

When the other became the actor

Master's thesis

A critical Discourse Analysis
of women in Swedish development
policy since the 60s.



Cathérine Söderberg catherine.soderberg@gmail.com
Tutor: **Lennart Wohlgemuth**
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Abstract

By adopting the Policy for Global Development (PGD) in 2003 the Swedish parliament established gender mainstreaming as a goal in development cooperation policy, thereby emphasizing women's role as agents of empowerment in development. This has not always been the case. During most of the history of Swedish foreign aid women issues have been handled separately and development policy mainly based on a male perspective.

A lot of research has focused on trends in the global debate over how to better integrate women in development process, but much less academic attention has focused on how Swedish development policy has addressed the issue and how women have been referred to in development policy since the origin of Swedish foreign aid.

According to the theories of critical discourse analysis (CDA) our written and spoken language influence our view of the reality and how we understand society. Following that logic, how women are referred to in Swedish development policy influence how women are perceived by the actors of development cooperation.

Through a critical discourse analysis of official Swedish governmental documents concerning foreign aid, such as government bills and letters of appropriation, this study aims to detect discourses of Swedish development policy regarding women in developing countries. Furthermore it aims to understand how these discourses have related to the global debate about women's role in development.

This study observes six discourses of women in developing countries in the material: Women as passive recipient, agent of empowerment, the savior, motherhood-women as mothers, the other woman, and the man as the norm.

The analysis shows Sweden's development policies following the global discussions fairly coherently during much of the period, with 80s as the only possible exception.

Keywords: Boserup, WID, WAD, GAD, gender mainstreaming, women, Swedish development policy, foreign aid, critical discourse analysis.

List of abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
GAD	Gender and Development
PGD	Policy for Global Development
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background

Promoting gender equality runs like a thread through the history of Swedish development cooperation as being emphasized by the Swedish parliament and government. Sweden has also been in the forefront for long when it comes to involving gender equality in the development cooperation (Sida B, 1998:3, Sida A, 1997:5).

During the 21st century mainstreaming gender equality and work for women's role as agents of empowerment in development became one of the Swedish government's focus areas (Sida, 2009). The Policy for Global Development (PGD) which was established in 2003 by the Swedish parliament and is a cornerstone in Swedish development policy, states that the practical work on mainstreaming a gender equality perspective into development efforts and methods should be intensified (Government bill 2002/03:122 p. 25). The United Nations strives for mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programs in the UN system (United Nations, noyear). However, decades ago this was not the case. Women issues were handled separately, development policy was mainly based on a male perspective and the concept of *mainstreaming* had not yet been brought up on the agenda.

1.2 Research problem

A lot of research has focused on trends in the global discussion about how to integrate women in development process, but much less academic attention has focused on how Swedish development policy has addressed the issue and how women have been referred to in development policy since Swedish aid's origin.

According to the theory of critical discourse analysis (CDA) our written and speaking language influence our view of the reality, and by so, how we understand the society (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:15-21). Following that logic, how women are referred to in Swedish development policy influence how women are perceived by the actors of development cooperation. It influences the people affected by the development intervention in a direct way (through the design of development projects) and indirectly in possibly influencing the discourse of women in the receiving end of the development aid, i.e. in developing countries.

1.3 Aim

Through a critical discourse analysis of Swedish governmental documents concerning foreign aid such as government bills and letters of appropriation, the aim of this study is to detect and understand discourses in Swedish development policy regarding women in developing countries. Furthermore, it is also to understand if a transformation of how women are described in Swedish development policy follow the global discussion about women's role in development.

1.4 Research questions

Based on research problem and purpose, the research questions are:

- *What discourses of women are visible in Swedish development policy since the 1960s?*
- *Are these discourses coherent with the global discussion about women's role in development?*

1.4 Relevance

With its development aid- and gender- orientation this critical discourse analysis of women in Swedish development policy falls within the scope of peace and development studies.

Government bills regarding development cooperation function as the foundation pillar of Swedish development policy and sets guidelines for Swedish development cooperation. How to increase women's involvement in the development process have been an engaging task both for Swedish development policy but also for the global community the last decades.

This study is also relevant for understanding whether Sweden has followed the global debate, or indeed has been in the forefront.

Since a lot of research is mainly done on trends in research and practice and not on how Swedish development policy actually defines women in the developing world, a research gap can be found.

1.5 Delimitations

This study will focus on discourses in Swedish development policy concerning women in developing countries. It will not fully concentrate on what Critical Discourse Analysis calls *social practice*, thus in what context or why these discourses have emerged. It is possible to imagine discourses of women in Swedish society in general influencing development aid discourses as well. However, intriguing and interesting, it will not be focus of this study.

Other more general development-aid discourses, such as a rather new partnership-discourse, a good/evil-discourse or a recipient/donor-discourse, may have contributed to the discourses

that will be found in this study. This study will however focus on discourses of women specifically.

Since this is a discourse analysis with the purpose to detect and understand discourses of women in Swedish development policy, this study will obviously not go into the meaning of specific development programs such as family planning or maternal health nor how they might have contributed to development.

Finally, it is important to bear in mind that development cannot be created from outside, but must be built from inside of a society, as it is emphasized in the latest government bill concerning development cooperation, PGD (Government bill, 2002/03:122, p. 21). It is also argued that a dialogue between donor and recipient country is at its best an instrument for formulating the parameters. I am aware of the dilemmas related to dialogue between partner countries that inter alia Jan Olsson and Lennart Wohlgemuth raise in their book *Dialogue in pursuit of development* (2003). What donor countries believe and express to the recipient country is not automatically translated in to a belief or action for them. I will however not analyze how or whether donor countries' discourses affects the recipient country, but will bear this in mind when performing a discourse analysis that it based on the believe in that the world is a reflection of our language.

1.6 Disposition

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. This chapter (1) have introduced the thesis' research problem, aim, research questions and relevance of the study. Chapter two present the theoretical perspective that will be used in this thesis but how they will be used as a method will be further elaborated in chapter three and four. Chapter three present the analytical framework that will be used to detect and analyze discourses in the chosen material. The method chapter (4) will begin with introducing how Critical Discourse Analysis will be used as a method and then continue on with the chosen material of the study. Chapter five describes how women are described decade-wise from the 60s until 2000s. The founded discourses are then presented in chapter six. The thesis ends with a conclusion that aims to summarize the discourse analysis and answer the second research question and a discussion about the relevance of this study as well as further research.

2.0 Theoretical perspectives

This chapter will present theories that will be used in this thesis both to perform a discourse analysis and as a help to detect discourses. Since the chosen theories have their basis in social constructivism, this chapter will begin with a small introduction of that perspective. It will continue on with an introduction of Critical Discourse Analysis as a theory as well as the feminist approach. How these perspectives will be used as a method for analyzing will however be further explained in the Methods-chapter 4.0.

2.1 Social constructivism

Social constructivism consists of several rather new theories used in order to understand and explain our society and our culture. The field of social constructivism is large but according to Burr (2003), there exist four premises that characterize the societal perspective. The first is that one reality does not exist. Our knowledge about the world is not a reflection of the truth but a way for us to categorize and think about what we are facing. According to social constructivism, it is necessary with a critical relationship to what we consider to be obvious knowledge (Burr, 2003).

Secondly, what we perceive and describe is in a cultural and historical form and cannot be understood as the obvious or the truth. Our world view is in constant change and is not decided by external conditions. Our perceptions of the world are discursive and socially shaped.

Thirdly, our world view and knowledge is created in social interaction. In these social interactions, we negotiate about what is true and false and by so we agree on a common world view.

The fourth and last premise concerns the absence of a fixed world view. Since the world is what we perceive it to be in any given moment, it becomes difficult to draw lines between which actions are accepted and which are not. Furthermore, the approval of what is accepted and not can differ among people due to their position in the society. In addition, what is accepted by an individual at one point in time is not necessarily accepted at another.

Social constructivism is a perspective of the society as parts of what is constructed by humans in interactions and is sometimes contrasted with a biological point of view. The perspective has a long tradition within social science and both discourse analysis and post-modernism has its basis in social constructivism. Social constructivism and post-modern feminist perspectives shares for example their view of women and men as biological gender but female and male as

social constructed categories; how women and men behave is not according to what gender they are born to (Burr, 2003).

2.2 Discourse analysis as a theory

A discourse analysis is not only a method for analysis, but a theoretical and methodological package with philosophical premises (ontological and epistemological), theoretical models methodological guidelines and specific techniques for text analysis (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:10). Therefore I have chosen to separate discourse analysis into two chapters: one presenting the theory behind discourse analysis and one presenting how it will be used as a method.

Discourse analysis has its basis in social constructivism and considers the language to represent the world. Our view of the reality is shaped by the language and constructions of the language create discourses that we use to explain or interpret the reality. The purpose of a discourse analysis is not to understand peoples' intensions when using language, but how discourses are constructed and what conceptions are contributed to (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000).

One type of discourse analysis is the critical discourse analysis (CDA) where Norman Fairclough and Foucault can be found as the fathers of the theory. The purpose of a critical discourse analysis is to reveal hidden power relations.

There exist several types of CDA and definitions of discourses. A discourse can be understood as a frame of references of how we interpret and understand the surrounding world; it constitutes how we perceive a certain phenomenon. The language is central for a discourse analysis since it constitute discourses and by so the social reality. According to Fairclough it also contributes to the constitution of social identities and social relations (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000, pp. 66-73).

Five mutual features can be found among critical discourse approaches and opens up, to some extent, to the possibility to identify them as one specific direction. Winter Jørgensen & Phillips (2000) base their characterization of a critical discourse analysis on Fairclough & Wodak (1997). The first feature is that social and cultural processes and structures have a partial linguistic-discursive character. It is argued that discursive practice, which is when texts are created, consumed and interpreted, is an important form of social practices that contributes to social relations. Social and cultural reproduction and change occur partly through social practices (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:67-72).

The second feature is that a discourse both constitutes the social world as well as it is constituted by other social practices; the discourse does not only contribute to social structures but it also reflects already existing structures. This would imply that how women are treated in Swedish

development policy does not only contribute to a view of women but it also reflects an already existing structure and perception of women (ibid:67-68).

The third feature of this characterization is that critical discourse analysis conducts a concrete linguistic text analysis, where as other discourse analysis could be limited to rhetoric studies or not include any empirical studies whatsoever (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:68-69).

Forth, the critical discourse analysis claims that discursive practices contribute to the creation of and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups, for example between women and men, social classes or between ethnic minorities or majorities. These impacts are usually called *ideological effects* (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:69)

The fifth feature is CDA's political standpoint. Compared to objective social science, CDA does not look upon them as politically neutral but rather as a critical approach with the purpose to liberate the suppressed social groups. Critical discourse analysis is critical because it seeks to identify the discursive practice's role in the maintenance of the social world and the social relations that implies unequal power relations. By revealing these unequal power relations they can be changed (ibid: 70).

How discourse analysis will be used as a method will be further elaborated in the Methods-chapter.

2.3 Feminist development theory

This sub-chapter will explore the five main development perspectives on women's role in development since the 60s, which all are based on feminist perspectives such as liberal and socialist feminism. These perspectives will be the basis for the analytical framework of this study, which will be further elaborated in the next chapter.

2.3.1 Ester Boserup and the 70s

In the early 70s the Danish economist Ester Boserup published her book "Women's role in Economic Development" where she was first to delineate systematically on a global level the sexual division of labor in agrarian economies. At that time an idea of modernization was present, assuming that a trickle-down effect of development would benefit men and women equally. Boserup criticized the modernization theory in the sense that development would not be equally beneficial for women and men. She examined the changes in the division of labor done by women and men when traditional agricultural societies modernized. The division of labor was described in three different development stages: the rural stage, the urban stage and the transitional stage from rural to urban. The conclusion was that in sparsely populated regions where shifting agriculture is practiced, women tend to be responsible for the majority of the

agricultural work. While in more densely populated regions, where simple technologies are used, men take greater responsibility for the agricultural work. Finally, in regions of intensive, irrigation-based cultivation, women and men share the agricultural tasks. Boserup's work was remarkable since she was first to use gender as a variable in data that had for a long time been available for scientists (Boserup, 1971). Her research was later criticized for having a simplified view of the nature of women's work and roles, but it was seminal to put scientific focus on sexual division of labor and the impact of modernization and gender strategies (Rathgeber, 1990:490).

2.3.2 Women in Development (WID)

The term "women in development" (WID) came into use in the early 70s after Boserup's work was published. The WID approach which was based on traditional modernization theory and liberal feminism, evolved into a perspective that aimed to integrate women in the development process. It continued to challenge the assumption that modernization alone would increase gender equality, but it took a point of departure in an acceptance of existing social structures (Rathgeber, 1990:490, Connelly et al, 2000:57). The approach focused on how women could be better integrated into development process rather than on why women had benefited less from development strategies during the past decade. By doing so, it avoided questioning the source and nature of women's subordination and oppression, and instead focused on equal participation in different spheres of the society (Rathgeber, 1990:490-492). The WID-perspective continued to exist within the modernization paradigm, with the intension to develop developing countries by adopting Western technologies, institution and values. The liberal perspective impregnates the modernization theory with the emphasis on equal opportunities for women and men but also on the need of a defined line between the government's role in the public sphere and the private sphere. The former sphere should be regulated by the government while the private should stay untouchable by the government. In order to preserve liberty, maintenance of this clear line was necessary (Connelly et al, 2000:115-117).

