is subject to analysis. It is explored how they relate to the categories of liberal or holistic understanding of GENs and how they are organized in the five sub-categories. Lastly, the time dimension is further elaborated upon to address the third hypothesis. It is considered how the number of references and the understanding of GENs developed over time.

Presenting the empirical results, firstly, figure 4 presents that 129 of 311 speeches include at least one of the identified 14 key words. This equals 41% of all speeches which are considered in this work. However, of the 129 documents, there are 54 that only include woman/women as key words which leaves 75 speeches that offer key words beyond woman/women which represents 24% of all speeches. A more specific assessment including only the key words with a relevant context is conducted later. Comparing the terms of Federica Mogherini and Josep Borrell, solely judging the absolute numbers does not allow to draw meaningful conclusions. This work considers relevant speeches by the HR/VPs from the 31. May 2015 until 10. June 2021 to maximize the significance of the analysis. Borrell delivered his first speech with reference to GENs on 16. December 2019 after taking office at the beginning of the month. Hence, it is more important to analyze the relative distribution. Mogherini used at least one key word in 44% of the speeches while Borrell only employed them in one out of three speeches. To contextualize this number, the

Spaniard gave 84 speeches in 558 days in office and Mogherini spoke 227 times in her 1859-day term. This equals an average of 0.15 and 0.12 speeches a day.

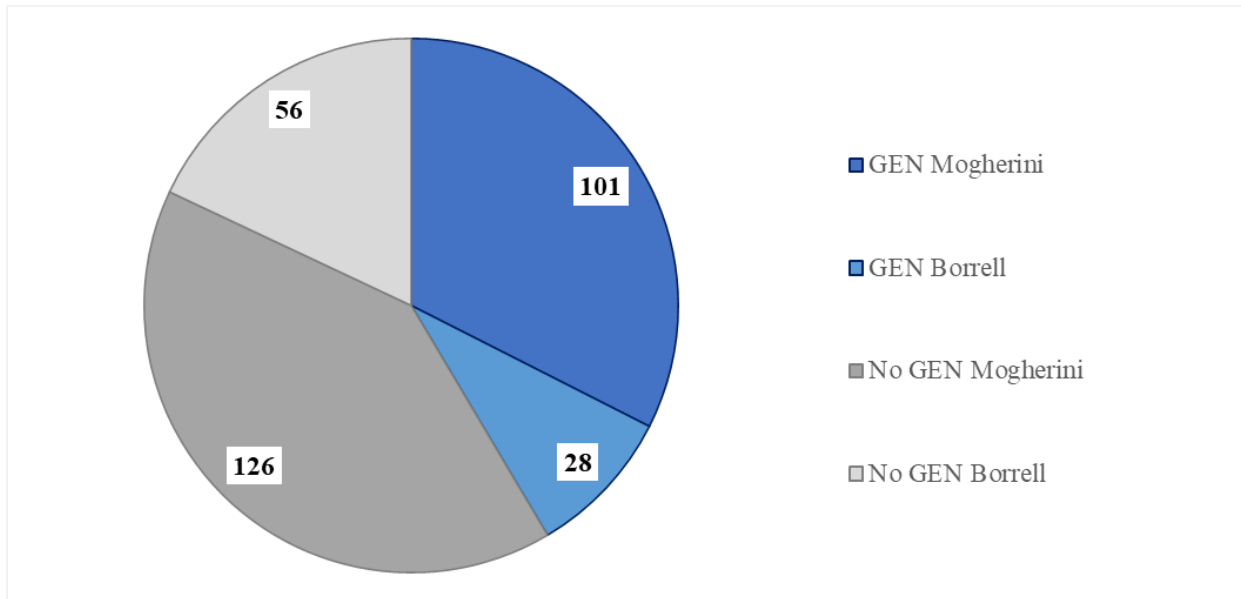


Figure 4
Number of Speeches with(out) GEN-references by Mogherini and Borrell (2015-2021); n=311
Source: Own Representation

Having a closer look at how the number of key words is distributed across the 14 key words, the term “women” combines almost half of the total number of mentions and can be found in three out of four speeches. In contrast, words including “hetero”, “homo”, “sex” or “LGBT” are rarely found. The words “feminine”, “masculine” or “patriarch” are not found at all (see table 2 in appendices). Further, it is noticeable that “gender”, “diversity” and “girl” are used in more than twenty speeches. On average, a speech entails 3.8 key words. However, the distribution is far from being even. While there are six speeches that include between ten and up to 51 key words, two thirds do not include more than three key words. The former are considered high-frequency speeches, the latter are referred to as low-frequency speeches. The medium-frequency group encompasses the remaining 34 speeches that offer between four and nine key words (see table 3 in appendices). The average number of key words clearly shows the discrepancies between the

speeches. Whereas the six high-frequency speeches combine 27.5 relevant terms on average, the low frequency speeches have an average of 1.6 times that a key word is mentioned.

