Exporting Sexual and Reproductive Values

A study on the existence of U.S. SRHR politics in international AIDS relief and prevention aid in Africa

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Abstract: This thesis examines the ideologies and moral values regarding sexuality and gender within the United States national realm of Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR); and furthermore what how these ideologies and morals are translated into development policy. Through the method interrogative insertion, I have explored in the U.S. President´s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). And through the method of discourse analysis, shown the ramifications of these ideologies when transferred into African societies through the practice of development seeking out to prevent and relieve HIV/AIDS by development agencies that receive funding from PEPFAR. With theories of postcolonialism, representation and discourse, and theories on governing the body I have been able to see how articulations of sexuality and gender in development policy aiming to combat HIV/AIDS in Africa have implications for the self identities as well as societies in which this development aid gears towards. Accordingly, this study discusses not only the sexual and reproductive rhetoric in development practices, but the field of development as a Western-based practice, which transfers Western-based understandings and ideologies into policy – and its turn imposes beliefs and societal constructions upon the developing world.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

The President´s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR)

With George W. Bush´s entry into office as President of the United States in 2001, the U.S. has experienced rigorous attempts to weaken the availability of sexual and reproductive rights and health related services.[1] In the domestic/national context (meaning within the United States), Bush´s entry into office brought with it;

> Attempts to trump contraceptive choice, reproductive freedom and scientific fact with a narrow view of religious morality: the promotion of abstinence-only education; a general attack on condom use by spreading misinformation and suppressing scientific evidence about condoms' efficacy; and a more recent campaign against sex workers.[2]

Through the creation of the *President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief* (PEPFAR) law year 2003,[3] the Bush administration introduced a far reaching program carried out by (among other agencies and organizations) the *United States Agency for International Development* (USAID) in order to combat HIV/AIDS internationally.

Domestic values in HIV/AIDS related international development work

The region of the world where the HIV/AIDS epidemic is most prevalent, the continent of Africa, has also been the focus region for the United States HIV/AIDS prevention and relief work globally. The implementation of the PEPFAR law and the campaigns to strengthen U.S. involvement in HIV/AIDS-related development work in Africa that followed, included the same values as held by the United States government´s conservative party. A few of the initial implications of the PEPFAR law on the policies and policy in practice of USAID were the requirements set to be met by any domestically based or international development organization. In order to receive funding from PEPFAR, many of these requirements have since been discussed for their impositions on SRHR-related healthcare;

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[1] (IPPFWHR, 2014)
[2] (IPPFWHR, 2014)
[3] (Cohen, 2008, p. 2)

Incorporated in that law were requirements that at least one-third of all HIV prevention funds be reserved for abstinence-until-marriage programs; that nongovernmental organizations adopt a position opposing prostitution and sex trafficking in exchange for PEPFAR funding; and that faith based organizations be given priority in receiving funding, without regard to their willingness to provide truthful information about the effectiveness of condom use in preventing HIV, if they provide any information about condoms at all.[4]

1.2 Objective and questions at issue

Research purpose

As seen in the previous section ´Background´, there is a tendency for certain ideologies and morals regarding women´s sexuality and reproductive rights to be implemented into law that regulate national as well as international SRHR-related practices. The purpose of this research is to examine how ideologies and moral guidelines on sexuality are translated into international development work. Furthermore, my aim is to examine the dominating understandings of gender and gender roles based on the definitions and discourses linked to discussions of ´women´ and ´women´ in relation to their sexual and reproductive practices in U.S. based and U.S. government funded organizations/agencies that work with development in the African continent. This is done in order to see whether and how specific understandings of gender and sexuality are written into international development policy. Moreover, I set out to examine the implications of incorporating certain ideologies and moral values to discussions of gender in policy; policy that in turn regulates where (meaning to what partner organizations, to which sectors and for what purposes) development aid is transferred into African societies.

The purpose of this research will be fulfilled by examining the above stated in the context of HIV/AIDS prevention in Africa. The HIV virus spreads through the blood and therefore is commonly contracted through sexual intercourse and also to the fetus during pregnancy where the blood is shared. Considering this, development work in Africa with HIV/AIDS also deals with sexual and reproductive issues.

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[4] (Cohen, 2008, p. 2)

Research questions

In order to fulfill this research´s overlying purpose, I have formulated the research questions as following;

- How are ideologies and morals on sexuality that exist within the United States national realm of HIV/AIDS policy and prevention implemented in HIV/AIDS work in the continent of Africa? Furthermore, what consequences can this have?

In order to answer the general research question the following sub-questions will be used;

- What definitions and general understandings of gender in development can be found in United States gender and development policies? Furthermore, where do these general understandings on gender in development reside?
- What impact does the U.S. national sexual morale have in the African nations, when U.S. based development policies are put into practice?

1.3   Disposition

The purpose of the introduction chapter is to equip the reader with a background to the field of research in general, as well as introducing the reader with this paper´s purpose to give a clear picture of what the following research sets out to examine. Apart from this, I have attempted to give examples of what research similar to this study has been done prior – and also how research dealing with the effects of SRHR policy in public health and international development can be carried out.

The purpose of chapter two, ´Theory, material and method´, is to build upon the general information presented in the introduction to show the reader what theories and methods will be used in order to carry out the analysis of the material. Aside from the general explanation of the theories of research and specific elements of these theories chosen for this research, literature that relates to both the fields of development studies and gender studies that is also relevant and useful for the analysis will be presented as this literature is used as a tool to contextualize the theory with the findings in the material to carry out the analysis and give the reader a more dynamic analysis.

In the last chapter, the analysis and conclusion – the material is analyzed by combining the theories of postcolonialism and discourse, as well as discussions from the literature that deals

with gender in development- and applying these theories in the discussion of the chosen material. The research done in the initial part of the analysis is carried out by presenting the themes found through the method of examining the chosen material. The material for this initial research consists of documents, reports and policies published by PEPFAR and USAID. These documents are discussed by combining the theory and the material that discusses the PEPFAR law and its implications.

