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Försvarsmakten – The force for everyone

A multimodal social semiotic case study of Försvarsmaktens recruiting campaigns

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We would like to point out that this work has been divided equally between both authors.

Abstract

This thesis aims to investigate and analyse Försvarsmakten's use of semiotic resources in their recruiting campaigns through a semiotic multimodal analysis. Försvarsmakten has been dominated by men for many years and now, in an attempt to change that, Försvarsmakten is targeting women to join the force. Advertising has in general been embossed with gender stereotypes for the last decennials but political and societal pressures have made organisations rethink how they portray men and women in advertising. By analysing five of Försvarsmakten's recruiting campaigns we got a deeper understanding of gender representations in advertising. Results suggest that Försvarsmakten is doing their best to break stereotypes about gender, but some stereotypes seem so deeply imprinted in society that we can find them anywhere if we look for them. Moreover, the result showed some contradictions in Försvarsmakten's recruiting campaigns.

Keywords: Gender stereotypes, Semiotic, Military, Pressures

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Sammanfattning

Detta examensarbete syftar till att undersöka och analysera Försvarsmaktens användning av semiotiska resurser i sina rekryteringskampanjer genom en semiotisk multimodal analys. Försvarsmakten har dominerats av män i många år och nu, i ett försök att ändra på det, jobbar Försvarsmakten med att rekrytera fler kvinnor. Marknadsföring under de senaste decennierna har bidragit till könsstereotyper i samhället, men ny forskning visar att politiska och samhällseliga påtryckningar har fått organisationer att tänka om hur de framställer män och kvinnor i sin externa kommunikation. Genom att analysera fem av Försvarsmaktens rekryteringskampanjer fick vi en djupare förståelse för genusrepresentationer i deras rekryteringsvideor. Resultaten tyder på att Försvarsmakten gör sitt bästa för att bryta stereotyper om kön, men vissa stereotyper verkar så djupt inpräntade i samhället att vi kan hitta dem var som helst om vi letar efter dem. Dessutom visade resultatet på diverse motsättningar i Försvarsmaktens rekryteringskampanjer.

Nyckelord: Gender stereotypes, Semiotic, Military, Pressures

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Försvarsmakten has historically been associated with male stereotypes and characterized by perceptions of a harsh and heteronormative culture. However, this is something that Försvarsmakten is trying to change and their external communication today focuses more on creating an inclusive culture where everyone should feel involved. This is done not only because Försvarsmakten wants to demonstrate an inclusive corporate culture, but also because they believe that increased gender equality within the organisation is judged to provide a stronger defence. Today, Försvarsmakten consists of 22% women and 78% men, but this has not always been the case. It took until 1989 before women were even allowed to join the defence, and the last male professional monopoly in Försvarsmakten in Sweden was abolished (Försvarsmakten, 2022). In 2010, conscription was abolished and Försvarsmakten was suddenly put in a new situation, where they had to compete with other employers in the market. This was the start of a completely new type of external communication that is primarily aimed at recruiting new employees. This also means that external communication must be well-planned and well-thought-out in order to reach as large groups of society as possible and ensure that everyone feels included and welcome to the organisation. Further, this case is even more interesting from the cultural and societal perspective due to the fact that the rules against mandatory participation in the military changed again in 2017, meaning that Försvarsmakten now is a conscripted army again. The government reintroduces the obligation to enlist and carry out basic training with military service. This means that Sweden will now apply all parts of the law on compulsory military service again. As the law is now gender-neutral, the obligation applies equally to both women and men (Försvarsmakten, 2022). This new change in the organisation also forces Försvarsmakten to stay modern and up to date with both their recruiting campaigns and therefore also the culture within the military to make sure that the people who are there feel safe and included.

Further, Nuciari (2006) states that the most common reason for women to join the armed forces is from voluntary actions. This also shows in Försvarsmakten, where in 2016, approximately 13 % of the organisation were women, but 38% of the civil department of the force were women. Also, the social pressure from society to create an inclusive and equal work environment for all people affects how Försvarsmakten wants to recruit. This means that they have to be seen as a modern organisation in today's society and have to make an effort for an equal workplace in order to attract more people. There are a lot of examples where military training is associated with debasement of women and homosexuals. Gill (1997) states that recruits in Bolivia are called *putas* (whores), *maricones* (faggots), *senoritas* (little ladies), and other gendered insults, which results in the recruits creating a new normalised patriarchal view of masculinity. This is the kind of social pressure that makes Försvarsmakten eager to abolish these negative gender stereotypes and norms.

We want to investigate how this target image is seen in their campaigns. We want to further study how women are portrayed in the campaigns of Försvarsmakten and the hidden messages behind these portrayals. The study aims to semiotically analyse Försvarsmakten's campaigns and, based on that, answer the research questions. The study also aims to form the basis for further research on Försvarsmakten's external communication.

1.2 Problem definition

Media and big influential organisations have a great responsibility in society. They play a big role in forming ideals and stereotypes. What they communicate externally is heard and seen by a lot of people and it is therefore vital to critically examine their external communication. Gender stereotypes in advertising have a long history of contributing to expectations about gender and even though they have decreased they still exist to a large extent. Försvarsmakten is an organisation embossed by a man-dominated history and the military culture has, until recently, been excluding women to a big extent. This is an issue that Försvarsmakten is desperate to change but at the same time they need to take other expectations into account. Försvarsmakten is a prime example of an organisation that a lot of people, especially young people, interact with and take information from. Moreover, Försvarsmakten is an authority owned by the state who is controlled by laws and political pressures hence their communication needs careful consideration. With this information as a starting point, we have

an opportunity to conduct a research on how Försvarsmakten is portraying men and women in their recruiting campaigns and what messages they communicate.

1.3 Purpose and research question

This study aims to critically discuss gender stereotypes in recruitment videos by looking at the Swedish armed forces, "Försvarsmakten", and their recruitment videos posted over the last 5 years. Furthermore, the study aims to contribute to further knowledge on how Försvarsmakten conducts their campaigns from a social-semiotic standpoint and how their work affects both people in general and the Swedish society as a whole. In order to be able to contribute with this knowledge we aim to answer the following research questions:

How are men and women portrayed in the recruiting videos?

How does Försvarsmakten use semiotic resources to recruit young people to the force?

How does Försvarsmakten counteract gender stereotypes in their recruiting videos?

We will also discuss how a multimodal semiotic analysis can be conducted on a gender-stereotypical video campaign and how this affects the interpretations of the campaign as a whole. Furthermore, this will also lead to us discussing how a semiotic analysis can affect the field of strategic communication and what that might lead to. In order to answer the research questions, we will analyse 5 campaigns that Försvarsmakten conducted with the purpose of recruiting more people and increase the interest in the organisation. From a semiotic standpoint, we want to find out how these campaigns are structured and what kind of associations and emotions they want to highlight. Finally, we also want to find out if there is a semiotic element that is recurrent for all the campaigns and what the reason for that might be.