In addition to this static perspective on the entire set of speeches, it is worth exploring the differentiation between different time periods (see table 4 in appendices). At this point, it needs to be mentioned that the observation period does not include the whole year of 2015 and also considers speeches until the beginning of June in 2021. It is noticeable that the year of 2017 and 2019 include by far the highest number of speeches. In comparison to 29 and 31 public communications including key words, the year of 2016 and 2020 only have 14 and 16 relevant speeches. What is more, the average number of key words offers further insights. While this work considers only five relevant speeches in 2015, the average number of key words is by far the highest. Based on this examination, the nature of the speeches is further explored. Speeches are clustered in high-, medium-, and low-frequency groups whose distribution varies over time (see table 5 in appendices). In the year of 2015, the high-frequency speech increases the average word count substantially. In general, it can be seen that there is a gap in the number of high frequency speeches in 2016 and 2017. This changes in the following three years, in which the number increases. Focusing on the five complete years, the number of medium-frequency speeches is rather evenly spread. Solely the year of 2018 encompasses only three public addresses by the HR/VP with references to GENs. The number of low-frequency speeches is relatively high in the middle of the observation period but shows a lower count of key words in 2016 and 2020. Figure 5 provides an overview of these aspects. It can be summarized that the number of high-frequency

speeches increased throughout the main observation period of five years while a similar development cannot be detected when viewing the data of the medium- and low-frequency groups.

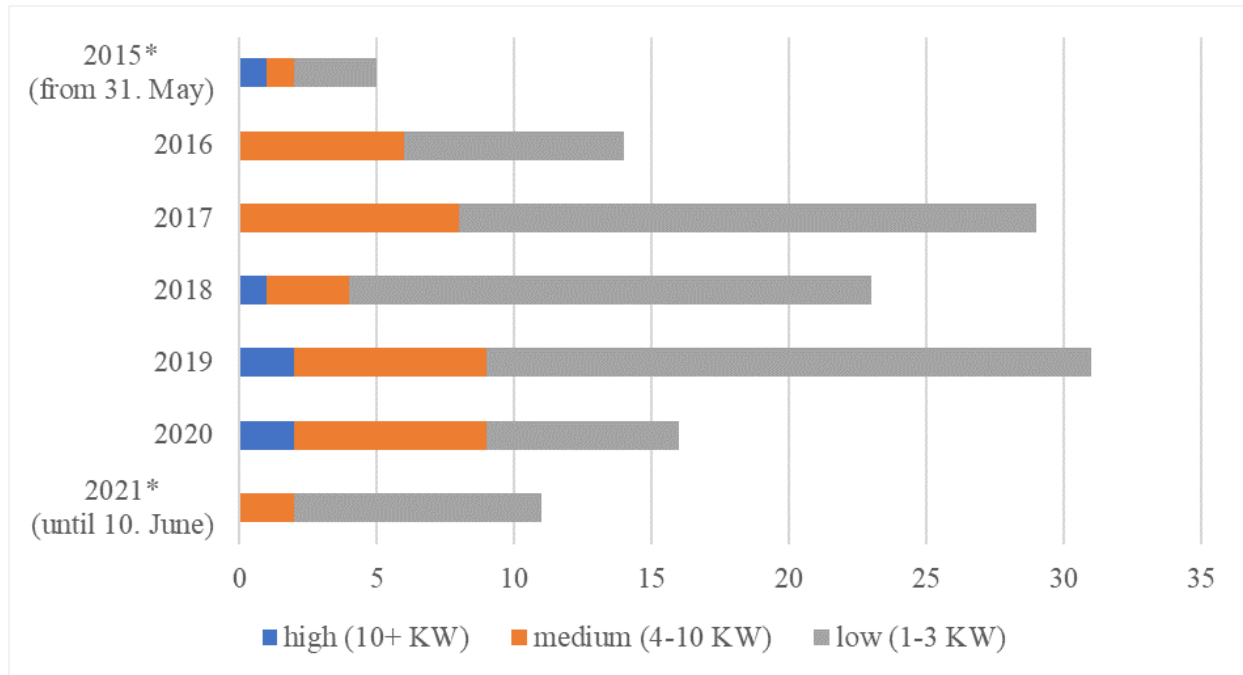


Figure 5
Distribution of Speeches over time and grouped according to frequency groups
Source: Own Representation

This development over time may also be influenced by the change of officeholder in December 2019. As indicated before, the available data does not allow for a comparison of absolute counts of the different HR/VPs. However, it is worth exploring the ratio between high-, medium- and low-frequency speeches to receive more insights. Contrasting Mogherini and Borrell, the number of low-frequency speeches by Mogherini appears lower while Borrell’s number of medium-frequency speeches is higher. However, these figures do not show a clear difference between the two HR/VPs. Both seem to emphasize the issue in a similar manner when measuring the number of key words in their public addresses (see table 6 in appendices). However, it needs to be recognized that solely considering the frequency of key words does not suffice to assess the role of the HR/VP in her promotion of GENS in public communication. Hence, this work analyzes the key words in relation to their context. This provides grounds to assess the nature of how the HR/VP understands GENS. Having developed the categorizations, the following empirical analysis

presents the data accordingly. Figure 6 shows the results of the context analysis and illustrates how the key words were categorized.

