



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Pro-life, Positioning and Imperialism

A Critical Discourse Analysis of U.S. Foreign Aid
Statements on Abortion and Reproductive Health

Author: Charlotte German

GNVM03

Spring 2020

Department of Gender Studies

Master of Science in Development Studies

Lund University

Supervisor: Maria Eriksson

Abstract

This thesis uses Critical Discourse Analysis to explore how the practice of abortion is defined and created in U.S. presidential administrations' statements on foreign aid, how the discourses regarding abortion and reproductive health have changed between 1984-2019 and how the U.S. foreign aid statements on reproductive health can be understood through postcolonial feminist theory. When the presidency is held by a Republican, the U.S. has implemented a policy prohibiting U.S. taxpayer money to fund abortion services abroad. The Mexico City Policy, as it is named, has severe consequences on women's health. The theoretical framework builds upon postcolonial feminist theory, which includes a Marxist perspective and a theory on reproductive governance. The empirical material of the thesis is constituted by statements made by U.S. presidential administrations from 1984-2019. The findings show that the discourses regarding abortion in foreign aid very much depends on what party holds the presidency. The Republicans follow and reproduce a pro-life discourse and claims the unborn foetus' right to life, whereas Democrats follow a more comprehensive discourse of sexual and reproductive health and rights. The thesis concludes that the implementation of the U.S. foreign aid policy on reproductive health also reproduces colonial patterns of power, control and influence.

Key words: United States of America, Foreign Aid, Abortion, Critical Discourse Analysis, Postcolonial Feminist Theory

Word count: 23696

Table of contents

List of abbreviations	1
1. Introduction	2
1.1 <i>Research aim and research question</i>	3
2. Theoretical outlooks	4
2.1 <i>Conceptual discussion</i>	4
2.2 <i>Research field</i>	5
2.2.1 <i>Aid as imperialism</i>	5
2.2.2 <i>Consequences of the Mexico City Policy</i>	9
2.3 <i>Theoretical framework</i>	13
2.3.1 <i>Colonialism vs Imperialism</i>	13
2.3.2 <i>Postcolonial feminism</i>	15
2.3.3 <i>Globalisation and capitalism as a colonial power</i>	17
2.3.4 <i>Reproductive governance</i>	19
3. Methodology	21
3.1 <i>Data collection and selection</i>	21
3.2 <i>Role as a researcher</i>	25
3.3 <i>Introduction to discourse analysis</i>	27
3.4 <i>Fairclough's critical discourse analysis</i>	28
3.4.1 <i>The three-dimensional model</i>	29
3.4.2 <i>The practical use of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis</i>	33
4. Analysis	36
4.1 <i>The Reagan Administration</i>	37
4.2 <i>The Clinton Administration</i>	43
4.3 <i>The G.W. Bush Administration</i>	48
4.4 <i>The Obama Administration</i>	53
4.5 <i>The Trump Administration</i>	55

4.5 Concluding theoretical discussion	66
5. Concluding discussion.....	68
5.1 Recommendations for future research.....	70
6. References	72

List of abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
ICPD25	International Conference on Population and Development + 25
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LGBTQI+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer, Intersex and others
MCP	Mexico City Policy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PLGHA	Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

1. Introduction

The policy now guiding American health assistance, Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance (PLGHA), was established by president Donald Trump during 2017. The policy states that American taxes cannot, through international aid, go towards abortions, advocacy regarding abortions or referrals or information about abortions (USAID 2020). The fact that health providers cannot speak on or inform patients about abortions without risking losing their U.S. funding has led to the policy also being called *the global gag*, as it prevents health providers and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to exercise their freedom of speech (Rodgers 2018, 2). The policy isn't new, but rather builds upon an expansion of the precursor, the Mexico City policy (MCP). MCP has since its establishment in 1984 been implemented by republican presidents as they take office in the U.S. (ibid, 1), and has likewise been rescinded by every democrat president. MCP was created in the aftermaths of the UN International Conference on Population in Mexico City. The aim of the conference was to gather states and NGOs around issues of population growth and family planning, and 147 out of 157 UN Member States participated (UNFPA n.d.). The U.S. however chose to not endorse the jointly created declaration, but instead made their own statement which later became the basis of the MCP. The U.S. stated that abortion has no place within terms such as “family planning” or “reproductive health”, and that their foreign health aid should henceforth not cover such programming or interventions (The White House Office of Policy Development 1984). This statement led to a drastic change in U.S. foreign policy.

A similar position was declared after the International Conference on Population and Development + 25, which was hosted in Nairobi during the autumn of 2019 (Nairobi Summit n.d.). A large number of countries signed an official summit declaration and made country-based commitments, but the U.S. instead made an anti-statement. Additionally, ten like-minded, conservative countries signed the American anti-statement, which focused predominantly on the issue of abortions (Office of Global Affairs 2019). The defence used to justify the anti-abortion standpoint lies, among other things, in the UN Convention on the Rights

of the Child. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child states that due to the vulnerability of children, they require extra protection, both before and after birth (UN 1989). The referencing to the convention is however ironic, as the US is the only country in the entire world that hasn't ratified it domestically.

These conservative statements, some which came to create entire foreign aid policies, have had severe consequences globally, especially within the field of sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), as partner NGOs to the U.S. have been forced to either change their stance on abortions or lose the funding from the U.S. (Rodgers 2018, 22). It is believed to have contributed to an increase of abortions in general, but specifically an increase of unsafe abortions and thus causes harm to women's well-being (ibid). As the issue of access to abortions, safe or unsafe, affects women, and in this case especially women in the Global South, this topic is of relevance for the gender studies field. It connects to issues of women's SRHR, bodily autonomy, as well as to the global hierarchy of decision-making.

1.1 Research aim and research question

With the above considerations in mind, the aim of this study is to understand how the concept of abortion is created through discourses in U.S. statements on reproductive health in foreign aid programmes and policies, and how it has changed over time. Furthermore, the aim is to understand how the statements produces, reproduces or challenges notions of reproductive health and bodily autonomy over time.

The research questions are as follow:

- How is the practice of abortion conceptualised in U.S. presidential administrations' statements on reproductive health in foreign aid programmes between 1984 and 2019?
 - How have the discourses regarding abortion and reproductive health changed over time in U.S. presidential administrations' statements on reproductive health in foreign aid programmes?

- How can the U.S. presidential administrations' statements regarding abortion in foreign aid programmes be understood through postcolonial feminist theory?

2. Theoretical outlooks

In this chapter, the theoretical outlooks for the thesis will be displayed. This includes an overview of the research field, divided into two different sections, as well as the theoretical framework for the analysis. This chapter will however start with a discussion on language use.

2.1 Conceptual discussion

When discussing global phenomenon, such as aid and foreign policy, different terms are used to describe the division in the world. Different concepts are used to describe the relation between different parts of the world, such as Western/Third World, One Third World/Two Thirds World, Global North/Global South. In this short discussion I shall explain why I've chosen the terminology I have, and some of the political implications of their meanings and use. As some sources used in this thesis are from different time periods or have a different positioning in the matter compared to me, other phrases are used where such sources are referenced. There will therefore be a shift in phrases when I source other scholars compared to when I'm writing freely. I hope this discussion and clarification will make the shifting terminology less confusing for the reader.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty writes in *Under Western Eyes" Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles* (2003) about the different terms used to define and divide the world. Emphasis is put on the fact that language isn't static but constantly developing, and that the choice of language should be adapted to fit the project at hand (2003, 506). There simply isn't a right answer that would be applicable in all cases. The terms western/third world is too narrow she argues, as they are built upon the capitalist economic system, but still fails to

recognise differences within countries (ibid, 505). One-Third/Two-Thirds World, on the other hand, reflects on the majorities and minorities of the world, whilst also recognising quality of life as a variable for dividing the world (ibid, 506). It includes an analysis of power and agency but does however miss the historical aspect of colonisation.

Global North/Global South is loosely based on the geography of the world, where the northern hemisphere possesses more power and influence than the more marginalised southern hemisphere. This does however not line up perfectly, as there are exceptions on both sides of the equator (Mohanty 2003, 505). Mohanty states that the division between the “haves” and “have-nots”, which this terminology provides, does have a political value (ibid). The use of Global North/Global South can furthermore be seen as a metaphorical distinction where the North represents the pathway of capital and South the marginalised poor (Dirlik 1997 cited in Mohanty 2003, 505). This metaphorical distinction suits the underlying subject of this research project, as foreign aid also builds upon money moving from the “haves” to “have-nots”. The monetary flow of foreign aid often fits with the geographical division between North/South, but it always fits with the division of strong economies/marginalised poor, and that is why I’ve chosen to use the language of Global North/Global South.

2.2 Research field

The presentation of the research field will in this thesis be divided into two vastly different themes, to further deepen the understanding of the role of the U.S. SRHR foreign aid. The first subchapter will explore the connections between foreign aid and imperialism, which will lay the groundworks for the theory chapter coming next. The second subchapter will explore the consequences of previously implemented MCPs, to consolidate the social effects it has had globally.

2.2.1 Aid as imperialism

The concept of international development and aid has been theorised and criticised by many scholars for an extended period of time. The critique has been

varied, from questions regarding its functioning and success rates to whether it can be done ethically. One of the areas that have been discussed within academia is the risk of international aid contributing to colonial patterns of trade and western influence (Richards 1977).

To understand the basis of the arguments regarding foreign aid as imperialistic, it is important to first understand imperialism in general. Imperialism builds upon capitalism, where the economic system is built upon the production of material goods and ownership of the profit made from it (Loomba 2005, 20f). The capitalistic society is divided into those selling their labour to produce material goods and those profiting from its consumption. According to Marx, imperialism started when the local market ran out of raw materials to refine, labour to sell or purchase and the market was saturated due to over-production. The local markets could therefore not produce any surplus (Richards 1977). The only way to move forward with the capitalistic society were to expand, which is one contributing reason to why industrialised countries started to engage in less developed countries; those countries had both raw materials, labour and untouched markets to get involved in (ibid). Even after formerly colonised countries gained independence, the trade patterns remained. To this day, raw materials are exported out of the Global South to be refined and sold for profit in the Global North. For example, Liberia got 5% of the profit made from the country's rubber export in the last 25 years, whereas the transnational corporation Firestone took the remaining 95% (Dampney 2016).

In *The Context of Foreign Aid: Modern Imperialism* (1977) Lynn Richards argues that in the case of the U.S., this pattern of production and consumption was further strengthened by their fight against socialism. The spread of socialism would inhibit their possibility to engage in the global market, a market that requires capitalistic systems, and thus threaten the profit that needed to be made to sustain a tradition of surplus (ibid). This is also the starting point of what can be called imperialistic aid, where the U.S. explicitly stated that foreign aid should, in the long run, benefit the American interests in regard to the expansion of the country's economy (ibid).

“Foreign aid is a method by which the United States maintains a position of influence and control around the world, and sustains a good many countries which would definitely collapse, or pass into the Communist bloc.”

(President J. F. Kennedy, 1962 cited in Rickards 1977, 48).

This does however apply to far more countries than just the U.S. Many former colonisers benefit from the trade patterns of colonialism, which leads to monopolised markets (Dampney 2016). With the ownership of markets being based in the Global North, many countries in the Global South have struggled to invest in their own services such as education, infrastructure and health services. That is where foreign aid comes in. The Global North has an interest in remaining in control of the global market, and thus plays its part by providing foreign aid to those affected by it. By providing foreign aid to developing countries, donor countries establish economic ties which can later be utilised for their own profit-making (Richards 1977). Furthermore, by dictating what areas to support through foreign aid, they can influence the direction of development in other countries, without any regards to the decisions made by local governments or the well-being of people in formerly colonised countries. The capitalistic economic development is phrased as the only way to attain development, even though it fails to utilise indigenous systems and ideas. Therefore, development is always done through foreign aid and the donor is always expecting something in return (Dampney 2016). As many former colonised states depend on foreign aid, their governments are unlikely to make decisions that move against the global capitalist agenda. This created and creates a vicious circle, where policies and laws that could benefit the citizens are put aside, and any alternative ideas towards development get discarded (ibid).

Arturo Escobar’s book *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (2012) discusses various aspects and challenges when it comes to international development, among them also imperialistic tendencies that can be seen within foreign aid. Going far back in history, the very first aid policy established by Great Britain during the 1930s was an attempt, through

foreign aid, to reinvigorate the empire in times of independence movements and Afrocentrism (ibid). The vast majority written on imperialism in the book is however not connected to specific nation-state, but to the World Bank. The World Bank represents and is represented by the Global North, so the global pattern of power relations still applies. Escobar even states that ‘The impact of the World Bank goes well beyond the economic aspects. This institution should be seen as the agent of economic and cultural imperialism at the service of the global elite’ (2012, 227). Escobar argues that the Green Revolution and the Integrated Rural Development Programmes, which aimed at the increased productivity of small-scale farmers in the Global South, are good representations of how imperialism works within the field of development. The programmes were made up by loans to farmers, financed by transnational organisations and donor countries, with which they should have been able to grow and streamline their production. No cultural or geographic considerations were involved in this process, but the World Bank still expected the results to be successful across the line. The idea was, except for the increased production of harvest, to include rural farmers in the ‘modern’ economy and sectors (ibid). The discourse of development thus remained focused around growth, capitalism and modernisation, which would then benefit the Global North’s economic interests and reproduce imperialistic patterns.

Similarly to the Green Revolution and the Integrated Rural Development Programmes, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) also aimed at increasing privatisation and deregulation of markets, through state loans to countries in the Global South. In *U.S. Economic Imperialism and Resistance from the Global South* (2012) Francis Shor argues for the self-interest of the Global North, IMF and the World Bank to push for the implementation of SAP, as it contributed to an expanded global market, controlled raw materials and capital flow which could solve the issue of their declining profits. The consequences for the Global South were in many places severe, especially for small-scale farmers that could not compete on the global market. The deregulated markets opened up for companies in the Global North to enter markets in the Global South, which outcompeted local producers and furthered the profit made by companies in the Global North. This market shift was

enhanced by the conditions that came with the SAP loans, for example to forego all state subsidies, which made it even harder for local producers and entrepreneurs to compete (ibid). If imperialism is seen as the highest level of capitalism, and a way of interfering with foreign powers without the use of violence, the SAPs definitely qualify. They originated in capitalistic self-interests and aimed at influencing policies and economic systems in the Global South, whilst disguised as foreign aid to help develop poorer countries.

The majority of sources found on imperialism as aid were from the 1960s and 1970s, or focused on events taking place in roughly the same era. Even though programmes such as the SAPs are relevant in a discussion on imperialistic ways of foreign aid, it is not up to date or anything new. The critical literature regarding foreign aid written in more recent times criticises the ways of working with foreign aid, questioning approaches such as ‘one size fits all’, where the same approaches are believed to be transferable without taking cultural, social, political or economic factors into consideration. The literature (for example *The Will to Improve* from 2007, by Taina Murray Li) questions the ‘rendering technical’ and reporting methods, as most foreign aid programme outcomes are expected to be quantifiable and easily labelled as either successful nor not successful, but does not question the very existence of foreign aid. I find this to be a further justification of the need for this research project, as foreign aid seems to be so embedded in the current economic system that it is not questioned whatsoever.

