



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
DEPT OF CULTURAL SCIENCES

Wor(l)ds and silences

Tracing feminism in the Swedish foreign aid

A postcolonial feminist policy analysis of the new platform for the
Swedish foreign aid.

Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för kulturvetenskaper

GS 2300 Magisterexamensarbete i genusvetenskap

Thesis, 15 hp, VT 2014

Author: Emma Ström

Tutor: Juan Velasquez

Abstract

This thesis sets out to discursively investigate how gender equality is represented and made in the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid that was adopted by the government in March 2014. It does so by tracing what feminist features are made visible as well as invisible in the *approaches, targets* and *objectives* of gender equality. The thesis combines the “What’s the problem represented to be”-approach to policy analysis with a postcolonial feminist perspective in general and the concept of catachresis in particular. Apart from studying the platform itself, the thesis also uses some of the responses to the platform from organization working in the field of gender and development. The reading of the organizations’ responses reveals the struggle for the interpretative power over what type of knowledge is produced and made prominent in the policy.

The thesis finds that the components of gender equality that emerge are congruent to a neoliberal ideology in which gender equality is, essentially, represented as smart economics and as an efficient approach to reach other development goals. The feminist ideology that pushed gender issues into the development agenda in the first place, is distorted and depoliticized. The catachrestic use of the components of gender equality in the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid, thus, manifests a reproduction of the neoliberal ideology in the work for gender equality within the field of development.

Keywords: Development, post-colonialism, feminism, gender equality, neoliberalism, policy analysis.

Table of contents

Abstract.....	2
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Purpose and research questions	2
2. The field of the study.....	3
2.1. Feminism and development.....	3
2.2. Policy studies	7
3. Methodological approaches	8
3.1. What’s the problem represented to be?.....	8
3.2. Postcolonial feminism	10
3.2.1. Catachresis	11
3.3. Choice of organizations	13
3.4. Some reflective notes.....	14
3.5. Limitations	14
4. The makings of gender equality in the Swedish foreign aid	17
4.1. The new platform of the Swedish foreign aid	17
4.2. “Gender mainstreaming” – approaching gender equality	18
4.3. “Women” – targeting gender equality	21
4.4. “Empowerment” and “agency” – gender equality accomplished.....	24
5. Discussion and conclusions – feminist wor(l)ds and silences	30
6. References	34
Annex 1. List of consultative bodies.....	39
Annex 2. List of cancelled policies.....	41

1. Introduction

Policy-wise, the work on gender equality within the Swedish international development cooperation is currently in a critical stage of revisions and changes. On a global level, a new development agenda is in the pipeline, the “Post-2015 agenda” which will replace the former “Millennium Development Goals”. Gender equality is of high priority for Sweden in the negotiations of this new global development agenda, and will continue to permeate the Swedish development discourse. On a national level, which is the level this thesis will focus on, the Swedish development cooperation is currently undergoing a number of changes as a new platform has taken shape. The platform is the result of the Swedish government’s restructuring of the foreign aid, after receiving criticism from the State Treasury, as well as from OECD/DAC (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development/Development Assistance Committee) on the management and control of the aid (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 5). The restructuring of the foreign aid, with the new platform as the result of this process, was thus conducted under the rule of the right-winged Swedish government. One consequence of this new platform is that the government decided on the 13th of March 2014 to cancel the existing policy for gender equality; “On Equal footing”, along with nine other policy documents (Regeringskansliet bilaga 2). The new platform for the Swedish international development cooperation went to the parliament and became public on the 18th of March 2014.

In these changing and turbulent times of new policies being written – and hence, by extension, new “truths” – a feminist screening of the discursive features of these is in place. Apart from the actual policy document, I will also use some of the responses from organizations working in the field of gender and development, to investigate and analyze the struggle for interpretative power over what type of knowledge is produced and made prominent through policy.

Throughout the thesis, I sometimes use quotation marks around the categories of “women”, and, when used, “men”, and sometimes I do not. When using the quotation marks, it is an attempt of destabilizing the notion of the categories as natural or essential. It is, hence, used when there is a need (from my part) to question and problematize the way the categories are treated. When quotation marks are not used, it is due to the fact that I don’t see the use of the categories as problematic, or when I’m quoting from the texts and policies that I analyze. Furthermore, I use the term “foreign aid” rather than “development cooperation”, as this is used in the platform itself. Although I would personally prefer the term “development cooperation”

(which I do use when not directly engaging with the platform), I don't want to deviate from the platform's terms, as it is these that I study.

The research question "what feminist features are visible in the platform, and what feminist features are invisible?" requires a definition of feminism. The question is purposely formulated in an open manner, not to restrict the "tracing" process in the reading of the platform. When searching "feminist features" here though, I essentially refer to an acknowledgement of the hierarchies produced through a structural gender power (dis)order which inflict on people differently depending on the position within these structures. This acknowledgement combined with an ambition to change this system, is to me necessary components of a feminist take on issues of gender relations and (in)equality.

1.1. Purpose and research questions

The overall aim of this research is to discursively investigate how gender equality is represented and made in the new platform for Swedish foreign aid, by tracing what feminist features are visible as well as invisible in it. For this understanding, I break the concept of gender equality down into *approaches*, *targets* and *objectives*, where the concepts and social categories of "gender mainstreaming", "women" as well as "empowerment" and "agency" stand out as central. These concepts and social categories have been chosen for a number of reasons. In terms of "women", they are together with "girls" one of the government's two selected particular target group for the Swedish foreign aid in general. After a word count in the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid, "women" was mentioned 99 times (in comparison to the use of "men" which was counted to 34 times), and it is clear that in the context of working with gender equality, "women" stand out as the main target "Women" are thus the primary gendered gender in gender equality work.

As far as "gender mainstreaming" goes, this is the main concept used for working with gender equality within all major actors in the field of development, and the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid is not an exception to this. As the previous policy for gender equality within the Swedish foreign aid, "On Equal Footing", was cancelled when the new platform was decided, one can think of this as a sort of double mainstreaming process; the mainstreaming of gender as well as the mainstreaming of the previous policy into the existing platform.

As for "empowerment" and "agency", I have chosen these two concepts for two reasons; Firstly, as I am setting out to "trace" feminist features in the new platform, I find it relevant to make empowerment part of the analysis as this is essentially a concept that was introduced to the field

of development as a feminist concept aimed at “*shifts in political, social, and economic power between and across both individuals and social groups*” (Batliwala 2007, 559). Secondly, and the reason why “agency” has been placed together with empowerment in the analysis, this component of empowerment is used both in the platform and accentuated so strongly in the responses from the organizations, that I simply can’t leave this out of the analysis. Agency as a concept seems to have come to such prominence when talking of empowerment that this calls for asking why this is, as well as the question of what other components or concepts of empowerment are not highlighted and not accentuated. In other words, what feminist traits of empowerment are made visible, and what traits are made invisible?

The following research questions will be central;

- How is gender equality represented and made in the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid?
- What feminist features are visible in the work with gender equality within the new platform, and what feminist features are made invisible?
- How can we understand the responses from some of the organizations involved in the field of gender and development, and what are the potential implications of this new platform for the continuous feminist involvement in gender and development discourse?

As the third research question suggests, the purpose of this study is two folded; apart from analyzing the work on gender equality in the new Swedish platform, I will also investigate some of the responses from the feminist involvement in the field. The feminist involvement in the field will be represented by a number of organizations that have been involved in the making of the policy, through consulting it before the final product was decided, and that have a clear agenda for working with gender equality in development work. Inquiring the responses from the feminist involvement will clarify if there are elements in the policy in question that are, or were, contested. This will bring further insights into the power relations that make certain problem representations come to prominence, whilst silencing others (Bacchi and Eveline 2010, 115-116). An introduction of the chosen organizations is found further down in the thesis.

2. The field of the study

2.1. Feminism and development

Feminism and development carry a shared philosophy of transformation. Feminism has been engaged within the field of development for over thirty years, and the way that some of the

feminist knowledge has been taken up and used in the development discourse is indeed a success story (Cornwall et.al 2008, 2-5). The very fact that gender equality is an integral and established part of any analysis on poverty and development today, is due to the feminist involvement in the field of development, which was basically initiated with the question “Where are the women?”. In the 1980’s, the shift from focusing on women to instead placing the focus on gender occurred, and in policy terms this shift is described as the shift from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD). While the goal for the former was to question and remove the invisibility of women in development programs and projects, the goal for the latter was rather to move away from the biologist ideas surrounding “women” and instead treat gender as socially constructed roles. The shift to gender also placed men in the spotlight, and the need to address men in gender related issues was highlighted. Furthermore, with the methodology of gender mainstreaming, which was popularized in the shift from women to gender, the goal was also to integrate gender into all aspects of development practice, rather than placing the “women issue” as a separate issue which only led to the risk of a “ghettoization of women’s issues” (Bacchi and Eveline 2009, 22).

There has been, and still is, a heavy debate though, of whether or not all that has been taken up within the development area, such as gender mainstreaming, has been a success for feminism or not. The tendency, according to many feminist researchers in the field of development, has been that when feminist insights and concepts have been taken up within development framework and institutions, they have also been appropriated and adjusted and in that process de-politicized and simplified. Several feminist researchers claim that feminist thinking and concepts have been co-opted by a neoliberal development agenda, and in that process emptied or robbed of all initial meaning and objectives of political reform and social transformation (see, for example, Cornwall et.al 2008 and 2007, Sweetman 2012, Eyben and Napier-Moore 2010, Arnfred 2001). These distortions of the initial significance of feminism will be scrutinized more thoroughly later in the thesis, but the following paragraphs will serve as an introduction to the field and some of the distortions in mind.

Some of the fundamental concepts of the prevailing GAD paradigm, that are based in critical feminist thinking, have come to function in more instrumental forms that combine the arguments for gender equality and women’s empowerment with other so called “multiplier effects”, such as children’s health and safety, decrease of infant mortality and, not least, economic growth (Kabeer 2001, 17). The prominence of this instrumental “smart economics” is for instance visible in the World Bank’s 2012 World Development Report that carried the

message that “gender equality is smart economics” (Roberts and Soderberg 2012, 950-2), as well as in one of the proposals from the UN Millennium Goal Panel¹ to the new goals within the “Post-2015” global development agenda, that stated that “(...) *Equality between women and men is both a goal in its own right but it is also a means for economic development. When the obstacles for women and girls as economic actors are broken down, the entire society’s welfare will increase*”² (<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/16584/a/219618>). It becomes clear, then, that when taken up in the development policy, some aspects of feminist agendas are accentuated whilst some are pushed out of the frame (Cornwall et.al. 2008, 4).