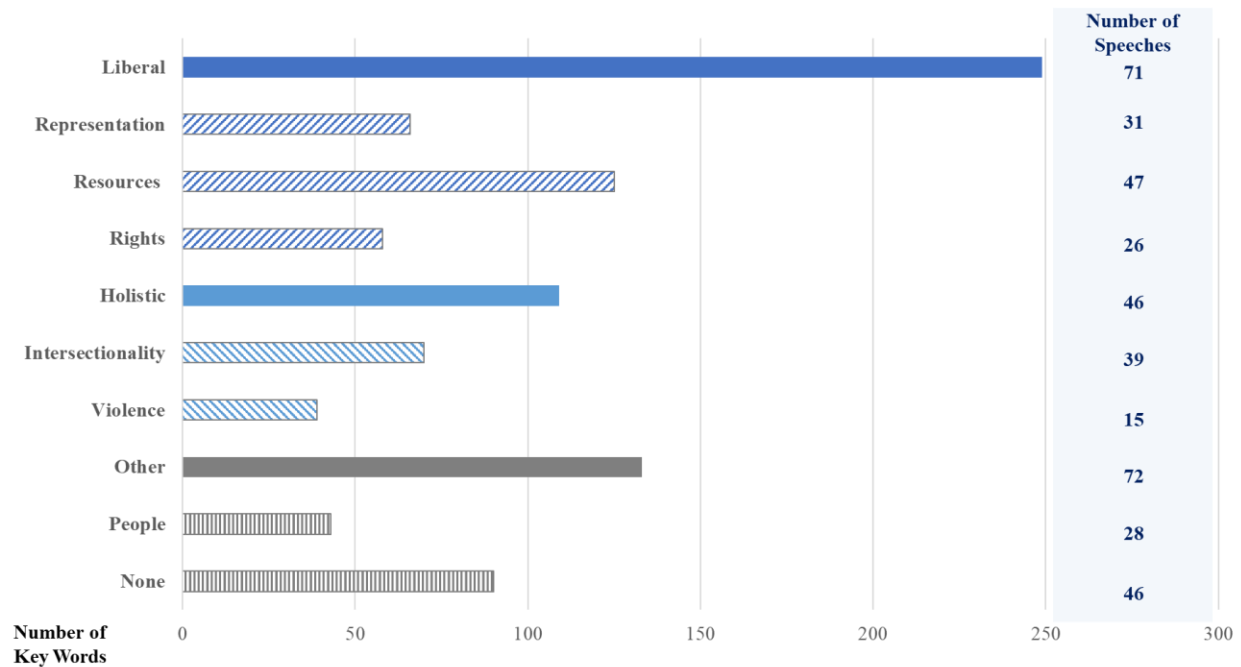


Figure 6
Distribution of Key Words among GEN-categories
Source: Own Representation

Based on the coding guidelines, that were developed previously, there are three main categories. In addition to the liberal and holistic categorization, “other” combines the phrases that include a key word which does not fit the characterization of liberal or holistic GENs. They are divided into subsections. On the one hand, the sub-category “people” includes the phrases in which terms like “women” were used in combination with “men” to describe soldiers being men and women in uniforms (EEAS, 2017). While this certainly recognizes women as equals and as actors, this was not emphasized in this context. The coding process focused on more explicit expressions of recognizing men and women as equals. Therefore, this work does not consider the respective phrases in the following quantitative as well as qualitative assessment of GENs in the HR/VPs’ speeches. On the other hand, the sub-category “none” includes key words that were used in a different context or were part of an unrelated word. For instance, “diversity” was often used in the context of climate policy and the protection of “biodiversity” (EEAS, 2021b) or “homo” and “hetero” were part of the words “homogeneous” and “heterogeneous” (EEAS, 2020a, 2020c).

These cases add up to 133 key words which are no longer considered. As the H2 specifically addresses the nature of the HR/VP's understanding of GENs, the liberal as well as holistic approaches are contrasted. As discussed before, they are certainly not mutually exclusive but offer an indication about general concern for the matter. Focusing on the data, 249 key words are used in a context that is identified within a liberal understanding of GENs. These liberal key words are found in 71 speeches. In contrast 46 speeches include key words that were arguably used in a holistic context of GENs. Considering that a speech may contain phrases with different connotations, it is not unusual that the sum of the speeches exceeds the total amount of all relevant documents. Addressing this overlap, the total number of speeches that include liberal and/or holistic key words is counted resulting in 91 speeches that contain liberal and/or holistic reference. At this point it can be stated that the number of liberal key words is substantially higher than the number of holistic key words.

While this is certainly an important result of the analysis, it is crucial to understand how the key words are added up. Among the liberal key words, the majority is contextualized within the sub-category resources. The code is applied to 125 phrases in 47 speeches. Among others, this arguably speaks to the economic, functional, and problem-solving rationale of gender equality norms. The number of liberal key words that are grouped in the sub-categories representation and rights is similar. The count of phrases that refer to e.g., the participation and decision-making power of women is 66 while key words being used in the context of rights are found 58 times. Assessing the holistic sub-categories, the number of phrases addressing intersectionality is similar to the one regarding representation. The respective 70 terms are found in 39 speeches. The remaining key words belong to the sub-category violence. This group has the lowest number of key words in comparison to the other sub-categories. In 39 cases phrases were assigned to this group which covers fifteen speeches. Having a closer look at how the key words were contextualized across different phrases, offers additional insights. There are some key words that are clearly associated with one understanding of GENs (see table 7 in appendices). For example, "discrimination" is only found in the holistic column. The same is true for "diversity", "LGBT" and "sex". With the exception of the latter term, all are also assigned to the sub-category intersectionality. The column of violence shows key words like "women", "gender", "girl", and "boy". The former is mentioned the most by far. There are no key words that are exclusively used in a liberal context. The terms "women", "gender" and "girl" are used most frequently. "Women"

