What about Sweden and climate justice?

A discourse analysis on Swedish development cooperation policy

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis is a study on Swedish development cooperation policy, aiming to understand the approach to environmental- and climate change issues between 2010-2021. By using a theoretical framework focused on climate justice combined with the method of discourse analysis, the analysis is guided by four questions regarding: climate injustices, solutions, actors, and nature. These questions are posed to the material consisting of official policy- and other guiding documents by the Government and the Swedish agency for international development cooperation (Sida). The results demonstrate a broad understanding to environmental- and climate change issues in regard to injustices and solutions, considering long-term issues, systems of discrimination and agency. Actors, and particularly women were discussed along the lines of victimhood and as agents of change, highlighting the agency of women. Finally, the understanding of nature developed significantly over the years. Certain interlinked root causes and systems of oppression were however less visible, such as dominating economic systems and its effect on development, people in poverty and specifically on nature. In conclusion, this thesis finds that climate justice concerns evolve in Swedish development cooperation policy over the years, but it does not address certain root causes in line with the climate just framework.

Key words: Climate justice, development cooperation, intersectionality, discourse analysis, Sweden

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1. Introduction

Global climate change and development issues represent urgent governance problems with enormous impacts on both people and planet. Scholars argue that climate justice concerns have become more visible and will increasingly play an important role, particularly in the aftermaths of the 2015 Paris Agreement, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDGs) and the Addis Ababa Agenda on Development Finance (Newell et al 2021:12; Okereke 2018:320; Basu & Bazas 2018:101). These frameworks contain universal goals, targets and indicators and have include notions of justice, fairness and redistribution of material capabilities. Furthermore, terms like 'sustainability' or 'transformation' have become buzzwords and the 'need to transform our world' is indicated by academics, civil society, as well as by national governments to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Krause 2018:510). While less clarity exists on the *how*, scholars and practitioners argue that climate change cannot be understood as an isolated problem, since it is connected to broader problems of social and economic inequality and political disempowerment (Moosa and Tuana 2014:681; Doan 2014:635).

Departing from 2015, the Paris Agreement became the first treaty on climate change to mention human rights and touched upon some climate justice concerns such as "intergenerational equity" and the particular vulnerability of certain people to climate impacts. It further acknowledged the rights of indigenous peoples, biodiversity protection, and finally – "the importance for some" of the concept of climate justice (UNFCCC 2015:2). Meanwhile, the term climate justice has been marginal in official policy language and continues to be a contested concept (Cassegård & Thörn 2017:33; Jafry et al 2018:2). Its discourses have been politically disruptive implying that power structures are not sufficiently addressed, making the entrance into official policy language complex. Advocates argue that justice-discourses too often remain compatible with and fail to challenge dominant orthodoxies on structures of ownership, capitalism and power (Cassegård & Thörn 2017:45). Challenges of growing inequality and climate impacts are stressed as enormous obstacles to sustainable development, food and water security, health, and participation (Basu & Bazas 2018:101). When addressing and framing the issue of climate change then, which actors and types of evidence that are privileged become a highly political matter (Klinsky 2018:472). In the pursuit of addressing the Sustainable Development Goals and 'leaving no one behind', climate justice is argued as crucial, as it considers how, by whom, and for whom efforts are made (Newell et al 2021:12). In this context, the climate justice scholarship argues that the concept of sustainable development lacks a transformational aspect, because long-term- as well as social justice perspectives are downplayed and

displaced by a pro-growth discourse (Gupta & Thompson 2010:38; Kurian & Bartlett 2018:13-14; Uitto 2021:211). In order to foster transformative change toward sustainability and equity, advocates rather emphasise mechanisms rooted in normative approaches and climate justice (Krause 2018:513).

Within this context, several aspects make Swedish development cooperation an interesting case to look into. Sweden and North European countries have been considered more proactive in their approach to environmental issues within the field of development, demonstrating an awareness of more structural issues in development cooperation policies (Gupta 2010:68). Added to that, Sweden has a normative brand and is sometimes referred to as a moral superpower, moreover considered a global pioneer in the fields of climate change policy, development cooperation and gender equity (Dahl 2006; Bäckstrand & Kronsell 2015:17; Singleton et al 2015:2). Studies have consequently focused on the ability of Sweden to "punch above its weight" as a small-state within the international community (Björkdahl 2007,2002,2008; Ingebritsen 2002). Studies have also specifically focused on the Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy (FPP), as the first of its kind to be adopted in 2014, while a number of states have followed since (Aggestam & Bergman 2016; Egnell 2016). In the change to 'feminist' politics, it has been argued to challenge power hierarchies more strongly, and increasingly strengthen the rights, representation and access to resources of women.

Finally, global civil society-movements have a played a crucial role in pushing climate justice higher on the agenda. Significant Swedish civil society organisations work with climate justice as a core point of departure and aim to push the Government to include it in its frameworks. In 2020, the platform CONCORD published a report where the Swedish FFP and development cooperation was investigated through a feminist climate justice lens, suggesting that Sweden should take a more transformative approach to gender equality and climate change (Concord 2020). For instance, policies should further address the linkages between gender and change adaptation, access to water, sanitation and hygiene. Moreover, a critical view of economic growth should be applied – focusing more on sustainable development and well-being. Finally, they call for more concrete strategies regarding the participation of female environmental human rights-defenders. With this background, this thesis argues for the relevance of further investigating the Swedish approach to the environment and climate change in its development-cooperation policies from a climate justice perspective.

1.1. Purpose and research question

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse and understand how climate and environment issues are discursively constructed by Sweden in development cooperation policy, from a climate justice perspective. By using a discourse analysis, this thesis aims to look into

dominant discourses in the chosen material. Due to the close and interconnected relationship between development- and environmental issues, and Swedish leadership in both areas, it is relevant to research into how such an actor understands, constructs, and frames these issues. Moreover, as climate justice demands are growing louder, such a framework becomes relevant and important to use in the environment-development nexus. With this background, this thesis will be guided by the following research question:

How can Swedish discourses on environmental- and climate change issues in development cooperation policy between 2010 to 2021 be understood?

1.2. Literature review

This thesis aims to analyse Swedish development-cooperation policy from a climate justice perspective. In this literature review, research on the development-environment nexus will be presented, focusing on climate justice and gender perspectives. In the next chapter, I build on these critical perspectives and develop a theoretical framework which will form the cornerstone for the analysis.

The field of development-and climate change has received significant scholarly attention, resulting in a broad variety of strands, theories, and assumptions. Regarding climate change research, scholars have stressed the need for more research from social and political scientists, looking into the political dynamics of human interactions with climate change (Klinsky 2018:467). Looking into the critical research field on development, scholars also argue for a mainstreaming of gender and environmental issues, resembling grievances within the strand of climate justice. The three fields of development, gender, and climate justice studies share certain understandings, such as a focus on poverty, making them appropriate to use in combination for this thesis. Within these fields, researchers argue that the causes of environmental degradation, deepening poverty and social injustices are deeply intertwined, stemming from unsustainable development and grounded in growth-oriented views and practices, resulting in the harmful exploitation of both environment and people (Leach 2021; Jafry et al 2018:1,3). Radical shifts are consequently demanded, where scholars call for climate justice to become a higher priority within climate change governance, development issues and policy agendas (Baskin 2009:426). While climate change has significant and direct implications on justice, limited policy guidance is provided from academic literature, where norms and principles of transformation could aid in addressing these issues (Krause 2018:513). This thesis aims to add to the literature on climate justice focused on development cooperation, as scholars suggest that the climate justice scholarship requires increased research to make it more operationalisable,

1.2.1. Climate justice

Sometimes viewed as a controversial research field, climate justice discourses include and combine perspectives from academia, activism and policymakers (Alves & Mariano 2018:361). As a wide theoretical body of work, climate justice has influenced several disciplines like climate change cooperation and climate diplomacy (Jafry 2018:522; Gupta & van der Grijp 2010:4). It has moreover entered discussions on sustainable development, mitigation and adaptation to climate change, slowly gaining ground within international and national politics (Anderson 2013:1; Murphy 2018:80; Tykhomyrova 2020:24). Advocates stress its importance as it provides a robust lens to address ethical and moral issues, while it has proven to be critical in debates on the impacts of climate change on individuals and social justice (Jafry et al 2018:3; Alves & Mariano 2018:360). These aspects relate to its background in the concept of environmental justice, used in the strive for the rights to a healthy environment and access to healthcare for peoples of colour and minority groups in the U.S during the 1960s. After discussions on climate change and equity during the following decades, the new concept emerged. The role of social movements must not go unmentioned, as these made key demands and interlinkages to development, human rights, food, gender, indigenous peoples, and labour issues (Derman 2020:24). A clear feature found in the literature is the Global North/South divide, with solidarity emphasised especially by the climate justice movement (Thörn et al 2017:229; Klinsky 2018:472). Here, the unproportionally unequal impacts of climate change on those who have contributed the least to it is viewed as a starting point. Along with that, the literature stresses the importance of highlighting the leadership, priorities, and strategic insights of people from communities at the front lines of climate impacts, recognising how they have been excluded in dominant discourses (Tokar 2020:3).

Central conceptions and pillars that will guide this thesis include the; substantive, procedural, inter-, and intra-generational, and multispecies justice perspectives (Kowarsch & Gösele 2012:81; Newell et al 2021:5). These perspectives will be introduced here and developed on in the next chapter, representing cornerstones for the theoretical framework. While both climate justice research and activism have focused mainly on the international level of climate governance, the literature has during the past two decades begun to look outside the international regime (Hassoun & Herlitz 2018:97). Early work on the international level focused particularly on burden-sharing between 'developed' and 'developing' countries (Shue 1992:373). However, the literature later emphasised that the three dimensions of asymmetry; contribution, impact, and participation, which characterise literature on international levels (e.g climate diplomacy) – also apply to other dimensions and scales. Firstly, linked to the literature on substantive justice, it is now widely acknowledged that historical and current contributions to climate change differ immensely; with larger economies more responsible, while smaller economies suffer unproportionally from its negative impacts (Okereke 2018:322). Differential impacts are also found within countries; between rich and poor, genders and present and future generations – referred to as intra- and

intergenerational justice (Terry 2009; Howarth 1992; Harlan et al 2015:128). Related to procedural justice, the possibility of effective participation is greatly unequal. Studies have examined states in global decision-making forums, where the lack of meaningful participation leads to the failure of climate policies in addressing the interests of the poorest countries, and the most marginalised and poor within these countries – rather reproducing or exacerbating inequalities (Okereke 2018:322). Both in the Global North and South, the poorest and most marginalised often lack access to economic, social, and political structures that recognise, represent, and address their views and needs (Jafry et al 2018:1). This perspective therefore aims to strengthen and highlight the importance of groups like indigenous peoples in climate decision-making (Okereke 2018:325).

Most of the climate justice literature has however not intended to aid an empirical analysis or give concrete policy advice (Jafry et al 2018:4; Heyward & Roser 2016). Instead, it has been used as an ideal-typal approach, or a "sound and defendable philosophical principle", used as a point of departure. Meanwhile, new research is blooming on climate justice in a 'non-ideal' world, where scholars argue that academia should not only consider the theoretical and conceptual levels, but move towards operationalising climate justice (Jafry 2018:522; Brandstedt 2019:222; Newell et al 2021:4). For this purpose, scholars call for more research on the methodologies and tools that can develop and test targets and indicators of climate (in)justice, to further influence policy and programming (Tafry 2018:522; Anderson 2013:1).

Concurrently, scholars stress for a new approach and focus on interpretative method looking at narrative rather than static and rationalistic accounts of climate justice. This is suggested with the aim of making it more relevant and potentially more operationalisable among policymakers and development practitioners (Tykhomyrova 2020:20; Tafry 2018:522). In such an approach, advocates stress the need to analyse and include discourses, narratives, framings, and concerns excluded by dominant discourses (Klinsky 2018:467,472). Klinsky refers to the possible dilemma of bounding climate justice issues so that they fall in line with certain discourse and analytical traditions – with the benefit of having greater currency with influential stakeholders who work with specific frameworks. On the other hand, scholars recognise the vital need to look at framings excluded by dominant discourses and create ways of including those concerns into academic work. Providing and highlighting these discourses is considered one step in the articulation of more just frameworks and policy responses (Klinsky 2018:472). This thesis finds relevance in integrating these viewpoints and combining these perspectives with discourse analysis examine policy.