A typically WID project was income generating activities where a particular skill was taught and these projects women were usually views as passive recipients. Women were rarely considered as a separate unit of analysis of the modernization literature of this period. It was assumed that the experiences of the norm, which was the man, could be generalized to women and that everyone would benefit equally as societies became modernized (Rathgeber, 1990:490-492).

To enable the inclusion of women in the developing process, women-oriented policies were needed with the ambition to enhance women's efficiency and by so, advance the economic development. This required educational improvements and credit in order to facilitate the possibility of employment. Although women were supposed to be integrated in the development, they were often only integrated in activities specific for women. And in these activities they were usually seen as passive recipients (Connelly, 2000:57). But the WID-perspective also promoted removal of discriminatory practices in institutions or the creation of alternative institutions that supported women as well as an increase of female political presentation (ibid:115-117).

During the 70s, this view of modernization started to become questioned by researchers and it was argued that the relative position of women had not improved very much during the last two decades. Some suggested that the position of women in some sectors had declined. In the formal industrial sector, women were for example often relegated to the lowest paid jobs, the most monotonous and sometimes health impairing jobs. In the agricultural sector, Boserup showed that women benefited less than men from the new technologies as well as from the surge of educational expansion (Rathgeber, 2000:492).

2.3.3 Women and Development (WAD)

In the second half of the 70s a new approach based on Marxist feminist theory emerged: "Women and Development" (WAD). WAD grew out of concern with the explanatory limitations of modernization theory and has some of its theoretical base in dependency theory, although neither dependency nor Marxist analysis has given remarkable attention to issues of gender subordination. The new approach focused on the relationship between women and development process rather than on strategies for the integration for women into development. It took a point of departure in that women have always played an important role as an economic actor and that women's work both inside and outside the household is crucial for the maintenance of the societies in questions. It is this integration in itself that sustains existing international structures of inequality (Rathgeber, 2000:492-493).

At a theoretical level, WAD recognizes the impact on class, race and ethnicity, but like WID it fails in implementing these terms. Women are grouped together without concern of these cross-gender issues (Rathgeber, 2000:492-493).

WAD perspective assumes that women's position will improve if and when international structures become more equitable. Until then, the underrepresentation of women in economic, political and social structures can be solved by carefully designed intervention strategies (ibid).

Both WID and WAD have been criticized to focus too narrowly on the development of income-generating activities without taking into account the time burdens that such strategies place on women. By doing so, development planners are criticized to impose Western biases and assumptions on the Global South (Rathgeber, 2000: 496). WAD can be seen as a transition from an understanding where power structures are not recognized in WID to being recognized as the main problem in the next theoretical step: “Gender and Development” (GAD). Whereas women are seen as receivers in WID, they are viewed as agents of empowerment in GAD. WAD stands with one foot on both sides, recognizing power structures, but still viewing women as victims and receivers of development aid, thereby designing interventions for women while waiting for equal power structures to suddenly occur.

2.3.4 Gender and Development (GAD)

In the 80s a new approach emerged with its roots in socialist feminism: “gender and development” (GAD). Socialist feminists identified the social construction of production and reproduction as the basis of women’s oppression. They questioned the validity of roles that women and men have been ascribed in different societies. The GAD-theorists focused on why women have systematically been assigned the inferior role. The GAD approach does not focus on women per se, but on social construction of gender and roles and the responsibilities and expectations correlated them. Compared to WID and WAD, it also brings in the women’s contribution within the context of work both within and outside the household (Rathgeber, 2000:493-495).

The most significant key aspect of GAD is that it starts from a holistic perspective by looking at the totality of social organization, economic and political life to enable an understanding of how particular aspects of society are shaped (ibid).

A significant difference from the former approaches based on radical feminism, is that the GAD approach welcomes the potential contributions of men who share a concern for issues of gender equality and justice, rather than exclusively emphasizing female solidarity (ibid: 494).

Compared to the other two liberal approaches, the socialist/feminist and the GAD approach enter the private sphere by giving special attention to the oppression of women in the family. It puts emphasis on the role of the state to promote women’s emancipation and to provide social services that women in many countries have provided on a private and individual basis.

The GAD approach goes further than the other two in questioning underlying assumptions of current social, economic and political structures. It does not only design development interventions and strategies based on the purpose to integrate women into development efforts,

but it also reexamines social structures and institutions and demands a degree of commitment to structural change and power shifts. Experience however shows that these changes are unlikely to be found in national or international agencies and socialist states have shown less interest in reforming gender biases (Rathgeber, 2000:495).

A significant difference between the GAD approach and the former two is that women are according to the GAD approach viewed as agents of empowerment rather than as passive recipients of development assistance. In this break women of the developing world became actors rather than victims of development assistance. The importance of female solidarity faded and men were welcomed into the gender discussion. “Women issues” became gender issues and classified as a societal issue concerning everyone, not just women.

2.3.5 Practical and Strategic needs

WID and GAD’s different focus concerning women’s needs separates the two approaches. WID-projects focused on the practical needs that were perceived as immediate necessities such as water, food, shelter, income and safety. It increased women’s income, improved their health and by doing so strengthened their resources in the short-term. But since the unequal relationship between women and men were not taken into consideration, these improvements were not sustainable (UNESCO, 2003:2). Boserup views practical needs as preconditions for achieving development, while WID deals with practical needs as a way of ensuring integration of women in development efforts. The GAD approach views practical needs as a short term solution while adding strategic interests as the long term aim to improve women’s position in the society.

To be able to address the subordination of women while empowering them, the GAD approach advocated intervention that raised the level of consciousness, increased self-confidence, provided education, and strengthened women’s organizations (UNESCO, 2003:4). Therefore are not only are women’s practical needs as water, food etc. is taken into account, but also strategic needs (legal, political etc.) that women need to overcome their generally subordinated position to men (UNESCO, 2003, p. 4). These strategic interests are related to structural changes in the society regarding women’s status and human rights. The different productive roles and responsibilities of women and men were addressed as a central aspect of gender relations and called division of labor (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63).

2.3.6 Gender mainstreaming

The 1980s was United Nation’s Decade for Women where international women’s movements’ concern that women specific program strategies had not achieved significant results, was

brought into light. Women who witnessed trends where “women targeted” projects only reinforced the marginalization of women in development processes, began to search for alternative strategies. Their goal was to move women’s issues out of the periphery and into the mainstream of development decision-making. At this time the term mainstreaming had different meaning and was used in several ways. The debate came to be about the advantages and disadvantages of “women activities” versus integrated programming for and with women. In the beginning of the 21st century, the international development community agreed on generally referring mainstreaming to a comprehensive strategy which involves both women-oriented programs and integrating women/gender issues into overall existing programs. However, gender mainstreaming as a concept was popularized earlier at the 1995 United Nations World Conference in Beijing and emerged from this conference: Beijing Platform for Action (Tiessen, 2011:706-708). The United Nations Economic and Social Council later defined gender mainstreaming to be:

“The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (Tiessen, 2011:708)

Today it seems clear that gender equality cannot come about only through women-targeted and men-targeted project with the goal to improve individual conditions alone. However even policies promoting gender mainstreaming have not necessarily translated into practical solution or political change. According to UNDP’s report from 2004 “Transforming and Mainstream”, the gap between stated intension and operational reality is not as wide in any other area of international development as it is in the promotion of gender equality (UNDP, 2004:3). Gender mainstreaming in other words, also has its critics.

According to Rebecca Tiessen (2011) gender mainstreaming strategies rely too heavily on technical solutions and therefore create an illusion of gender equality being taken seriously in development agencies. According to the author, her findings among others, shows how these technical solutions such as hiring more women, gender-related activities, gender awareness training etc., do not translate into structural change, gender equality nor women’s

empowerment. It facilitates the appearance of change, but without transforming the gendered power structures of the society. Therefore, Tiessen argues, mainstreaming has not offered any new solution to gender inequality. However, she argues that a new commitment have emerged in order to develop incentives for tackling gender inequality and to translate policy into practice (Tiessen, 2011:206,218). Hilary Charlesworth (2005) also questions gender mainstreaming and suggests that it detracts attention from how gender inequalities are woven into the structure of the international system. She argues that by using gender mainstream as a reform strategy, the issues of gender inequality become harder to identify and to deal with. And by so, the concept has shifted the focus away from the actual work for equality between women and men (Charlesworth, 2005).

Evaluations from Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) have also identified shortcomings in the implementation of gender mainstreaming. They show deficiencies in the organizational process rather than in the policies per se. Other countries also engaged in gender mainstreaming evaluations, have also drawn the same conclusions (Sida, 2010). Just as WID and GAD approaches, gender mainstreaming seems to experience many challenges, and lack of methods on how to transform policy into practice seems to be or at least have been the main brake block for gender mainstreaming to become fully applicable.

On the other hand, structural change, which is the aim of both GAD and Gender Mainstream, is no small feat. It might be unreasonable to expect results after 10-20 years that the work has ongoing.

One last criticism towards mainstreaming is that the approach arguably forgets practical needs such as economic resources and employment. Women cannot become equal to men when they are lacking employment and economic resources, the arguments goes, and mainstreaming focuses too much on the implementation of a perspective. In extension the argument leads to a vicious circle: without employment and financial security women cannot become equal to men, but without a structural change women will not have the same opportunity to seek employment as men and by so achieve financial security. The difference between a GAD-approach and Gender mainstreaming is that the latter focus on integrating a gender perspective in all fields while GAD promotes specific focus areas for supporting women's empowerment with the goal to eliminate unequal power structures. .

3.0 Analytical Framework

Women per se are rarely referred to in government bills or letters of appropriation, particularly not in the earlier ones, which are less comprehensive than the latter. However, discourses of women can be detected by looking at other formulations and words. Therefore an analytical framework based on a comparison of the previously presented perspectives of Feminist Development Theory, has been created. The characteristics of each perspective is based upon the literature earlier used to describe feminist development theory but the framework is based upon the author's own idea. This framework functions as a basis to identify signs of discourses in documents concerning Swedish development policy. Helping me answering my research questions: *What discourses of women are visible in Swedish development policy since the 1960s? Are these discourses coherent with the global discussion about women's role in development?*

The core and specific characteristics of Boserup, WID, WAD, GAD and Gender Mainstreaming have been identified and categorized into five main fields: main focus, view of women, identified as the problem, adopted strategies and development aim. Signs of one (or more) of these perspectives the text indicate a portrait of women as a certain role of development assistance (for example victims or agents). It also reveals if Swedish development policy are coherent with the global debate concerning how to integrate women in development work.

If signs of a mixture of perspectives can be found it indicates a higher degree of interdiscursivity, and suggests a process of change where new perspectives of women's role in development are produced, hence new discourses. The categories are further explained in the following sub-chapter.

	Boserup	WID	WAD	GAD	Gender Mainstream
Main focus	Female productivity	Women	the relation between women and development	Gender relations	Integrate a gender perspective
View of women	Productive agents	Recipients	Always played an crucial and active role – recognizes the impact of race, class and ethnicity	Agents of empowerment	Equal agents as men of empowerment
Problem identified	Exclusion of women in development stages and the economy	Exclusion of women in the development process	Exclusion of women in the development process	Exclusion of women in the development process due to unequal power relations	Women targeted project have not achieved significant results
Suggested strategies	Addressing practical needs and productive interests	Addressing practical needs	Carefully designed interventions for women while waiting for equal power structures to occur.	Addressing practical needs and strategic interests – enter the private sphere.	Integrate a gender perspective in all fields
Development aim	Integrate women in the economical development and improve the conditions for women's life	Integrate women in the development and improve the conditions for women's life	Improve women's life while waiting for equal power structures to occur	Improve women's position in the society – eliminate unequal power structures	Combat the tendency for gender equality issues to be neglected or treated as side issues to other political issues and activities.

Description of categories

Main focus: What the different perspectives emphasize in the intervention in order to generate development that also benefits women.

View of women: The perspective's view of women's role in development that generates the approach towards women when supporting them.

Identified problem: Core or cause of the development problem according to the perspective. All five of the perspectives emphasize the exclusion of women in the development process as the problem, but in different ways.

Adopted strategies: What types of interventions the perspective suggests as necessary, either addressing practical needs or strategic interests or both.

Development aim: The common goal for feminist theories is of course to improve the condition of women's lives. However, what is considered to be an improvement differs among the perspectives. For example integration in the economic development or eliminate unequal power relations are two of these development aims.

4.0 Method

This Method-chapter will begin with an introduction of how Critical Discourse Analysis will be used as a method in this study, and continues with the analytical framework based on feminist development theory. Furthermore, in the sub-chapter of “Approach & Sample” chosen period of time and keywords will be presented and chosen material will be presented in sub-chapter 4.2.

4.1 Fairclough’s three dimensional model

The purpose of this study is to examine the meaning of the language used in the text of study and not the content. Therefore discourse analysis will be used as a method in order to analyze the language. Discourse analysis examines how a certain subject is described, in this case women in development assistance. It also examines what the language mediates and what discourses are created by the use of a certain language.