make up 60% of all liberal key words. Among the sub-categories, they are quite evenly distributed when considering the total number of key words. As mentioned above, the terms “hetero,” “homo” or “patriarch” were not used in any of the presented contexts. Furthermore, the assessment of single key words within the frame of liberal and holistic GENs is complemented by the perspective of frequency. It is explored how the contextualized key words vary across different types of speeches. Having established the frequency groups above serves to categorize the large number of speeches. This allows for an analysis of how the understanding of GENs may vary according to the nature of the speech. Despite the small number of speeches, the high-frequency group combines the largest share of liberal as well as holistic key words being followed by the medium- and low-frequency group. These measurements offer limited insights because the relational characteristics are less obvious. Hence, it is more interesting to focus on how the share of the (sub)-categories varies across frequency-groups. There are no major differences across the frequency-groups when comparing liberal and holistic key words. While the share of holistic key words is slightly higher than the average in the high-frequency group, the contrary is true for its share among the medium-frequency speeches. The share of liberal key words is interestingly the smallest in the low-frequency group being four percent points below average. On the level of sub-categories, a similar situation can be witnessed among the liberal key words. Resources remains the dominant category across all frequency groups. Rights has a higher share than representation in the high-frequency group while it is vice versa in the remaining columns. The holistic sub-categories show more fluctuation. While violence has an almost equal share in the high-frequency group, this issue is less relevant in the low-frequency group, where the share drops to 15%. The medium-frequency group is quite similar to the average distribution among the sub-groups (see table 8 in appendices). Hence, there is not sufficient substance to claim that the amount of GENs that can be found in a speech influences the overall understanding of GENs. It needs to be recognized that there are variations across sub-categories, including the example of violence which has a share of 46% in the high-frequency group and decreasing to 15% in the low-frequency group. However, in general, it can be stated that neither liberal nor holistic understandings of GENs dominate the characteristics of a frequency group.

Addressing the H3, exploring a time dimension is important to generate knowledge which provides grounds to test the hypothesis. This work considers a six-year time period between 2016 and 2020 to understand whether and if so, how the emphasis put on the matter evolved.

Recognizing the limitations on the qualitative context analysis of the speeches is important to draw adequate conclusions. Considering the number of liberal and holistic key words throughout time in absolute numbers it is noticeable that both categories are growing over time. Hence, it can be stated that GENs are increasingly emphasized in general. Figure 7 illustrates that the total number of relevant key words grows from 29 in 2016 up to 89 in 2020. The liberal key words double, and the holistic key words grow tenfold. An increasing trend can also be witnessed in all sub-categories. Representation and rights start with single-digits and have more than 15 key words in the year of 2020. The number of key words in the field of resources drops in 2018 when shrinking to a third. However, it jumps back up in the following year and it is almost 40% higher in comparison to the beginning (see tables 8-9 in appendices).

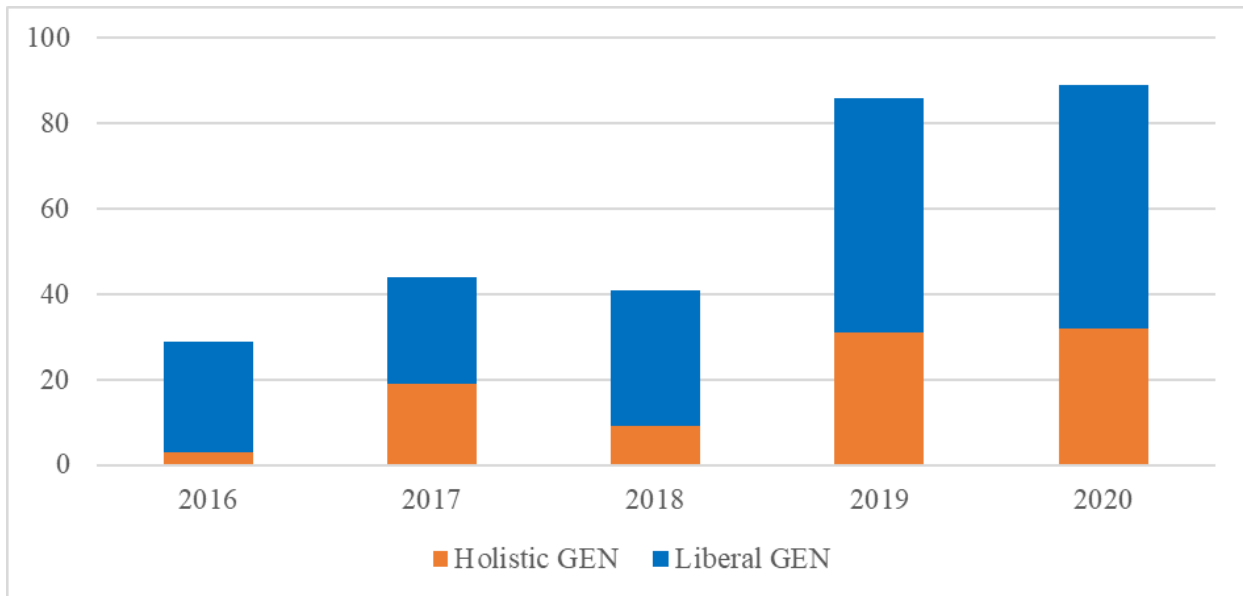


Figure 7
Distribution of liberal and holistic key words over time
Source: Own Representation