Along the same line, scholars have discussed a more "transformative" understanding of climate justice which is more attentive to social agency, rather than focused on nation-states (Newell et al 2021:7; Kashwan 2021). Opening for discussions on justice needs for different social groups, and an understanding of more structural causes of injustice across scales, it aims to guide responses not to reproduce, reinforce, or exacerbate inequalities and injustices (Jafry et al 2018; Meikle et al 2016; Newell 2021:8). Such an approach is argued to allow for a deeper analysis of the interlinkages

and root causes of climate change played out in economic and social injustices, understanding these as racial, gendered and class-based. The field has also seen a growing literature on human rights- and rights-based approaches to climate justice, emphasising the links between environment, climate and the rights of individuals to life and well-being (Okereke 2018:324; Schlosberg 2012; Shi et al 2016). Accordingly, rights-approaches could guide strategies on climate change and poverty, testing policy options against formulated principles of justice (Reder 2012:66; Caney 2010). Politics could in that sense be normatively geared towards in practice improving rights-based ideas like participation.

Finally, scholars also argue for an incorporation and focus on the non-human, found in multispecies justice. Shifting the subject of justice as solely the individual and humans to a wide range of living and non-living entities, this perspective considers and acknowledges the harm that climate change has on humans as well as on the non-human (Tschakert et al 2020:5; Jones 2019; Dobson 1999). From this perspective, climate change policy has not included clear enough articulations of the of a protected and healthy environment as integral to social or climate justice. Scholars therefore stress that climate justice frameworks must include voices belonging to "multiple others", as well as highlight how the idea of human exceptionalism historically has permitted and put into practice violence and degradation on the non-human (Tschakert et al 2020:4). This perspective has however not featured as strongly in scholarship on climate justice, but more so on posthumanism (e.g., Rose 2011; Haraway 2016), feminist intersectionality, and within articulations of the climate justice movement (Tschakert et al 2020:3,5).

1.2.2.   Gender, development, and climate change

While climate change long has been framed as a problem to be solved by scientists, engineers, and finance, focusing on "developed" and "less developed states", feminist and gender perspectives in scholarship and policy discourses are relatively new (Leach 2021:*xxiv*). However, gender has provided a significant lens to critically examine the links between environment and equity (ibid). Feminist scholarship understands gender justice as an issue of structural, ideological, and discursive power, and warns against reinforcing stereotypical gender roles, which has been the critique against earlier literature within the field (Newell et al 2021:5; Gonda 2019; Nightingale 2017). Influential perspectives focused on the gender-environment nexus include approaches such as 'Women, Environment and Development' (WED), ecofeminism and gender mainstreaming (Leach 2021:*xxiv*). However, these have been criticised from *inter alia* the climate justice scholarship as problematic in portraying women as a homogenous group or as natural environmental caretakers due to their gender (Ibid; Gupta 2010:81). While gender mainstreaming is known as a critical goal in development-cooperation policy, analyses suggest that gender issues often result being only marginally considered (Elmhirst & Resurrección 2021:64). Meanwhile, theories like feminist

political ecology have emphasised the political nature of gender, environment, and development, incorporating intersectionality – which this thesis will develop on.

Regarding the literature on gendered impacts of climate change, focus has to a large extent been put on the effects of climate change on impoverished women living in the Global South. While highlighting differential impacts of climate change on women and men, emphasis is put on the vulnerability of women (Neumayer & Plumper 2007:581; Moosa & Tuana 2014:683; Gupta 2010:73-74). Various feminist scholars have been critical of this gendered framing of mainly non-white women in the Global South as impoverished victims of climate change, because it leads to problematic stereotypes of those vulnerable to climate change as passive and without agency (Arora-Jonsson 2011:2-4). Consequently, scholars like MacGregor and Arora-Jonsson stress the need for a feminist questioning of dominant, gendered discourses and discursive constructions which frame and construct climate change policies. In that regard, their works have shown the risks of consistently presenting women as primary victims, overlooking power relations and discourses that reproduce these (Ibid; MacGregor 2010b:223,230). By focusing on the vulnerability of women as a homogenous group discourses risk overlooking contextual differences. Gender consequently becomes reduced to a binary phenomenon, where disadvantages are found for women only (Arora-Jonsson 2011:7).

As a response, scholars have during the last decade strived for intersectional analyses to be incorporated in discussions of the causes, impacts, and solutions to climate change (Kaijser & Kronsell 2014; Pearse 2017:4). Intersectional feminist work has uncovered how impacts of climate change differentially affect individuals and communities as a result of gendered, racial, and economic inequalities (Moosa & Tuana 2014:677). Scholars from this perspective understand climate change as connected to and part of broader problems of social and economic inequality, as well as political disempowerment (Moosa & Tuana 2014:681). An intersectional perspective to climate change considers how exclusion and privilege related to gender, ethnicity, location, class, and other factors interact in dynamically reinforcing ways, additionally illuminating related social roles, resources, and expectations (Moosa & Tuana 2014:677,683). Such scholarship on impacts of climate change has shown that poor, youth, elderly, non-white, and indigenous groups are more differentially vulnerable to climate change impact, while they generally contribute less to climate change (Derman 2020:20).

Both the climate justice- as well as intersectional scholarship have addressed gender inequality, and strived to advance debates about the agency of women and gender justice within climate change research (Pearse 2017:13; Tokar 2018:21). Hayward (2008) and Whyte (2014) have emphasised the need to consider the voices of different actors on different levels when addressing climate change, particularly experiences of communities that are directly affected. Looking beyond climate change impacts, Whyte draws attention to the agency of women and oppressed people who often are excluded but should be recognised as providing vital contributions to effective climate responses (2014:604-609). Specifically, Whyte has highlighted the importance

of indigenous women for the responses to climate change which should be acknowledged (2014:612). Ultimately, in the struggle for transformative approaches towards sustainability and social justice, an intersectional lens has been highlighted as critical (Perkins 2018:351; Moosa & Tuana 2014:677).

Finally, related to the multispecies justice perspective, scholars like Hayward Kaijser and Kronsell stress the need to include environmental and nonhuman concerns to climate change research, and to critically examine representations of humans and nature to understand how policy may reinforce inequalities of gender, race, ethnicity, and class (2007:445; 2014:426). This because research focused on nature and the environment have had less influence in the intersectional agenda compared to the focus on social and human aspects. However, such feminist ethical and ontological frames seldomly become integrated in climate change policy, too often gendered and undermining the interests of certain actors (Perkins 2018:351; Nagel 2015). More instrumental development policy- and programme approaches tend to; either ignore gender, stereotype women as victims or as natural (environmental) caretakers, or reduce 'gender' to a mainstreamed box (Leach 2021:xxiv; Perkins 2018:351).

From the intersectional perspective, crucial linkages between colonial, economic and environmental structures, and injustices; the exploitation of both people and the non-human; and the gendered contestations and resistances to them – are all too often left out. Even when gender inequalities *are* recognised in climate policy, researchers have found that positive action still is not always guaranteed, resulting in inefficient responses (Pearse 2017:8). As an example, research on REDD development-policy in the Congo by Brown found that the participation of women was limited on community level, while attention to the differentiated relationships with the forest of women and men were left unmentioned, as were concrete actions to gender-issues (Brown 2011).

Following the increased attention to intersectional perspectives and climate justice, the aim of this thesis is to contribute to the literature by specifically looking into Swedish development-cooperation policy through these perspectives. As demonstrated, researchers have advanced debates on agency and the need to focus on discursive practices in policy. In this thesis, a climate justice framework will be developed, aiming to highlight how Sweden discursively approaches climate injustices, solutions, agency, and the environment. This thesis understands discursive practices of policy as highly significant, especially as an actor like Sweden may influence other states. This master thesis will therefore aim to contribute to the literature through a theoretical and analytical framework that could provide new insights on how environment-related issues are understood and framed in Swedish development cooperation policy.

2. Theoretical framework

This thesis will use theoretical insights from development cooperation, climate justice and intersectionality. In this chapter, a climate justice framework with four guiding concepts will be developed on to analyse Swedish policy and its discursive approach to environmental and climate change aspects. Regarding the outline of this chapter, it begins by discussing development cooperation, followed by climate justice, and the intersectional approach. Finally, the theoretical framework is presented, centered on these four concepts: substantive justice, procedural justice, intra-and intergenerational justice and multispecies justice, which will form the pillar for the analytical framework.

2.1. Development theory and environment

In this first section on theory, development cooperation and environment will be discussed with a focus on the aspects of poverty and gender. Development cooperation can be described as a process that aims to support international development priorities, based on cooperative relationships that seek to strengthen ownership (Lebo 2018:3; Alonso & Glennie 2015). Emerging after the second World War, international development has evolved and now encompasses a wide range of theories and disciplinary traditions, issues and practices (Lebo 2018:1,4; Esteva 2018:6). During the early 2000s both scholars and practitioners considered it necessary for development theory to become more "comprehensive and inclusive" to address development issues – resulting in the more holistic paradigm of development cooperation (Lebo 2018:13-15). This need also stemmed from its background and the understanding of 'Western-style' development as constructed and inherently problematic.

As development is part of decolonisation, it was built on the idea that some states are less- and others more developed, following a linear scale. Western states are often considered developed, compared to other nations and people that need to become developed; creating a hierarchical world that differentiates nations and people along previous colonial and racial structures. Development is thereby not an unproblematic activity (Eriksson Baaz 2005). Today however, efforts have been made to reinvent international development with the idea of development cooperation being something conducted between partners, with articulations such as participation, empowerment, and ownership (Eriksson Baaz 2005:6). Regarding the Swedish case, the 'new' development cooperation model from the 1990s builds on an idea of mutual contract, where partners are agents with own interests, in contrast to ideas and terms like donors

and recipients, or patrons and clients' which have defined previous development paradigms (Dahl 2001:14).

This approach considers a broader system rather than a previous narrow focus on what was viewed as development issues. A wider range of methods, stakeholders and narratives are included, which have led to more efficient and better suiting tools to understand and work with social aspects, rather than previous technocratic approaches to development-and environmental issues (Lebo 2018:4,14-15). Accordingly, development- and environmental issues should be solved by focusing not only on economic growth, but with the inclusion of actors like policy practitioners, and indigenous peoples, while integrating issues like gender, ecology, and economic growth in a broader understanding. Firstly, development and environment, or poverty and environmental degradation are understood as closely related, displaying similarities with the climate justice literature (Steady 2014:324; Uitto 2021:19). Shared aspects include the centrality of the North/South divide, since it is the poorest communities and countries that will suffer most from the consequences of climate change due to geographic location, lower incomes, institutional capacity, and heavier reliance on climate-sensitive sectors such as agriculture (Gupta & van der Grijp 2010:10).

Moreover, agreement exists on how poverty and social vulnerability contribute to certain risks. In particular, how people with lower income, education, and access to medical care to a larger extent risk falling into extreme poverty and suffer from health-issues due to climatic variations (Füssel 2012:11). Consequently, groups that live below the poverty line, especially the rural and urban poor, women, children and indigenous groups often become highlighted as those most affected by climate change (Reder 2012:65). In this aspect, the literature has emphasised particular groups where intersectional aspects such as geography, age and ethnicity to some extent have been taken into account. How some of these groups may also lose more of their livelihoods is recognised as an addition in the struggle to recover in several aspects (Schneider 2012:364). Critical perspectives within the development cooperation literature have provided analyses on how socio-environmental injustices become visible through links between for example deforestation and indigenous peoples (Schneider 2012:371).

Some scholars in the development-environment nexus however stress that deeper analyses on poverty should be directly incorporated for 'justice' to be achieved, but also that justice should be an objective in itself (Schneider 2012:371). Along with that, solutions should go beyond reduction of emissions and adaptation measures to effectively prevent structural causes of poverty, as new injustices may arise if the poverty-aspect is not sufficiently addressed in policy-formulations. In this line of thought, policy must further aim to strengthen the capacity of actors affected by climate change through increased access to education, health, and participation. Meaningful and active participation and agency can thereby become strengthened, which in turn may lead to the promotion of climate protection as well as poverty reduction (Gösele & Wallacher 2012:98). Scholars have furthermore problematised the poverty-environment nexus as elusive, often lacking an integrative approach (Stocking

2021:211; Gösele & Wallacher 2012:99). Much emphasis has previously been put on poverty and resource availability as a *cause* for environmental problems, rather than on a problematisation of access, control, and management of resources (Kurian & Bartlett 2018:13-14; Scott 2006; Forsyth & Leach 1998). The risk of neglecting these aspects by focusing on poverty reduction or economic growth, is the further deepening of negative effects on both poverty reduction and environmental degradation. Meanwhile, inherent tensions are illustrated between climate protection and poverty reduction, as they have differing and distinct aims and time-aspects that can be difficult to combine (Uitto 2021:19; Stocking 2021:200). The results of environmental protection may only become noticeable after a longer time, while measures of development may demonstrate effectiveness within a shorter time frame, complicating results-based objectives.