According to Fairclough, when analyzing discourses one should focus on two dimensions. The first dimension is a communicative event such as a case of a language use, for example a newspaper. The second dimension is the order of discourse which is the totality of the types of discourses that are used within a social institution. A type of discourse consists of both discourses and genres. A genre is linguistic usage that is connected to as well as constitutes partly a particular social practice, for example a news genre. Within the order of discourses, there are many different discursive practices. For example, within the order of discourses at a hospital there are several discursive practices where speech and writing are produced and consumed/interpreted: conversation between doctor and patient and scientific writing among others (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:73).

According to Fairclough, every case of linguistic usage is a case of communication, and has three dimensions: text, discursive practice and a social practice (The three dimensional model). The purpose of Fairclough’s model is to unify theories of power structures and hegemony with theories of discursive practices. The production of a text creates and is created by the social practice. At the same time the process of production shapes the text and how it is interpreted depends on how it is written. It can seem paradoxical, but the dialectical relations are central for the critical discourse analysis (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002:74).

4.1.1 Text

According to Winter Jørgensen & Phillips (2000) through a narrow analysis of a text’s

properties with determined tools, it is possible to identify discourses and by so, support ones' interpretation (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:87). Fairclough presents several tools for analyzing texts. *Transitivity* and *modality* are the two that will be used in this study.

When analyzing transitivity in texts the objective is to understand how processes are connected to, or not connected to, the subject and object. It is also to identify how visible the agent is. The purpose of transitivity is to understand what ideological consequences different forms of production can have and by doing so outline if the text is a reproduction of already existing discourses or if it is a part of an innovative process. When analyzing transitivity, it is also common to study possible *nominalization*. Nominalization is a means to hide the agent in a text by replacing the agent or process with a substantive (ibid). In this case it could for example be to describe "Sweden gave development aid to..." as "Swedish development aid was given to..." replacing Sweden as an agent with the substantive *given*.

The purpose of analyzing modality in a text is to examine the degree of agreement. One type of modality is the truth. For example, the statement "women in developing countries are different from us..." is portrayed as the truth while "women in developing countries *can* be different from us..." expresses a less degree of certainty. One sort of modality that constructs social relations in a certain way is *permission*, where the speaker puts him/herself in a position where he or she gives the receiver permission to do something (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:87). In development strategies it could for example be: "development assistance should focus on poverty where gender should not be considered". In this statement, the agent has taken the position to give the receiver the permission to focus development assistant on poverty without any regard of gender. I will in this study analyze the modality to a certain degree, but the purpose of analyzing the modality is not focus on the degree of certainty, but only use it as a tool to detect discourses.

In this study, choice of words will also be examined since different words indicate different perceptions (ibid: 87). Which keywords that are treated when analyzing texts are further elaborated in the Methods-chapter in the sub-chapter of Approach & Sample.

4.1.2 Discursive practice

The purpose of analyzing the discursive practice is to understand how a text is produced and consumed. This can be done through different approaches. One approach is to examine what routes a text has to go through before it is printed, and what changes are done during this route (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:85). To examine which route the government bill has gone

through and what changes have been done during the way, is of interest, but another study. That sort of comprehensive study would require another orientation and will therefore not be done in this study.

Another approach to analyze the discursive practice that is used to analyze the empirical material in this study is to examine the *interdiscursivity*. The purpose is to understand if a text is based on other discourses. The degree of interdiscursivity depends on to what extent different discourses are mixed. A text with an innovative shape is considered to have high degree of interdiscursivity while a conventional text contributes to a reproduction of already existing discourses (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:86). For example, if a development strategy treats women from a WID-perspective and suggests development assistance based on the same point of departure, the text has a low degree of interdiscursivity. While if a development strategy rather suggests development assistance based on a GAD-perspective, the interdiscursivity is higher and indicates a sign of change.

4.1.3 Social practices

The third dimension of Fairclough's model is social practices. When analyzing the social practice the purpose is to understand what social context the text is a part of and what ideological consequences it has. However, Fairclough states that there is no easy answer of how the social practice can be analyzed and in order to make it possible it is necessary to include sociological and cultural theories (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000:90-91).

An analysis of social practice would in this study could include and attempt to understand the social context which the government bills and other Swedish development policy are a part of, and what ideological consequences the way women are treated in a Swedish government bills would have on development cooperation. It would be of interest to study how Swedish development policy are received and interpreted by the one responsible for development projects in the recipient country and what consequences it has on the intervention. This sort of study would require observations in the field and is therefore another study.

Therefore, this study will not analyze the social practice of the chosen material directly. Instead it will touch upon the subject through a minor discussion of what consequences the different discourses of women can have on the development policy as well as on strategies and interventions.

4.2 Material

This sub-chapter will present the material used for analysis in this study. It will include a brief introduction explaining the different documents and which years have been selected. In order to understand the process of decision makings concerning Swedish development aid and what Swedish development policy is based upon, this sub-chapter will begin with a brief introduction of the hierarchy of documents of Swedish development cooperation.

4.3.1 The hierarchy of documents of Swedish development cooperation

Swedish development policy and guidelines goes through different stages of processing and decision making before being established by the government. This sub-chapter aims to provide an understanding of the order of this process.

- Government bills (white papers) regarding development cooperation
- Appropriation applications¹ from Sida to the government
- Government bills
- Parliament papers discussing the government bill²
- Letter of appropriation
- Operational papers, strategies, policies, handbooks.

The presented hierarchy implies that Swedish development policy is based upon the four major government bills regarding development cooperation. Sida then present an appropriation application that results in government bills. The government bill is discussed by the parliament and the Foreign Affairs Committee presents an advisory opinion. The government takes the advisory opinion into consideration and makes a decision presented in the letter of appropriation. Operational strategies, policies and handbooks are then formulated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Sida (lately, mostly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Government bills regarding development cooperation, government bills, and letter of appropriation from the 1960s until today were selected for analysis in this study. As can be understood from the hierarchy of development policy documents, that appropriation application from Sida and advisory opinion from the Foreign Affairs Committee might been more ideal for analysis. However, these document have not been possible to access so far back in time and therefore letter of appropriation were chosen for analysis instead.

¹ Swedish: anslagsframställning

² Swedish: Riksdagsbehandling – utlåtanden från utrikesutskottet

Operational papers, strategies etc. far back in time have neither been possible to track down and therefore only a few from the late 90s and 2000-nd were selected.

4.3.2 Government bills regarding development cooperation

Over the years four major government bills have been prepared dealing with development cooperation. The first bill was adopted by the Swedish parliament in 1962. The government bill 1962:100 was the first guidelines for Swedish development cooperation and stated motives and goals of the assistance. The overall goal was to raise the living standards of the poor (Odén, 2013:22).

The second bill was adopted in 1968 (1968:101) and was based on the former but introduced two new elements. The first stated that 1975 was the year when Swedish development assistance should reach one per cent of GDP. The second element was a new sub target: economic independency for partner countries as a complement to their new political independency (Oden, 2013:25).

The third bill concerning Swedish development aid was adopted by the parliament in 1978. The four goals established in 1968:101, to contribute to economic growth, economic and social equality, economic independent and democracy, remained as goals.

The parliament adopted for the first time in 25 years a new bill of guidelines concerning Swedish development aid in 2003: government bill 2002/03:122 – Sweden's policy for global development (Odén, 2013:27).

This study will analyze three of these four documents: 1962:100, 1977/78:135 and 2002/03:122. It will also analyze government bill 1995/96:153 which suggest gender equality as a new Swedish development goal.

4.3.3 Government bills

Government bills are governmental annual proposals for the national budget. The government bill is divided into ministries and then expenditure areas. International Development Aid is one of these areas.

The government bills from following years were selected:

From the 1970s: 1971/72, 1974/75, 1976/77

From the 1980s: 1980/81, 1984/85, 1987/88

From the 1990s: 1992/93, 1994/95, 1996/97, 1997/98, 1998/99

From the 2000s: 2004/05, 2007/08, 2010/11, 2012/13

4.3.4 Letter of appropriation

Letter of appropriation is a governmental decision that contains the government's goal-and performance requirements of authorities and their financial conditions for example including the appropriation authorities may use (Regeringskansliet A, 2006). Letter of appropriation is divided into all different ministries and then authorities. In this study, the letter of appropriation concerning the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have been used and the sub-chapter called *International development cooperation*. In this sub-chapter, Sweden's international development cooperation is discussed such as multilateral and bilateral development aid, development programs, recipient countries and support to international organization. Since the purpose of the letter of appropriation is not to inform about or describe Swedish development policy but to rather present a decision of where resources will be spent concerning development aid. Therefore are these letters not very specific or comprehensive compared to government bills (becomes slightly better in this respect after 1995), and perhaps not the ultimate documents for analysis. However, due to difficulties in finding sufficient operationalization documents these were selected as a complement to the different government bills

The letter of appropriation from following years was selected:

From the 1960s: 1966/67, 1967/68, 1968/69.

From the 1970s: 1970/71, 1973/74, 1975/76, 1977/78

From the 1980s: 1980/81, 1983/84, 1986/87, 1989/90

From the 1990s: 1990/91, 1997, 1998, 1999

From the 2000s: 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013

4.3.5 Operational papers

Guidelines for Swedish development policy are set by the Swedish government but as regards the bilateral aid operationalizes by Sida. Operationalization documents such as strategies and handbooks from Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as Sida describing how the goals and guidelines set by the government, will be applied to in the reality would be of great interest for this study. However, these kind of documents from before the mid-90s have not been possible to access and therefore only a few policy and handbooks from the 90s and 2000-nd have been used for analysis.

4.3.6 Other documents of interest

As a complement to the government bills and letters of appropriation, women studies commissioned by Sida from the 70s were selected.

4.2 Approach & Sample

4.2.1 Period of time & selection of documents

In order to not limit this study to a present-oriented analysis I have chosen to perform a discourse analysis from the foundation of Swedish development policy until today. The first of four government bills regarding development cooperation was adopted in 1962 and therefore the chosen period of time for this discourse analysis is 1962- 2013.

Three to four Letters of appropriation and government bills each from every decade have been selected for analysis, which means a totality of six to eight document a decade. The years have been selected with a two to three years interval with starting point at the first letter available from 1966. Since no government bills from the 60s are available today, and only three letters of appropriation, all three were selected.

As a complement to these governmental documents, a few other documents of interest from Sida and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs were also selected. These were selected based on availability, where governmental documents etc. can be found as electronic copies after 1995, but strategies and handbooks from earlier than 1995, were not as easy to find.

4.2.2 Keywords

Documents from before the 21st century have been scanned into electronic copies as pictures which implies that no search function have been possible to use. Therefore all documents have been read thoroughly instead of only searching for specific words. However, through the reading I have searched for specific keywords in order to detect discourses. The following keywords have been searched for: *women, woman, men, man, girls, boys, gender, gender equality, structures, power, inequality, equality, empowerment, women issues, gender issues, women education, sex, women's rights, human rights, political influence, practical needs, strategic interests,*

When finding any of these keywords, I have looked closer into how women or men are portrayed, how the issue is described for examples as a *women issue* or a *societal issue* or how development interventions are defined.

In most documents women and men are per se not mentioned, especially not in early documents. I have therefore looked closer into signs of the different feminist development perspectives such as suggested development interventions connected to any of the perspectives in order to detect discourses.

Since the woman usually is placed in relation to the man it is also of importance to some extent look at how the man is portrayed. For example if the words “men” or “man” are used instead of “the teacher” “parent” or “manager” it indicates an obvious assumption of the man standing as a norm.

5.0 Discourse analysis –five decades of development policy

This chapter will present a discourse analysis of all chosen document from the late 60s to 2013. It is divided into five subheadings, one for every decade. Every subheading starts by describing and analyzing the government bills and continues with letters of appropriation and other documents of interests. It ends with a short summary. This discourse analysis results in a presentation of the discourses I claim to have been detected in chapter 6.6.

This analysis will include several quotations from the different documents in order to demonstrate a statement and to facilitate for the reader to follow the analysis. Since most of these documents are in Swedish all quotations and keywords are translated into English, but a Swedish translation is available on all quotations as a footnote. I find this translation important for the study's reliability and transparency.

For some words that are used in Swedish it is hard to find a fair translation into English, and some have therefore a footnote with the Swedish word, an English comparison or an explanation. Those quotations that are from English written documents are however not available as a footnote with Swedish translation since it does not affect the transparency or reliability of the study.

It is important to emphasize that what is concluded in this discourse analysis is based upon only the chosen material for this study. It cannot be ruled out that other documents, such as operational papers, appropriation application or the advisory opinion from the Foreign Affairs Committee, would have contributed to the analysis in a significant way. But then again, isn't it rather suiting that a critical discourse analyst claims only to present one of many truths?

5.1 The 60s

5.1.1 Letter of appropriation

In letter of appropriation from the late 60s (1966/67, 1967/68, 1968/69) neither women nor men per se are treated. Under "Field operations" in two of the three letters, the orientation of the development aid is towards addressing practical needs. In these two *women education*, *family planning* and *maternal health* are the object of development aid. The emphasis on family planning and maternal health that can be found does not only indicate a practical needs-orientation, but also indicates that women's needs as mothers are prioritized, a discourse that will be visible during the 70s as well and further elaborated later on in the text. Addressing practical needs might indicate an early Feminist Development Theory such as Boserup or WID

and if so, women are understood as, receivers of development assistance and not as active participants or agents of empowerment.

