

Gender mainstreaming and the promotion of gender equality in Swedish development cooperation

A qualitative content analysis of Sweden's results strategies

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Abstract

Gender equality (GE) is one of Sweden's three thematic prioritizations in foreign aid and have so been since 2007. Gender equality is emphasized as important for development and as a question in which Sweden has added value in promoting. The thesis examines what type of gender equality Sweden promotes in development cooperation with nine African countries and how it has changed in the country and results strategies from 2003 to 2014. It is done through a case study of Sweden and a qualitative content analysis of the Swedish long-term country and results strategies. Three gender equality models underpinned by feminist theories have constituted the theoretical framework and informed the analysis. The thesis concludes that Sweden has promoted gender equality by using gender mainstreaming (GM) in lines with the transforming model. Although, in recent years there has been a shift from addressing power relations and structures to a less radical model promoting special support and equal outcomes.

Key words: Gender equality, gender mainstreaming, development cooperation, results strategies, feminism

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List of abbreviations

DAC – Development Assistance Committée
EU – European Union
ECOSOC - United Nations Economic and Social Council
GAD – Gender and Development
GDI – Gross Domestic Income
GE – Gender equality
GM – Gender mainstreaming
NGO – Non-governmental organization
ODA – Official Development Assistance
OECD – Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PGU – Sweden’s policy for global development
SIDA – Swedish International Development Authority
Sida – Swedish International Development co-operation Agency
UN – United Nations
WID – Women in Development

1 Introduction

“If gender equality is not realized as a priority of aid policy through extended and specific financial commitments, then it simply becomes yet another development goal competing with other goals [...] Given the history of unequal participation by women at all levels of development co-operation, from donors to local government, there is no reason to expect that gender issues will fare well in competition with other development priorities” (Richey, 2000:264).

The starting-point for this thesis is the global issue of gender inequality. It seeks to address how Sweden as a donor country translates a gender equality (GE) prioritization into bilateral development cooperation. Women and girls are overrepresented among the world’s poor and allocation of power between men and women is commonly uneven. This is present even when women and men officially have the same rights. Sweden uses gender mainstreaming (GM) as the main strategy to address gender inequality in development cooperation and highlights the need to prioritize GE (Gov. bill 2007/08:53).

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Development and gender equality

The role of women in development has changed over the last decades (Richey, 2000). In the 1970s, during the United Nations (UN) Decade for Women, the Women in Development (WID) approaches brought attention to women in interventions aimed at promoting development (True, 2010:190). The equity approach emphasized that development in terms of economic growth could increase existing inequalities and impact women and children negatively. To reduce gender inequalities in public and private spheres women should be recognized as active participants and included as workers and producers in the process of development. Other WID approaches include the anti-poverty emphasizing increased productivity of women to reduce income inequality and the efficiency approach assuming an automatic link between increased economic participation for third world women and equity (Richey, 2000:250-2). These

approaches were criticized for reinforcing women's economic marginalization, imposing women's secondary roles and ignoring women's needs.

The criticism spurred the gender and development (GAD) approach which emerged in the 1980s and draws on socialist feminist theories of women's subordination (True, 2010:190-1). Scholars and activists from the South questioned Western ideas of equity and argued that the "notion of GE was inseparable from improved livelihoods for both men and women" (Richey, 2000:253). Gender roles got increased attention in development including a greater recognition for women's responsibilities, reproductive role and unpaid work (Richey, 2000:255). From GAD the concept of GM developed as a global GE strategy focusing on integrating gender issues in all policies, programs and project. The breaking point is often referred to as The Beijing Platform for Action, ratified by all UN member states at the 1995 Fourth UN World Conference on Women (True, 2014:228). Today GE is a widely accepted goal of development.

1.1.2 Gender equality in the Swedish development context

In 1962 the Swedish Riksdag and government agreed on giving official foreign aid. This was the first time there was policy directions and an overarching goal for Swedish development cooperation. The goal was to increase poor people's living standards and it is still valid today, although, rephrased and advanced (Wohlgemuth, 2012:5-6). At the time GE had not yet gained a prominent role in Sweden's foreign aid politics. In 1965 the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) replaced an earlier board for international aid (Odén, 2006:68). In the 1970s GE received a more prominent role in Swedish development cooperation. There were specific development projects and programs directed towards women and dialogues with recipient countries (Odén, 2006:89).

In the 1990s GE gained further acknowledgement both in Sweden's national politics and its foreign aid policy. A government bill in 1994 introduced GM as a concept. Although, the main instruments of GM was used long before this (Sainsbury & Bergqvist, 2009:5). In 1995 GE was adopted as a development goal and SIDA was merged together with other Swedish foreign aid authorities and are since then working under the name Sida, an abbreviation of Swedish International Development co-operation Agency (Odén, 2006:117,123).

1.1.3 Sweden and current development cooperation

Sweden has an official development assistance (ODA) goal of 1% of gross national income (GNI) and is a major donor of ODA (Regeringskansliet, 2014a, 2015a). Around half of the budget for development cooperation is channeled through bilateral agreements (Regeringskansliet, 2015b). Swedish aid is governed by the Swedish Riksdag and the government though bilateral development cooperation is mainly implemented by Sida. Swedish development cooperation

aims at helping poor people improve their life by creating enabling conditions (Regeringskansliet, 2014b).

There are three important documents that have directed Sweden's development work during the last decade. The first is Sweden's policy for global development (PGU), *gov. bill 2002/03:122*, adopted in 2003 with the objective to promote equitable and sustainable development throughout all policy areas. The PGU can be regarded as the start for Sweden's current development cooperation. It presents two fundamental perspectives that should guide Sweden's development work: the perspective of poor people on development and a human right perspective. The first one means that "the starting-point for poverty reduction and the promotion of equitable and sustainable global development shall be the needs, circumstances, interests and priorities of poor women, men and children" (Regeringskansliet, 2014c) and the second perspective puts human rights, GE, democracy and the rights of the child in the center (Regeringskansliet, 2014c).