Finally, scholars emphasise the close mutual relationship between development and the rights of women, especially regarding poverty reduction (Müller 2012:336). Gender considerations should according to this literature be at the centre of development since women play a key role in many areas of environmental protection and to a large extent account for food production, while owning only around ten percent of agricultural land (ibid). The literature further highlights that women are not solely discriminated against due to their gender, but also due to factors like poverty and ethnicity. As a result of gendered differences and shortcomings identified, development policy should according to scholars both highlight how women are particularly likely to be affected by climate change as victims, and create politics for their 'empowerment'. Consequently, the opportunities for women could be increased, including in regard to participation which can produce positive outcomes for women, society, development- and climate change issues. Lastly, concrete solutions are sought to operationalise aims of for example increasing access to education and to the labour market, which can contribute to a better legal position for property rights and political participation.

2.2. Climate justice

Lacking a universal definition and while having its basis in both theory and practice, climate justice theory is concerned with issues of agency, social justice, economic inequalities, and political disempowerment in relation to climate change and environmental degradation (Boran 2018:2; Krause 2018:509; Tykhomyrova 2020:24). Despite its width, its core concern is found in equity and justice aspects inherent to both the causes and effects of climate change, where root causes are understood as stemming from the dominant economic growth model, where poverty and power imbalances act as "multipliers" for negative impacts (Jafry et al 2018:3). Regarding its notes on development cooperation, funds to support climate action could function as a redistributive mechanism and progress toward climate justice – however lack

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transformative potential unless root causes to injustices are addressed. Theory, practice, and policy moreover, all share a focus on safeguarding the views, circumstances, and rights of those most vulnerable and affected by climate change in the Global North and South (Boran 2018:38; Baker 2015:115). Central aspects include issues like the equitable distribution of powers and resources, as well as the fair involvement and participation of those groups regarding the challenge of climate change (Okereke 2018:321). Fundamentally, this perspective stresses that all people, including the most vulnerable, have agency and can resist climate injustices (Harlan et al 2015:131). Here, the importance to look at discourses and framings comes in as an important aspect for research, including framings excluded by dominant discourses (Klinsky 2018:472). Nagel finds climate change ethics as fundamentally about issues of blame, harm, justice, responsibility, and representation. These land in critically examining who is causing the problem, who is being injured by climate change, how the injured are compensated, by whom, and finally who decides the answers to these questions (2015:203). Central concepts from the climate just-literature relating to these issues, that will be used in this thesis include: substantive, procedural, inter-, and intra-generational justice, and multi-species justice (Kowarsch & Gösele 2012:81; Newell et al 2021:5).

Substantive justice highlights that people are differently affected by and unequally part of solutions related to climate change and the environment, due to for example unequal access to goods such as clean water and energy (Roa et al 2018:353; Harlan et al 2015:9). This perspective stresses protection from negative environmental pollution and the right to live in a healthy environment, emphasising health-considerations in policy (Schlosberg 2012; Alves & Mariano 2018:361; Bell 2016:8). Gender has in this strand been understood as a crucial analytical dimension, where scholars like Perkins (2018) have provided gender-analyses of for example intersectional, substantive, procedural, and intergenerational justice. Regarding substantive justice, Perkins finds that access and distribution of natural resources is gender-differentiated due to a greater responsibility of women in agricultural, forest and domestic work, as well as due to economic and political structures (2018:353-35). According to such literature, development-policies should discursively highlight political and material realities. Further, policy should include broad perspectives relating to issues of justice; the importance of gender-differentiated income distribution, types of work and responsibilities. Of significance for effective and just policies is also emphasis on access to education and training, markets, ownership rights of land, public funds, and means of enforcing claims for unpaid and reproductive work.

In another aspect of the substantive justice-literature, Bell looks specifically at gendered health-issues of women. Climate change harms ecosystems and affects water supply, food safety and health, where limited access to safe water can have major negative impacts on sanitation and hygiene-needs of women and girls, which can lead to specific health problems (Bell 2016:8). Moreover, due to a common responsibility of girls and women of providing food, water and cooking, these groups become differently affected. Female-headed households are more likely to be polluted, where

women often become subject to indoor air pollution due to cooking responsibilities, while being more likely to experience fuel poverty due to lower incomes (Bell 2016:6). However, Bell has found the link between environmental factors and health downplayed or unproblematised in policy, rather finding discourses of health-issues as closer to being biologically produced, depicting women as a group that is vulnerable, weak, and primarily victims.

Procedural justice regards issues of equal access to information, influence, and participation in decision-making processes of environmental and climate change issues (Knox 2018:123; Perkins 2018:250). Again, scholars stress the need to guarantee access to different levels of education, through which awareness of effects of climate change as well as participation can increase. Related to this perspective is recognitional justice which further considers the cultural, social, and political marginalisation that create differences in opportunities (Fraser 2000; Newell et al 2021:6). Central to this perspective is safeguarding and guaranteeing the rights of those who have an uneven opportunity to exercise their rights and views (McCauley et al 2019). Alves and Mariano among other scholars, stress the need to integrate gender analyses, together with concrete responses that contribute to the access to information, participation, and influence, specifically for different groups of women (2018:361,372). Particularly the exclusion of indigenous and racialised people from decision-making and consultation is within this perspective problematised. These groups face extreme risks and damages from fossil-fuel extraction and climate change, as well as persecution and violence as environmental defenders (Tschakert et al 2020:3). On the other hand, the leadership of particularly indigenous women in environmental issues, e.g., ecosystem preservation and traditional knowledge is emphasised as critical to consider (Perkins 2018:351-353).

Inter- and intragenerational justice views the temporal aspect as key to ensure that benefits and costs are distributed in a fair manner across generations, since extreme poverty together with access to natural resources are two of the most urgent intra-generational aspects within development (Kowarsch & Gösele 2012:83; Alves & 2018; Perkins 2018:351). The time dimension becomes important to consider, because relationships between gender equality-, well-being- and the environment may take long time periods to manifest themselves, while perpetuating across generations. It furthermore highlights the importance of gender equality on different levels, and the importance to strengthen an equal distribution of resources and access to education, as an example. Concretely, access to education may lead to increased knowledge of climate change, provide tools to access decision-making, and strengthen legal, social, and economic positions in society. Thereby, broad solutions may strengthen actors across generations. According to Tamoudi and Reder, the temporality aspect has potential to form new narratives and solidarity in line with climate justice, addressing and aiming to transform unequal socio-political realities (2018:58).

Finally, in the multispecies justice literature, Tschakert et al. argue that the "persistent interaction of racism, environmental exploitation and contamination" must be consistently illuminated in conceptions and practices of climate justice and in examinations of discourses (2020:3). Its purpose is to examine the interactions between

humans, individuals and societies with nature and the non-human, including animals, plants, rivers, seas, and other subjects (Tschakert et al 2020:2,4-5). Stressing the importance of considering non-human species and protecting biodiversity, it additionally highlights human connections with and reliance on other species and ecosystems (Perkins 2018:353). It is used to critically examine how nature is discursively presented and what role it is given. In that sense, this perspective aims to highlight the value and role of nature; *inter alia* regarding the significance of pollination, seeking to broaden the notion of agency and strengthen the respect for the non-human. Together with this aim, it insists on care and preservation of nature (Tschakert et al 2020:6).

Inspired by intersectional works and approaches to climate change, Tschakert et al include other species and beings to the identities and categories of difference, as part of systems of oppression – tracing environmental exploitation with social injustices (2020:4-5). In that vein, they further highlight how certain humans and non-humans have been treated as expandable and excluded from considerations of justice (Pellow 2018:19,22; Tuana 2019; Sheikh 2018; Neimanis 2019:492). Such exclusion and silencing are understood as based on ethnicity, class and gender, where harm to for example indigenous peoples is grounded in colonial and capitalist dominating systems and practices (Tschakert et al 2020:3; Whyte 2019; Whyte 2017:159). Building on that, this perspective aims to bring to the fore how colonialism, racism, oppression, and exclusion deem certain people as undervalued, unneeded, and sub-human. Consequently, certain people will generally become overlooked, or not be considered protection (Tschakert et al 2020:3; Pellow 2018:22). With this lens then, the erasure of voices, including racialised- and indigenous peoples, can be uncovered and problematised (Hathaway 2020; Tschakert et al 2020:3).

2.3. An intersectional approach to development and environment

This thesis will use a critical feminist and intersectional approach to investigate the discursive constructions of peoples and environmental issues in development policies. Critical feminism is commonly used to examine gender norms and expectations of women and men, what is regarded as feminine or masculine roles and behaviour (Whitworth 2008:396). Feminist attention to agency is multifaceted, while focused on problematising simplistic framings of actors in opposing terms of perpetrator/victim or as active/passive. Contextual analyses are emphasised, as they demonstrate how conditions of both vulnerability and means for positive action co-exist (Moosa & Tuana 2014:690). Following a feminist social-constructivist perspective, MacGregor emphasises the importance of analysing how gendered environmental discourses frame and shape dominant understandings of climate change (2010a:127). Gender is

understood as a discursive construction shaping social life, and gender analyses should thereby examine power relations and the discursive constructions of hegemonic masculinities and femininities that shape how we "understand, articulate, and respond to climate change" (Ibid).

Adding to the scholarship on climate change, an intersectional approach addresses the issue by challenging unequal power relations based on gender and other characteristics such as socio-economic status, geography, ethnicity, and age, including a structural understanding of gender and climate. Societal expectations, conditions, and needs of people differ and depend on structures of intersectional characteristics and circumstances (Narayan 1998:86; Mohanty 1998:73; Kaijser & Kronsell 2014:418). Introduced by Crenshaw (1998), the concept of intersectionality stems from her research on how law has responded to situations of race and gender. Climate justice advocates have consequently embraced the concept to address the links between environmental injustices to patterns of discrimination (Tokar 2018:21). As an analytical lens for this thesis, it will be used to unveil how policy documents articulate social differences, analytical categories and what is being neglected (Singleton et al 2021:5). Moreover, it can highlight how power structures and categorisations may be reinforced, but also challenged and renegotiated (Kaijser & Kronsell 2014:417).

Regarding gender mainstreaming in development cooperation policies, scholars have highlighted how these sometimes have reinforced rather than challenged ideas and practices that lead to a reproduction of violence and oppression while reinforcing traditional gender relations (True 2010:1). Social categorisations should not be understood as fixed, but rather in a constructivist approach as subject to continuous reproduction and change, while related to broader power relations, politics, institutional practices, norms, and symbolic representations (Kaijser & Kronsell 2014:422). From this perspective, policy should avoid portraying women as a homogenous group, and instead highlight that people represent a diversity of constructs experiencing different forms of privilege, oppression, and discrimination. As part of feminist and critical theories, intersectionality is a normative lens which aims to address the "root causes of inequality, transform power relations, and promote the rights of marginalised groups" – aiming beyond including women (Perkins 2018:352; Kaijser & Kronsell 2014:419; Nagel 2016:198).

Meanwhile, scholars find that climate change and development policies often lack a gender perspective and when included, it usually sees itself reduced to man-woman binaries with women depicted primarily as vulnerable victims (Jafry 2018:524; Kaijser & Kronsell 2014:421). An intersectional perspective on climate justice is therefore suggested to provide crucial analyses for policy, looking beyond the inequitable impacts on women (Sapra 2017:2,8). More concretely, gender justice is in these terms achieved by for example strengthening procedural justice; by including diverse gendered experiences and expertise, highlighting the leadership of often marginalised and impacted indigenous women, and by taking into consideration the mentioned inter- and intra-generational justice concerns. Consequently, focus changes from solely gendered vulnerability, or that of the marginalised, which tends to reinforce gender

dualisms and undermine the agency of certain actors (Perkins 2018:353; Pearse 2017:4-5). The discursive construction of vulnerability and virtuousness in policy tends to reinforce perceptions of women as defenceless and closer to nature, and assumptions of fixed gender roles (Pearse 2017:4-5). Policy should in this regard avoid depicting women as natural environmental saviours due to their gender (Sapra 2017:9). Moreover, while highlighting weaknesses or limitations of those harmed, less is often said about root causes putting people in those precarious positions and the need to change these; especially when concrete measures for 'empowerment' of marginalised are left out (Pearse 2017:4-5). A risk of potentially neglecting the agency of women and marginalised groups may follow when inequality is understood solely as vulnerability. Arora-Jonsson illustrates that an increased focus on women as the primary victims on the one hand may create an extra burden on women to address climate change effects, while on the other hand divert attention from power relations and inequalities reproduced in discourses on climate change (Arora-Jonsson 2011:2,4). The over-generalisation of for example the vulnerability of actors may also silence contextual differences, where gender is not viewed as a set of complex and intersecting power relations but as a binary phenomenon marked with disadvantages for only women (Arora-Johnson 2011:7).

Furthermore, Whyte has called attention to the cultural responsibilities of some indigenous women as bound to responses to climate change, including water responsibilities, protesting of degradation of water supplies and protecting biodiversity (2014:604–609). Scholars stress the importance of an intersectional perspective on the impacts of climate change as well as the recognition of the agency of women and often oppressed groups as already contributing to effective climate responses. That is, structural gender inequalities and vulnerabilities should be explained, while additionally highlighting the resilience and agency of women and different groups as agents of change that lead the way in for example adaptation, despite greater vulnerable positions (Ibid; Moosa & Tuana 2014:685; Pearse 2017:6).