In addition to the general growth over time in absolute numbers, it is also worth assessing how the ratio between different (sub-)categories developed. Figure 7 also provides an overview of the data being translated into relational terms. Beginning with the general distinction between liberal and holistic key words, it can be seen that the latter take a greater share over time. Starting with ten percent, the share does not drop below this number in the subsequent years and remains consistent, having a share of around one third in the final three years. On the level of sub-categories, the share of liberal key works fluctuates substantially. In particular, representation and

resources are gaining or losing larger shares over the years. Rights grows more stable and gains a share of thirty percent in 2020, doubling its share of the previous year. In comparison to the first year, representation remains constant, and resources loses its share in 2020. The holistic sub-categories also fluctuate over time. However, intersectionality does not lose its greater share over violence (see table 10 in appendices).

Testing hypotheses

Finally, the 9-step model of investigation is completed by the evaluation at the end. In this work, testing the hypotheses is the basis for the evaluation. Hence, in the following the three hypotheses are presented, contextualized, and tested. Firstly, H1 was developed based on triangular reasoning. Based on Manners' claim that EU should take an active role in norm promotion, the fact that GENs can be subsumed under human rights and the recognized agency of the HR/VP in conducting foreign policy allow to assume that the HR/VP addresses the issue of gender equality in public communications.

H1: The HR/VPs addresses the issue of gender equality in public communications.

The analysis has shown that 129 of 311 speeches encompass at least one of the 14 key words. There are six high-frequency speeches that encompass between ten and up to 51 key words, two thirds are categorized as low-frequency speeches because they do not include more than three key words . The medium-frequency group encompasses the remaining 34 speeches that offer between four and nine key words. The total number represents a share of 41% which is adjusted within a more specific assessment of key words in a GEN-context. It shows that one out of three speeches includes specific references. It is noticeable that 249 key words are used in a context that is identified within a liberal understanding of GENs. These liberal key words are found in 71 speeches. In contrast, 46 speeches include 109 phrases which were arguably used in a holistic context of GENs. In summary, these results allow to conclude that the HR/VP frequently addresses the matter. The fact that 91 out of 311 speeches, being the equivalent of more than every fourth speech, refer to the issue throughout a 6-year time period is arguably a valid argument to claim that H1 cannot be falsified.

Secondly, it was wondered what kind of understanding the HR/VP shows in public communication. Drawing upon the scholarly debate, this work defined a rather simplified

distinguishment between a liberal and a holistic understanding of GENs. Both categories were further structured in sub-categories. Acknowledging that this thesis investigates what the ideal role of the HR/VP would look like, it bases its assumption being expressed in H2 on this rationale. Furthermore, Manners' theoretical conceptualization of "gender+" which recognizes intersectional and inclusive aspects allows to establish the second hypothesis.

H2: The HR/VP predominantly addresses the gender equality norm holistically.

Reviewing the empirical results, it needs to be pointed out that the number of liberal key words is substantially higher than the number of holistic key words. Additionally, among the liberal key words, the majority is contextualized within the sub-category resources. This code is applied to 125 phrases in 47 speeches. The number of liberal key words that are grouped in the sub-categories representation and rights is similar. The count of phrases that address participation and decision-making power of women is 66 while key words being used in the context of rights are found 58 times. Considering the holistic sub-categories, the number of phrases addressing intersectionality is similar to the once regarding representation. Furthermore, there are some key words that clearly refer to one understanding of GENs. For example, "discrimination" is only found in the phrases including a holistic understanding of GENs. The criteria frequency does not show major differences across different groups when comparing liberal and holistic key words. Whereas the share of holistic key words is slightly higher than the average in the high-frequency group, the opposite is true for its share among the medium-frequency speeches. The share of liberal key words is interestingly the smallest in the low-frequency group being four percent points below average. Regarding the holistic sub-categories, violence has an almost equal share in the high-frequency group, while this issue is less relevant in the low-frequency group, where the share drops to 15% in comparison to intersectional phrases. Therefore, it is not possible to conclude that the number of relevant key words in a speech influences the overall understanding of GENs by the HR/VPs. Finally, the overall assessment shows that for every holistic key word, the HR/VPs used more than two liberal key words. While recognizing that liberal key words are to a certain extent part of a holistic understanding of GENs, the focus on liberal sub-categories of representation, rights and resources shows that a liberal understanding dominates in public speeches. Therefore, it can be stated that H2 is not true.

Thirdly, the development throughout time is assessed. Based on the EU's normative approach to gender equality promotion, H3 was established expecting that the GENs are increasingly addressed by the HR/VP. This is justified by the review of literature on the post of the HR/VP and by the increased attention paid to the issue of gender equality in the scholarly debate, European politics and beyond (Abels, 2021; Center for Feminist Foreign Policy, 2020; Debusscher & Manners, 2020; Göring-Eckardt & Neumann, 2019; Neumann, 2020).

H3: The HR/VPs increasingly addresses gender equality norms.