1.4 Limitations

This study has been conducted from the core of strategic communication. To be more specific, the study is conducted from a semiotic perspective of strategic communication and proceeds from a critical standpoint that everything is socially constructed by human minds which concludes in presupposed meanings. The study could have been conducted differently, such as conducting a discursive analysis or by conducting the study on more than one brand and comparing them to each other, and this would possibly give other results. Also, our empirical material is only focused on the recruitment campaigns from Försvarsmakten, and not any other type of campaigns or communication. This also limits our study to only focus on the communication through a recruitment phase and nothing else.

2. Previous Research

2.1 Gender Stereotypes in advertising

Gender stereotypes in advertising have been an interesting subject for researchers for decades. Vinacke (1957) defines stereotypes as beliefs about a social category which are problematic when they lead to expectations and restrictions of different social categories. Moreover, previous research has indicated that the role of gender is highly represented in advertising where women often are portrayed as more decorative, more family-oriented, less professional and more demure (Uray and Burnaz, 2003). Men, on the other hand, do according to Reichert and Carpenter (2004) appear as more independent, authoritarian and professional with less consideration for physical appearances. However, the rise of feminism and equality between genders has led to more awareness about gender roles in advertising and organisations today are more aware of the issue of contributing to gender stereotypes (Uray and Burnaz, 2003). Uray and Burnaz (2003) explain further that the change of role structure in the family has created greater variations in the male and female roles in advertising. Moreover, studies conducted by researchers in the past thirty years, among them Plakoyiannaki and Zotos (2009), argues that gender representation in advertising promotes sexism and twisted body image which also has led to changes in how females are being portrayed in advertising. Moreover, the portrayal of men in advertising has changed as well. In recent years research has shown that men more often appear in much softer roles and are also seen with their children more often. Although, there is a lack of further research on the development of men in advertising. Despite these political, cultural and societal pressures changing how gender stereotypes are presented in advertising, Eisend (2010) claims that even though there has been a decrease in gender stereotypes in advertising some of them are still existing, especially for women. Previous research of effect on gender stereotypes also shows contradictory results. Zawisza and Cinirella (2010) explains that breaking stereotypes in advertising can give negative effects. *The women are wonderful effect* suggests that women are nice and not in anyone's way, giving a positive effect for the consumer. However, research argues that this effect vanishes when women do things that traditionally are connected to men (Zawisza and Cinirella 2010).

2.2 Cultural and societal pressures

To discuss cultural and societal pressures, we first have to sort out the definition of culture. Dunivin (1994, page 553) describes culture as “a way of life that is learned and shared by human beings and is taught by one generation to the next”. Specifically, Dunivin (1994) explains that culture lives up to four criteria. These are 1. Culture is learned from previous generations, 2. Broadly shared by members, 3. Adaptive to the conditions in which people live and 4. Symbolic in nature, which means that there are agreed-on symbols that help people create order and make sense of their world. The way of living inside Försvarsmakten can therefore be classified as a culture since it fulfils all the criteria for a culture named above. There has been research conducted on cultural and societal pressures in general but not on the Swedish military as a case. Further, this case is even more interesting from the cultural and societal perspective due to the fact that the rules against mandatory participation in the military recently changed, meaning that Försvarsmakten now is a conscripted army again. This new change in the organisation also forces Försvarsmakten to stay modern and up to date with both their recruiting campaigns and therefore also the culture within the military to make sure that the people who are there feel safe and included. Lastly, cultural and societal pressures are a phenomenon that is constantly moving and changing continuously with our world and therefore, research about these phenomenons are constantly relevant and reasonable to study further with more depth.

3. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, we will discuss relevant theories for the study and explain them broadly. Later, these theories will work as a ground in the analysis to explain what we semiotically can see and what that means. All the theories can in some way be seen as a part of cultural and societal pressures and are therefore present throughout the study.

3.1 The *mirror* versus the *mold* debate

Advertisement has the power to reach a large number of people in society (Varey, 2002). The purpose of an advertisement is to reach as many people as possible that are relevant to the advertisement, and therefore, there can be different standpoints in how to look at advertisement as a concept. The debate between advertisers and sociologists regarding gender-related values of society and gender stereotyping in advertising has been ongoing for a long time (Grau & Zotos, 2016). In the debate, there are two arguments that have been articulated, the “mirror” versus the “mold” argument. The mirror argument states that advertising reflects values that already prevail in a cultural context. This means that the mirror argument discloses that advertisement reflects values that already exist and are dominant in our society. Grau & Zotos proceed by explaining that the mirror argument states that the best outcome of advertising is if it can act as a magnified lens, which in turn can work as an extrapolated picture of a social phenomenon. This means that the stereotypes that are presented in existing advertisements reflect already accepted stereotypes in society. In contrast to this, the mold argument has a whole different view of advertising. It sees society and its already prevailing values as a reflection of advertising. Grau & Zotos further express that according to cultivation theory, this suggests that the perception people have of social reality is actually shaped by the media. The mold argument implies that people form their reality, their values, their perceptions of society, etcetera, based on what the media tells them to think and do. People then tend to form a concept of reality where the media's beliefs and messages

are embedded in their own thoughts and actions, which leads to a concept of reality that matches the advertised images more (Zotos & Tsihla, 2014).

3.2 Gender stereotypes in advertisement

Gender stereotypes are a well-known phenomenon that is discussed daily in today's society. Vinacke (1957) explains that for experimental purposes, a stereotype has been defined statistically as a collection of trait names upon which a large percentage of people agree as appropriate for describing some class of individuals. Therefore, the process of stereotyping appears as "the tendency to attribute generalised and simplified characteristics to groups of people in the form of verbal labels". Further, the first type of studies on gender roles in advertising was conducted at the beginning of the 1970s (Uray and Burnaz, 2003). The study concludes that women often are portrayed in scenarios where they are either at home, in a clerical or secretarial position, or not working at all. Follow-up studies also demonstrated that the roles of women in advertisements have continued to be traditional all the way into the mid-1990s. Furthermore, in the late 1990s, studies show that the gender stereotypes shown in advertisements vary in different countries. These studies in cross-cultural environments suggest that the gender roles that are portrayed in advertisements are an interesting way to have a closer look into the socio-cultural environment in a given country. Researchers indicate that advertisers may not even be aware of the gender stereotypes and that it is up to researchers to keep monitoring what types of stereotypes are shown in the advertisement and try these messages in an alternative way that does not contain stereotypical influences.

3.3 Feminism

According to Hooks (2015), feminism discourse has a central problem with the inability to either arrive at a consensus about what feminism is or accept definitions that could serve as points of unification. The problem with a lack of agreed-upon definitions is that feminism thereby also lacks a sound foundation on which to construct theory or engage in overall meaningful praxis. Hooks means that this, unfortunately, leads to an indication of a growing lack of interest in the feminist movement as a political movement. Furthermore, this leads to a despairing belief that solidarity among women is not possible.