Lastly, intersectionality is a valuable framework for analysing power patterns between humans and nature, viewing nature as an object that deserves recognition rather than an object for manipulation. Kaijser and Kronsell argue that the question of how relations between humans and the environment are portrayed should be addressed in intersectional analyses of climate change, by examining how nature is presented, and how social categories are linked to nature (2014:426,429-430). Finally, they argue that intersectional analyses must challenge the discourses on climate change as stemming from a vacuum and rather illuminate the connections to destructive human-made patterns.

2.3.1.   Climate justice framework

With insights from the literature discussed, poverty, gender, and other intersecting aspects have been meaningful in the analysis of both impacts and solutions for policy.

In this theoretical framework, the discussed climate justice concepts will be intertwined with the perspectives from development cooperation and intersectionality. The aspects from this framework will next be connected to the analytical framework through the four nodes: injustice, solutions, actors, and nature, which will be developed in the following chapter.

Firstly, concerned with impacts and solutions, *substantive justice* highlights that people are differently affected by climate change due to unequal access to social, economic and political power, including issues like access to environmental goods. Consequently, scholars call for policy to aim to reduce environmental risks and social inequalities by addressing the distribution of power and resources. The importance in highlighting material and political realities is directly linked to the acknowledgement and formulation of concrete solutions like access to education, ownership rights of land, access to health, and markets. On another hand, the importance of discursive practices and how different social categories are constructed in relation to issues of environmental injustices and 'solutions' is emphasised. Actors are differently constructed in policy, where certain groups may be portrayed as victims and weak, or as natural saviours without a deeper contextualisation nor problematisation of structures that make certain actors more vulnerable.

Procedural justice is concerned with actors and their access to information, participation, and influence in decision-making with special attention to indigenous peoples and other groups who face discrimination, marginalisation, and violence. Building on the previous discussion; how actors can contribute to climate change policy and action is often left out, together with how their voices and position can be strengthened, and how transformation can be concretely achieved. Discourses arguably have impacts on agency, power relations and may reinforce certain injustices. How policy speaks of certain actors then, may highlight or reduce their agency, where risks exist of portraying particularly women and girls solely as passive victims. Policy responses should from this perspective discursively recognise excluding power structures and hierarchies. It is understood as crucial to critically examine not only representations of women as vulnerable, but also to emphasise their roles, experiences, expertise, and contributions in protecting ecosystems. Consequently, gender-equal policies can strengthen not only procedural justice, but also climate policies. Such an approach can illuminate how unequal structural and power relations may be challenged.

Thirdly*, inter- and intra-generational justice* is relevant to this framework to examine the long-term perspectives and understandings found in policy responses. Environmental impacts may in some cases only manifest over long time periods. Together with structural injustices based on for example economic power or gender discrimination, they may take longer time periods to become visible, as well as to change, requiring deeper, concrete solutions such as ownership rights and change of norms. Linked to that, discourses and narratives should again, according to this perspective, change from presenting certain actors as victims only and highlight how actors already contribute as actors of change, concretising how their knowledge will be included and strengthened.

The fourth concept of *multispecies justice* considers both humans and non-humans, which in the analytical framework will be discussed as 'nature'. This perspective can be used to examine discourses on causes of environmental degradation, considering how not only humans but also nature has been exploited by dominating economic and racial systems and structures, tracing environmental exploitation to social injustices. Moreover, this perspective highlights the discursive role and agency given to nature, stressing that policy should; emphasise the important role that nature has for development and humans; as well as the protection and restoration of nature. Consequently, this approach enables the analysis of what is included and excluded regarding the agency of multiple actors and how root causes are understood and linked to wider systems of oppression.

The different theories and lenses visibly share several aspects, such as the need to examine what is being neglected, which actors and needs are being overlooked, and whose agency is being reduced. To some extent, they also share the view of root causes (and solutions) being based on dominating economic and political systems, power structures and dimensions. Regarding solutions, it is viewed as crucial to on the one hand highlight both discriminations and agency in order for policy not to reproduce stereotypes or injustices. On the other hand, broad solutions are sought, linking the economic, social and political, and access to participation, education, land rights and natural goods.

2.4. Ethical concerns

This section aims to clarify and justify certain selections and framings in this thesis, specifically; the usage of binary categories of men and women and the use of a dualistic approach to agency and victimhood, as well as address the position of the researcher within the field of this thesis and the Global North-South aspect. As previously touched upon, intersectionality is an approach used to avoid essentialisation, and promote solidarity and agency beyond social categories. Meanwhile, intersectionality focuses on categories that can reinforce dualisms and can disrupt agency. The focus on structures and social categorisations such as poor women and indigenous peoples as vulnerable consequently risk being reinforced (Cudworth 2013:97). The selection of this approach, as is the case when using feminist approaches in research, requires reflexivity of the researcher. This comes with an aim of avoiding unintentional marginalisation of groups and identities, of overlooking the complexity and fluidity of identities or experiences, and of presenting simplified understandings (Kings 2017:64; McCormick 2012; Preissle & Han 2011).

Furthermore, it is important to reflect on the position of the researcher in relation to the field, study, and material that will be analysed. The inevitable use of binary categories of women and men in this thesis should be mentioned. Particularly the large

focus on women, is a conscious use in this thesis, stemming from the previous literature and analysis of the specific material. The policies examined share a large focus on women, where this thesis reproduces the discourse of the material. As mentioned, the theory chosen seeks to reduce certain risks by considering the intersecting aspects of social categories. Moreover, through the theoretical framework and methodology, this thesis aims to highlight and address what is left out in the material. Regarding the aspect of agency, the analytical framework focuses on dualistic approach being victimhood and actors of change. This is done intentionally to look into the understanding of Sweden to the actors in relation to the environment and climate change within development cooperation. This again, can however lead to an assumption of women as victims, and in this case – men as unproblematic or invisible, and reinforce certain social expectations of roles, stereotypes, and agency. This thesis does not intend to create or reinforce dichotomous or dualistic assumptions regarding categories for people as victims or agents of change, but rather to highlight how Sweden discursively approaches these matters, in relation to environment and climate change.

Furthermore, in this section I address the privilege of myself as a researcher in the context of analysing development cooperation and focusing on the Global South, while using academic literature stemming to a large extent from the Global North. Development, and terms such as developing nations have been raised as inherently problematic, connected to de-colonialism, cultural racism and marginalisation of those from 'developing' countries. Research has problematised these issues with connotations to racist and colonial divisions of people (Johansson & Molina 2009:264). Again here, it is important to mention that this thesis uses and reproduces discourses from the field and the material analysed. In the context of development cooperation and the "Global North/South"-divide, it is important to understand power structures connected to the colonial past, and possible essentialisations in the understanding of for example needs of actors in the Global South (Anholt 2016:4). How the agency of women as another example is discussed in development cooperation from the Global North is consequently important, as it may reinforce such aspects. Finally, while this thesis will focus on the construction of categories, there is no intention to describe, represent or speak for the people mentioned in the material and development cooperation, but rather to analyse how the policies and their discourses understand and construct actors in relation to the environment and climate change (Mohanty 2003:33; Mulinari et al 2009).

3. Research design

3.1. Case study

This study is a qualitative case study on Swedish development cooperation policy, conducted through a discourse analysis. In the literature presented, it has been argued that the methodological approach of analysing discourses is well suited to 'test' stated aims of governments against concepts of justice (Sapra 2017:11). Conducting a small-N study can strengthen the objective of achieving a deeper understanding of the discourses, where the chosen method of discourse analysis can illuminate underlying assumptions that institutional actors like SIDA reproduce and may reinforce. Moreover, it could tell us something about the spaces that are being created for a concept like climate justice. While case study designs have received criticism for a lack of generalisation, this statement stems from a positivist understanding where both data and knowledge can be context and value-free, which stands in contrast to the assumptions in this thesis (Lincoln & Guba 2000:27). This approach can be justified in its high internal validity as a result of an in-depth study, where the researcher moreover attempts to be as transparent as possible in the presentation of the research process: the results, the data collection and operationalisation (Bergström & Boréus 2018:41). The aim of this thesis is not to produce generalisable results on development cooperation, but rather to analyse and understand the discourses on environment and climate change in the selected material, which could tell us something about the Swedish position found here towards the idea of climate justice. From these results, it can be interesting to discuss where climate justice could be heading, however, no clear-cut generalisable conclusions can be drawn.

   This thesis will limit its analysis to an eleven-year time frame between 2010-2021, where four aspects make this limitation relevant. Firstly, this thesis departed from appropriation directions by the Government, where the last publication dates to 2021 when this study started. Secondly, looking into the broad concept of climate justice, a temporal limitation becomes highly important for the prospects of providing a deeper analysis. An eleven-year period could show a possible evolution of the perception of environmental aspects and its integration in development cooperation policy, and if climate justice concerns are visible. Thirdly, 2015 was a significant year for international cooperation on climate and sustainability, making climate justice more relevant on the international climate agenda. And finally, the Swedish feminist foreign policy adopted in 2014 could have effects on discourses, as Sweden states that "Attention to gender equality throughout development cooperation is well established,

but with its feminist foreign and development policy Sweden has raised its ambitions" (Skr. 2016/2017:60:15). Considering these aspects, interesting findings could be made regarding the years before and after 2014/2015.

3.1.1. Swedish international development cooperation

Swedish development cooperation is managed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), which is given its mandate by the government each year. The objective of Swedish international development cooperation is to contribute to creating better living conditions for people living in poverty and oppression and it is based on internationally agreed principles of development cooperation (Skr. 2016/17:60:4). These are found in the Agenda 2030 and SDGs, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda and the Paris Climate Agreement, which form an integrated framework for sustainable development (Skr. 2016/2017:60:1). Meanwhile, Sweden has in some regards stated higher ambitions than those internationally agreed upon, being among the top in per capita aid and commonly exceeding the ambition of 0.7% of ODA to GNI internationally reaffirmed (Lebo 2018:19). Taking this into consideration, it could be argued that Sweden has means to influence international normative agendas and policy, as it further aims to 'continue to be a powerful voice globally on development issues' (Skr. 2016/17:60:1).

Specific tools and methodological materials that guide their work and operationalisation further make SIDA interesting. Thematic areas in their 'Toolboxes' are directly linked to the concept of climate justice, making SIDAs policies highly relevant for a discourse analysis study focused on climate justice. Finally, this thesis will focus on Tanzania. While a different region and country could have demonstrated different results, Tanzania represents one of the countries with longest cooperation with SIDA and is therefore a significant partner to Swedish development cooperation. Moreover, studies suggest that Africa will be hit the hardest by climate damages, where Tanzania is a country that experiences severe rural poverty and environmental degradation, which are aspects found incorporated into national policies (Baker 2015:181; Stocking 2021:205; Agrawala & Van Aalst 2008:186). Thereby it could be expected that the poverty-environmental nexus would be a high priority in development cooperation strategies.

3.2. Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis constitutes the method of this thesis, used to study the Swedish approach to environment and climate change in development cooperation policy. As a method it is used to analyse and find important elements in the material as well as what

is attributed to them (Halperin & Heath 2017:337). Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic state that discourse is more than language, being "a system of exclusionary practices and structures: not just labels, but assumptions, absences and social expectations" (2013:314). They argue that discursive practices systematically formulate and give meaning to objects and subjects, which is why it is important to study how for example "victims", "gender", or "women" are articulated (2013:314; Howarth 2000:5,7,137). Moreover, this approach understands power within the discourse as bound to benefit some and lead to the exclusion of others (Bergström & Boréus 2012:358,361). By using discourse analysis, the researcher does not only look at or count words but is provided with tools to deconstruct language and understand implicit meanings in the text (Denscombe 2014:398; Sheperd 2008:26). Consequently, another method such as content analysis is not as suitable for this thesis since it struggles to analyse implicit meanings in texts and what is left out (Denscombe 2016:393).

An important reflection when using this approach is that of the implications as well as the position and role of the researcher (Bergström & Ekström 2018:254; Dunn & Neumann 2016:269). The method of discourse analysis can be combined with different theoretical backgrounds and tools. I am particularly influenced by the works of scholars such as Laura Sheperd (*e.g.,* 2008,2015,2016), for which I will be using nodal points in my analytical framework. Regarding the ontological assumptions, this thesis is influenced by a constructivist and post-structural approach to discourse analysis. With this background, this thesis rejects the idea of a single objective 'truth' that can be observed 'neutrally', in contrast to positivist assumptions. 'Reality' is understood as constructed and contextual, taking into account structures, social and discursive constructions and practices, where research is made on the perceptions of those constructions. Language, then, does not reveal 'essential' truths, but give meaning and identity to things (Dunn & Neumann 2016:262; Sheperd 2015:890).