Considering the entire number of speeches that include at least one of the 14 key words, the distribution fluctuates across the years. However, when distinguishing between different frequency groups, it is noticeable that the number of high-frequency speeches increased throughout the main observation period of five years between 2016 and 2020. A similar development cannot be detected in the medium- and low-frequency groups. Contrasting the terms of Mogherini and Borrell, it is important to consider the distribution among their speeches in relative terms. The absolute numbers are not comparable because the observation period includes the entire term of Mogherini but only about 1.5 years of Borrell. Taking a closer look, Mogherini used at least one key word in 44% of the speeches while Borrell only employed them in one out of three speeches. To put this into perspective, the Spaniard gave 84 speeches in 558 days in office and Mogherini spoke 227 times in her 1859-day term. This equals an average of 0.15 and 0.12 speeches a day. Further, it can be highlighted that the year of 2017 and 2019 include by far the greatest share of speeches. In comparison to 29 and 31 public communications including key words, the year of 2016 and 2020 only have 14 and 16 relevant speeches. However, it is worth looking beyond the assessment of the singular key words and to consider the context. Focusing on liberal and holistic GENs only, it can be stated that they were generally emphasized more over time. The total number of relevant key words grows from 29 in 2016 up to 89 in 2020. The liberal key words double, and the holistic key words grow tenfold. Additionally, a growing trend can also be witnessed in all sub-categories. Distinguishing between liberal and holistic key words shows that the share of holistic key words grows throughout time. Starting with ten percent in the year of 2015, the share does not drop below this number in the subsequent years and remains consistent, having a share of around one third in the final three years. In conclusion, H3 cannot be falsified.

Limitations

Contextualizing the results, it is crucial to consider the limitations of the research. First of all, the observation period does not cover the terms of all three HR/VPs. Speeches by Catherine Ashton were not available in a structured manner on the website of the EEAS. Hence, it was decided to focus on the maximum number of speeches by Mogherini and Borrell. Additionally, it was trusted that the webpage offered all speeches being delivered within the observation period. However, related communications like remarks or press releases were not analyzed because of their smaller scope. These limitations are particularly relevant with regard to the first and third hypotheses. Furthermore, it is important to review the definition of GENs and the distinction between a liberal and holistic understanding. Whereas this work characterized gender equality as a normative regime that addresses gender-based discrimination in a holistic and intersectional manner, the literature certainly offers a variety of competing definitions which was debated in the literature review. In addition, the simplified differentiation between liberal and holistic understandings may be subject to criticism. On the one hand, there is a certain overlap which needs to be considered when evaluating the results. On the other hand, the categorization throughout the coding process offers room for discussion. In particular, the classification of the sub-category “violence” within the sphere of a holistic understanding may be objected to. This exemplifies the interpretative approach which is based on the evaluation by the researcher. However, this thesis makes these potentially subjective judgements and shortcomings transparent and has continuously justified the choices being made.

Conclusion

The promotion of gender equality has become a core element in the EU's foreign policy (EEAS, 2020b). The European Union perceives itself as a normative actor and promotes its values in external actions. These are to a certain extent managed by the High Representative and Vice-President of the EU who is tasked to represent and to conduct the EU's foreign policy. The post was created in the Lisbon Treaty and is currently embodied by Josep Borrell who is the successor of Federica Mogherini and Catherine Ashton. The HR/VPs faced various challenges which usually related to unifying different European positions or to establishing coherence across policy areas. Further, crisis situations and international negotiations are common items on the HR/VP's agenda. These aspects have also been subject to analysis. The scholarly debate offers insights into different conceptualizations, comparisons of officeholders as well as case-related analyses. However, the literature shows a gap concerning the HR/VP's actions in norm promotion. Hence, this thesis investigated the role of the HR/VP in norm promotion in the case of gender equality. The research design was structured according to four sub-research questions. In the beginning, it was asked what actions could be expected from the HR/VP. Based on this, it was inquired whether, and if so, to what extent the HR/VP would promote gender equality norms in public communications. Subsequently, it was asked how the gender equality norm would be understood and how this would develop over time.

In response, this work conducted a literature review to contextualize the research puzzle. A triangular approach was employed to provide an overview of the relevant scholarly debate. Firstly, this work introduced the constructivist literature on norm diffusion, Ian Manners' concept of Normative Power Europe and its nexus to the gender equality norms. GENs were defined as an umbrella term for different concepts that address gender-based discrimination in a liberal, holistic, or intersectional manner. Among others this includes gender mainstreaming, women's empowerment or preventing violence against women (Fejerskov et al., 2020, p. 11). Secondly, the debate on the EU's role in gender equality promotion was presented being complemented by the literature on the HR/VP. This third element offered valuable insights in the conceptualizations of the role and case-related analyses. However, the role of the HR/VP in norm diffusion or the promotion of gender equality norms had not yet been analyzed. Aiming to fill this gap, a research design was established taking a two-tier approach. Firstly, hypotheses about the ideal role of the

HR/VP were developed. The literature and legal framework provided grounds to formulate expectations. This step provided answers to the first sub-research question. The hypotheses addressed the core of the remaining three sub-research questions. It was assumed that the HR/VP would address the issue of gender equality in public communications. Furthermore, it was expected that the HR/VP would predominantly refer to the gender equality norm in a holistic manner. Finally, it was assumed that the HR/VP would pay more attention to GENs over time.