5.1.2 Government bill regarding development cooperation - 1962:100

The government bill 1962:100 was the first adopted bill regarding Swedish development cooperation and is one of the founding pillars to Swedish development policy. It emphasizes family planning, maternal health and training of midwives. It also suggests home economic teachers to a home economics seminar in Ethiopia (Government bill 1962:100, p.22, 53-58, 68). Emphasis on family planning, maternal health and home economics are typical development program for a *welfare approach* which perceived women as mothers and housewives. This will be further discussed in chapter 6.4.

5.2 The 70s

5.2.1 Government bills

Government bills from the 70s states that development assistance should be directed toward practical needs as family planning and reproductive needs as maternal health which can be connected to a Boserup/WID- perspective. But the bills of the 70s also stress assistance to *women education, women issues and women activities*³. In the bill of 1976/77 a sub-chapter is dedicated to “How to improve the woman’s situation” where how to improve the life of *developing country women*⁴ is discussed.

“In the appropriation application Sida points out three types of measures to improve the situation for developing country women”⁵ (Government bill 1976/77 p. 24).

Using the word *the woman* in the heading shows a generalization of all women, as if they all have the same needs, interest and conditions.

Secondly, *developing country women* also shows a generalization of all women in developing countries. It indicates a perception of women from developing countries as *the other woman*; where the white woman from the developed world stands as a norm and the other woman as diverging from that norm. This perception will be discussed as a discourse later on in sub-chapter 6.6:

³ Swedish translation: kvinnoutbildning, kvinnofrågor och kvinnoaktiviteter.

⁴ Swedish translation: u- landskvinnor. Can be compared with the English expression *Third World Women*.

⁵ Swedish translation: *”I sin anslagsframställning pekar Sida på tre slags åtgärder för att förbättra u-landskvinnornas situation”*.

Government bills of the 70s recognize the limited improvements development aid has given women that Boserup emphasized in the 70s where she claims women to benefit less from development assistance than men.

“It is particularly important in the case of rural development interventions that could otherwise easily result in a deterioration of the situation of women.”⁶ (Government bill 1976/77 p. 24)

In addition to practical needs as maternal health and women education, bill of 1976/77 talks about how to improve women’s position in the society and recognizes cultural and societal structures that have given women a subordinate role. Although cultural and religious values are to blame equal to social values, according to this statement, women are at least recognized as subordinate due to structures which indicates a sign of a more WAD-perspective.

“...the pattern of societal, cultural and religious values that has come to give the woman a subordinate role in many societies.”⁷ (Government bill 1976/77 p. 24)

The bill also states the importance of integrating the issue of improving women’s situation into the development assistance that Sweden supports.

“...an improvement of women’s situation as an integration of the development we support with our assistance.”⁸(Government bill 1976/77 p.25)

This shows a sign of an “integration approach” that usually is connected with gender mainstreaming, but at the same time it is clearly stated that it is a *women issue* that will be solved by activities designed for women and not a societal issue that would otherwise go hand in hand with a gender mainstreaming approach.

Since these texts consist of statements based on a mixture of discourses it shows a level of high interdiscursivity which indicates a sign of change; suggestively from an early feminist perspective to a latter. It can be interpreted as a rather clear WAD-perspective which represents

⁶ “Inte minst viktigt är detta i fråga om insatser för landsbygdsutveckling som annars lätt kan resultera i en försämring av kvinnans situation.”

⁷ “...de mönster av sociala, kulturella och religiösa värderingar som har kommit att ge kvinnan en underordnad roll i många samhällen.”

⁸ Swedish translation: “...en förbättring av kvinnans situation är en integrerad del av den utveckling som vi hoppas stödja med vårt bistånd.”

a transition between WID and GAD, where unequal power structures are recognized, but until these structures change *women issues* will be solved through carefully designed interventions for women. Modernization theory's belief in a trickle-down effect might also contribute to a belief that unequal power structures suddenly disappears along with economic development.

5.2.2 Letter of appropriation

In the letter of appropriation from the 70s (1970/71, 1973/74, 1975/76, 1977/78) neither women nor men are treated per se. Field operations or the orientation of the development aid is neither presented and the 70s only mentions *family planning* as a development object, which can once again be seen as practical needs and a perception of women main roles as mothers.

5.2.3 Other documents of interest

Government bill regarding development cooperation 1977/78:135

This government bill was the third bill regarding development cooperation. It states that *family planning* and *demographical issues* are interventions that are focused on improving the situation for women (Government bill 1977/78:135, p. 25). It emphasizes equality between groups and individuals, but does not mention equality between women and men. *Equality between individuals* can be understood as either gender equality and/or economic/social equality between individuals.

This government will states that Swedish development aid should be formed to assist the poor countries' own efforts to achieve gender independence and improved living stands for the poor (Government bill 1977/78:135, p.79).

This government bill shows a high degree of interdiscursivity when mixing words such as *women education* with *gender equality issues*. By separating *women education* from *education* indicates a WID/WAD- perspective, while *gender equality issues* do not belong to a WID or WAD-perspective, but was invented in the 80s when GAD emerged.

Sida evaluation study – Farmers' Training Centre in Tanzania

A Sida evaluation study from 1974 evaluates a training center for farmers in Tanzania. What is distinctive for this evaluation study is that shows recognition of women as producers. The author mentions in the end of the paper that the distribution of labor between women and men should be taken into consideration. It is stated that it is necessary to understand how much of the agricultural work women perform. If women perform most of the work, the training center should focus on women instead. The author also states that it is possible that local

praxis, tradition or sex discrimination steer the education and socio-economic modernization to men in the agricultural sector while it is usually the women who come in contact with modernized technique. If so, the development effort will not have the same impact as it can (Sida, 1974: 27-28). This statement is however written in a low-voice and only mentioned in a few sentence in the end of the paper. It can be interpreted as that some were aware of women's important role as producers but policy did not yet pay any attention to it.

Women studies

The earlier mentioned generalization of all women in developing countries can also be found in a Sida commissioned study from 1976 called *Women in Kenya*:

*"Every time when reading descriptions of women's conditions in developing countries, it is surprising how much work, torment, fear, sacrifice, creativity, kindness and joy a woman's life can host without bursting."*⁹ (Sida, 1976:3).

And continues...

*"Women in developing countries know their destiny, they accept it and engage into it with all her personality, strength and vitality. They do not question their roles as wives and mothers [...] Western people, even women, can have a hard time identify oneself with poor developing country women's reality. Ours are so different."*¹⁰ (ibid)

The author of the same study has chosen to open up the study with a poem about African women where a clear generalization of women in 55 different countries is evident. Although the poem does not represent the findings of the study, the author still chose to use it and probably finds it representative for African women. Furthermore, this description of African women is a rather humiliating picture of humans and indicates an assumption that all women in Africa are housewives who takes care of her children and husband; thus women in Africa do not have an employment or education. The poem portrays African women in following way:

⁹"Varje gång man laser beskrivningar av kvinnors förhållanden i u-land, förvånas man över hur mycket av arbete, slit, plåga, skräck, uppoftningar, skapande verksamhet, vänlighet och glädje en kvinnas liv kan rymma utan att sprängas"

¹⁰ "Kvinnor i u-land vet sitt öde, de accepterar det och går även in i det med hela sin person, kraft och vitalitet. De ifrågasätter inte hustrun- och moderskapet... Västerländska människor, även kvinnor, kan ha svårt att leva sig in i fattiga u-landskvinnors verklighet. Vår är så annorlunda."

“Woman of Africa, that sweeps, lubricates floors and walls with cow dung...With the baby on your back, he throws up at you while you do your dishes, plant, sow and harvest [...]You are like a trolley, truck, donkey. Woman of Africa, tell me, what are you not?”¹¹(Sida, 1976:1)

A consistent attitude can be found in many of the analyzed documents from the 70s, where the Swedish government takes the role to save developing countries by changing them to be more modern and developed. Words that indicate partnership such as *contribute to...* or *encourage developing countries to...* are uncommon in the documents of this decade. Instead Sweden's and Sida's role is described to be to *improve* the lives of women or *eliminate* inequalities or injustice against women. For example:

“In its appropriate application Sida points at three types of measures in order to improve the lives of women in developing countries.”¹²
(Government bill 1976/77 p. 24)

“Concrete actions in order to eliminate injustices against women.”¹³
(*ibid*)

This indicates a perception of women in developing countries as receivers of assistance who cannot improve their lives by themselves; donor countries have to do it for them. What this *victim-discourse* implies and contributes to will be further discussed in sub-chapter 6.1.

It can also be observed that the authors of the women study from 1976 as well as of another women study from 1977 named *Women in Tanzania* by Sida, both use *she* when referring to women while they use *man/men* when referring to the male sex. For example:

“[...] although she in many other aspects was subordinated to the man”¹⁴
(Sida, 1977:3)

“She had to work even more”¹⁵ (Sida, 1977:3)

¹¹ *”Afrikas kvinna, som sopar, som smörjer in golv och väggar med kospillning...Med babyn fastbunden på ryggen, så han kräks på dig medan du diskar, planterar, sår och skördar...Du som är dragkärra, lastbil, åsna. Afrikas kvinna säg vad du inte är”*

¹² *”I sin anslagsframställning pekar SIDA på tre slags åtgärder för att förbättra u-landskvinnans situation.”*

¹³ *”konkreta insatser för att undanröja orättvisor mot kvinnor.”*

¹⁴ *”...trots att hon i många andra avseenden var underställd mannen.”*

¹⁵ *”Hon var snarare tvungen att arbeta ännu mer”*

“She is subordinated the man’s guardianship but possesses the crops she grow and the products she produces.”¹⁶ (Sida, 1976:1)

By using *she* instead of *woman/women* the author personalizes the woman. A possible interpretation of the phenomenon can be that the author attempts to create empathy for women in Kenya and Tanzania. This empathy is possibly based on the author’s own understanding and empathy for *African women* or/and a generally accepted Swedish view on developing countries as underdeveloped states with a poor and underdeveloped population. If taking into consideration what was expressed earlier about Sweden’s own perception of its role as *savior* or *helper* found in policy documents of the 70s, this interpretation seems all the more possible. If the purpose was to create empathy for women in developing countries, it indicates a vision of these women as victim.

It is also evident that the study assume that men have the most powerful roles in the society by for example stating:

“Moreover, the employer dictates the conditions. He has for example the possibility to fire female employees in case of marriage or pregnancy...”¹⁷(Sida, 1976:4)

Furthermore, the women study from 1977 recognizes women’s exclusion from the development process, a topic that was on the agenda among donor countries during the 70s. At the same time the study shows signs of a WAD-perspective similar to the bills from the same decade, with an emphasis on women’s rights and with using words such as *structures* and *traditional gender perceptions* in the context of women being subordinated.

5.2.4 Concluding remarks of the 70s

This sub-chapter will shortly summarize what perceptions that have been found in the chosen material from the decade in order to facilitate for the reader a transition from how women are treated to what discourses this implies that will be presented later on in this chapter. As in the following sub-chapters it will end with a discussion of if the material from the decade goes hand in hand with feminist perspectives from this time.

¹⁶ ”Hon är underställd mannens förmyndarskap, men förfogar över de grödor hon odlar och de produkter hon framställer.

¹⁷ ”För övrigt, dikterar arbetsgivaren själv villkoren. Han har t.ex möjlighet att avskeda kvinnliga anställda vid giftemål eller graviditet...”

A recurring generalization that occurs in all texts is a generalization of all women in Africa and all women in developing countries. A generalization of all women from the developing world is based on and contributes to an assumption that all women have the same needs, interests and conditions. The generalization creates a picture of African women as all unemployed, farmers with a lot of children living in a hut made out of cow dung; a life probably not every woman in Africa lived.

By generalizing all African women, by personalizing women in order to create empathy and by defining Sweden as the savior, who will improve women's lives by development interventions, indicates a rather clear picture of women as receivers of assistance; they cannot achieve this by themselves.

A consistent attitude can be found in many of the analyzed documents of the 70s where the Sweden as a donor country is described to have the role of saving and changing developing countries to more modern and developed. However, the government bill 1977/78:135 clearly states that Swedish development aid should be formed to assist the poor countries' own efforts to achieve greater independence and improved living standards for the poor (Government bill 1977/78:135, p. 79).

Reproductive and maternal health is the most consistent development intervention that is connected to women and exists in all documents of the 70s. It indicates a view that women's most crucial need is their health as mothers, but can also be interpreted as a perception of women's most important roles is to be mothers. Women as producers are mostly ignored in policy documents from the 70s. However, the author of a Sida evaluation study of a Farmers' training Centre in Tanzania from 1974, recognizes women's role as producers in the end of the paper. But as stated earlier the statement is written in a low-voice and only mentioned in a few sentence in the end of the paper. It can be interpreted as that some were aware of women's important role as producers but policy did not yet pay any attention to it.

A consistent observation through all chosen documents from this decade is a view where the man stands a norm and women as something divergent. This is evident by, inter alia, applying *women issues* and *women education* etc. A discourse where the man stands as a norm will be further elaborated later on in this chapter.