1.4   Previous research

In this section, a few important articles have been chosen to show the impact of decisions made on a national level which not only have implications for domestic SRHR-related healthcare, but also global implications. The reasons for choosing these specific research articles is to not only give the reader an introduction to the topics that are discussed throughout the following study, but also to give examples of the different issues existing in the discussion of the globalization of healthcare; whereas the topics in this research discuss SRHR-related topics in HIV/AIDS healthcare.

In the article *Globalization and global health governance: Implications for public health*, Margaret E. Kruk discusses the impact of the globalization of healthcare, through the process in which aid agencies are now delivering healthcare to the developing world. The new role of international agencies in healthcare, where the state previously held this role, seeks to narrow the gaps between the health of the populations in the developing and developed world.[5] This shift to global healthcare is a topic that my research discusses in relation to the implications of this on societies that receive healthcare-related services from the Western world.

In the working paper *Global Implications of U.S. Domestic and International Policies on Sexuality*,[6] the Bush administration´s work on issues concerning sexual and reproductive health and rights within the U.S.A. and abroad is examined. By analyzing the policies which concern sexuality and reproductive issues, as well as the concrete actions of these policies in practice; the author pinpoints "how some of the Administration's broader, cross-cutting policies, such as its faith-based initiative, are magnifying the impact of Bush Administration

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[5] (Kruk, 2012, p. 56)
[6] (Girard, 2004)

policies on sexuality."[7] I have chosen to showcase this research because it deals with the issues of sexual education, HIV prevention and treatment, reproductive services as well as other highlighted issues of the Bush administration's policies on sexuality in SRHR- and HIV/AIDS related advocacy and practice in the national as well as the international realm of SRHR-related healthcare. In conclusion, the author of the paper Girard, states that the implications of the Bush administration's policies regulating sexuality have consequences reaching outside of the U.S.A., for example through their implementation in PEPFAR and development agencies that receive PEPFAR funding, which is the subject to be explored in this following research.

In the article *Women´s Empowerment, Development Interventions and the Management of Information Flows*[8], Naila Kabeer examines the "framework to analyze development interventions from a gender perspective"[9] through case studies of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.[10] I have chosen to exemplify this study due to its examination of the term ´empowerment´ and the discourse of empowering women through development - in relation to organizational framework and policy that is implemented in the practice of development. Kabeer problematisizes the way in which "theories of change tend to reflect the worldviews of those who formulate these interventions and their understanding of social reality."[11] She goes on to state that tools for evaluating and measuring gender equity efforts in development is often insufficient in seeing the actual impact of assistance in reaching gender equity and women´s empowerment goals (as stated as goals in policy). Rather, Kabeer suggests, "it is not financial services alone that shape what organizations are able to achieve, but the organizational strategy for delivering them".[12]

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[7] (Girard, 2004, p. 4)
[8] (Kabeer, 2010)
[9] (Kabeer, 2010, p. 105)
[10] (Kabeer, 2010, p. 105)
[11] (Kabeer, 2010, p. 105)
[12] Kabeer (2005) in (Kabeer, 2010, p. 109)

2 Theory, material and method

2.1 Theory

What this research seeks to do is to examine how United States domestic sexual and reproductive morale is incorporated in policies dealing with HIV/AIDS related international aid in the continent of Africa. With ´United States domestic sexual and reproductive ideologies and morals´ I am referencing to the regulations that are based upon moral ideologies, political ideologies not consisting of any national or global economic agendas. Moreover, I set out to examine how these ideologies/morals (when placed into development policies) can have implications for the people and societies affected by them – people affected can be both the population living within the nation where these regulations are decided and abroad. For the purpose of this study, the focus is mainly on the effects these regulations have on the people and societies which these regulations infiltrate through development policy and practice. The theories relevant for this research as shown in this section serve as tools for examining the relationship between the United States and Africa and the encounters and relationship between these two in the context of AIDS-related development work. The theories used for the discussion on the interworking of power in the relationship between the Western World (in this study the United States) and the Developing World (in this study the continent of Africa) through the practice of development; and more specifically through the practice of working towards gender equity as an integrated part of the U.S. goal of preventing and fighting HIV/AIDS in Africa in development practice, are further explained in this section.

The production of knowledge: Theorizing women in processes of development

HIV/AIDS- related advocacy and work relates to SRHR topics, therefore these two are closely interrelated. The research questions of this study call for a more nuanced understanding of the specifics of SRHR related work in development processes. SRHR policy and work does not only imply women as subject to the policies and programs in domestic and international development work. However, women are often the directly and indirectly stated target group, therefore the burden of these issues often fall upon heterosexual women therefore maternal health is a main focus of HIV/AIDS prevention. Theories on women in development processes, such as Women in Development (WID) came as a reaction to previous development policy and strategies that as stated above ignored women´s role in

production outside of the household unit, and had therefore "dealt with women only in their reproductive role, and then only as mothers, not as women."[13]

> Economic development was the original primary focus (…), in both the United Nations and the U.S. Congress, the motivation to integrate women into development programming arose from the gender bias that had characterized previous attempts at economic development and so had ignored or undercut women´s economic activities.[14]

The hegemony of Women in Development (WID) into development practices are discussed and met with alternative ways to see women in processes of development in *Feminist Post-Development Thought*[15] and *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*[16]. "USAID established the Women in Development (WID) Office to assist USAID missions and regional bureaus in integrating women into their various development projects,"[17] furthermore "international development agencies such as (…) USAID, the Ford Foundation, CIDA and so on have been major sites in which knowledge about women in the Third World is produced."[18] In *Feminism Without Borders,* Chandra Talpade Mohanty discusses the "ways in which ´women´ as a category of analysis is used in Western feminist discourse on women in the Third World,"[19] through "defining women primarily in terms of their object status (the way in which they are affected or not affected by certain institutions and systems)."[20]