2.2.2 Consequences of the Mexico City Policy

To deepen the understanding of the social effects of the MCP throughout previous periods of implementation, the second part of this presentation of the research field will be a literature review on its effects and consequences.

The major finding from the literature review is that the number of abortions actually increased during times of the policy’s implementation (Brooks, Bendavid and Miller 2019), and that the increase can be contributed to the lack of access to contraception (ibid, Jones 2011, Gebremedhin et al. 2018). The loss of funding to abortions also affects NGOs ability to provide contraceptives, as most NGOs

involved in SRHR work with both areas (Brooks, Bendavid and Miller 2019, Jones 2015). This is reinforced by the fact that the U.S. used to be the largest funder globally of family planning and reproductive health aid, providing for example 30% of all funding in such thematic areas in Sub-Saharan Africa between 1995-2014 (ibid). Depending on the geographic area, the change in numbers of abortions varies. Brooks, Bendavid and Miller (2019) claim an increase of 40% in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa, whereas Jones (2015) states that the increase in Ghana during the time of Bush's presidency was at 20%.

Apart from pointing out the increase in abortions, the literature also explores the prevalence and risks of unsafe abortions. As the access to safe abortions reduces during the policy's implementation, due to fewer NGOs providing them combined with an increase in unwanted pregnancies, the percentage of unsafe abortions are believed to have increased (Brooks Bendavid and Miller 2019). It is furthermore believed to have become less safe due to the shortage of healthcare providers allowed to perform abortions, thus leading to a noteworthy risk to women's health and well-being (ibid). The complications of unsafe abortions furthermore contribute to the already high numbers of maternal mortality (Jones 2015). Unsafe abortions also place a disproportionate burden on already vulnerable women, such as poor, uneducated, rural and adolescent women, due to their inability to attain post-abortion care and societal support (Gebremedhin et al. 2018).

The normative and legal challenges that the policy brought along are explored by The Leitner Center for International Law and Justice, with focus on the situation in Ethiopia (2010). Due to the back and forth on implementation and repeal of the policy, many complying NGOs decided to continue not working with abortions even when the policy wasn't in place. The change of strategies required to follow the policy's being or nonbeing became too resource-demanding and complicated (Leitner Center for International Law and Justice 2010). This made safe abortions continuously inaccessible for especially rural poor women, thus leading to higher risks of unsafe abortions, which is the second leading cause of death (after HIV/AIDS) among Ethiopian women (ibid). Furthermore, the part of the policy prohibiting complying NGOs from advocating for safe and legal abortions lead to

less pressure on policymakers and politicians to change national laws. Instead, conservative oppositions could do a lot of lobbying for the preservation of restricted abortion laws (ibid).

As mentioned earlier, the literature shows that a decrease in access to contraceptives and a decline in the use of contraceptives can be seen since the implementation of the MCP (Brooks, Bendavid and Miller 2019). With organisations losing their funding for abortion services, they also lose funding that would otherwise go towards family planning. Making modern contraceptives accessible should be a priority if a decrease in abortions is the main goal (ibid). The decrease of contraceptives also moves beyond the issue of abortions, as it potentially forces women to give birth to children they are not ready for (emotionally, physically, financially). The risks of sexually transmitted diseases are additional consequences of the low use of contraceptives. This moves us into the topic of HIV and AIDS.

Many NGOs working with HIV and AIDS are also working on other SRHR related issues, as they cannot be separated completely. HIV cuts across all sections of SRHR, from having sex to giving birth. Organizations working on HIV and AIDS are thus also at risk when it comes to the policy. According to Jogee (2019) 60% of South African NGOs working on HIV and AIDS get their funding from PEPFAR, which is the American governmental body dealing with development aid related to HIV and AIDS and now also covered by PLGHA. Furthermore, 86% of the over 4 million South Africans on antiretroviral treatment relied on local NGOs to provide it in 2017. The chances that these NGOs complied with the policy are therefore very high (Jogee 2019), meaning that they can no longer work on anything related to abortions or even speak about them. If they still do so, for example refer women to abortion clinics, they risk being defunded (Jogee 2019). This would have a tremendous effect on HIV services, especially for the already vulnerable. As Southern Africa was hit hard by the HIV epidemic, it would have resulted in consequences for entire populations if funding for HIV services were to be lost. This is also applicable for other diseases, such as tuberculosis, Ebola and Zika, according to Singh and Karim (2017).

Jones (2011) discusses the issue of child health in Ghana in relation to the MCP. Child health isn't included in the core of SRHR, but it's often brought up together with maternal health and postnatal care, which on the other hand very much relates to SRHR. According to Jones (2011) studies have found that the weight and height in relation to the age of children, compared to siblings and other children in the community, were negatively associated with the installment of the MCP in 2001. *Policy babies*, as Jones (2011) calls them, may have suffered the consequences of unwantedness due to the challenge for their mothers to access safe abortions. This includes insufficient nutrition, lack of healthcare, higher risks of anaemia and respiratory illnesses (ibid). Infant mortality rates are higher among children who are unwanted, which is explained by the many health complications listed previously. Additionally, policy babies are less likely to attend and finish primary school (Chalasan, Casterline, and Koenig 2008, cited in Jones 2011). Furthermore, many of the unwanted children are born by mothers who are forced to drop out of school to have them and thus contributes to the reproduction of poverty circles and women's vulnerability (Jones 2011).

Singh and Karim (2017) bring up another heavy consequence of the policy, which is that its implementation prohibits activities that are deemed legal in the U.S., and in many of the countries receiving aid. This ultimately means that the U.S. is meddling in other citizens' constitutional and human rights (ibid). The U.S. influence is furthermore strengthened by their very strong presence in international health aid, with having provided 36% of all funding for foreign aid when it comes to health (ibid). This connects back to the previous chapter, where aid is discussed as a new form of imperialism. Sheffield (2019) argues in a similar way, saying that the policy keeps SRHR exclusively in the health arena, and ignore the rights perspective. The rights perspective is crucial, as it's ultimately about bodily autonomy. The conservative wave and its policymakers are trying to make the entire SRHR conversation about abortion, whereas it includes much more than that. Sheffield further states that conservative politicians shouldn't use women's reproductive health for 'political football' (ibid).

This literature review of the consequences of the MCP and its successor PLGHA shows that the effects move far beyond the issue of reduced access to safe abortions. It also influences healthcare relating to child health, HIV and AIDS, contraceptives, and touches upon the socio-economic situation of vulnerable women as well as the imperialistic manners of American foreign aid and its way of meddling with judicial development in the Global South. Furthermore, if the aim of the policies were to minimise the numbers of abortions, it has failed drastically, and it is very unclear which lives are actually protected by the latest version of the policy.

2.3 Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the theoretical frameworks for the research project will be explored. The underlying theoretical base for this thesis will be postcolonial feminist Marxist theory. The aim is to highlight the colonial patterns of which the U.S. is benefiting from and using for their foreign aid agenda. To get a comprehensive overview of postcolonialism and postcolonial feminism, three texts have been selected. Ania Loomba's *Kolonialism / Postkolonialism – en introduktion till ett forskningsfält* (2005), Chandra Talpade Mohanty's "*Under Western Eyes*" *Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles* (2003) and Maria Lugones *Heterosexualism and the colonial/modern gender system* (2007) have been selected. Their texts complement and confirm each other, and together create a richer theoretical overview. Finally, a theory completely focusing on reproductive governance is introduced, to ground the connection between reproductive health and postcolonial theory.

2.3.1 Colonialism vs Imperialism

In *Kolonialism / Postkolonialism – en introduktion till ett forskningsfält* (2005), Ania Loomba argues for the difference between imperialism and colonialism. This distinction is of importance in regard to this research project, as the U.S. isn't one of the strong colonial powers. They are however highly

imperialistic. Loomba (2015) argues that colonialism can be defined as when a foreign power settles in a country and heavily or completely, changes the judicial and political system as well as influencing the social structures. This is especially true for the latest period of colonialism, from 1850 – 1950 (Loomba 2005, 19). Behind the colonial power lies the imperialist, also called “the motherland”. Imperialism has historically been connected to kingdoms and royals but has come to change meaning and is now more connected to capitalism and capitalistic international power (ibid, 20). This newer way of looking at imperialism came from Lenin, who argued that the highest level in the capitalistic society was imperialism and becoming an imperialist power. The imperialists use their capitalistic power to influence and govern internationally, without being physically present or using the violence known to colonialism (ibid, 21). Thus, meaning that colonialism cannot be without imperialism. On the other hand, imperialism can exist without colonialism (ibid). The U.S. has few colonial patterns, compared to for example Britain. They do however work with a strong military presence abroad, high numbers of international development aid and are a strong voice in international high-level meetings and transnational organisations. In other words, the US is still using its power and position in the global hierarchy to influence politics and development in countries in the Global South to suit their own interest, which follows the patterns of postcolonialism without ever having had colonial ties to said places (ibid).

Loomba (2015, 21f) also highlights that the term postcolonial can be very misleading, as it linguistically implies that countries that were colonised no longer suffer from the colonial past’s consequences. They are *post* colonialism. This is questionable, as independence from the colonial power isn’t the only step to take to in reality be postcolonial. Colonial powers are still benefitting from the ties and patterns established throughout the past colonial era and many independent countries still have a judiciary, trade patterns and social norms heavily based on the former motherlands’ (ibid, 22). With this logic, countries can simultaneously be postcolonial and neo-colonial. Many countries have regained independence from their colonial rulers, thus being postcolonial, but at the same time are economically

dependent on former colonial powers due to for example unfair trade patterns and chains of resources and production. Furthermore, calling all countries that regained independence after the colonial era postcolonial risks creating a belief that they all suffer the same challenges. Such beliefs are one-dimensional and reproduce the idea of “the west and the rest”. Depending on the coloniser and colonial situation, relations of gender, sex, race, caste etc., the current situation can look very different, and thus, the societies are very differently organized (ibid, 28). Postcolonialism should instead be used as a way of understanding and questioning power, influence and global hierarchies built by and for imperialist powers (ibid, 26, 31), rather than describing a country’s history. For this research project, this becomes an important theoretical view to fully understand the position that the U.S. possesses in the global postcolonial and neo-colonial hierarchy.

An important part of the postcolonial understanding of power is the process of “othering”. Othering builds upon a binary world view, where everyone outside the western world becomes “the other” (Loomba 2005, 29). Othering is also a basis of colonialism, as it fundamentally was built upon the Global North’s embraced mission to civilise/educate/salvage the rest of the world, as well as the view of black and brown bodies as less valued and incapable of the wonders of European intervention. The population of the world was differentiated by the contrarities of classifications such as superior/inferior, rational/irrational, primitive/civilised, traditional/modern (Lugones 2007, 192). Even though the purpose of the last colonial era was to fuel the industrial revolution in Europe, the justification behind it was rooted in the process of othering.

2.3.2 Postcolonial feminism

In this colonial binary view of othering, where the white man is the epicenter of the world, the black or brown woman becomes the complete opposite. She becomes everything he is not, as well as everything that a European woman isn’t. This is something that Lugones (2007) explored further, as the non-white women were not only defined as the opposite to the pure, sexually passive and fragile white women, but furthermore, non-white women could never attain the same status as

the white women even if they fulfilled all criterias (2007, 203). Depending on her nationality and ethnicity, the depiction may differ, but the global hierarchies of sex (patriarchy) and race (racism and colonialism) are always present (Loomba 2005, 162). Lugones emphasises the importance of realising that racialising, gendering and heterosexualism moves beyond social norms and societal expectations and into the realm of materiality of power and violent domination (Lugones 2007, 188).

African women were often pictured naked, wild, overly sexualized and open for the colonisers entrance by the returning “explorers” (Loomba 2005, 152). Asian women on the other hand were the symbol of richness and abundance, but still willing to trade and deal with the colonial man. Both are viewed as sinful and cunning and a threat to the social orders found in the imperialist motherland, where the European bourgeois woman never would engage in such behaviours (ibid, 154). Lugones argues that the hierarchy between women must be seen through a lens of class and race. The white bourgeois woman is closest to the white bourgeois man when it comes to status and influence, followed by the poorer working-class women of Europe, such as domestic workers, then comes the prostitutes and lastly, furthest down the hierarchy, lies the brown and black women (Lugones 2007, 56). The view of black women is centred around her sexuality and desire of the white man, which reproduces the hierarchy where the white man remains on top, even though it is often depicted as a harmonic union (Loomba 2005, 156). The division between the genders and the depiction of non-white women as overly sexualised are part of heterosexualism, which is a social structure that reinforces dominance and is based on biological dimorphism (Lugones 2007, 188-190). The white man is intellect, thinking, mind and wisdom, whereas the black woman becomes the body, desire, sexuality and wilderness (ibid, 203). Even the concept of knowledge creation and the conception of reality is gendered and racialised, where the white man is the only one privileged to define reality and produce knowledge and everyone else is left outside (ibid, 201).

Historically, gender and women of colour have been excluded from postcolonial analyses. The postcolonial perspectives have had a tendency to refer to the male perspective, and thus also focusing on traditional male-dominated

arenas: access to public life and control over resources and production (Lugones 2007, 189). Support or representation could not be found in feminist scholars either, as they assumed that all women's experiences were based on the same terms as those created for the white, bourgeois, European women. This led up to the establishment of postcolonial feminism as a research field during the 1980's, which was done by feminist scholars in the Global South (MacEwan 2001, 95). The Eurocentric white feminism, which in many ways still exists, risks reproducing colonial discourses by excluding "Third world women" and assuming that all women share the same oppression. Feminist movements need to include both a local and global perspective to fully understand the lived realities of women (Mohanty 2003, 501-503). Only when gender and race are intermeshed can the experiences of women of colour be understood (Lugones 2007, 193). To fully understand the modern/colonial gender system, such intersectionality must be combined with an understanding of the production of goods, access to material life, subjectivity and intersubjectivity and authority in public arenas (ibid, 189).

The postcolonial feminist theory is of importance, as it highlights the power relations created by the intersection of race and gender, and the vulnerability it creates for black and brown women – which are also those primarily subjected to the consequences of the American foreign aid policies regarding SRHR. Furthermore, it explains how marginalised women have been excluded from decision-making processes, even when such decisions heavily affect their lives.

2.3.3 Globalisation and capitalism as a colonial power

In Mohanty's *"Under Western Eyes" Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles* (2003), she clarifies and reflects upon her famous article *Under Western Eyes* (1984) and confirms the critique towards the Eurocentric white feminism and highlights the new colonising power: capitalism and globalism. The issue of capitalism as the new colonialism is taken back to historical materialism, where the materials rather than ideas are believed to create and shape history. The material reality of people's lives on both local and global level is a Marxist methodology used to highlight the inequalities of access to material life, as well as

the inequalities in relations of production. Mohanty argues that to understand the inequalities of capitalism and its colonising power, a race-and-gender-conscious historical materialism is needed (Mohanty 2003, 509), which highlights the structural inequalities based on race, sex and class. The capitalist system also creates hierarchal dichotomies with global over local, finance capital over production, consumers over citizens etc. These are also gendered, where the former are considered the male arenas and the latter the female ones, which reproduces the patriarchal structures and undermines the societal contributions made by women (ibid, 527). Additionally, the neoliberal hegemony together with capitalism inhibits the individual's capability to make decisions on one's behalf (ibid, 508), thus leading to a shrinking space of autonomy for all, and especially for those economically marginalised. The Eurocentric capitalism furthermore imposed and still imposes changes that violently inferiorised women of colour, as its hegemony builds upon a reproduction of the racialised and gendered system of oppression (Lugones 2007, 191, 202, Mohanty 2003, 510). The dichotomy between white and non-white women is also relevant in relation to capitalism, as the white women were seen as unable to work and fragile, thus making the women of colour strong, abled and assets in relation to production in the capitalistic system (Lugones 2007, 206).