The next problem with a lack of agreed-upon definitions, is the underlying question “Do women share a common vision of what equality means?”. Hooks (2015) concludes that women in lower-class and poor groups, particularly those who are non-white, would not have defined women's liberation as women gaining social equality with men. Hooks further states that this is since they are continually reminded in their everyday lives that all women do not share a common social status. Although, in order to use feminism in a theoretical approach, we will in this study assume the definition of feminism as the broad definition that Hooks (2015, page 18) states, which is “a movement that aims to make women the social equals of men”.

3.4 Femvertising

Femvertising as a term was officially formulated for the first time during a 2014 AdWeek panel moderated by Samantha Skey, chief revenue and marketing officer of SheKnows Media (Elisa Becker-Herby, 2016). The term itself is defined as “advertising that employs pro-female talent, messages, and imagery to empower women and girls” (Elisa Becker-Herby, 2016, page 18). Femvertising as a concept has been important for women in advertisement and has changed the way the industry speaks to female consumers, with extra impact on the millennials. Femvertising shifts the focus from a male narrative and traditional gender stereotypes in advertising and ensures that women are the protagonists in the advertising and marketing narrative. Femvertising therefore focuses on getting a fair representation of women in marketing and advertising, since they today are far less likely than men to be represented in advertisement (Elisa Becker-Herby, 2016). In addition to this, femvertising also focuses on celebrating women with the aim to not only showcase them in more scenarios, but also in more authentic scenarios. These can often be scenarios where gender stereotypes are being

overlooked and instead, women are being represented in realistic scenarios where more women can recognize themselves. Becker-Herby (2016) also states that a campaign is considered Femvertising if it meets the definition of the term, which is an advertisement that employs pro-female talent, messages, and imagery to empower women and girls. Furthermore, Becker-Herby also states that almost every Femvertising campaign also relies on five pillars, which is:

- Utilisation of diverse female talent.
- Messaging that is inherently pro-female.
- Pushing gender-norm boundaries/stereotypes; challenging perceptions of what a woman/girl “should” be.
- Downplaying of sexuality; sexuality that does not cater to the male gaze.
- Portraying women in an authentic manner.

Furthermore, there have been critics towards femvertising saying that it's not always genuine but rather a tool for marketers (Varghese & Kumar, 2020). If one fails to make the femvertising authentic, it can easily get the opposite effect which is a big risk. Societal pressures put more responsibility on organisational, especially governmental organisations, to be more diverse in their communication and for an organisation such as Försvarsmakten, it is of great importance to authentically use femvertising.

3.5 Performativity

Performativity argues that the gendered body is not something we are but rather something we act (Salih, 2002). This doesn't necessarily mean that we don't have a gender but rather that we create our identity through societal expectations on how we are supposed to look and act based on our gender. Butler (2007) argues that becoming a man or woman is not something that happens automatically but something that develops through the cultural context it exists in. Moreover, Salih (2002) explains that genders are constructed and constituted by language, hence no gender identity precedes language. How we speak and how we speak to each other are vital parts of how gender identities occur and are understood. Performativity also emphasises the role of culture when speaking about gender. Norms about gender vary depending on cultural differences which is important to take into consideration when analysing stereotypes and norms. Moreover, Butler (2007) criticises feminism for being too normative and narrow, mainly looking at white, heterosexual western middle-class women which excludes women as a group. The performativity gender theory is interesting to look at in order to challenge the pre-existing views on gender in society. By looking at how Försvarsmakten portrays men and women in their campaigns the performative gender can help understand the empirical material in how men and women are portrayed.

4. Method

4.1 Scientific approach

This study is a qualitative case study with an ontological approach based on a social constructionist perspective, viewing reality as constructed by society. A qualitative study is according to Bryman (2016) relevant when attempting to answer *how*, which we aim to do by studying how Försvarsmakten uses semiotic resources in their recruiting videos. Moreover, Amineh and Asl (2015) explain that a social constructionist perspective assumes that our understanding of the world is constructed through interactions with our surroundings meaning that we make sense of the world through society. In order to make sense of gender norms and stereotypes, it's crucial to view the world as socially constructed, hence a social constructionist approach is relevant to this study. Our beliefs and expectations of people based on their gender are constructed by how they are and have been portrayed by society and it's vital to critically assess how organisations contribute to these stereotypes. Furthermore, a social constructionist approach is aligned with our choice of a multimodal semiotic analysis which views semiotic resources as socially constructed and as a tool for organisations to create meaning.

Moreover, this research will have an abductive working meaning that the empirical material will be analysed with support from a theoretical framework in order to explain a phenomenon (Aliseda, 2006). In the difference of a deductive approach, we won't present a hypothesis based on theories. Neither will we develop a new theory like an inductive approach but instead we will shift between the empirical material and theory in order to reach new knowledge in the field of strategic communication.

4.2 Selections and limitations

A qualitative approach aims to deeply analyse a limited amount of empirical material in order to reach new understandings of a certain field of study. Hyett et al (2014, p.2) define a qualitative case study as “an investigation and analysis of a single or collective case, intended to capture the complexity of the object of study”. Moreover, we have chosen the case of Försvarsmakten in order to create a deeper understanding of how genders are portrayed in advertising and how they may contribute to gender stereotypes. We started by looking at Försvarsmakten's ten latest recruiting campaigns on their youtube channel and analysing them based on our research questions. Moving forward we decided to go with five campaign videos from the last 4 years that we believed were relevant and interesting for our research questions. These campaign films aim to showcase what Försvarsmakten are doing, why they are relevant, and last but not least to attract people to join, no matter who you are. The campaigns chosen are *Många har många frågor* (2020), *Till framtidens försvar* (2019), *Kom som du är* (2019) and *Hur många skäl behöver du* (2017). According to Rose (2012), the selection of empirical material in a semiotic analysis can be based on the researcher's interest and does not need a very careful sampling process. The data was selected based on our research purpose and more concrete on three selection criteria being: recently published, including diversity and being multimodal. This material allows us to create a deeper understanding of how different genders are portrayed in Försvarsmaktens campaigns, how they counteract against gender stereotypes and how they use semiotic resources to recruit young people to join the force.

Our study aims to perform a qualitative social semiotic content analysis that answers what Försvarsmakten communicates on its digital channels and how Försvarsmakten works against stereotypes about gender. To perform a semiotic content analysis, we need to break down Försvarsmakten's campaigns into smaller parts and then give ourselves the opportunity to see the context and the hidden messages in the material (Eksell & Thelander, 2014). As we do not aim to examine, for example, how active Försvarsmakten is in each channel or how many posts Försvarsmakten publish regarding each prejudice, a quantitative analysis is not relevant. Therefore, we instead focus on a qualitative content analysis to understand the content of some of Försvarsmakten's recruitment campaigns and will then analyse these more in-depth from a semiotic perspective. We also want to study the campaign from an ontological point of view. This specifies how to look at the relationship between text, and in this case visual images and videos, and reality. Either the text is seen as being reality or the text is seen as

something that can reflect a social reality. In the case of Försvarsmakten, we assume that prejudices about gender are socially constructed realities and therefore the ontological approach is necessary (Eksell & Thelander, 2014).