It could be worth mentioning that I am aware of certain tensions between the concepts and positionings of intersectionality and post-structuralism, while these can be purposefully combined in research. Both approaches share the understanding of knowledge as socially constructed, acknowledging the power that is inherent in that construction and deeply embedded in discourses, and work to unveil the power of dominant discourses seen as natural or true. However, the background of intersectionality in standpoint theory can stand in contrast to poststructuralism. While standpoint theory has focused on experiences that shape knowledge and on patterns of discrimination – leading to common struggles of people belonging to certain groups, post-structuralism has been more focused on social processes that shape knowledge, while rejecting and aiming to deconstruct essences of specific categories (Hill & Collins 2000). It has rather looked at the processes of subjectification and how people become gendered subjects through structures of power such as language (Gannon & Davies 2014). Consequently, from a post-structural perspective, intersectionality risks essentialising categories that form group concepts. Conversely, intersectionality would 'critique' poststructuralism for its focus on social constructions that may overlook

social and material consequences. However, it is worth noting that the works of intersectional and feminist post-structural scholars are not rigid to any outermost positions. In this thesis, language and its inherent power is central and it is interesting for research to look into how for example climate change effects on people are discursively constructed. I also agree with the importance of highlighting both group interests and discriminations, while recognising the importance of deconstructing categories that make up such groups (as was touched upon in chapter 2). Moreover, categories that will be looked at in this thesis, such as victims and actors of change have been constructed for analytical purposes, relating to theory as well as discourses found in the material.

Regarding the epistemological assumption of this thesis, it takes an interpretivist approach in relation to the social world, questioning objectivity of the researcher. In this assumption, discourses are central, as language constructs and reproduces meaning and our social reality (Hansen 2006). Language is understood as subjective and not neutral nor independent from preconceived understandings and assumptions of both the researcher, and authors of texts analysed. From an interpretivist approach, both are affected through societal, cultural, and historical structures that affect their perception of the world (Bergström & Ekström 2018:255; Halperin & Heath 2017:336). Consequently, reliability can be considered a risk when using discourse analysis, since the researcher has room for interpretation of often abstract ideas that are analysed (Bergström & Boréus 2012:42,85). In the aim of reaching a higher level of reliability, I will try to make this study as transparent as possible regarding the research process, analytical tools and material used (Bergström & Boréus 2018:41; Howarth 2000:2,133-4).

3.2.1. Analytical framework

The analysis of the material will be conducted through four questions with the aim of providing a focused, structured, and deeper understanding of the discourses in the policy documents. This operationalisation is the result of an abductive research process of working with the theoretical framework and empirical material, with the aim of achieving the highest possible intersection and relevance between climate justice and development cooperation policy. The following four nodal points have been identified and selected: *(in)justice*, *solutions, actors, and nature*, as they categorise and link overlapping central issues within climate justice, intersectionality, and development-cooperation, as well as findings in the material. From these, four operational open-ended questions will be used to analyse the material: *How are (climate) injustices discussed? How are solutions to (climate) injustices discussed? How are actors discussed? How is nature discussed?*

Departing with the first question: *how are (climate) injustices discussed?* can through the theoretical framework highlight a more narrow or broad understanding. A broader understanding would link injustices to structural inequalities and power

dimensions between genders and different social groups. From the perspective of procedural justice, policies should consider the limited participation in decision-making, exclusion of and even violence against certain people. Linked to knowledge and power, policy should highlight how the knowledge of some people is taken into consideration or overlooked. Injustices can furthermore be viewed as the lack of access to resources, education and as affecting health issues – which are related to power and structural inequalities. Time-sensitivity becomes important in that regard, as the opportunities for education and livelihoods can have perpetuating effects over generations.

The second question: *how are solutions to (climate) injustices discussed?* aims to understand if policies include aspects such as strengthening land ownership of women or other groups that struggle to be recognised as owners; strengthen representation of those most affected yet most marginalised and excluded from decision-making; and aim to increase access to information, tools, health, and education. These can again be understood from a time-sensitive perspective, since they are long-term solutions that change power structures and could increase the possibility of excluded and affected groups to strengthen their positions and agency in society. In this question too it becomes important to analyse if policies present an understanding of complexities of both injustices and solutions – problematising root causes and power structures in society that maintain some people in poverty.

The third question: *how are actors discussed?* is used to understand how policy discursively constructs and understands those affected by climate change, regarding victimhood and agency as actors of change. On the one hand it examines if certain social categorisations are linked (solely) to victimhood and vulnerability, in need of aid or protection. A gendered assumption of victimhood could be uncovered, where only women and girls are mentioned as victims, rather than also highlighting how they contribute to maintaining the environment. Discourses here construct certain expectations from actors and may result in overlooking or reducing the agency of certain actors and groups. On the other hand then, this question opens up for understanding who are considered actors of change and whose knowledge is highlighted. Broadly, this question seeks to uncover what type of agency that is given to different social categories, and if concrete measures are mentioned to 'strengthen' marginalised people and their voices. Moreover, looking into how actors are constructed can uncover if an intersectional understanding of people and power dimensions is visible.

Regarding the fourth question: *how is nature discussed?* it aims to understand how nature is discussed in relation to social categories. Here, a broad understanding includes a recognition of our dependence on 'nature'. By highlighting how we depend on nature, discourses could include an emphasis on the 'care' for a healthy environment. The theoretical framework highlighted how the 'agency' of both certain people and the non-human has been excluded, and that power dimensions, root causes, and violence are neglected. Finally, the four nodal points and questions are not completely exclusive or distinct but overlap and aim to unveil how social categorisations and nature are

discussed, focused on how structures, power dynamics and asymmetries within society are sustained, strengthened, or challenged.

3.3. Materials

In this section, the selected materials are presented with the aim of providing a transparent presentation of the data collection process. Primary sources include policy documents and strategies for development cooperation through which the official Swedish position can be investigated. Interviews as a mixed method could have been a suitable complement, however, my main interest lies in the output and what can be understood from the stated policies. Strengths of using these types of documents include stability and that they can cover a broad range of time and areas, while being precise and specific (Yin 2007:112). On the other hand, there may be difficulties in retrieving documents, leading to a skew selection process, and a possible researcher bias in the analysis. In this case, the data collection was made primarily from the official government website Regeringskansliet and the official Sida website, which are considered reliable databases.

The material selected for the analysis are: appropriation directions, regional and country-specific strategies, aid policy frameworks and SIDA toolboxes. Firstly, the appropriation directions are a clear statement from the government in expectations and given mandate to SIDA for each year. Here, the government gives SIDA the task of focusing on certain thematic areas and issues, and state what should be accounted for regarding implementation results. Consequently, the emphasis that Sweden aims to have on the environment and climate change becomes visible. Secondly, the regional and country-specific strategies were selected since they are a central part of development cooperation policy, illustrating the thematic areas in different regions (environment, gender, human rights etc.). The country-specific policies here include result strategies which have the aim of presenting the general goals for development cooperation in the respective country. The regional and country-specific strategies are here thought of as linked, where the latter could provide more concrete material regarding for example solutions, as these focus on a more specific context – providing more depth to the case study. These documents span from 2006- to 2024, as the first strategies were prolonged until 2013, and the last strategy was created in 2020 with duration until 2024.

Thirdly, the aid policy frameworks (from 2013 and 2016) are larger and more concrete documents in which the Government sets out the direction of Swedish development cooperation with principles, values, and a hierarchy of objectives. By including one before 2014/15 and one after, these could demonstrate interesting findings and changes in discourse. Lastly, toolboxes by SIDA from 2015- focused on environment, gender, human rights, and poverty have been selected on the basis that

they enable an examination of how SIDA relates the interconnected issues, and how these understandings guide the work of the agency. These different documents could be thought of as a pyramid; departing from more overarching to more specific formulations on how Swedish development cooperation should work towards environment- and climate change issues.

4. Results and analysis

In this chapter, the results from the selected material will be presented and analysed, aiming to understand the Swedish discourses on environmental issues in development cooperation policy. Structured along the four questions presented in the analytical framework, this chapter examines how injustices, solutions, actors, and nature are discussed. Finally, the documents analysed include: appropriation directions, aid policy frameworks, regional and country strategies on the Sub-Saharan Africa and Tanzania, and toolboxes on the thematic areas of environment, gender, human rights and poverty.

4.1. (Climate) injustices

In this first section examining how injustices are discussed, the results and analysis will be centred on: the environment-poverty nexus, the dependence on natural resources and the understanding of poverty; health aspects; and finally; gender-injustices and an intersectional understanding of power dimensions and actors.

Synoptically, the policy documents consider the environmental aspect as important to and interlinked with development, poverty, and injustices from 2010-onward. Presented injustices related to environmental- and climate change impacts include unequal access to clean water and sanitation, and effects on agriculture and livelihoods, which may increase the risk of malnutrition, starvation, and ill-health (Regeringskansliet 2010:15,17; Comm. 2013/14:131:9; MFA 2006:3). In the Swedish analysis, households that depend on the environment, such as agriculture or forestry, are emphasised as more affected by climate impacts (MFA 2016:5-6). Environmental degradation, droughts, floods, land degradation, and health problems due to for example agro-chemical exposure, are further understood as a risk to many development issues, including food security, public health, employment, and poverty reduction (Ibid; Sida Poverty Toolbox 2017a:20). Food and agricultural production are problematised, as practices may degrade land and water systems on which production depends, affecting food supply and income. Consequently, people working with, or dependent on agriculture face increased vulnerability, resulting in a vicious circle of poverty, degradation, and hunger (Sida Green Toolbox 2017b).

The government states that SIDA is to work with sustainable development where economic, social, and environmental development are understood as "interlinked and mutually supportive", and that the agency should highlight structural grounds to poverty and inequality (Comm. 2013/14:131:14; Regeringskansliet 2015:4-5). In line

with the theoretical framework, income poverty and food insecurity for particularly small-scale farming households are understood as due to various factors. Among these are low levels of saving and investments, limited access to land, to water and nutritious food, resources and capital, and genetic resources such as seed and breeding animals, as well as technology or inefficient farming methods (Comm. 2013/14:131:27).

After 2015 the appropriation directions increased the number of focus areas. Simultaneously, the analyses of climate- and intersectional aspects evolve, and with the years, the discourses on (climate) injustices develop toward being more in line with the climate just framework. An intersectional framework became more apparent after 2015, together with analyses of the gender-environment nexus, mainly through the SIDA toolboxes. Looking at the Swedish conceptual analysis of poverty, it is understood in a multidimensional way; including a lack of freedom, power, and enjoyment of human rights (Comm. 2013/14:131:19). Developed on, the framework includes 'opportunities', 'choice', 'power' and 'voice', and an intersectional understanding to injustice and power dimensions:

> The answer to the question "who is poor in the different dimensions" will vary according to gender, age, sexual identity, ethnicity, religion, indigenousness, disability and other social variables. Gender dimensions always matter, but gender intersects with other social variables and must therefore be analysed in relation to those variables. When several layers of discrimination and deprivation coincide, poverty normally deepens. It is also important to take into account geography, the urban/rural divide, migrants and forcibly displaced people and people affected by conflict and natural disasters (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2017a:14).

The relationship between poverty and vulnerability is viewed as complex and dynamic, and as depending on how people are poor in the different dimensions (Ibid). For example, in the case of floods or droughts, policies illustrate that people in poverty may have to make choices with long-term effects like withdrawing children from school, cutting down trees, selling of cattle or reducing health care expenditures. Sweden demonstrates an understanding of how climate change and poverty may worsen due to aspects like lost opportunities for education, reflecting a time-sensitive aspect, as such effects may take time to become visible, while possibly perpetuating across generations. Building on a broad understanding of the environment-poverty nexus, SIDA explains that poverty in terms of resources can include both material and non-material aspects; it may be a decent income, physical or human capital like having an education or professional skills, health, agricultural tools, transportation for goods, energy, or information (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2017a:16). On the one hand, access to natural resources and ecosystem services are emphasised; including land, clean air and water, goods, and services from forests, livestock, and fish. On the other, it may also include having time, a formal or informal network. Moreover, resources in the Swedish analysis interplay with the other dimensions; for example, access to capital and land can be linked to power and 'voice' (Ibid). Finally, the lack of power and voice relates to being able to articulate concerns, needs and rights in an informed way and to take

part in decision-making regarding these concerns, in the private and public sphere and institutions.

Regarding procedural justice and meaningful participation in environmental issues, a shrinking democratic space and the serious threats regarding civic freedoms of expression, right to assembly and association for certain groups is discussed (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2017a:9). While the early strategies focus mention political participation and opportunities for the poor, no clear link is made to the environment (MFA 2006:11). However, environmental- and human rights defenders, particularly indigenous peoples who live in areas of exploitation are later on highlighted as specifically targeted and persecuted, risking imprisonment, violence, and death (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2017a:10). Additionally, a gender-difference is highlighted, illustrating how female human right defenders often face violence that goes beyond their public activities into their private sphere, including sexual violence (Ibid).