The construction of knowledge is central in alternative theories applied to the field of development such as postcolonial theory, that problematizes the construction of knowledge on people in the developing world and how this knowledge is transferred into development theory that is used as a guideline in development practice and for development practitioners. Postcolonial theory is used to understand the discursive and practical relations between the Western World and women in the developing world (in this context Africa) in the material, and the points and processes in which knowledge on people and societal constructions in the developing world are articulated and constructed. Representation/discourse theory is presented as a tool to further understand these power relations as presented in postcolonial

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[13] (Visvanathan, et al., 1997, p. 38)
[14] (Visvanathan, et al., 1997, p. 37)
[15] (Saunders, 2002, p. 1)
[16] (Visvanathan, et al., 1997)
[17] (USAID 2, 2012, p. 4)
[18] Mueller, 1986 in (Saunders, 2002, pp. 235-236)
[19] (Mohanty, 2003, p. 23)
[20] (Mohanty, 2003, p. 23)

theory, and explore the implications of these power relations. The key themes of postcolonial thought and representation theory is the interworking of discourse and discursive formation in representing others. Postcolonialism deals with the reproduction of colonial forms of ruling; where independence movements of former colonies in the Third World have been reproduced through "the instillation of a neo-colonial form of government by local elites."[21] In *Postcolonial Studies – The Key Concepts[22]*, Ashcroft (et al.) explain that feminism and postcolonialism are two intertwining theories therefore "both patriarchy and imperialism can be seen to exert analogous forms of domination over those they render subordinate."[23] Theories of representation as explained in Stuart Hall´s *Representation[24]* explain the relationship between our concepts of understanding the world around us and the practice of negotiating these understandings through language (language in the form of speech, text – any form of communication).

In this study, I am examining what and why certain understandings of gender exist in policy on HIV/AIDS development policy. There are two main issues with the way in which Western-based feminisms interpret and represent women in other societies; the first being the way gender categories are understood on the basis of Western gender constructs and furthermore how these understandings of gender are formulated in development discourse that intends to represent the areas of struggle and needs of women in the developing world. Representation is not just a practice of communicating our conceptual understandings of things to others. Language, rather than just the tool for communicating, is also key in "the production of knowledge"[25] which happens through discourse; a practice in which language "refers to the same object, share the same style and support a strategy…a common institutional, administrative or political drift and pattern."[26]

The issues of 1. Whom has the power to represent women in the third world as well as the consequences this has on efforts to combat inequalities in the developing world are the main issues that postcolonial feminist theorist Chandra T. Mohanty explores in *Feminism Without Borders[27]*. As Oyewumi does in *The Invention of Women – Making an African Sense of*

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[21] (Ashcroft, et al., 2013, p. 144)
[22] (Ashcroft, et al., 2013)
[23] (Ashcroft, et al., 2013, p. 116)
[24] (Hall, 1997)
[25] (Hall, 1997, p. 42)
[26] Cousins and Hussain, 1984, pp. 84-85 in (Hall, 1997, p. 44)
[27] (Mohanty, 2003)

Western Gender Discourses[28]*,* Mohanty discusses the practice of representing ´third world women´ in Western gender equality efforts, and furthermore gives alternative suggestions for a more appropriate and effective gender analysis in such practices. In representation, the power and privilege to portray (or represent) others is also key factor in understanding the interworking of power in discourse; "Hegemony is a form of power based on leadership by a group in many fields of activity at once, so that its ascendency commands widespread consent and appears natural and inevitable."[29] In the same sense that hegemony entails visible tangible power from the outside (in this context we are speaking of USAID and its affiliates, USAID´s hegemonic power in the global context of development work), the implications of the ideologies etc. that are sent out through the aid work have the power therefore they create and sustain discourses;

> The worldwide exportation of feminist theory, for example, is part of the process of promoting Western norms and values. Taken as its face value, the feminist charge to make women viable is carried out by submerging many local and regional categories, which in effect imposes Western cultural values.[30]

Theories on governing the body

In *Development, Sexual Rights and Global Governance,* Editor Amy Lind and contributing authors address "how sexual practices and identities are imagined and regulated through development discourses and within institutions of global governance".[31] Contributions in this book serve as theory for the discussion of imposing and regulating sexuality and practices of sexuality through development discourse as seen in PEPFAR policy and USAID´s implementation of these policies in HIV/AIDS and gender equity development policy and practice. Theories of the body, or more specifically practices of controlling other bodies, are central in any analysis of the implementation of discourse on sexuality and reproductive in policy. In *The Foucault Reader*[32]*,* discussions of power, control, discipline and regulating life through controlling the body are given. Foucault explains how the "power over life"[33] is linked to the discipline of (other) bodies in two forms; the first being "centered on the body as a machine (…),

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[28] (Oyewumi, 1997)
[29] (Hall, 1997, p. 259)
[30] (Oyewumi, 1997, p. 78)
[31] (Lind, 2010, p. 0)
[32] (Foucault, 1984)
[33] (Foucault, 1984, pp. 261-262)

its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterized the disciplines: an anatomo-politics of the human body. The second, formed somewhat later, focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary . Their supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls: a bio-politics of the population. The disciplines of the body and the regulations of the population constituted the two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed.[34]

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[34] (Foucault, 1984, pp. 261-262)

2.2 Material and motivation

The overriding purpose of this research is to explore the presence of nationally derived SRHR-related decisions in the international context of HIV/AIDS-related development aid in Africa, and furthermore the implications of the ideologies and morals regarding gender and sexuality in the society where these development policies are aimed towards. Below, I have organized the topics the following analysis will discuss, and which material will be used in order to do this.

PEPFAR law transferred into USAID policy

Here I have listed the documents used in order to see what discussions on SRHR are present in the regulations that act as a guideline for international AIDS prevention and treatment, and furthermore where these can be seen in development work. The documents concerning PEPFAR´s role in the implementation of values in development aid concerning AIDS relief and prevention policy in Africa have been selected according to the guidelines of year published and content. The documents have been published during the Bush administrations' time in office January 2000 - January 2008. The documents include reports to the U.S. Congress, summaries of the reports to Congress, some more general reports concerning the status of AIDs work globally, some more specifically about gender and HIV/AIDS. The documents are published by PEPFAR during phase 1 (2003-2008), which was launched and carried out under U.S. president George W. Bush and administration.[35] The documents consist of the *PEPFAR Annual Report on Prevention of Mother-To-Child Transmission of the HIV Infection*, titled *Reaching Mothers, Saving Children, Building Healthy Families*[36] and the *PEPFAR Report on Gender-Based Violence and HIV/AIDS*[37].