4.2.1 Motivation of Försvarsmakten as the empirical material

Försvarsmakten (The Swedish Armed Forces) is a Swedish authority with the outermost purpose to defend Sweden (Försvarsmakten, 2021). Försvarsmakten states on their website that they are working hard to make the organisation more diverse, attracting more women to join the force and breaking the norms about the women's role in the military. Moreover, they present that their gender equality work is, to a high degree, controlled by external pressures such as laws and political guidance. Moreover, Försvarsmakten is an organisation with a long history of being manly dominated and today consists of 78% men and is therefore desperate to recruit more women. Not only because of political pressures and laws but also because they are important in the work of solving conflicts (Försvarsmakten, 2022). Not only are they desperate to recruit women but also people, mostly young, in general, which makes their recruiting campaigns and use of semiotic resources important. They need to attract people to join the force but at the same time be truthful about what it actually means to be a part of their organisation. Hence, Försvarsmakten is an excellent organisation to study in order to deeper analyse how genders are portrayed in advertising and how an organisation can use semiotic resources to recruit young people.

4.3 Semiotics

The most basic definition of semiotics is “the study of sign” (Chandler, 2007) but appears to be more complicated than that. A sign includes everything that can be assumed as a sign, something that stands for something else than it initially appears. These signs can be images, gestures, objects, sounds and words where semiotics studies how meanings are made through these signs and represents reality. In semiotics the terms connotation and denotation are central to understanding these signs (Sonesson, 1998). Connotation is what we see initially whereas denotation is what it actually means. By looking at the empirical material with a semiotic approach it will allow us to deeper analyse and understand how different signs create meaning and context. Furthermore, we have a social semiotic approach meaning that

we view these signs as socially constructed (Eksell & Thelander, 2014). In order to understand the connotations in Försvarsmaktens material we look at the signs as socially constructed.

4.4 Multimodal Analysis

We will conduct a multimodal analysis, which is a way to analyse images more deeply by looking at how they create meaning and significance (Eksell & Thelander, 2014). By looking at denotations (what is presented) and connotations (how they are presented), we want to analyse Försvarsmakten's recruitment campaigns and how these strive to recruit a broader group of society. The multimodal analysis also aims to divide the language into three meta-functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. This is very suitable when investigating advertising campaigns (Eksell & Thelander, 2014). We can therefore first look at the material as idealistic, where the language represents something other than itself. Therefore, an advertising campaign can represent the ideas and values that Försvarsmakten wants to express. Then we can look at the campaign as interpersonal, which means that the language has the ability to create a relationship between participants. This is particularly suitable as the campaign aims to recruit more soldiers to Försvarsmakten and therefore wants to create relationships between the participants and themselves. Finally, we can also look at the campaign as textual, and then analyse the communicative efforts that ensure that the communication is coherent. In our multimodal analysis, we therefore want to investigate how these three meta-functions are woven together and interact with each other through the campaign (Eksell & Thelander, 2014).

4.4.1 Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is according to Boell & Cecec-Kecmanovic (2010) the apprehension of the process when creating interpretive understanding. Hermeneutic research aims to understand social reality by interpreting and understanding the empirical material. The Hermeneutic Circle is a central piece in hermeneutics, it describes the importance of the relationship between the parts and the whole and how they are dependent on each other. In the case of Försvarsmakten's recruiting campaigns we can not only look at one isolated campaign to get the whole picture, instead we have to put the videos together and analyse them in the context that they are in. Moreover, we can not only look at the semiotic resources isolated, we have to put them in a social context to be able to interpret and understand them. In this case, the

context is to recruit a more diverse group into Försvarsmakten after being a male-dominated organisation for a long time.

4.5 Method reflections

There have been critics towards qualitative research saying that the research is colored by the researcher's interpretation and therefore it is hard to reach objectivity. Moreover, a semiotic analysis can be argued to be subjective and based on the researcher's interpretation, what we might interpret as something might be interpreted otherwise by someone else. Fay (1996) explains that our personal experiences affect how we see the world and interpret things and it is therefore hard to reach complete objectivity in a semiotic analysis since it's based on interpretation. This awareness is important for us as researchers and by being transparent with our collection of data and our process in the analysis we minimise the risk of misunderstandings for the reader.

5. Analysis

In this chapter, we will apply the theories from our theoretical framework to the empirical material that we have chosen in order to analyse the semiotic elements from Försvarsmakten. With the help of the theories chosen, we will answer our research questions “How are men and women portrayed in the recruiting videos?”, “How does Försvarsmakten use semiotic resources to recruit young people to the force?” and “How does Försvarsmakten work against gender stereotypes in their recruiting videos?”. We will try to go deeper into the material and find out what the reasons behind the material are. The analysis is divided into five different parts, where each part is a unique recruitment video distributed from Försvarsmakten. The campaigns are originally in Swedish and we will translate them to English, meaning that all quotes are translated first.

5.1 Come as you are

The video starts with a young girl holding her dog in a leash. She has pink hair, wears blue jeans and a green jacket. The angle of the camera is notably high and from above, which makes her look even smaller. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), the angle and facial expression of the person in the advertisement have a meaning behind it. They may smile, in which case the viewer is asked to enter into a relation of social affinity with them; they may stare at the viewer with cold disdain, in which case the viewer is asked to relate to them, perhaps, as an inferior relates to a superior. These two concepts are recurrent in this advertisement and with Kress and Van Leeuwen's statement in the back of your head, you see the possible message of this advertisement much clearer. The video continues with the dog barking and then we, as viewers, transfer to the next frame, where the girl talks straight into the camera.



Screenshot 1.

This is the first message we get and the first words that get presented in the advertisement. She looks into the camera, looks a little bit confused and says “hmm, yes there is some kind of stereotypical perception or something like that”. We as viewers then understand in a clear and obvious way what this advertisement is going to address and therefore we can prepare for that message. We understand that the video is going to be about stereotypes regarding the armed forces and that you can be a part of the organisation even if you're not like the stereotype. If you once again take Kress and Van Leeuwen's concepts into consideration, we understand that they have chosen this confused and uncertain look for the girl since they want to clarify that her statement about the given stereotypes in Försvarsmakten is not the actual reality. The video then presents a series of short clips of different people engaging in different activities. Simultaneously with the clips rolling on the screen, there is a female voice naming characteristics of people, followed by “come”, as an urging message to join Försvarsmakten. It starts with her saying “You who think that you don't fit in, come”. During this message, there are four different people in the picture. It starts with a boy doing a trick on his skateboard, followed by a frame of him looking straight into the camera. The boy has a typically “cool” clothing style with loose blue jeans and a yellow loose-fitting sweater. After this, there are three short frames with three women, all looking straight into the camera. The first woman has long blonde hair in a ponytail hairstyle, big glasses and a big smile on her face. The background is blurry but you can see green colours and nature. The second woman has short dark curly hair and earrings. There is some kind of smile on her face as well but not

as big as the first woman and at the end of the frame she has a shy face and looks away from the camera. This is also a blurry background and you can see some kind of tree with brown colours. The third woman has a brown hijab and a serious face in the beginning. At the end of the frame, she starts to smile and then the frame cuts to the next one. This is the first woman who doesn't stand right in front of the camera, she is rather standing in the background with another woman in front of her, who is blurred out due to the sharpness of the frame.