Marginalised, indigenous women of colour do have a unique position of knowledge creation, as they are the ones to see the full consequences of global capitalism and systematic power (Mohanty 2003, 511). They are the ones who live closest to deforestation, toxic dump sites, are hit the hardest by extreme weather, famines, wars and are most subjected to domestic violence. Furthermore, women and girls are overrepresented in the number of displaced people globally, as well as in people living in poverty (ibid, 514). Therefore, it is crucial for a feminist movement to be both anticapitalistic and based on transnational solidarity, whilst putting the experiences of these particular women and girls at the centre (ibid, 514). Mohanty's ideas are highly relevant when looking at foreign aid, as it is a part of the postcolonial economic system of globalisation and capitalism. As previously mentioned, for the topic of this research project, the relevance of Mohanty is

furthered due to the effects that the U.S. policies have on marginalised women and girls worldwide and those women and girls are also being completely left out of the conversation. According to Mohanty's theory, the system of foreign aid reproduces colonial discourses, whilst also providing room for the capitalist system to grow.

2.3.4 Reproductive governance

The theory of reproductive governance emerged after the second world war, when the Global North started fearing the rapid population growth of the Global South. Population growth was considered a threat to the economic growth of the Global North, as well as a threat to environmental well-being when more people would need to be fed by the same land (Morgan and Roberts 2012, 245). It was furthermore believed that rapid population growth was a significant contributor to extreme poverty. At this time in history, reproductive governance focused mostly on population control. Morgan and Roberts (2012) developed their theory on reproductive governance from Foucault's theory of regimes of truth, where's they instead write about moral regimes (Morgan and Roberts 2012, 241). They describe reproductive governance as "the mechanisms through which different historical configurations of actors – such as state institutions, churches, donor agencies, and NGOs – use legislative controls, economic inducements, moral injunctions, direct coercion, and ethical incitements to produce, monitor and control reproductive behaviours and practices" (ibid, 241). The moral regimes of reproduction include interventions on all areas related to reproduction, such as sexuality, sexual behaviours, marriage, division of labour etc. (ibid, 243).

The focus on population control started to shift after modern contraceptives became more widely available and fertility rates dropped, and moved towards SRHR in the 1980s. The shift meant that preventing sexually transmitted diseases, treating infertility and access to abortions got more attention (Morgan and Roberts 2012, 246). Even though progress have been made over time when it comes to social issues, such as decriminalisation of homosexuality, abortion remains a challenge. Through the growing acceptance and implementation of human rights, the conservative wave has claimed the rights perspective and twisted it to their own

agenda. For example, the criminalisation of abortions is justified through the *rights* of the unborn child and the *rights* to life (ibid, 242). The rights perspective is furthermore strengthened in countries that have experienced human rights violations in the past (ibid, 246). The new rights discourse sets the reproductive rights of women against the right to life of the unborn (ibid, 245). The shift from population control to the rights of the unborn is explained with an example from Peru. The president of Peru from 1990 – 2000, Alberto Fujimori, had hundreds of thousands indigenous women forcefully sterilised (ibid, 246). These actions were undeniably connected to population control. This did not come to the public's knowledge until 2002, which led to strong reactions both nationally and internationally. The following president, Alejandro Toledo, a conservative who furthered the catholic church interests, proposed a law that stated that all Peruvian women should have their pregnancies registered upon conception, to protect the rights of the unborn child (ibid, 246). The bill was not connected to population control, but rather reproductive health (and governance). The discourse regarding reproductive health at the time in Peru became heavily influenced by the catholic view of sanctity of life (ibid). The strong catholic influence has over time come to influence the legislative changes seen, mostly in Latin America, where they've pushed juridical rights back from birth to conception and include the concept of foetal rights (ibid, 247).

The right to life movement stands in conflict with the right to reproductive safety and autonomy and has created a division globally. Many international organisations and international donors threatened to withhold their development assistance when more restrictive legislations were up for discussions in for example the Nicaraguan parliament (Morgana and Roberts 2012, 247-248). This connects back to the continued influence on policymaking from the Global North, done through the financial aid they provide. Even though the article doesn't bring up the case of the U.S. and its policies regarding abortion, the same pattern can be seen, as the U.S. also uses the arguments of right to life and moral regimes to justify their own political standpoint. The theory of reproductive governance fits within postcolonial feminism, as the donor countries of the Global North uses their

economic power gained through colonialism to impose their own ideas on former colonised countries. Furthermore, reproductive governance remains relevant for this research as it is specifically focusing on the controlling of women's bodies and the discourses regarding right to life.

3. Methodology

This chapter will explore the methodology of the thesis, which includes data collection and selection, the role as a researcher, a presentation of the chosen method, the theory behind the method and how the method is interpreted and adapted. The chapter aims at providing a good understanding of the methodological approach before coming to the analysis.

The method chosen is Norman Fairclough's (1992) critical discourse analysis. Certain qualities of Fairclough's CDA serve the topic very well, for example his recognition of ideology and power relations as a driving force behind, and a product of, discourses (1992, 86). The recognition of ideology and power relations as important components of discourses connects to both the selected theories chosen for this project, which in many ways focus on the global hierarchy and uneven division of power, as well to the very foundation of this project that is presidential statements on abortions in relation to foreign aid, which in turn are often ideologically based. Additionally, as Fairclough recognises discourses as both constituted in lived realities, as well as constitutive of those lived realities (ibid, 65), his method provides a good framework for analysing discourses in political statements and how those discourses are affected by and affect the political arena. Thus, it is my belief that Fairclough's CDA will provide me with the tools needed to answer my research questions.

3.1 Data collection and selection

The primary data to be analysed are documents on SRHR, made by U.S. presidential administrations. The selected documents go back to 1984, the year when the original MCP was written based on an official statement made under the

Reagan administration, during the aftermaths of the UN International Conference on Population. The policy is still the base of the current policy guiding American health assistance, and thus remains relevant. In 2019, a UN Conference on Population and Development was held in Nairobi, during which the Trump administration established an anti-statement in protest of the conference's agenda. Thus, a full circle has been established, from one international conference on population to another, 35 years apart.

From the starting point of the Reagan administration, statements have been selected from every presidential administration since. The purpose of this selection was to provide an analysis of change over time, if there is any, and to see how the policy may have developed. The American presidents since 1984 include Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, William J. (Bill) Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. The aim was to collect approximately three statements from each administration, this however became a challenge. George H. W. Bush and his administration seem to have not made any statements on international family planning or abortion. He continued to enforce the MCP and stayed in line with Reagan's previous statements and when becoming Reagan's running mate in 1980, he joined the conservative opposition to abortion (Herrera 2018). Thus, there are no documents of added value for this analysis from his time as president. Additionally, there are no official statements of interests from the Obama administration. He, like other Democrat presidents, started his time in office with rescinding the MCP. This document is included in the analysis, but after that, one can only assume that the Obama administration agreed to the global agenda on SRHR as a part of foreign aid and thus didn't need to make statements on the issue.

Additionally, it should also be noted that during this research process, additional relevant documents have been released from the Trump administration. As some balance is sought between the different administrations, they have been discarded. Furthermore, starting the analysis from the Reagan administrations' positioning at the UN conference in 1984 and ending with the Trump administrations' positioning at another UN conference in 2019 creates a full circle.

One document that technically is not a statement from a presidential administration is added to the analysis material. In the time of the Clinton administration, the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) was held. This conference produced a joint statement of commitments, which the U.S. both contributed to and later signed. I therefore found it to be of interest, as it shows the positioning of the U.S. when they are following the larger agenda on SRHR. Furthermore, two other documents collected are anti-statements to similar conferences at different times, so the ICPD statement also provides insight to what other administrations have opposed.

The collected documents have been found in U.S. state archives as well as each president's own White House archives. Statements from the earliest presidents included here have also been sourced through references in articles and academic literature, as some of the presidents held office in a time where digital archiving was still unavailable and unexplored.

Key search words have included:

- Family planning
- Reproductive health
- Mexico City Policy
- Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance
- Global Health Assistance
- International Conference on Population (and Development)

These searches provided many duplications of documents, as well as almost identical documents where the latter had been updated with corrections of spelling errors. They were discarded from the selection, as the content of the documents didn't change and thus wouldn't affect the analysis process. Furthermore, many documents included short mentions of reproductive health issues in relation to larger discussions, such as universal health coverage. Such documents have also been excluded, even though they are interesting, they would move the topic of analysis beyond the scope of this research project.

The documents included in the analysis are:

<i>Administration</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Author</i>
<i>Ronald Reagan</i>	U.S. Policy Statement for the International Conference on Population	1984	The White House Office of Policy Development
<i>George H. W. Bush</i>	-		
<i>Bill Clinton</i>	Memorandum for the Acting Administrator of the Agency for International Development	1993	Bill Clinton
	Cairo Declaration on Population and Development, ICPD	1994	Clinton administration signed the joint statement
<i>George W. Bush</i>	Restoration of the Mexico City policy - Memorandum for the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development	2001	George W. Bush
<i>Barack Obama</i>	Mexico City Policy and Assistance for Voluntary Population Planning	2009	Barack Obama
	The Mexico City Policy	2017	Donald Trump

<i>Donald Trump</i>	SUBJECT: Protecting 2017 Life in Global Health Assistance	Eric N. Moore U.S. Department of State
	U.S. Commitment 2019 Statement to the Nairobi Summit on ICPD25	U.S. Office of Global Affairs
	Joint Statement on the 2019 Nairobi Summit on the ICPD15	U.S. Office of Global Affairs, also on behalf of Brazil, Belarus, Egypt, Haiti, Hungary, Libya, Poland, St. Lucia and Uganda

3.2 The role as a researcher

In this subchapter, I will explore the role as a researcher and its limitations. It is my personal belief that neither a research project nor a researcher can ever be completely objective, no matter the distance or closeness the researcher has to the chosen research subject. When approaching a research project or subject, objectivity is impossible to attain, as the researcher approaches it with their own background and experiences. This is further explored in Fataneh Farahani's *On Being an Insider and/or an Outsider: A Diasporic Researcher's Catch-22* (2011). She argues that the research will always be shaped by the intellectual reading and understanding of the researcher, as well as their personal history (2011, 116). Even though discussions on reflexivity and positioning have been present for decades, the belief is still that the insider has local knowledge and the outsider has scientific objectivity (ibid, 119), which reproduces the dichotomy between different

researchers and furthermore risks reproducing colonial patterns of othering and of who gets to produce knowledge (ibid, 113). When assuming that the insider has a privileged position for knowledge creation and being able to get closer to the “truth”, there is a risk of seeing other cultures and ethnic groups as fully homogeneous. This view neglects power dynamics of for example gender, class, age, religious beliefs and sexuality, which are identities that could affect access to data and how it is collected (ibid, 114).

My own position towards this research project is undeniably as an outsider. I do not have any connections to the presidential administrations of the U.S., and as I am not an American citizen, I have no say in who’s elected into office there either. Additionally, as a Swedish citizen, I’m not a part of the groups directly affected by the U.S. foreign aid policies, as Sweden is not an aid-receiving country. The position as an outsider has both advantages and disadvantages (Farahani 2011, 114). As an outsider, it could be physically harder to attain data, but on the other hand, I do not necessarily pose a threat to stakeholders.

As touched upon earlier, the epistemological standpoint of this research project lies with Donna Haraway’s theory of objectivity and subjectivity. Haraway argues, just like Farahani, that the research can never be truly objective towards their research (Haraway 1988, 589). This is something that pierces through all steps of research, from data collection and selection to the analysis, as it is impossible to be objective when selecting and approaching others’ writing as well as when processing said materials (ibid, 592). This understanding is especially important when using discourse analysis as a method, as the understanding and analysis of discourses very much depend on the researcher and their academic and personal background. Academically, my background lies in gender and development studies within the Swedish educational system. My values are undeniably shaped by the discourses in the Global North, which could cause postcolonial concerns when my thesis subject has severe consequences in the Global South. However, as Chandra Talpade Mohanty argues in *Under Western Eyes” Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles* (2003, 20) cross-cultural studies can fill a purpose if historical heritage is included and generalisations are excluded. Throughout the

research process, I've tried to embrace Mohanty's exhortation. Additionally, as my research aims at analysing U.S. statements rather than for example the consequences they bring about in the Global South, the risks of reproducing colonial patterns lessens.

3.3. Introduction to discourse analysis

Discourse analysis originated as a method used by linguists and focused primarily on the text. Today, the method is used in a variety of disciplines with many different approaches. Discourse analyses' ability to connect the change and development of language to social and cultural processes have made it an appreciated method for social scientists (Fairclough 1992, 1). This is much due to the strong influence of Michael Foucault who popularised the concept of discourse and discourse analysis within the field of social science (ibid, 37). The many different approaches to discourse analysis are often divided into critical discourse analysis (CDA) and non-critical discourse analysis. CDA will be further explored in the following subchapter. The common ground for both approaches is the belief that discourses are socially constructive, meaning that the language use is contributing to the construction of society, identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. Discourses shape the way we perceive reality (ibid, 36). Foucault was particularly instrumental in the development of the theory that combines discourse and power as well as discourse and knowledge production and consumption (ibid, 37f.). As mentioned in the theory chapter on the theory of reproductive governance, it is a development of Foucault's 'regime of truth', which focuses on the circular relation with systems of power which create and uphold the truth.

Discourses are connected to social change as discourses are only maintained when they are being produced and consumed, through either action or speech. If the discourse is not maintained, it will change instead. This means that structures are constantly reproduced but also transformed through ordinary interactions (Fairclough 1992, 58). Even though Foucault recognises the connection between discourses and social change, Fairclough (2012, 56) argues that he does not take

the issue far enough and thus misses the modes of resistance and subsequently the transformative practice. This will be further explored in Fairclough's own CDA.

3.4 Fairclough's critical discourse analysis

The method used for this research was critical discourse analysis according to Norman Fairclough's model in *Discourse and Social Change* (1992). The specification of which book used is rather important, as Fairclough developed and changed his own method over time. The method was originally developed because he felt like the existing methods did not take social change, relations of power and knowledge production into account (Fairclough 1992, 1). As previously mentioned, discourse analysis originates from the academic field of linguistics before becoming an established method for social scientists, and Fairclough wishes to bring back a heavier focus on language use. He questions the belief that language is something only created structurally, as it connotes that social relations exist unattached to language use. Instead, language use should be seen as something that contributes to the constitution, reproduction and transformation of social relations and social identities (ibid, 62f). Additionally, Fairclough stresses that discourses are not just a representation of the world, but they are also signifying the world and help to constitute and construct the world (ibid, 64).

