GENDER AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF FOREIGN MINISTERS IN GENDER EQUAL SOCIETIES:

- A comparative study of how female and male ministers are represented in Swedish and US daily press

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Abstract
This thesis aims to describe and compare how female and male foreign ministers are represented in Swedish and U.S. daily press. Choosing two critical cases, Swedish and U.S. media, where gendered stereotypical representation is most unlikely to occur, gives a larger chance for generalization to other countries media, and other types of media. Based upon the ontology of social constructivism and theories of gendered media representation, a qualitative analysis will be conducted to be able to describe how media representations of these foreign ministers look like. The use of gender stereotypical words and meanings used when portraying foreign ministers in media will be compared both between the female and male foreign ministers and between the Swedish and U.S. daily press. The analysis will show that the foreign ministers are portrayed differently based on sex, where women are portrayed as weak and emotional, with their competence doubted, while the men are strong and unquestionable competent.

| Gender | Media Representation | Gendered Stereotypes | Foreign Ministers | Foreign Policy |

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1. INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL AIM

“All these processes - the participation of women in parliamentary politics, the feminist struggle over the political, the general changes in political culture - cannot be understood without examining the media’s role” (Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000:3).

How are female and male foreign ministers portrayed in media of gender equal societies such as Sweden and US? Are there any differences in how the female and male ministers are portrayed? These are questions that have not been answered by previous scholars in the literature on gender, media and politics, nor have they been answered by literature on gender, media and foreign policy.

Even though women make up about 50% of the world’s population, they are underrepresented in heavy posts such as those of foreign ministers, in diplomacy, and in politics in general in many states of the world. Women are not only underrepresented in politics, women politicians are underrepresented in media and are not portrayed in the same way as male politicians (Byerly and Ross, 2006). Sweden and the US are important cases to examine when it comes to representation of foreign ministers in media, because of their relatively large number of female foreign ministers in these countries since the mid-1990s. The post of foreign minister is a heavy post within state politics and to elect a woman to uphold that post is a sign of longing to change the appearance of current politics. Does this desire also reflect itself in current media of these states? Or is media still in the mindset of politics belonging to men – the public sphere, and not women – the private sphere?

During the time this research is conducted, there are no more than 17 female foreign ministers in the world (Christensen, 2012), which shows that there is a significant trend of underrepresentation of women in foreign ministry. As women in foreign policy seem to be discarded also in the academic world, as we will show in the literature review below, bringing attention to this neglected issue is of even greater urgency. Women are underprivileged when it comes to entering the sphere of foreign policy. Therefore it is of importance to look into cases where women have squeezed themselves into patriarchal strong-holds, such as in Sweden and the US.

Media’s role in society is of great importance. Media does not only report current events, but are also influential when it comes to representation of the events. There is a circle of influence whereby society affects media, media reflects society, and vice versa (e.g.
Tuchman et al., 1978; Strebeny and van Zoonen, 2000). It gives media a persuading power to uphold or influence a change in the existing norms of society. Therefore, it is of significance to explore media’s portrayal of persons in power, in areas where gender issues are discussed. As Strebeny and van Zoonen (2000:13) claims,

"gender is a more crucial issue in social and political life than ever, its discourse(s) have become more open and ambiguous than before the media play an ever more central role in altering the boundaries of the visible and invisible, the public and the private."

New scholarship shows the symbolic value of extremely successful women with leadership tasks, an area that traditionally is seen as stereotypically masculine. Women get inspired by other successful women, and as a result tend to perform better themselves (Successful female leaders empower women's behavior in leadership tasks, 2013). If found that media in gender equal societies, such as Sweden and the US represents female and male foreign ministers differently, it could be an indication that even if these countries are seen gender equal, there are dimensions in them that need to be changed to achieve true equality. Thus, a study on media representation of female and male foreign ministers is of importance.

The next chapter of the thesis will describe two lines of scholarship of relevance for this thesis: (1) gender and foreign policy/diplomacy; and (2) gender, media and politics. The scholarship on gender and foreign policy/diplomacy does not certain an extensive treatment of women in foreign policy. Many times women in foreign policy have been represented as wives of diplomats and the role they play for their husbands.

The main objective of most of the scholarships examined regarding gender, media and politics, is to show that men and women are portrayed differently in the media. The scholarship studies different types of media, such as soap operas, advertisement, news programs and articles, and in all these areas the scholarship shows the same results – men and women are portrayed in stereotypical ways. Our literature review will show that despite the strengths of the scholarship about gender, media and politics, there are no studies of gender and media portrayals of foreign minister (nor diplomats). Which in turn leads us to the gap within the literature – no studies about how foreign ministers are portrayed in media have been executed.

The third chapter will discuss our constructivist theoretical approach and the central concepts of the thesis. Previous scholarship on theories of gender representation in media will be the fundament for creating an analytical framework, used when gathering and analyzing
data. We use the concepts of gender constructions, representation and stereotypical gender representation to conduct our analysis. Words used to stereotype men and women will later be thematically presented before and within the analytical framework.

The forth chapter of the thesis will regard the general aim and specified research question and the ensuing methods and design chapter will begin with a discussion of the choice of Sweden and The US as critical cases. We will explain why the choice of data collected for analysis will be articles from daily press media and why the analysis will be approached in a qualitative way. The sixth chapter is the actual analysis of media representations, and the thesis ends with concluding remarks on the results, future research questions and a discussion of the findings socio-political implications. The literature review will now follow.

2. Reviewing the Literature of Gender, Foreign Policy and Media Representation

In order to answer the questions of how female and male foreign ministers are represented in media, and if they are represented differently, we have examined two areas of scholarship: gender and foreign policy/diplomacy; and gender, media and politics. The interesting literature on gender and foreign policy/diplomacy will be examined first. Secondly, we will bring forward how men and women are represented and portrayed in mass media and how media portrays female and male politicians. These literatures have different gaps- there is no extensive work on women in foreign policy, there is little research on women in foreign policy in Sweden, and there is no previous research on how foreign ministers are represented in media, which is of course what we will focus on.

2.1. Gender and Foreign Policy

When diving into the literature about women in foreign policy, it quickly becomes clear that the scholarship is relatively narrow. There is just not much scholarship on this topic. What is significant for all scholars within this area of scholarship is that they all acknowledge the lack of women in foreign policy (e.g. Crapol, 1987; Enloe, 1990; Klingvall and Ström,
2012). A number of scholars then cover the entry and career paths of women in departments of external affair (e.g. Jeffreys-Jones, 1995; Neumann, 2008; Klingvall and Ström, 2012).

For instance, *Foreign Policy Decision Makers: The impact of Gender* (McGlen et al., 2001), describes a history in the US department of state (and defense), where women were previously strongly excluded. This is also confirmed by other scholars (Crapol, 1987; Enloe, 1990; Jeffreys-Jones, 1995). The scholarship identifies the few women that have struggled themselves into this field as “mice in a man’s world– out of place and usually out of positions of real power” (Crapol, 1987:173).

While some scholarship has focused on the few women involved in official foreign policy, other scholars have asked the question; where are most women then? (e.g. Enloe, 1990). Cynthia Enloe (1990) explains the history of women’s influence on foreign policy not as representative state officials, but as representative wives. She shows that there is a great emphasis on women in diplomacy, not as decision-makers, but as wives of diplomats and decision-makers. Moreover, Enloe writes that the wives that share their husband’s interest in foreign policy see their house, as it is the women’s “domain”, as their “tool of trade” (1990: 93-123). What Enloe also states about the work of diplomats wives is that “it is expected by governments, but it’s not truly respected” (1990:100). Crapol (1987) explains it further with bringing up that women have been historical actors in shaping the nation's foreign policy, but as supporters, not as actual decision-makers.

The general view on politics as “women at home and men out in the world” is something that many of the scholars referred to in their research. They have recognized that through history, women are seen as a unit needed to be held away from the public sphere (Enloe, 1990; Jeffreys-Jones, 1995; Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000; Svedberg, 2002). This could be an explanation of why the scholarship is so limited within the field of international politics. Frankly, in a provocative way, one could conclude that, as there have not been many women welcomed into the world of external affairs, there has not been much to write about. Or as Crapol states in the introduction of his book *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders*: “what was true of women’s history in general, was true of diplomatic history. Women had been ignored or overlooked” (1987:x).

The literature as a whole on gender and foreign policy, as shown, is not extensive. There are many gaps that could be examined. For example, there is only one analysis to date about women in foreign policy covering Sweden (Klingvall and Ström, 2012), which is peculiar, as
Sweden has had four female foreign ministers between the years of 1991 and 2006\(^1\). Furthermore, Klingvall and Ström (2012) only briefly describe what these have done and contributed in external affairs. Likewise, from 1997 to 2013\(^2\), three of five foreign ministers have been female in the United States. The literature on foreign policy covering the United States is more extensive, but it does not cover media representation or portrayal of these ministers. In short, there is no scholarship on the media portrayals of foreign ministers.

### 2.2. Gender, Media and Politics

There is a great deal of scholarship about gender and media (e.g. Tuchman, 1978; van Zoonen, 1994; Norris, 1997; Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000; Byerly and Ross, 2006). One of the pioneering scholars that revealed how women are represented and portrayed in the media was Gaye Tuchman (1978) who wrote about the “symbolic annihilation of women.” Symbolic annihilation means that something is absent, condemned or underestimated as in the case of women in mass media (Tuchman, 1978). An example of symbolic annihilation in Tuchman’s research is that the female population was underrepresented in the mass media even though women made up 51% at the time. The presence or non-presence of women is not the only factor in symbolic annihilation; ideas, ideals and symbols are equally important as in how women are portrayed in the media.

Many scholars have referenced Tuchman, and her concept of “symbolic annihilation”, when writing about gender, media and politics (e.g. Fountaine and McGregor, 2002; Byerly and Ross, 2006; Thornham, 2007; Ross, 2010). Most of these scholars focus on the media portrayal of women in politics in general, such as in party politics, women in parliament, women in office and elections (e.g. Norris, 1997; Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000; Kahn, 2003; Byerly and Ross 2004, 2006; Ross, 2004, 2010, 2012; Thornham, 2007). What these scholars all argue is that women politicians are not portrayed in the same way as their male equivalents. Portrayals of male politicians are mostly based on their personal traits, often positive, while female politicians are scrutinized based on sex, personal life and appearance. Byerly and Ross (2006) state that “women parliamentarians are rarely treated by the media in

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the same way as their male counterparts, they are always rather less than the sum of their body parts” (2006:44). The objectification of male politicians also occurs, which is noticed by Ross (2004) and Sreberny and van Zoonen (2000). According to Sreberny and van Zoonen “the (re)presentation of men is moving closer to the typical modes of representation of women (rather than the other way around)” (2000:11). Ross (2004) on the other hand identifies that the objectification or scrutiny of male politicians occur, but not with the same regularity as it does with the “rule” female politicians.