Reflecting the substantive justice approach, health issues for people living in poverty are linked to access to nutritious food, clean water and air, but also to issues such as education (Comm. 2013/14:131:34; Skr. 2016/17:60:11,37). Environmentally toxic emissions and substances impact agriculture and human health, viewed as consequently undermining development progress (Skr. 2016/17:60:11,26). The link between environment and public services such as health care, education, and water supply are discussed to a higher degree in the appropriation directions and toolboxes, while not as concretely in the earlier regional and country-strategy documents. Exposure to open fires and traditional cooking stoves risk causing ill-health and death, and is highlighted as a gender-injustice; often affecting the health of children and women to a higher extent due to specific needs and responsibilities (Comm. 2013/14:131:34). Poor access to clean water and sanitation facilities has negative consequences particularly for women, girls and children who more frequently become ill, negatively impacting their school attendance (Ibid).

Sweden furthermore counts health as a resource in itself, since sudden ill-health may push families into a spiral of dependency, loss of income and the need to sell assets, or resort to an unsustainable use of natural resources (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2020:2-3). Again, the analysis of girls and education can be linked to an time-sensitive perspective, as education is a resource that can provide tools to improve possibilities and living conditions over generations. Health is also emphasised because at least half of the population of the world lacks a full coverage of essential health services, while "health care spending has put 100 million people below the poverty line" (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2020:5). Sweden argues that health aspects therefore must connect social, economic, and environmental well-being, "linking the present to the future with a particular focus on the most vulnerable communities, and people". Such aspects discursively reflect the climate just-framework by focusing on structural injustices, those most affected and future generations.

Furthermore, documents highlight an interlinkage between health and having access to, possessing, or having power over land and resources, as land can be used to sustain a decent living standard, improve life conditions and possibilities (Sida Gender

Toolbox 2015b:1-2). Social inequalities and the distribution of power and resources are thereby further touched upon in relation to health, while discussions on specific gender-injustices deepen after 2015. It is stated that women and girls are overrepresented among those food-insecure due to denied human rights, regarding the right to cultivate, own and inherit lands, and the right to education, health, and a political voice (Comm. 2013/14:131:27; Sida Gender Toolbox 2015a:1; MFA 2016:5-6). Policies include how less access to markets for women result in fewer opportunities for income, while rural women also often spend a large amount of their time on household obligations, leading to less time to spend on food production or other income opportunities. Such discourses reflect structural injustices and the unequal distribution of power and resources.

The differential gender impacts mainly include only women as 'victims', while it on one occasion is mentioned that men in the mining sector are exposed to dangerous mining chemicals (Sida Gender Toolbox 2016:2-3). Focus is put on impacts on women with examples from their work in agriculture and household, leading to them being more exposed to pesticides, or indoor pollution due to smoke from burning fuels. Moreover, droughts may bring severe health risks due to a lack of drinking water, water for cooking and hygiene, nutritional deficiencies and burdens associated with travelling to collect water (Ibid). Women and girls spend more time acquiring water than men and boys, where far distances to collect it implies a heavy and time-consuming duty, also possibly affecting their school attendance negatively (Sida Gender Toolbox 2019:2). Moreover, their school attendance may be affected by the lack of access to safe water or separate toilet facilities in the schools, where girls can manage menstrual hygiene affecting their personal safety.

According to the Swedish analysis, women have both fewer assets and heavier burdens, resulting in larger vulnerability to climate change effects and environmental degradation (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015a:2). These inequalities may result in less food-production, less income with higher levels of poverty and food insecurity. Moreover, despite their knowledge on environmental management, water, and sanitation, and providing livelihoods for their families, SIDA highlights that the knowledge and representation of women is systematically overlooked in decision-making bodies and policy due to gender power relations (Sida Gender Toolbox 2016:1; 2019:2).

Consequently, Sweden acknowledges how the agency of women is reduced, not being considered agents of change. Broad understandings of the grounds to differential injustices are presented, in line with a critical feminist and intersectional approach. On the one hand, Sweden highlights formal and informal constraints, rules and norms that shape the behaviour of actors, gender relations and identities, determining what is appropriate for women or men (Sida Gender Toolbox 2016a:1-3). As an example, it is highlighted that men and boys are not encouraged to engage in household work and in unpaid community-based sanitation activities, unlike women (Sida Gender Toolbox 2019:3). The gendered division of labour regards the expected tasks that women and men should fulfil both in private and public spheres, constraining and affecting the access of men and women to and control over resources (Sida Gender Toolbox

2016a:3). Growing gender gaps are understood as a consequence of unequal power relations and discrimination, emphasising economic empowerment, and the political influence of women and girls (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2017a:10). Thereby, power relations, gender stereotypes and the distribution of power are understood as grounds for assigning fixed gender roles in society, while discriminating and disadvantaging, as well as upholding the systematic subordination of women and girls (Skr.2016/17:60:4,10). Moreover, an intersectional view on power and discrimination is developed on, stating that "specific needs and access to resources are context-specific and depend on variables like gender and age", but also that:

> Power is a relational concept that allows us to better understand socio-cultural hierarchies and relations of age, caste, class, religion, ethnicity, sexual identity, and not least gender. Reinforcing forms of discrimination based on such socio-cultural relations may increase an individual's poverty in this sense. The lack of power and voice therefore deprives people of the freedom to take part in private and/or public decision-making that is of fundamental importance to them (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2017a:16-17).

Finally, related to the next section, Sweden displays an understanding of how a change of power dynamics can put women in more vulnerable positions. In the context of humanitarian interventions where gender roles become radically altered; for example giving women greater control over water and food distribution – power dynamics may become negatively impacted and lead to increased gender-based violence (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015a:2).

4.2. Solutions

In this section focused on 'solutions' to climate injustices, the results will again centre on; the environment-poverty nexus and access to natural resources for development, as well as the understanding of poverty; health aspects; and finally, gender-injustices and the intersectional understanding of power and actors.

From 2013, the thematic priority of environment and climate is to be "a central starting point for all aid" (Comm. 2013/14:131:15). Development that is sustainable in terms of the environment and climate is described as crucial because of its importance to the needs of people living in poverty regarding food, energy, clean water, sanitation, and clean air (Comm. 2013/14:131:27). Demonstrating a long-term perspective, Sweden states:

> Global development must not take place at the expense of the opportunities of future generations. If development is to be sustainable in terms of the environment and climate, it needs to be shaped and managed within planetary boundaries, which includes promoting fossil-free and climate-resilient development (Skr. 2016/17:60:15).

One clear focus has been to support smallholder farmers through sustainable agricultural production to cope with the effects of climate change in agriculture and livelihoods that can lead to malnutrition and starvation (MFA 2010:8-9; Comm. 2013/14:131:27). Concretely, Sweden aims to strengthen smallholder farmers organisation and bargaining power, training on sustainability certifications and quality management (Sida Green Toolbox 2017b:2). Particularly a focus on strengthening ownership and rights to land and water resources is visible, particularly mentioning women farmers who also depend more on water resources for sanitation (Comm. 2013/14:131:33-35; MFA 2013:6). Focus on solely increased agricultural production according to the Swedish analysis does not solve the issue of hunger and malnutrition, as it in many low-income countries has implicated unsustainable work conditions and salaries (Comm. 2013/14:131:24,27). Guiding frameworks include focus on education, salaries, and economic empowerment – which from the theoretical perspectives can address and promote a change of structural inequalities that maintain some people in poverty, marginalised and excluded. Broader solutions in line with substantive justice are also found in earlier documents, connected to health and educational levels to make poor people more likely to benefit from growth (Comm. 2013/14:131:16,23-24). Sustainable solutions include productive employment and decent work, access to basic social protection, education of good quality as well as a non-toxic environment (Skr. 2016/17:60:14). Increased sustainable productivity and access to markets and to renewable energy are also emphasised, with particular focus on women (MFA 2020:6).

SIDA establishes that it is necessary to understand *who* is living in poverty, *how* poverty is experienced and the underlying causes of poverty (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2017a:5). From the Swedish understanding, the basis for poverty reduction and the promotion of equitable and sustainable development must be the perspectives of the poor, departing from their "situation, needs, circumstances, interests and priorities" (MFA 2010:3,7; 2016:9). Later on, procedural justice aspects are to a larger extent emphasised in relation to the environment regarding the civil and political rights of environmental- and human rights defenders, and cultural rights of indigenous peoples.

A deeper analysis is provided after 2015 on the interlinkages between natural resources, ecosystem services and human rights. It is argued that the human rights-based approach provides both legal grounds and principles to; empower and protect people on an individual and collective dimension; to protect and prevent violations of biodiversity and ecosystem-related rights; as well as to fulfil progressive measures in line with the rights to education, health, and culture (Sida Green Toolbox 2017a:1). A clear interlinkage is further made between biodiversity, food, and health, in the aim to mainstream sustainable livelihood and good health, conservation and biodiversity into work on agriculture (Sida Green Toolbox 2017b:2). Conservation is to be strengthened through support to for example community seed banks, exchange networks and fairs, with particular attention to the contribution of women in agricultural diversity and systems. Moreover, investments in health are emphasised, mentioning access to health

care, food, water, clean air, sanitation, hygiene, and medicines as basic human rights that contribute to greater productivity and the general development of society (Ibid).

Regarding the final aspect of this section, gender-equality and the role of women in development are from 2013 to be a "starting point for all Swedish aid" (Comm. 2013/14:131:15). The link between gender equality and environment becomes increasingly illustrated from 2015 onward with the inclusion of an equality integration specifically in the areas of environment and climate (Regeringskansliet 2015:4). Aims here include providing systematic gender analyses looking at the gender aspects of the use of natural resources and differential experiences and impacts of women and men on the environment and vice versa (Sida Gender Toolbox 2016:1,4). Both women and men in poverty are highlighted as important in decision-making on how natural resources and revenues should be used (MFA 2020:4). Viewed from the theoretical framework, such an aspect is important, as actors can share different views regarding their specific needs, interests, vulnerabilities and knowledge.

Entry points in the work focused on women and girls include indicators such as access to adequate sanitation facilities at home and separate toilets for girls and boys in school and health facilities. It also includes conducting analyses on time spent collecting water or firewood and time saved through improved water and sanitation service. Moreover, support is aimed toward vocational training for women and networks that address gender gaps, develop skills, and reduce transaction costs (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015a:3). Solutions presented toward gender equality could be understood as broad, concrete and efficient from the climate just framework.

From early years onward, we find arguments for increased emphasis to be put on conditions for women who make up a large share of those working in agricultural sectors. A gender approach is found to be crucial to improve food security, good nutrition, water supply and development, as well as to "enable shifts in gender power relations and assure that all people regardless of gender, benefit from, and are empowered by development policies and practices" (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015a:1). One emphasised problem in the materials is that women rarely have rights to the land they farm, leading to less productivity (Comm. 2013/14:131:27). An example:

Food security and agricultural programmes can strengthen human rights and be more effective if they also tackle the constraints around women's access to resources. This is done through addressing the issue of unequal gender roles, responsibilities, and workloads (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015a:3).

Clear interlinkages between gender equality, differential roles, human rights and access to environmental resources are found in the documents, reflecting the climate justice framework. Developing on the issue of land, SIDA emphasises the right to land and property as a human rights issue and central to economic empowerment; functioning as a base for food production, income generation, as a collateral for credit and a means of holding savings for the future (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015b:1-2). Land is moreover understood as:

"a social asset, crucial for both cultural identity, political power and participation in decision-making. It increases capabilities, negotiating power and ability to address vulnerability (ibid).

Solutions are here too found in the work toward a broad range of issues, such as women having the same access as men to information and knowledge, credit and technology (Ibid; 2021:4). The role of women in agricultural production can be strengthened through increased access to financial systems; including loans and insurances, since formal and informal constraints limit their access to financing and capital. Furthermore, by investing in labour saving and productivity enhancing technologies and infrastructures such as water sources or fuel-efficient stoves, the Swedish analysis identifies that time may be freed for other productive activities (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015a:3). From the climate just perspectives, strengthened economic capital, access to non-toxic energy-supply, and improved health are all aspects that can address vulnerabilities and transform power relations, by also improving opportunities to strengthen capabilities and participation. Regarding the latter, Sweden aims to promote increased participation of marginalised groups and particularly women who play a central role in issues like water supply for household needs and water resource management. The importance of women in environmental 'solutions' is stressed in several documents:

Women are central to the work on sustainable environmental and climate solutions and the sustainable use of natural resources. Women often bear the main responsibility for food production, water supplies and the family's welfare and therefore possess knowledge as to how climate adaptation measures should be developed locally, for example. Women are much more active in the renewable energy sector than in the fossil sector, which means that greater support for renewable energy can also strengthen women's economic empowerment (Skr. 2016/17:60:26).