Discourses are shaped and limited by social structures and norms, such as class and gender, as well as by institutions. At the same time, discourses constitute and reproduce the construction of social identities, social relationships and knowledge creation and belief systems (Fairclough 1992, 64). Social identities, social relationships and knowledge creation and belief systems create three categories that correspond with three functions of language that interact in all discourses. Fairclough calls them the identity function (how social identities are created), relational function (how relationships are negotiated and performed) and ideational function (how texts constitute the world and its order) (ibid). Fairclough also argues that discourses are both constituted as well as constitutive, meaning that they are shaped by and shapes the world (ibid, 65).

This line of discourse analysis states that discourses work ideologically and within power relations and hierarchies (Fairclough 1992, 36). As a political practice, discourses reproduce and challenges power relations between social groups, such as classes and communities, where hierarchies are created (ibid, 67). Discourse as ideological practice, in turn, constitutes, sustains and alters the meanings of the world in relation to power. It is generated within and used as a tool to exercise power in power relations. Fairclough argues that certain kinds of discourses cannot be seen as immanently political or ideological, as the value and impact of discourses depends on the social and institutional settings they are being used in. A discourse could be political and ideological in certain settings and scenarios, but not others, depending on how it is situated (ibid). The different characteristics of Fairclough's CDA will be further explained throughout this chapter.

3.4.1 The three-dimensional model

Fairclough's method consists of a three-dimensional model, constructed of text, discursive practice and social practice (see Figure 1, Fairclough 1992, 74). The three dimensions are often used in discourse analysis and this model aims at bringing them together to create a more comprehensive framework for analyses. The model furthermore aims at providing a connection between the written text and the social practices of people (Fairclough 1992, 72). Fairclough underlines the importance of recognising that people's practices often are shaped by social structures and power relations they are either unaware of, or unaware of being affected by. This makes it hard to draw a straight line between the text and the social practice (ibid). People can therefore unknowingly have practices that are politically and ideologically invested and be reproducing discourses that have effects upon social structures without actively partaking in them (ibid). This means that people can be unintentionally reproducing social structures that have an effect on the social identity, the social relationships and the knowledge and belief systems of others. In this chapter, I will explain further what the different components of the model encompasses and entails, as well as how they cohere.

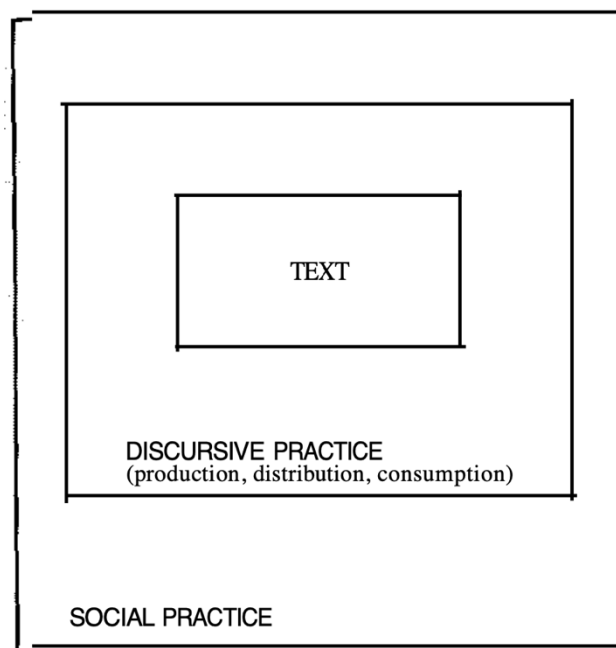


Figure 1: *Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1992, 74).*

3.4.1.1 Text

The centre of the three-dimensional model consists of text. Text can be understood as written texts, speeches, pictures, moving media or a combination of them (Fairclough 1992, 4). In relation to this thesis, the text will be just written texts in forms of the statements selected. Four main categories can be used to organise the analysis of text: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure (ibid, 75). The categories follow a pattern of starting off with the smaller details and moving towards the larger characteristics of the text. Individual word use falls under vocabulary, sentences and clauses fall under grammar, construction of linkages between sentences and clauses falls under cohesion and lastly, the way the text is organised and structured falls under text structure (ibid).

The text analysis focuses on the choice of wordings, terminology and writing style. Terminology and for example length of sentences and paragraphs depends on the genre the text is written in. Wording can be very differently charged politically and ideologically depending on the genre, space and time (Fairclough 1992, 76f).

The meaning of a word, or a word used to describe something, may be very different depending on the producer and the consumer of the text, which takes us to the next level in the three-dimensional model: discursive practice.

3.4.1.2 Discursive practice

Discursive practice involves the production, distribution and consumption processes of the text. The discursive practice is what connects the discourse to the social practices of people, and how the social norms of discourse come to life. According to social factors, such as time, place and space, these processes shift between various types of discourses. The production and distribution of texts may have an ideological purpose, to reproduce power relations (Fairclough 1992, 78). Fairclough states that the concept text producer needs to be deconstructed, as it often is several people involved in the process (ibid). In this project, many texts are produced by the U.S. president, but often there are a team of writers or specialists working on the text before it comes to the president themselves, meaning that I have to look beyond the signature on the paper to fully understand the production processes of these texts.

The consumer of texts can also be either an individual or a collective. The consumption of text heavily depends on the genre, as, for example, an advert is not read in the same way as a fiction book or an academic journal (Fairclough 1992, 79). Production and consumption of texts are socially constrained by structures, norms and conventions, depending on what social discourses they are a part of (ibid, 80). When it comes to the distribution of texts, it varies highly depending on the producer and perceived consumer. Political leaders' and international organisations' texts are distributed to various institutions, leading to different types of consumption and thus also different types of redistribution to fit the perceived consumer in the text step (ibid, 79f). The type of redistribution depends greatly on the perceived consumer, which includes not only the direct audience, but also 'hearers' (people outside the assumed audience, but still within the audience) and 'overhearers' (people who are not within the audience, but still will consume the text somehow) (ibid).

Analysis of discursive practice also includes an analysis of the force of utterances (is the text a threat/request/reinsurance/etc...), the coherence and the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of texts (Fairclough 1992, 75). The force can often be narrowed down to just a sentence, but what type of force it is can be hard to determine due to ambiguousness. To minimize the ambivalence, an interpretation of the context is needed. That could be done by looking at the situation they are in and what the power relation is between the people (ibid, 82f). Coherence is about the connections that the consumer makes when reading the text. Coherence is property of interpretations and connects to how a text as a whole 'make sense'. Important to note is however that a text only makes sense to a consumer who makes sense of it (ibid, 84)

Intertextuality is the property texts have to assimilate, contradict and echo other texts. Interdiscursivity relates to other discourses drawn upon in the text. When it comes to the production of texts, intertextuality refers to the historicity of texts and how they create additions to already established texts. This can create intertextual chains, which can be understood as links between different texts (Fairclough 1992, 84f).

3.4.1.3 Social practice

Social practice is the dimension in which the previous dimensions are created and a part of. Social practice is also where the social effects of discourses on people's lives and behaviours are analysed. As discourses are bearers of change, they can be used to change behaviours had and thus also become a tool of power. This is where the connection to ideology and hegemony lies, as it is where discourses create actual consequences in people's lives and to the organisational properties of societies (Fairclough 1992, 86). Ideology can be understood as to be constructions of reality which assist to the production, reproduction or transformation of power relations (ibid). It is important to note that not all discourses are fundamentally ideological (ibid, 91). In relation to this project, the social practices will very much be defined by the political landscape in the U.S. at the time of production of the texts.

The location of ideology is, according to Fairclough, both in structures, events (social interactions) and texts. The locations provide opportunities for reproduction and transformation of social interactions (Fairclough 1992, 88). In the example of texts, the meaning of the text is always a combination of the text and the consumers' interpretation of it. Furthermore, the assumption that people are aware of their own ideological practices cannot be made, as ideologies are very much built into social conventions and thus are hard to pinpoint. An individual can therefore be unaware that they are either reproducing or challenging ideologies (ibid, 90). This is because ideological processes, just like discursive practices, are created, reproduced and challenged between people's social interactions. It is in this social process that social norms and conventions are naturalized or denaturalized (ibid, 88f). Whether or not a person works as an unaware follower of ideology or as an active agent depends on social conditions, such as relations of domination and position in society (ibid, 91).

Hegemony provides a way of analysing change in relation to power relations and domination and thus allows a focus on discursive change (Fairclough 1992, 91). It is understood as a centrepiece in western capitalism, as well as domination in economic, political, social and ideological areas of society, and thus affects the social practices of individuals, communities and societies (ibid, 91f, 94f). The concept of hegemony is useful when conducting an analysis on or with a political focus, as it explores negotiated power relations and ideology.

Social practice is the last dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model and connects discourses to the lived realities of people. This dimension connects discourses to society at large. It explores how discourses influence the creation of identity, social relations and knowledge and belief systems. Furthermore, it highlights the political and ideological nature of discourses.

3.4.2 The practical use of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis

In this chapter I shall explain how I interpreted, adapted and used Fairclough's CDA to fit my research project. Fairclough emphasises that the analysis can be approached in different ways, depending on the nature of the

research project, academic discipline, personal preferences and the type of text used (1992, 225). The chapter explaining the practical use of CDA in *Discourse and Social Change* should therefore be used more as guidelines that can be adapted rather than set rules to follow (ibid). When starting the actual analysis, Fairclough recommended starting with the analysis of discursive practices, then moving on to the text analysis and lastly cover the analysis of social practices (ibid, 231). Even though the analysis also can be started off with the analysis of texts too (ibid), I chose to follow Fairclough's pattern, as I didn't want to risk losing the discourse perspective and moving too much towards a content analysis.

As explained earlier in the method chapter, the analysis of discursive practice aims at capturing the production, distribution and consumption of the texts. I therefore started by categorizing the statements previously collected according to producers. I knew from the start that I wanted to organise the analysis according to a linear timeline, which meant dividing the statements up according to each presidential administration. Within each presidential era, I categorised the statements depending on what part of the administration they came from. Some were written by the president, which immediately started the thinking process regarding who's really the producer, as most world leaders do not actually write their own speeches. This will be further discussed in the analysis, but nevertheless, statements signed by a president created a category. The next large category was the statements written by the secretary of state. Lastly came smaller categories such as *entire offices* and *undefined writers*. The reasoning behind creating these categories comes from the acknowledgement that the production of a presidential speech and, for example, a joint statement from Ministry of Health might be very different, especially considering that one is produced to be listened to and the other is produced to be read. The categorisation of the producers further helped with the analysis of distribution and consumption, as both actions depend on the type of material in focus. I also spent some time working on the reproduction and redistribution of texts. This seemed very important to me, as the policy PLGHA originates from the previous policy, which in turn is based on the reproduction of an official U.S. statement. In other words, a policy now guiding all health-related

foreign aid from the U.S. was reproduced from a previous distributed text. Therefore, I took the issue of reproduction and redistribution very seriously. Furthermore, political statements and especially presidential speeches tend to be reproduced and redistributed on large scale by the media.

The next step I took in working with the dimension of discursive practice was to look at intertextuality, interdiscursivity and force. By this step, I had somewhat left the previously created categories, as they were less relevant. Instead, I started looking at the texts by the administration that produced them. Intertextuality and interdiscursivity, just like reproduction and redistribution, was of importance, as the presidential administrations have either reproduced or challenged the discourses and norms from the previous administrations. There was therefore a high chance of finding signs of older texts and discourses incorporated in the texts. With the force, I tried narrowing down each text to find the core of the message or feel that the producers aimed at getting across. Depending on the type of text, this included also analysing the context and for which purpose it was produced. Certain texts included mixed forces, which required me to also analyse producers and consumers, as well as the time and place it was produced in and for.

I then moved onto the dimension of text. Fairclough recommended starting the text analysis by looking at the texts larger-scale properties before moving into the details of language (1992, 234f), which I chose to follow. This, I felt, further minimized the risk of moving towards a traditional linguistic text analysis. I therefore started by looking at larger-scale organisational properties of the text, such as genre and structure, then moving towards cohesion, grammar and vocabulary. I spent time looking at reoccurring phrases and concepts, as well as choices of words and the general tone of the statements.

The final dimension to be analysed was the social practice. Fairclough emphasised that this dimension is particularly difficult to have a checklist for (Fairclough 1992, 237). The objective was to identify the kind of social practice that the discursive practice and text was produced in and how said discursive practice and text contributed to a reproduction or challenging of the social practice. This is also where the theory of ideology and power relations in relation to discourse

fully came into the analysis process. This connects back to the three categories of systems of knowledge and belief, social relations and social identities. I kept these three categories in mind when analysing the dimension of social practices, to see whether or not the discourses could affect them. When analysing this dimension, I also had the context in which the statements were written in mind, as the social discourse is both constructed by the previous dimensions, but also constructive of them.

As Fairclough pointed out, there are always different analyses to be made from the same discourse samples and no single answer to be given (1992, 238). Therefore, I made sure to include alternative possible interpretations throughout the analysis, rather than just discarding them. The validity of the results can, according to Fairclough, be guaranteed by making sure that all levels of analysis are conducted, as well as being open with different readings of the discourses (ibid). All of this together with my results are presented in the following chapter, the analysis.

4. Analysis

In this chapter, the analysis process and findings will be displayed. The chapter has been organised according to the different presidential areas covered. This approach allows for a good overview of potential changes over time, and furthermore highlights changes and developments in discourses between statements made by administrations otherwise perceived to have the same or similar standpoint in the matter. If the analysis had been organised according to themes instead, subtle changes between the statements might have been missed. Therefore, the analysis is structured according to the different administrations, in a linear timeline, starting with the Reagan administration and ending with the Trump administration. If more than one statement has been collected for a presidential era, they will be analysed separately at first. Each subchapter will however end with a joint analysis of the statements made from each administration. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the analysis will start by looking at the dimension of discursive practice, then

moving towards the dimension of text, and lastly cover the dimension of social practice. Since there were no statements collected from the George H.W. Bush administration, that time period will not be included in the analysis.

4.1 The Reagan Administration

Within the timeframe of the Reagan Administration, only one statement was collected in the data selection process – *U.S. Policy Statement for the International Conference on Population* (1984).

Discursive Practice

The text was produced by the White House Office of Policy Development, meaning a team of people in the Reagan administration were involved in the production process. It was however presented at the United Nations International Conference on Population by the U.S. delegation in 1984, which doesn't have to include the actual writers of the text. The consumers of this text were plenty. If using Fairclough's division of direct audience, hearers and overhearers, the text was consumed by the other delegations at the conference (including parliament representatives, UN representatives, international and national NGOs as well as journalists); U.S. foreign aid workers in the U.S. and abroad; stakeholders such as activists and civil society movements. The general public probably didn't have a great interest in the text. The reproduction of this text is of great importance, as it later became the foundation of the MCP. The policy reached even further, with a direct audience then also including grassroots level organisations, and in the longer run, women in the Global South.