To understand this process of “*neoliberal governmentalization of gender equality*” (Runyan and Peterson 2013, 131), one must place it against the background of the general tendency in the globalization processes that have since around the 1970’s been driven primarily by neoliberal economic policies (the “drivers” of which have been mainly men and mainly men from the so called “global North”) promoting the view that markets, when free from state regulations, will (almost automatically) nurture freedom, democracy, prosperity and peace (ibid 193). “Neoliberal governmentalization of gender equality”, then, refers to the way that gender equality has been co-opted and de-politicized by global governance bodies in the era of the globalized neoliberal ideology (ibid, 131-132). This process is visible also in the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid. This will be elaborated on further down in the thesis, but the following statement from the new platform can serve as one case in point as to how global neoliberal ideologies affect the Swedish foreign aid; the foreign aid should “*avoid acting market-distorting, but it should not hesitate to act market-developing*” (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 44).

In terms of *what types of feminisms* have been involved in shaping the development discourse, the postcolonial feminist theorists have offered important insights into the problematic aspects of the, dominantly, white, Western feminisms that have influenced the arena of development and the objectives, meanings and substances of GAD. Development is itself a political project that must be analyzed as rooted in a colonial setting, and the struggle of enhancing gender

¹ This UN Millennium Goal Panel was given the assignment by the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in the summer of 2012 to come up with proposals for the Post-2015 development agenda. The previous Swedish minister of foreign aid Gunilla Carlsson was a member of this panel which was led by UK Prime Minister David Cameron, President of Liberia Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and President of Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

² Translated from Swedish, the proposal in its fullness states that ”Möjliggör för kvinnor och flickor att ta makten över sina liv: Kvinnor och flickor utgör en majoritet av jordens befolkning men har fortfarande inte samma möjligheter och inflytande som män. Jämställdhet mellan kvinnor och män är både ett mål i sig och ett medel för ekonomisk utveckling. När hindren för kvinnor och flickor som ekonomiska aktörer bryts ökar hela samhällets välbefinnande”.

equality world-wide within this project easily nurtures the assumption that the feminist movement in the Western world stands on a superior ground; in other words, that the feminist struggle in the West is a “finished” one. The following quote from the new platform for Swedish foreign aid confirms this ethnocentric assumption;” *Sweden is one of the richest as well as most democratic and gender equal countries in the world, and therefore has a moral responsibility to contribute to improving the living conditions for people living in poverty and oppression*” (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 15).

Sweden cares, then, because it is a rich as well as democratic and gender equal country. However, *why* Sweden is rich in terms of historical colonial relations is an example of what is left out of the explanations and reasons for Sweden to conduct foreign aid. This silencing or blindness of the “worlding” process of the “Third World”, as Spivak (1999) would have put it, allows for a naturalization and normalization of the global power hierarchies in which the Western world, including Sweden, is embedded in histories of imperialism and colonialism (Spivak 1999, 114). Furthermore, when based upon morals rather than historical and political reasons, the “interventions” for gender equality easily becomes co-opted by other forces and ideologies (than feminist ones). This is the case for instance with some catachrestic use of “feminist”/war rhetoric where military interventions in a given country is justified by using the rhetoric of women’s rights (von der Lippe 2012, 22). The same can be said with using the rhetoric of the neoliberal language of “smart economics” and “efficiency” to motivate and justify “interventions” for gender equality abroad.

Using the concepts of representations, dominance, knowledge production and intersectionality, post-colonial feminist theorists such as bell hooks, Chandra Mohanty, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Gayatri Spivak and others have revealed the inherent power in naming, representing and theorizing “the Other (women)” as well as the privilege to define the problem (McEwan 2001, 97-100). One of the influential articles raising these issues is Chandra Mohanty’s “Under Western Eyes” (1988) in which she placed the spotlight on how the white, Western and middle-class feminism reproduces colonialist traditions when attempting to represent and speak for women all over the world. Mohanty refers to the discursive colonization of knowledge about women in the so called “Third World” by uncritically taking reference from “Western”-based and articulated feminist interests, which creates the category of “Third World Women” as a singular and homogenous category (Mohanty 1988, 61). This “Third World Difference” that emerges, then, refers to the construction and production of that “stable, ahistorical something” that is supposedly oppressing women living in the “Third World” (ibid 63). Another important

scholar within the field of postcolonial feminism is Gayatri Spivak. Her article, among many, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” (Spivak 1999³) revealed great insights on the way that the subaltern cannot speak, or rather cannot be read or heard, as long as the power relations that constitute the subaltern as such persist. In her text, she criticizes the postcolonial field of study of falling into the trap of reproducing colonialist categorizations, and calls for the acknowledgement of the post-colonialists/postcolonial feminists’ complicity in the muting of the subaltern (Spivak 1999, 307-309). I will make particular use of Spivak’s concept of catachresis to exemplify, among other things, how this feminists’ complicity works in practice, which will be elaborated later in this thesis.

2.2. Policy studies

As policy has become an increasingly central organizing principle in contemporary societies, it can be studied as a cultural phenomenon that shapes ways of knowing and behaving (Shore and Wright 1997, 4); it is both a constitutive as well as productive force (Bacchi and Eveline 2010, 111). Theorists such as Carol Bacchi, Joan Eveline, Cris Shore and Susan Wright have revealed important insights into the power aspects of policies; one such power aspect being the power to define and formulate, a process that constitutes and produces dominance and marginalization. Another important insight is the ways certain “keywords” undergo shifts in use and meaning in the process of new policies being produced and receiving dominant status. This does not, however, imply that previous meanings to a given concept or “keyword” will be completely disassembled when replaced with another meaning. It can, to the contrary, always be resurrected since keywords and concepts accumulate meaning historically (Shore and Wright 1997, 18-19). Shore and Wright have, working within the field of anthropology, developed the methodology of “studying through” a given policy. This involves following the policy from its normative position to its very real and materialized effects on the ground (Wedel and Shore 2005, 39-40). Although not the methodology that will be used in this thesis, I will reflect on it towards the end of the thesis.

The process of policy-making is thus a terrain of contestation for the interpretative power over language, representations, narratives and knowledge in the framing of the “problem”, as well as the “solution” to this problem. The idea is that policies are never just “out there”; rather, specific problem representations come to prominence through a specific history and struggle that, in the end, rewards some problem representations over others (Bacchi and Evelyn 2010,

³ The article is included in the book *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason, towards a history of the vanishing present*. London: Harvard University Press. 1999. The original text is from 1988.

111-116). Policies, then, are never as neutral and rational tools as they might be portrayed to be, but rather arise out of, and are embedded within, particular political contexts. In her approach to policy analysis, “What is the Problem Represented to be?”, Bacchi calls for a shift of perspective in the analysis of policies as attempted solutions to pre-existing problems to instead analyze policies as constituting interpretations and representations of political issues or “problems”. When the focus is on interpretations and representations, it also implies a focus on discourse, hence policy-making is also a discursive practice (Bacchi 1999, 2). Policy then is, essentially, discourse.

Policy is, then, a type of power; one that is inextricably linked to ideology (Wedel and Shore 2005, 33-34). The power issues in policies or discourses can be said to include two interrelated parts; the power of discourse and the power to make discourse. Referring to Stephen Ball, Bacchi (1999) poses a question that pins down these power dynamics inherent in policy-making; “*What can be said and thought, but also who can speak, when, where and with what authority?*” (Bacchi 1999, 41). Theories on policies and discourses can seem to be on a quite abstract level as they revolve around ideas, representations and interpretations. But the effects and consequences of policy, however, are very real; in the arena of development, it shapes the interventions that are being made. If policies essentially are discourse, discourses are then, in the words of Foucault, “*practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak*” (Mills 2004, 15). The effects of discourses can be divided into three general categories; firstly, how subjects and subjectivities are made in discourse; secondly, the effects that follow from the limits imposed on what can be said, and: thirdly, the actual “lived effects” of discourse (Bacchi 1999, 45). This thesis will primarily deal with the first and second of the three effects on discourse.

To conclude, policies matter and carry real effects. A feminist screening of the work for gender equality in the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid is thus important.

3. Methodological approaches

3.1. What’s the problem represented to be?

In tracing the feminist features of the new platform for Swedish foreign aid, I use Carol Bacchi’s WPR-approach as a guideline and inspiration to my own analysis. Bacchi suggests six critical questions to be asked about the policy in order to analyze it properly, which are as follows:

1) What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be in a specific policy?

- 2) What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’?
- 3) How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?
- 4) What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences, can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently?
- 5) What effects are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?
- 6) How/where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced? (Bacchi 2009, 2).

Thus, when applying Bacchi’s approach to policy analysis, rather than asking what is the problem with gender inequality, the more interesting question would be to ask what kind of a problem is gender inequality represented to be (within the new platform for Swedish foreign aid)? (Bacchi 1999, 4). This particular formulation is based on the notion that the problem can’t ever really exist pre-discursively or free from interpretations (ibid 49). Bacchi does not, however, deny the reality and materialized effects of women’s subordination and oppression. But as she contends that policies, as discourses, carry real effects, it is of importance to scrutinize them if changes are to occur (ibid 66). This criticism, that her approach is utopian and hence impractical and disconnected from the realities of women’s lives, is something that she raises and responds to by stating precisely this; the very dissection of policies from her WPR-approach can contribute to reforming them (ibid 71).

Bacchi’s approach has come to be an established tool within the field of policy studies, particularly on public policies, but also within feminist research. Her approach has made important impacts on the feminist research within political science in the Nordic countries (Rönblom and Eduards 2008, 33). Some scholars would argue that Bacchi’s approach altered the field of policy studies (see for instance Susan Goodwin 2012, 25), whilst for instance Rönblom (2002) states that in a way, the particular perspective behind Bacchi’s approach has been visible in feminist- and other critical theoretical research for quite some time already. This is not denied by Bacchi herself. What Bacchi does, however, is to concretize and operationalize this perspective on policies (Rönblom 2002, 15), not least with the formulation of the above stated six questions.