An emphasis on the participation, voice and agency of women and girls is discursively visible in the call for rights to "interpret, influence and participate on equal conditions as men" (Sida Gender Toolbox 2016a:2). Sweden also seeks to strengthen the participation of women in decision-making processes and negotiations and in consultation and formulation of strategies and techniques related to the environment, climate and sustainable use of natural resources (Ibid; Skr. 2016/17:60:24-25). Due to the roles that women often have in their communities, they have contributed greatly with leadership to solving environmental problems and mobilised communities in disaster risk management. Consequently, women can have a better understanding of efficient strategies (Ibid; Sida Gender Toolbox 2021:3).

Moreover, on the one hand, policies emphasise monitoring mechanisms of the enforcement of policies, targets, and laws on the access and right to land of women (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015a:3). On the other hand, it is highlighted that the effectiveness of laws depends on awareness, abilities to invoke and social acceptance. Therefore, SIDA advocates awareness-raising and access to information among women regarding land rights and complaint mechanisms, as well as the increased

representation of women in boards or bodies responsible for distributing or overseeing land rights (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015b:3). Furthermore, SIDA stresses education and capacity building for government officials, legislators, and local land officials on the issues of gender equality and access to land and property rights. As such, an understanding of long-term solutions to injustices in the gender-environment nexus becomes visible. Rather than considering solely short-term practical solutions, solutions that can change power structures in the long-term are included. By emphasising for example awareness-raising and access to information that may lead to social acceptance, both law and fixed norms in society could potentially be challenged. Linked to this, SIDA mentions a gender transformative approach, where it is highlighted that men and boys are not encouraged to engage in most household work and unpaid community-based activities, while their inclusion in sharing such work and tasks could reduce the workload of women (Sida Gender Toolbox 2019:3). However, this aspect is not developed more concretely.

4.3. Actors and agency

In this section the analysis will centre on how actors and agency are discussed from the aspects of victimhood/actors of change. First, the results will focus on the Swedish conceptual frameworks on poverty, oppression, and empowerment. After that, the analysis will focus on specific actors and groups found in the material: the rural poor and small-scale farmers, indigenous peoples, women and men – and the discursive constructions of agency regarding victimhood and actors of change.

The Government taking as its starting point the view of poverty and of what is required to improve their living conditions held by people themselves living in poverty and under oppression builds on a conviction of human empowerment – fundamentally and under the right conditions, people have the capacity to define their problems themselves and act to attempt to resolve or tackle them. In this approach, people who live in poverty and under oppression are subjects and actors rather than objects or passive recipients (Comm. 2013/14:131:10-11).

In this quote, Sweden presents actors with agency to be actors of change. Similar discourses stress that people living in poverty are "agents of change", and that women and men "should be agents in environmental management, including in participation in decision making and policy processes" (Sida Gender Toolbox 2016:1). Empowerment to SIDA includes overcoming exclusion by "addressing power differentials", enhancing knowledge among climate vulnerable people about emerging environmental risks, means for protection and risk reduction (Sida HR Toolbox 2015a:7; 2015b:3). It is furthermore viewed as crucial to examine "who is included and excluded to these groups (in relation to gender, ethnicity, etc.)" (Sida HR Toolbox 2015a:8; 2015b:7-8).

Moreover, if policies, laws and regulations regarding investments and control over resources discriminate against specific livelihood or smallholder production, and certain ethnic groups who traditionally rely on specific livelihoods (Ibid). Ethnic discrimination must according to SIDA be recognised as embedded the conceptions of what is assumed to be 'good' or 'sustainable livelihood' within the interventions. The presented discourses strengthen agency, and demonstrate an intersectional analysis to risks, where SIDA recognise and aim to address power differentials and discriminatory practices resulting in exclusion for certain actors. Documents furthermore mention the importance of recognising that women and men are not homogenous groups, and that power structures and dimensions work together – variables intersect and "interact in shaping the links between gender and the environment" and may lead to deepened poverty and livelihood security (Skr. 2016/17:60:22-23; Sida Gender Toolbox 2016a:1).

Specific groups like small-scale farmers and the rural poor remain in focus over the years, understood as more vulnerable to the impacts and effects of deteriorating ecosystems (MFA 2006:3; 2013:2; Sida Green Toolbox 2017:1). Men and boys, particularly from marginalised groups, as well as people with other gender identities are mentioned as impacted and excluded, but are rarely brought up (Sida Gender Toolbox 2021a:2). As mentioned, it is highlighted that men and boys are not encouraged to engage in most household work and unpaid community-based activities, while SIDA argues that their participation could reduce the workload of women (Sida Gender Toolbox 2019a:3). In this example, men and boys are part of the injustices affecting women and possible solutions toward gender equality. However, the issue is not further problematised or addressed, and a responsibility on men and boys to transform power relations is discursively invisible. On the other hand, the Government chose to particularly focus on women and girls as two central target groups from 2013 with clear explanations for this decision:

Women and girls are subjected to discrimination based on sex and perceptions of gender to a much greater extent than men and boys, and generally have much less power, poorer conditions and fewer rights than men and boys. Women usually have a lower income than men and rarely have property and capital of their own at their disposal. The effects of climate change often impact on women and children to a greater extent. The role of women as actors for a country's development is important – improved living conditions for women and reinforced work on gender equality are powerful means of achieving other aid objectives. Swedish aid must therefore particularly focus on reaching women and girls" (Comm. 2013/14:131:10:17).

Throughout the years emphasis is put on both on victimhood as well as on agency as actors of change of women and girls. On the one hand, women and children in low-income countries are identified as often hardest hit by climate change and mentioned as more dependent on the access to clean water and basic sanitation (ibid; Skr. 2016/17:60:26). On the other hand, women and girls are highlighted as central for the access to food provision, management and safeguarding of freshwater, sanitation and

raising livestock (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015a:1). Moreover, it is acknowledged that despite the closeness to the work on for example biodiversity, the important knowledge and values of women are largely overlooked in policy (Sida Gender Toolbox 2021a:3). Solutions consequently refer to acknowledging the role of women in food production and food security, as:

> responsibilities as food growers, fuel gatherers and caregivers connects them closely to the surrounding environment and natural resources and equip them with distinct knowledge, like crop varieties suitable for different soils and weather conditions (Sida Gender Toolbox 2016:3).

In this quote, Sweden refers to responsibilities while mentioning women as caregivers, which could have been an interesting aspect to develop on regarding the theoretical insights problematising the essentialisation of women as nurturers. However, this type of discourse is not typical. Emphasis is rather put on for example how food production and the access to food to large extent relies on the work of rural women. According to SIDA, "if women farmers had the same access to resources as men, the agricultural yield could increase by 20 to 30 percent", and significantly reduce the number of hungry people (Sida Gender Toolbox 2015a:2). However, "due to gender power relations" the knowledge of indigenous peoples and women often becomes overlooked, resulting in these groups not being "counted as actors of change" (Sida Gender Toolbox 2016:1; Sida Green Toolbox 2017a:1-2). Their participation in decision-making processes is emphasised due to their "detailed knowledge" and contribution to; a sustainable use of natural resources; the preservation of ecosystems and biodiversity (Ibid). Indigenous peoples too are constructed as actors of change, whose traditional knowledge and leadership is a valuable resource. Their agency is emphasised by illustrating how environmental and land rights defenders play a key role in protecting biodiversity and ecosystems, and how they oppose large scale projects which have a negative impact on ecosystems. On the other hand, SIDA calls attention to how defenders, particularly indigenous groups face deadly persecution regarding their right to exercise their civil and political rights, where female defenders face additional challenges and discrimination (Ibid; Sida Gender Toolbox 2016a:4).

4.4. Nature

This final section examines the relationship between environment, poverty and development, aiming to understand specifically how 'nature' is understood and what kind of role and agency that it is given. This section begins by looking into the discourses regarding the dependency on nature within development. Next, discourses on causes and drivers to degradation and climate change are examined, and finally how nature is to be 'protected'.

Earlier strategies to a larger extent focus on the consequences of environmental degradation on pro-poor growth, economy, and trade (MFA 2006:3-4; 2010:15; 2016:5). Importantly, key economic sectors in Sub-Saharan Africa include mining, energy, agriculture, tourism, wildlife, forestry, and fisheries, which are based on natural resources. Additionally, more than two thirds of the population live in rural areas, being mainly employed in agriculture and forestry or small-scale fisheries. Consequently, these 'environmental' sectors are highlighted as important for employment, income, and food security of poor people, but also as fundamental engines for economic growth. Poverty-reduction and safeguarding food security is later also to a large extent understood as dependent on the sustainable use of land, forests, and water, but also on more concrete work to adapt to climate change and natural disasters (Skr. 2016/17:60:25).

A change becomes visible after 2015, when the Government states that climate change is the "key issue of our age" and aims to increase the environment and climate-integration, focusing on sustainability (Skr. 2016/17:60:25). The importance of a healthy environment becomes increasingly visible; "well-functioning ecosystems and a stable climate is the foundation for development and all human life" – calling for a sustainable management of natural resources for current and future generations (Sida Gender Toolbox 2021:1). Together with the increased incorporation of 'nature', a definition on what is meant by the concept of environment is provided:

(…) air, water, land, climate, natural resources, natural flow, flora, fauna, cultural heritage, people and the interaction between them and the social, political and economic factors in society, as well as the physical capital for instance infrastructure that humans have created. Therefore, environmental issues can also address issues such as hygiene, health, food security, urban development, waste management, land tenure and access rights, indigenous and people's rights. At an ecosystem level, environment includes vulnerability to natural disasters such as flooding and cyclones, and measures for adaptation and resilience to climate change (Sida HR Toolbox 2015a:2).

SIDA argues that it is crucial to understand the use and dependence on natural resources and ecosystem services to identify vulnerabilities and risks to livelihoods and economic growth (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2017a:20). Consequently, it is illustrated how ecosystem services make life possible by providing things like clean air and water, formation of soils, and recreational, cultural and spiritual benefits (Sida Green Toolbox 2017b:2). Pollinators are mentioned as providing benefits for food provisioning, contributing to medicines, biofuels, fibres, and construction material, while threatened by changes in land use, intensive agricultural practices and pesticide use, pollution, and climate change. This type of discourse reflects the theoretical perspectives on agency for the non-human. Highlighting the contributions and agency of 'nature', the interaction of certain groups living in poverty with the natural environment and biodiversity is illustrated, particularly communities like indigenous groups that depend on ecosystems for their livelihood (Sida Green Toolbox 2017a:1). That is, the understanding of the importance of the environment to development issues broadens

from focusing on employment and poverty reduction, to cultural aspects and well-being. Again, this type of discourse strengthens the agency and importance of nature to several aspects of development, while highlighting excluded actors such as indigenous peoples – who may live closer to the environment and both depend on, and protect the environment, as previously discussed.

Consistently, a transition to sustainable development within planetary boundaries is presented as the necessary path earlier, but increasingly so after 2015:

Social and economic development is crucial in a sustainable development context, especially in combating poverty, but the growth needs to be sustainable. Therefore, green growth can be seen as a means to achieve a sustainable economy that provides a better quality of life for all within the ecological limits of the planet. That means taking into account different factors such as environmental impact, climate change, disaster risk and the loss of biodiversity as well as equal distribution of resources. In many of Sida's partner countries, climate change and depletion of ecosystems is already evident, which has largely affected people's health and their ability to support themselves and for instance their basic rights (Sida HR Toolbox 2015a:2).

Despite the environment being discussed as suffering from deterioration as a consequence of unsustainable practices, and while sustainability and planetary boundaries are stressed, there is no clear discussion on the power dynamics between humans and the non-human, nor on the structures or systems that are the drivers and causes of the exploitation of nature. That is, how negative practices are part of larger power structures is mainly left out. Economic and social dimensions are visible in discussions relating to ethnicity, as well as to gender and patriarchal structures – however often leaving out root causes for environmental degradation and climate change. Additionally, nature and the non-human become left out in the analysis of subordination, exclusion, and privilege. The theoretical framework on the other hand includes 'nature' as a category that is part of oppression and privilege. SIDA does however discursively argue that it is crucial to understand the specific context, causes, drivers, and consequences of environmental degradation, and the linkages between the local, national, regional, and global levels (Sida Poverty Toolbox 2017a:20).

Sweden demonstrates a long-term perspective in stressing that sustainable development must promote "fossil-free and climate-resilient development" (Skr. 2016/17:60:15). Examples like extraction and use of natural resources, such as alarmingly high deforestation is stated to account for a significant proportion of global greenhouse gas emissions while posing a large threat to biodiversity (Skr. 2016/17:60:10-11). However, the economic systems and structures, which from the theoretical perspective are inherently connected to both racial and patriarchal structures are not clearly interlinked nor problematised. A deeper discussion could be added to address such patterns related to poverty and environmental degradation, where Sweden could demonstrate how it traces environmental exploitation to social and economic injustices. In that sense, systems and power dimensions that maintain the (human) exploitation of nature are not concretely addressed.