The intertextuality of the text is strong. There are a lot of references to "known facts" regarding the issues of population and development. For example, the text covers the discussion on population growth as a threat to economic growth, which follows the theory of reproductive governance. Morgan and Roberts (2012) argue that the positioning in SRHR of donor countries have historically been determined by their own economic gain, which explains why population growth is discussed in terms of economic growth. The statement also refers to the United

Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which is another example of intertextuality:

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child [1959] calls for the legal protection for children before birth as well as after birth. In keeping with this obligation, the United States does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs and will no longer contribute to those of which it is a part.

This appropriated rights-based approach is also further explained in the theory of reproductive governance, where conservative parties moved along with the rights-based approach to further their usual agenda (Morgan and Roberts 2012). The Reagan administration claims this to be the reason why they decided to take a stance against abortions and that they had an *obligation* towards the declaration. This is rather interesting, as the text was written in 1984, but the U.S. did not sign the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child until 1995 and still to this day has not ratified it (UN Treaty Collection 2020), meaning that they had no obligation whatsoever to follow such guidelines. To refer to a well-known UN document, especially at a UN conference, probably created a sense of agency and increased validity and influence. Interlinked with those intertextual and interdiscursive elements regarding abortion lies also the force of the text. “The United States does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programmes and will no longer contribute to those of which it is a part”. Even though the text itself is four pages long, the force can be narrowed down to just that sentence. Everything around it build up for that utterance or argues for its benefits.

The MCP wasn't the first policy to restrict U.S. foreign aid in relation to abortions, so some intertextual chains can be seen through the connection with earlier policies on the matter. Just like intertextuality, the interdiscursivity is strong in this text. A discourse that was, and remains, very present is the one regarding the unsustainable population growth and overpopulation. The producers of the text try to debunk this belief by focusing on economic growth as a contributing factor to a decline in birth rates, which could be increased by the strengthening of the private sector. Some examples from the text are:

More people do not necessarily mean less growth. Indeed, in the economic history of many nations, population growth has been an essential element in economic progress.

The US program as a whole, including population assistance, lays the basis for well-grounded, step-by-step initiatives to improve well-being of people in developing countries and to make their own efforts, particularly through expanded private sector initiatives, a key building block of development programs.

This connects back to both Mohanty's (2003) theory of capitalism as the new colonialism, where the control of the global market furthers the Global Norths' interests, and the theories presented in the literature review and through Loomba (2005) on how colonisation and imperialism work through the capitalist system and thus manages to influence foreign nations without having to be physically present. Through these theories, U.S. self-interest in expanding the global capitalist market, and making citizens into consumers, becomes very clear.

Text

Moving towards the text analysis, and the different levels of larger-scale organisational properties, cohesion, grammar and vocabulary. The organisational properties of the text follow a traditional discourse of political statements. The text is well-organised with clear introduction, body and conclusion. The tone is very clearly aimed at being neutral and argumentative. There are no emotions expressed and there is a lack of personal pronouns, which adds to the feeling of professionalism and trustworthiness. The few personal pronouns used are done so after having mentioned the U.S. in the same paragraph, making it clearer that the *we* referred to is *we Americans*. The use of *we* still implies that the entirety of the U.S. population agrees with the statements made, which is questionable. The *we* could also refer to *we in the Reagan administration*, which most likely means more unity behind the statements. This categorisation of the text is further strengthened by the long sentences used, as well as the references to historical happenings and movements in a factual way.

When looking at sentences and word use, the ideological background of the discourses becomes more apparent. As mentioned above, the *obligation* to respect the legal protection of the unborn child follows the ideological shift from pure conservatism to a rights-based conservatism (Morgan and Roberts 2012, 242). The use of the word *obligation* also implies that this is something the U.S. cannot ignore or chose to disregard. Furthermore, in the same paragraph the text reads:

US Support for family planning programs is based on respect for human life, enhancement of human dignity, and strengthening of the family. Attempts to use abortion, involuntary sterilization, or other coercive measures in family planning must be shunned...

To connect abortions and involuntary sterilisations with each other proves one's positioning on abortions clearly, as targeted involuntary sterilisation against certain communities or ethnicities is classified as a crime against humanity (International Criminal Court 2011, 3). It is also a statement made without any historical awareness, as involuntary sterilisations have been used to control the reproduction of ethnic minorities and indigenous populations, as well as members of the LGBTQI+ community (ibid, 246). Furthermore, this sentence insinuates that abortions are not *respect for human life, enhancement of human dignity* nor something *strengthening of the family*. The word choices are morally and ideologically charged and the *respect for human life* refers to the life of the unborn. No one would argue against the *respect for human life* and *enhancement of human dignity*, but depending on the ideological standpoint, the meaning of the statement would differ.

The ideologically charged language use continues with words such as *repugnant* in relation to the practice of abortions.

It is an unfortunate reality that, in many countries, abortion is used as a means of terminating unwanted pregnancies. This is unnecessary and repugnant; voluntary family assistance programs can provide a humane alternative to abortion of couples who wish to regulate the size of their family, and evidence from some developing countries indicates a decline in abortion as such services become available.

The U.S. instead calls for *humane* alternatives for *couples* wishing to control the size of their families. The neutral and professional tone built up by the larger-scale properties of the text is arguably gone. The use of a word such as *repugnant* proves that even when abortion is allowed according to the policy (in case of life-threatening conditions to the woman or foetus or incest or rape), the U.S. standpoint is that it is still wrong. This discourse is also strengthened by the word use *an unfortunate reality* when acknowledging that other countries allow abortions. By requesting *humane* alternatives, they are implying that abortions are inhumane, which further strengthens the ‘abortion is wrong’ discourse.

The use of the word *couples* does not necessarily have an ideological connection, but even back in 1984 there must surely have been other family constellations than couples. It neglects single mothers and those sexually active outside monogamous relationships, and further reproduces the discourse on the core family, which is a discourse often claimed by the conservatives. According to Lugones (2007) heterosexualism is a power relation key to colonialism, and thus this reproduction of the core family also reproduces colonial patterns and oppresses women. This family-oriented discourse is also reproduced by the concept of *family planning*.

...the United States has supported, and helped finance, programs of family planning...

US support for family planning programs is based on respect for human life...

By helping developing countries slow their population growth through support for effective voluntary family planning programs, in conjunction with sound economic policies...

These are some of the examples found in the text. The text never mentions reproductive health, contraceptives, sexuality education. *Family planning* seems to include such things, but it is never fully expanded on. It furthers a discourse regarding who’s in need of contraceptives or counselling on the matter; everyone who does is not in a family or in the pursuit of creating a family. The use of *couples* and *family planning* aligns with Lugones (2007) theory where she claims that

colonisation must be understood through the intersecting hierarchies of race, gender and heterosexualism. The heterosexual monogamous relationship is another norm and power relation that is forced upon women.

The text also includes the sentence “We recognize the importance of providing our assistance within the cultural, economic, and political context of the countries we are assisting, and in keeping with our own values”. This may seem like a precondition for all foreign aid, as foreign aid should be adaptable to the setting it is distributed too. Furthermore, most countries let their values guide their foreign aid. It becomes noteworthy as the U.S., through this text, decides to go against the global agenda on SRHR. Their values on the matter is strong enough to question the conference and its purpose. Additionally, this is a positioning enabled by the standing the U.S. has in the global hierarchy. In a different section of the text it says “It [the conference] is an important place, but not a controlling one”. That reproduces the U.S. scepticism towards a global unity on the matter of SRHR and signalises that they will not be forced to comply. The text somewhat places the U.S. on a moral pedestal, where they assume, they cannot be touched. This follows Morgan and Roberts’ (2012) theory on moral regimes, which is a regime whose institutional practices and procedures are justified and legitimised through moral values and principles and use legislative controls and economic inducements to influence and monitor reproductive behaviours. The U.S. policymaking regarding foreign aid very much follows this pattern, as the U.S. uses both institutional power and economic inducements to reduce the availability of safe abortions.

Social Practice

The social practice of this discourse is heavily influenced by the political movements at the time. Reagan was a conservative president, who ran his campaign towards the presidency on being pro-life (Herrera 2018). The same year as the conference was held, in 1984, was also a presidential election year. It is not hard to believe that Reagan wanted to consolidate his position as a conservative politician through this statement and gain political grounds to campaign on for re-election. As the Supreme Court in 1973 voted for a country-wide legalisation of abortion in the

U.S., through the now famous case *Roe v. Wade*, not much could be done on the abortion issue in the U.S. itself. Instead, Reagan pursued an anti-abortion agenda through foreign aid.

The reoccurring mentions of the importance of the private sector and economic growth can be contributed to the Cold War, where the U.S. stood for the free, capitalist market. Furthermore, the 1980s were the decade of the structural adjustment programmes and neoliberalism, which would promote economic development in the Global South as well as the capitalist market in the Global North (Shor 2012). As already mentioned, this statement later became the MCP, and its consequences are displayed in its own chapter earlier in this thesis. The lack of mentions of contraceptives and safe sexual practices can be explained by the so far little knowledge and awareness regarding HIV/AIDS. Foreign aid towards prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS will come to be a cornerstone of American health assistance, but not until the late 1980s (USAID 2019).

4.2 The Clinton Administration

The Clinton administration produced one statement of interest regarding foreign aid and SRHR, *Memorandum for the Acting Administrator of the Agency for International Development* (1993). That is the document leading to the rescinding of the MCP. Additionally, the Clinton administration signed the joint declaration from the ICPD in 1994, *Cairo Declaration on Population and Development, ICPD*. This will also be included for analysis, as it provides insight into the positioning of the U.S. at the time.

Discursive Practice

The *Memorandum for the Acting Administrator of the Agency for International Development* (1993) was officially produced by the president, William J. Clinton. The actual production may very well have included other producers behind the scene, as most high-level politicians have a team behind them to read through their statements and speeches. The text itself is aimed at the acting administrator at USAID, which is the person in charge of all foreign aid from the

U.S. That person is however not the only consumer. The rest of the employees at USAID, as well as foreign aid partner NGOs, were also hearers of the statement. Fairclough's overhearers could in this case be political opponents as well as other donor countries within the SRHR area. The distribution of this text mostly happened through the redistribution after it had reached USAID. When they had the text, they needed to contact all relevant partner NGOs abroad to advise on the new guidelines. That meant a massive redistribution of the text, as well as a very extensive audience for the consumption of it.

The text has references from the *U.S. Policy Statement for the International Conference on Population* (1984) that was covered in the previous subchapter. The force of this text is to rescind the policy that the *U.S. Policy Statement for the International Conference on Population* (1984) created, so naturally, the text has many signs of intertextuality connected to that one. Reagan's motivation behind the policy is paraphrased in the text, to underline Clinton's argument further, which also creates intertextual links.

The *Cairo Declaration on Population and Development, ICPD* (1994) was a joint declaration co-written by country and stakeholder representatives in connection to the ICPD conference in 1994. The preparation of the declaration was made by a working group made up by staff from UNDP and UNFPA, which are the two UN entities working with questions regarding population and development. The country and NGO representatives came with their input to the declaration, based on previous discussions in governments and boards, which means that the producers of this text are close to uncountable. As the text was jointly created between UN member states, and not by for example the U.S. alone, the imperialistic tendencies that can be seen in international development work are reduced.

The distribution as well as the consumption of the text became vast, as all delegations and representatives brought back the final product after the conference, and then distributed it further. The distribution and redistribution reached all stakeholders, from high-level politicians to small NGOs and health workers. It furthermore became a framework for how to approach issues of women's rights and SRHR in international health work.

The force of the text is that the UN urges all countries to make issues of population and development and women's rights and empowerment a priority. Basically, the UN urges all countries to live up to the declaration they had signed.

The interdiscursivity and intertextuality of the text are very clear, as it continuously refers to previous research and facts regarding population and development. Strong themes within these discourses are the alleviation of poverty, sustainable agriculture, environmentally friendly energy production and consumption, improvement of healthcare and quality of life and access to education, which are usually argued as important steps to development and economic growth. The text furthermore uses the discourse of empowerment of women as a requirement for successful development, which is often used to justify the focus on women's rights. It falls into the discourse of "everyone benefits from gender equality".

The empowerment of women and the improvement of their political, social, economic and health status are highly important ends in themselves. We further believe that human development cannot be sustained unless women are guaranteed equal rights and equal status with men. In this process women should be seen not merely as the beneficiaries of change but as the agents of change as well.

The text does also point out that gender equality is an end goal in itself and it urges governments to remove barriers standing in the way of women's full participation in society. It is a new line of discourses in this research project and stands against the previously identified right to life discourse. When discussing abortions however, it is framed as such:

We acknowledge the fact that abortions constitute a major public health concern for women all over the world. Since the use of family planning methods may prevent the prevalence of unplanned pregnancies, we call upon all national governments to reduce the need for abortion by providing universal access to family planning information and services.

Complications of abortions aren't mentioned in that paragraph, and neither is unsafe abortions. This language use frames abortions as a necessary evil, and has

some intertextual chains to the Reagan era, where family planning services were seen as a solution to avoid abortions.

Text

The *Memorandum for the Acting Administrator of the Agency for International Development* (1993) is a short and concise statement. The language is official and unemotional. Personal pronouns are used in the form of *I*, which makes sense considering it's a document produced and presented by the president himself. He is the one taking action by rescinding the MCP, and thus the use of personal pronouns is expected. The shortness of the text also amplifies the feeling of it not being a questionable matter. It is structured clearly, with the structure following a pattern of "this is what happened, this is what I'll do about it, and that's all". The arguments used to justify the rescinding of the policy are short and concise:

These excessively broad anti-abortion conditions are unwarranted. I am informed that the conditions are not mandated by the Foreign Assistance Act or any other law. Moreover, they have undermined the efforts to promote safe and efficacious family planning programs in foreign nations.

The individual word choices are not obviously political. The MCP is called *unwarranted* and its implementation has *undermined* the efforts to promote *safe and efficacious* family planning abroad. Whether or not the policy was unwarranted most likely depends on who you are asking, and the same applies to the undermining of safe and efficacious efforts in regard to family planning. The word use in this text follows the discourse of safe and legal abortions, which claims that abortions become increasingly dangerous when becoming unattainable or illegal. The ideological opposition could claim that all abortions are unsafe and an inefficacious way of family planning.

The *Cairo Declaration on Population and Development, ICPD* (1994) is a long document, with stale but simple and approachable language. Many sentences are short, and few industry terms are used. The commitments are displayed through

a numbered list, making the text very easily overviewed and referred to in future texts. The language makes the text more easily approached and understood, which probably is an intentional choice made. By providing an easy-to-read text, the accountability towards it goes up. The text is written in *we* form, which increases the feeling of unity and common goals. As the text is co-written as well, the *we* form makes sense. The *we* it refers to is those countries who signed the declaration and the UN entities involved.

In terms of word choices, the text uses *reproductive healthcare* as a larger concept which includes *family planning*, “We welcome the approach that places family planning in the broader framework of reproductive healthcare”. This is also new, as the previously analysed texts only talk about family planning. *Reproductive healthcare* broadens the concept and furthermore moves it into the sphere of healthcare, well-being and human rights.