Following this, the analytical framework was designed to test the hypotheses. Drawing from Mayring's qualitative content analysis, a 9-step model of investigation was developed (Mayring, 2000, 2015; Mayring & Fenzl, 2019). It entailed the formulation of the research questions and objectives providing grounds for the choice of sources. This work selected all published speeches by the HR/VPs within a six-year time period starting in 2015. The total number of 311 speeches was filtered according to a set of key words. Within the deductive research design, three groups of key words were clustered. General key words were used to distinguish between speeches that offered GEN-references and texts that did not. The remaining key words were grouped according to a liberal understanding of GENs and a more holistic understanding. Having filtered the sources, 129 speeches were identified as relevant. Their content was further analyzed with regard to the context in which the key words were used. The liberal and holistic key words were used as categories in the coding process. The first ten percent were coded according to guidelines which were reviewed and updated based on the first round of assessments. This process was conducted again for all speeches. The following empirical results offered valuable insights regarding the frequency, understanding and development over time of GENs. Within the contextualized analysis this number of speeches with references to liberal or holistic GENs was reduced to 91. This is the equivalent to one in four speeches delivered by the HR/VPs. The speeches with GEN-references were further grouped in high-, medium-, and low-frequency groups. There were six speeches that included more than ten references. The majority of speeches entailed only up to three references. Considering that the HR/VP specifically referred to the matter in more than 25% of the speeches throughout a 6-year observation, it can be argued that data confirms the first hypothesis. In contrast to this, the second hypothesis cannot be confirmed. The number of liberal key words is substantially higher than the number of holistic key words. For every holistic key word, there are more than two phrases which contain a reference to liberal GENs. The sub-category resources itself could be identified more often than the holistic sub-categories

combined. While it may be argued that there is a certain overlap between liberal and holistic understandings, this is not sufficient to claim that the HR/VP would predominantly address GENS holistically. However, the share of holistic key words increased over time. This was not only true in relative but also in absolute numbers. This relates to the third hypothesis which was built on the expectation that the HR/VP would increasingly address the gender equality norm. This can be confirmed because the number of relevant key words grew over time. At this point, the limitations of this research need to be highlighted. While the data set included a considerable number of speeches, the HR/VP's public communication is certainly more diverse. Among others, this includes press statements, remarks or social media postings. Additionally, the observation period does not include Ashton's term and the selection of sources was based on the published material on the official website of the EEAS. The definitory challenges of GENS and the distinction between different (sub-)categories have been addressed throughout the work, but they need to be considered at this point as well. In summary, this work has proven that the HR/VP addressed GENS in public communications. When doing so, the HR/VP shows a holistic understanding, but does not do this predominantly. Additionally, the emphasis of GENS has increased over time.

Based on these results, future research could explore the topic further. The research design of this work could certainly be applied to a larger set of data including a larger observation period as well as other forms of public communications. Additionally, the scope of norm promotion could be expanded by considering norms such as democracy. The role of the HR/VP could also be explored in the context of other EU actors such as the Presidents of the European Council, the Commission President, fellow Commissioners, or other representatives. Both approaches would provide grounds for interesting comparisons. Measuring the effectiveness of norm promotion and investigating the perception of the EU's actions in non-EU countries would also benefit the scholarly debate on norm diffusion. The latter aspect would ideally provide answers to a broader question whether the HR/VP not only talks the talk of gender equality but if the EU also walks the walk.

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Appendices

Key Word	Number of Key Words	Number of Speeches
boy	18	13
discrimination	13	9
diversity	72	34
Feminine	0	0
Gender	64	25
girl	40	23
hetero	1	1
homo	2	2
LGBT	7	5
masculine	0	0
Patriarch	0	0
sex	9	7
woman	23	17
women	242	98
total	491	129

Table 2
Distribution of the number of key words
Source: Own Representation

Frequency	high (10+ KW)	medium (4-10 KW)	low (1-3 KW)	Total
Number of Speeches	6	34	89	129
Number of Key Words	165	185	141	491
Average key words	27.5	5.4	1.6	3.8

Table 3

Frequency Groups

Source: Own Representation

Year	Number of Speeches	Key Words	Average Key Words
2015* <i>(from 31. May)</i>	5	60	12,0
2016	14	51	3,6
2017	29	79	2,7
2018	23	53	2,3
2019	31	115	3,7
2020	16	109	6,8
2021* <i>(until 10.June)</i>	11	24	2,2
Total	129	491	3,8

Table 4

Distribution of speeches over time

Source: Own Representation

Frequency/year	high (10+ KW)	medium (4-10 KW)	low (1-3 KW)	Total
2015* <i>(from 31. May)</i>	1	1	3	5
2016	0	6	8	14
2017	0	8	21	29
2018	1	3	19	21
2019	2	7	22	31
2020	2	7	7	16
2021* <i>(until 10.June)</i>	0	2	9	11
Total	6	34	89	129

Table 5
Distribution of frequency groups of speeches over time
Source: Own Representation

Frequency	Mogherini		Borrell		Total
high	4	4%	2	7%	6
medium	25	25%	9	32%	34
low	72	71%	17	61%	89
total	101		28		129

*Table 6
Distribution of Frequency Groups among Mogherini and Borrell
Source: Own Representation*

Key Words	liberal	Representation	Resources	Rights	Holistic	Intersectionality	Violence
boy	12	2	10		3		3
discrimination	0				7	7	
diversity	0				5	5	
feminine	0				0		
gender	43	6	19	18	19	11	8
girl	28	4	17	7	9	5	4
hetero	0				0		
homo	0				1	1	
LGBT	0				7	7	
masculine	0				0		

patriarch	0				0		
sex	0				8	2	6
woman	17	14	3		3	3	
women	149	40	76	33	47	29	18
total	249	66	125	58	109	70	39