The departments and agencies that are in included in the PEPFAR implementation group are; the Department of State, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Department of Defense, Department of Commerce, Department of Labor, Department of Health and Human Services, and the Peace Corps.[38] I have chosen to focus on USAID´s development work in Africa dealing with HIV/AIDS with the motivation that HIV and AIDS discourse deals with issues of gender, sexuality and sexual morale, as well as in general being a large

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[35] (Silverman, et al., 2013, p. 6)
[36] (PEPFAR, 2004)
[37] (PEPFAR, 2006)
[38] (PEPFAR, 2014)

focus in the U.S. governments international aid work starting with the Bush administrations implementation of the PEPFAR law in 2003. USAID is the U.S. government agency that receives funding from PEPFAR that works with the highest amount of countries outside of the U.S.,[39] many of the countries being in Africa, therefore the implications this had on the norms and morals surrounding sexual rights were ultimately adopted into the policy surrounding USAID´s HIV/AIDS work in Africa. The documents from USAID that have been included in the material are *USAID Policy Framework 2011-2015*[40] and *USAID Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy*[41]. The discussion on USAID will mainly take the direction of a discussion of the implantation of PEPFAR law in an organization that carries out development work according to PEPFAR regulations.

U.S. SRHR laws and regulations in the United States and abroad

Seeing that I set out to examine what domestic SRHR norms exist in the international development context of AIDS relief in Africa, I have chosen to examine the discussion surrounding government regulations on SRHR in the United States. The impact of U.S. laws and regulation on SRHR in the United States is discussed in articles published by The Guttmacher Institute. The Institute is a U.S. based and operated Non-government organisation which sets out to "advance sexual and reproductive health and rights through an interrelated program of research, policy analysis and public education designed to generate new ideas, encourage enlightened public debate and promote sound policy and program development. The Institute's overarching goal is to ensure the highest standard of sexual and reproductive health for all people worldwide."[42] Researcher Susan Cohen has specialized in public policy specifically with emphasis on laws and regulations that impact SRHR-related health. Under the Guttmacher Institute, Cohen has published the article *Global Gag Rule: Exporting Antiabortion Ideology at the Expense of American Values*[43]. Cohens article is used to discuss the implications of the Bush administration´s antiabortion ideolgoy is exported internationally through development work.

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[39] (Silverman, et al., 2013, pp. 8, 10)
[40] (USAID 1, 2012)
[41] (USAID 2, 2012)
[42] (Guttmacher Institute, u.d.)
[43] (Cohen, 2001)

2.3 Interpreting the material: Research method(s)

Interrogative insertion

In order to answer the first part of my research question stating, ´How are the sexual ideologies and morals that exist within the United States national realm of HIV/AIDS policy and prevention implemented in HIV/AIDS work in the continent of Africa?´, I have chosen material that consists of documents and policy originating from PEPFAR, which is the U.S. Presidents Emergency Plan For Aids Relief – and furthermore documents and policy from USAID for the reason that this agency implements PEPFAR policy in its own policy and development work with AIDS prevention in Africa. The method of research for the analysis of the PEPFAR documents takes on the method of *interrogative insertion*,[44] where "by devising and inserting implied questions into a text for which the text provides the answers, the analyst can uncover the logic (or lack of it) of the discourse and the direction and emphasis of the argument as made by the author. This helps to uncover the recipient design of the text – how the text is written to appeal to a particular audience and how it tries to communicate a particular message."[45] This method is later developed by using a problem-solution discourse method in the answering of the sub questions.

Problem-solution discourse analysis

The discussion on the consequences the implementation of nationally derived values on sexuality through USAID´s AIDS development work in Africa is based in the theoretical discussions of concerning discourse. Furthermore, the discussion of gender and sexuality, as presented by theories of women in development and postcolonial theory, have been used in relation to the terms and discourses on the terms and issues on gender and development found in the qualitative analysis of the texts and documents that make up the research material.

Problem-solution discourse analysis "develops interrogative insertion by investigating more closely the implications of statements. Most statements can be read to have one of two implications."[46] The implications Walliman is referring to is 1. The presence of a fact or statement found through for example integrative insertion, which I have used in the ´processing part´ or the initial part of the analysis in the reading of the reports from PEPFAR

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[44] (Walliman, 2006, p. 16)
[45] (Walliman, 2006, p. 16)
[46] (Walliman, 2006, p. 16)

and USAID; and the second calling for an action.[47] "A full problem-solution discourse will tabulate the results of the analysis of a text under the following categories:

•the situation

• the problem

• the response

• the result and evaluation"[48]

This ´model´ of analysis has been used in combination with the theoretical framework in order to explore how, what and where discourses of gender and sexuality are implied in the policies regarding AIDS-related development work in Africa, and furthermore what implications this has.

I have carried out an analysis on the discourses in which the PEPFAR and USAID material touches upon, that have been explored through the qualitative analysis of the documents. I have combined a close reading of the material in combination with the discussions of postcolonial theory and theories concerning women in development processes in order to "pay attention to the ´world´ in which they (the subjects/discussions/ideologies/oppositions/discourses) come into being."[49] Hall explains that "we are all (…) locked into our cultural perspectives or ´mind-sets´, and that language is the best clue we have to that conceptual universe."[50] With this, I can explore the origins of the conceptual understandings of gender in the material – and furthermore, with the theoretical understanding of discourse, examine what implications these conceptual understandings of gender can have in the receiving ends of the development work of these policies.