Meanwhile, nature and its ecological boundaries are visibly discussed and emphasised as important in development cooperation, considering the health of both humans and the planet. According to the multi-species perspective, not only how we depend on nature should be discussed in policy, but also how we aim to care for nature. The material is in line with this as previously illustrated for example through the human rights-based approach which according to SIDA can provide legal grounds and principles to protect and prevent violations of biodiversity and ecosystem-related rights (Green Toolbox 2017a:1). Sweden aims to promote the work on protection and conservation of biodiversity and ecosystems, and resilience to climate change also by removing harmful subsidies. In this work it aims to focus on native species, and restore degraded and marginal land – as part of mainstreaming sustainable livelihood, good health and conservation of biodiversity in agriculture (Sida Green Toolbox 2017b:2).

5. Discussion and conclusions

This final chapter will discuss and summarise the findings on the discourses found on the environment and climate change in the selected material, and present main conclusions as well as thoughts for further research. Ultimately, this chapter will answer the research question: *How can the Swedish discourses on the environment and climate change in development cooperation policy between 2010-2021 be understood?*

5.1. Discussion

Discourses on environment and climate-aspects in the materials analysed evolved during the 11-year time frame, with several aspects of the climate just perspective reflected in the policy-discourses. In the first question on injustices, the understanding of the environment-poverty nexus, including gender-injustices and intersectional perspectives broadened throughout the years. Injustices were discussed in connection to several larger thematic issues such as food security, education, health, and legal rights to land, including certain structural grounds for poverty. Procedural justice-perspectives, and the cultural, social, and political marginalisation of actors were consistently highlighted. So were also gender power-dimensions and intersectional understandings to causes for unequal living conditions and discriminations, while the theoretical perspectives emphasise the need to also reflect on economic structures.

By emphasising the need to address the distribution of power and resources, discourses demonstrated similarities to theoretical insights in this thesis; where it is argued that policy must confront the distribution of power and resources to be efficient and prevent new injustices from forming. Aspects like access to healthcare and environmental goods have been presented by Sweden as crucial for effective policies, problematising costs of health expenditures and linking environmental issues to basic human rights. Presenting health as a resource in itself and linked to environmental issues, led to a clear time-sensitive approach where health issues are understood as possibly harming the individual as well as generations to come through less opportunities to access to for example education, work and networks. Here, primarily the responsibilities and needs of girls and women are understood as causing specific health problems, which can make girls drop out of school – affecting them on a long-term perspective. Patriarchal structures were also viewed as 'putting' women in positions of vulnerability and poverty, making it more difficult to cope with climate change and health expenses.

The second question on solutions demonstrated that these evolved from focusing on economic growth, to participation, health, gender aspects and an intersectional perspective. Generally, there was a common thread from injustices to the solutions. To some extent the solutions could be understood as concrete, for example when discussing strengthening the access to finance and the market for small-scale producers. An attempt at finding long-term and sustainable solutions for people and the environment are visible – which further illustrate that Sweden understands the need for broad solutions to climate injustices. Again however, calls for changing certain structures are more visible than others.

A crucial aspect in the climate justice framework is that of agency, where even the most vulnerable are understood as having agency and the ability to resist climate injustices. Similar discourses are found in the material, important from this climate justice framework to not reinforce certain stereotypes and to reflect the idea of cooperation rather than the donor and passive or weak recipient; being women or any groups which are presented as vulnerable or marginalised. Linked to that and solutions; participation, empowerment, and ownership are often brought up in the policies, which can be viewed as an aim to address structural causes to poverty and marginalisation, further through a problematisation of access, control, and management of resources. Aims to adjust the interventions specifically for ethnic groups was also visible, particularly for indigenous women and small-scale farmers. In that sense, solutions discussed in the materials could imply positive effects on the agency of actors, as for example increased participation and bargaining power can strengthen their voice in decision-making and policy.

Linked to the third question then; how are actors discussed? It is found that the policies highlight a gender difference in needs, experiences, knowledge, and impacts in relation to the environment and climate change. The gendered characteristics and assumptions of climate change become visible through the focus on women and girls as disproportionately affected. Discourses were however in line with highlighting how certain actors are more negatively affected. While women to some extent become presented as a unitary category, it is clearly stated in policy-frameworks that women are a diversity of constructs that face different forms of oppression. Meanwhile, gender generally becomes a binary phenomenon focusing on women. Mainly it is women, girls, indigenous women, and women farmers who are discussed in relation to environmental issues. The focus on women and girls and children could risk these different actors almost becoming part of the same category; reinforcing women with a lack of agency, as children do not have the same capabilities nor power to act and make decisions in society. Moreover, certain power structures and stereotypes of vulnerability could risk becoming reinforced, as injustices and victimhood mainly are discussed around these groups, while men and boys are brought up on very few occasions. However, the theoretical lenses state the importance of clarifying why one decides to focus on certain groups – as there is a risk of reinforcing stereotypes and structures by using the constant language of 'marginalised' or 'victimhood' in relation to certain groups. The discourses on the vulnerability of women are in this case not

viewed as simplified, as why a focus on women and girls is necessary is provided, including underlying systems and structures of subordination and exclusion that uphold such realities in the broader society.

Sweden discursively constructs women as both 'victims' and 'actors of change', reducing the risk of reinforcing stereotypes of women as weak and lacking agency. The importance of women as leaders and bearers of important expert knowledge for environmental and development issues is clearly included. In line with the theoretical perspectives, the specific knowledge of indigenous women stemming from their responsibilities is emphasised, consequently strengthening the agency of women as actors of change throughout the years, breaking with the understanding of certain actors as merely 'victims' or 'passive'. Interestingly, women are on one occasion referred to as more sustainable due to the role as 'caregivers' (among other things) which could play into an essentialised understanding of women as natural saviours due to their gender. Meanwhile, it is also mentioned how women face unsustainable fuel dependency for cooking (as a gendered responsibility in households) demonstrating that women too will use the resources available which may be environmentally harmful. However, it should be said that emphasis in this case is put on how women are affected by poverty and lack of access to clean energy. Coming back to the specific knowledge of women, it is discussed as systematically excluded in policy, leading to negative consequences for women, society, and development. By highlighting the erasure of marginalised voices of for example racialised women, power relations and stereotypes in this case can become challenged and renegotiated.

On another hand, the argument that Sweden will focus on a transformational gender perspective that includes men and boys falls short. While 'men, boys, women and girls' must be considered, the role of men and boys is not developed in the documents. On very few occasions is it mentioned that men suffer from injustices, and how certain men are vulnerable becomes discursively invisible. Meanwhile, the reader can understand that men suffer from many of the injustices as they too are part of groups that live in poverty. On one occasion it is mentioned that men and boys are not encouraged to participate in certain duties, but without a deeper discussion on transforming specific norms and roles. Norms linked to masculinity are not discussed in relation to injustices or solutions to environmental issues, nor how men and boys should be included regarding gender-equality work and in changing gender power structures, which can reinforce the assumption of the issue as being a responsibility of women.

The fourth and final question on nature demonstrates the role of nature in development; with discourses on the negative effects that degradation can have on nature itself and humans, but also how nature is crucial for humans and development. Several aspects from the climate justice framework are visible, however, some are left out. On the one hand, planetary boundaries and how biodiversity is facing extreme risks became increasingly stressed, emphasising the need to protect nature, for example through a human rights-approach that could be effective through legal protection. Examples are provided on how pollinators are crucial for development, but also

currently face extreme dangers, as well as how degraded land affects development. Such discourses are found to be in line with the multispecies perspective, highlighting the non-human subjects and their importance to development and to humans. The relationship between nature and humans is discussed, presenting how humans and particularly certain actors depend on nature, discursively strengthening the 'agency' of nature. Similar to previous discussions, both a sort of 'victimhood' and the importance of nature are emphasised.

On the other hand, systems and the power relations between humans and nature are at large left out. That is, certain systems that uphold practices that have and continue to degrade the environment are not clearly discussed. Rather, remedies and discussions on sustainable practices are more visible. Some concrete unsustainable practices like deforestation are mentioned but could be developed on. Tendencies within development are usually left out but were visible in the discussion on for example increased agricultural production – which alone will not suffice to reduce poverty, requiring sustainable agricultural practices and improved working conditions. A deeper discussion could however be provided on unsustainable economic development and how it interlinks with different structures and dimensions, deepening poverty for some people. In line with the theoretical framework that stresses an understanding of environmental injustices linked to social injustices – it is highlighted how ethnic discriminations must be addressed in interventions as certain ethnic groups who work with specific crops in a sustainable way are excluded on such grounds. Linked to the intersectional framework and understanding of power, subordination, and privilege, how different power dimensions and systems work together could be made more visible, as the harm done to nature often seems to be a phenomenon without particular history, particular actors and without particular systems or people that benefit from it - what are the drivers?

5.1.1. Conclusions

Looking at the previous discussions, this thesis finds that Swedish policy discourse includes several aspects from the climate justice framework. The discourses evolved regarding climate injustices, solutions to these, as well as on agency and 'nature' over the years. Firstly, the thematic issue of climate change and environment has become an increasingly important issue, viewed as crucial to address. With this followed deeper and more concrete understandings and discourses on how climate injustices play out, with long-term solutions that address several structural inequalities and power dimensions. The discourses on injustices and solutions demonstrated attention to substantive and procedural justice, interlinkages between gender-environment and poverty, as well as time-sensitivity. How particularly women, indigenous people and small-scale farmers are affected, yet have agency to change was developed on during the years. Regarding agency, Sweden from early years understand people in poverty as carrying agency to be agents of change despite their circumstances. From the

theoretical perspectives it is viewed as crucial to discursively highlight how certain groups who have contributed the least to climate change are disproportionately affected, and how such groups furthermore carry significant knowledge that is systematically excluded or overlooked. The human right-frameworks found in the toolboxes were very interesting in how they connected several aspects, and could provide an interesting entry-point for climate justice perspectives in policy. Meanwhile, viewed from the theoretical insights, Swedish discourse falls short on providing discussions on larger structures and drivers that cause climate change and environmental degradation. Larger structures that uphold for example gender-injustices are considered, and despite a clear intersectional framework being provided and ethnicity being discussed, more concrete discussions on colonial structures and assumptions are in general left out. How economic, colonial, and patriarchal structures interact and uphold injustices could be discussed and exemplified to a larger extent.

This thesis is however focused on sensitive issues, being the approaches in global responses to climate- and development issues. SIDA is a governmental and political entity, which could explain why it does not reach a climate just perspective in policy, as it reflects a highly critical approach to dominating systems and structures, looking for transformative solutions to poverty, climate change and environmental problems. While Swedish development cooperation-organisations have advanced climate justice approaches and stress the importance of making it a higher priority on governmental levels, Sweden has not yet adopted official policies that use the concept of climate justice. It could however be said in this conclusion that Sweden has moved towards linking more justice-aspects to development cooperation in their policies. And as Sweden internationally is viewed as a leader on human rights, environment- and gender issues, it could be considered to have possibilities and power to change the discourses and priorities within international development cooperation. Despite demonstrating an understanding of environment and development that include aspects of a climate just framework, we are left with the question if Sweden can or will adopt an official climate justice agenda in the near future.

The findings demonstrate that Sweden understands people in poverty who often live near and depend on nature as the most affected by climate change, biodiversity loss and a deteriorating environment. Further research into the field of development focused on climate justice could consequently be of great value; and in this final section four suggestions for future research will be presented. Firstly, focused on the international level it could be interesting to study Swedish climate diplomacy and examine the Swedish discourses in forums such as the UN, where the term climate justice is more present. Such a study could perhaps also be linked to theories on small-states and their influence in the international community. Secondly, an interesting topic for further research could be that of studying other important governmental agencies or departments that work with foreign policy, development, and environment. Studying how other governmental agencies understand environmental issues could be significant to further understand how Sweden approaches the issue. Thirdly, an interesting area for research is how civil society works with the concept of climate justice in discourse

and implementation. As mentioned in the introduction, no indications are found from the government, however, NGOs do work with climate justice frameworks. What does concrete work and implementation with climate justice look like in those cases? Finally, this thesis was limited to looking at text in official policies. It could be interesting to apply the method of interviews with SIDA employees to deepen the understanding of how SIDA aims to work with climate and environment. Specific projects could be discussed and provide more concrete material to analyse. In such a study it would moreover be possible to directly ask and examine what their view and position is on climate justice. New research could further tell us something about where climate justice is heading on different levels. With further research, the issue of climate justice could be increasingly recognised and prioritised on the national- and global agendas. Moreover, further research could fill the mentioned gap regarding the need for a better working operationalisation of frameworks, indicators, and justice ideas within development cooperation.

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