What is apparent when reading the literature is that foreign policy is not covered in the literature of gender, media and politics, neither has media representation of foreign ministers been looked at with focus on gender equal countries. The coverage of gender and politics exists in the literature of foreign policy and gender, but as stated before, is very insignificant. The scholarship should follow the patterns of the more gender equal mindset of international politics, meaning it should be more extensive. Furthermore, as media plays a great role in our society, it is essential to also examine media representation of gender and foreign policy.

Scholarship within political science is supposed to represent how our society looks and be the base for knowledge of the field.

Further reason this inquiry is of importance is the symbolic value female foreign ministers supplies to other women, and to which other women can relate. The post of foreign minister is one of the heavier posts within states, with Prime Minister and President (where neither Sweden nor the United States have had a woman) in the lead. A research have shown that by exposing “women to counterstereotypic exemplars [where leadership spheres such as politics is seen as stereotypically masculine] of their own group … tend to have positive effects on women’s self-related cognitions and performance” (Latu, et al., 2013:444). More simply, the research revealed that, by exposing female students to pictures of female role models such as Hillary Clinton, it increased their performance of different tasks such as speech (Latu, et al., 2013). Then, if media portray female foreign ministers as weak and with other gender stereotypical traits (see Table 1.) it can hold other women back. Furthermore, if media portrayals of foreign ministers are uneven and differentiated by sex it gives the impression of still holding on to stereotypes of leadership and politics still belonging to men and to some extent inappropriate for women.

Therefore, it is crucial to expand the knowledge of the area and extend the research within the field of media, gender and politics. The thesis will seek to cover gaps in both areas of literature, foreign policy where women have not been addressed sufficiently, where foreign
ministers in the area of media representation are forgotten and also comparing female and male foreign ministers representation in media.

The choice of case, time period, gathering and analysis of data will be more thoroughly explained in the methods and design chapter. But before, a theoretical chapter based on the ontology of social constructivism will be introduced, where the theory and analytical base for this thesis will be described.

3. THEORETICAL APPROACH: GENDER REPRESENTATION IN MEDIA

“traditional gender discourse relegating women to domestic duties and men to social responsibilities is still a strong frame of reference in news media coverage and therewith an unmistakable actor in politics, limiting the possibilities and chances of women and men in politics.” (Sreberny and van Zoonen 2000:15).

This chapter will discuss theories and concepts of gender representation in media, and gender stereotypes through a social constructivist ontology. The chapter begins with a description of social constructivism, what it is and its assumptions about the world (ontology). A discussion of the concept of gender will then follow. Together with gender, the other central concepts that will be discussed are stereotypes and representation. The thesis will “test” an already existing theory that claims that men and women are portrayed differently in media (van Zoonen, 1994; Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000; Byerly and Ross, 2006; Ross, 2010), to see whether this is true also for representations of foreign ministers. We draw on and combine previous scholarship to develop our own analytical framework for analyzing gender differences in media representations. With the use of this analytical framework, the thesis will perform a descriptive analysis of the data.

3.1. “The World is a Social Construction”

The ontological premises of this thesis are constructivist. The central idea of constructivism is that our reality is social, originating from our beliefs, culture, values, identity and norms (e.g. Bacchi and Eveline, 2010). Reality is built on these understandings, and human actions can be explained according to the “construction” of society. The core
assumption is that people act towards other actors or objects based on the meaning those actors or objects have (e.g. Bacchi and Eveline, 2010; Bryman, 2008). Social actors create and accomplish social occurrences - the world is something constructed through human activity. People behave and think as they do, based on received knowledge, made and taught by social forces, such as media, and are particular to a given culture and time. The causal claim is that ideas and representations affect human behavior (March and Stoker, 2002; Bryman, 2008; Bacchi and Eveline, 2010; Towns, 2010). This thesis approaches media as a reflection of the norms and ideas of the society and vice versa - media representation affect the surrounding social world.

3.2. Theories of Gender, Media Representation and Stereotypes

In order to avoid misinterpretation of the concepts and meanings that will be used, the main concepts will be brought forward and thoroughly be explained in a manner in which these should be interpreted as in the thesis. Gender constructions will be the starting point, since it is the broadest central concept in this thesis and can have a variety of different meanings (van Zoonen, 1994). Gender constructions is also the concept that falls into the other concepts discussed, such as representation and stereotypical gender representation.

3.2.1. Gender Constructions

Simone de Beauvoir famously argued, “One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman” (1973:371). In other words, women and men are constructed - the quotation can also be applied to men. Through a social constructivist view, gender is therefore something that involves “socially constructed identities and behaviors” (Towns, 2010:166) and can differ culturally, change and has changed historically (Towns, 2010). Gender through a social constructivist view thus:

“implies that the affective, cognitive and behavioural patterns, commonly associated with either masculinity or femininity, are not only determined by biology. Instead, individuals are socialised – on the basis of biological sex – to perform gender according to a specific society’s gender-typed norms and expectations” (Conradie, 2011:401).

What is problematic with media’s representation of gender, is that it is portrayed as relatively steady, even if gender is continually changing over time, differs culturally and is many times inconsistent (van Zoonen, 1994).
The role men and women have in society is grounded on what identities and what behaviors are constructed and appointed to these groups. Men are traditionally associated with the public sphere, including the political sphere and viewed as “breadwinners”, while women are linked to the private, counting household and childcare viewed as housewives (e.g. Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000). Then roles are built on constructed femininities and constructed masculinities. Constructed femininity is the view of what women are, what qualities they are identified with for example virtue, innocence, powerlessness, compassion, dependence (van Zoonen, 1994; Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000). These are qualities that have been seen as incompatible with politics, which can be an arena of power struggle including conflicts (e.g. Towns, 2010). Constructed masculinity, on the other hand, include qualities more related to efficiency, power, centrality and individuality, qualities that are constructed to be of help in the political arena (van Zoonen, 1994). Joan Scott (1999) clearly acknowledges the relationship between gender and politics: “Gender is one of the recurrent references by which political power has been conceived, legitimated and criticized. It refers to but also establishes the meaning of the male/female opposition” (Scott, 1999:48).

Gender cannot be described by only looking at either men or women, “the world of women is part of the world of men, created in and by it” (Scott, 1999:32). Men and women socially function and play their roles in society in relation to each other (Scott, 1999), simplified, a woman would not be a “housewife” without a husband, and a man would not be a “breadwinner” without a woman and children to support. Therefore, when describing and comparing gender, it is important to study both men and women, in relation to each other.

Gender constructions are mediated in representations and gendered stereotypes. The concepts of gender representation and gendered stereotypes will further on be discussed in connection to media. Beginning with representation in its broader sense, the following sub-chapter will discuss stereotypical gender representation, linking these concepts together.

3.2.2. Representation

The concept of representation can either denote the portrayal or depiction of an actor, phenomenon etc. or refer to the occurrence of a specific group, in this case men and women in media. Former scholars have argued that women are both underrepresented in media, in the sense of the extent of media coverage of women and are not represented in the same way as men (e.g. Tuchman, 1978; Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000; Byerly and Ross, 2006). The concept in this thesis will not be used as a measure of how often men and women are
mentioned, or written about in media. Instead it will be used in terms of how men and women are represented, what attributes are related to men and women, what traits do media portray when it comes to female and male foreign ministers.

According to Bacchi and Eveline (2010) all representation is about power. Power is relational and exists in all social interaction and provides opportunities of influence to preserve or change socially constructed norms, such as constructed gender stereotypes. Actors create power relations, meaning that these relations cannot occur without actions made by certain actors (Eveline, o.a., 2010). When saying that actors create power relations, this is not about having power over [subject], but rather power relational to [subject] (Eveline and Bacchi, 2010:144-148). In this case, media are the ones that are constructing power relations between men and women, as they present “a world dominated by men and male concerns, where women’s voices and women’s perspectives are marginal and peripheral to the main event: history is made every day, herstory struggles to reach the back page” (Ross, 2004:68).

3.2.3. Stereotypical Gender Representation

The concept of stereotypes is important for this thesis, since its aim is to examine how female and male foreign ministers are portrayed in media. Gendered stereotyping of these ministers will be examined and analyzed, but in order to do this one needs to know what stereotypes are. William T. L. Cox et.al. (2012:429) “define stereotype as a cognitive link between two social or personal concepts (e.g. the Self, social groups, identities, attributes, traits, behaviors) that are not defining features for one another”. This means that combining e.g. housewife as identity to the social group women, is a stereotype. Furthermore, it is a concept that defines “something that may be untrue, is ethically and morally problematic and should be overcome” (Cox et.al, 2012:429). Thus by portraying women mainly as housewives, mothers and victims, and men as “breadwinners”, media are stereotyping them into specific categories and roles. This is problematic since it does not portray the accurate picture of reality – men and women are not homogeneous groups who have the same interests and seek the same goals on the grounds of gender (Bacchi, 2010). Furthermore, it is problematic since “stereotypes are confining … persons not conforming to the specified way of appearing, feeling, behaving are inadequate as males or females” (Tuchman, 1978:5).

Media portrays men and women by looking at their personal qualities (emotional, weak, intellectual and strong personality traits and work-related attributes), physical appearance and
sexual objectification (focus on appearance and sex appeal), and personal life and relations 
(interest and family). These will all be discussed in the following chapter.

3.3. Areas of Representation Used to Portray Men and Women

The analytical tool that will be developed below derives from claims that main gender 
and media scholars have made in their research. They have acknowledged that media 
reporting differentiates genders, that men and women are portrayed differently (van Zoonen, 
1994; Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000; Byerly and Ross, 2006). Women, as discussed before, 
are mostly portrayed with a focus on physical traits, personal life and sex, whereas men are 
portrayed in the terms of strong, intellectual attributes and work-related attributes. According 
to the scholarship, even if women are occasionally portrayed in terms of their personal or 
professional attributes, a small number of words are used to portray them in this manner. The 
same applies to men when it comes to e.g. physical appearance, personal life etc.