There are several reasons as for why I find it useful to draw on Bacchi’s WPR-approach, one of them being the poststructuralist nature of the approach, which conforms well to the

postcolonial perspective that I use to look upon the issues at stake. Although not postcolonial as such in her scholarly practice, Bacchi does not leave class and colonialism out of the equation (Bacchi 1999, 68). Bacchi's approach is furthermore well-suited for the tool of intersectionality, as both "approaches", or "tools", ask the question of what is missing in the picture, where are the so called "blind spots" or invisibilities in a given representation of a problem? Bacchi acknowledges and builds on the insights gained from feminists working with intersectionality in her own work as well, and points to the danger of applying so called mono-causal formulations of problems. Instead, she problematizes the assumed "equal inequality" among women, and points to the problematic ways in which this assumption ignores workings of class, race, sexual orientation, ability and age differences among women (ibid).

Bacchi's approach of revealing interpretations and representations of political issues framed in policies is also a particularly fit methodology for analyzing the platform at stake here, as this essentially sets the guidelines and principles for the Swedish foreign aid (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 5-6). In other words, the platform is supposed to function as a sort of normative compass for how the Swedish foreign aid is used, directed and implemented.

Lastly, the social-constructionist core of the WPR-approach is suitable for analyzing policies on gender inequality, as it nurtures an un-naturalistic and un-essentialist approach to gender and to structures of inequalities. In fact, Bacchi's main point in her WPR-approach is that policies – as discursive practices – "do" gender in the same way as they "do" or create all "problems" which they present and offer solutions to (Bacchi and Eveline 2009, 8).

3.2. Postcolonial feminism

My theoretical lens in approaching this policy analysis is the postcolonial feminist perspective. The reasons for choosing to use the insights gained from this discipline are many, but I see them particularly fit due to the study object of the thesis; development texts and policies. As these are fundamentally knowledge producing, and as knowledge is never produced in a vacuum, a postcolonial feminist perspective can reveal a lot of the power and domination inherent in these processes that eventually lead up to a finished policy. A feminist outlook on development as an area seated in the context of (neo)colonialism necessitates a postcolonial perspective in order to not let issues of racism and (neo)colonialism disappear (McEwan 2001, 103-105). When using the term postcolonial, then, I do not imply the perhaps literal meaning of the term, as a period "after colonialism", but rather as an "*ongoing historical dynamics*" (Morgan 2006, 30) which we all are part of.

A key concept within the postcolonial feminist tradition is intersectionality. I use intersectionality as a theoretical tool in my reading of how gender equality is made in the Swedish platform, which essentially means that gender must be analyzed as interwoven with other power orders and norms (Lykke 2010, 67). Intersectionality was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in the 1990's, within the framework of Black feminism and critical race theory (ibid 71). The intersectional approach is useful to reveal the ways in which several forms of power and structures operate together, all at once, and enhances one another. In the arena of development, as a highly politicized arena, it is of particular use in the attempt to reveal how gender equality is made and represented, in order to disclose what other power orders are at work simultaneously.

Discourses are central to the feminist postcolonial perspective, and is also a central feature of the WPR-approach. I use the term discourse in the Foucauldian sense of the concept, as manifestations of a power/knowledge regime. The production of knowledges or truths is thus inherently permeated with power (Mills 2004, 19). In the area of development, this power/knowledge nexus has been highlighted and problematized from the postcolonial perspective, revealing important insights on how the Western knowledge production is inextricably linked to the exercise of Western power (McEwan 2001, 105). The feminist postcolonial perspective has however, in similarity to Bacchi's WPR-approach, received criticism for being too theoretical and too emphasized on discourses to the detriment of the focus on the very material ways in which colonial power relations persist and form the situations on the grounds (ibid 102). The response to this critique, again in similarity to Bacchi's response, is that as discourses carry real effects, particularly in the area of development where it legitimizes certain interventions over others, it is of high relevance to dissect these and reveal the inherent power and domination dynamics in them in order for a reformation to take place (ibid 103).

3.2.1. Catachresis

To further understand the ways that certain feminist traits have come to prominence in the platform, whilst others are silenced, I use the postcolonial concept of catachresis. Catachresis stems from Greek, and the original meaning of the word is "to misuse". This "misuse" of words, then, is made either in error or for rhetorical effects; thus the "misuse" can be a deliberate or a mistaken act (Hawthorne and Van Klinken 2013, 160). The concept has been used by many postcolonial theorists; Gayatri Spivak is one of them and the scholar which I will primarily draw upon in this thesis. Spivak's use of the term is an extension of the philosopher Jacques

Derrida's formulation of catachresis as "(...) *an idea, a meaning, deprived of their signifier*" (ibid). In this sense, then, it is a "*secondary original*" that "*produces a new kind of proper sense*" (ibid). Spivak, then, formulates catachresis as the act of "*reversing, displacing and seizing the apparatus of value-coding*" (Hatwhorne 2013, 183). Catachresis then, in the words of Spivak, can be understood as "*a metaphor that has no literal referent*" (Spivak 1999, 331) or as Hawthorne would call them: "master words" or "code words" with no literal referents, for instance "women", "Third World" or "West" (Hawthorne 2013, 183). I thus use the concept of catachresis to understand the ways that the different parts of gender equality have undergone reinterpretations and emerge with shifted or altered meanings than the "original" ones.

Several scholars in the field of Gender and Development use the term "buzz-words" and the increased "fuzziness" of these "buzz-words" within the field of development (See for instance Cornwall 2008, 2010, Batliwala 2007, Eyben and Napier-Moore 2010). According to Cornwall (2008), when ideas are to be institutionalized it is a necessary condition for them to be reduced to slogans and ideals in order to fit the particular box in which it is to be institutionalized. Some of the strategies from feminist gender advocates in the field of gender and development have been pragmatic, then, conforming to the idea that it is better to make compromises than to see no action at all (Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead 2008b, 7, 13). The way that concepts transform into appropriated slogans and "buzz-words" can be seen as catachreses. I thus combine the strategies offered by Cornwall and, as will be elaborated on below, Eyben and Napier-Moore, with Spivak's concept of catachresis and use the term to catch the processes of "meaning altering" or "meaning shifting" of so called "buzz-words". Catachreses can thus also be used subversively, the shifts in meanings that occur create certain space for maneuver to provoke and reposition the meaning of the word in question, or at least demonstrate its constructivist and temporary characteristic (Lundahl 2001).

Cornwall (2010) offers four broad categorizations of strategies and tactics to deal with this process of catachrestic meaning-shifting or co-optation of significant, feminist key-words; 1) "Out with the old, in with the new" which is quite straightforward in its character, that is to basically abandon the "corrupted" or "substance-less" word altogether and replace it with another. In contrast to this strategy, 2) "Leveraging incorporated buzzwords" is rather based on the notion that the space for re-mobilizing and revitalizing the meaning of a word is never definitely closed. Cornwall cites Gita Sen to show that a particular word's institutionalization, and perhaps in that process de-politicization, does not necessarily imply a defeat of that word, rather one must "*recognize that the fact that new terms and frameworks are being taken up by*

the opposition is an important sign not of failure, but of success in the first level of the struggle for change” (Cornwall 2010, 13). A continuation, and perhaps a deepening, of this strategy is 3) “Constructive deconstruction” which refers to the process of taking apart the different meanings that the words have acquired. This revelation will then be a first step of a revitalization. Lastly, 4) “Reclaiming meaning through reconfiguration” refers to the strategy of viewing words as part and parcels of the context in which they are used, and the constellation of other words which they are used together with. Reconfiguring *how* the words are used can thus be a meaning-reclaiming activity (ibid 13-15).

Another take on how certain elements of a policy come to prominence, whilst other elements are silenced, is offered by Eyben and Napier-Moore (2010) in their analysis of the “fuzziness” of the concept of empowerment. In it, they suggest that this very “fuzziness” could be a way to sustain a broad-based policy constituency and hence be able to manage potential conflicts therein. The “fuzziness”, then, creates a “*normative resonance*” which accommodates a broad range of views that can satisfy many and upset few; in other words creating consensus out of potential conflict. Another explanation they put forward is the “*strategic ambiguity*”, which is a conscious political choice to remain vague as this has a greater chance of gaining support, and in that way potential room for maneuver can be created (Eyben & Napier-Moore 2010, 289). Ambiguity, then, can be seen as a strategy of using catachreses subversively. Although Eyben and Napier-Moore apply these strategies on the particular fuzziness of the concept of empowerment, I find them useful also on a broader scale to understand the contradictions and struggles inherent in the policy-making process.

3.3. Choice of organizations

The chosen organization for the analysis are; Kvinna till Kvinna, UN Women Sweden, Sveriges Kvinnolobby and Operation 1325. For the first three mentioned organizations, I have had access to the actual documents with their responses. As for Operation 1325, I have not been able to find the actual document, however I have found their comments in the government’s own compilation of all the responses from the actors that they consulted. The reasons for choosing these four are that they have either a clear feminist perspective and/or an ambition to work with issues on gender equality on an international level.

Kvinna till Kvinna states on their homepage that they have “*a feminist outlook*” which they suggest means that they “*strive for a society where women and men have the same social, political and economic rights*” (kvinnatillkvinna.se 2014). UN Women Sweden formulates their

purpose as working for *”women’s rights and for a gender equal society”* with the vision that *”all women and men should have the same opportunities and education as well as economic and political participation”* (unwomen.se, 2014). Sveriges Kvinnolobby states that their work *“rests on a feminist basis”*, and that they work for *“women’s full human rights in a gender equal society”* (sverigeskvinnolobby.se, 2014). Operation 1325 is an umbrella organization consisting of five member organization, out of which UN Women Sweden and Sveriges Kvinnolobby are two. They have, however, formed their own reply to the platform and their comments will thus be taken into account in the analysis. Operation 1325’s goal is to *“enhance women’s influence and power in all work relating to peace and security”* (operation1325, 2014).

To further the analysis of how the work on gender equality is represented and made in the new Swedish platform, I will, when relevant, use the now cancelled policy for gender equality and women’s rights and roles in development, *“On equal footing”* (UF2010/39514/UD/UP), to see if, and if so what parts, of this policy have been integrated into the new platform. The use of this policy is thus selective and for the purpose of framing a particular argument, the thesis is not a comparative analyses of the two policies as such.

3.4. Some reflective notes

“What many feminists need to confront is that they are located in the very global power relations that they might aspire to change” (McEwan 2001, 106).