Screenshot 2.

The next message from the narrator is “You who believe in the equal value of all people, come”. During this message, there are only two different frames with people. First, a man is standing on what looks like a subway station. He has medium-length brown hair behind his ears and it looks like he is trying to see if his train is coming soon. Next is a frame with a new woman. She has brown long hair, a red jacket and is looking straight into the camera. This frame is followed by her and what looks like to be her sister since they look very much alike. They are sitting on a ping pong table with one ping pong racket each in their hands. They are both still looking straight into the camera while a ping pong ball bounces past them and then out of the picture again.

The next line from the narrator is “You that are a feminist”, followed by “You that also are a feminist”. In the first frame, there is first a man with a yellow shirt stating “the future is female”. The man is sitting with his legs wide apart, forming a “man spread”. The next frame is of the woman sitting beside him who then also spreads her legs and makes the man take his

legs to a normal distance apart again. First of all, one could argue that this is a showcase of gender stereotypes since the man spreads his legs and takes more room than both the girls on the bench. It is also obvious that this is something that he does without even thinking about it since he instantly removes his legs when the woman spreads hers. It is also possible to relate this to a feminist point of view, since they now after the woman has spread her legs take up the same amount of space, and you can therefore say that they are equals in this situation. This is also a clear example of femvertising and creates a narrative that a lot of women in today's society can relate to (Becker-Herby, 2016). The action from the woman can be seen as a “fight back” for leg space and empowers the women's situation in this scenario. Becker-Herby (2016) further states that femvertising focuses on celebrating women with the aim to showcase them in not only more scenarios, but also in more authentic scenarios. This can often be scenarios where gender stereotypes are being overlooked and instead, women are being represented in realistic scenarios where more women can recognize themselves.



Screenshot 3.

Next, the narrator says “You that are born in a different country”. Here, the clip is of a man speaking a foreign language with someone on his phone. After this clip, we see short millisecond frames of the people that have already been in the advertisement where they smile and are in movement. These clips are narrated with the saying “You that also wants to defend everything you stand for, come”. This is the last quote to exhort people before saying “come

as you are” which is the slogan for the advertisement. In the frame with this message, two blond women are looking straight into the camera. This is the first time in the advertisement where we see women in military clothes which makes it a bit different and something that awakens your attention. Also, this time the camera angle is from underneath and very up close. This makes it look like the women are big and powerful and according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), this creates a feeling of them being superior and dominant. As said before, this confirms the advertisement as a part of the femvertising concept and puts the women in an empowering situation.

The last frame of the campaign is on a military boat filmed from sea level. It's a grey scale of colours on everything and you only see the boat and a small green island in the background. On top of this image, there is the message “Let us challenge your picture of who should be in Försvarsmakten”. This quote can be discussed through the mirror versus mold debate, which resonates about if our perceptions of norms and stereotypes are created through advertisement, or if the advertisement reflects the already created norms and stereotypes through its messages. One could argue that this kind of quote strengthens the idea of a specific norm or stereotype that is welcome in Försvarsmakten, since they themselves talk about it, but one could also say that this is a way to attack the problem and acknowledge that they are aware of it and works against it. This quote can also be a representation of feminism, in the sense that this quote can be presented as a way to make women the social equals of men. It is quite clear that the main focus of this campaign is to have a broader audience who gets interested in applying for a job at Försvarsmakten and therefore, also create an equal work environment where everyone is welcome.

The whole advertisement is an obvious example of what femvertising stands for and wants to contribute to in today's advertising climate. Becker-Herby (2016) states that an advertisement goes under the concept of femvertising if it contributes to utilisation of diverse female talent, inherently pro-female messages, if it pushes gender-norm boundaries or stereotypes, if it challenges perceptions of what a woman or girl “should” be, if it downplays sexuality (sexuality that does not cater to the male gaze) and if it portrays women in an authentic manner. We would with certainty say that this is what Försvarsmakten is trying to do here. As stated above, Becker-Herby (2016) formulates that femvertising focuses on celebrating women with the aim to showcase them in not only more scenarios, but also authentic scenarios. We think this is something that is ongoing throughout the whole advertisement and

you can see a lot of different scenarios which make it more likely for all kinds of women to relate.

As resonated above, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) state the angle and facial expression of the person in the advertisement have a meaning behind it. Bell & Milic (2002) states in their study that men are more likely to look away from the camera than women are. To explain this in semiotic terms, the depiction of women is more frequently a form of image-acts that demand a relationship with the viewer rather than the man's depiction, which creates a situation where he offers something to the viewer. Throughout the whole 40-second advertisement, all the men that are in it look away from the camera at some point which can be related to them already being the norm in the military, and therefore not important to establish a relationship with. In contrast to this, there is not a single woman in the advertisement who doesn't look straight into the camera and almost every one of them smiles and shows an inviting attitude. As discussed above, researchers indicate that advertisers may not even be aware of the gender stereotypes, and that it is up to researchers to keep monitoring what types of stereotypes are shown in the advertisement and try these messages in an alternative way that does not contain stereotypical influences. With this said, it is not certain that Försvarsmakten is doing this on purpose, but the fact still stands that 100% of the men in the video look away from the camera at some point which strengthens this message. This is also something that can be influenced by the mirror versus the mold debate. This can either be a mirror of society and the already existing norms and stereotypes of who “should” be in the armed forces, or it can be a “mold” of society, meaning that these kinds of advertisements and messages, whether it is formulated with intention or not, creates these stereotypes and norms and influences the society with them.

5.2 Många har många frågor

This recruiting campaign from Försvarsmakten aims to attract more young women to join the force by answering questions one might have before joining the force (Försvarsmakten, 2020). The first connotation portrayed in the video is a young girl with long hair playing basketball asking “Are you going to scream a lot” where it quickly shifts over to another girl standing with her legs wide in uniform answering “when needed”. In this video sequence, there is another girl in uniform with a gun shooting toward a target. Connotatively we see two women in the force whereas one is holding a gun, denotatively this shows an indication of power and that the force is not only for men. Since Försvarsmakten themselves state that the purpose of this campaign is to recruit young women to join the force there is no shock that femvertising is existing. It is clear that Försvarsmakten is trying to break the traditional gender stereotypes in advertisements where women are often portrayed at home, in a clerical or secretarial position, or not working at all. However, it is interesting to analyse how the women in this video are portrayed, by showcasing them in authentic scenarios and breaking the traditional stereotypes Försvarsmakten can attract more women to join the force and identify themselves with the brand.



Screenshot 4.