3.3.1 Personal Qualities

Personal qualities in this thesis will be regarding personality traits, what words are used 
to describe the personality of the foreign ministers by media. Words connected to this area are 
related to strong, intellectual and weak attributes, and emotional demonstrations of the foreign 
ministers. Included in this area is also work-related attributes, since it can be hard to 
distinguish these from personal attributes. Work-related attributes is everything from words 
describing competence to trustworthiness, words that could have been confused as personal 
attributes if these were not combined.

Something that always has been and is of importance for politicians is personality, and 
undoubtedly strong personal traits that go well with politics. Male politicians are mostly 
described in media based on their personal traits and often in a positive manner (Byerly and 
Ross, 2006). Words such as intelligent, independent and honorable are many times used to 
describe male politicians, these attributes are associated with strength and intellect. Byerly 
and Ross (2006:45) clarify this by a quote from The Observer about Alan Howarth, British 
Conservative MP (Member of Parliament) that states: “[U]nquestionably one of the most 
thoughtful, intelligent and independent-minded people in the whole house”. Furthermore, a 
female politician is also often referred to as a woman politician, “she is not a “typical”
politician who … bears no gendered descriptor but who is clearly marked as male” (Ross, 2004:66).

As discussed in the literature review chapter, femininity has been seen as the opposite to politics. Some personal attributes related with femininity are constructed as undesirable in the political arena and these are also used to define female politicians such as emotional, dependent, powerless etc. in media (Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000). Many times the words and descriptions used are related either to denote weakness or emotions, attributes that are not linked to politics.

According to theory, men are mostly portrayed using the area of personal qualities, than are women. Where women are portrayed in this manner, they are mostly being represented by words connected to weakness and emotions while men are portrayed by the use of intellectual and work-related attributes. Thus, in the analytical framework that will follow, a distinction will be made between the attributes that portray female and male politicians; emotional and personal attributes goes under the female area of representation, while intellectual and work-related attributes is under the male area of representation.

3.3.2. Sexual Objectification and Physical Appearance

Where the former area of representation had to do with personality, this area has to do with appearance of the foreign ministers. Appearance here signifies everything that has to do with how the foreign ministers look, their clothing, attractiveness etc. and if the foreign ministers radiates some sort of sexiness. Clarifying “sexiness”, words used by media such as sexy, seductive, flirting etc. to portray the foreign ministers.

Words describing physical appearance are mostly connected with the portrayal of women in media. Male politicians may also be portrayed in this way (e.g. Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000). Where male politicians are being described using physical appearance it is done by portraying them as proper dressed, not whether they are attractive or not. Men are not portrayed by sexual objectification.

Sexual objectification of women is strongly connected to their attractiveness towards straight-men, a woman is not portrayed as sexy toward other women. The objectification of women as the “sum of our body parts” (Byerly and Ross 2006:37) occurs in most types of media, and it is a way of stereotyping the female body as pretty (when not in need of correction) and as a sexual object.
The division in the analytical framework here will be: sexual appearance toward hetero-
mens for the female foreign ministers, and proper appearance when it comes to the portrayal of 
male foreign ministers.

3.3.3. Personal Life and Relations

Everything that the foreign ministers do in their spare time and their relation to other 
individuals outside the workplace is meant as personal life and relations. Words describing 
their interests and families are the primary fields here. The area of personal life and relations 
has primarily been used to portray women in media, and mainly their relation to men whether 
they are wives, sisters, and even employees beneath the male boss. However, this phenomena 
is more and more also including men (Byerly and Ross, 2006; Sreberny and van Zoonen, 
2000). The distinction between the portrayal of men and women when it comes to personal 
life and relations is however that men’s interests, in contrary to women’s representation, is 
highlighted and not their families.

Personal life and relation is, therefore, both associated with men and women, but the 
derivation here is that men are portrayed with interest in money and wealth (breadwinners), 
and women are associated with their families and relation to men. Therefore, words 
describing interests in money will be associated to the male representation in the analytical 
framework, and family relations will be linked to the female area of representation.

What will follow is the analytical framework where all the areas of representation 
regarding female and male representation in media will be summarized. The analytical 
framework will follow the order of the subchapters above. Beginning with the area of 
personal qualities where women are portrayed using emotional displays and weak personal 
attributes and men portrayed using intellectual and work-related attributes. Physical 
appearance and sexual objectification is the second area of representation, which is used to 
portray women’s attractiveness towards men, and men are portrayed with appearance 
attributes of proper appearance. The third, and last area of representation, personal life and 
relations, where women’s families and their relation to men are in focus and where men’s 
interests are mentioned. Note that, the frequency in which an area of representation is most 
commonly used to portray men or women, according to theory, is shown by a darker orange 
color over the boxes.
Table 1: Analytical Framework: Stereotypical Gender Representations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas of Representation</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal Qualities</strong></td>
<td>Emotional and Personal Attributes</td>
<td>Intellectual and Work-related Attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>such as weak, compassionate, dependent etc. – attributes related to weakness</td>
<td>such as tough, intelligent, independent etc. – attributes related to strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical Appearance and Sexual Objectification</strong></td>
<td>Sexual Appeal toward hetero-men:</td>
<td>Proper appearance:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>such as beautiful, sexy, babe, old, young etc.</td>
<td>such as handsome, smart, proper, groomed, tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal Life and Relations</strong></td>
<td>Attributes regarding personal life and relations to men</td>
<td>Attributes regarding wealth and interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>such as mother, wife, shopping etc.</td>
<td>such as income, stocks, sports etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

: most frequently used when describing men/women.
4. Specified Aim and Research Question

The aim of this thesis is to compare and describe how female and male foreign ministers are represented in Swedish and US daily press media. Based on theories of gender representation in media, and using Sweden and the US as cases, we explore whether there are differences/similarities in how female and male foreign ministers are portrayed by addressing these questions:

Are female and male foreign ministers portrayed differently - and if so, how - in representations of their:
- a) personal qualities?
- b) physical appearance and sexual appeal?
- c) personal life and relations?

5. Research Design and Methods: A Qualitative Comparative Approach

This thesis will be conducted as a descriptive study. The research aims to analyze how media represents female and male foreign ministers, not why media portray as they do (March and Stoker, 2002) (even if that would be interesting as well). Moreover, the research questions will be approached deductively, as the starting point is an analytical framework based on theory (Bryman, 2008:9-13). This chapter of the thesis will discuss the selection of design and methods and deal with the choices of cases and the gathering and analysis of data to answer the research questions. The first part of this chapter will consider the research design of the thesis, which is a comparative case study design of representation of female and male foreign ministers in daily press media in Sweden and the US, and will clarify if the study can be generalized to a greater population. Secondly, the selection of daily press articles as data will be brought up in order to best answer the research questions. Further on, the third part of this chapter discusses how articles will be gathered, and why. The last section of this chapter
discusses specific analysis methods that will be used to analyze the gathered data, which will be a qualitative textual analysis.

5.1. Research Design: small-n Comparison of Critical Case(s)

All analysis is in some sense comparative (Esaiasson et al, 2012). In this inquiry there will be a comparison between representation of men and women (female and male foreign ministers) in Swedish and US media (the "cases"). The time frame is between 1993 to 2009, and will be treated as one period. Furthermore, the two chosen countries will be represented as one case – gender equal societies, and the comparison will be conducted over the one given time period (the research will not be conducted as a longitudinal study), this signifies a small n comparison (e.g. Bryman, 2008). The choice of time frame is based on a) Sweden and United States have had a similar pattern when appointing foreign ministers on the basis of gender, and b) the debate and progress of gender equality becoming a hot topic on the political agenda during this time within the international arena (Towns, 2002).

Both Sweden and the US are accustomed to women in power positions. Sweden has a high rate of women in ministerial positions and are ranked to be the most gender equal country in the world, according to the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) gender empowerment index in 2009 (United Nations Development Programme, 2009: 186-190). The year of the report, 48% of the Swedish ministers were female (in 2013, 13 out of 24 Swedish ministers were female (e.g. Regeringskansliet, 2013)). The United States has a lower rate when it comes to women in ministerial posts but it has a high rate of women in high positions within the private sector (United Nations Development Programme, 2009:186-190). Forbes Magazine's ranking of "The World's most Powerful Women" places 61 out of the 100 women with top-positions in the US (Forbes, 2012). The gender equal selection of foreign ministers also confirms a higher emphasis on women in foreign policy. Furthermore, Sweden and US both have progressive anti-discrimination legislation (the US legislation is slightly more advanced), which strengthens women's role in society.

The study seeks not only to describe the case(s), but also to make an attempt to generalize to a greater population (Bryman, 2008:60-61). Even though, as pointed out by constructivists, norms, behaviors and cultures differ between societies and time-periods (e.g. Towns, 2010), modest generalizations based upon the chosen case(s) is feasible. Even if the possibility of making a general "law" is non-existing in the constructivist ontology, the belief is that if the chosen cases exhibit the same characteristic paradigms, the result can be used to
generalize to a wider population- other countries' media representation of foreign ministers. The expectation is similar outcomes: in Swedish and United States media representation of foreign ministers, gender stereotypes ought not to exist in these gender equal societies. If gender stereotypes are found in these countries’ media representation, these gender stereotypes are most likely to be found in less gender equal societies as well.

As Esaiasson et al. (2012:155) claim, to be able to make a valid generalization the following questions should be answered about the cases: 1. What is the recurrent, general, phenomena you are studying? 2. Why have you chosen these specific cases (units of analysis)? And are you sure that these cases are the most suitable cases when it comes to generalization? This study will respond to these questions in following manner: As mentioned earlier, the general phenomena is that both Sweden and the US have similar patterns since the mid-1990s, in choice of foreign ministers from a gender perspective. Since 1994, three out of five foreign ministers in Sweden has been female. United States have the exact same numbers from 1993-2013. This recurrence makes it motivating to look further into these countries. Furthermore, as media have portrayed men and women differently through history (e.g. Tuchman, 1978; Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000) it is essential to look if media continue this pattern also with people in power, in countries that emphasizes gender equality. As the general aim is to look at how media portrays foreign ministers based on theories of gender representations in media, it makes it even more interesting that these countries appear to be similar when it comes to valuing gender equality.