The next document is the *government bill 2007/08:1*. Here the government provides three thematic prioritizations: 'gender equality and the role of women in development', 'human rights and democracy' and 'environment and climate'. They direct the development cooperation, provide a foundation for dialogue and special efforts and should be reflected in all planning and implementation of foreign aid. The document emphasizes the need for GM to address gender inequality, negative stereotypes and unequal power relations as well as increased efforts to strengthen the role of women and promote GE (Gov. bill 2007/08:1 p.47,53).

Since 2014 the *Aid policy Framework* has been a central document for Swedish foreign aid. It combines the overarching directions and priorities of the aid policy with the values and key principles that steer Swedish aid (Comm. 2013/2014:131 p.6).

Sweden currently focuses its bilateral development cooperation with 33 countries (Regeringskansliet, 2014b). The countries are divided in four categories: long-term development cooperation, conflict/post-conflict situations, Eastern Europe and phasing out countries with selective cooperation. This division and focus of countries took place in 2007¹ as a way to increase efficiency, quality and to follow the Paris declaration² (Regeringskansliet, 2015c). Country/results strategies determine how the bilateral aid is directed.

1.2 Aim

This research aims at assessing the link between commitment of GE in policy and its translation into development strategies through the case of Sweden, a donor

¹ Before 2007, 125 countries received aid from Sweden (Sida, 2014a)

² The Paris declaration from 2005 seeks to harmonize donor efforts, reduce number of countries and sectors each donor-country is involved in and increase ownership for partner countries (Regeringskansliet, 2014d).

country highly committed to GE and GM in policy. Sweden's prioritization of GE as one of three priorities in foreign aid budgeting in 2007 emphasized this even further. The research focuses on how this priority is mainstreamed in country development strategies. The aim of this case study is to understand what kind of GE Sweden promotes in the country strategies for development and if there have been changes over time.

1.3 Research questions

Based on the knowledge of Sweden's commitment to GE in foreign aid, the following questions are the foundation for this research:

- What kind of gender equality does Sweden promote in the country strategies?
- Has gender equality in the country strategies changed over time? If so, how?

The research questions are descriptive and if a change has occurred they do not aim at analyzing why. Rather they aim at analyzing how GE is represented in the documents and if and how it has changed.

1.4 Delimitations

The research has been delimited in terms of time, type of cooperation and geography. Firstly, the timespan reaches from 2003, the year when the PGU was adopted, until 2014 when the newest results strategy is published. Secondly, I decided to look at countries with whom Sweden currently has long-term development cooperation with. The decision was based on the assumption that GE promotion and dialogue is a longstanding project. Finally, a geographic limitation was deemed appropriate. The thesis focuses on strategies for development cooperation in Africa. The majority of Sweden's long-term development cooperation is with Africa. Moreover, Africa is an interesting geographical location due to present gender inequalities. According to UN Women, few African women own the land they are working, two-thirds of women are classified as illiterate, and even if parity in primary education is improving girls are less likely to remain in secondary education than boys. Respect for women's rights as well as gender-based violence imposes a problem for GE. However, political participation has increased in the region and Rwanda is one of the countries in the world with highest percentage of women in parliament (Musau, 2015). After the delimitations, the material covers nine countries and 11 strategies which are further discussed in 4.2.

1.5 Definition of development cooperation

Foreign aid has multiple meanings and there are words used interchangeably with foreign aid in development practice and by scholars. Development aid has been regarded as derogatory and development cooperation was deemed more appropriate. To further emphasize the equal footing between recipient and donor, the use of partnership has been well-used since the 1990s (Odén, 2006:19). In Sweden we often talk about “bistånd” as both aid and development cooperation. In technical terms, “bistånd” refers to foreign aid, expenditure area seven in the budget bill³. However, foreign aid is a substantial part of the development cooperation and in Swedish everyday language they are often used as synonyms (Odén, 2006:9, 19). Therefore, this thesis uses development cooperation and foreign aid as synonyms.

³ Expenditure area 7 International aid covers costs for development assistance classified as ODA as defined by OECD DAC (Gov. bill 2007/08:1).

2 Literature review

GM as a concept was introduced in the 1990s. Sweden adopted it as a strategy to address gender in 1994 (Sainsbury & Bergqvist, 2009:5). Since 1995, GM has been adopted as the main theory and strategy to achieve GE by a large number of international and regional organizations, development agencies and governments (Waylen, 2008:262-3). This section presents an overview of previous research on GM in order to situate this thesis.

2.1 The concept of gender mainstreaming

There are different definitions of GM and some are more recurring than others in the academic debate. Scholars examining GM at international level often use definitions from the UN (e.g. True, 2014, Krook & True, 2010 and Alston, 2014). An example is the definition by the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) who define GM as:

“the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic, societal spheres so women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (ECOSOC, 1997, cited in Alston 2014:289).

Another common definition in a European research context is the Council of Europe’s defining GM as:

“the (re)organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy process, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy making” (Council of Europe, 1998, cited in Waylen, 2008:259).

To fully grasp the concept, authors highlight the importance to know the distinction between gender and sex. Gender is socially constructed i.e. the socio-cultural aspects of being woman or man while sex is the biological ‘bodily sex’ (Zalewski, 2010).

2.2 Gender mainstreaming as a research field

Since the introduction of GM as the main strategy to attain GE there has been an ongoing academic debate. A main question has been the success or failure of the strategy in different context. Scholars have examined to what extent and how gender is mainstreamed in policy and laws at national level (Prügl, 2009, Zalewski, 2010), how GM is carried out in organizations (e.g. Wallace, 1998, Hemmati & Röhr, 2009, Jacquot, 2010), and if it acknowledge and challenge power imbalances or reproduces gender stereotypes (e.g. Puechguirbal, 2010a, Zalewski, 2010, Parpart, 2014).

The UN has officially committed to GM and its different agencies have been target of multiple studies. An example is the UN peacekeeping operations where gender issues were neglected long after the Beijing conference in 1995. In 2000, the Security Council adopted resolution 1325 on ‘Women, peace and security’ (Puechguirbal, 2010b:161). The resolution acknowledged the role of women but scholars have emphasized that the framing reproduces gendered construction. Consequently, the language of the resolution has been of interest to feminist researchers (Puechguirbal, 2010a, Cohn, 2008). Other scholars have traced the construction of GM as a norm in the UN system (Krook and True, 2010) or looked into female representation and gender issue in international climate change policy processes (Hemmati & Röhr, 2009).