Social Practice

The social practice around *Memorandum for the Acting Administrator of the Agency for International Development* (1993) must be understood through a political lens. Clinton, a Democrat, was elected in 1992 and entered office in 1993, after 12 years of republican rule. Even if abortion rights were not a key question of his, it became a symbol of the changing powers in the White House. The text was released in late January of 1993, the first month of Clinton’s tenure as president, which further amplifies the symbolic value that abortion rights had for the Democratic Party. The text ended up changing all the health-related foreign aid from USAID, as it affected one of its cores, and additionally allowed for USAID to form new strategic partnerships with NGOs and other donor countries. Furthermore, partner NGOs in foreign countries could start providing abortion services again, which increased accessibility for those seeking it.

The *Cairo Declaration on Population and Development, ICPD* (1994) left an important mark on SRHR issues, as it was the first ever jointly created and signed global document on the topic. It became a framework for all participating countries to work after and guided the way forward in terms of health-related foreign aid. As

the declaration did not take a strong positioning in relation to abortions (or other potentially controversial topics, such as LGBTQI+ rights or age of consent) it reached a larger audience and following. The softer approach in the commitments allowed for adaptation according to tradition, culture, religion in each country. The possibility of adaptation and adjustments, as well as the co-creation of it, meant this statement did not follow imperialist or postcolonial patterns that foreign aid can fall into. The commitments created a joint agenda and put reproductive health as a priority globally, both in and outside development work. Another sign of the times is that HIV/AIDS now is covered in the document and is phrased as a danger to vulnerable populations.

Together, these documents show a shift in the American approach towards reproductive health and abortions in foreign aid programmes. They also prove that the U.S. chose to follow a larger, global agenda on health-related foreign aid. This era provided a discourse of women's rights and health rights, which challenged the previous discourses on the matter. Even if abortions were phrased as a necessary evil, it is still phrased as necessary, as opposed to the Reagan administration's view of the practice as unnecessary and repugnant. The full inclusion of the SRHR concept is not yet included or recognised though, as the texts do not cover sexuality or a strong rights-perspective. The shift of family planning into reproductive healthcare did however provide an important change of the discourse, as it moved the traditional "women's issues" into healthcare. In turn, that change of discourse started to move reproductive health into the realm of human rights.

4.3 The G.W. Bush Administration

For the Bush Administration, the document *Restoration of the Mexico City Policy – Memorandum for the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development* (2001) has been selected.

Discursive Practice

The *Restoration of the Mexico City Policy – Memorandum for the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development* (2001)

follows the same discursive practice as the *Memorandum for the Acting Administrator of the Agency for International Development* (1993) during the Clinton administration. It was produced by the president, and presumably a working group close to him. It was directed to the administrator of USAID and the staff working under them. From USAID it was redistributed to all relevant partner NGOs abroad and U.S. authorities in foreign countries. The NGOs affected by the policy change most likely also reproduced and redistributed their new ways of working to their sub-recipients, who are also not allowed to work with or promote abortions using U.S. funding, and patients as well as the general public. Even though other donor countries were not in the direct audience for this statement, they were overhearers of it.

The text heavily refers to the original MCP implemented by Reagan:

The Mexico City Policy announced by President Reagan in 1984 required foreign nongovernmental organizations to agree as a condition of their receipt of Federal funds for family planning activities that such organizations would neither person nor actively promote abortion as a method of family planning in other nations.

The intertextual chains are here very clear, as Bush's statement builds upon the previously written text. Additionally, the text includes the requirements NGOs must meet to be eligible for U.S. health assistance, which is also directly linked to the requirements established during the Reagan administration. The text furthermore moves the discourse back to "abortion is wrong". The force is easily identified as the entire text aims at restoring a policy. The force is to forbid taxpayer money to go to foreign NGOs working with or promoting abortions.

Text

Unlike the Clinton rescinding of the policy, the *Restoration of the Mexico City Policy – Memorandum for the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development* (2001) is a long document with a very intricate language, referring to other policies and state documents. It has more the properties of a judicial text, which makes it harder to approach if not used to the specific language. The length is explained by the fact that *Standard Provisions for U.S.*

Nongovernmental Partner Organizations, which contains all rules and regulations that partner NGOs must follow and requirements they must fulfil, are included in the text. The text is written in *I* form, which makes sense as it is a text directly from the president.

The most interesting part of the text is that it has included some definitions of *family planning* is provided. So far, all texts analysed in this research has included the phrase *family planning*, without ever giving any definitions or explanations to what it entails. The text says that abortions should not be a part of family planning, which is explained as:

Abortion is a method of family planning when it is for the purpose of spacing births. This includes, but is not limited to, abortions performed for the physical or mental health of the mother, but does not include abortions performed if the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term or abortions performed following rape or incest (since abortion under these circumstances is not a family planning act).

This text shows that abortions are allowed if the pregnancy causes danger to the mother's life, as well as in the case of rape or incest. The argument is that those circumstances lie outside *family planning*. The text shows that the exceptions to the rule build upon unplannable events or outcomes. It builds upon a discourse that says that if you mistakenly get pregnant, you have to deal with the consequences. But if you get pregnant through non-consensual acts, you cannot be required to take responsibility for the consequences. As abortions are not allowed due to physical or mental (ill)health of the mother, the text is signalling that the life of the unborn foetus is more important than the well-being of the mother. All of this falls in line with the traditional pro-life discourse.

Additionally, some clarifications to what the promotion of abortions entails are also provided. Among other things it includes:

Providing advice that abortion is an available option in the event other methods of family planning are not used or are not successful or encouraging women to consider abortion (passively responding to a question regarding where a safe, legal abortion may be obtained is not considered active promotion if the question is specifically asked by a

woman who is already pregnant, the woman clearly states that she has already decided to have a legal abortion, and the family planning counselor reasonably believes that the ethics of the medical profession in the country requires a response regarding where it may be obtained safely).

This paragraph gives directions to how counsellors and health workers may or may not talk to those seeking abortions. "...if the question is specifically asked by a woman who is already pregnant, the woman clearly states that she has already decided to have a legal abortion..." insinuates that women are not allowed to show any type of hesitation if they are to get information on where an abortion can be obtained. This will be further explored under social practice.

Social Practice

The *Restoration of the Mexico City Policy – Memorandum for the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development* (2001) represented yet another political shift in the U.S. The MCP was once again implemented. Due to the amount of money the U.S. spends on health-related foreign aid, other donor countries changed their SRHR strategies. This was done to counteract the American influence. As this text provided insight to what the promotion of abortion meant, I would like to take the opportunity to explore that, and its consequences further. Partner NGOs were not allowed to:

Lobbying a foreign government to legalize or make available abortion as a method of family planning or lobbying such a government to continue the legality of abortion as a method of family planning.

Conducting a public information campaign in USAID-recipient countries regarding the benefits and/or availability of abortion as a method of family planning.

The policy prohibited partner NGOs to lobby for legalisation of abortions, and thus limited their freedom of speech. This meant that NGOs heavily involved with such activities had to either neglect U.S. foreign aid or stop doing the work that they were doing. As presented earlier, many NGOs did not have the financial capacity to decline the U.S. funding, and thus were forced to comply. This connects

to Loomba's (2005) theory of imperialism, as the U.S. is using its position in the global hierarchy to impose its values on other countries, and to extend the reach of their moral regime to foreign institutions, as per Morgan and Roberts (2012). Additionally, as abortion at this time was legal in the U.S. (*Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 1973), the aim to limit access to abortions in the Global South also follows strong colonial patterns. Interpreting Mohanty (2003) and Loomba (2005), I understand these sentences to be built upon colonial and sexist grounds, as the women of America are not held to the same account. No woman in the U.S. must clearly state, without hesitation, that she has already decided to have an abortion to obtain the information needed to access one (referring to the quote under the Text-chapter). It reproduced the hierarchy between women, which confirmed the American (white) woman's positioning closer to the white man. Moreover, the women affected by these policies had no say in its formation but rather just had to accept this new reality to adjust to, which is a common way of neglecting the voice of and oppressing women in the Global South, as explained in the chapter on postcolonial feminism.

Another important note to recognise is that Bush expanded the MCP to also cover work done through the Department of State, whereas it earlier only had applied to the work of USAID. This meant that more partnerships and NGOs were affected by the policy, making safe abortions even harder to obtain in the Global South (Bush 2003). Additionally, the Bush administration withheld funding from UNFPA through the entirety of his eight years as president. The general justification given to the decision was based on UNFPAs work in China, where the one child-rule was still implemented coercively, and thus, the U.S. could no longer support UNFPA. Any further clarifications from the President or the Secretary of State were never given (International Business Publications 2010, 64). The choice of not providing funding to UNFPA, whose mission is "to deliver a world where every pregnancy is wanted, every childbirth is safe and every young person's potential is fulfilled" (UNFPA 2018), further proves the administration unwillingness to support SRHR in the Global South and plays into both a discourse of conservative politics and independence from foreign influence.

4.4 The Obama Administration

As mentioned in the data collection chapter, the Obama administration did not make many statements on reproductive health in relation to foreign aid. After having rescinded the MCP through *Mexico City Policy and Assistance for Voluntary Population Planning* (2009), the administration seemed to follow the global agenda on the topic. This text does not provide any new discourses or development of older ones, but rather shows the back and forth between the ideological standpoint of U.S. politics. The text itself is important to include to fully understand the next presidential era to come, led by Donald Trump. This subchapter will therefore be rather short but is included to provide the full picture of change of over.

Discursive Practice

The text is produced by the president, and most likely a working-group of people close to him. The text is directed to the Secretary of State and the Administrator of USAID. The need to now include the Secretary of State is explained by Bush's decision to expand the policy to also cover the work of the Department of State. The Secretary of State is the head of the Department of State, and thus also an intended recipient of the memorandum. Just like the other texts rescinding or restoring the MCP, the audience here also moves beyond those directly addressed. After reproduction and redistribution, the audience also included foreign NGOs, their sub-recipients, donor countries and the general public in foreign countries affected by the status of the policy.

The intertextual chains are clear both to the previous texts restoring and rescinding the MCP. The text furthermore provides a short historical overview of the different presidents' actions on the MCP since its establishment. The arguments used to justify the rescinding of the policy is almost identical to the one's used by Clinton in 1993. The Obama statement reads:

These excessively broad conditions on grants and assistance awards are unwarranted. Moreover, they have undermined efforts to promote safe and effective voluntary family planning programs in foreign nations.

This text does not differ in force compared to Clinton's text on the same matter, but it has a longer and clearer force, seeing that Obama also clarified the actions that were needed to be taken.

I hereby revoke the Presidential memorandum of January 22, 2001, for the Administrator of USAID...

... In addition, I direct the Secretary of State and the Administrator of USAID to take the following actions with respect to conditions in voluntary population planning assistance and USAID grants that were imposed pursuant to either the 2001 or 2003 memoranda and that are not required by the Foreign Assistance Act or any other law: (1) immediately waive such conditions in any current grants, and (2) notify current grantees, as soon as possible, that these conditions have been waived. I further direct that the Department of State and USAID immediately cease imposing these conditions in any future grants.

The force is still to rescind the policy, but the extended force of the text generates a greater feeling of urgency.

Text

The text itself is short and concise, with professional language and few signs of emotion behind it. It very much follows a discourse of political statements. The personal pronoun *I* is used, which is explained by the fact that the person behind the text is the president himself. The shortness of the text indicates that the decision behind the text wasn't a hard one to make, and furthermore portrays the matter as unworthy of political debate. Additionally, the shortness of the text could be read as a sign of urgency. By including a short historical overview of the rescinding and restorations of the MCP, the connection to party politics becomes stronger. The list of presidents and their action taken further signals the political standpoint by showcasing whom on the list that the Obama administration aligns with.

Social Practice

The Obama administration represented progressiveness, and the rescinding of the MCP is just one sign of that. Once again could U.S. taxpayer money go

towards abortion-related activities in foreign nations. As the Obama administration did not make any strong statements regarding SRHR-related foreign aid, it seems like they followed the global agenda on the topic. An additional proof of that is that the administration dedicated record-high financial support to UNFPA during the first months of the presidency (Department of State 2009).

4.5 The Trump Administration

For the Trump administration, four statements have been collected, which can be divided into thematic pairs. They include *The Mexico City Policy* (2017), *SUBJECT: Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance* (2017), *U.S. Commitment Statement on the Nairobi Summit on ICPD25* (2019) and *Joint Statement on the Nairobi Summit on the ICPD25* (2019). The first one will be shortly covered, as it follows the same discourses as previous statements for restoring of the MCP. The second one, *SUBJECT: Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance* (2017), is an introduction to the new standard provisions. The standard provisions are not included in this analysis, as it is almost a complete copy of the requirements analysed under the Bush administration, and thus fills little purpose to include.

The two other statements may seem similar, but the first one contains the U.S. commitments on how the country will continue its work on reproductive health aid, whereas the second is a joint statement between countries opposing the agenda of UN International Conference on Population and Development 25. The UN ICPD is named +25 as it was held 25 years after the conference with the same name was held in Cairo in 1994.

Discursive Practice

The Mexico City Policy (2017) in large follows the same discursive patterns as the previous restorations of the MCP. It is produced by the president, Donald Trump, most likely with the support of his close colleagues. The difference compared to earlier ones lies in the consumption.

Memorandum for the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Health and Human Services and the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development.

This means that the consumption of the text will be wider, as it is aimed at an additional governmental body – the Department of Health and Human Services. The text was therefore consumed by more people directly, but also by even more people after reproduction and redistribution. The hearers of the text therefore include more workers in the U.S. and more NGOs in foreign countries. The redistribution could therefore also be assumed to have increased significantly. Overhearers in this case also included other donor countries working within the health space. The Swedish Agency for International Development, among others, made a statement after the policy was restored and expanded (Sida 2019), which proves them to be overhearers of the text.

The intertextual chains are clear, as the text refers to a policy previous implemented by the U.S. government. The force is to have the policy implemented once again, but to also include the “global health assistance furnished by all departments and agencies”, which its impact. There is also another force included in this text.

I further direct the Secretary of State to take all necessary actions, to the extent permitted by law, to ensure that U.S. taxpayer dollars do not fund organizations or programs that support or participate in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization.

This paragraph moves beyond the scope of the original policy and therefore strengthens the perception of authority.

The *SUBJECT: Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance* (2017) is produced by Eric N. More, employee at the Department of State. It was also approved by the Secretary of State, and representatives from the Department of Health and Human Services, proving that the production cannot be contributed to only one person. This text is an introduction to the full list of requirements, rules and regulations for partner NGOs in foreign countries, and has therefore been

consumed by all relevant staff in the U.S. and all affected NGOs abroad. This text very much follows the production, distribution and consumption patterns of *The Mexico City Policy* (2017).

The force of the text is to make sure that the new extended policy rules are applied and communicated to everyone affected by them. There are many quotes from the *The Mexico City Policy* (2017), and it refers to several legal documents. This creates intertextual chains to both the previous text, but also to all the texts preceding it.

The *U.S. Commitment Statement on the Nairobi Summit on ICPD25* (2019) is produced by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and approved by the Trump administration. The production was most likely a collective process, as the text were to represent the U.S. commitments as a whole country. The distribution and consumption of this text was specifically aimed at the ICPD25 conference and its participants, but also included hearers of the media. Due to the huge size of the conference, the media coverage was vast, and thus the producers presumably had the media in mind throughout the production process. As the media consumed the text, reproduction and redistribution also become relevant, as the media generally reproduces material before distributing it to a new audience again. Therefore, through this text, the U.S. is positioning themselves not only to the conference participants but also towards the rest of the world.