McEwan’s words are a good starting point for a few reflective notes on my own position within this research. Being a white feminist from the “West”, I am aware of the position that I per association carry with me into this research. Particularly in the arena of development, the issues of gender equality carries with it problematic connotations of *“the West and the rest”* discourse, of which the feminist project is not an exception. Hence, I am myself entangled in this problematic and complex web.

My own research though, aims at discursively reveal what feminist features are visible in the representations and meaning-making of gender equality within the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid. I am thus not interested in the policy’s potential in instrumental terms, but rather what it means and implies in discursive terms.

3.5. Limitations

When setting out to write this thesis, I had planned to conduct interviews with scholars in the field of Gender and Development, to be represented by the *“Gender and Development in Practice”*-Network (GADIP). However, as time and availability pressed the frame which I had

at my disposal, this focus had to be abandoned. Instead I chose to review and include in the analysis the responses from some of the organizations that were asked to provide the government with feedback on the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid, before finally deciding upon it. The perspectives that are missed from this choice of data or “informants” (passive, not active informants) is the perspective from the “outside” in a sense. As the organizations are in some ways more directly involved in the “realities” of the policies and discourses of the work with gender equality in development cooperation (they are for instance dependent on funding and as such necessarily need to appropriate their work in accordance to the donor), their responses must partly be understood against this background. The scholars, on the other hand, stand on a more outside position, perhaps more independently, and could assumedly provide more “radical” (in the sense of offering perspectives that challenge, problematizes and pushes the taken-for-advantage perspectives and the all-encompassing ideas in policies) ideas and criticisms. However, this is a truth with some modification, and I am not doubting the organization’s independence from the government. But they are, in fact, entangled into the very same structures that they are trying to change, and this necessarily affect their responses.

In choosing which thematic areas put focus on in the analysis of how gender equality is represented in the new platform, I necessarily needed to make some limitations. The most obvious one of those limitations is the focus on how men are represented in the platform. The invisibility or “misrepresentation” of men in gender equality work in development has drawn attention to several scholars within the field of Gender and Development. Scholarly work on “hegemonic masculinity” has been influential in understanding patriarchy’s consequential limiting and oppressing structures on male gender norms as well as nuancing the dominant view of the “Third World Men”, most often portrayed in Western development discourses as the perpetrator, the lazy, the violent etc. (For further reading on this, see for instance Cornwall 2000, Bannon and Correia 2006). However, in my own analysis, I wanted to dissect and analyze from a postcolonial feminist perspective what is written and represented, and thus made, in the actual text in the platform. Hence, my starting point was the text itself and in it, as anticipated, men are not as visible and made primary targets as the women. Furthermore, in the responses from the chosen organizations, this perspective was invisible also there.

Apart from basing my analysis in the actual text, I also wanted to explore what has happened to those concepts and tools that once originated from the feminist involvement in the field of development, hence I was from the start biased in looking for, the so called, “buzz-words” of

Gender and Development. However, as anticipated, these buzz-words prevail in the platform; whether or not in the way intended from the feminists that promoted them in the first place or whether or not they still carry transformative potential is, however, points that are elaborated on throughout the thesis.

A further limitation that has been made is the application of a queer-perspective on Gender and Development, which carry a strong heteronormativity in the way that “gender relations” and “gender equality” are un-problematically referring to the relationship between men and women. Not only is this “heteronormative lens” of development so strongly reproduced, but also the “two-sex-system”. This has been left out of the main analysis of how gender equality is represented and made in development work, due to the main aim which was to trace the development of the feminist “buzz-words” and catachreses, mainly empowerment and gender mainstreaming. My use of inverted comas on “women” and, where used, “men”, however, imply that I attempt to destabilize the assumption of fixed identities based on biological notions of a “two-sex-system”.

4. The makings of gender equality in the Swedish foreign aid

This section begins with a summary of the new platform, to be followed by an outlining of the results from the policy analysis, using the concepts of *gender mainstreaming*, *women and empowerment/agency* as structuring pillars for the analysis of how gender equality is represented and made in the platform. Interwoven in the outlining of results are the replies and standpoints from the four chosen organizations that provided the Swedish government with inputs, as well as some comparative references from the previous policy for the work with gender equality and women's roles in development; "On Equal Footing" that was cancelled as the new platform was decided upon.

4.1. The new platform of the Swedish foreign aid

The new platform serves as the central document for the principles and values that should guide the Swedish foreign aid (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:13, 15). It consists of six intermediate targets that are assumed to contribute to the overarching goal which is to "*create circumstances for better life conditions for people living in poverty and oppression*" (ibid 13). The intermediate targets are set to guide the Swedish bilateral aid, hence the multilateral aid and the EU's aid can thus be broader than the six intermediate targets (ibid, 17). The six targets are;

- 1) Enhanced democracy and gender equality, increased respect for human rights and freedom from oppression (ibid 18);
- 2) Improved opportunities for poor people to contribute to, and benefit from, economic growth and obtain good education (ibid 22);
- 3) Improved environment, limited climate impact and strengthened resilience to environmental impacts, climate changes and natural disasters (ibid 29);
- 4) Improved basic health (ibid 33);
- 5) Protected human security and freedom from violence (ibid 35);
- 6) Saved lives, emergency relief and maintained human dignity (ibid 38).

The very impetus for the Swedish foreign aid is formulated around morals, as the government states that "*Sweden is one of the richest as well as most democratic and gender equal countries in the world, and therefore has a moral responsibility to contribute to improving the living conditions for people living in poverty and oppression*" (ibid 15). A gender equality perspective should permeate all sectors of the Swedish foreign aid, and it is included as a result in the first and the fifth intermediate target. As it is considered a base for all of the Swedish foreign aid, a gender equality perspective is however said to be reflected in several of the intermediate targets

(ibid). The government defines gender equality in the platform as “*in a gender equal society, women and men, as well as girls and boys, have the same rights, conditions, possibilities, influence and power to shape their lives and influence society*” (ibid, 21).

Sida is the government agency in charge of implementing the Swedish foreign aid, and the director-general of Sida, Charlotte Petri Gornitzka, stated in an article that “*Sida appreciates the ambition from the government to increase the clarity by decreasing the amount of policy document*” (Sida Newsletter). She thus refers to the ten policy documents that was cancelled when the new platform was decided, among which was the former policy for gender equality, “On Equal Footing”. The other nine policies that were cancelled, and instead is to be integrated into the platform, can be found in Annex 2.

The cancellation of the policies was a consequence of the, by the government identified, need to have a clearer and more efficient control of the Swedish foreign aid (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 7).

4.2. “Gender mainstreaming” – approaching gender equality

Gender mainstreaming is the dominant and most widely spread approach on how to work with the issues of gender equality and women’s empowerment in practice. It has become the tool used in virtually all organizations and state authorities in the field of development. It was in the 1995 Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing that gender mainstreaming was popularly established and widely spread as the conventional approach to women’s rights and gender equality in international development cooperation. Shortly thereafter it was officially adopted by the UN who defined it as a “(…) *process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels*” (Sweetman 2012, 389). The idea of mainstreaming gender into “all areas and at all levels” within a given program or project had emerged and was widely spread in the 1980’s during the Women in Development (WID) paradigm. It is however mainly associated with the later (and still prevailing) Gender and Development paradigm (GAD) and has become a fundamental “GAD-buzzword” (ibid, 389-340). Mainstreaming has been the main strategy for working with gender equality within the Swedish development cooperation since 1996 (Byron and Örnemark 2010, 16).

In the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid, the tool of gender mainstreaming is used to its fullest; it is the main approach for working with gender equality in the foreign aid, but as the previous policy for the work with gender equality within the Swedish development cooperation

was cancelled when the new platform was decided, this too has been integrated or “mainstreamed” into the frames of the new platform. Hence, what was before a separate policy document aimed solely at guiding the work for gender equality and women’s roles and participation in the Swedish international development cooperation (in this policy document, it was not termed “foreign aid”), is now absorbed and integrated into the new platform. The question of what is visible from the previous policy in the new one is, hence, a legitimate one.

One crucial element which has been, perhaps, “mainstreamed away” or “fuzzed” into invisibility in the platform is an explicit definition of what is meant with, and how to conduct, gender mainstreaming. The previous policy, “On Equal Footing”, stated that all the three parts of the tool of gender mainstreaming should be used; that is targeted interventions, integrated interventions and dialogue. It also explicitly defined what is meant by gender mainstreaming, and used the definition according to the European Council (On Equal Footing, 21). In the new platform, it only states that the tool of gender mainstreaming are to be used, and that “*This means that women’s and girls’ situation and conditions are given attention and are taken into account in relation to men’s and boys’*” (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 15). This is the same definition that was used in the previous policy, but in the platform it has no reference to the European Council. The previous policy’s definition was furthermore significantly extended through an entire chapter solely on the implementation of the approach. This included, for instance, the responsibility of the executing organ of the foreign aid to gather information and knowledge on the partner countries’ own specific history and situation regarding gender equality (On Equal Footing, 21).

This “fuzzed” or catachrestic use of gender mainstreaming in the new platform was commented on by Kvinna till Kvinna who referred to the term “*reflected*” as being too vague a concept to be able to carry the necessary impact (Kvinna till Kvinna 2014, 2). Rather, they suggested that a separate paragraph be included with clarifications on what is really meant with, as well as required from, gender mainstreaming. Five suggestions of clarifications was given from Kvinna till Kvinna, where the first one of them, that “*men and women to an equal extent participate in and benefit from the Swedish foreign aid*” (ibid, 1), is reflected in the government’s definition of what gender mainstreaming entails (see above). The second suggestion, that “*a consistent work against gender discriminating attitudes and norms are implemented within all target areas*” (ibid) is however merely visible under intermediate target one, rather than within “all target areas” as suggested by Kvinna till Kvinna. The other three suggestions can be said to be of a more demanding character, as they requested; “*consistent use of gender disaggregated data*

both in data collection and reporting"; and that *"all programs should be preceded by a gender analysis"*; and, finally that *"all programs that are financed by Sida fulfill the OECD DAC gender marker 2, that gender equality is the primary target or 1, that gender equality is a significant target* (ibid).

The latter suggestion is part of the "EU Plan of Action on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development 2010-2015" (ibid). Kvinna till Kvinna furthermore suggested that the paragraph "Increased gender equality and enhanced empowerment for girls and women", which is now included as a paragraph in intermediate target one in the platform, should be made a separate target to eliminate the risk for gender equality to disappear, as it might when mainstreamed into all targets (ibid). This suggestion, along with the above suggestions on clarifications regarding gender mainstreaming, are invisible in the platform and was thus ignored. Particularly the three later suggestions are indeed of demanding character and would, if included, challenge status quo and raise the centrality of gender equality in the Swedish foreign aid significantly.