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[47] (Walliman, 2006, p. 16)
[48] (Walliman, 2006, p. 16)
[49] (Ashcroft, et al., 2013, p. 119')
[50] (Hall, 1997, p. 22)

3 Morals on Sexuality as framework for international HIV/AIDS relief and prevention policy and practice

3.1 Identifying the issues of PEPFAR: Moral values on sexuality and reproduction and their implications

The objective of identifying the issues of PEPFAR is to examine what ideologies and morals on sexuality exist within the United States national realm of HIV/AIDS policy and prevention. Up until now, we have seen that PEPFAR laws are implemented in HIV/AIDS work in the continent of Africa through (among others) USAID. Accordingly, the question of what consequences implementing the ideologies and morals on sexuality through U.S. development agencies work with HIV/AIDS in Africa will be answered, with theoretical discussions given by the contributors to this research´s theoretical framework.

Family planning

The implications of PEPFAR on women´s right to choose is possibly the most frequent critique as seen in numerous writings on the conservative politics present in America in general, and furthermore specifically seen in the PEPFAR law. "President George W. Bush´s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, launched in January 2003 (…) builds on the foundation of his Mother and Child HIV Prevention Initiative."[51] This was done by providing family planning services and providing treatment by training, policy implementation and transferring expertise (among others).[52] Transferring expertise is stated to be done in order to create ´sustainability´; "the transfer of knowledge and expertise to host-country partners is essential to the long-term success of PMTCT (Prevention of Mother-to-Child Transmission) and ARV (Anti-retroviral) treatment programs for mothers, newborns, and families."[53] The transferring of expertise is not confined to technical support; it also entails the transfer of ideals in the practice of providing technical support, which in its turn has impact, and can have negative impact on the gender equality developments in the receiving nation of development efforts.

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[51] (PEPFAR, 2004, pp. 1-2)
[52] (PEPFAR, 2004, pp. 10-12)
[53] (PEPFAR, 2004, p. 10)

Cohen explains how the prevalence of HIV/AIDS would lead one to believe that the U.S. efforts in preventing the spread of the disease would include broader implementation of "access to basic reproductive health care"[54] Instead, attempts to "make abortion more rare"[55] were imposed through President Bush´s ´Global Gag Rule´, that effected United States funded and run family planning services internationally; stating that U.S. government funding for international aid would not be given on the basis of whether the funded organization "meets an antiabortion political litmus test".[56] Bush stated that the reason behind implementing the Gag Rule was that "taxpayer funds should not be used to pay for abortions or advocate or actively promote abortions".[57] However, the goal to make abortions more rare as referenced above shows a morally based ideal that abortions should not occur – not stating any other reference to the benefits of an antiabortion regulation other than that they should not occur, and any organization opposing this ruling will not receive funding under the U.S. government fund for international development. This is at least contradicting to the statement that "the Emergency Plan (PEPFAR) support interventions to enhance women´s decision-making capacity in their personal lives,"[58] as stated in the PEPFAR Report on Gender-Based Violence and HIV/AIDS[59].

Furthermore, PEPFAR policy states that testing plays a key role in AIDS prevention services; "increasing numbers of pregnant women gain access to counseling and testing" through PEPFAR´s PMTCT programs.[60] The presence of family planning policy and programs in the developing world leads into the topic of the frequent attempts to control reproductive rights of women in development practice. Chandra Mohanty discusses the implications of the history of attempts to control the reproductive rights of ´women of color´[61];

> For poor women of color, the notion of a ´women´s right to choose´ to bear children has always been mediated by a coercive, racist state. Thus, abortion rights defined as a woman´s right versus men´s familial control can never be the only basis of feminist coalitions across race and class lines.[62]

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[54] (Cohen, 2001, p. 1)
[55] (Cohen, 2001, p. 1)
[56] (Cohen, 2001, p. 2)
[57] (Cohen, 2001, p. 2)
[58] (PEPFAR, 2006, p. 8)
[59] (PEPFAR, 2006)
[60] (PEPFAR, 2006, p. 8)
[61] (Mohanty, 2003, p. 54)
[62] (Mohanty, 2003, p. 54)

The practice of regulating women´s sexuality and reproduction has implications for the efforts to incorporate AIDS testing as an integrated part of family planning services. The values inscribed into family planning policy "and particularly the reproductive rights of women are decided upon within a cultural, religious and political-economic context."[63] In many instances family planning strategies and other forms of population control have been carried out with motives to control population in ways that jeopardizes the trust and integrity of the provider-patient relationship in these healthcare encounters;

> In some developing countries women have been tested without their knowledge. In the USA some reports suggest that women, mainly from deprived or minority groups, accept testing because they fear they will be denied access to health care if they decline.[64]

Faith-based strategies and their implications

It is stated in the *PEPFAR Report on Gender-Based Violence and HIV/AIDS* that "the authorizing legislation for PEPFAR (…) specifies that PEPFAR will support five priority gender strategies"[65] consisting of;

1. Increasing gender equity in HIV/AIDS activities and services;
2. Reducing violence and coercion;
3. Addressing male norms and behaviors;
4. Increasing women´s legal protection; and
5. Increasing women´s access to income and productive resources.[66]

It is further stated that "in all of the focus countries, prevention programs, particularly those promoting adolescent behavioral change in the areas of abstinence and being faithful, include components that address sexual violence and coercion."[67] PEPFAR´s faith-based morals on sexuality, such as seen through abstinence only strategies are not only implemented in their family planning policy – furthermore it reaches to strategies to prevent gender-based violence. "A powerful current version of the discourse of women as victims is about women´s absolute vulnerability to HIV/AIDS due to male violence and economic coercion."[68] Susie Jolly