In the next scene, we see a young girl in her pink bathroom, with a pink t-shirt and with long dark hair while looking in the mirror while saying “ It's insane that you have to shave your head” (screenshot 1). In the bathroom you can also see a lot of makeup. Even though Försvarsmakten is aiming to break gender stereotypes and recruit more women to the force they might at the same time maintain other stereotypes about gender. Historically it is

stereotypical for a woman to like pink, have long hair and wear make-up (Deaux & Lewis, 1984). By showcasing a woman saying that it is insane to shave your head one could argue that Försvarsmakten actually is contributing to gender stereotypes. The mirror in the *the mirror versus mold debate* would explain this since it argues that advertising reflects values that already exist in society (Grau & Zotos, 2016). The mold on the other hand would argue that this is the reason why stereotypes exist since they are formed by the media, this becomes a paradox since it's hard to say for sure which of the two is right.



Screenshot 5.

Further, the video shows a tweet saying “women don't belong in the force” whereas an older (in comparison to everyone else in the video) man replies “the other way around, we need more” (see screenshot 6). Once again the video, in a very obvious way, expresses that more women should join the force trying to break the precurrent stereotyped and the long history of a man-dominated organisation. However, the fact that the man is older than everyone else could imply that he is some kind of boss who rules over the others since the rest of the people in the video mainly consist of young women.



Screenshot 6.

However, the most noticeable thing in this campaign is that the females that are present in the video have a lot of similarities in how they look. Everyone has long hair which according to Deaux & Lewis (1984) is a typical female stereotype. The vast majority also have dark hair which might just be a coincidence but arguably it could contribute to creating other stereotypes of women in the force. Looking at the males, who are not as present as the women in this video, everyone has short hair and are portrayed as very serious. There is no doubt that the use of communication and semiotic resources in this video is breaking traditional gender stereotypes which is a great way for Försvarsmakten to recruit more women and make the organisation diverse since they are eager to have more women joining the force. However, looking at the empirical material closely there are other gender stereotypes to be found. One could argue that they are confirming stereotypes that girls like pink should have long hair and wear make-up. Hazell and Clarke (2007) conducted a research which showed that women are significantly more often portrayed in long hair rather than short hair in advertising. Even though their study is fifteen years old we can see that it still applies in Försvarsmaktens recruiting videos.

5.3 Många har många frågor - The parent

The advertisement starts with a girl in long curly brown hair who looks away from the camera and talks to someone. You can hear loud party music in the background and a lot of people are talking, creating a party-like environment. After this, you see a couple of short fast frames where the girl is dancing, talking to people and smiling in a house where you understand that the party is ongoing. You can see people with the classic Swedish “studentmössor” which is a hat you get when you finish high school. This indicates that the people at the party are around 18 years of age and just recently finished high school. In the context of Försvarsmakten, this also indicates that the people at the party now are at the age where you can apply for a job for Försvarsmakten. While the girl in the video is dancing and having fun, you hear a narrator, who you quickly understand is the girl's mother, saying “What does Försvarsmakten need my Caroline for”. By saying this, we as an audience instantly understand that the mother is not happy about her daughter applying for Försvarsmakten and wants her to do something else. The video continues with the same style of short, fast frame of the girl, who we now know is named Caroline, going around at the party having fun, talking to people, and acting outgoing. During these clips, the mother says “She's an ambitious young lady with excellent future prospects”. During these clips, they even show a clip of Caroline eating candy attached to a cucumber in a vulgar way. The advertisement here wants to show that the parents don't always know what's best for their children and that the kids can act differently around their friends compared to their parents. The mother's view of her daughter is very aligned with a lot of stereotypes regarding girls in Caroline's age. Stereotypes such as girls not being outgoing, taking place and being the centre of attention.



Screenshot 7.

The video further continues with Caroline dancing and being the centre of the party, standing on something that looks like a scene in front of everyone. The same way to portray her with fast, short frames is used and continues to create a feeling of party and to show that Caroline is a person that lives in the moment. These clips are narrated by the mother saying “You have to understand that a break in her studies will be devastating for her”. This is continuously a way for the mother to try to decide what is best for her daughter and not let her decide for herself. The mother follows up that statement by saying “on top of that, she also has a hard time interacting with new people”. While this quote is being narrated by the mother, short clips of Caroline interacting with people in complete comfort are being shown. This is an obvious showcase of femvertising where Caroline is comfortable and powerful in the social interactions she encounters. Being comfortable and outgoing is stereotypically seen as an admirable feature. Furthermore, the advertisement shows a clip of Caroline standing outside talking to a friend. The friend is wearing a thick, warm jacket whereas Caroline still is only wearing her red t-shirt and blue jeans. You can also see other blurry people wearing jackets and warm clothes. During this clip, the narrating mom says “She can absolutely not handle cold weather. Whom do I have to talk to in order to withdraw her application?”. This quote is followed by a clip of her sitting on someone's back in a crowd and shouting into a megaphone. You can clearly see her enjoying the situation and being the exact opposite of what the mother tells us.



Screenshot 8.



Screenshot 9.

The whole campaign is a way to communicate to young people out there that their parents aren't the best person to tell them if they can work in Försvarsmakten or not. By effectively and consequently letting the mother say one thing about Caroline's characteristics, meanwhile, Caroline shows the audience the opposite of what her mother is telling us, we get the understanding that she is fully capable of making this kind of decision herself. This is a kind of femvertising where we get a powerful picture of Caroline in which she is capable of deciding her own fate and future.



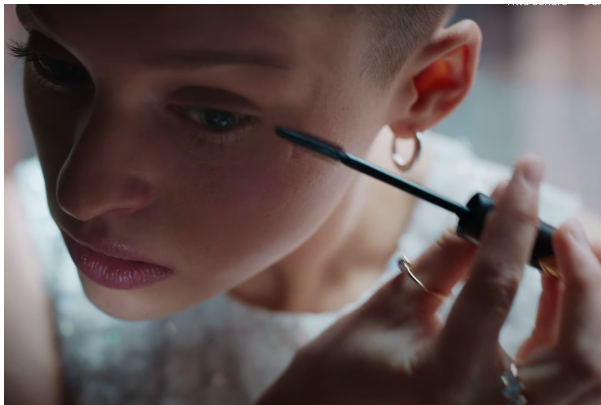
Screenshot 10.

This advertisement is also perfect for showcasing the gender stereotypes in Försvarsmakten where a lot of people don't consider a normal girl like Caroline, who goes to parties and has a good education, to apply for Försvarsmakten and put her education on pause. Therefore, people who can identify with Caroline can get motivated to join or at least feel empowered by

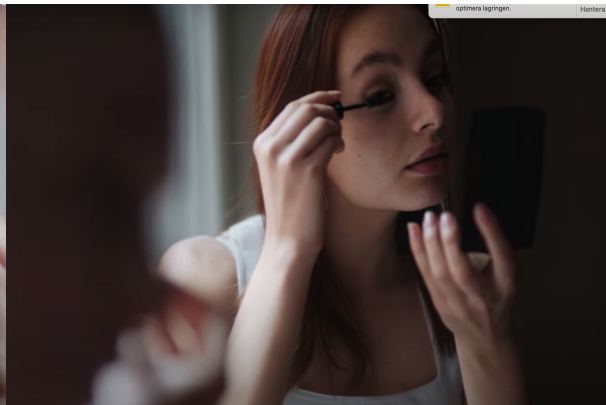
the message the advertisement sends. It's also a clear representation of femvertising, where Caroline is put in a situation where a lot of girls her age can relate and understand where she is in life. Since femvertising focuses on putting women in more realistic and relatable situations, Försvarsmakten is using femvertising in an effective way to get people to relate and therefore also apply for a job at their organisation. With this in consideration, it's also a way to showcase the societal ideas and norms as a whole, where the mirror argument in *the mirror versus the mold debate* (Grau & Zotos, 2016) would say that this advertisement is a lens to society, where these gender stereotypes and norms about girls in the same age and life situation as Caroline are presented and showcased in the advertisement. On the other hand, the mold argument would argue that advertisements like this strengthen these norms and stereotypes and therefore are making them even bigger, making them present in people's minds and subconsciousness. This is something that Försvarsmakten needs to take into consideration while making these advertisements.