There is limited research on GM in development cooperation between countries. An exception is the article by Holvoet and Inberg (2014) who, by looking at the Netherlands and Tanzania, explore how gender issues have been dealt with in the context of aid-reforms. Interesting findings are that the harmonization promoted in the Paris Declaration might result in sidelining gender issues and that the increased result-orientation lead countries to focus more on measurable, quick win, objectives. Even the Netherlands, known for being gender-sensitive, encounters challenges in reshaping the mainstream. The scholars further highlight that the WID-approach is re-entering the field, considering income inequality as the underlying cause of gender inequality. Consequently, gender issues and social change might be pushed to the margins (Holvoet & Inberg, 2014)

2.2.1 Gender mainstreaming in Sweden

Of particular interest for this thesis are previous studies of GM in Sweden. Sainsbury and Bergqvist (2009) studied the promise and pitfall of GM with focus on Sweden as a case study. They describe Sweden as a most-likely case for successful GM, mainly since Sweden has practiced forms of GM since the 1970s and has represented a strong institutionalization of GE policy (Sainsbury & Bergqvist, 2009:3). By tracing the process of implementing GM in national politics they argue that Sweden successfully has applied a GE perspective to an increasing number of policies. Since the formal adoption in 1994 there have been

major reforms, formulation of national GE plans, and establishment of GE machinery. However, they argue that GE goals are raising awareness of its importance but that those goals have rarely been prioritized above other goals. Furthermore, there has not been transformation in all fields and gender inequality still persists, often in relation to economic and social powers (Sainsbury & Bergqvist, 2009). Daly (2005) examined the integration of GM in eight European countries. All eight had “made a formal commitment to implement a gender mainstreaming approach to gender equality” (Daly, 2005:435). Sweden was the only country out of the eight who had adopted all relevant procedures for GM e.g. gender analysis in all levels of administration. In line with Sainsbury and Bergqvist, Daly (2005) acknowledged changes in policy, structures and processes. Hankivsky (2013) interviewed GM stakeholders, e.g. policy-makers, gender researchers and people from equality-seeking NGOs, from five different countries including Sweden. She highlighted that Sweden has had special relevance in the international arena of GM. Furthermore, that Sweden is regarded as having favorable preconditions for GM. The respondents partly confirmed the need to prioritize gender issues. However, they also raised question of tiredness towards the strategy, a lack of political will and the issue with different understandings of GE and GM (Hankivsky, 2013).

2.3 Criticism from feminist perspectives

GM is rooted in feminist theory. Therefore, feminist scholars are prominent in the debate and are not afraid of criticizing the outcomes. There are four major themes of criticism evident in the readings. The first is the confusion of gender/women and reproduction of power in language. Several scholars claim that gender is used interchangeable with women in policies and that the WID-discourse with the ‘add women and stir’ focus is still pursued (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010:215, True, 2014:230, Krook & True, 2010, Hankivsky, 2013). The GM rhetoric has occasionally been used as an excuse to downgrade women focused policy-initiative and programs (Alston, 2014, Krook & True, 2010). The debate has also concerned the reproduction of gender inequalities, stereotypes and gender as something fixed. Zalewski (2010) describes it as a paradox since gender is used to get rid of gender.

The second criticism, mainly coming from intersectionality informed perspectives, is the tendency to ignore diversity among women and men and address gender as the sole axis of power (Hankivsky, 2013). GM has also been criticized for being too male-female centered and imposing heteronormativity⁴ (Zalewski, 2010).

⁴ Oxford Dictionaries (n.d) define heteronormative as “denoting or relating to a world view that promotes heterosexuality as the normal or preferred sexual orientation”.

A third theme emerging from the literature is that GM has been selective, both in terms of areas and to what extent/what tools of GM that are adopted and applied. For example, Prügl (2009) highlights a refusal to mainstream EU's common agricultural policy and policy areas in the UN related to climate change-community have also been highlighted as fields where a gender perspective has been absent (Alston, 2014, Hemmati & Röhr, 2009).

The last identified theme was of major concern to many of the scholars, namely the inability for GM to deliver any substantial change. Scholars claim that GM do not question neoliberal institutional norms and lack transformative power (Alston, 2014, Parpart, 2014 Prügl, 2009, True, 2014:234). This claim is grounded in the perception that GM should extend beyond equal participation and positive affirmations. They argue that the strategy has lost its critical edge and its connection to its feminist roots to comply with neoliberal imperatives. As a result, the potential and promises of GM is not translated into action (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010, Cohn, 2008:203, Eerdewijk, 2014, Krook & True, 2010, Zalewski, 2010).

3 Theoretical framework

This theoretical chapter starts by briefly presenting different feminist theories and their view on GE and vision of GM. This is done in order to explain the theoretical underpinnings of the GE models. Thereafter, the next section draws of previous research, mainly from Rees and Walby. From their writings three key models of GE are identified: tinkering, tailoring and transformation. The last section brings up a current theoretical issue in the GM debate, if the models are complementary or competing.

3.1 Feminist approaches

GM, as a practice, is a process concerned of advancing GE in all mainstream policy areas. As a form of theory, “gender mainstreaming is a process of revision of key concepts to grasp more adequately a world that is gendered” (Walby, 2005b:321). It draws on feminist analyses of gender inequality and aims to further develop feminist concepts and approaches. The relationship between feminist theory and GM according to Daly (2005) can be underlined in the definitions of GM provided by e.g. the UN and the EU, see previous chapter. From previous literature on GM it is possible to identify different feminist perspectives of GE and vision/aims for GM. There are numerous feminist theories, although, this section only describe the most common in the reviewed literature. I am aware that it is more than their view on GE that separates them. However, I have chosen to focus on GM and GE in order to be able to link them to the GE models below constituting the framework for my analysis. Gender inequality can take various forms but usually women are disfavored compared to men. The common goal for feminism is to make women and men more equal (Lorber, 2010:4).