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[63] (Visvanathan, et al., 1997, p. 259)
[64] (Visvanathan, et al., 1997, p. 307)
[65] (PEPFAR, 2006, p. 1)
[66] (PEPFAR, 2006, p. 1)
[67] (PEPFAR, 2006, p. 9)
[68] Jolly in (Lind, 2010, p. 24)

explains the "danger of the discourse of ´women as victims of bad sex´"[69] in *Development, Sexual Rights and Global Governance*[70]. She explains that any discourse based on the discussion of the sexual pleasure of women, more specifically when "certain feminist positions aiming to protect women from sexual violence and conservative forces concerned with women´s chastity"[71] meet, "dangerous convergences take place"[72]. This ´dangerous convergence´ is seen in PEPFAR policy aiming to prevent gender-based violence and also prevent HIV risk, where it is stated that religiously based morals on sexuality such as "positive behaviors such as abstinence, faithfulness, and partner reduction"[73] are used to combat "deep-seated norms around males sexual behavior (that) must be addressed in order to achieve the widespread behavior change necessary to curb the HIV epidemic"[74]. The linking of religiously based morals on sexuality with women as victims in sexual encounters not prescribing to the notion of ´good´ sexual practice, resulted in what Oyewumi explains as the introduction of morality in sexuality; which was the impact of Western religion in colonial societies in Africa;

> Christian and Western oversexualization of African peoples has made some Yoruba moralistic about sexual matters. (…) Suffice it to say that in the past, and still in many quarters, issues of sexuality were not really issues of morality; the advent of Christianity and Islam have changed this.[75]

This discussion on the transformation (or transferring of where they previously do not exist) of sexual morals imposes concern for the practice of integrating SRHR-related healthcare practices and advocacy with faith-based partners; as seen in PEPFAR policy discussed above and in USAID´s own policy (see appendix nr 1 and 2).

The implications of the sexual and reproductive values in HIV/AIDS policy and development practice in Africa

Under this section we have discussed the specific values on sexuality that exists within AIDS-related international development in Africa in the discussion of the PEPFAR law. The

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[69] Jolly in (Lind, 2010, p. 25)
[70] (Lind, 2010)
[71] Jolly in (Lind, 2010, p. 25)
[72] Jolly in (Lind, 2010, p. 25)
[73] (PEPFAR, 2006, p. 9)
[74] (PEPFAR, 2006, p. 9)
[75] (Oyewumi, 1997, pp. 63-64)

concrete effect when these values are incorporated into development policy and practice is that the values are transferred into the society where the development agency works. USAID is the government agency that is most prevalent in the continent of Africa. USAID receives funding from PEPFAR and therefore must follow the guidelines decided under the PEPFAR act to continue to receive funding and carry out development work. Accordingly, the impact that the United States based sexual and reproductive values has on international development work with HIV/AIDS in Africa is high. For example, in the *USAID Policy Framework 2011-2015*[76] the effort to promote sustainable democratic development is pursued through explicitly transferring PEPFAR regulations into public opinion-related practices in the African nation of Kenya;

> We will pursue programs that advance democracy, human rights, and governance, and we will also integrate these programs into our other sectors to sustainably advance goals in the areas of health, food security, and climate change. These integrated programs will ultimately strengthen democratic governance and human rights even as they target sector goals. For example, in Kenya, a PEPFAR grant was used to train, mentor, and provide ongoing support to journalists to educate the public on effective HIV prevention and treatment methods.[77]

So far, we have seen that ideologies on sexual and reproductive patterns of women are imposed upon African women through the practice of implementing PEPFAR law in USAID´s policy on development work, and more specifically development work related to preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa. Whether family planning takes form of incentives to withhold reproduction or attempts to restrict women´s sexual and reproductive rights by limiting family planning services available[78], regulation seeking to control the sexual and/or reproductive choices people make, limit the freedom to act to their fullest potential. Foucault speaks of the regulation of sex; that in which is the implication of the moral values concerning sexual and reproductive practices regulating women´s rights over their own bodies in PEPFAR law;

> Today it is sex that serves as a support for the ancient form-so familiar and important in the West-of preaching. (…) And we might wonder how it is possible that the lyricism and religiosity that long accompanied the revolutionary project have, in Western industrial societies, been largely carried over to sex. The notion of repressed sex is not, therefore, only a theoretical

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[76] (USAID 1, 2012)
[77] (USAID 1, 2012, p. 25)
[78] (Visvanathan, et al., 1997, p. 259)

matter. The affirmation of a sexuality that has never been more rigorously subjugated than during the age of the hypo-critical, bustling, and responsible bourgeoisie is coupled with the grandiloquence of a discourse purporting to reveal the truth about sex, modify its economy within reality, subvert law that governs it, and change its future. (…) To say that sex is not repressed, or rather that the relationship between sex and power is not characterized by repression, is to risk falling into a sterile paradox.[79]

3.2 Gender and development: Motherhood, fatherhood and the family - body perceptions and heteronormativity in policy and its implications

In this section, the purpose is to discuss the definitions and general understandings of gender found in United States gender and development policies (policies of PEPFAR and USAID); in order to carry out a discussion on the discourse on gender in development and specifically what impact these understandings of gender articulated in U.S. HIV/AIDS development policy have in the societies they are geared toward. In the USAID policies examined, discourses on women´s sexuality and concepts on gender are not articulated, women and the goal of gender equality are mostly discussed in relation to promoting development in terms of creating possibilities for income in the formal sector. Therefore, the discussion of USAID´s understanding of gender and the implications this may have on the continent of Africa, reside in the formulations as seen in PEPFAR law. As discussed previously, PEPFAR law determines the organizational framework of USAID, considering this, USAID policy can be discussed in terms of the PEPFAR law.