The validity of the generalization increases further as Sweden and the United States represents different kinds of welfare capitalism (Espingen-Andersen, 1990). Sweden with its socialist tradition, has since the 1960s, a tradition of opening the opportunities for women into employment outside the home towards a more dual breadwinner society. Sweden has by introducing legislation such as parental leave, childcare provision etc. encouraged women to participate in the public working life (Lewis, 1992; Orloff, 1993). United States with its liberal tradition has not the same progressive legislation, but has market forces that have stimulated an increase of women’s employment (Orloff, 1993). By using case(s) with different kinds of ontological fundaments, the generalization becomes more trustworthy.

All these variables make these countries critical cases- when wanting to “test” theories of gender representation in media, these case(s) are “chosen on the grounds that it will allow a better understanding of the circumstances in which the hypothesis will and will not hold” (Bryman, 2008:55). The assumption is that if media portrays female and male foreign ministers differently in gender equal societies like Sweden and USA where it is least
expected, such gender stereotypes are likely to occur in countries with similar gender politics, and even more likely to occur in less gender equal societies.

Esaiasson et al. (2012), state that there are two versions of critical cases a) *most likely cases*, where the assumption is that if theory does not hold in chosen cases, the theory will probably not hold in any other case, and b) *least likely cases* - if the theoretical assumption holds in the chosen cases, the theory will probably hold even under less favorable circumstances (2012:161-162). This study will fall under least likely cases, as the incidence of unequal gender representation in media is least likely to occur in the case(s) of Swedish and US media. Cases that fall under least likely cases are said to fall under the classical logic of theory testing related to the philosopher Karl Popper. If the theory holds even if it will be put through toughest "trial", the validity of the research findings will increase considerably (Esaiasson, 2012:163). On all these grounds, the cases chosen are highly suitable when it comes to generalization. Important to keep in mind, though, is that this is not a causal hypothesis testing, but rather a “test” of whether a certain description of media reality holds true or not.

5.2. **Choice of Data: Daily Press Articles**

Since the aim of this research is to describe how media in gender equal societies portrays female and male foreign ministers, the collection of data could include everything from movies, soap operas, television news, to articles in evening journals or daily press. The choice among these types of data is consequential, when it comes to data collection, data analysis, results etc. Another aspect of consideration is the audience a specific category of media is intended for, as soap operas, movies, magazines etc. addresses different audiences (e.g. Tuchman, 1978; van Zoonen, 1994; Bergström and Boréus, 2005).

Daily press articles will be our main data. Daily press newspapers are often well archived, aims to the public instead of a specific audience, and portray themselves as objective (Ross, 2004). Here again, daily press newspapers are “hard cases,” or critical cases (Esaiasson et al., 2012). Because of its claimed objectivity, serious news reporting should be least likely to reproduce gendered stereotypes (Ross, 2004). Furthermore, if gendered stereotypes are found in daily press media, one is likely to find these stereotypes in other media categories as well.

The newspapers we will focus on are *New York Times* and *Dagens Nyheter (DN)*, which are respected and highly read daily press newspapers in the chosen countries. *New York Times*
and DN are two liberal newspapers, available nationwide by print and internationally by Internet (Okrent, 2004; Wolodarski, n.d.). DN is and aims to be the largest, most read and leading newspaper in Sweden (DN, n.d.), the paper edition has 793 100 daily readers in the age range of 15-79 years. New York Times however, is the third largest newspaper in the United States, with both USA Today and The Wall Street Journal in the first and second place, with 1 150 589 daily readers (Edmonds, o.a., 2012). While USA Today is a daily press newspaper, it is more of a tabloid paper (akin to Swedish Aftonbladet and Expressen) in comparison to New York Times, and therefore the focus will be on New York Times. The Wall Street Journal, on the other hand, focuses on economics (much like Swedish Dagens Industri), and therefore does not suit the criteria of this thesis. The choice of New York Times and DN is based upon these newspapers both being liberal, covered nationwide, and daily press newspapers. Therefore, New York Times and Dagens Nyheter with their liberal ideologies, large audiences, and their objectivity can be seen as each other national counterparts.

5.3. Gathering of Data: Digital Media Archives

Even though interviews and observations are the most commonly connected with qualitative method (March and Stoker, 2002:197; van Zoonen, 1994:135), these will not be the basis for gathering data. The aim of the thesis is not to describe how recipients of media see or interpret it - it is to describe how foreign ministers are represented in media. Performing interviews of media recipients this thesis would not produce an image of how foreign ministers are represented on paper but rather how the recipients interpret media. Because articles constitute the basis of analysis, gathering data through questionnaires, interviews and observations are irrelevant for this study.

The articles will be collected from databases that contain printed daily press articles such as the Swedish Mediearkivet and New York Times’ own archive for printed articles. Search words will be "Name Surname"(of Foreign Minister) + “Foreign Minister”3 (Sweden) or “Secretary of State” (US). Furthermore, the selection of articles will require search criteria that will guide the collection of articles. Criteria include a delimited timeframe from one week before the foreign minister is appointed to one month after the appointment. Time needs to be limited, as by not setting up specific dates the results of articles increase drastically since the

3 Swedish translation: Utrikesminister
current and former foreign ministers have been written about in media outside the post of foreign minister or secretary of state, e.g. Hillary Clinton who was an active first lady and ran as president candidate or Carl Bildt who has been a former Prime Minister, etc. Articles where the foreign ministers only are mentioned and are not in focus are not of great weight for this research. Thus, the belief is that the approximately five weeks chosen covers the important national and international event of the appointment of a new foreign minister where these are in political and medial focus. With the set criteria, a number of +/- 400 articles have been collected on the foreign ministers.

Time period is chosen from the mid-1990s (1993-) when the gender debate became a greater subject for discussion, until the appointment of Hillary Clinton in 2009. This to cover three female and two male foreign ministers in both Sweden and United States that have held the post for at least five months. The beginning of a mandate period is considered to be crucial, and the aim is to avoid interfering in the middle of a mandate period. To be able to cover the same number of foreign ministers in both Sweden and the United States, Swedish data will be gathered from the appointment of Lena Hjelm-Wallén in October 1994, while US data will be gathered from January 1993 and the appointment of Warren Christopher. It could be argued that this could decrease the validity of the research findings, although the opinion is that the validity rather increases when the countries are equivalent in numbers of persons examined, as it only differs approximate one and a half year. The foreign ministers that will be covered are, beginning with most present from Sweden: Carl Bildt (2006-current), Jan Eliasson (2006), Laila Freivalds (2003-2006), Anna Lindh (1998-2003) and Lena Hjelm-Wallén (1994-1998), and from the United States: Hillary Rodham Clinton (2009-2013), Condoleezza Rice (2005-2009), Colin Powell (2001-2005), Madeleine Albright (1997-2001) and Warren Christopher (1993-1997).

There are more women than men examined, which could be seen as bias as well, but as the gender debate was not a topical issue before mid-1990s (Towns, 2002), the conviction is that there are not enough crucial data to gather before these dates. Thus, we assume that the time period from 1993 and forward is the most “critical” time period for exposure of the foreign ministers. Therefore it is treated as one period/time frame.

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4 A new secretary of state, John Kerry, was appointed in United States, February 2013. As the thesis was already in process, decision was taken to not take him into account.
5.4. Methods for Analysis: A Qualitative Textual Analysis

As the general aim is to examine if gender stereotypes are used by media, a qualitative method of analysis will be used. We seek not to find the cause or effect of media representations of foreign ministers, but to illustrate and describe how media portrays foreign ministers. Therefore a textual analysis, of the articles gathered, will be approached in a qualitative manner (Brennen, 2013).

It is essential to emphasize that even if qualitative analysis is the principal method used within constructivism, quantitative content analysis method can also be used (Bryman, 2008:592). However, as we seek to describe a phenomena and not explain it, nor make any attempts to make any causal claims (Starrin and Svensson, 1994:21-23), the analytical method will be qualitative. Besides, frequency of words and phrases does not provide the whole picture of a text. A qualitative textual analysis will thus be used to see the richer meaning of the gender representations in the articles. Furthermore, as whole passages could be subject for analysis, and there can be content of interest “beneath the surface” that needs to be closely read, a qualitative textual analysis is the most suitable method of analysis (Esaiasson et al., 2012). Thus, even though a mixed-method approach with a quantitative content analysis could contribute to a more complete picture (e.g. Bryman, 2008:610-ff), it will not be a method that will be used as both negative and positive attributes can appear in the same sentences and/or articles and create misleading results.

According to Brennan (2013), the notion of transparency is of importance in qualitative research. This means that the stages of the analysis process should be introduced to the reader, which will now follow. Meanings in the articles implying significations of the areas of representation in the analytical framework will be searched for according to Bacchi and Eveline’s (2010) method of approaching the subject(s) for analysis by approaching them with questions. Similarly, Esaiasson et al. (2012:210) argue that to find the essence of a text, questions should be asked while reading it to see if answers can be found in the text. Firstly, the articles will be analyzed based upon following questions, constructed on the base of the analytical framework:

a) Are emotional displays and personal attributes relating to weakness used to portray female and male foreign ministers, how?

b) Are intellectual and work-related attributes used to portray female and male foreign ministers, how?
c) Are sexual appearance attributes used to portray female and male foreign ministers, how?

d) Are the female and male foreign ministers portrayed when using physical appearance of proper clothing attributes, how?

e) Are personal life and relations attributes to the other sex used to portray female and male foreign ministers, how?

f) Are interests in wealth and income used to portray the female and male foreign ministers, how?

Note that all foreign ministers will be approached systematically with the same questions and all attributes—female and male will be searched for. To clarify it further, typical “female” qualities etc. will be searched for both when analyzing the female and male foreign ministers and vice versa.

Secondly, when words and contexts that answers the questions above are found, these will systematically be divided and analyzed within the category of the area of representation they correspond—1) personal qualities, a) female and b) male, 2) physical appearance and sexual objectification a) female and b) male, and 3) personal life and relations, a) female and b) male. Furthermore, positive and negative meanings will be searched for within the contexts.