Government bills, letters of appropriation and women studies all move between Boserup's theory and a WAD-perspective. While emphasizing practical and reproductive needs, which are interlinked with Boserup, signs of WAD are also visible when referring to *structures*, *values* and *gender perceptions*. However, what dominates the texts are signs of a WAD perspective since all documents recognize unequal power structures, but suggest carefully designed

interventions for women while waiting for the structures to change as part of the development. This leads to the conclusion that if a WAD-perspective is the most visible in documents of the 70s, it goes hand in hand with the global trend on how to treat women in development policy that was current at that time: Women and Development (WAD).

5.3 The 80s

5.3.1 Government bills

Government bills 1980/81, 1984/85 and 1987/88 have been analyzed in this section. The first bill treats women and gender equality significantly more than the two latter. Similar to the government bills from the 70s, women's role in the development process is emphasized in 1980/81, but *developing country women* are no longer referred to. Women are recognized as neglected and disadvantage group in many countries, but the generalization of women in developing countries that was found in the 70s cannot be found in this bill.

*"In many developing countries, the majority of women are a neglected and disadvantaged group"*¹⁸ (Government bill 1980/81 p.29)

How to improve the woman's situation has been transferred to a *women and development*-section with less emphasize on the role of development aid as the saving solution for women's oppressed role. However, development aid in general is still expressed to play a crucial and the central role for developing countries to develop.

Gender equality issues and equality between women and men are emphasized as affairs that should be paid attention to in the international development cooperation. However, practical needs as education, health care, employment and financial resources are still emphasized and strategic interest has so far not been brought up. A WAD-perspective is rather evident in this bill in several ways. First of all the change of heading to *women and development*. Secondly, the focus is on the relationship between women and development and how to involve women in the development process rather than on strategies to improve women's status. The removal of the generalization of all women in developing countries that was found in the 70s and the usage of *women in most developing countries* rather than in all countries might indicate a recognition of class and race as cross-cutting impacts. However, a typical WAD feature is to recognize the impact of race and class, but fail to implement it as cross-cutting issues. An

¹⁸ "I ett flertal u-länder utgör majoriteten av kvinnorna en eftersatt och missgynnad grupp".

indication of this can be found when the bill refers to another bill (1979/80:168) which offers guidelines for the continued promotion of gender equality in Sweden. It suggests that Sida should study the impacts of the gender equality work in Sweden and implement the same interventions for women in future development projects. Without taking race or class into consideration, it assumes that the same interventions and strategies would have the same impact on women in developing countries. This is an additional sign of that women issues are continued to be viewed as a women issue and not yet a societal issue.

“In accordance with the government's letter 1979/80: 168 on guidelines for the future gender equality SIDA should study the effects of the efforts made so far and draft instructions for actions for women to systematically be entered in the various types of assistance in the future.”¹⁹(Government bill 1980/81 p.30)

The Government bills 1984/85 and 1987/88 contain a limited discussion about women/men and gender equality. Women's position is mentioned once in the 1984/85 and gender equality is not mentioned at all. In the latter the term *developing country women* has returned in the context that the role of women of developing countries should be promoted by specific interventions (Government bill, 1987/88:42). It also brings up women oriented assistance and recognizes that women play a crucial target group in the promotion of environmental consideration as part of poverty assistance (ibid:45). The bills also state how women's position in the society as part of a democratic support, should be improved:

“Support to strengthen the position of women in developing countries is also a support for democracy. An important element of this work is the contributions by Sida to women organizations in developing countries”²⁰(Government bill, 1987/88 p.51)

As can be understood, *women issues* should according to the bill still be treated by women organizations.

¹⁹ ”I enlighet med regerings skrivelse 1979/80:168 om riktlinjer för de fortsatta jämställdhetsarbetet bör SIDA studera effekterna av de insatser som gjort hittills och utarbeta förslag till anvisningar för hur insatser för kvinnor systematiskt skall kunna föras in i olika typer av biståndsprojekt i framtiden.”

²⁰ ”Stöd för att stärka kvinnors ställning i u-länderna är ett stöd också för demokratin. Ett viktigt inslag i detta arbete är bidragen genom Sida till kvinnoorganisationer i u-länderna.”

5.3.2 Letter of appropriation

Letter of appropriation from 1983/84, 1986/87 and 1989/90 have been analyzed in this section. As earlier neither women nor men are referred to per se in these documents. However, one similar denominator appears in all three documents. It is a sentence involving the word *women*, but under different appropriation entry. To begin with the letter of appropriation from 1983/84, under appropriation entry number 25 NGOs ²¹:

“NGOs listed funds are distributed by Sida for contributions to Swedish separate organizations to be used for development projects in developing countries. The funds may also be used for grants to women organizations in developing countries” ²²(Letter of appropriation 1983/84 p.13)

The letters of appropriation from 1986/87 and 1989/90 include the same sentence, but add one more sentence:

“In addition, the resources may be used to compensate for defaulted child support for children of aid workers.” ²³(Letter of appropriation 1986/86 p.22 & 89/90 p.29)

Once again is it obvious that the man stands as the norm and the women as something divergent when *women organizations* are referred to as something additional to separate organizations. It indicates that women are not a target group for Swedish separate organizations who work for development projects in development countries. But since *man organizations* are never referred to in any of these documents, separate organizations target groups are surely men. That implies that women are excluded from development interventions not addressing women separately. Therefore these statements do not only following the idea of the man standing as the norm, as in the documents from the 70s, but it also illustrates that *women issues* had low priority during the 80s.

In addition to referring to *women organizations* the letter of appropriation of 1989/90 refers to an issue that has not been referred to before as a specific program²⁴: *women issues*. This is

²¹ Anslagspost 25: Enskilda organisationer

²² ”Enskilda organisationer upptagna medel disponeras av Sida för bidrag till svenska enskilda organisationer att användas för utvecklingsprojekt i u-länder. Medlen får också användas för bidrag till kvinnoorganisationer i u-länder.”

²³ ”Därutöver får medlen användas för kompensation för uteblivet barnbidrag för barn till biståndsarbetare.”

²⁴ Särskilda program, anslagspost 26.

the second and last sentence that refers to women in the letter of appropriation from the 80s and it contributes to the notion of women as excluded from all development interventions, except for women issues or actions performed by women organizations.

5.3.3 Other documents of interest

Sida Methodology handbook

A methodology handbook from 1985 named *Methodology handbook, methods for investigation, implementation and evaluation of development interventions* has also been analyzed in this section. In this handbook women are recognized as subordinated also in the political life, which has not been emphasized in earlier documents from the 70s or the 80s. One of the development goals presented in this handbook is economic and social equalization, gender equality has not yet been established as a development goal (Sida, 1985:18). However, when discussing social and economic equalization, it emphasizes the importance of a thorough analysis of women and men's roles and responsibilities as well as time burden before a development intervention. This is emphasized due to earlier development projects' failure to target women (ibid:23-24). WID and WAD have been criticized for the same reason, which can indicate that the handbook has taken a step away from these perspectives into GAD. Another sign that could support that indication is that in the same discussion, it is stated that equalization-oriented projects should evaluate women's political, economic and cultural situation as well as women's opportunity to influence (ibid). In other words, strategic interests are to some extent taken into consideration. However, the words *gender equality, women as agents, or empowerment* cannot be found.

Sings of assuming the man as the norm is evident also in this handbook when for example stating:

*"The farmer in Guinea Bissau who thinks about if he should send his son to school or not..."*²⁵ (*Metodhandboken, 1985:40*).

It is obvious that the author assumes that the farmer who decides is a man and the child who might be able to go to school is a boy in a context where the author's specific knowledge about this case is not visible. The father and the boy is only an example of how people in their

²⁵ *Bonden i Guinea Bissau som funderar över om han skall skicka sonen till skolan eller inte...*

everyday life consider pros and cons before taking a decision. Women are made invisible in this kind of formulations without any evident reason.

5.3.4 Concluding remarks of the 80s

A more limited discussion about women and gender equalities was found in the chosen policy documents from the 80s than from the 70s. What can be found is that the man is still viewed as the norm. *Women organizations* and *women issues* are still used to refer to improving women's situation in developing countries. Largely missing in the 80s is the generalization of all women in developing countries or Africa, which was common in the 70s. Similarly, the emphasis on unequal power structures is not evident in this decade.

To put funding to women organizations under the same appropriation entry as defaulted child support for children of aid workers in the letter of appropriation 1986/87 and 1989/90, shows how low a priority improving women's situation and involve them in the development process had become in Swedish development policy during the 80s. Since these issues still were viewed as women issues and not yet recognized as a societal issue and a WAD-perspective is rather evident in all documents, it seems as the progress of how to treat women in the development process was standing rather still during the 80s.

When looking at the global debate at the 80s, a GAD-perspective emerges, The United Nations declared 1975-1985 to be the women's decade and gender mainstreaming slowly became a catch word. Carolyn Hanna argues that the Decade for Women created a momentum for change, which was unprecedented in the history of international organizations and contributed to a raised global consciousness about the issues (Hannan, 2000:122). Sida's action program for promoting gender equality from 1997 and a government policy document from 2004 argue that Sweden since a long time, had a high profile internationally in terms of gender equality in development cooperation. It is also argued that Sweden contributed to the formation of the action plan and declaration that was adopted at UN's fourth world conference for women in Beijing 1995 and the follow-up in New York in 2000 (Regeringskansliet, 2004:11, Sida B, 1997:5). Sida's action programme from 1979 states that gender equality as an objective always remained unchanged, but that development strategies and methodologies has changed over the years. According to Sida an important example of methodological change includes a shift in the 80s from focus on separate, special interventions for women to a mainstreaming strategy (Sida B, 1997:5). This shift is however not evident in the selected Swedish development policy of this study. Perhaps this shift started or was more visible in the operational documents instead.

5.4 The 90s

5.4.1 Government bills

The government bill of 1992/93 emphasizes that development aid should support women's positions in the society by creating conditions for practical needs such as education and health care. But it also states:

*“Women should be given increased opportunities to self-support and to participate in the societal process. They should also be integrated to a larger extent in the development process and have the possibility to participate in decision about and formation of development interventions.”*²⁶(Government bill 1992/93 p. 32)

It indicates a recognition of women as active participant in the development process and a belief in women as actors who can influence their own lives. The bill also mentions legal rights and can be interpreted as what Feminist Development Theory would call *strategic interest*. However, investments in practical needs such as women's health, education and income-based employment are still viewed as solutions for women's weak role.

When discussing support to United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) *integrate women aspects in the development work* is emphasized as a strategy while *integrate gender aspect* is not visible (Government bill, 1995/93 p.119).

The government bill of 1994/95 shows on the other hand a sign of a GAD-perspective when emphasizing gender equality between women and men, but also for the first time includes men in the discussion. For example:

*“Women and men have the right to be involved and formulate conditions for their own future.”*²⁷(Government bill, 1994/95:48)

*[...] how gender equality between women and men should be expressed and enhanced in the development goals.”*²⁸ (ibid:40)

²⁶ ”Kvinnorna skall ges ökade möjligheter till egen försörjning och till deltagande i samhällsprocessen. DE bör också i större uträkning integreras i utvecklingsarbetet och beredas möjligheter att delta aktivt i beslut om och utformning av utvecklingsinsatser.”

²⁷ ”Kvinnor och män har lika rätt att vara med och formulera förutsättningarna för sin egen framtid.”

²⁸ ”...hur jämställdhet mellan kvinnor och män bör uttryckas och förstärkas i de biståndspolitiska målen.”

“Women and men have the right to influence their own future and to take part of the social, economic and political resources in the society.”

²⁹(*ibid*:51)

These formulations also indicate an actor-perspective where Sweden views women and men as actors of the development assistance rather than passive recipients, which was common in earlier documents.

Another sign of a GAD-perspective, that has not been visible in the earlier documents to the same extent, is the emphasis on change of attitudes, norms and laws and rules that discriminates women (Government bill, 1994/95 p.52).

Compared to 1992/93's use of the words *integrate women aspects*, the 1994/95 bill talks about a *gender related perspective* that should impregnate Swedish development policy (*ibid*).

In the bill of 1996/97 *gender equality between women and men* is emphasized and is a new development goal. Gender equality between women and men should impregnate all development cooperation and women continue to be viewed as actors:

*“To strengthen women's conditions and involvement is also a way to deepen and broaden investments on democracy and respect for human rights.”*³⁰(Government bill 1996/97 p. 31)

*“A gender equality perspective in development aid implies that interventions/investments should be analyzed based on women and men's different roles and resources, work, influence and power divided between women and men. A gender perspective also demands both women and men to participate in decisions to all levels and develop visions, goals and measures concerning education, health, economy etc.”*³¹ (Government bill 1996/97 p. 32)

²⁹ ”Kvinnor och män har lika rätt att påverka sin egen framtid och få del av de sociala, ekonomiska och politiska resurserna i samhället.”

³⁰ ”Att stärka kvinnors villkor och delaktighet i beslutsfattandet är också ett sätt att fördjupa och bredda satsningar på demokrati och respekt för mänskliga rättigheter.”

³¹ ”Ett jämställdhetsperspektiv i biståndet innebär att insatser ska analyseras med utgångspunkt från de olika roller kvinnor och män spelar samt hur resurser, arbete, inflytande och makt fördelas mellan kvinnor och män. Ett jämställdhetsperspektiv ställer också krav på att både kvinnor och män deltar i beslut på alla nivåer och utarbetar visioner, mål och medel för arbetet vad gäller utbildning, hälsa, ekonomi etc.”