Liberal feminism is concerned about women’s subordinated position, mainly in terms of their presence (or lack thereof) in global politics and institutions. Liberal feminists think GE can be achieved by removing legal obstacles and rules that have denied the same opportunities and rights for women and men, thereby giving women equal status (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2010:199). GM is regarded a strategy to increase female participation and representation in institutions as well as integrating women’s, as well as men’s, lived experiences in policy-making (True, 2014:230).

Difference feminism is related to liberal feminism although there is one major difference. While liberal feminism aims at giving women the same status as men, difference feminism stress the material and cultural difference between men and women. It highlights the importance of taking these into account in policymaking

and implementation (True 2014:230). Instead of equal treatment the approach seeks equal outcomes and promotes positive actions for the disadvantaged (Rees, 1998:34-5).

Marxist/Socialist feminism argues that gender inequality is due to the structures of the gendered social order. Patriarchy and capitalism are root causes for gender inequalities and to eradicate inequality reformation is needed. Gender inequality is therefore not viewed as the outcome of individual choices or personal attributes rather the source is the structures that relegate women to low-paid jobs and devalue women's work. Furthermore, they impose the responsibility for home and children on women and have limited their access to education, political power and even healthcare. From this approach GM can be viewed as a strategy to help women, and men, to gain recognition for the work they do, both in the public and private sphere, and to reach equal participation and positions of power (Lorber, 2010:10).

Poststructuralist feminists focus the explicit and implicit meaning of language. Gender inequality is related to knowledge and power. Men have constructed knowledge based on their lives and thereby gaining more power than women who have become marginalized. The linguistic constructions are gendered. Through analysis of texts and their meaning poststructuralist feminists seeks to expose and also deconstruct these hierarchies (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2010:201). GM is a way to acknowledge gendered differences in policymaking (True, 2014:230) and bring in women as constructors of knowledge (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010).

Postmodern feminism focuses on multiple sources of inequality e.g. race, class and ethnicity. They argue we should stop 'doing gender' since gender is socially constructed and maintained through 'doing' it. Gender categories are not enough to explain the gendered social order in which women, or men, are viewed as a homogenous group and should be dismantled. Postmodern feminist criticize the static heteronormative gender categories and emphasize the multiplicity of options in between as well as identities as constantly shifting (Lorber, 2010:13-4). Scholars have argued for the need to exceed the gender binary in GM and introduce transgender and other factors such as race and ethnicity in analysis or even putting GM to rest (Zalewski, 2010, Hankivsky, 2013).

3.2 Three models of gender equality

One of the criticisms of GM brought up in the previous chapter was the lack of transformation. This is referring to the underlying idea of what GE model that should be promoted. There are a range of different models of GE that have been invoked, although, there are three identified key models and the typology is borrowed from Rees (Rees, 2005). The models present both visions of a gender equal world and strategies to get there, even though they are sometimes mixed together (Walby, 2005b). Rees (2005) present them as three generations, although, this have been challenged by other scholars (Daly, 2005, Squires, 2007:84-5). The

feminist theories presented above are here linked to the three models that will guide the analysis.

3.2.1 Tinkering

The first model is equal treatment/equal opportunities. Rees (2005) describes it as 'tinkering' and Walby (2005b) refers to it as sameness. In this model, GE focus on individual rights and legal remedies. Tinkering is about providing a legal base, equal for women and men, but also to ensure enforcement of the laws (Rees, 1998:42). The vision is to bring "women rights into line with those of men" (Rees, 2005:557). This means that men are the basis and male norms are accepted, thus women only gain equality with men if they "perform to the standards of men" (Walby 2005b:326). The model focuses on gender inequality in the public sphere and seeks to address the allocation of positions within a given hierarchy (Rees, 1998:29). This is where I situate liberal feminism.

3.2.2 Tailoring

The second model is based on positive action towards women. Historically, projects using positive action approach have been concerned with providing education, training and business support to women. Rees (2005) call this model tailoring since it tailoring situations to fit women's needs by addressing them specifically (Rees, 2005:558). The basic assumption is that women (or in some cases men) starts from an unequal position and should be compensated for it to reach equality (Rees, 1998:34). This model focuses on group disadvantage and highlights that being part of a group affects the outcome (Rees, 2005). Measures to address the difference between men and women and women's special needs are for example women-only training, earmarking of budgets to women-targeted projects, gender quotas and childcare provision. Childcare provision as tailoring is built on the assumption that women care for house and children more than men do and by providing childcare a women can engage in training/work (Rees, 1998:37,44). Tinkering is about gaining equal access, tailoring seeks to address inequality of outcomes (Rees, 1998:45). That is in line with the vision of GE in difference feminism.

3.2.3 Transformation

The third model addresses structures and systems and how they cause disadvantage. Transformation becomes the agenda and this is where GM ideally is situated (Rees, 2005, Daly, 2005, Walby, 2005). Theoretically, GM is rooted in the politics of difference and seeks to address institutionalized sexism, deconstruct power relations and redistribute power. It recognizes differences among women and among men as well as similarities between men and women (Rees, 2005:559).

Within this model GM is assumed to transform institutions, organizations and their hierarchies and ‘feminise the mainstream’ (Rees, 1998:41,46, Walby, 2005b). “Transforming involves designing programmes and projects informed by knowledge of the diversity of needs of potential participants” (Rees, 1998:46). In addition to structural barriers the model also seeks to tackle values, culture and gender norms embedded in organizations (Rees, 1998:47).

The Marxist/socialist, poststructuralist and postmodern feminist ideas of GE can be reflected in this third model.

There are different tools related to GM. Eerdewijk (2014:347) examined two of them, gender-targets and gender assessment to scrutinize their transformative effects. She presents five shifts that needs to take place if a tool or strategy, such as GM, should be considered transformational. I present them to explain the vision of the model more precise.