Third and lastly, the findings will be presented in the same order as in the analytical framework, beginning with personal qualities and ending with personal life and relations, in the following chapter, which is the analysis.

### 6. MEDIA PORTRAYAL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS: ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF MEN AND WOMEN

To fulfill the aim of this thesis, a comparison and a description of how female and male foreign ministers are represented in Swedish and US daily press media, the analysis of gathered data will be conducted and systematically explained in this chapter. The order of the analytical framework will guide the analysis of how media portrays foreign ministers. Every sub-chapter will thoroughly compare female and male ministers based on the categories in the analytical framework. The data for analysis have been scrutinized and the findings will be
methodically represented throughout the chapter. The analysis will begin with personal qualities, continue with psychical appearance and sexual objectification, and end with personal life and relations. From approximately 400 articles gathered, 52 of them are used in this analysis.

6.1. Emotional and Incompetent Women and Overqualified Men

Display of emotions and weak personal attributes are mostly used when portraying female foreign ministers. Masculine intellectual and work-related attributes are also used to portray the female foreign ministers, but many times in a twisted negative way. Male foreign ministers, on the other hand, are represented as showing no emotions in media and are mainly described with work-related and intellectual attributes.

Beginning with emotions in the area of personal attributes, female foreign ministers are often described showing emotions like laughter, facial expressions and tone of voice. One female foreign minister is only described with positive displays of emotion, Anna Lindh (1998-2003). She “evokes delight”5 (Carlbom, 1998b:10), “She laughs big”6 (Carlbom, 1998a:11) and “she was surprised”7 (Carlbom, 1998c:10). Together these words make out emotional expressions that are portraying a pleasant and joyful foreign minister.

Laila Freivalds (2003-2006) on the contrary to Anna Lindh, is not portrayed in an equally pleasant manner, she is both portrayed with positive and negative display of emotions. The three most negative quotations portraying Freivalds are: “renowned outbreak against the journalists … not the first time she showed that she dislikes media”8 (Brors, 2003:5), “resigned in fierce anger”9 and “I’d be just as angry”10 (Carlbom, 2003:14). Other display of emotions: “she said trustingly”11 (Böe, 2003:9), “will miss”12, “She laughs and jokes”13, “she laughs”14 (again) and “she almost looks embarrassed”15 (Carlbom, 2003:14). What is apparent in Freivalds’ case is that she is portrayed both with positive emotions such as laughter and in negative light, as a person who cannot keep her emotions in control. As the quote above

5 Swedish quote: ”väcker förtjusning.”
6 Swedish quote: ”Hon skrattar stort”
7 Swedish quote: ”blev hon förvånad.”
8 Swedish quote: ”omtalade utbrottet mot journalisterna”
9 Swedish quote: ”avgick i vredesmod”
10 Swedish quote: ”skulle jag bli precis lika arg.”
11 Swedish quote: ”sade hon förtrotsfullt.”
12 Swedish quote: ”kommer sakna”
13 Swedish quote: ”Hon skrattar och skämtar”
14 Swedish quote: ”så skrattar hon.”
15 Swedish quote: ”hon ser nästan generad ut.”
stating that she resigned in fierce anger, and had an outburst towards some journalists, does not portray a very emotionally stable foreign minister.

Foreign ministers Lena Hjelm-Wallén (1994-1998), Hillary Clinton (2009-2013), Condoleezza Rice (2005-2009) and Madeleine Albright (1997-2001) are, like Laila Freivalds, portrayed with mixed messages. They are portrayed with both positive displays of emotions, such as laughers and smiles, but also with negative expressions, such as mocking, being too emotional and fear. Beginning with two quotations on the representation of Lena Hjelm-Wallén, she is portrayed as “positively surprised”16 (Hedström, 1994:9) and “somewhat anxious”17 (no name, 1994b:2). Even if Hjelm-Wallén is not portrayed extensively by the use of emotional attributes, she is still portrayed in this way, and it is done with both positive and negative emotions.

Hillary Clinton, on the other hand, is more portrayed in this way compared to Hjelm-Wallén. In one article by Landler (2009b), she is portrayed both positively and negatively: “She professed frustration”, “she seemed sensitive”, “She seemed tickled and swayed in unison with the children” and she “said, with mock exasperation” (Landler, 2009b:A10). In two other articles by the same author the same mixed messages appear: where Clinton “expressed no qualms” (Landler, 2009a:A11), “said with a smile”, “told … somewhat sheepishly” and she “evinces little patience” (Landler, 2009c:A6). Kantor (2009:n.p.), when portraying Clinton, also uses mixed display of emotions where Clinton is “laughing” and “replied with mock innocence”.

Condoleezza Rice’s mixed emotional portrayal is done by three different authors and her emotional display is only mixed within one of the articles, which the two first quotations are borrowed from: “she laughed when David Frost of the BBC asked her about ‘Condi for 2008’” and she “lack of subtlety” (Weisman, 2005:n.p.). The other two articles states that she is “afraid of a few French schoolkids?” (Dowd, 2005:n.p.) and “her manner was calm and careful.” (Brinkley, 2005:n.p.).

What can be good to mention when it comes to Madeleine Albright, is that during her first month as Secretary of State, she found out that some of her ancestors passed away in concentration camps during the Second World War (Erlanger 1997c). So, it is not unexpected that she was especially emotional during this time. The first quotations are from an article about the news of Albrights’ ancestors and her finding out about it: “she was sad yet ‘incredibly grateful’, “Albright said, her voice cracking a little” and “she said softly”

16 Swedish quote: ”positivt överraskad”
17 Swedish quote: ”något ängsligt … inte första gången hon visade att hon ogillar medier”

Male foreign ministers are not described as the female foreign ministers, they on the other hand, are described as expressing doubts, skepticism etc. not with emotions such as laugh. This is specifically seen with quotations on Colin Powell, where he is “reluctant” (Traub, 2001:n.p.), “expressed strong objections” (Rubin, 2001:n.p.), “express skepticism” (Perlez, 2001a:n.p.), “expressed his reluctance” (Krogh, 2001:n.p.), had a “skeptical tone” (Perlez, 2001b:n.p.) and “expressed optimism” (Perlez, 2001c:n.p.). What is apparent here is that the words expressed, reluctance and skepticism are most often used when portraying him and his emotions.

The emotional or expressional portrayal on Warren Christopher is very alike, the words “expressed” and “skepticism” are similarly used when portraying him. He “expressed doubts” (Sciolino, 1993a:n.p.), “expressed some skepticism” (Lewis, 1993:n.p.) and “expressed his ‘ambivalence’” (Sciolino, 1993b:n.p.).

Carl Bildt, on the contrary, is not represented by the words “expressed” and “skepticism”. He is portrayed with more negative displays of emotion such as “indifference”18, “chilly attitude”19 and “emotional coldness”20 (Ahlmark, 2006:4),21 which is different from the other male foreign minister mentioned above.

All the above quotations describing the emotions and expressions of female and male foreign ministers show that these are not portrayed the same. Female ministers are portrayed with emotional expressions such as smile, laughter, embarrassment etc. while the males are only expressing their skepticism, or doubts with some exceptions such as Carl Bildt.

Moving from emotions and expressions to personal, intellectual and work-related attributes, the results here are similar – men and women are not portrayed in the same way. If female foreign ministers often are described emotionally and with weak personal attributes, male foreign ministers are mostly described with foundation of strong, intellectual attributes and work-related attributes (see Table 1.) in the articles. The female foreign ministers are also portrayed with the masculine attributes, but these are often used in negative ways.

18 Swedish quote: “likgiltighet”
19 Swedish quote: ”kylig inställning”
20 Swedish quote: ”känslokyla”
21 Nothing on Jan Eliasson displaying emotions or expressions where found.
Words such as tough, authority, ambitious, and diplomatic are mostly used to describe the male foreign ministers, how they behave and their use of language, their strong and intellectual attributes. For instance, Carl Bildt is portrayed as “both knowledgeable and strong”22 (Brors, 2006:18) and he “has an authority and routine”23 (Jonsson, 2006:8).

Colin Powell’s and Warren Christopher’s rhetoric’s are portrayed as powerful and strong, beginning with Powell’s rhetoric: “strength of his inspirational speaking skills” (Perlez, 2001a:n.p.) and Warren Christopher’s communication skills: “powerful rhetoric” (Holmes, 1993:n.p.) and “tough negotiator” (Scioli, 1993c:n.p.).24 What is apparent here is that the intellectual attributes are used to describe how strong or how powerful the male foreign ministers work-related attributes are, e.g. powerful (intellectual attribute) rhetoric (work-related attribute).

If strength and intellect is highlighted when portraying men, weakness and wrongs are in focus when portraying the female foreign ministers. The female foreign ministers are both described using the feminine personal attributes and the masculine intellectual attributes.

Beginning with the feminine attributes and weak depictions, on Anna Lindh: “she sits nicely in a school desk and raises her hand”25 (Carlbom, 1998b:10). Anna Lindh's cautiousness gives a media portrayal of a pleasant foreign minister that fits perfectly in the social norms on how a woman “should” be, such as calm, cautious, nice and quiet, no other female foreign minister falls in under these norms within their media portrayal.

The picture portrayed by the articles on Laila Freivalds and Lena Hjelm-Wallén is that they are weak and will be weak as foreign ministers, they will not control the area of foreign policy and will probably need some help on the job. Supporting this claim, starting with Lena Hjelm-Wallén: “You can from the past, hardly find reason to expect that Lena Hjelm-Wallén will be a dominant Foreign Minister- even with the competent Jan Eliasson as Secretary of Cabinet”26 and “Pierre Schori, who must feel superior to his future Secretary of State”27 (no name, 1994a:2). The strongest quote that backs this claim and that states that the Swedish foreign policy will lose its power with Hjelm-Wallén as Secretary of State, is: “[Svenska Dagbladet] imposes the future foreign management as weak, fears that foreign policy will

22 Swedish quote: ”både kunnig och stark”
23 Swedish quote: ”har en auktoritet och rutin”
24 Attributes to describe Jan Eliasson’s personal attributes were not found in the articles.
25 Swedish quote: ”sitter hon snäfellt i en skolbänk och räcker upp handen”
26 Swedish quote: ”Man kan ur det förgångna knappast finna skäl att vänta sig att Lena Hjelm-Wallén ska bli en dominerande utrikesminister - även med den kompetente Jan Eliasson som kabinettsssekreterare.
27 Swedish quote: ”Pierre Schori, som måste känna sig överlägsen sin blivande utrikesminister”
‘lose its position and power’ and already determined that ‘tardiness security has come back to power’”28. However, even if Hjelm-Wallén has mostly had negative predictions, and portrayals about her, she was admired when she “did an excellent job when she … withheld from hasty statements”29 (Santesson, 1994:2). An interesting thing to mention here, is that the prediction was that Hjelm-Wallén was going to use “hasty statements”. By not using “hasty statements” she was praised.