The response from Kvinna till Kvinna regarding clarity on the definition and methodology of gender mainstreaming can be understood as a way of attempting to leverage incorporated buzzwords (Cornwall 2010, 13), in order to revitalize the concept rather than abandoning it or maintaining its fuzziness. The fact that these suggestions are nowhere to be found in the platform is interesting, particularly given the fact that they refer to several globally adopted steering documents such as the "EU Plan of Action on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development 2010-2015", within which further references to CEDAW (UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women), The Beijing Platform for Action and the Millennium Development Goals are included. In the final version of the platform, only one reference to the Beijing Platform for Action is made; under intermediate target 4; Improved basic health, where it states that this platform for action (accompanied with the declarations and action plans from the conference on population and development in Cairo in 1994), should make up the basis for the Swedish work with sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 34). As for references to the other declarations and action plans, these are nowhere explicitly mentioned in the platform⁴.

⁴ A whole chapter is devoted to clarifying the Swedish influence on, and coordination with, the EU foreign aid. The specific "EU Plan of Action on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development 2010-2015" that is mentioned in the responses from the organizations, is however invisible in this chapter.

Clarifications on methodological approaches and references to globally accepted steering documents was also raised from the other three organizations. For instance, regarding the target groups of the Swedish foreign aid, Operation 1325 called for a clear reference to instruments to actually achieve change and wished to add “*The Security Council Resolution 1325 and 2022 will be important steering documents for change*” (Remissammanställning, 17). Operation 1325 furthermore suggested a reference to the resolution 1325 also in the area of supporting democratization processes (ibid 19). However, in the final product, none of these two suggestions was included. Both UN Women and Sveriges Kvinnolobby strongly call for a reference to be made to the Beijing Platform for Action as this is in fact the overarching instrument for gender equality work which is used both on a national and global level (Sveriges Kvinnolobby 2014, 1 and UN Women Sweden, 2014 1). Apart from the status of being the overarching instrument, they also lobby for an inclusion of the Beijing Platform for Action as it has the same status in both Sweden and for the “recipient countries” of the Swedish foreign aid. This is assumed to increase the understanding of, and clarify, the work with gender equality for all parties involved.

There exist, then, globally adopted approaches aimed at guiding the work with gender equality that stems from the feminist involvement in the field of development. These remain invisible in the platform. Although stated that gender equality should permeate the entire Swedish foreign aid, the main approach on how to reach this remain to a large extent invisible. It is clear, then, that certain versions, or merely bits and pieces, of what was once developed as a tool with a feminist agenda are made visible in the platform. Critics have raised the fear that the ambitions of mainstreaming a gender equality approach into all areas and aspects of the foreign aid, which is assumed to leave the responsibility to everyone, can in fact become the responsibility of no one (Bacchi 2010, 21). These fears seem to have been materialized. The catachrestic use of the approach of gender mainstreaming suggests that gender equality have in fact, and to the contrary of the government’s stated ambition, a marginalized role in the Swedish foreign aid.

4.3. “Women” – targeting gender equality

A critical point that has since long been stressed by postcolonial feminism is the way that “Women” have been used and made into a perceived homogenous group of people all over the world, presumably sharing the same interests and fighting the same battle. In the development discourse, the way that the “Third World women” have been grouped together and made homogenous is, from a postcolonial feminist perspective, an expression of the Western and white feminism, negligent of the way that other imperatives than gender influence, shape and

limits people's lives (Mohanty 1988, 61-63). The "Third World women" often carry ideas and myths that go along the lines of colonialist thoughts on people and society. This "Third World woman" then, is both a hero and a struggler but she is also depicted as the victim and the oppressed (Cornwall et al 2008, 2). The contemporary development discourse is naturally not free of these colonialist elements, nor is the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid.

When reading the platform, it is evident that it makes use of both of these images of "women". Women and girls are together with people living in oppression the two focus groups of the Swedish foreign aid. The reasons for choosing women and girls as one of the two focus groups are, according to the government, due to the facts that; *they are to a larger extent subjected to discrimination due to their gender, (...) they have generally speaking significantly less power and worse conditions than men and boys (...) they usually have lower income than men, (...) they are to a lower extent in possession of property and capital, (...) they carry a double burden, (...) and they are at higher risk than other to be subjected to violence of different forms* (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 16). However, the platform also states that women's roles as agents for a country's development is important, and by improving the living conditions for women and by working strongly for gender equality, it will be beneficial for reaching other goals within the foreign aid (ibid).

The later passage, that women are important for a country's development at large, manifests the instrumental approach to strengthening women and girls and work for gender equality, as this work will bring "multiplier effects". This is important as it echoes some of the fears from feminists active in the field (see for example Chant and Sweetman 2012, Kabeer 2001, Eyben and Napier Moore 2009); that the goal of gender equality has become not as much a goal in itself as a means of reaching other goals. The concept of gender equality, then, has become a matter of efficiency and "smart economics", and "women", it seems, are the main catalysts for this.

This approach, that women's participation increase the efficiency of the capitalist system, is further reflected in intermediate target two in the platform, "Improved possibilities for poor people to contribute to, and benefit from, economic growth and obtain good education" where it states that *"children of educated women have better preconditions to make active life choices and create a good future for themselves"* (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 23). Under the same intermediate target, the platform further states that it is *"of particular importance to strengthen women's rights to education throughout their entire life, so that they can get an employment or run companies"* (ibid, 24). The former of the two quotes seems to also imply

socialization ambitions from the Swedish government, formulating the assumed causal effects between educated mothers and good futures for their children. The latter is very telling of the government's prioritized outcomes of working for a strengthening of women and women's rights; employment or run companies. In other words, strengthened women can become gadgets of the neoliberal capitalist system.

Although there is much that appeals with the suggestion that gender inequality is inefficient, not least that it calls for gender equality to be placed high on the foreign aid agenda, there are deeply problematic aspects in that the claims to gender justice must depend on proving its instrumental links to a general poverty reduction or economic growth in society at large. For instance, one such problematic aspect is the ideas of what causes poverty, where lack of openness to the world market and bad governance is usually held as primary explanations, whereas other explanations such as structural patterns rooted in colonial histories are silenced or marginalized (O'Laughlin 2008, 21-26). Another such problematic aspect of claiming the importance of gender equality through the use of instrumental gains, particularly economic growth, is the fact that this only includes women that are in a working, and hence "productive", age. Older women, or for that matter disabled women, are thus left out of this efficiency-approach (Chant and Sweetman 2012, 524).

Interestingly, and in congruence with the efficiency approach to gender equality described above, an intersectional approach to gender and issues concerning gender equality is silenced in the platform. The previous policy "On Equal Footing", made use of the insights gained from the postcolonial perspective of the problematic use of the term "women" as a perceived homogenous category that invokes the idea of the "Third World Difference", i.e. that "stable, ahistorical something" that is supposedly oppressing women living in the "Third World" (Mohanty 1988, 63). In comparison, the previous policy stated that "*Women and men, girls and boys are not homogenous groups*" but rather consist of individuals with "*different identities, perspectives, preconditions, needs, opportunities and influence, even if they can also have, defend and push for common economic, political, social and/or cultural interests as a consequence of similarities of for instance ethnicity or position in the society*" (On Equal Footing, 10-11). Related to this is also the acknowledgement of structures and power (dis)orders which shapes people's lives, something that the previous policy also recognized and stated that "*People's living conditions are affected by different hierarchies that work together and that, apart from gender, are based from for instance age, heritage, class or social status, cast, sexual*

orientation, gender identity, disabilities, ethnic belonging and religion or other belief” (ibid 10-11).

In the new platform, it is admittedly mentioned that all individuals should be able to make themselves heard “*regardless of position in society, gender, transgender identity or expression, age, disability, ethnic background, religious belonging or sexual identity*” (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 11) as one of the principles of the rights-perspective which should be the starting point of the Swedish foreign aid (ibid). However, throughout the platform, in the formulations of the actual targets and in the description of the important results that the aid should strive to achieve, the feminist insights on intersectionality are ignored.

In contrast to gender mainstreaming, which was indeed challenged from the feminist involvement in the field, an intersectional approach is nowhere raised in any of the responses from the organizations. The catachresis of “women” that emerges in the new platform for Swedish foreign aid is, as a consequence of the invisibility of an intersectional approach, a reduction of a far more complex reality. It is further a neglect of postcolonial feminist insights and, in this way, a continuation of the construction of the “Third World difference”. “Women” are the instruments, the resources of which to tap and to fulfill the ambitions of the neoliberal development agenda; economic growth and free markets as solutions to poverty and marginalization. The silence from the organizations can furthermore be analyzed as a, in the words of Spivak, complicity in the muting process of the subaltern (Spivak 1999, 309). Although potentially a strategy of strategic ambiguity, in other words to consciously remain vague so that space for maneuver can be created and seized upon, the risk of this strategic ambiguity (complicity in muting) is precisely what Spivak has warned post-colonialists and feminists about.

4.4. “Empowerment” and “agency” – gender equality accomplished

“Empowerment” is, perhaps along with gender mainstreaming, one of the fundamental buzzwords within the current paradigm of gender theorizing in the field of development; Gender and Development. It is a slippery and multifaceted concept that lacks clear definition, but it was from the beginning introduced as a political and transformatory idea that was to challenge patriarchy and structures of class and race etc. Empowerment was, thus, “*about shifts in political, social, and economic power between and across both individuals and social groups*” (Batliwala 2007, 559). Initially, then, this feminist-rooted concept referred to processes of change. Since then, however, advocating for empowerment as a feminist goal within the field of development has undergone some adjustments and appropriations. When synergies with

other development goals can be claimed, it seems to have more success than advocating empowerment as a feminist goal in its own right (Kabeer 2001, 17). Furthermore, empowerment has come to prominence more in terms of individual self-improvement rather than collective struggle (Cornwall et.al 2008, 3). This distortion of the initial feminist sense of empowerment into an individual self-improvement is in congruence with the general individualism that is visible in the platform which, in turn, is a feature of neoliberalism at large. The general individualistic take is thus spilled over into the concept of empowerment which, as we shall see, makes agency the most prominent feature of the concept. But first, let's look at how the government is making prominent an individualistic take on development in general, and through that on empowerment in particular.