One of the themes that has been found in the documents regarding PEPFAR policy to relieve and prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS is the use of an imagined common experience of (all) women that builds upon the assumption of heteronormativity. ´Motherhood´ is a term used frequently in the texts surrounding the U.S. involvement in combating HIV/AIDS;

> Beyond preventing the transmission of HIV to newborns, the Emergency Plan goal of treating two million adults and children with ARV therapy over five years offers hope to mothers and fathers that they can remain healthy to preserve their families and protect their children from the terrible prospect of becoming orphans.[80]

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[79] (Foucault, 1984, p. 296)
[80] (PEPFAR, 2004, p. 3)

This is just one example of the emphasis on reproduction in relation to gender roles seen in the PEPFAR documents. Aside from the prevalence of ´the mother´ in PEPFAR policy, ´the father´ and ´the family´ are discussed; collectively referring to the significance of binaries of mother/father in the Western constructs of gender and gender roles. One might conclude in the assumption that the goal of raising gender equity in any given society should give focus to the "role of reproduction as a determinant of women´s work, the sexual division of labour, and the subordinate/dominant relationships between women and men,"[81] as this has been "one of the most pervasive themes of the present feminist movement."[82] However, the examination of the Feminisms in postcolonial thought in the same way as Western feminism recognizes the role of the body as "embedded in both gender and culture."[83] However, as shown by Oyewumi below; the gendered body as a basis for cross-cultural analysis can lead to faulty assumptions of the significance of the body as embedded in gender roles. She explains that the Western coding of gender in roles of reproduction, a practice seen in the PEPFAR policy; was not prevalent in pre-colonial African society;

> Roles in reproduction is coded in language, the most important attribute these categories indicate is not gender; rather, it is the expectation that persons of a certain age should have had children. Unlike the English concepts of mother and father, bábá and íyá (Yorúbá society in Africa)[84] are not just categories of parenthood. They are also categories of adulthood (…). More importantly, they are not binarily opposed and are not constructed in relation to each other.[85]

Mohanty means that the value of mothering cannot be cross-culturally analyzed, therefore, "the women mother in a variety of societies is not significant as the value attached to mothering in these societies. The distinction between the act of mothering and the status attached to it is a very important one."[86]

In *Queering feminist economics´ straight path to development*[87], Suzanne Bergeron discusses the assumptions of sexuality in the household models that are offered through for example attempts of development agencies to "explain gender difference and inequalities (…) the

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[81] (Visvanathan, et al., 1997, p. 48)
[82] (Visvanathan, et al., 1997, p. 48)
[83] (Saunders, 2002, p. 313)
[84] Own addition to quote. More on the specifics of Yorúbá society in (Oyewumi, 1997)
[85] (Oyewumi, 1997, p. 41)
[86] (Mohanty, 2003, p. 26)
[87] (Lind, 2010)

language of bargaining approaches is also used to advocate for gender equity in other international institutions such as USAID."[88]

> The adoption of intrahousehold bargaining models has effected a significant shift in the way that development economics imagines the household and gender relations within it. It has made women´s reproductive labor and conflicts around domestic work more visible. It also challenges the implications of previous household models with regard to limiting women to the reproductive sphere. However, like the earlier unitary model, these bargaining approaches still present heterosexual partnering as the sole form of family life.[89]

Bergeron explains the issue with offering a sole household model in advocacy (through language) naturalizes the "heterosexual partnering as the sole form of family life"[90], in its turn reproducing "conceptualizations of sexuality, domesticity, and social reproduction that renders other alternatives invisible."[91] It is crucial to remember that "woman´s place in human social life is not in any direct sense a product of the things she does (…) but the meaning her activities acquire through concrete social interactions."[92]

The results of offering certain scripts to gender roles is that they can be incorporated into society through the practice of language; "Feminism, like postcolonialism, has often been concerned with the ways and extent to which representation and language are crucial to identity formation and to the construction of subjectivity."[93] ´The construction of subjectivity´ refers to the "relationship between the individual and language"[94], where the production of knowledge about one self (the individual) happens through a process of "ideology, discourse or language".[95] The practice of transferring ideologies through language and discourse therefore are key to the construction of the individual, and furthermore construction of the relationships between persons within society. Oyewumi explains the way in which the body is central to Western gender categories;

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[88] Bergeron in (Lind, 2010, p. 59)
[89] Bergeron in (Lind, 2010, p. 59)
[90] Bergeron in (Lind, 2010, p. 59)
[91] Bergeron in (Lind, 2010, p. 59)
[92] Michelle Rosaldo, 1980 in (Mohanty, 2003, p. 26)
[93] (Ashcroft, et al., 2013, p. 117)
[94] (Ashcroft, et al., 2013, p. 248)
[95] (Ashcroft, et al., 2013, p. 248)

> The distinctive contribution of feminist discourse to our understanding of Western societies is that it makes explicit the gendered (therefore embodied) and male-dominant nature of all Western institutions and discourses.[96]

I use this as an example for showing the power of discourse in transforming other societies through the practice of development (which in many ways can be seen as a practice of neo-colonialism). Oyewumi goes on to explain the implementation of Western derived understandings of gender in African society through colonialism, changing the significance of biological sex as a category for analysis of equality – and furthermore imposing the significance of gender as a determining factor and area of struggle in societal equality[97]. Mohanty means that the imposition of Western gender categories in other societies leads to a mirroring effect, that is less than desirable – particularly when the reasons for such gender analysis in the first place set out to close the gap of inequalities between the sexes;

> If the struggle for a just society is seen in terms of the move from powerlessness to power for women as a group, and this is the implication in feminist discourse that structures sexual difference in terms of the division between the sexes, then the new society would be structurally identical to the existing organization of power relations, constituting itself as a simple inversion of what exists.[98]

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[96] (Oyewumi, 1997, p. 6)
[97] (Oyewumi, 1997, p. 6)
[98] (Mohanty, 2003, p. 39)

3.3 Conclusion: Policies in practice – exporting values through development work

The overreaching discourse on women in the PEPFAR reports has been the prevalence of regulations on women´s sexual and reproductive rights and health with a background of morals on sexuality. This is clear in the statements and regulations regarding family planning services as an integrated part of HIV/AIDS relief and prevention. Furthermore, we have seen that the notions of gender and roles and ideologies transcribed to ´women´ is related to a cultural ideology on the family, reproductive and child-rearing roles among the sexes within that society.