Continuing with the personal attributes on Laila Freivalds:“- We have incredibly talented officials to ask questions, and if they so much as suspect that I slip on something I cannot know or should know, then they will intervene, she said trustingly”30 (Böe, 2003:9) and

“The appointment of Laila Freivalds will probably also lead to making it even clearer that the EU and foreign policy is led by the Prime Minister, Göran Persson, coordinating minister Pär Nuder and State Secretary Lars Danielsson. Laila Freivalds’ lack of support in the leadership of the party will make the opportunity for her to run her own line very small”31 (Brors, 2003:5).

The last quote is similar to the quote on Hjelm-Wallén where it is said that the Swedish foreign policy will lose its power. Here, however, it is not the Swedish foreign policy that will be weak, but Freivalds. There is no room for doubt that the former foreign ministers Hjelm-Wallén and Freivalds are portrayed as weak, with quotations supporting this claim. Another interesting phenomena that is worth mentioning is that whenever Hjelm-Wallén and Freivalds are represented as weak, they are put in relation to strong and competent male politicians (no women are mentioned) that will do the work or are represented as stronger than the appointed female foreign ministers, as in the quote above.

Continuing with the American female foreign ministers, where their personal qualities are mentioned together with their rhetoric’s, opening with Hillary Clinton: “sounding less like a diplomat than a presidential candidate” (Landler, 2009d:A11), and concluding with Madeleine Albright where she “said flatly” (Erlanger, 1997e:n.p.), “she said softly” (Erlanger,

28 Swedish quote: ”utdömer den blivande utrikesledningen som svag, befarar att utrikespolitiken kommer att ’föröra sin nuvarande ställning och kraft’ och redan bestämt sig för att ’senfärhighetens osäkerhet har återkommit till makten’”

29 Swedish quote: ”gjorde en utmärkt insats när hon […] tog avstånd från förhastade uttalanden”

30 Swedish quote: ”- Vi har otroligt duktiga tjänstemän som kan frågorna och om de så mycket som anar att jag sliter på något jag inte kan eller bör, då kommer de att gripa in, sade hon förfröstansfullt”.

31 Swedish quote: ”Utnämningen av Laila Freivalds leder troligen också till att det blir än mer klart att EU och utrikespolitiken leds från statsrådsberedningen av Göran Persson, samordningsminister Pär Nuder och statssekreterare Lars Danielsson. Laila Freivalds brist på föranbring i ledningen för partiet gör att möjligheten för henne att driva en egen linje blir mycket liten.”
1997c:n.p.), and was “careful to say” (Erlanger, 1997a:n.p.). These quotations all have to do with how Clinton and Albright express their words, a clear difference to how the male foreign ministers are portrayed. As seen before the male foreign ministers rhetoric’s and speeches were represented as strong, inspirational and tough, a clear difference to Clinton and Albright.

Furthermore Albright’s credibility is questioned in two articles, as to whether she had known if her ancestors were Jewish, ipso facto that she also is. This is backed by these quotations: “she seems to be shading the truth” (Rich, 1997:n.p.) and:

“How could someone as worldly and intelligent as Ms. Albright never have inquired about her background, never have known that three grandparents perished in Nazi concentration camps, never have guessed her parents' Catholic faith might be adopted? If letters sent in recent years by the Mayor of her father's hometown in the Czech Republic reached her, why did she fail to respond to the detailed accounts they provided about her family's Jewish background? Running beneath these questions is the suspicion that she did know, or made a conscious effort not to know, because she did not want to be seen as a Jew in a world still uncomfortable with Jews.” (Taubman, 1997:n.p.).

These quotations say it all, they do not need further explanation or arguments supporting that media have created an image of an untrustworthy foreign minister or especially doubts Albright as Secretary of State.

Even if the weak personal feminine attributes have not been found in a great extent on their own, these together with masculine strong attributes are used to describe the female foreign ministers in mixed messages. To clarify what that means taking Madeleine Albright as an example: “Some officials complain privately that she is tough but too 'emotional’” (Stanley, 1997:n.p.), where “tough” is a strong masculine attribute and emotional is a weak feminine attribute. Continuing with mixed personal qualities on Albright:

“...People are already talking about her as a second Thatcher. There is a tendency here to overrate her, attributing to her a strength she doesn't necessarily possess.’

Even female politicians in Russia express some confusion about Ms. Albright's place in a man's world. 'I was delighted that Mr. Clinton could pick a lady for such a purely masculine role,’ said Galina Karelova, the only woman on the international affairs committee of Parliament. Then she added that she was disappointed that Ms. Albright had accepted the job.
'In my view her strength and persistence could be put to better use by working on more human, social issues, like children, culture, women's equality and other humanitarian concerns.’ She added sharply, "Those are the issues that most concern women around the world” (Stanley, 1997:n.p.).

Condoleezza Rice is also portrayed using mixed messages, collaborating masculine strong attributes with feminine attributes. Rice is, however, described with sensual feminine attributes such as seductive and charm, instead of weak feminine attributes, as in the quote below:

“"Can We Trust Rice?” asked the popular daily France-Soir. Jacques Lang, the Socialist former culture minister, told France Inter radio that while he recognized Ms. Rice's "charm and seduction,” she is still the “Madame Hawk of yesterday” who had been "aggressive and fanatical” on "Iraq in particular.” (Sciolino, 2005:n.p.).

There are, however, parts of the articles where the female foreign ministers only are portrayed with masculine attributes. Male attributes such as toughness, intelligence and honor are sometimes used to describe the female foreign ministers. On Anna Lindh: “political prodigy and a tough negotiator”32 (Carl bom, 1998b:10), on Leila Freivalds: “legal knowledge and hardball attitude”33 (Brors, 2003:5), on Madeleine Albright: “reputation for toughness” (Rosenthal, 1997:n.p.), “known for her stamina” (Erlanger, 1997b:n.p.) and “the Iron Lady” (Erlanger, 1997d:n.p.), on Condoleezza Rice: “She's knowledgeable, she's smart, she's honorable” (Stolberg, 2005:n.p.) and on Hillary R. Clinton “performing as the A-student she is.” (Dowd, 2009:A33).

Even though these attributes highly connected with diplomacy are used to describe the female foreign ministers in a positive manner, the same attributes are used to question their credibility as foreign ministers. The masculine attributes are often followed by something negative and thus portray a negative imagery of the female foreign ministers. Hillary Clinton is portrayed as disrespectful (or rule breaking) more than once when indicating the typical “male” attribute of toughness and straightforwardness. Said about Clinton:

“she broke an informal taboo. Diplomats do not talk publicly about what comes after Kim Jong-il. … If you are looking for ways to change the dynamics, there are other ways to do it … Asia is all about face. What she's done is to create a huge face problem for the North Korean government” (Landler, 2009a:n.p.).

32 Swedish quote: ”politiskt underbarn och en tuff förhandlare.”
33 Swedish quote: ”juridiska kunskaper och hårdförför förhandlingsattityd.”
“She will easily intimidate the world’s dictators, just as often she intimidated Obama in the primaries” (Maureen Dowd, 2009), and instead of viewing Clinton as strong and ambitious (positive male attributes) when taking on two prominent issues, her competence is being questioned:

“There’s no precedent for a secretary of state to subcontract two incredibly high-profile and politically resonant issues so early in her tenure … That could create a management problem.” (Landler, 2009:n.p.) (said by the analyst Aaron David Miller).

Media representation of positive and negative attributes are constantly contradictory. On the one hand, the female foreign ministers are “too tough”, and on the other hand they lack authority. The same author that claimed the latter quote also wrote earlier in the same article: “Mrs. Clinton would need to assert her authority” (Landler, 2009:n.p.). To be provocative, obviously the view media has on female foreign ministers is that they should be just tough enough not to be seen as lame, but smooth enough not to be intimidating and aggressive. A balance between “charm and seduction” and “aggressive and fanatical”.

In comparison to the portrayal of the male foreign ministers, these male personal attributes are used in a negative manner when describing female foreign ministers. Toughness and strength are acceptable, and sometimes praised when it comes to male foreign ministers in contrast to female foreign ministers. Taking the example of comparing the toughness of Condoleezza Rice’s words with the toughness of Warren Christopher’s language:

“She [Condoleezza Rice] reserved some of her harshest language, not for China or Russia, but for President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela, whose government she said had “not been constructive” because of his tough tactics against the news media and the opposition.” “Is it possible for you to say something positive about the Chávez administration?” Mr. Chafee asked, apparently taken aback at the toughness of her words” (Weisman and Brinkley, 2005:n.p.).

And:

“The tough language was intended to do two things: to persuade the Palestinians to end their boycott of the stalled peace talks, and to present Mr. Christopher as a decisive envoy who will not waste his time or the time of his President in meaningless talk“ (Sciolino, 1993c:n.p.).

Approaching it the other way, looking for personal weak feminine attributes used to describe the male foreign ministers, only one male foreign minister has been described with these, namely Colin Powell: “General Powell’s advocacy of humility is far from weakness. It
draws on America’s genius in balancing moral purpose with the rule of law” (Clarke, 2001:n.p.). Where the female foreign ministers are portrayed in a negative light, and mixed messages, it is clear that Colin Powell here is not. The weak feminine attribute of humility is not a weakness, clearly stated in the quotation, it is praised and seen as the American way.