The platform states that *“the government is driven by the conviction that all development stems from the individual”* (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 23) and, thus, the Swedish government intends to strengthen the focus on the individual in the foreign aid (ibid, 11). People living in poverty and under oppression are thus, in this view, subjects and agents rather than objects or passive recipients, as people have the capacity to themselves define and act accordingly to their own problems. This necessitates however, as is stated, *“the right conditions”* (ibid 10-11). The impetuses for change and development is said to be placed, at least to a great extent, in people's own motivation and persuasion. The Swedish aid should therefore take its starting point in people's own perspectives on poverty, and as poverty is commonly described by poor people as lack of income, according to the platform, (ibid 10) an increase in income is assumed to contribute to making it possible for people to take responsibility for, and change, the circumstances under which they live. The following two quotes can be used as example of this take; *“the Swedish foreign aid should contribute to creating better preconditions for people living in poverty and oppression (...) by eliminating obstacles for people's development and for their own efforts to themselves get out of poverty and oppression”* (ibid, 17); and *“sustainable growth that leads to increased incomes for poor women and men contributes to making it possible for themselves to take responsibility for and change the circumstances under which they live”* (ibid, 23)⁵.

This focus on individuals' agency in rising out of poverty and oppression is also accompanied with an instrumental approach and a focus on productivity and economic growth. In fact, these two elements are consistent throughout the platform and are visible in almost all the

⁵ Underlining added by author.

intermediate targets. For instance, in intermediate target 4; “Improved basic health” it is stated that “*investments in health enables increased productivity and is an investment in the society’s development at large. In addition, it is a human right (...)*” (ibid, 33). In intermediate target 5; “Protected human security and freedom from violence”, it states that “*Besides the loss of human lives and suffering, armed conflicts and large-scale war often throws back the economic development several decades*”⁶ and “*All forms of violence against women and girls during war (...)limits women’s opportunities to actively contribute to the development of the society*” (ibid, 36).

In the trace of the feminist features of empowerment, then, it becomes clear that it is used against the background of this general individualistic take on poverty and oppression. If one looks more closely at the way that “empowerment” is used in the platform, in what contexts and in what constellations with other words, a few conclusions can be made; Firstly, it is mainly used in the context of economy; “*That people can educate themselves and work for their own income is not only a prerequisite for growth, it is also crucial for the empowerment of the individual*” (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 15 and 23). Secondly, it is also described as something one has or gains; “*Previous achievements for women’s and girls’ rights face however resistance – not least when it comes to their empowerment (...)*” (ibid 33), “*Societies where women have⁷ empowerment and are active participants in politics, economy and societal life tend to be less prone to violence and conflict*” (ibid 38). Lastly, empowerment is primarily used as something to be gained on an individual level (see the examples above, pp 15 and 23).

Alternative versions of empowerment are less visible, but in one of the paragraphs under intermediate target 1; “A viable and pluralistic civil society and strengthened actors for democratization”, it states that “*When women can meet and organize themselves in civil society organizations and political parties, they can better defend their rights*” (ibid 21). This is, however, one of the few takes on empowerment and gender equality as a form of collective action. The main and primary representation of empowerment that materializes is empowerment as something that can be acquired; a product, and something that can be achieved by the individual; a result.

These representations and narratives of the concept of empowerment suggests, then, a more “*liberal empowerment*” in contrast to a “*liberating empowerment*” (Cornwall et.al 2008a, 4).

⁶ Underlining added by author.

⁷ Underlining added by author.

The difference between the two is very telling of the appropriation and co-optation of feminist thinking when taken up in development discourse. “Liberating empowerment” locates empowerment in the processes of structural change in power relations, in other words as a transformative concept. “Liberal empowerment”, on the other hand, is rather represented as something that can be provided or allocated, almost like a gift. This form of empowerment is then more associated with individual self-improvement and often connected to access to markets and economic growth (ibid, 3-4). Another term for this is “*empowerment lite*” (ibid 4), which refers to the process of “*accommodating women within, rather than challenging or transforming the existing order*” (ibid).

Kabeer (2001) elaborates on the different levels and dimensions of empowerment (as a form of social change) in her attempt to conceptualize the concept. She distinguishes three levels on which changes can occur; “Deeper levels”, referring to structural relations of class and gender; “Intermediate levels” which imply institutional rules and resources, and; “Immediate levels” that relate to individual resources, agency and achievements (Kabeer 2001, 27). However, for there to be a meaningful and sustainable process of empowerment out of these changes, according to Kabeer, both the individual and structural need to be included. Changes on merely one of these levels do naturally carry effects, and some of those effects may indeed improve the situation/s for an individual or a group. Kabeer gives the example of changes in the resources of an individual which may lead to an improvement in that individual’s economic welfare. However, if the changes do not affect structures of inequality of discrimination, this improved economic welfare does not necessarily lead to empowerment (ibid). Or in other words, if it does, it is a form of empowerment “lite” (Cornwall et.al 2008a, 4).

From the feminist involvement in the field, “women’s agency” is a central point in the responses and critiques to the platform. UN Women Sweden forwards this point as something to be included, and where already included to be more emphasized, in all the intermediate targets; Under intermediate target 2, UN Women Sweden recommends that “*formulations on women’s agency be enhanced, so that women can participate in the productive process through paid work with equal work benefits as men (...)*” (UN Women Sweden, 2). Under intermediate target 3, they would welcome that “*women’s agency is forwarded, particularly women’s roles in building resilient societies (...)*”, as their (women’s) knowledge on local risk factors “*could decrease the risk for disasters and prevent large losses in natural disasters*”. It is thus “*a good investment to promote women’s agency*” (ibid 2-3). Under intermediate target 4, UN Women Sweden wish that “*the platform includes women’s agency also when focus is on engineering*

solutions” as “*women should be part of the process from planning, choice of technical solutions and executions of investments within water and sanitation*” (ibid, 3). Under intermediate target 5, UN Women Sweden “*misses women’s agency when it comes to prevention of conflicts, conflict solutions and negotiations as well as planning and rebuilding*” as they believe that it is a mistake to treat actors without a gender perspective as well as insufficient to merely “*view women as victims in conflicts in need of protection*” (ibid).

Sveriges Kvinnolobby’s response goes along the lines with that of UN Women’s. Under intermediate target 2, they also call for special attention to be paid to women’s roles in food production, as “*access to food is a growing problem both on the countryside as well as in the cities*”, and this problem “*must be included in a sustainable societal development and women’s role and participation in finding solutions and innovations must be emphasized*” (Sveriges Kvinnolobby, 3). Under intermediate target 3, Sveriges Kvinnolobby calls for the platform to emphasize “*the important role that women can play in the local community to decrease environmental impact and climate risks as well as enhancing ecosystem services*”, and further, that “*when all girls and boys have access to education, they often act as agents of change and also influence the parent generation to a more sustainable life style*” (ibid). The response from Sveriges Kvinnolobby to intermediate target 4 and 5 echoes the response that UN Women Sweden gave.

Operation 1325 suggests, under intermediate target 5 that “*special protection and supports as participants and actors, particularly through interventions to strengthen the enforcement of UN Security Council 1325, 1880 and 2122 on Women, Peace and Security*” (Remissammanställning, 50) be added. This formulation is partly included in the platform, but instead of “*as participants and actors*” it states “*special protection for women and girls*” (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 37).

It is thus clear, then, that agency is the component of empowerment that is stressed most clearly, both from the government’s point of view but also from the feminist involvement in the field of development. However, the concept of agency in the responses from the organizations seems to be used in a slightly different way than it is in the platform; the constellations of words in which agency is found differs to a degree. For instance, whilst the government’s use of agency, as it is in line with the overall individualism, is talked about in the context of the individual’s rising out of poverty to be able to take responsibility for their situation, the views offered from the organizations stresses more the responsibility of not ignoring the knowledge that women already have in for instance engineer solutions, local resilience, water planning etc. Although

still a resource that will benefit the development at large, and still an “investment”, women’s agency is talked about in a slightly different manner. This can thus be understood as a strategy of reclaiming meaning through reconfiguration, that is to shift the constellations and contexts in which the concept is used. However, in the final version of the platform, the liberal take on empowerment is made prominent, rather than liberating version of empowerment.

It appears, then, that empowerment has been reinterpreted and turned into a catachresis that is more in tune with a neoliberal ideology; a form of empowerment as “liberal” rather than “liberating”. The concept of agency seems to be the component of empowerment which fits particularly well with the overall individualism visible in the platform, it does in other words not disturb or disrupt the government’s general take on development. It is, then, “safer” and less threatening than other forms or versions of empowerment. It is, for obvious reasons, easier to measure results of changes when focused on for instance improvement in economic welfare for women or women’s participation in politics etc. However, the representation of empowerment in this sense does, inevitably, leave out another, more processual models of social change aimed at challenging hierarchical and oppressing power relations.

5. Discussion and conclusions – feminist wor(l)ds and silences

This thesis set out to trace the feminist features in the new platform for Swedish foreign aid, adopted by the Swedish government in March 2014. By dissecting the work with gender equality into *approaches*, *targets* and *objectives*, several catachreses have emerged. These must be understood against the background of the neoliberal framings of development discourse, in which certain concepts and ideas, that were in their original form based on a feminist ideology, are adjusted and appropriated to fit a neoliberal ideology. The work with gender equality in the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid, then, is by no means a neutral document, as policies never are. Rather, policy as a type of power is inextricably linked to ideology, and in the competition over interpretative power on what knowledge and “truths” are to come to prominence in a policy, the government clearly holds a privileged role in what can be said and thought. However, the space for maneuvering for the organizations are there through the consultative responses. In the end though, the thesis found that not a lot of what was submitted from the organizations in question was included. The parts that were not included was analyzed as the more challenging parts; in other words the suggestions that threatened the status quo.