The text has many intertextual and interdiscursive elements, and they do not always align with one another. The intertextuality is mostly related to the conference and its purpose, whereas the interdiscursivity connects more to the U.S. positioning on the matter. The text has throughout many connections to women's rights or an empowerment of women discourses.

For more than 40 years, the U.S. Government has been, and will be a prime advocate and will continue to invest in programs which empower women and girls to realize their full potential, reinforce their inherent dignity, promote and advance their equality, protect their inalienable rights, and support optimal health outcomes across their lifespans.

By investing in women around the world, we're investing in families, we're investing in prosperity, and we're investing in peace.

These quotes connect to common empowerment of women discourse in development work, where the prosperity of women is seen as both a goal in itself and also a means of development. This was also seen in the text from ICPD in 1994. It is also not uncommon to see the discourse of *women and peace* in contexts like these, which implies that women are less war-oriented, have fewer tendencies to see violence and force as solutions and are more diplomatic leaders.

But, then the pro-life discourse shines through at the same time. The text lines up the U.S. commitments and it states that they will be working to:

Combat gender-based violence (GBV) by investing in programs that help build societies where the human rights of women and girls are respected, and by providing skills, and opportunities for women, without compromising the inherent value of every human life – born and unborn.

Our global health programs, including those for family planning, are consistent with the ICPD pronouncement that abortion is not a method of family planning and that programs should seek to provide women alternatives to abortion.

The rights of the unborn life are rarely brought up alongside the need to combat gender-based violence. It is here phrased as violence against women should be eliminated, and so should violence against the unborn life, which follows the traditional pro-life discourse. The text also follows the earlier established discourse of *family planning*, which has been present throughout almost all texts analysed in the research so far.

The force of the text is short and concise “The U.S. is committed to continuing to invest in women and girls”. The rest of the text covers how the U.S. is to do so, and what they have done do so until now.

The *Joint Statement on the Nairobi Summit on the ICPD25* (2019) was jointly produced and presented by the U.S., on behalf of Brazil, Belarus, Egypt, Haiti, Hungary, Libya, Poland, Senegal, St. Lucia and Uganda. The text was most likely produced by a group in the Trump administration, together with relevant representatives from other governmental bodies. The text was most likely

distributed to like-minded countries, to see whether they were interested in joining the statement. The perceived like-minded countries were therefore the first consumers, before it reached the participants of the conference and the media covering it. It is possible that some changes were made after input from the ten countries joining the statement. As the entire conference built upon unity in tackling identified challenges within SRHR, this text got a lot of attention. The media probably redistributed parts of the text, but the main interest of the media coverage was probably the 11 countries' disapproval of the original statement made by the remaining delegations and participants at ICPD25. It is also easy likely that the media reproduction and redistribution of the text was the biggest in the countries' that signed it.

The text refers to the ICPD in Cairo in 1994, as well as to the commitments made back then. Several of the commitments made in 1994 are quoted and used as arguments in this text as well. Other signs of intertextuality are the inclusion of progress that has been made since 1994:

Our world has undergone remarkable demographic, social, economic, environmental, and political change over the past 25 years. Many countries have made substantial progress in reducing death rates and increasing education and income levels, including by improving the educational and economic status of women.

These are common areas to bring up when looking at the progress around the world, and they follow common objectives and frameworks within international development work, such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This type of intertextuality helps to present the context in which the text is placed. It furthermore has some strong interdiscursive elements connected to the pro-life discourse:

There is no international right to abortion; in fact, international law clearly states that “[e]veryone has the right to life” (e.g. Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

The use of references to *the right to life* through internationally accepted and recognised documents has been seen before, even if the Declaration of Human

Rights is a new one for this analysis. The use of such documents adds to the credibility of the text, whilst also shifting responsibility away from the producers of the text to the acknowledged document. This follows Morgan and Robert's (2012) theory on how even conservatives have accepted and implemented a rights-based agenda. This is done to go along with the global discourse of rights-based ways of working, whilst still remaining stagnant in their own values.

The force of the text is hard to narrow down to just one sentence here, as the arguments behind it are needed for context:

While the Cairo ICPD Program of Action was negotiated and implemented with and by the entire UN General Assembly membership, only a small handful of governments were consulted on the planning and modalities of the 2019 Nairobi Summit. Therefore, outcomes from this summit are not intergovernmentally negotiated, nor are they the result of a consensus process. As a result, they should not be considered normative, nor should they appear in future documents as intergovernmentally-agreed language.

The paragraph can be summarised by saying that the 11 countries that signed this text did so because they did not approve of how the conference was organised, and since they did not feel like all UN member states were included in the process, the outcome of the 2019 conference cannot be considered normative nor a framework to follow in the future. The shortened version of the force can be understood simply as an unwillingness to comply with the global agenda.

Text

The text in *The Mexico City Policy* (2017) is official and straight forward. The overall structure and language instil a feeling of authority. The personal pronouns *I* is used, as expected when a document comes from the president himself. Unlike the other texts on the policy presented, this one starts with the personal pronouns. The other texts have included personal pronouns first later on in the text, which then creates a feeling of objectivity before connecting it to the person behind the text again. By starting the text with an *I*, the producer of the text is present from start to finish.

An interesting part of *SUBJECT: Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance* (2017) is its language use. The general structure is very clear, as it summarises the background to the new extended policy and what it entails through short paragraphs and bullet points. It is an easy read overview of the new ways of working. The general language use makes it very approachable and easily understood, which must be the purpose when distributing instructions. There are no uses of personal pronouns, which increases the feeling of objectivity and authority.

When looking at word choices, it is clear that the text builds upon demand. Words such as *must* and *compliance* are used repeatedly. The most interesting part of the word choices are displayed firstly in the title of the text and further down in the text:

The expanded policy is now known as “Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance”

This is where the expanded policy goes from MCP to PLGHA. The name of the policy, unlike its predecessor, includes discursive elements. Knowing the effects of the policy from the literature review earlier in this thesis, the word choices of *Protecting Life* is rather interesting, as the implementation of MCP and PLGHA has had severe consequences for both women and children. The life that is alluded to here is the unborn life, which is known because the policy restrains access to abortions. This is the most obvious pro-life discourse seen in this research. The use of *Life* rather than *lives* also takes the focus away from individuals and puts it on the concept of human life instead. It moves from quantifiable masses to a philosophical sphere. The same word use can be seen in *pro-life*, which is the social practice in which this discourse is constructed and at the same time constituting of. By using the word *Life*, no quantifiable goals can be set in the foreign aid programmes. Usually, foreign aid programmes, even though highly criticized, have quantifiable targets, such as “increase literacy by xxx %” or “install xxx solar panels”, which can’t be done when using the *Life* instead of *lives*.

This use of the word *Protection* implies that the unborn life needs the U.S. support for safekeeping. The phrase, together with the policy regulations, indicates

that the Global South is unable to protecting life on their own. It can therefore be understood as a reproduction of colonial patterns of degrading the capability of the Global South, as per Loomba's theory (2007). Additionally, the word use *Protecting Life* and the policy itself confirms the U.S. moral regime of governing reproductive behaviours, as it builds upon the ideological values of the U.S. (Morgan and Roberts 2012).

The *U.S. Commitment Statement to the Nairobi Summit on ICPD25* (2019) is a very well structured and clear text, with bullet points that make the text airy and easily approached. No personal pronouns are used, but instead, *the U.S.* is used repeatedly. This strengthens the understanding that the commitments come from the country, and not a specific person. As often with commitments like these, big words and phrases are used without any further explanation of what they actually entail. To show this, the first quote used under discursive practice will be brought up again:

For more than 40 years, the U.S. Government has been, and will be a prime advocate and will continue to invest in programs which empower women and girls to realize their full potential, reinforce their inherent dignity, promote and advance their equality, protect their inalienable rights, and support optimal health outcomes across their lifespans.

Words and phrases such as *empower, realize their full potential, inherent dignity* sound beautiful, but they are not explained further. This is often the case in women's empowerment discourses. In this quote lies also *support optimal health outcomes*, which is also not explained further. Additionally, as mental or physical health reasons are not accepted as exceptions to PLGHA, the U.S. must mean that women and girls' *optimal health outcomes* only applies until it may affect the foetus or *unborn life*. In the text, every life is defined as having an *inherent value – born and unborn*, which is very typical of the conservative pro-life discourse.

The text also includes a full paragraph listing Trump's successful investment in women and girls throughout his time as president. The list includes programmes to improve girls' health, increase education opportunities, training programmes to get women into the global market, etc. The listing of these initiatives underpins the

U.S. commitment to women and girls and contributes to a better portrayal of the U.S. international development work. It does however also feel out of place and somewhat as a distraction from their highly criticised pro-life values.

The *Joint Statement on the Nairobi Summit on the ICPD25* (2019) is quite a dense text compared to other texts covered earlier. It follows the discourse of political statements, with few emotional expressions and a tone of objectivity, even though the text is argumentative. The text's organisational properties are clear, with a formal structure of introduction, body and conclusion. It is built up by short paragraphs, but it is nevertheless relatively hard to get through. The many quotes and references to the previous ICPD force the reader to have a strong focus to not mix up the new arguments with the old ones. It is written in *we* form, which is expected since the text presents the opinions of 11 different countries' governments. The use of *we* also strengthens the picture of unity between the different countries. The many references to ICPD in 1994, together with technical terms specific for this line of work also makes the document understandable only to those involved with SRHR, foreign aid or UN conferences.

The language use provides more insight to their ideological and political standpoint.

We are also concerned about the content of some of the key priorities of this Summit. We do not support references in international documents to ambiguous terms and expressions, such as sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), which do not enjoy international consensus, nor contemplates the reservations and caveats incorporated into the Cairo outcome. In addition, the use of the term SRHR may be used to actively promote practices like abortion.

The opposing of the term SRHR is based on the lack of international consensus poses a rather weak argument, as there are few terms and expressions that enjoy complete international consensus. The exact same argument could be made for the term family planning as well. SRHR as a term used in many other international documents, such as the SDGs on health and gender equality. The SDGs was signed and adopted by the UN Member States, including the U.S.

(Sustainable Development Goals n.d). The difficulty seems to lie in the risk that SRHR could potentially *actively promote practices like abortion*.

...everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person and that the family is the basic unit of society and such should be strengthened.

The right to life must not necessarily be a part of a pro-life discourse, but with the context being that the producers of the text oppose abortion, it is fair to say that *the right to life* here is connected to the foetus right to life, and thus it falls into a pro-life discourse. Another discursive language use depending on its context is the focus on the *family* as a *basic unit of society*. That language use, likewise, is not inherently discursive, but it fits into a conservative, and sometimes religious, discourse, where the family is the centre part of how life is organised. To say that the *family* should be *strengthened* imply that it is weak, or at least not strong enough as it is. The conservative discourse regarding the family is also strengthened by their positioning on sex education.

We cannot support a sex education that fails to adequately engage parents and which promotes abortion as a method of family planning. But we do support proper regard for parental guidance and responsibilities and giving young people the skills to avoid sexual risk.

The inclusion of *parents* in *sex education* is a common theme in conservative ideologies, as it is believed that parents should be able to decide what their children are taught regarding sex. “we don’t want to give them any ideas” is a commonly used argument within the conservative discourse on sex education.

The text also argues that the conference cannot create any new international human rights without the consensus of member states, and that any changes to laws must be a nation owned process. In this part, they reference the precious ICPD outcomes:

“[a]ny changes related to abortion within the health system can only be determined at the national or local level according to the national legislative process” (ICPD paragraph 8.25). This legislative process should reflect the democratic expression of the will of the people, through their freely elected representatives.

This part of the text, with its arguments, implies that the participants of ICPD25 could force foreign countries to comply with standards set outside the countries' borders. This is interesting, as the U.S. is constantly using its position in the global hierarchy to impose their values and beliefs upon other nations and refuses to grant organisations working within the legal field funding if those organisations are working towards legalisation of abortions. Thus, the U.S. themselves are limiting the *democratic expression and free will of the people*. The U.S. is here defending the autonomy of foreign nations, whilst at the same time violating that autonomy through their imperialistic ways in other parts of society.

Social Practice

The most recent restoration of the MCP, which also included a massive expansion of the policy, was created in a very conservative political environment. The conservative movement in the U.S. most often includes the pro-life movement, which large parts of the Trump administration are a part of and receive financial support from (Smith 2020). Donald Trump's tendencies of using the rhetoric of being the best, the greatest, the most efficient are seen in the text, as he took the policy further than anyone had done before. It furthermore strengthened a conservative discourse regarding reproductive health and abortions as something wrong. With the expansion, many more organisations and people were affected by it in the Global South.

The *SUBJECT: Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance* (2017) was created in, and reproduces, the social practice of the pro-life movement. Many of the consequences are the same as from MCP, but the change of the name furthered the reach and influence of the pro-life movement in the U.S. Even though the pro-life discourse has been visible before, it became increasingly so after the change of the name. The implementation of PLGHA also furthered the U.S. expansion of their moral regime, as per Morgan and Roberts 2012, as the country since has used its institutional and economic power to regulate and control how institutions in foreign countries approach women's reproductive practices.

The *U.S. Commitment Statement on the Nairobi Summit on ICPD25* (2019) as well as the *Joint Statement on the Nairobi Summit on the ICPD25* (2019) showed that the U.S. wanted to participate in global conferences on population and development, but also that it did not want to follow the global agenda. The ICPD25 provided an opportunity for the U.S. to position itself outside the global agenda, and to gather like-minded countries with them.

The social practices of these texts are very much defined by the pro-life discourse and a conservative right-wing discourse. The two discourses do overlap, but the conservative right-wing discourse is also somewhat defined by neo-nationalism and scepticism towards globalisation, which is a contributing factor to the anti-statement created during ICPD25. The scepticism towards UN entities and the global agenda on SRHR is also shown in the fact that the Trump administration, just like the Bush administration, chose to withhold funding from UNFPA (Ford and Khomami 2017). The use of a women's empowerment discourse is not uncommon within such discourses either, as pro-life movement do not recognise that their actions and messages affect women. The social practice created by the Trump administration has not just regulated and lessened the access to abortions abroad but has also contributed to the creation of a political environment where the questioning of the abortion laws in the U.S. has become increasingly common (Lai 2019). This is furthermore seen outside of the U.S. as well, as a conservative, right wing wave sweeps across other parts of the world, such as Eastern Europe and South America (Youngs 2018). This is also seen in *Joint Statement on the Nairobi Summit on the ICPD25* (2019), where fellow countries lead by conservative governments join forces to create their statement on ICPD25. The ICPD25 gave a new, clear division to the world: those in support of a comprehensive understanding of SRHR, and those opposing it.

4.5 Concluding theoretical discussion

This subchapter's purpose is to further connect the analysis to the chosen theoretical framework, both by looking at the theoretical connections made

throughout the analysis but also by looking at the context in large through a theoretical lens.