1. “A shift towards a broader concept of gender equality, beyond a concern with women” (Eerdewijk, 2014:347)
2. “The incorporation of a gender perspective into the mainstream (...) agenda” (Eerdewijk, 2014:347)
3. To challenge male norms through equal representation, women-men, in decision making.
4. “Changes in the institutional and organisational cultures of decision-making [...] policy-processes, mechanism and actors” (Eerdewijk, 2014:347)
5. Include diversity and not only gender into the mainstreaming agenda.

3.3 Competing or complementary models?

The three models seem separated but a theoretical issue is whether the models and strategies to attain GE are complementary or competing. Daly (2005) argues that the three models often are intertwined in practice. The European Commission is one of many organizations and governments who regard the strategies as different but complementary (Squires, 2007:82). They promote a twin-track approach to GE consisting of positive actions and GM (Rees, 2005). Others regard GM as a development of previous GE approaches and argue that it includes both equal treatment and positive actions. This includes many development agencies whose GM policies include special support for women. The ideal vision of GM is transforming but it tends to fall back to any of the other two models, an issue for those who argue that the models are complementary (Squires, 2007:82-3).

A main competing feature is that tailoring focus on women, as a group, and GM focus on gender and diversity. The transforming model aims at replacing the other models and has been used to justify the marginalization of women’s policy and closure of measures for positive actions (Squires, 2007:77-9).

If the differences between the models makes them competing or complementary is a theoretical issue and in practice, it still remain an open question (Squires, 2008:87). Through analyzing Sweden’s results strategies it is

possible to distinguish if the models are used together or separate, if any of the models are dominant and if there has been changes.

4 Methods and material

4.1 Research design

The thesis focuses on Sweden and GE in development cooperation strategies and can be qualified as a qualitative case study. A case study is focused on detailed and intensive examination of a single case (Bryman, 2012:66). A good case study uses concepts, address issues and/or theories that are of wider relevance and applicable in other contexts (Halperin & Heath 2012:205). This thesis is a case study partly to be able to examine the Swedish case more in depth than would be possible in a comparative study and partly due to limited resources and time.

There are some fundamental questions every researcher needs to address: epistemology, ontology and methodology (Halperin & Heath, 2012:25-6). The latter is about how we obtain knowledge and through which means and methods. This is discussed in 4.4. The position for this thesis is critical realism. It is based on an ontological realism that assumes that the world exists independently of our knowledge and linked to a relativistic epistemology which assumes that the nature of knowledge is socially situated (Halperin & Heath, 2012:36-39).

In terms of internal validity this thesis contributes with a meaningful description of how GE is promoted in Swedish development cooperation strategies. External validity is achieved since the results are linked to a wider debate of GE models and the theoretical issue of being complementary or competing. However, the setting is very context specific and the thesis does not aim at generalizability.

4.2 Material

The material used are the country strategies for development and results strategies from 2003-2014 for Swedish long term development cooperation in Africa. Sweden is considered an interesting case due to their history of promoting GE and their commitment to prioritize it. Furthermore, the thesis builds on previous literature identifying a need to prioritize gender issues and Sweden as a good case. Analyzing Sweden's GE promotion in country strategies, both before and after the prioritization, may add to the limited literature on development cooperation and GM.

The analysis is based on primary sources retrieved from the Swedish government webpage. It is available official documents searchable through publications at the webpage. When searching for country and regional strategies there are 205 hits from year 1999-2014. It is a mix of documents concerning development cooperation and there are copies in different languages (Regeringskansliet, n.d). Delimitations have been made in time, space and geography, see 1.4.

The countries and strategies analyzed are:

- Burkina Faso, 2004-2006
- Ethiopia, 2003-2007
- Kenya, 2009-2013
- Mali, 2004-2006
- Mozambique, 2008-2012
- Rwanda, 2010-2013
- Tanzania, 2013-2019
- Uganda, 2009-2013, 2014-2018
- Zambia, 2003-2007, 2013-2017

The strategies direct the bilateral aid from Sweden. Before 2013 these were named country strategies for development, often called country strategies or simply strategies. Those were replaced by results strategies in 2013. However, the strategies are of similar character and aim, even though, the results strategies have more focus on expected results.

The results strategies are developed in steps. The first step is approval from the government who communicates a proposal with directions and expected results to Sida. Secondly, Sida prepare a result proposal, often in cooperation with the embassy in the specific country, the partner country and other cooperation partners in the area. There are parts of the final strategy that brings up the partner-country's national plan and other donors, although, the main part concern Sweden's aims, strategies and results. Thirdly, Sida sends the proposal to the ministry for foreign affairs who present a results strategy built on the proposal from Sida. Finally, the government approves the strategy and instructs Sida to implement it (Regeringskansliet, 2015d). Each country/results strategy is reaching over a timespan of two to six years and they are 6-34 pages long. Important to note is that the development cooperation is demand driven and it is the recipient countries own priorities and national strategies that provides the basis for the development cooperation (Sida, 2014b).

The strategies are from different years, enabling answering the question regarding change in time. Noticeably, there is a gap between the two Zambian strategies. This imposes a problem since missing years may risk introducing biases (Halperin & Heath, 2012:320). For the aim of this thesis, I argue that the sample is still relevant and can be used to answer the research questions. It would be possible to answer the first research question with strategies from 2007 and forward. However the earlier strategies are included since they give a broader view and present a discussion of power structures and GE that is absent in the more recent results strategies.

The strategies have been read in Swedish since it is the original language and not all were available in English. The quotes from the strategies in chapter five are in English. I have translated the quotes and the translations are verified with the official translations at the government's webpage. When an official translation was unavailable, it is marked 'my translation'.

4.3 Operationalizing of the research questions

To answer my research questions the selected country strategies are used. They represent official documents that direct Swedish development cooperation. The three GE models are used to answer what kind of GE Sweden promotes. Through a qualitative content analysis I examine how GE aims, problems and solutions are presented in the strategies. Features to look after are discussion about rights, representation, power structures, and norms among others. Change is operationalized through differences of the use of GE models.