What kind of a problem, then, is gender equality represented to be in the new platform for Swedish foreign aid? A summary of how the different parts of gender equality is represented and made in the platform is a good way to start in order to answer the overall question. Gender mainstreaming, represented as the main approach to obtain gender equality, lack formulations as to how this approach is to be used or implemented. As a tool that was introduced to place issues on gender equality and women’s rights and role in development at the very center of the field of development, integrated into all aspects of development work, it seems to have been pulverized into unrecognizable forms. The responses from the organizations have all pressed on the need to include references to the globally adopted declarations and action plans for the work with gender equality. One organization in particular raised the issue of not defining gender mainstreaming more clearly, and called for a clarification of this as well as a more consistent use of gender mainstreaming, which was analyzed as an attempt of leveraging incorporated buzzwords. However, these responses and suggestions are silenced and made invisible in the platform. This catachresis of gender mainstreaming has the consequence of placing gender equality, in contrast to the ambition of the “original” meaning of the concept, in a marginalized position within the Swedish foreign aid. What is left from the original intent of gender mainstreaming is, then, a very “fuzzed” concept.

“Women”, as the targets of gender equality, are made into a homogenous and essentialized group in the new platform. The insights gained from the postcolonial feminist perspective regarding the intersections of power structures influencing and framing as well as enhancing one another, are invisible in the platform, which thus contribute to the construction of the “Third World Difference”. Women are furthermore made into the facilitators of other developmental goals, not least economic growth. Hence, women are essentially made into producers of wealth who will, if empowered, maintain and reproduce the capitalist system. This use of women in the platform is not particularly challenged by the feminist involvement in the field, which can be seen as a complicity in the muting process of the subaltern.

As for the concept of empowerment, that has been analyzed as the objective of the work with gender equality in the new platform, the most visible and prominent component of empowerment is agency. This is true also for the responses from the organizations. Empowerment is represented and made into something individualized and something one can gain, in contrast to a more processual, transformatory form of empowerment, aiming at shifts in political, economic and social structures. This form of empowerment has been analyzed as liberal, rather than liberating. This catachrestic use of empowerment, then, accommodates women within the (oppressing) system rather than attempting to change the system itself. The focus on agency as the primary component of empowerment is thus a very convenient strategy; women, in this view, can be empowered *and* contribute to the capitalist system.

Gender equality, then, is overall based on a moral imperative, a problem that Sweden, being “*one of the richest as well as most democratic and gender equal countries in the world*” (Regeringens skrivelse 2013/14:131, 15) has a moral inclination to respond to and do something about. It is further represented as a problem that can be solved if (mainly) women are gaining empowerment, so that they can become producers of wealth and develop the society at large. Investing in women and girls, then, is an investment that is presented as “smart economics” and “efficient” as it is instrumental for achieving other development goals. Changing the structures and institutions that prevail a discriminating power order is made into a non-issue as it is silenced and made invisible. Gender equality, then, is accommodated within the (neoliberal) system, rather than intended to challenge it.

However, the catachreses of concepts and ideas in the policy are never once and for all “finished” or “final”, rather they are always constructed and in that sense temporary. Revitalization of “fuzzed” concepts or catachreses is possible. Some of the responses from the

organizations, offering alternative views, have been analyzed as attempting precisely this; leveraging incorporated buzzwords in attempts to revitalize them (Kvinna till Kvinna's responses on gender mainstreaming for instance). Other responses have been analyzed as strategic ambiguities; that is, a conscious choice of vagueness in order to gain support and through that support create room for maneuvers and possibly introducing alternatives. This sort of pragmatism can very well be understood. At the same time though, strategic ambiguity is a risk; the risk of continuing the de-politicization process and the risk of ending up in the complicity of muting the subaltern. Furthermore, there is an inherently unequal relationship between "donors" and "recipients" in the development discourse. Hence, as donors set the agenda and their policies and truths of the world, organizations need to navigate these truths and fit their own work into the wor(l)ds of the donors. The feminist involvement in the field of development must necessarily navigate these "knowledges", but also, for a feminist agenda to survive, challenge them. This challenge is important in order not to lose what has indeed been gained.

It has been the overarching objective for this thesis to destabilize the assumptions and perceptions that are formulated and made dominant in the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid, and in a way make visible what is made invisible. Combining the studying of policy, seen as a discursive practice, with a postcolonial feminist perspective in general and the concept of catachresis in particular, has functioned as a lens to the greater political system, and the ideologies that are made prominent within this system. It can be concluded, then, that versions of the concepts of gender equality that are more in tune with neoliberal agendas are made prominent (gender equality as morals and smart economics, empowerment as an individual gain), and dissident and more challenging ideas (feminist ideological ideas of structural change of a patriarchal oppressive system) are stripped away. As the former policy of gender equality was cancelled upon deciding on the new platform, and as this involved, at least to a higher degree than the existing platform, more politicized components (for instance, it made use of an intersectional approach, it clarified the methodology of gender mainstreaming, it made references to globally adopted steering documents etc.), an ideological shift is expressed. Or perhaps rather, the wider ideological shift in how gender equality is represented and made is also expressed and reproduced in the new Swedish platform for foreign aid, as components of a feminist ideology are reinterpreted and emerge as catachreses beneficial for a neoliberal ideology. The catachresis of feminist ideology, then, is coterminous with the overall globalization process of neoliberalism and a general increase in using market-solutions to

“problems” not directly related to the market. This is commonly termed New Public Management, and although not specifically used in this thesis, it is clear that this is taking a dominant place within the development discourse. I will not go deeper into this here, but I mention it to show how the “grip” that is used in this thesis serves as a lens to reveal components of the greater political system.

To explore more in depth the responses from what has been termed the feminist involvement in the field of development, how their stated ambitions of working for gender equality materialize in practice and how they continue to engage with the new platform in place, further investigation is necessary. The documents used to analyze the responses from the chosen organization do, indeed, reveal some important aspects of their positions on the issue, but they do not reveal enough to fully understand the ways they engage with, and navigate the policy. The comments in the responses do, in fact, say more about the final version of the platform and hence about the way that the government deal with these responses, rather than the other way around. This thesis has furthermore not been able, due to time and space limitations, to *study through* the new platform for the Swedish foreign aid, in other words to follow a given policy from its normative position to its very practical position and effects in the field. It has however, made clear that strategies must be found for an active feminism that can counterweigh and revitalize the depoliticized feminist ideology within the field of development that has been shown in this policy analysis.

6. References

Articles

- Arnfred, Signe. 2001. "Questions of Power: Women's movements, feminist theory and development aid", 73-86. From *Discussing Women's Empowerment – Theory and Practice*. Sida Studies no3. Novum Grafiska: Stockholm.
- Batliwala, Srilatha. 2007. "Taking the Power out of Empowerment: An Experiential Account". *Development in Practice*, Volume 17, Numbers 4-5, 557-565.
- Byron, Gabriela and Charlotte Örnemark 2010. *Sida Evaluation, Gender Equality in Swedish Development Cooperation*. Stockholm: Sida.
- Chant, Sylvia and Caroline Sweetman. 2012. "Fixing women or fixing the world? *Gender & Development*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 517, 529.
- Cornwall, Andrea, Jasmine Gideon and Kalpana Wilson. 2008(a). "Introduction: Reclaiming Feminism, Gender and Neoliberalism". *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 39, no 6, Institute of Development Studies.
- Eyben, Rosalind and Rebecca Napier-Moore. 2010. "Choosing words with care? Shifting meanings of women's empowerment in international development". *Third World Quarterly*, 30:2, 285-300.
- Hawthorne, Sian Melvill and Adriaan S. Van Klinken. 2013."Introduction, Catachresis: Religion, Gender and Postcoloniality". *Religion and Gender*, vol. 3, no. 2, 159.167.
- Hawthorne, Sian Melvill. 2013. "Displacements: Religion, Gender and the Catachrestic Demands of Postcoloniality. *Religion and Gender*, vol 3, no. 3, 168-187.
- Kabeer, Naila. 2001. "Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment", 17-54. From *Discussing Women's Empowerment – Theory and Practice*. Sida Studies no3. Novum Grafiska: Stockholm.
- Lundahl, Mikela. 2001."Gayatri Spivak och den andres talan". *Glänta*, No 1-2, http://glanta.org/?page_id=33&viewArt=567, access 140520.
- McEwan, Cheryl. 2001. "Postcolonialism, feminism and development: intersections and dilemmas". *Progress in Development Studies* 1, 2, 93-111.

Mohanty, Talpade Chandra. 1988. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." *Feminist Review*, no. 30, 61-88.

Roberts, Adrienne and Susanne Soederberg. 2012. "Gender Equality as Smart Economics? A Critique of the 2012 World Development Report". *Third World Quarterly*, 33:5, 949-968.

Rönblom, Malin and Maud Eduards. 2001. "Genusperspektiv på statsvetenskap". *Högskoleverket*.

Rönblom, Malin. 2002. "Ett eget rum? Kvinnors organisering möter etablerad politik". Umeå universitet.

Sweetman, Caroline. 2012. "Introduction, Gender Mainstreaming". *Gender & Development*, 20:3, 389-403.

Von der Lippe, Berit. 2012. The White Woman's Burden: "Feminist" War Rhetoric and the Phenomenon of Co-optation. *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, vol. 20, No. 1, 19-36.

Wedel, Janine R, Cris Shore, Gregory Feldman and Stacy Lathrop. 2005. "Towards and Anthropology of Public Policy". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 600.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2005. "Gender Mainstreaming och Intersektionalitet". *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift*, 2-3.05.

Books

Bacchi, Carol. *Women, Policy and Politics: The Construction of Policy Problem*. London: SAGE Publications. 1999. E-book accessed 140424, <http://knowledge.sagepub.com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/view/women-policy-and-politics/SAGE.xml>

Bacchi, Carol. *Analyzing policy: What's the problem represented to be?* Pearson Australia. 2009.

Bacchi, Carol et.al. "Gender analysis and social change: Testing the water", 61-87. From *Mainstreaming Politics: Gendering Practices and Feminist Theory*, ed. Carol Bacchi and Joan Eveline, University of Adelaide Press, 2010. E-book, accessed 140226 electronically at <https://www.adelaide.edu.au/press/titles/mainstreaming/Mainstreaming-Ebook-final.pdf>

Bacchi Carol. "Gender/ing impact assessment: Can it be made to work?", 17-38. From *Mainstreaming Politics: Gendering Practices and Feminist Theory*, ed. Carol Bacchi and Joan Eveline, University of Adelaide Press, 2010. E-book, accessed 140226 electronically at <https://www.adelaide.edu.au/press/titles/mainstreaming/Mainstreaming-Ebook-final.pdf>

Cornwall, Andrea, Elisabeth Harrison and Ann Whitehead. *Feminism in development: Contradictions, Contestations & Challenge*. Zed Book: London, 2007.