Furthermore, going back to the female foreign ministers, the intelligence and knowledge of female foreign ministers are questioned more in media, than the intelligence and knowledge of male foreign ministers. For example, about Condoleezza Rice: “She’s smart, yes, but I don’t think that she is as knowledgeable as one would expect with a career like hers” (Sciolino, 2005:n.p.). Other female foreign ministers have experienced similar comments and insinuations. On Laila Freivalds: “Has she ever, I ask, held a position of trust?” (Carlbom, 2003:14). In the same article the journalist quotes others, praising Freivalds as “always well-informed, skilled and calm”34 and “fearless and unusual lawyer”35, but the tone throughout the article is questioning her authority and competence: “Many say that it works to be a government official as Minister of Justice, but the job as Foreign Minister requires a dedicated politician” (Carlbom, 2003:14).

Another example is the highly praised Anna Lindh. Even though she was seen as a great politician, media still questioned her knowledge in interviews: “How much does she know about foreign policy? Does she, for example, know what the Lomé Convention is?”36 (Carlbom, 1998a:11). Again, there is an obvious contradiction in the portrayal of these female ministers. They must be intelligent and knowledgeable, but their competence is questioned. On Clinton: “When your whole campaign is based on a claim of experiences, it is important that you have evidence to support that claim” (Stolberg, 2009:n.p.).

In contrast to female foreign ministers, the male foreign ministers are many times seen as very competent, at the verge of being overqualified for the job, and their qualifications are unquestioned. There are several examples on most of the male foreign ministers from the articles to support this argument. The list is long with quotes on Carl Bildt’s praised work-related attributes: “That Bildt is experienced does not need to be pointed out. He has a wide network of contacts, he is genuinely interested in the issues and he can become priceless to the foreign policy debate in Sweden”37 (Ahlin, 2006:4). “Bildt’s international status is high

34 Swedish quote: “[…] alltid påläst, skicklig och lugn.”
35 Swedish quote: “[…] orädd och ovanlig jurist […]”
36 Swedish quote: “Hur mycket kan hon om utrikesfrågor? Vet hon till exempel vad Lomékonventionen är?”
37 Swedish quote: “Att Bildt är erfaren behöver väl inte ens påpekas. Han har ett brett kontaktnät, han är genuint intresserad av frågorna och han kan bli ovärderlig för den utrikespolitiska debatten i Sverige.”
and his foreign policy expertise undisputed … Bildt will also bring the kind of experience that all governments need”\(^{38}\) (Möller, 2006:6), and “He brings exactly what Reinfeldt is missing: the network of contacts, experience, qualifications, credentials”\(^{39}\) (Ekdal, 2006:4).

The work-related attributes of the three remaining foreign ministers that are not career politicians, General Colin Powell, the lawyer Warren Christopher, and the diplomat Jan Eliasson also come out strong. On General Colin Powell:

“If there is to be a regent in foreign affairs, it will thus be Colin Powell, Bush's nominee for secretary of state. It is, in fact, hard to overstate the power that comes with Powell's stratospheric, almost absurd, standing with the American public” (Traub, 2001:n.p.).

and:

“General Powell certainly has the diplomatic skill and experience to be a fine secretary of state. Indeed, with the new president's inexperience in foreign affairs, the general is likely to be a towering figure in the administration” (Rubin, 2001:n.p.).

On Warren Christopher: “President Clinton has named as Secretary a seasoned lawyer known chiefly as a negotiator, a Carter era survivor who has rarely uttered a foolish -- or boat-rocking -- word” (no name, 1993:n.p.) and:

“Mr. Clinton chose the 67-year-old Mr. Christopher to run his State Department is because he sees him as an elder statesman who can take care of the thorny foreign-policy matters that Mr. Clinton simply does not want to be troubled with now and is still unsure about” (Friedman, 1993:n.p.).

Last but not least on Jan Eliasson:

“Jan Eliasson is presumed in comment after comment of being competent just because he is not a politician, although he is appointed a political job. That Jan Eliasson is a very politically motivated person or represent a certain view of foreign policy is not specified as a reason why he

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\(^{38}\) Swedish quote: “Bildts internationella status är hög och hans utrikespolitiska kompetens oomstridd. […] kommer Bildt dessutom att tillföra den typ av erfarenhet som alla regeringar behöver”

\(^{39}\) Swedish quote: “Han tillför precis det som Reinfeldt saknar: kontaktnätet, erfarenheten, meriterna […]”
is considered as a good choice, but it is his diplomatic career that inspires confidence and is seen as the guarantor of competent handling on the new job”\(^{40}\) (Fogde, 2006:4).\(^{41}\)

The particular aspect of these male foreign ministers not being career politicians is especially interesting because when it comes to the female foreign ministers, who are not career politicians, their competence is questioned. Taking Laila Freivalds here as an example, who also is a lawyer and have been a former Minister of Justice: “He [Göran Persson] has not given the heavy task to one of the leading contenders for the post of party leadership … Or to one of the most experienced in the field of foreign policy”\(^{42}\) (Brors, 2003:5) and “He [Göran Persson] did not [in the choice of Laila Freivalds as foreign minister] assume first hand from foreign policy competence”\(^{43}\) (Carlbom, 2003:14).

What the first part of the analysis have shown is that the female and male foreign ministers are not portrayed in the same way. Display of emotions and weak personal attributes are differentiated by gender in the portrayal of the foreign ministers. The female foreign ministers are portrayed with smiles and laughter, while the male foreign ministers expresses skepticism and doubts. The female foreign ministers are portrayed with weak personal attributes, and where the only male foreign minister is portrayed in this matter, it is twisted to be a praised attribute. Same thing applies when it comes to the female foreign ministers, but then it is strong, intellectual masculine attributes that are twisted to be negative. With this said, female and male foreign ministers are not portrayed in the same light, the female foreign ministers are many times emotional and their competence doubted while the male foreign ministers competence is undoubted.

6.2. Physical Appearance Only Used to Describe Women?

A surprising phenomena in the articles of male foreign ministers is the area of physical appearance and sexual objectification. Two male foreign ministers have been found being

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\(^{40}\) Swedish quote: ”Jan Eliasson förutsätts i kommentar efter kommentar vara kompetent just därför att han inte är politiker, trots att han utsetts till ett politiskt jobb. Att Jan Eliasson är en mycket politiskt motiverad person eller står för en viss syn i utrikespolitiken anges inte som skäl till varför han anses vara ett gott val, utan det är hans diplomatkarriär som ingar förtröende och ses som garant för kompetent handhavande på det nya jobbet.”

\(^{41}\) Swedish quote: ”Han har inte gett det tunga uppdraget till någon av de främsta kandidaterna till partiledarposten … Eller till någon av de mest erfarna på utrikespolitiska området.”

\(^{42}\) Swedish quote: ”Han har inte gett det tunga uppdraget till någon av de främsta kandidaterna till partiledarposten … Eller till någon av de mest erfarna på utrikespolitiska området.”

\(^{43}\) Swedish quote: ”Han utgick inte i första hand från utrikespolitisk kompetens”
described by what they are wearing, Jan Eliasson and Colin Powell. On Jan Eliasson: “With gray suit, yellow tie and matching yellow handkerchief in the breast pocket, Jan Eliasson participated for the first time as Foreign Minister” (Björklund, 2006:19) and on Colin Powell: “General Powell, dressed in a sharply tailored suit that could adorn any top corporate executive” (Perlez, 2001:n.p.). What can be said of the authors of these articles is that they are both women, and that could maybe inflict on the portrayal of the male ministers. Only on Condoleezza Rice, a description of her clothing is made:

“’Condi’s Great Game: To Seduce Paris.’ The article noted that in her “pumps and navy blue suit accessorized with a belt and large strand of pearls, she gave a speech in her own image: impeccable and soign, seductive but without overdoing it” (Sciolino, 2005:n.p.).

Where the female foreign ministers have been depicted as “babe” (Applebome, 2005:n.p.), “chérie” and “seductive” (Sciolino, 2005:n.p.) as in the case of Condoleezza Rice, the authors have been both female and male. Hillary Clinton, in a column written by a woman: “Hillary showed the reasons she could be a star at state and queen of Obama’s hot nerds” (Dowd, 2009:A33), and is in an article (written by a woman) at one time referred to as “shiksa”- which historically is a negative definition of a non-Jewish girl romantically involved with a Jewish man: “one of the tamer toasters called Mrs. Clinton for nation's ‘first shiksa’” (Kantor, 2009:n.p.). Even if the author herself does not call Clinton “shiksa”, the word is used in her article.

What is unexpected with the data analyzed is that the evidence is so limited. But this does not mean that it does not exist. The female foreign ministers are described with sexually loaded words. Even though only the clothing description of Rice is found, there are definitions and expressions in the articles that still sexualize the female foreign ministers. On Hillary Clinton: “Obama and Hillary continue to be engaged in an intense tango” (Dowd, 2009:n.p.). On Madeleine Albright: “She loved the Virgin Mary” (Erlanger, 1997:c:n.p.). On Anna Lindh: “Anna Lindh wants to stand ‘with one leg in Europe and the other out in the world’, but immediately apologizes for the imagery” (Carlbom, 1998c:10). By illustrating Lindh's embarrassment by her choice of words, the author manages to sexualize her statement, and the outcome becomes an imagery where Anna Lindh parts her legs.

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44 Swedish quote: ”Med grå kostym, gul slips och matchande gul näsduk i bröstfickan deltog för första gången Jan Eliasson som utrikesminister […]”

45 Swedish quote: ”Anna Lindh vill stå ’med ena benet i Europa och det andra ute i världen’, men ber genast on ursäkt för ordspråket.”
Another striking detail is the recurrence of the expression “maiden voyage” describing American female foreign ministers first trip. On Madeleine Albright: “‘It’s a little hard to be maiden at this age,’ the 59-year-old Secretary told the reporters on the flight here” (Myers, 1997b:n.p.), on Condolezza Rice: “during her maiden voyage to … charmed her hosts with her gushing praise” (Sciolino, 2005:n.p.), on Hillary Clinton: “near the end of her maiden voyage” (Landler, 2009c:A6). The usage of the word “maiden” is non-existing when reporting on the first trips the male foreign ministers have made. The word “maiden” is connected not only as to something innocent, but is strongly connected to a sexual behavior.

Even here, in this area of representation, female and male foreign ministers are not portrayed in the same way, and what is surprising is that more male foreign ministers have been portrayed by their clothing than have the female foreign ministers. However, none of the male foreign ministers have been portrayed in a sexual light, in contrast to the female foreign ministers.