4.4 Qualitative content analysis

A qualitative content analysis was deemed suitable since it is applicable when answers are possible to find through an analysis of texts. One strength of the method is that it does not require any personal contact since material such as the results strategies often are publicly available. Consequently, biases can be reduced (Halperin & Heath, 2012:318-9). As a researcher, it is important to understand and be reflexive on how one's own values and attitudes affect the research process (Hesse-Biber, 2007:129). I have used unobtrusive measures of data collection but I still need to be reflexive and not impose my values and beliefs to the material. Another strength of content analysis is that a larger population and more documents can be analyzed (Halperin & Heath, 2012:318-9).

Content analysis can be either qualitative or quantitative (Halperin & Heath, 2012:319). The main aim for this thesis is not to quantify how often GE is used but rather themes and underlying equality models embedded in the use of GE. Therefore, a qualitative content analysis is the main method, even though some measures of quantification are employed.

Halperin and Heath present content analysis in four steps. The first step is to select the material to be analyzed by identifying the population and sample of texts (Halperin & Heath, 2012:320). The long-term country strategies have been chosen as the population of texts. To get a manageable amount of material the sample was been limited to African countries, see delimitations 1.4. Step two is to decide what the texts are analyzed for and to define topics of interest or categories (Halperin & Heath, 2012:320). The country strategies are analyzed after how they address GE, what goals, problem and solutions are offered and within what areas

GE is brought up. How the strategies address women and/or men are also analyzed. Step three is to decide the unit of content to apply a category label. There are five common units: a single word or symbol, a sentence or paragraph, a theme, a character, an item or whole text (Halperin & Heath, 2012:321). In this case paragraphs, themes and single words are the unit of analysis.

Step four is to decide how to identify the units and code the material.

4.4.1 Coding

This study uses both inductive and deductive coding. The starting-point for coding GE has been feminist theories and the three GE models. Categories derived from the theoretical background and the research questions, so called theoretical or priori coding (Halperin & Heath, 2012:323). The three models and the feminist theories presented categories/variables of what to look for to be able to answer the research questions. Categories have also been allowed to emerge from the material. In order to better understand what type of GE that is promoted, categories of problems and solutions derived from the material. For examples of codes see appendix 1.

A weakness of content analysis is that the researcher(s) might not be consistent in the coding process (Halperin & Heath, 2012:328). I have re-read strategies and compared codes to ensure stability throughout the analysis. However, as the only researcher all coding is based on my decisions and knowledge and another person might code it differently.

The results from a qualitative study are plausible to others when the researcher explains methods so the reader understands how the analysis came about (Halperin & Heath, 2012:328). To satisfy the requirement of validity and reliability the thesis discusses methods used and presents quotations from the documents in the analysis.

5 Results and analysis

The analysis is divided into three sub-sections. The first is country strategies from 2003-2007, from the adoption of the PGU until the thematic prioritization. The second is from 2008-2012 which is the time period right after the prioritization until the shift to results strategies. The last time period, 2013-2014, includes the results strategies published up until today. Each strategy is first analyzed separately and then an analysis of the time period is conducted.

5.1 Country Strategies 2003-2007

5.1.1 Ethiopia 2003-2007

The strategy starts with a country analysis which addresses women's unequal position in the country. Officially women enjoy the same rights as men but not in practice. For example, in agriculture women have become even more marginalized due to changes and modernization in production. When the strategy was created, Ethiopia was at the bottom of UN's GE statistics (UD 03.033:6-7).

The strategy identifies problems related to gender inequality such as "the weak position of women owing to their inferior status" and "Ethiopia's strongly patriarchal society, with its deep-rooted, male-oriented socio-cultural values [...] constitute a serious obstacle to development" (UD 03.033:10). This is related to what social feminism argued was the reason for gender inequality. It is also what the third model 'transforming' sets out to change through the use of GM. There are some examples in the strategy where Sweden promotes support operations to tackle e.g. "socio-economic injustices and inequalities [...], discrimination on grounds of gender or ethnic background" (UD 03.033:22). Furthermore, the strategy highlights the need to create "a society capable of embracing women and men and their respective needs, experience and potential" (UD 03.033:23). The transforming vision can be identified in the formulations as well as in other parts of the strategy. In the strategy it is clear that the transformation needs to address both men and women and change the current patriarchal structures that are devaluing women and their work.

Less prevailing, but still present, was the promotion of tailoring. Positive actions and special support was promoted to get more female students accepted to masters and PhD studies (UD 03.033:25).

5.1.2 Zambia 2003-2007

The country strategy with Zambia contains eight references to GE but it is included in the overall goal among other important themes such as economic growth, food safety and democracy (UD 03.093:13). It states that Sweden so far has integrated a GE perspective in many programs although, a gender perspective needs to be further emphasized (UD 03.093:8,11).

The strategy acknowledges that there are a lot of structural problems in Zambia and that “women are generally poorer than men and live under considerably worse conditions” (UD 03.093:2, my translation) and consequently, they are one of the most vulnerable groups in society. To address the problems, “[s]pecial attention will be given to democracy promotion, environment, gender equality, children and HIV/AIDS. Integration of selected cross-border issues will be included as a part of the preparation, analysis and monitoring of the different programmes within the Swedish-Zambian development-cooperation” (UD 03.093:16 my translation). This complies with one of the shifts in the transforming model, the incorporation of gender into the mainstream agenda. This can also be seen in the dialogue issues which mention gender in health-, agriculture- and the private sector. Furthermore, it addresses women’s and men’s different needs and argues for gender assessment and active participation in all planning and decision-making (UD 03.093:16-8). The transforming model can therefore be said to be the most prominent and consistent in the strategy. Even though, not all shifts are present.

It is arguable to say that even thoughts relating to tinkering is present when the strategy discusses equal rights and respect for them (UD 03.093:14). However, it is in broader term and not only about women’s rights but both men’s, women’s and children’s rights and can be regarded as a shift of a concern beyond women.