Most prevalent in PEPFAR policy has been the emphasis on controlling the female body and the understanding of gender roles inscribed to women that concentrate on the significance of motherhood in the formation of other women´s identity. Motherhood has also been discussed as a central role in implicating development policy and strategies in the material; and the definition of women (emphasizing their roles as mothers) has also been discussed in relation to understandings of gender. In this study, the role of discursive formation in structuring other societies that in turn mimic the discourses on sexuality and gender that reside in the U.S. national context has also been examined. We have seen not only how nationally derived law includes morally based values of sexuality – we have also seen how these values are transformed into implications for the people in the receiving society of these regulations; "as a social formation, it (discourse) works to constitute reality not only for the objects it appears to represent but also for the subjects who form the community on which it depends."[99] This raises the question of the practice of development as a whole; the practice of improving the lives of people globally is also a practice of changing cultures to resemble those of the ´developed´ western world through discourse. The practice of development, and specifically any development that entails transforming the lives of women, is therefore also a practice of transferring the cultural values of the culture where these development efforts are flowing from, through discourse;

> Discourse, as Foucault theorizes it, is a system of statements within which the world can be known. It is a system by which dominant groups in society constitute the field of truth by imposing specific knowledges, disciplines and values upon dominated groups.[100]

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[99] (Ashcroft, et al., 2013, p. 51)
[100] (Ashcroft, et al., 2013, p. 51)

Suggestions for further research

In an examination of the USAID policy documents published in recent years, compared to USAID policy published during the PEPFAR law in its initial stage, there may be improvements, in the sense that the focus on gender equity also includes access to basic reproductive services. However, the extent to which PEPFAR law under the current Obama administration has changed to include a broader gender understanding and/or access to SRHR-related services is not what this study has examined – and I can therefore not make any concluding statements regarding the PEPFAR law under the current versus the former administration. The analysis of articulations of sexual values and discourses on gender in PEPFAR and any development agency funded by PEPFAR during the previous Bush administration and the current Obama administration, I suggest, could serve as material to show the impact of conservative versus more liberal national politics on development policy concerning gender equality; and therefore is a suggestion for further research concerning the field of development studies.

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Appendix

1. USAID: History of the Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives

The Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (CFBCI) was established at USAID by **executive order 13280** on December 12, 2002, to create a level playing field for faith and community based organizations to compete for USAID programs.

The CFBCI works to:

1. Serve as a bridge between faith and community based non-government organizations and government
2. Increase the capacity of faith & community based non-government organizations or NGOs to better compete for funding opportunities
3. Eliminate barriers to faith and community based organizations
4. Increase collaboration among the people and organizations that are trying to address some of the greatest social service needs in our world today.

The CFBCI is designed to increase the access of faith and community based organizations to U.S. Government funding sources. We also work to ensure that faith-based and community organizations are properly informed about the guidelines that they will need to follow to apply and successfully administer federal funding. The CFBCI addresses legal and policy issues and educates USAID staff about the mandate of the CFBCI. We also work to link faith and community based organizations with capacity building resources that can be helpful to them. Since its creation the CFBCI has empowered faith-based and other community organizations to apply for Federal social service grants.

The CFBCI supplies information and training, but it does not make the decisions about which groups will be funded. Those decisions are made through procedures established by each grant program, generally involving a competitive process. No grant funding is set aside for faith-based organizations. Instead, the CFBCI creates a "level-playing field" for faith-based as well as other community organizations to compete so that they can work with the government to meet the needs of communities throughout the developing world.

Over the last nine years, we have learned that educating USAID and Washington personnel and field staff about the role faith-based and community organizations can play in meeting development objectives is critical, that providing technical assistance for new and potential partners is important for a level playing field, and that communicating regularly with faith-based and community groups about conferences, funding opportunities, and regulations regarding provision of U.S. Government assistance is essential.[101]

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[101] (USAID 3, 2013)

2. U.S. Strategy On Religious Leader And Faith Community Engagement

Across the globe, religious leaders and faith communities are making significant contributions to sustainable development, the promotion and protection of human rights, and conflict mitigation and resolution. Despite restrictions on their activities in many countries, religious leaders and other civil society actors are deeply engaged in creating more peaceful, stable, and secure communities that are better equipped to meet today's most pressing challenges.

U.S. officials have long engaged religious leaders and institutions, as well as other community leaders and institutions, and this Administration has worked to elevate those efforts. To build on this progress, the United States has developed a national strategy to focus engagement on key policy objectives, promote best practices, and spur greater department and agency coordination. The strategy encourages U.S. government officials to develop and deepen their relationships with religious leaders and faith communities as they carry out their foreign policy responsibilities. Specifically, the strategy seeks to advance the following objectives through more robust engagement with religious leaders and faith communities, as part of a broader effort to reach out to a diverse set of civil society actors:

1. **Promote sustainable development and more effective humanitarian assistance.** Religious leaders and faith-based organizations often serve as decision-makers at the community level and oversee development and humanitarian efforts in their communities. By working in partnership with such leaders and designing programs with the religious context in mind, U.S. foreign assistance efforts can become more effective and sustainable.

2. **Advance pluralism and human rights, including the protection of religious freedom.** Building on current initiatives, the Administration will increase efforts to engage a diverse spectrum of religious leaders on the advancement of universal human rights, promoting core U.S. values like respect for the human rights of members of minority and marginalized groups, pluralism, tolerance, and sensitivity to and respect for the beliefs and traditions of others.

3. **Prevent, mitigate, and resolve violent conflict and contribute to local and regional stability and security.** In its efforts to break cycles of violent conflict and mitigate crises, the U.S. Government will work with religious leaders to address both religious and non-religious causes of violence and support their ongoing initiatives to build peaceful societies.

Across these objectives, the U.S. Government will: (1) build our capacity and the capacity of our international partners to engage religious leaders and faith communities through increased guidance and training; (2) institutionalize our efforts by embedding religious leader engagement in policy and practice; and (3) further develop and improve our exchanges and dialogues with religious leaders. In implementing this strategy, U.S. officials will ensure that engagement efforts are: consistent with the U.S. Constitution and other laws; sensitive to local culture and beliefs; inclusive of a wide range of religious and non-religious actors; and mindful of the independence and credibility of the counterparts we engage.[102]

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[102] (USAID 4, 2014)