Cornwall, Andrea, Elisabeth Harrison and Ann Whitehead. "Gender Myths and Feminist Fables: The Struggle for Interpretative Power in Gender and Development", 1-19. From *Gender Myths and Feminist Fables: The struggle for interpretative power in gender and development*, ed. Andrea Cornwall, Elisabeth Harrison and Ann Whitehead, Blackwell Publishing, 2008(b).

Cornwall, Andrea. "Introductory overview – buzzwords and fuzzwords: deconstructing development discourse", 1-19. From *Deconstructing Development Discourse Buzzwords and Fuzzwords*, ed. Andrea Cornwall and Deborah Eade, Oxfam, 2010.

Goodwin, Susan. "Women, policy and politics: Recasting policy studies", 25-36. From *Engaging with Bacchi, Strategic interventions and exchanges*, ed. Angelique Bletsas and Chris Beasley, University of Adelaide Press, 2012.

Lykke, Nina. *Feminist Studies, a guide to intersectional theory, methodology and writing*. New York: Routledge. 2010.

Mills, Sara. *Discourse*. London: Routledge. 2004. E-book, accessed 140526, <http://www.gu.ebib.com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=182431>

Morgan, Sue. *The feminist history reader*. London: Routledge. 2006.

O’Laughlin, Bridget. 2008."A bigger piece of a Very Small Pie: Intrahousehold Resource Allocation and Poverty Reduction in Africa", 21-44. From *Gender Myths and Feminist Fables: The struggle for interpretative power in gender and development*, ed. Andrea Cornwall, Elisabeth Harrison and Ann Whitehead, Blackwell Publishing, 2008.

Runyan, Anne Sisson and V. Spike Peterson. *Global gender issues in the new millennium*. Westview Press. 2013. E-book, accessed 140429, <http://gu.ebib.com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1457775>

Shore, Cris and Susan Wright. *Anthropology of Policy, Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason, towards a history of the vanishing present*. London: Harvard University Press. 1999.

Governmental documents

Regeringskansliet, Utrikesdepartementet. Bilaga 2: Av regeringen tidigare beslutade dokument som upphävs genom beslut om den biståndspolitiska plattformen. 2014-03-13.

Regeringskansliet, Utrikesdepartementet. Remissammanställning Regeringens biståndspolitiska plattform. Promemoria, UF2014/4543/UD/USTYR. 2014-03-10, accessed 140415.

Regeringens skrivelse, 2013/14:131: Biståndspolitisk plattform, accessed 140318.

Electronic resources:

Sida newsletter with comments on the new platform.

<http://www.sida.se/Svenska/Nyhetsarkiv/2014/Mars-2014/Tydligare-inriktning-pa-bistandet/>

The twelve suggestions for new goals from the UN Millenium Goal Panel.

<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/16584/a/219618>

Kvinna till Kvinna's homepage.

<http://kvinnatillkvinna.se/om-kvinna-till-kvinna/>

Un Women Sweden's homepage.

<http://unwomen.se/om-un-women/un-women-sverige/>

Sveriges Kvinnolobby's homepage

<http://sverigeskvinnolobby.se/om-sveriges-kvinnolobby/om-organisationen>

Operation 1325' homepage.

<http://operation1325.se/var-verksamhet>

Responses on the new platform

Sveriges Kvinnolobby, Remissvar Regeringens skrivelse. 2014-02-12.

UN Women, Nationell Komitté Sverige, Remissvar Regeringens skrivelse.

Kvinna till Kvinna, Remissvar Regeringens Skrivelse, 2014-02-12.

Suggestions for further reading on men in GAD

Cornwall, Andrea. "Missing men? Reflections on men, masculinities and gender in GAD".
IDS Bulletin Vol 31 No 2. 2000.

Bannon, Ian and Maria C. Correia. "The other half of gender, men's issues in development".
The World Bank. 2006.

Annex 1. List of consultative bodies

The following bodies submitted consultation responses:

Domstolsverket, Kriminalvården, Migrationsverket, Exportkreditnämnden, Folke Bernadotteakademien, Kommerskollegium, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Styrelsen för ackreditering och teknisk kontroll, Styrelsen för internationellt utvecklingssamarbete (Sida), Svenska institutet, Försvarsmakten, Myndigheten för samhällsskydd och beredskap, Totalförsvarets forskningsinstitut, Boverket, Folkhälsomyndigheten, Försäkringskassan, Handisam, Pensionsmyndigheten, Ekonomistyrningsverket, Kronofogdemyndigheten, Riksgäldskontoret, Skatteverket, Statistiska centralbyrån, Statskontoret, Göteborgs universitet (statsvetenskapliga institutionen), Karolinska institutet, Lunds universitet (avdelningen för mänskliga rättigheter vid Humanistiska och Teologiska fakulteterna), Myndigheten för Yrkehögskolan, Stockholms universitet, Universitets- och högskolerådet, Uppsala universitet, Vetenskapsrådet, Havs- och vattenmyndigheten, Livsmedelsverket, Skogsstyrelsen, Statens jordbruksverk, Statens veterinärmedicinska anstalt, Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet, Kemikalieinspektionen, Lantmäteriet, Naturvårdsverket, Strålsäkerhetsmyndigheten, Luftfartsverket, Patent- och registreringsverket, Statens energimyndighet, Sveriges geologiska undersökning, Tillväxt- verket, Konstnärnämnden, Riksantikvarieämbetet, Statens kulturråd, Arbetsförmedlingen, Arbetsmiljöverket, Action Aid, Afrikagrupperna, Amnesty International svenska sektionen, Civil Rights Defenders, Concord Sverige, Diakonia, Fairtrade Sverige, Folac, Fonden för mänskliga rättigheter, Forum Syd, Hungerprojektet, Internationellt Centrum för Lokal Demokrati, Islamic Relief Sverige, Kristdemokratiskt inter- nationellt center, Kvinna till Kvinna, Kulturarv utan gränser, Kungliga skogs- och lantbruksakademien, Landsorganisationen i Sverige, Lant- brukarnas Riksförbund, Lika Unika, LO-TCO Biståndsnämnd, LSU – Sveriges ungdomsorganisationer, Läkare utan gränser, Lärarförbundet, Naturskyddsföreningen, Operation 1325, Pingstmissionens Utvecklingssamarbete, Plan Sverige, Raoul Wallenberg-institutet, Riksförbundet för homosexuellas, bisexuellas och transpersoners rättigheter, Riksförbundet för sexuell upplysning, Rädda Barnen, Röda Korset, Selam, Stockholm International Water Institute, Stockholm Resilience Center, Svalorna Latinamerika, Svenska Afghanistankommittén, Svenska FN-förbundet, Svenska Kyrkan, Svenska Missionsrådet, Sveriges kommuner och landsting, Sveriges Kvinnolobby, Swecare, Swedfund International AB, UNICEF Sverige, Världsnaturfonden, Water Aid, We Effect (före detta Kooperation utan Gränser), World's Childrens' Prize Foundation.

Responses also came from:

Erikshjälpen, Expertnätverket för de areella näringarnas bärkraftiga utveckling (tio medlemmar), Folkbildningsrådet, Generalsekreterarnätverket, Svenska sektionen av Internationella Kvinnoförbundet för Fred och Frihet (IKFF), Kristna Fredsrörelsen, och Svenska Freds- och Skiljedomsföreningen, IOGT- NTO-rörelsen, The Life & Peace Institute, Linnéuniversitetet (Institutionen för samhällsstudier), PRO Global – pensionärer utan gränser, PRO Pensionärernas Riksorganisation, Rikskriminalpolisen, Svensk Projektexport, TCO, Umeå universitet (institutionen för global hälsa), UN Women nationell kommitté, Världsinfektionsfonden och en privatperson.

The following bodies were invited to submit responses, but abstained:

Riksrevisionen, Rikspolisstyrelsen, Åklagarmyndigheten, Kustbevakningen, Läkemiddelsverket, Socialstyrelsen, Arbetsgivarverket, Finansinspektionen, Kammarkollegiet, Tullverket, Statens skolinspektion, Sametinget, Sveriges meteorologiska och hydrologiska institut, Vinnova, Medlingsinstitutet, Expertgruppen för utvärdering och analys av Sveriges internationella bistånd, Sveriges akademikers centralorganisation, Caritas, Centerpartiets internationella stiftelse, Chemsec, Dag Hammarskjöldstiftelsen, Det Naturliga Steget, Green Forum, Hand in Hand, Handikappförbunden, Individuell Människohjälp, International Aid Services, Internet Society Sweden Chapter, Jarl Hjalmarsson stiftelsen, Läkare i världen, MyRight – Empowering people with disabilities, Olof Palmes Internationella Center, Reportrar utan gränser, Samarbetsorganet för etniska organisationer i Sverige, SIPRI, SOS Barnbyar, Stockholm Environment Institute, Svenska avdelningen av Internationella juristkommissionen, Svenskt näringsliv, Sveriges Kristna Råd, Swedish International Liberal Centre, Vänsterns internationella forum.

Annex 2. List of cancelled policies

Sweden's international politics for sexual and reproductive health and rights (UD2005/69313/GU);

The policy for Sweden's international work in the area of HIV and Aids (UD2008/36396/MU);

The policy for Sweden's support to civil society in developing countries within the Swedish development cooperation (UF2009/23647/UD/UP);

Policy for research within the Swedish development cooperation 2010-2014 (UF2009/75123/UD/UP);

Policy for democratic development and human rights within the Swedish development cooperation 2010-2014 (UF2009/33076/UD/UP);

Policy for economic growth within the Swedish development cooperation 2010-2014 (UF2010/6949/UD/UP);

Policy for Sweden's humanitarian foreign aid 2010-2016 (UF2010/39010/UD/SP);

Policy for environmental- and climate issues within the Swedish development cooperation 2010-2014 (UF2010/39205/UD/UP);

Policy for security and development within the Swedish development cooperation 2010-2014 (UF2010/38380/UD/SP);

Poverty and human trafficking – a strategy for combating human trafficking through Sweden's international development cooperation (UD2003/137/GU);

Model for enhanced control of results in the development cooperation (UD2007/22431/USTYR);

Partner Driven Cooperation for global development – policy for partner driven cooperation within the development cooperation (UD2007/46452/UP);

Guidance for trade related aid (UD2007/46001/UP and UF2009/5682/UP)

Policy for gender equality and women's rights and roles within the Swedish international development cooperation 2010-2015 (UF2010/39514/UD/UP)