5.1.3 Mali 2004-2006

The Swedish bilateral development cooperation with Mali started in 2001 (UD, 2004a). The strategy for 2004-2006 only mentions GE twice but has a total of 70 references to women/girls. GE is presented as one of the areas where Sweden has an added value in giving support (UD, 2004a:11). Even though the strategy not explicitly discusses ‘gender equality’ it discusses inequalities in education, power, security etc. between men and women. The power structures, lack of respect for human rights (especially women’s rights) and norms in the society is declared, not only as facts, but as something Sweden, through dialogue and support to projects and programs, should target. This can be viewed as the transformation model informed by socialist feminism who are concerned of norms and by changing patriarchal power structures. An intersectionality perspective can also be viewed since gender is not regarded as the sole axis of power e.g. here “gender, age, ethnicity or disability” (UD, 2004a:14 my translation).

There are several formulations that I link to the transforming model of GE and the strategy of GM. For example the strategy says that Sweden shall: “[i]n the planning of each project and programme bring attention to women and girls access to power, security and possibilities...” and “[i]n dialogue at all levels put forward the value of women’s, men’s, girls’ and boys’ equal rights” (UD, 2004a:13 my translation). The last citation highlights equal rights, however, it also exceed the concern of women and highlights that it is in all spheres.

Gender-based analysis and gender-budgeting are also mentioned as way to promote GE and take women as well as men into account (UD, 2004a:14,17).

5.1.4 Burkina Faso 2004-2006

Burkina Faso is a neighboring country to Mali and the two strategies are very similar. The overall goal and dialogue issues are exactly the same. However, this strategy has fewer references to women and men. It discusses power structures and norms but to a lesser extent than in the Mali case. Furthermore, gender is mainstreamed through the different sectors, e.g. economy, democracy and environment, a shift related to transforming.

Another difference between the two strategies is that the Burkina Faso strategy presents features of tailoring not present in the Mali strategy. For example special support to programs addressing women’s and girls’ right to health and education (UD, 2004b:13), as well as “special efforts on female politicians” (UD, 2004b:14 my translation). I would argue that the strategy uses tailoring and transforming as complementary models. It stresses the need to address the structures and the use of GM but it also highlights that there are fields where special attention needs to be given to women and/or girls.

5.1.5 Analysis of 2003-2007

All strategies discuss gendered structures in society and how this impact women negatively and hinders development. The kind of GE Sweden promotes in the four strategies from this time period is quite similar. The main model is transforming where four out of five shifts have been identified. Missing is equal representation to change decision-making. All strategies have a certain focus on women but it is not only about women. Men and boys are included and their different positions as well as similarities in other cases are put forward. Moreover, gender and GE is included in the mainstream agenda. None of the strategies have an own track for promoting GE, the issue is raised within the discussion of e.g. health care, economic growth or agriculture.

The other models were less occurring. Tinkering was identified in Zambia, tailoring in Ethiopia and Burkina Faso. But these where often promoted together with the transforming model and as a complement to ensure that all benefited of the support, even women.

5.2 Country strategies 2008-2012

5.2.1 Mozambique 2008-2012

The country strategy for development cooperation with Mozambique is grounded in the national poverty reduction strategy PARPA II, although it has been complemented to reflect Sweden's priorities (UD 08.073). Most of the 13 references to GE in the strategy are to GE as one of the three thematic prioritizations. It is written without any further exploration or definition of the concept. Except for one time when it says "gender equality between women and men" (UD 08.073:7 my translation).

The country analysis part identifies underlying structural problems related to gender inequality. Mozambique has a progressive legislation but women's and children's rights are only respected to a limited extent. Other problems are gender-based violence, patriarchal exercise of power and distribution of resources and work. Furthermore, women are often excluded in planning and decision-making as well as implementation of development projects (UD 08.073:12). However, the identified problems are not reflected in the rest of the strategy.

The parts of the strategy that have been situated under the transforming model relate to GM. It addresses differences between groups of men and women in terms of vulnerability and poverty. Furthermore, it specifies that "gender equality between women and men [...] is deemed important to integrate into all support" (UD 08.073:16 my translation).

Tinkering in terms of equal access can be identified in the following sentence: "[w]omen's access to land, capital, technology and inputs will be particular considered" (UD 08.073:7 my translation). It could be regarded as tailoring as well but in the text more focus is on giving them legal rights to land than equal outcome and therefore it is identified as tinkering.

5.2.2 Kenya 2009-2013

The strategy mentions GE four times and has fewer references to women and men than the Mozambique strategy. However, it addresses equality as a broader concept than GE which can be interpreted as "a shift towards a broader concept of gender equality, beyond the concern with women" (Eerdewijk, 2014:347). All three GE models have been identified even though they are often used together as complementary models. An example is the formulation of the overall goal of Swedish development cooperation with Kenya: "... a Kenya where all poor women, men, girls and boys have the opportunity to improve their living conditions, and where their human rights are realized" (UD 09.047:2). This implies the focus on equal rights, opportunities and enforcement of laws, i.e.

tinkering, and at the same time it addresses poor women and men which suggest a gender analysis and inclusion of diversity among groups.

The third and fourth shifts (see 3.2.3) are also found in the strategy: “Swedish support also focus on women’s participation in the planning and designing of initiatives in all sectors” (UD 09.047:6) and “Sweden must promote (...) equality between men and women within the administration and political decision-making” (UD 09.047:4).

The strategy also has features of the tailoring model e.g. providing direct support to women and young people to increase political participation (UD 09.047:4,6).

5.2.3 Uganda 2009-2013

GE in Uganda has improved. However, women are often discriminated and their social, economic and political status remains low (UD 09.068:12-3). The Swedish strategy for development cooperation with Uganda 2009-2013 should support Uganda’s National development plan and emphasizes GE as an area where special efforts should be emphasized (UD09.068:3).

The strategy mentions GE eight times, women/girls 27 and men/boys three. It entails several aspects of GM and the third model ‘transforming’ is the dominant GE model. Firstly, it brings up GE as part of the mainstream sectors such as health, democracy, human security and economy. Secondly, the shift beyond the concern of women as well as the shift to include diversity is found in formulations such as “[p]articular attention and support will be devoted to promoting and enhancing full employment of human rights by women, girls, persons with disabilities and homosexual, bisexual and transgender people” (UD 09.068:5). This further suggests that models are complementary and that positive actions in terms of extra support will be given to groups that are in an underprivileged position and equal rights/treatment for all.