In the 1998/99 bill *mainstreaming women's interests* in all development work is emphasized as well as gender equality aspects (ibid:46).

Another evident view of women in this bill is that women suddenly play a key role to higher productivity, improved social standard for everyone and to healthy and educated children. Through women development also targets children, which is the poor people capital, according to the bill. Women are also recognized to play a crucial role for a sustainable environment. Women's hitherto weak position in the society due to norms, attitudes and structures, the discrimination against women and the waste of women's resources are recognized to prevent and stagnate development in developing countries (Government bill, 1994/95:39, 42, 51). This perception of women continues to be expressed in the government bill of 1997/98, where education of women is claimed to have a huge impact on both their own, their family and their children's' living standard. In this way, children's possibilities for an improved school attendance increases and it claimed to be the most important investment for a country (Government bill, 1997/98:48.) This indicates a perception of women as *saviors*, a discourse that will be further discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.

5.4.2 Letter of appropriation

The first letter of appropriation of this decade picks up where the 1989/90 ended by continuing to separate *organizations* and *women organizations*. It also continues to put funding to women organizations under the same appropriation entry as defaulted child support for children of aid workers.

“NGOs listed funds are distributed by Sida for contributions to Swedish separate organizations to be used for development projects in developing countries and to international NGOs. The funds may also be used for grants to women organizations in developing countries [...] In addition, the resources may be used to compensate for defaulted child support for children of aid workers.” ³²(Letter of appropriation 1990/91 p.27)

In the letter of appropriation from 1990/91 *women issues* continues to be one of the specific program under appropriation entry 28, which was introduced in the letter of 1989/90.

³² ”Enskilda organisationer upptagna medel disponeras av Sida för bidrag till svenska enskilda organisationer att användas för utvecklingsprojekt i u-länder och internationella enskilda organisationer. Medlen får också användas för bidrag till kvinnoorganisationer i u-länder... Därutöver får medlen användas för kompensation för uteblivet barnbidrag för barn till biståndsarbetare.”

The letters of appropriation after 1996, when gender equality became a new development goal (which will be further elaborated in next sub-chapter) equality between women and men is commonly discussed in the letters of 1997, 1998 and 1999. However, equality between women and men is not stated as an impact goal (outcome³³) until 1999. In the letter of 1997 under *overall goals* it is stated that gender equality should be *considered* as both a question of women's rights, but also a condition for an effective poverty reduction, but is not yet stated as a goal (Letter of appropriation, 1997:5). All three letters talk about *integrate a gender perspective*, but at the same time suggest activities for *either* men or women (Letter of appropriation, 1997:60, 1998:60, 1999:55).

5.4.3 Other documents of interest

Government bill 1995/96:153

The government bill is called *Gender equality as a new goal for Swedish international development cooperation*, and suggests gender equality between women and men to be a new development goal. A gender equality perspective should be integrated in the entire development assistance. It should support developing countries' efforts to create equal opportunities, rights and obligations for women and men. The purpose is to contribute to equality between women and men. The bill also states:

"Gender equality has a crucial meaning for a society's social, economic and political development." ³⁴(Bill 1995/96:153 p.3).

This formulation highlights women and men's equal role in achieving development. Women are no longer disregarded in the development process nor are they viewed as something divergent from men. Emphasis is no longer supposed to be put on specific women projects, but rather to integrate gender equality in all development cooperation. This bill also states that gender equality is a question of human rights and not a specific women issue. Later on in the document it is also classified as a societal issue (ibid:3,5,6).

The bill recognizes that class and ethnic belonging affect the reasons for women's poverty, which is a sign of a post-WID perspective (ibid). It also recognizes that formal and informal structures in the society conserve or strengthen women's subordination and men's superiority. Although the highlighting of structures as the problem indicates a new thinking, it also holds

³³ Swedish translation: Effektmål

³⁴ "Jämställdhet har avgörande betydelse för ett samhälles sociala, ekonomiska och politiska utveckling."

on to an old thinking when assuming that women can never be superior to men and men never subordinated to women.

Another new statement in this bill is that economic growth does not automatically result in increased gender equality; this statement opposes the *trickle-down effect* that development policy was partly based on in earlier decades (ibid:5).

Women continue to be viewed in this bill as actors of development and it states for example that it is about time to value women's economic contribution (ibid:5).

Although the wording gender mainstreaming is not visible in this bill, features that are typical for a mainstreaming perspective are visible. For example it recognizes that women projects have not achieved significant results:

“Specific women projects can be necessary complements to strengthen women's situation and support women's initiative. On the other hand, it has proven be insufficient to only pursue specific projects for women in order to achieve long-term changes of attitudes, customs and laws.”³⁵(Bill 1995/96:153 p.8)

Signs of a view of women as playing the key role in the development process that was found in earlier documents of this decade, are also visible in this bill. For example, democracy is claimed to happen through women's liberation (ibid:6). This discourse will be further elaborated with more examples in the sub-chapter 6.3.

Strategies for development cooperation

Three development strategy documents from the 90s have been analyzed in this section: one for the Energy Sector, one for Health division and Sida's Action Program for Promoting Equality between Women and Men in Partner Countries. They all treat women as actors in the different development sectors and emphasize gender equality and *women empowerment*. The word *empowerment* is a word that has not been used in the other documents of the 90s and that became popular in the 2000s.

³⁵ ”Särskilda kvinnoprojekt kan vara nödvändiga komplement för att stärka kvinnors situation och stödja kvinnors egna initiativ. Däremot har det visat sig vara otillräckligt att enbart driva särskilda projekt för kvinnor för att åstadkomma långsiktiga förändringar av attityder, sedvänjor och lagar.”

“Support to the empowerment of women is central to the promotion of just and sustainable development. Empowerment of women concerns women gaining increased power and control over their own lives.” (Sida, 1998 A:4)

Women as producers are also recognized in the strategy of the energy sector (Sida A, 1998:7). All strategies talk about *women and men* and recognizes women and men’s different roles, responsibilities and access. The strategy for the energy sector also recognizes women and men’s different burdens (ibid:3).

Reproductive health for women has been relevant in all documents since the 60s, but women and men’s sexual health have not. Women’s reproductive health has been seen as a common issue who affects the whole society, while sexual health can probably be viewed as something more private. The Strategy for Health Division treats women and men’s sexual health and it indicates a step into the private sphere that had not been taken before GAD emerged. Hence another sign of a GAD-perspective is visible.

“Väga lika tungt”³⁶- Om kvinnor och män i utvecklingssamarbetet

A Sida publication about women and men in development cooperation describes the process of gender mainstreaming and why a gender perspective needs to be integrated in all development efforts. It takes a point of departure in a *gender mainstreaming*-perspective when recognizing that women have largely been left out from the development process. If they have participated, they have not done it on equal conditions. Men have had all the influence even in projects where women have performed the work. According to this publication, one of the reasons for women exclusion is the limited analysis of women and men’s roles, responsibilities and access before an intervention (Sida B, 1998:4).

The publication also recognizes women and men’s different roles and responsibilities, but also emphasizes that social roles³⁷ can change: an argument based on gender mainstreaming theory. It also recognizes that gender equality is not a *women issue*, but a societal issue (ibid:7,11).

Another sign of a gender mainstreaming-theory is the publication’s focus on policy rather than on strategies.

³⁶ A Swedish publication from 1998 About women & men in development cooperation

³⁷ Sex is the biological role, while social roles is based social constructions according to Feminist theory.

What have earlier been described as the “savior-discourse” can still be found in this publication, where four reasons for why women achieve an efficient development process (ibid:6)

- *“When a woman receive income, she uses them to a larger extend than the man to investments that benefit the children and the family.*
- *Projects for improved water supply have given significant better result when women have been involved in the planning and implementation.*
- *Research by the World Bank shows that the most efficient investment that can be made is towards education for girls.*
- *Loan and credits to women are repaid in larger extent than loans and credits to men.”*³⁸

5.4.4 Concluding remarks of the 90s

The beginning of the 90s continues in the same pattern as in the 80s with *women issues* and *women organizations*, but in the mid-90s, women are suddenly recognized to play a key role in all sectors in the development process. During the 90s women are highlighted as more effective, reliable and to contribute more to the family than men. Gender equality became a word of common use and gender equality was now described as a societal issue rather than a woman issue. Women organizations and organization were after the mid-90 no longer separated and gender equality became more prioritized. Structures, norms and laws were recognized to discriminate women and stagnate development. Gender mainstreaming is not yet in common use in the Swedish language, but signs of an early gender mainstreaming perspective is evident after 1995. For example there is a stated belief in that social roles and structures can change and a lot of focus is put on integrating a gender perspective, but the documents lacks strategies on how to achieve it. At the same time, specific activities for women *or* men are still suggested in order to change power structures in the latter letters of appropriation which contradicts a GAD or gender mainstreaming perspective. A possible explanation for that can be that gender mainstreaming was still rather unfamiliar in the 90s and that methods on *how* to actually integrate a gender perspective in practice had not yet been developed.

³⁸ ”När kvinnan får inkomster använder hon dem i högre grad än mannen till investeringar som gynnar barnen och familjen. – Projekt för bättre vattenförsörjning har gett betydligt bättre resultat så fort kvinnan involverats i planering och genomförande. – Världsbankens forskning visar att den mest kostnadseffektiva investering som kan göras är att satsa på utbildning för flickor. – Lån och krediter till kvinnor betalas tillbaka i högre grad än lån och krediter till män”.

It is evident that gender equality took off in the 90s and that the process was moving faster compared to a rather static 80s. The woman went from being viewed as a passive receiver of development assistance to play a key role in the development process. These discourses will be further elaborated on in later sections of this study.

5.5 The 2000s

5.5.1 Government bills and letters of appropriation

Government bills and letters of appropriation from the 2000s are rather similar with a consistent focus on women's empowerment, agency and gender equality. In the first government bill of the 2000s, women continue to be viewed as *saviors*, but that discourse fades away rather quick.

“All experiences shows that measures directed to women, e.g. Investments in education or in female business, will have specific beneficial impact on social and economic development”³⁹. (Government bill 2000/01p. 196).

Government bills from the 2000s portray women as actors and the importance of *female small business, women's empowerment, agency and women's political influence* for example is emphasized in order for women to increase their influence of their own lives (Government bill, 2000/01:61, 25)

“Development of the business world in partner-countries is vital for both women's entrepreneurship and for the opportunity to paid employment with decent conditions.”⁴⁰(Government bill 2010/11:20)

”Global interventions to promote women's economic empowerment and agency [...]” (Government bill 2012/13 p.39)

“Gender equality and women's role in development”⁴¹(Letter of appropriation 2010/11 p.11)

³⁹ ”All erfarenheter visar att åtgärder som riktas mot kvinnor, tex. Utbildningsinsatser eller stöd till kvinnliga företagare, kan ha särskilt gynnsamma effekter på social och ekonomisk utveckling.”

⁴⁰ ” Utveckling av näringslivet i partner-länder är av stor vikt både för kvinnors entreprenörskap och för deras möjlighet till lönearbete med anständiga villkor.”

⁴¹ ”Jämställdhet och kvinnors roll i utveckling.

The bill of 2004/05 also recognizes discrimination against women to stagnate the development, but now using the word *sex discrimination* instead of *discrimination against women*, hence involving men in the discussion by recognizing the possibility of men also experiencing discrimination. This bill also recognizes the earlier perception of women as *subordinated lawless victims* and claims the perception to have a negative and destructive impact on peoples' behavior (Government bill, 2004/05:22). It indicates an understanding for earlier discourses and can be interpreted as a sign of an end to the victim-discourse-era.

As stated earlier, in the end of the 90s letters of appropriation still emphasized specific activities for women *or* men in order to change power structures. In the 2000s interventions specific for women and children is still emphasized, but not in order to change power structures, but as a complement to countries in certain vulnerable conditions. A vulnerable condition is for example in state of war or in post-conflict management, where the promotion women should be prioritized (Government bill, 2007/08:19). The bills from late 2000s all focuses on different areas of interventions in order to improve women's situation, such as human rights, women's political influence etc.

5.5.2 Other documents of interest

Government bill Prop. 2002/03:122 – Policy for Global Development (PGD⁴²)

This government bill is the fourth and at the moment the latest bill regarding development cooperation. It is the first bill that treats gender equality as a development goal and the first to recognize women's role in development. According to the bill one of the main missions for development policy is gender equality. To ensure women's access to land, clean water and other resources, reproductive- and sexual health and participation in decision-makings is vital for women to leave poverty. To counteract discrimination and strengthen women's access to resources and employment, participation is not only crucial in itself, but is also crucial for an effective poverty reduction (Government bill 2002/03:122 p. 25). It also emphasizes a promotion of an integration of a gender equality perspective, which is a clear sign of a gender mainstreaming approach since the focus is on the integration.

The bill recognizes women and men's different conditions due to the economic and social roles they have been assigned. It is therefore stated that the PGD must assume that women and girls are equal driving forces in development as men and boys. But at the same time it should take into consideration that women and men are affected differently and experience

⁴² In Swedish: PGU, Politik för Global Utveckling.

events in different ways and therefore their preconditions and strategies can vary (Government bill 2002/03:122 p. 25).