5.4 Till framtidens försvar - Utsprung

This campaign does, unlike the previous one mentioned, aim to show the relevance of Försvarsmakten, to increase the understanding of why a force is necessary and to why it needs to be developed (Försvarsmakten, 2019). In the first scene we see two girls applying their makeup. One of the girls has short dark hair which according to Deaux & Lewis (1984) breaks a gender stereotype, and the other girl has long red hair (see screenshots 12 and 13). While applying their makeup one girl asks “where are the others” whereas the other one replies “I don’t know” and the video shifts over to a boy and a girl putting on their military face painting (see screenshots 14 and 15). Looking at these two scenes we once again see girls applying makeup. We also see the girl in the first scene wearing earrings and rings on her hand. This aligns with previous research showing that women have historically been portrayed as more decorative and demure in advertising which we can see signs of in this video (Uray and Burnaz, 2003). Even though today's research suggests that the portrayal of genders have dramatically changed it is interesting that we can see elements that still exist, women being portrayed as decorative and demure being one of them.



Screenshot 11.



Screenshot 12.

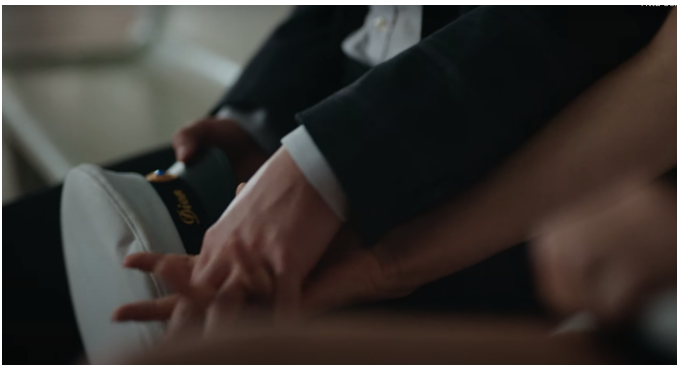


Screenshot 13.



Screenshot 14.

The 30-second long video continues to shift between people living the everyday life and people's lives in the force. The video shifts between showing people graduating and people in the force preparing for battle. During the graduation, all the boys wear suits and ties and all the girls wear dresses and high heels (see screenshot). We see a boy and a girl holding hands (see screenshot). However, in the video from the force, the men and women are portrayed very similarly and there is no noticeable difference between the two. There is a contradiction in the way the genders are portrayed in everyday life and how they are portrayed in the force in this video. In everyday life we see girls wearing dresses, putting on makeup and wearing high heels and boys with short hair wearing suits and ties. In the force, the women are portrayed just like the men without any noticeable difference which possibly suggests that there is another stereotype within the force.



Screenshot 15.



Screenshot 16.

The music in the video gives a serious impression, implying that the force is a very serious task. Way, L. C., & McKerrell, S. (2017) argues that music is a very powerful semiotic resource that is more ambiguous than others and in this video, it has a big impact on the feeling we get as a viewer, it makes the video more dramatic. Furthermore, in the middle of the video they write “everything that hasn’t happened yet, is our task to defend”. This is interesting in the sense that the previous videos that we analysed almost make the force feel like an exciting experience where you meet new friends and have a good time which arguably some people think, but this could also be a false picture for some people. We believe that this video contradicts the others videos. There is a difference between “everyone is welcome” and “everyone would enjoy the force” where this video rather showcases that joining Försvarsmakten is actually a dedication and different from everyday life.

5.5 Hur många skäl behöver du - Alex

This campaign from 2017 aims to recruit young people to join Försvarsmakten by pointing out different reasons why it's beneficial (Försvarsmakten, 2017). In the first scene we see a young boy, maybe 7-8 years old, putting on a yellow dress and trying his sister's makeup (see screenshots 18 and 19). The narrator says in the background “there are many reasons. You can do it for everyone's right to be, look and express themselves as they want”. A boy wearing a dress and putting on makeup is another example of Försvarsmakten's aim to break gender stereotypes. However, with the narrator speaking in the background about everyone's right to be however they want, it seems like the video is telling us that it is different for a boy to wear a dress and put on makeup. It signals a feeling that what the boy is doing in the video is wrong.



Screenshot 17.



Screenshot 18.

In the next scene, the sister of the boy enters the room and says annoyingly “Aleeeex, you have your own room” and drags him out of the room. Followed by the narrator saying “or cause it can be nice to move away from home”. This video is interesting and differs a lot from the other recruiting campaigns. Here the focus on recruiting only females is not in the centre but instead to attract all young people to join Försvarsmakten. The messages are quite confusing however, join the force for everyone's right to be, look and express themselves however they want, or join the force if you want to move away from home. Firstly, how does joining Försvarsmakten help people's right to be, look and express themselves however they want? Secondly, is Försvarsmakten suitable for anyone who wants to move away from home? This is a hard balance for an organisation like Försvarsmakten, they want to recruit a diverse group of young people and they want to show that Försvarsmakten is open for anyone.

However, it might be misleading to state that the will to move away from home is a reason to join the force.

6. Conclusion and discussion

The empirical material and the multimodal semiotic analysis have helped us to further understand how Försvarsmakten's use of semiotic resources in their recruiting campaigns portrays men and women, how they try to work against gender stereotypes and what semiotic resources they use to recruit young people to join the force. The results show that Försvarsmakten are working hard in their external communication to recruit more young women to join the force and the phenomena of femvertising are apparent in the material. By including more women in their campaigns and portraying them in empowered and authentic scenarios, Försvarsmakten's brand becomes more attractive to women. However, the empirical material also showed some concerning and contradictory messages when looking at the semiotic resources. Firstly, there are a few examples where old traditional gender stereotypes are present and where we see differences in how they portray men and women. Women are almost always portrayed with long hair. We see women putting on makeup in a pink bathroom expressing how crazy it is to shave off your hair. Men are almost always portrayed in short hair and the videos make it feel like it's more natural that they are in the force. This could be explained by the fact that the issue lies in the lack of women in the force but one can argue that the campaigns are overcompensating in a way that makes it feel unnatural for women to join Försvarsmakten.