### 6.3. Mothers and Moneymakers

In the case of personal life and relations, if we look at the male foreign ministers, little has been said. Only in the case of Colin Powell, something was said about relationship status, if they are married, whether they have any children etc. Their personal interests, outside their work, are not described except for their interest in the stock market of Swedish Carl Bildt (e.g. Lucas, 2006:46) and American Colin Powell (e.g. Marquis, 2001).

Taking the American foreign ministers, Colin Powell’s wife is mentioned, not once but twice (!): “General Powell’s wife Alma” (Marquis, 2001:n.p.), “being asked … to introduce his wife, Alma” (Mitchell, 2001:n.p.). However, in comparison with female foreign ministers like Anna Lindh and Laila Freivalds, none of his children are mentioned. The female foreign ministers are described as in relation to their (or others) families, e.g. Anna Lindhs relationship status, children and her work as a mother are mentioned in two of the articles up for analysis. “Her two children are 4 and 8 years old”\(^{46}\) (Carlbom, 1998a:11) and “Married to Bo Holmberg. Together they have two children, 4 and 8 years old”\(^{47}\) (Carlbom, 1998c:10), and “She hesitated a little, but for personal reasons. The job must be able to combine with

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\(^{46}\) Swedish quote: “Hennes två barn är 4 och 8 år […]”

\(^{47}\) Swedish quote: “Gift med Bo Holmberg. Tillsammans har de två barn, 4 och 8 år gamla.”
family life” (Carlbom, 1998c:10). On several of the female foreign ministers, their family, relationship status and/or their "motherly" qualities are mentioned. On Laila Freivalds: “Family: Husband Johan Hedström and 18-year old daughter Letti,” “Then she went home and talked to the family” and “My wise daughter said to me” (Carlbom, 2003:14). On Hillary Clinton: “She is also a mother, and she said that any mother would fight to the end if such a thing happened to her” (Landler and Fackler, 2009:n.p.), and insinuating her “housewife-skills”, connecting her to the kitchen: “She ladled up the broth of flattery expected in the Senate with a chef’s finesse … trying to curry favor with Madam Secretary … Hillary slathered on the oleo” (Dowd, 2009:A33). There are many articles on Albright emphasizing her family background: “Ms. Albright, who has often remarked on how her personal experiences have shaped her political views”, “When she married in 1959” (Myers, 1997a:n.p.) and, “Ms. Albright's family … Madeleine Albright's first cousin … Ms. Albright's father … Ms. Albright's aunt … Ms. Albright's grandmother” (Cohen, 1997:n.p.).

Another interesting finding in the data on Albright is following, where the word “wedded” as in wedding is used, when putting Albright in relation to other (male) politicians:

“Mr. Christopher's characteristically careful words underlined a widespread perception that the Powell Doctrine, born of our military frustration in Vietnam, is now in decline. Mr. Christopher's designated successor, Madeleine Albright, is certainly not wedded to it” (Lewis, 1997:n.p.).

There is not anything found on Condoleezza Rice and family relationships in the data (in this delimited timeframe), but note, though, that it is found in the data of Colin Powell:

“Rice is crisp, knowledgeable, self-assured and quite possibly bionic. She has spoken in the past of having no time for a wide range of otherwise normal human activities, including recreation, family, introspection, 'life crises'” (Traub, 2001:n.p.).

Even if it could be seen as bias to use this quote in this analysis, the belief is that it is worth mentioning, as it is found during the time of research and included in data found for analysis (even if the data should have focus on Colin Powell). Note that she is said to have “no time for normal human activities such as recreation and family”. As shown in the

49 Swedish quote: “Maken Johan Hedström och 18-åriga dottern Letti.”
50 Swedish quote: “Sedan gick hon hem och pratade med familjen.”
51 Swedish quote: “Min kloka dotter sa till mig […]”
literature presented in both the literature review and the theory chapter, the “normal” state is women as mothers and men as breadwinners. When a woman chooses career in front of family life, as in the case of Condoleezza Rice, it is seen as “un-normal”.

The area of representation, physical appearance and sexual objectification is, as the other areas of representation, not used to portray men and women in the same way. The female foreign ministers are many times portrayed as mothers and wives. Even Condoleezza Rice, who is neither, is connected to these concepts. The male foreign ministers, with the exception of Colin Powell, are not portrayed in this light, their interest in money are portrayed instead.

7. CONCLUSION

This final chapter will summarize the findings of the thesis, discuss importance and implications of the findings along with stating questions that have emerged and can be investigated in future research. Firstly, the research questions will be answered. Secondly the gap and future research questions will be discussed and lastly socio- and political implications of the findings will be brought up.

7.1. Answering the research questions based on the analysis

In this subchapter, answers will be supplied regarding the research questions, which will be stated here again: Are female and male foreign ministers portrayed differently - and if so, how - in representations of their: a) personal qualities? b) physical appearance and sexual appeal? c) personal life and relations?

Beginning with answering a):

The female and male foreign ministers are being portrayed both with differences and similarities, the differences are however more extensive. When it comes to personal, intellectual and work-related attributes, the foreign ministers are portrayed differently. With the exception of Colin Powell, only the female foreign ministers are portrayed with “weak” personal attributes. Both the female and the male foreign ministers are portrayed with strong intellectual and work-related attributes, but the female foreign ministers are often portrayed negatively while the male foreign ministers are not. Even the competence of the female and
male foreign ministers are represented differently, the female foreign ministers competence is questioned and the male foreign ministers competence is undoubted.

b) In the area of physical appearance and sexual objectification, the picture is stunning. While only Condoleezza Rice’s clothes are mentioned, two male foreign ministers, Jan Eliasson and Colin Powell, clothing are described. However, none of the male foreign ministers are portrayed in a sexual light. All of the American female foreign ministers first journey within the post is referred to as “maiden voyage”, and other words and meanings are also used to put them in a sexual perspective such as seductive, charm, babe etc. With the exception of the focus on clothing of the two male foreign ministers, there is nothing equivalent on the male foreign ministers.

c) When it comes to personal life and relations, the main thing emphasized in representing the male foreign ministers are their interest in money and money making. The greatest difference here is the area of family. Even though some of the male foreign ministers have children, none of these are mentioned in the articles, while the children of some of the female foreign ministers are mentioned. Furthermore, only one male foreign ministers wife is pointed out in the articles.

Concluding the results: Shortly, the female and male foreign ministers are portrayed differently, with some similarities. The perception that female foreign ministers would mostly be portrayed with weak personal attributes, instead of masculine strong, intellectual and work-related attributes is not fulfilled, as the prediction according to the theory. The areas of physical appearance and sexual objectification, and personal life and relations is more or less attained, it is clear that the female foreign ministers are portrayed in this manner more frequently than the male foreign ministers. The male foreign ministers, on the other hand, are mostly being portrayed with strong, intellectual and work-related attributes as the theory the analytical framework is based upon suggests.

7.2. The Gap, and Future Research Questions

What we have done by conducting this inquiry is filling the gaps within the scholarship of gender and foreign policy, and gender, media and politics. Within the area of gender and foreign policy, media representation have been included. Furthermore, in the area of gender, media and politics, the media portrayal of foreign ministers in gender equal countries have been encompassed.
The results of this thesis show that female and male foreign ministers are not portrayed in the same ways in media. Even though theory claim, and former research have revealed, that female and male politicians are not represented in the same manner, it was not known that this was also applicable to high profiled foreign ministers by objective, liberal, highly respected daily press media in gender equal countries.

What the analysis also reveals is that the theoretical claims the analytical framework is based upon does not hold all the way. The female foreign ministers are not only portrayed by emotional and personal attributes relating to weakness, they are also portrayed with intellectual and work-related attributes relating to strength. The masculine attributes used to portray the female foreign ministers are, however, many times used in a negative manner, which is not mentioned by other scholars.

The findings of this research is of significance because it shows that stereotypical gender representation is present even in gender equal countries. Since the cases are critical cases, where gendered stereotypical representation is most unlikely to occur, it can be assumed that the gendered based representation of foreign ministers are present in other gender equal countries media’s, and most likely to occur in less gender equal societies as well.

Questions that can be of interest for future research can be:
How does the representation of foreign ministers (or other heavy political posts such as Prime Minister and President) in media appear, in less gender equal countries compared to gender equal states?
Are there any power relations present when portraying foreign minister and if so, how are those present (for example, men’s power over women, and bosses power over employee)?

Future research within this field can include the end of the mandate period in the criteria of gathering data. This was not done in this research since the results could have been biased, when Carl Bildt is the current foreign minister in Sweden, and Anna Lindh was murdered. Furthermore, representation as in how often, comparing the frequency of how often female and male foreign ministers are mentioned in media, together with the frequency of articles these are represented using the areas of representation could be interesting for those preferring quantitative methods of analysis.
7.3. Socio-political Implications of Stereotypical Gender Representation in Gender Equal Societies

What becomes apparent, with these findings, is that even in gender equal states, such as Sweden and the United States, gendered stereotypical representations are present in “objective” media. This signifies that gender equal countries that are seen as gender equal on the surface, by looking beneath it all, and in social infrastructure such as media, the gender inequality becomes noticeable. As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, daily press media is supposed to transmit events and represent an accurate picture of a society’s reality – it should reflect society. Concluding the “circle of influence” – society should affect media. If, as mentioned, society affects media and media reflects society, it becomes clear that states that are seen as gender equal, but their daily press media representation of heavy politicians is not, must work harder to change the social norms of women’s and men’s power relation.

As norms are constructed and change over time, states need to put emphasis on women’s changing role in society. Women are no longer just housewives and mothers, they are also politicians, diplomats, doctors, and engineers. Women represents a large part of all societies, where they contributes to the economic, social and political development of states. To overlook women’s importance by depicting them in the most respected type of media, upholds old fashioned norms.

To change the differentiation of men and women, the symbolic value of women must increase. By this, it is not only the symbolic value of the powerful women, such as Hillary Clinton, but of all women, that needs to change. Women’s portrayal in media overall such as advertisements, soap operas, movies, tabloids etc. are shaping and influencing women’s behavior, self-confidence and role in society. Men’s view of themselves and their relation to, and view of, women are similarly shaped by media. Concluding, by not changing the norms, and the existing socially constructed roles of men and women, gender equality can never be achieved.
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