The bill recognizes that the improvement of women's influence must be secured through different ways than what has so far been the case. The perceptions of women as subordinated to men and without legal rights and therefore lawful victims of violence and abuse must, according to the bill, be prevented (Government bill 2002/03:122 p. 25).

Government policy document: Gender equality policy: På Lika villkor

The latest gender equality policy from 2010 is based on the latest government bill regarding development cooperation, PGD. It continues to emphasize gender equality between women and men, but in woman is more visible again. It is no longer only focusing on integrating a gender equality perspective and eliminate unequal power structures, but also on more concrete practical goals to increase women's influence and rights in developing countries. It states:

The overall goal for Swedish work is: gender equality, increased influence for women and increased respect for women's rights in developing countries. In order to achieve this goal the work should primary concentrate on four areas:

- Women's political participation and influence*
- Women's economic agency and conditions for work*
- Sexual and reproductive health and rights*
- Women's safety including combating all sorts of gender-related violence and human trafficking."*⁴³(Regeringskansliet, 2010:6)

The four goals summarize all development goals since the 60s, emphasizing them all equal important today. But today the woman is viewed as an agent of empowerment who will only receive support for her journey to become equal to men; development assistance by itself will not be able to achieve it for her.

Women are in this policy not recognized as subordinated to men, which was common in earlier documents, but states that women and girls have less power and poorer conditions and

⁴³ Det övergripande målet för Sveriges arbete är: *jämställdhet, ökat in-flytande för kvinnor samt ökad respekt för kvinnors rättigheter i utvecklings-länder*. I syfte att uppnå målet ska arbetet huvudsakligen inriktas på följande fyra områden:

- kvinnors politiska deltagande och inflytande
- kvinnors ekonomiska aktörskap och arbetsvillkor
- sexuell och reproduktiv hälsa och rättigheter (SRHR)
- kvinnors säkerhet inklusive bekämpning av alla former av köns-relaterat våld och människohandel.

opportunities than men and boys. The policy recognizes women weaker position in the society due to women usually lower income and possess rarely own property or means etc. but does not use the word subordinated. It can indicate an understanding of women not being subordinated to men due to their biological sex but due to structures in the society.

Government policy document: Makt och Privilegier

This government policy document treats issues of sex discrimination and poverty and the correlation between these two issues. It recognizes power structures' contribution to discrimination which prevents the main goal of development cooperation: poverty reduction. The document states that power is only constructed and therefore are power relations changeable. As the latest gender policy, this document also takes its point of departure in the PGD.

This policy document treats women and men's different access and influences, and discusses how men and women's poverty differs and why. It also discusses how women and men are affected differently by poverty's expressions such as violence, diseases, famine etc.

It also claims that seemingly gender neutral policies against poverty benefits men more than women. This will be further discussed in chapter 6.6.

5.5.3 Concluding remarks of the 2000s

It seems as men became more included in certain issues in the 2000s when for example referring to *sex discrimination* rather than *discrimination against women* etc.

Another new tendency is that earlier perception of women as subordinated victims are recognized and is claimed to have a negative impact on peoples' behavior. As stated earlier, it indicates understanding of earlier discourses and might indicate a sign of an end to the victim-discourse-era.

In sub-chapter 7.2 a discussion will take place about where development policy from the 2000s seems to belong according to the feminist development theories.

6.0 Discourses

The Feminist Development theories focus on two major discourses of women as recipient and agents. Both these discourses have been detected in discourse analysis of Swedish development policies since the late 60s. Additionally, four other discourse of women have also been traced: *the savior*, *women as mothers*, *the other woman* and *the man as the norm*. This chapter will describe the discourses and discuss possible implications to policy and interventions.

6.1 Women as passive recipient (victims)

As presented in the findings of documents from the 60s until the beginning of the 90s, women are in many documents frequently described by various ways, more or less distinct, as passive recipient of development assistance. This is done by either taking a point of departure in early Feminist Development Theory such as Boserup, WID or WAD-perspective who views women as passive recipients of development aid or by more openly expressing words and statements that indicate this perception of women. For example words such as *actions in order to improve women lives* or *eliminate injustices against women* were commonly used during the first three decades. No signs of a perception of development aid as a contributor to women's own agency were found in the documents from this time.

As presented earlier, all three decades shows predominant signs of an early feminist perspective such as WID and mostly WAD by for example stressing practical needs and suggesting separate women activities. Signs of a GAD-perspective are not detected until documents after 1995. If taking a look at the analytical framework model at chapter 3.0, it shows that a significant and mutual feature of the early perspective of women in the development process is their view of women as passive recipients of development aid. Therefore a conclusion can be drawn that a *woman as passive recipients-discourse* is visible in Swedish development policy documents.

What implication then does this discourse have on Swedish development interventions? Portraying women in developing countries as passive recipients or victims rather than agents of development cooperation, implies that these women are incapable of improving their lives by themselves. Donor countries will need to do it for them. This could result in development interventions where donors seek to improve the lives of women according to the donor's understanding of priorities, and with methods developed in donor countries, rather than supporting women to improve their own lives according to their own priorities.

6.2 Agent of empowerment

Petter Askheim (2007) describes *empowerment* as agency, power and strength. To be empowered means that someone receive strength that can be translated into power to escape from its inferior or powerless situation. He also argues that a humanistic way of viewing humans is as active and acting subject rather than as a passive object. By doing so, you ascribe someone agency and they become an acting subject instead of a passive object. He also argues that women are often raised to be more passive than men and women usually receive a less valued space of maneuver (Askheim, 2007). It is empowering for women to receive the possibility to define themselves as a resource. The goal of empowerment in development policy is to give people the knowledge and tools to empower themselves, not do it for them.

As presented earlier, women are in Swedish development policy from the late 90s and during the 21st century defined as *agents of empowerment* by using words such as *empowerment* and *actors*, but also by emphasizing *female small business*, *women's political influence* and *women's entrepreneurship*. A point of departure in a GAD and/or Gender Mainstreaming perspective is also evident in document from the late 90s and the 2000s where a lot of emphasis is put on women *and* men, empowerment and gender equality. Therefore it is possible to conclude that an *agent of empowerment-discourse* is visible in Swedish development policy starting from that period. There is not obvious signs in the analyzed documents that this discourse would be on its way out of, although gender mainstreaming as a method might be. It can however not rule out that other discourses sooner or later emerge to challenge its dominance.

6.3 The savior

In the 90s women suddenly went from being ignored and excluded in the development process to being recognized as playing a key role for development. As presented earlier in the findings of document from the 90s and the beginning of the 2000s, women were recognized to be more effective and reliable than men and to use her income to investments that benefit the whole family. These documents also claim that measures directed to women will have specific beneficial impact on social and economic development and the road to democracy goes through women. This more optimistic statements resembles a famous quotation that became a catch phrase circling around the global community during the 90s and the beginning of the 2000s: “If you educate a man you simply educate an individual, but if you educate a woman you

educate a family” which eventually became “[...]but if you educate a woman you educate a whole nation”. This new view of women as key players of development can be interpreted as all hope were now on women and indicate a perception of women that I have chosen to call *the savior or fixer*.

What can then be the consequences of women being perceived as the savior for development? When describing women as more efficient and, reliable than men it creates a discourse of men as lazy and unreliable who contributes to the family’s wellbeing less than women, It follows that men should be excluded or at least play a minor role in development interventions.

An exclusion of men implies the same exclusion that women have experienced which has only resulted in a limited development success. Therefore contradictive to strive for women’s inclusion by excluding. Looking at the context of this phenomenon we might understand where this optimistic view suddenly came from. Before the debt crisis in the 80s, female farmers in Africa generally had a traditional role in the home and were responsible for staple food crops. The men had employment and/or were responsible for the cash crops. During the economic in the developing world of the 80s effectively hit both of these areas for men’s economic activity: unemployment sources and the price for cash crops decreased dramatically (Morgan & Solarz, 1994:57). The debt crisis therefore had a devastating effect on men while women continued with their traditional tasks that had not been affected by the crisis. Suddenly, women took over men’s role as main provider in families, which can explain why women became recognized as producers and economic agents in the beginning of the 90s.

6.4 Motherhood and women as mothers

The earliest global approach towards women in the development process was introduced in the 1950s and 1960s and called *the welfare approach*. Its origins can be traced to social welfare models that were first introduced by colonial authorities in many Third World Countries prior to their independence. After World War IIWWII these welfare programs were initiated in Europe targeting vulnerable groups which women were identified as along with the disabled, sick, orphaned and elderly. This vulnerable group was treated differently than the male population. This welfare approach was based on several assumptions that reveal how women’s role in development was perceived. First of all women were viewed as passive recipients of development rather than as participants. Secondly, *motherhood* was viewed as the most important role for women in the society. Women were seen as mothers and housewives. Thirdly, child bearing and rearing was the most effective role for women in all aspects of economic development (Wennerholm, 2002:16-17, Hannan, 2000, 156)).

Typical development programs targeting women in this time involved *health, family planning, instructions on nutrition* (women education) and *home economics*. Home economics meant at that time “*flower arranging and cake-baking in a context where there were few flowers and no ovens*” (Germaine, 1977 in Wennerholm, 2002:17).

Development policy and programs at this time ignored women’s role as producers. This perspective can be viewed as a pre-Boserup perspective where women’s role as producers in economic development had not yet been recognized (ibid:17).

Although the welfare approach was globally dominant mostly during the 50s and 60s, it cannot ruled out that it influenced Swedish development policy even later on. As presented in the findings of document from the 60s and 70s, typical program of the welfare approach such as *family planning, reproductive and maternal health, women education* and *home economics* are the only development programs that are actually found in development policy documents from the 60s and 70s. It indicates a view of women in development consistent with the welfare approach; women’s main role in societies is to be mothers.

But what does this perception of motherhood contribute to? According to feminists of the second wave of feminism in the 60s and 70s, motherhood is a chain that enslaves women and functions as a foundation pillar of male chauvinism. According to feminist such as Juliet Mitchell and Adrienne Rich, it is the motherhood that keeps women in the home and prevents them from employment and dependency; child rearing is a “tool of oppression” and the home is a prison (Gemzöe, 2002:101-102).

If taking a feminist point of departure, Swedish development policy by emphasizing typical “mother oriented” –programs contributed, not only to a perception of women in development as mothers, but also to keeping women in the private sphere, excluding them from the public sphere. Development programs at this time therefore only focused only on women’s as mothers, not as individuals or citizens. Women’s legal, educational or economic rights as well as their productive role were largely ignored, which contributed to a structure where women became subordinated to and economic dependent on men.

6.5 The other woman

The other woman-discourse has several components, which are somewhat intertwined. The first is based on ethnocentrism. Regardless of gender *the other* is different from us based on our own culture and values. The second orientation is a construction of *the other woman*,. The Western woman make up the norm and *the other woman* diverges from this norm. Both

components are present and this sub-chapter will discuss how they are evident and what consequences they may have.

According to the feminist Lena Gemzöe (2002) the West's perspective of other cultures have since the colonial time been characterized with *ethnocentrism*. It follows the same logic as *androcentrism* that has been discussed in earlier in the study, where the man stands as a norm. Ethnocentrism describes other cultures in how they diverge from our own culture's values, often so that the others appear inferior. Western domination and patriarchal supremacy both define the subordinated groups as "*the other*". The others are everything the superiors are not. When inferiority and superiority is determined, one's dominance over the other can in extension become natural and legitimate. Gemzöe argues that Western ethnocentrism served to legitimize Western imperialism (Gemzöe, 2002:151).

As presented earlier, development policy documents and Sida development research from the 70s and some from the 80s uses the word *developing country woman/women* which can be compared to the English expression *Third World Woman/Women*. When using either of these expressions it indicates that these women are something different from the *first world women*; the developing country woman becomes *the other*. This is also evident in one of the Sida commission study where developing country women are described as different from women in West in that they accept their destiny and hardship (quotation can be found in sub-chapter 5.2.3). Comparison is based on the author's own culture's values, and the other woman compares unfavorably, passively accepting her hardship while the Western woman has come far on the road to liberation. This can be interpreted as a sign of ethnocentrism. When the third world woman becomes *the other* she automatically becomes the inferior who is everything that the powerful white woman is not. And just as the picture of Orientals created a negative mirror to show Western superiority, *developing country women* becomes a mirror in order to show the Western women's superiority, which in this case could legitimize the white woman saving the third world woman.

According to Lykke (2009) the construction of a norm and *the other* also implies a construction of "*us*" and "*them*" who represents an avant-garde and a rearguard. If this "*us*" (the norm – Western women) represent the avant-garde *the others* represent the rearguard. This thinking is typical for a modern linear thinking about development that is visible in Swedish development policy from this time when frequently using *developing countries*, which is a typical expression from this perspective. Developing countries are those who have not *reached* the Western level of development (ibid: 109-110). It can be translated into this context as *developing women* who do not reach the Western level of developed women.

According to Lykke, when constructing a norm and *the other*, a cultural essentialistic construction of a *first class*, in this case women, and a *second* is created, where non-western women and women from society's lower social strata belong.

The third world woman is according to Lykke usually perceived a monolithic unit of women who are "ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition bound, religious, domesticated, family-oriented, victimized etc." (Lykke, 2009:110). A parallel with this description can be drawn to the almost identical description of women in Sida's women studies that was presented earlier: poor, uneducated women with many children and who took care of the home. An evident sign of a "*the other woman-discourse*".