Table 7
Distribution of General Key Words across GEN categorization
Source: Own Representation

Category	high		medium		low		total	
liberal	111	69%	85	73%	53	66%	249	70%
Representation	25	23%	25	29%	16	30%	66	27%
Resources	55	50%	45	53%	25	47%	125	50%
Rights	31	28%	15	18%	12	23%	58	23%
holistic	50	31%	32	27%	27	34%	109	30%
Intersectionality	27	54%	20	63%	23	85%	70	64%
Violence	23	46%	12	38%	4	15%	39	36%
total	161	100%	117	100%	80	100%	358	100%

*Table 8
Distribution of GEN-Key Words among frequency groups
Source: Own Representation*

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	total
liberal	26	25	32	55	57	195
Representation	7	12	3	22	15	59
Resources	18	6	24	25	25	98
Rights	1	7	5	8	17	38
holistic	3	19	9	31	32	94
Intersectionality	3	11	6	16	21	57
Violence	0	8	3	15	11	37
total	29	44	41	86	89	289

*Table 9
Distribution of GEN-Key Words over time (2016-2020)
Source: Own Representation*

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	total
liberal	90%	57%	78%	64%	64%	67%
A: Representation	27%	48%	9%	40%	26%	30%
B: Resources	69%	24%	75%	45%	44%	50%
C: Rights	4%	28%	16%	15%	30%	19%
holistic	10%	43%	22%	36%	36%	33%
E: Intersectionality	100%	58%	67%	52%	66%	61%
F: Violence	0%	42%	33%	48%	34%	39%
total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 10
Share of GEN-Key Words over time (2016-2020)
Source: Own Representation

ID	Title	Link
B16	EU-Africa Strategy: Speech on behalf of High Representative/Vice-President Josep Borrell and Commissioner Jutta Urpilainen at the EP debate on the New EU-Africa Strategy Report	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/95628/eu-africa-strategy-speech-behalf-high-representativevice-president-josep-borrell-and_en
B20	Colombia: Speech on behalf of High Representative/Vice-President Josep Borrell at the EP debate on the 5th Anniversary of the Peace Agreement	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/97490/colombia-speech-behalf-high-representativevice-president-josep-borrell-ep-debate-5th_en
B21	COVID-19 in Latin America: Speech on behalf of High Representative/Vice-President Josep Borrell at the EP debate	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/97492/covid-19-latin-america-speech-behalf-high-representativevice-president-josep-borrell-ep-debate_en
B43	Africa Week: Keynote speech by HR/VP Josep Borrell at the session on COVID-19: Identifying socio-political and economic priorities to fight inequalities	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/86980/africa-week-keynote-speech-hrvp-josep-borrell-session-covid-19-identifying-socio-political-and_en
B49	Towards a gender-equal world	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/89308/towards-gender-equal-world_en
B5	UN Security Council: Speech by the High Representative/Vice-President Josep Borrell on cooperation with regional organisations	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/99887/un-security-council-speech-high-representativevice-president-josep-borrell-cooperation_en
B70	Human rights/Democracy: Speech by HR/VP Josep Borrell at the European Parliament on the Annual report 2018 on human rights and democracy in the world and the EU's policy on the matter	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/73064/human-rightsdemocracy-speech-hrvp-josep-borrell-european-parliament-annual-report-2018-human_en
M11	Speech by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the Conference “Walking the Strategic Talk. A Progressive EU Foreign Policy Agenda for the Future”	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en/68649/Speech%20by%20High%20Representative/Vice-President%20Federica%20Mogherini%20at%20the%20Conference%20E2%80%9CWalking%20the%20Strategic%20Talk.%20A%20Progressive%20EU%20Foreign%20Policy%20Agenda%20for%20the%20Future%E2%80%9D

M121	Video address by HRVP Federica Mogherini at the Astana Conference on Empowering Women in Afghanistan	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/50178/video-address-hrvp-federica-mogherini-astana-conference-empowering-women-afghanistan_en
M149	Speech by Federica Mogherini at the award ceremony of the Kaiser-Otto-Preis 2017 Madgeburg, 17 October 2017	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/34107/speech-federica-mogherini-award-ceremony-kaiser-otto-preis-2017-madgeburg-17-october-2017_en
M158	Speech by HR/VP at the High-Level Event on Libya under the UN auspices	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/32540/speech-hrvp-high-level-event-libya-under-un-auspices_en
M184	Speech by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/29361/speech-high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-council-europe%E2%80%99s-committee_en
M190	European Union Special Representative for Human Rights Mr. Stavos Lambrinidis gave a speech at the 127th Session of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers in Nicosia 19 May	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/26511/european-union-special-representative-human-rights-mr-stavos-lambrinidis-gave-speech-127th_en
M196	High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the Parliament of Montenegro	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/21734/high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-parliament-montenegro_en
M2	Speech by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the High Level Event on the Role of Women and Youth in Peace and Security	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/70853/speech-high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-high-level-event-role-women-and_en
M85	Speech by HR/VP Federica Mogherini at the EP event for the 70th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights	https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/54124/speech-hrvp-federica-mogherini-ep-event-70th-anniversary-universal-declaration-human-rights_en

Table 11

Overview of Sources being employed as examples

Sources: Check links; Own Representation