Furthermore, the recruiting campaign does not only aim to recruit women but also anyone who is currently thinking or planning to join the force. Studying the empirical material we noticed some contradictions in what it actually means to join Försvarsmakten. In the videos aiming to recruit new people the force almost felt like something fun and nothing too serious, a fun experience for *anyone* who wants to try something new. In the videos aiming to showcase the relevance of Försvarsmakten and what they do it suddenly felt very serious and about life or death. This can easily create confusion among the target group, one moment Försvarsmakten is for anyone who "wants to try something new" or "move away from home", and the next they show people going into battle with dramatic music and serious faces. Looking at this video we don't get the feeling that Försvarsmakten is for everyone,

independent whether you are a male or female. Here the hermeneutic circle becomes important, putting the parts together with the whole and the whole together with the parts. When we look at all the videos together we see different messages that contradict each other. Some recruiting campaigns are humoristic and relaxed: showing a girl at a party, a girl that wants to move away from home, and two girls getting ready for their graduation with the message that Försvarsmakten is for anyone. In other videos, we see the seriousness and what it actually means to be in the force. Again, there is a difference between saying that women are needed in the force and saying that the force is something that everyone would enjoy. It's great and necessary for Försvarsmakten to recruit more women to the force, but there is a risk with overcompensating and romanticising what it actually means. Although, we have to keep in mind that Försvarsmakten is an organisation that needs to take both political and societal opinions and rules into consideration when they run their business. It is therefore a challenge to do the balancing act of trying to make everyone feel included, and at the same time sending correct expectations of the tasks expected from you when you are a part of Försvarsmakten. With this in mind, it would be interesting to study Försvarsmakten's campaigns further from a raw feminist perspective to see whether the femvertising is authentic or not. Moreover, it would be interesting to make a quantitative study on how women experience Försvarsmakten's campaigns and to find out if femvertising is a successful tool or not.

Finally, we want to highlight that the result of this study should not be seen as the only correct view of the Försvarsmakten campaigns. Semiotic resources can be interpreted differently depending on what the authors see and highlight and the background of who the researchers are and what cultural and societal situation they come from can compromise what they highlight. Therefore, we suggest that further research combined with this study can further conclude a more absolute dictum.

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Appendix



Screenshot 1.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/kom-som-du-ar-2019/>



Screenshot 2.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/kom-som-du-ar-2019/>



Screenshot 3.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/kom-som-du-ar-2019/>



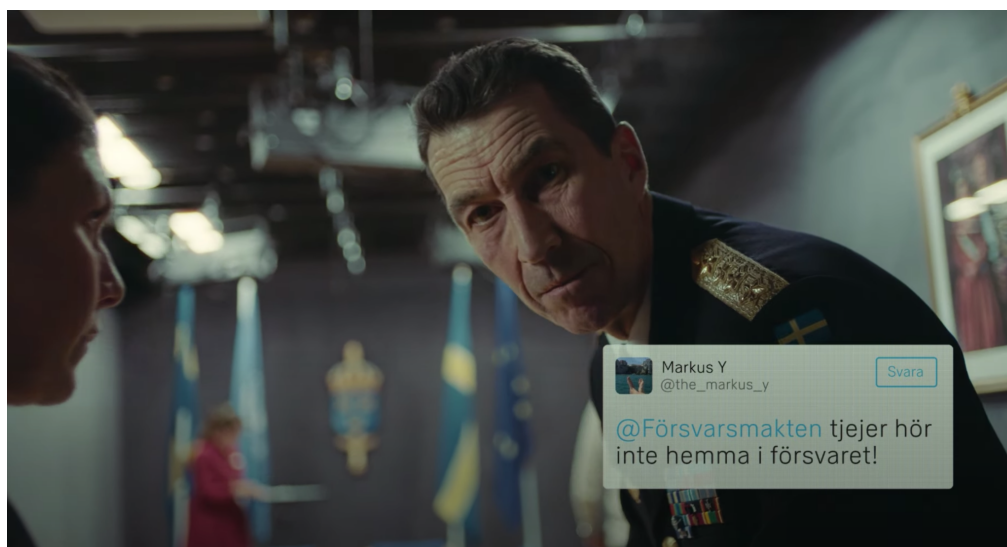
Screenshot 4.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/manga-har-manga-fragor-2020/>



Screenshot 5.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/manga-har-manga-fragor-2020/>



Screenshot 6.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/manga-har-manga-fragor-2020/>



Screenshot 7.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/manga-har-manga-fragor-2018/>



Screenshot 8.



Screenshot 9.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/manga-har-manga-fragor-2018/>



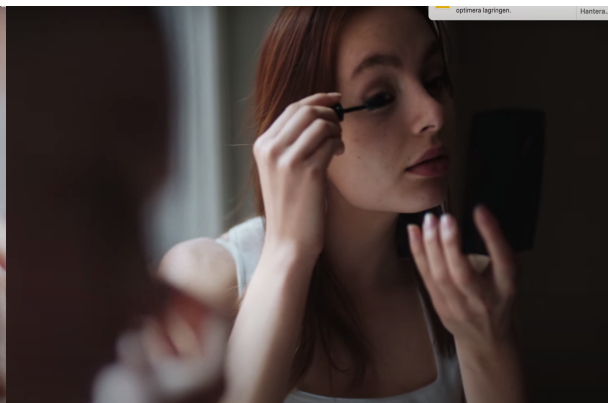
Screenshot 10.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/manga-har-manga-fragor-2018/>



Screenshot 11.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/till-framtidens-forsvar-2019/>



Screenshot 12.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/till-framtidens-forsvar-2019/>



Screenshot 13.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/till-framtidens-forsvar-2019/>

Screenshot 14.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/till-framtidens-forsvar-2019/>



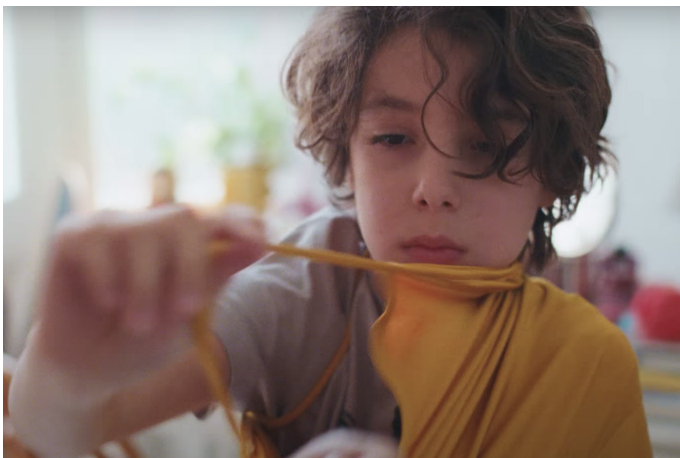
Screenshot 15.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/till-framtidens-forsvar-2019/>



Screenshot 16.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/till-framtidens-forsvar-2019/>



Screenshot 17.

<https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/sv/aktuellt/press/kampanjer/hur-manga-skal-behover-du-2017/>



Screenshot 18.