Lykke argues that through the "*Third world woman-discourse*" we unconsciously reproduce a colonial tradition of cultural essentialist thinking that in this case would imply a monolithic unit of superior women from the developed world and an inferior group where women from the developing world belong (ibid:110). From the point of view of discourse theory, this degrading perception of women will create and reproduce an unequal power structure with superior and inferior women, and contributes to the maintenance of *the third world woman* rather than improving her life, which is the goal of development assistance.

According to Post-colonial feminism the danger of establishing theory based on a constructed norm is that no thoughts about interest differences such as geopolitical location, class-structures and ethnic or racial exclusion- or oppression mechanisms etc. are taken into consideration (Lykke. 2009:109). The Post-colonial feminism would in this case imply that the danger of establishing policies based on a constructed norm is that these development policies have not taken geopolitical, class-structures etc. into consideration. It is based on someone's needs that probably not represent women's needs in other countries or class-structures.

6.6 The man as the norm

Feminist theory reveals how the man stands as a norm in the political reality, but also in our everyday life. The man as a norm can take many forms, but according to Maria Wendt Höjer & Cecilia Åse (2010) the most obvious form is in our everyday language. We commonly refer to politicians and female politicians, football and women football, diseases and women diseases. This implies that the man constantly are described as the general person while women as some special and divergent (Wendts Höjer & Åse, 2010:8). What have been observed in all analyzed documents from the 70s and some from the 80s are clear signs of a mindset where the man stands as a norm and the woman as something divergent by frequently using words such as *women activities*, *women education* and *women issues*. It indicates two things: that

women are only included in interventions/activities that are specific to women and when referring to *activities, education or development issues* only men are included.

According to the government policy document “*Power and Privileges*” (2004), although the man standing as a norm is not visible in all development policies, seemingly gender-neutral strategies usually implicitly assume men to be the target and primary benefit men. The result of a development intervention where men are assumed to be the target group, men will also be the ones benefitted while women will be overlooked (Regeringskansliet, 2004:7). If taking a point of departure in this argument, all suggested development goals and programs presented in the policies from the end of the 60s where gender-neutral strategies have been very common, assumes men to be the target group and have probably benefitted men more than women. And since recognition of women as a group have been overlooked and excluded in development policies for a long time, is visible in documents from all decades, this is a likely analysis.

But not only is this evident through referring to women activities etc. but also through clear signs of an assumption of men having a more powerful role in the society while women plays a more inferior role in developing countries. For example assumes the author in the woman study from 1976 and the handbook from 1985 that the employer is a man and that the farmers who thinks about sending his child to school is a man and the child a boy. Women become invisible in this kind of formations without any proper reason for it.

The perception of the man standing as the norm is a sign of *androcentrism* which is a perspective based on male values and makes the woman invisible or perceived as inferior. It is a practice (conscious or not) of placing male human beings or the masculine point of view at the center of one’s view of the world and its culture or history. When the man stands as the norm, women become something divergent and are classified as *the other*. The feminist Simone de Beauvoir was one of the first to connect the otherness with power. In her book “The other gender” she shows how men in the Western culture have created themselves as the subject by defining the woman as the other. The woman then becomes the alien with all characteristics the male subject does not want to acknowledge such as the irrational and animalistic features. According to feminist theory, this is a tool to practice the patriarchal power over women. But how does this perception of women influence development aid? By labeling women as inferior players, they are perceived the same way as in the “*victim-discourse*”, which is already discussed in the sub-chapter 6.1. In short, it implies diminishing women’s capacity to improve their own lives by themselves. This discourse is however also recognized in policy documents

from the 21st century in for example *Making a difference* (2002), *Gender Equality Policy* (2010) and *Power and Privileges*⁴⁴(2004).

⁴⁴ In Swedish and will be found in the reference list as: Makt och Privilegier

7.0 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to through a critical discourse analysis of Swedish governmental documents concerning foreign aid such as government bills and letters of appropriation, detect and understand discourses in Swedish development policy regarding women in developing countries. Furthermore, it was also to understand if these discourses are coherent with the global discussion about women's role in development.

Letters of appropriation, government bills and other documents of interests from the 60s until today have been analyzed and presented for each decade. The discourses found are then analyzed and discussed. This conclusion aims to summarize the discourse analysis and answer the second research question: *Are these discourses coherent with the global discussion about women's role in development?* This chapter ends with a discussion about the relevance of this study as well as further research.

Once again, it is important to emphasize that these discourses and conclusion are drawn based the chosen material for this study. It cannot ruled out that the results might be different if operational documents from Sida or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had been analyzed instead.

7.1 General conclusions

“Woman of Africa, that sweeps, lubricates floors and walls with cow dung...With the baby on your back, he throws up at you while you do your dishes, plant, sow and harvest...You are like a trolley, truck, donkey. Woman of Africa, tell me, what are you not?”⁴⁵(Sida, 1976:1)

This thesis took its point of departure in an era where a Sida commissioned study introduced African women as something alien and divergent with an admiration that is hard to distinguish from empathy. In documents from the end of the chosen time period for this study, women are recognized as agents of empowerment and the doubtful admiration is replaced with faith.

I entered this study with only an imagination of how women from what we today call partner countries, possibly can have been perceived from the 60s until today and with only two discourses in mind: those two that characterize a division between the five feminist

⁴⁵ ”Afrikas kvinna, som sopar, som smörjer in golv och väggar med kospillning...Med babyn fastbunden på ryggen, så han kräks på dig medan du diskar, planterar, sår och skördar...Du som är dragkärra, lastbil, åsna. Afrikas kvinna säg vad du inte är”

development theories' perception of women. In the early stages of Feminist Development theory women were perceived as passive recipients until GAD stepped into the arena and women became recognized as agents of empowerment. However, four additional discourses of women in partner countries are also visible. I have chosen to call them: *the Savior*, *Motherhood and women as mothers*, *the other woman* and *the man as the norm*.

The Savior- and Agent-discourses are visible from the mid-90s and the four others from the late 60s until the mid-90s. Although some seems to partly go hand in hand. For example, maybe it is not surprising that women were excluded from development cooperation, which by that time only contained the public sphere and not yet the private, when women's main role was viewed to be in the private sphere as mothers and housewives. And if women's role was viewed to be in the private sphere, the man automatically became the norm outside the home. And when women finally were recognized as equal agents of development assistance, the man could longer stand alone as the norm.

The Savior emerged during the 90s when women suddenly went from being excluded in the development process to being embraced. Investments in women would benefit the whole family both economically and educationally. Women were portrayed as more reliable and effective than men and were recognized to play the decisive role of development. But this Savior-discourse also implied a discourse of men as lazy and unreliable – a bad investments of development aid. A discourse that could contribute to an exclusion of men, which would contradict what the 90s otherwise introduced: gender equality as a new Swedish development goal. The Savior-discourse faded away during the beginning of 2000s and were no longer visible in the latest documents of this study.

So why is this discourse analysis of any importance? How do discourses affect the development cooperation? According to Michale MC Eachrane & Louise Faye (2001), it is important to have in mind that stereotypes of development aid should be seen in the light of the fundamental economic inequalities that characterize the donor-recipient- relationship and places the donor in a privileged power position (Eachrane & Faye, 2001:165). This power structure that impregnates the cooperation implies that the donor country gets to decide the rules of the game. If we bear this in mind and assume that Swedish development aid actually affect countries' development, and puts that into a critical discourse analytical perspective, development policy's view on women shapes how the development should appear. Demonstrably it has since everyone agree on and recognizes that the development aid has not benefitted women to the same extent as men, in some cases even worsened women's situation.

And how have according to feminist development theory women been perceived during most of these? As passive recipients.

7.2 From WID to GAD

This sub-chapter aims to elaborate a further discussion about if Swedish development policy is coherent with the global discussion about women's role in development.

As stated in the introduction, according to the Swedish parliament and government, promoting gender equality runs like a thread through the history of Swedish development cooperation. Sweden has also been in the forefront for long when it comes to involving gender equality in the development cooperation (Sida B, 1998:3, Sida B, 1997:5). Therefore it is of interest to take a look what the material chosen for this study indicates; have Sweden followed the global debate or been ahead or lagged behind?

The material from the 60s is rather limited but documents are addressing practical needs which can indicate an early Feminist Development Theory such as Boserup or WID.

What dominates the 70s are signs of a WAD perspective since all documents recognize unequal power structures, but suggest carefully designed interventions for women while waiting for the structures to change as part of the development. This leads to the conclusion that documents from the 70s are coherent with the global trend on how to treat women in development policy that was current at that time: Women and Development (WAD).

The 80s continues in the footsteps of WAD, but the period is characterized by few real signs of progress towards a new perspective on women. Within the global debate in the 80s GAD emerged as a new approach with its roots in socialist feminism. However, no sign of a GAD-perspective were visible in the documents of the 80s. That the UN declared parts of the 80s to be the women's decade is not visible in the documents. At the end of the decade gender mainstreaming slowly became a catch word, but is not present in the analyzed documents.

Gender mainstreaming as such was during the 90s not yet used as a catch word but signs of an early gender mainstreaming perspective is evident after 1995. For example there is a stated belief in social role and structures can change and a lot of focus is put on integrating a gender perspective. At the same time, specific activities for women *or* men are still suggested in order to change power structure which contradicts a GAD or gender mainstreaming perspective. As stated earlier, a possible explanation for that can be that gender mainstreaming was still rather unfamiliar for the 90s and methods on *how* to actually integrate a gender perspective in practice was not yet clear.

The first decade of 2000s seems to have been the decade where gender mainstreaming became a prioritized goal consistent with the strategies that was formed on global agenda. Swedish Gender equality studies and handbooks were published and global guidelines and studies were referred to. A few years in of the 2000s, a lot of focus is put on women's empowerment, agency, gender equality and women's political influence in order for women to increase their influence of their own lives. Specific programs for women *or* men in order to achieve gender equality were no longer visible. Gender equality is rather stated to be promoted by eliminating structures by focusing on both women and men. Earlier discourse of women as passive recipient is also recognized, as stated earlier, it might indicate an end of the victim-discourse-era.

It seems that Swedish development policy in the late 2000s have returned to a GAD-perspective when discussing both strategies to eliminate unequal power structures but at the same time it emphasizes specific interventions for women and men. Bills and letters from the late 90s and until the mid-2000 almost only discussed which areas a gender perspective should be integrated and put minor emphasis on strategies on how to continue the promotion of women's role. The PGD emphasizes integration of a gender perspective as a method to be the most vital goal for gender equality.

In the mid-late 2000s emphasis on strategies on how to actually eliminate unequal structures and contribute to women's empowerment became visible again, but maybe in an updated and more conscious version. However, this will only be possible to analyze if and when we enter a new discourse/idea-era and can look back at the end of the first decade of 2000-nd.

If interdiscursivity can be applied to a decade of documents, some decades could indicate a high interdiscursivity which implies signs of change. For example the documents of the 70s all swung between Boserup's theory and WAD but with the WAD-perspective being stronger. The 80s showed no real sings of changing perspectives, which translated into low interdiscursivity, and the reproduction of already existing discourses. No new discourses emerged during the 80s.

In summary, when looking at how women have been defined and what development goal and strategies concerning women have been emphasized in Swedish government bills and other documents since the late 60s, Sweden seems to have moved rather coherent with the global discussion following the five feminist development perspectives' time period. However, what Sweden lagged behind is the 80s picking up the new GAD perspective only in the first years of the 90s. Then Swedish development policy changed dramatically in regard to "*women issues*". Within a few years a transformation from women not being very evident in

development policy to suddenly acclaiming women's role and embracing her qualities (the Savior-discourse) as well as the introduction of a new development goal took place within only a year or two. A sense of a new development aid-era occurs in my mind. A sense of "*throw out the old and bring in something new*".

7.3 Future research

Since it not possible to treat every direction or question of a research topic, the goal is to build a foundation for other to continue study the same subject from different angels. I have come across other angels and discourses during this study that I have not found visible in the chosen material. Therefore this sub-chapter aims to provide suggestions on future research within the topic.

This discourse analysis found six discourses concerning women in Swedish development policy from the 60s until today. Through contact with development cooperation professionals during my I came across one other discourse that was suggested to have existed: women as an untapped resource. This discourse has however not been particular visible in my chosen material, but that does not mean that it cannot be found in other Swedish or international policy documents.

This discourse analysis has only discussed, what in Critical Discourse Analysis is called *Social practice*, to a limited extent. The purpose of studying social practice is to understand what social context the text is part of and what ideological consequences it has. It would be of interest to study this topic with a focus on the social practice by for example study how these discourses are received by the ones responsible for development programs and how it influence in the dialogue with partner countries.

One approach to examine *discursive practice* is to examine what routes a text as to go through before it is printed and what changes have been done during this route. It would be of interest to perform a critical discourse analysis with focus on what route for example a government bill goes through and how the text is adjusted.

This thesis have focused on how women have been defined during 60 years of development cooperation. It has only mentioned briefly how the man has been portrayed. A discourse analysis of how men have been defined in Swedish development policy since the 60s and if the perception of men have changed with the later approaches would also be of interest for future research.

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