The theory of reproductive governance by Morgan and Roberts (2012) had many clear connections to the texts and their context. The presidential administrations that implemented the policy (MCP or PLGHA) and distanced themselves from the UN conferences and UN entities all did so through reproductive governance, by controlling women's access to abortions in the Global South. This has been done through their moral regimes, where their conservative moral and values have entered policymaking, institutions and economic decisions that directly affect women in the Global South. It is important to note that the Democrat presidents also let their values to influence the decision-making, but their statements did not build upon control in foreign countries. Even though the texts never mention controlling women's bodies, it is ultimately the outcome from the pro-life discourse. Morgan and Roberts argue that reproductive governance as a concept started when the Global North feared that the population growth of the Global South would negatively affect their own economic growth (2012). This is also seen in the text analysed from the Reagan administration.

The capitalistic mindset that started reproductive governance can also be seen through Loomba's (2005) argument on capitalism as a driving force of imperialism. Mohanty (2003) further argues that globalisation and capitalism is a new form of colonialism. These theories overlap, but the common ground is that the economic interests of the Global North prevails. This is also clear in the text from the Reagan administration, as the text argues for the benefit of expanding the private sector. The expansion of the private sector and the way that the U.S. policies limit free speech and access to abortion services can through these theories be understood, through these theories, as imperialist in both an economic and social sense, as the U.S. enforces their rules upon populations outside its own borders.

The postcolonial feminism is not as clear as the other theories in the analysed texts themselves, but when putting the texts in a larger context, the postcolonial feminist perspective becomes more relevant. The process of othering, which is a cornerstone in postcolonial and postcolonial feminist theory (Loomba 2005), is key

to be able to impose different rules on the women in the Global South and not do the same to the women within one's own borders. It should be noted that the Trump administration has limited access to abortion services within the U.S. as well, but taxpayer money still funds abortion in the U.S. (Lai 2019). Thus, the argument of different rules for different people still applies. The imperialist control that the U.S. exercises in the Global South could furthermore be understood as a way of controlling the overly sexualised black and brown bodies. As women in the Global South historically have been depicted and narrated as sexual, vulgar and sinful (Lugones 2005), they also become the target of the imperialist expansion of the U.S. moral regime. It could be understood as a belief that if the U.S. didn't impose their foreign policy on abortions, the women of the Global South would have abortions left, right and centre, which would be a threat to the unborn's life.

Lugones (2007) argues that colonial power must be seen through a lens of racism, sexism and heterosexuality. Heterosexuality is evident throughout the texts reproduced through the use of the concept of *family planning*, as well as word use such as *couples*. It assumes that all reproductive health concerns connect to creating a family and thus excludes those who are not heterosexual or do not seek a family. By looking at *family planning* in foreign aid through Lugones theory, the concept neglects women's sexual pleasure, and thereby also their bodily autonomy. Additionally, these discourses and policies are created by white men in the Global North and their actions create consequences that affect black and brown women in the Global South, which showcases the power relations of racism, sexism and heterosexuality, as well as capitalism and imperialism.

5. Concluding discussion

The aim of this thesis was to look at how the practice of abortion was conceptualised in U.S. presidential administrations' statements on reproductive health, as well as to see if there were any discursive changes over time and how the U.S. foreign aid regarding reproductive health could be understood through a postcolonial feminist perspective. I've done so through Fairclough's CDA and

three-dimensional model. Fairclough's three-dimensional model has provided me with the tools to see how language use, production and consumption of the texts, and the social practice connect with each other, to understand how discourses are constructed and constitutive of the world. The analysis has been conducted through a postcolonial theoretical lens, as per Loomba (2005), Lugones (2007) and Mohanty (2003), that also included a focus on capitalism and imperialism, postcolonial feminist theory and Morgan and Roberts (2012) theory on reproductive governance.

The analysis showed that the discourses regarding abortions and the definition of abortions have changed depending on who is the president. Depending on the presidential administration, abortions have been framed as either a threat to the unborn life, preventable or a necessary evil. The conservative presidents Reagan and Trump have defined abortion as a threat to the unborn life, as it neglects the foetus rights to life and its presumably inherent value. This discourse has been created through an appropriated rights-based approach, with the support of internationally recognised documents. Those documents have included the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the UN Declaration on Human Rights. The right to life discourse is located within the larger discourse and social practice that is the pro-life movement. The Bush administration's statement did not use the rights-based argument, but did however follow the conservative notion of abortion not being a part of family planning. All administrations except the Obama administration have phrased abortions as preventable through family planning. Noteworthy is that the Clinton administration allowed U.S. support to abortion services in foreign aid programming, but still signed the ICPD document that phrased abortion as a necessary evil that should be avoided through investments in family planning services.

The discourses have not changed drastically over time, but they have changed in impact. This can be explained by the very strong intertextual links found between the statements and the relatively small sphere that is U.S. foreign aid related to SRHR. The conservative, pro-life discourses have not changed, but they have however grown stronger. With every new restoration of the MCP or PLGHA, the

policy has also expanded in reach, which can be contributed to the conservative political wave seen globally today.

Discourses regarding reproductive health has also gone back and forth depending on the president, but a shift can be seen between the concept of family planning to reproductive health during the Clinton administration. The discourse then changed from women's issues into human rights. Morgan and Roberts (2012) mention a shift in approaches from family planning to SRHR in the late 1980s, which has not been seen in these texts. The Bush administration actively brought back the discourse of family planning and the Trump administration actively opposed the phrase SRHR at ICPD25. A discourse that has moved beyond party lines is the one regarding women's empowerment and the need to invest in women and their potential.

The few developments of the discourses probably depend on the back-and-forth between very different approaches and ideological backgrounds. A phrase cited in the literature review was 'political football', which is played by politicians with women's reproductive health. I think it's clear to say that that is exactly what is going on here, as women's reproductive health is being passed around between different corners depending on the party that holds the U.S. presidency.

The analysis and the theoretical discussion showed that the U.S. foreign aid statements on abortion and reproductive health can be understood as built upon a power structure of economic status, global influence, racism, sexism and heterosexualism. It is therefore safe to say that the U.S. operates its health-related foreign aid programmes and policies through a postcolonial power position, where the U.S. uses its position in the global hierarchy to imperialistically impose its values in the Global South.

5.1 Recommendations for future research

If one wanted to continue doing research on this topic, I think it would be rather interesting to compare the U.S. foreign aid approach on abortions and SRHR with other conservative countries' approach on the matter. A starting point could be to look at the 10 other countries that signed the *Joint Statement on the Nairobi*

Summit ICPD25 in 2019; Brazil, Belarus, Egypt, Haiti, Hungary, Libya, Poland, Senegal, St. Lucia and Uganda. It would be interesting to see if they have similar reasonings to why they signed the anti-statement and to identify what those reasonings were, especially considering their very different geographic locations, cultures, histories and economic status.

6. References

Brooks, N. M., Bendavid, E. M. and Grant Miller, P. (2019) 'USA aid policy and induced abortion in sub-Saharan Africa: an analysis of the Mexico City Policy', *The Lancet Global Health*, (8), p. e1046. doi: 10.1016/S2214-109X(19)30267-0.

Bush, G. W. (2003) *Memorandum for the Secretary of State - Assistance for Voluntary Population Planning*. Washington DC: Office of the Press Secretary. Available at: <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/08/20030829-3.html> (Accessed: 12 May 2020).

Dampney, K. (2016) 'The Death of International Aid (Development): Developing a New Discourse about African Development', *Global Studies Journal*, 9(4), pp. 1–7. doi: 10.18848/1835-4432/CGP/v09i04/1-7.

Department of State press release (2009) *U.S. Government Support for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)*. Washington DC: Department of State.

Escobar, A. (2012) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton University Press. Available at: <https://search-ebshost-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat02271a&AN=atoz.ebs1165679e&site=eds-live&scope=site> (Accessed: 9 April 2020)-

Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and social change*. Polity. Available at: <https://search-ebshost-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat07147a&AN=lub.669806&site=eds-live&scope=site> (Accessed: 25 March 2020).

Fataneh, Farahani (2011) On Being an Insider and/or an Outsider: A Diasporic Researcher's Catch-22. In Loshini Naidoo (ed). *Education Without Borders: Diversity in a Cosmopolitan Society*. New York: Nova Science Publisher; Inc, p.113-130-

Ford, L. and Khomami, N. (2017) 'Trump administration halts money to UN population fund over abortion rules', *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/apr/04/trump-administration-un-population-fund-abortion> (Accessed: 16 May 2020).

Gebremedhin, M. *et al.* (2018) 'Unsafe abortion and associated factors among reproductive aged women in Sub-Saharan Africa: a protocol for a systematic review and meta-analysis', *Systematic Reviews*, (1), p. 1. doi: 10.1186/s13643-018-0775-9.

Haraway, Donna (1988) Situated Knowledges. The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3. pp. 575-599.

Herrera, A. (2018) Before he was president, H.W. Bush championed family planning. *PRI*. Available at: <https://www.pri.org/stories/2018-12-05/he-was-president-hw-bush-championed-family-planning> (Accessed: 20 February 2020).

International Business Publications (2010) *George W. Bush, Former President of the United States – Leadership, Vision, Reforms*. Washington DC: International Business Publications.

International Criminal Court (2011) *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*. The Hague: International Criminal Court. Available at: <https://www.icc-cpi.int/resource-library/documents/rs-eng.pdf> (Accessed: 4 May 2020).

Jogee, F. (2019) 'The effect of the Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance policy in South Africa: Possible implications for local HIV/AIDS non-governmental organisations', *South African Journal of Bioethics & Law*, 12(1), p. 38. Available at:

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=137807729&site=eds-live&scope=site> (Accessed: 14 March 2020).

Jones KM. (2015) Contraceptive supply and fertility outcomes: evidence from Ghana. *Economic, Development and Cultural Change* 2015;64.

Jones KM. (2011) Evaluating the Mexico City policy: how us foreign policy affects fertility outcomes and child health in Ghana. *Washington DC International Food Policy Research Institute*.

Lai, R.K.K (2019) 'Abortion Bans: 9 States Have Passed Bills to Limit the Procedure This Year', *The New York Times*. Available at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/us/abortion-laws-states.html>

(Accessed: 13 May 2020).

Leitner Center for International Law and Justice (2010) Exporting confusion: US foreign policy as an obstacle to the implementation of Ethiopia's liberalized abortion law. *New York Fordham Law School*.

http://www.leitnercenter.org/files/LeitnerCtr_EthiopiaReport_WebVersion2010.pdf (Accessed: 14 March 2020).

Li, T. (2007) *The will to improve: governmentality, development, and the practice of politics*. Duke University Press. Available at:

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat07147a&AN=lub.2224020&site=eds-live&scope=site> (Accessed: 18 May 2020).

Loomba, A. (2008) *Kolonialism/Postkolonialism : en introduktion till ett forskningsfält*. 2.,. Tankekraft. Available at: <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat07147a&AN=lub.1760839&site=eds-live&scope=site> (Accessed: 25 March 2020).

Lugones, M. (2007) 'Heterosexualism and the Colonial /Modern Gender System', *Hypatia*, 22(1), p. 186. Available at: <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=23137285&site=eds-live&scope=site> (Accessed: 25 March 2020).

McEwan, Cheryl (2001) "Postcolonialism, feminism, and development: intersections and dilemmas" (PDF). *Progress in Development Studies*. 1 (2): 93–111.

Mohanty C. T. (2003) "“Under Western Eyes” Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles', *Signs*, 28(2), p. 499. doi: 10.1086/342914.

Morgan, L. and Roberts, E. S. (2012) 'Reproductive governance in Latin America', *Anthropology & Medicine*, 19(2), pp. 241–254. doi: 10.1080/13648470.2012.675046.

Nairobi Summit (n.d.) *About the Nairobi Summit*. Available at: <https://www.nairobisummiticpd.org/content/about-nairobi-summit> (Accessed: 20 March 2020).

Office of Global Affairs (2019) *Joint Statement on the Nairobi Summit on the ICPD25*. Available at: <https://www.hhs.gov/about/agencies/oga/global-health-diplomacy/protecting-life-global-health-policy/joint-statement-on-the-nairobi-summit-on-the-icpd25.html> (Accessed: 28 April 2020).

Richards, L. (1977) 'The Context of Foreign Aid: Modern Imperialism', *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 9(4), pp. 43–75. doi: 10.1177/048661347700900404.

410 U.S. 113 (1973) *Roe v. Wade*.

Rodgers, Y. van der M. (2018) *The Global Gag Rule and Women's Reproductive Health : Rhetoric Versus Reality*. New York: Oxford University Press. doi: 10.1093/oso/9780190876128.001.0001.

Sida (2019) *Sida försvarar aborträtten*. Available at:

<https://www.sida.se/Svenska/teman/sexuella-och-reproduktiva-rattigheter/Sida-forsvarar-abortratten/> (Accessed: 13 May 2020).

Sheffield, J. (2019) 'The expanded "global gag rule"' *FIGO Newsletter*, pp. 1–3.

Available at: <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ccm&AN=137808004&site=eds-live&scope=site> (Accessed: 15 March 2020).

Shor, F. (2012) 'U.S. Economic Imperialism and Resistance from the Global

South', *New Politics*, 14(1), pp. 116–120. Available at: <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/login.aspx?direct=true&db=poh&AN=78383845&site=eds-live&scope=site> (Accessed: 9 April 2020).

Singh, J. A. and Karim, S. S. A. (2017) 'Trump's "global gag rule": implications for human rights and global health', *The Lancet. Global Health*, 5(4), pp. e387–e389. doi: 10.1016/S2214-109X(17)30084-0.

Smith, D. (2020) Trump tells anti-abortion activists at March for Life: 'I am

fighting for you', *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jan/24/trump-march-for-life-washington-anti-abortion>

(Accessed: 13 May 2020).

Sustainable Development Goals (n.d.) *Sustainable Development Goals - SDGs*. Available at: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/> (Accessed: 18 May 2020).

The White House Office of Policy Development (1984) 'US Policy Statement for the International Conference on Population', *Population and Development Review*, vol. 10, nr3. oo.574-579.

United Nations Treaty Collection (2020) Convention on the Rights of the Child. United Nations. Available at: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=IND&mtdsg_no=IV-11&chapter=4 (Accessed: 10 May 2020).

UNFPA (n.d.) *International Conference on Population*. Available at: <https://www.unfpa.org/events/international-conference-population> (Accessed: 29 January 2020).

UNFPA (2018) *About Us*. Available at: <https://www.unfpa.org/about-us> (Accessed: 12 May 2020).

USAID (2019) *HIV and AIDS*. Available at: <https://www.usaid.gov/global-health/health-areas/hiv-and-aids>. (Accessed: 6 May 2020).

USAID (2020) Global Health Legislative & Policy Requirements. Available at: <https://www.usaid.gov/global-health/legislative-policy-requirements> (Accessed: 18 May 2020).

Youngs, R. (2018) 'The ordinary people making the world more right-wing', BBC News. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-45902454> (Accessed: 13 May 2020).

Zulu, J. M. and Haaland, M. E. S. (2019) 'Situating the Mexico City Policy: what shapes contraceptive access and abortion?', *The Lancet. Global Health*, 7(8), pp. e984–e985. doi: 10.1016/S2214-109X(19)30278-5.