Thirdly, the strategy addresses to role and responsibility of men as a way to improve GE in health. “... the role and responsibilities of men, as well as the rights of women and girls promoting their increased influence and participation” (UD 09.068:5). Furthermore, it mentions power relations and that cooperation should include working with agents of change engaged in promoting “...more equal socioeconomic and political power relations” (UD 09.068:3).

Tinkering was identified in the overall goal: “[i]ncreased respect for and enjoyment of human rights, with special emphasize on women’s and children’s rights...” (UD 09.068:3). However, this is complemented with the transformation model.

5.2.4 Rwanda 2010-2013

The Rwanda country strategy declares that Sweden’s three thematic prioritizations should guide the development cooperation. They are all present in Rwanda’s own

poverty reduction strategy, EDRPS, and the Swedish strategy aims are linked to the Rwandan strategy (UD 10.019:2-3). Rwanda work actively to enforce women's position in the society. Examples given in the strategy are the success of women in parliament (56 %), laws to enforce women's rights and GE politics (UD 10.019:12). However, problems still remain. E.g. gender-based domestic violence is common and in practice women still lack access to work opportunities and land (UD 10.019:12).

The strategy mentions GE 13 times and women/girls are discussed even more. One of the references is, as in many of the other strategies, Sweden's added value in working with GE issues (UD 10.019:16). The strategy includes features from all three GE models, although, features of transforming are most common and GM tools can be identified throughout the text. Examples of the aim to integrate gender into the mainstream can be found here: "[g]ender equality issues will be highlighted in the overarching dialogue" and here "[i]n the planning of new contributions and programmes, consideration will be given to the link between climate, environment and [...] gender equality and women's access to productive resources" (UD 10.019:1,5). The strategy addressed differences between men and women e.g. "women's and young girl's vulnerability concerning poverty and the HIV/AIDS situation" (UD 10.019:3), differences among women and men as groups "poor women and men" (UD 10.019:10) as well as other factors that can impact inequality "women headed households, children and people with disabilities" (UD 10.019:4). This implies gender-disaggregated data and that a gender-based analysis has been conducted. However, the structures, traditions and norms that are briefly brought up in the section land context and are assumed to underpin gender inequality are not addressed within the rest of the strategy.

Tinkering in terms of equal rights and access to land can be found in the environment sector. Tailoring is identified here "[s]pecial support for the promotion of women's postgraduate education..." (UD 10.019:6) since it suggest positive actions to ensure a more equal outcome for women as a group.

5.2.5 Analysis of 2008-2012

A common theme for these four strategies is that they all promote more than one GE model. Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda include features from all models while Mozambique has tinkering and transforming. However, transforming is perceived as the most prominent and the other two are used as a complement.

GE is mainly brought up as a field where Sweden have an added value and as one of three thematic prioritizations.

The Kenyan strategy sets out to challenge male norms and change institutions in decision-making and policy processes. In the other strategies, structures and norms are pin-pointed in the background/land analysis but not addressed in the parts of the strategy discussing Swedish development cooperation. It suggests that Sweden is aware of the structural problems but that their support might target fields where change is 'easier' achieved.

5.3 Results strategies 2013-2014

5.3.1 Zambia 2013-2017

The results strategy with Zambia only mentions GE once. “Sweden has experience of public funding, involving both public and private care providers, and has experience in areas such as sexual and reproductive health and rights, sexuality education and gender equality” (UD 13.014:4). This sentence does not say much about how GE is perceived or how to reach it. It solely points out Sweden’s added value in working with GE within the health area. Women/girls are mentioned several times, although, almost all the time together with other identified groups such as “women and children”, “women, children, young people and entrepreneurs” or “women and young people”(UD 13.014). Furthermore, they are not addressed as target groups for positive actions rather as groups that should be empowered or benefit from e.g. increased access to clean energy or increased productivity.

It is arguable to say that the strategy is informed by GM tools such as gender analysis, since it is aware of that the impact on men and women are different, but that the GE model where the vision of GM is situated is not visible in the document. However, due to the overall lack of discussion of GE it is not possible to identify any of the models.

5.3.2 Tanzania 2013-2019

The Tanzanian result strategy does not mention GE at all. Women/girls are mentioned 11 times, men/boys two and gender none. The strategy presents women, children and youths as target groups for education, employment and business support, although it does not explain why (UD 13.015). Reading through the lines, women and youths lack skills to compete with men and need support/positive actions to enter and compete in the current labor market which is placed in the tailoring model.

5.3.3 Uganda 2014-2018

The results strategy for Uganda 2014-2018 contains sparse references to GE. In total GE is mentioned five times, women or girls 13 and men/boys five. Gender is only mentioned in relation to gender-based violence. GE or women/girls are mentioned in all four sub targets, stretching over democracy, economy, health and human security, although there is no deeper discussion on how and why this inequality takes form. In the section called country context GE, pollution and climate change are declared barriers to development in Uganda. It also highlights

Sweden's long-standing partnership and added value in pursuing difficult issues such as GE and women's autonomy and reproductive health (UD 14.039).

The only paragraph discussing women and GE has been placed in the tailoring model and it discusses women's access and control over productive resources. It addresses equal access: "one condition for women's participation is that girls have access to education...", but more important, equal outcomes: "...and are given the opportunity to finish school". Women's responsibility for the family is highlighted and measures directed towards women aim to reduce poverty (UD 14.039).

A glimpse of GM can be identified in this formulation "Sweden can provide added value by working with men and boys to reduce gender-based violence" (UD 14.039). Involving men and boys in the process can be interpreted as a way to change underlying structures.

5.3.4 Analysis of 2013-2014

The results strategies more or less lack promotion and discussion of GE. Uganda is the exception where gender is incorporated in the different sectors but without much reflection upon problems or solutions related to gender inequality. That strategy also pushed for special actions to ensure girls' equal outcomes in education which corresponds with tailoring.

The literature review and postmodern feminism offers possible answers to the limited promotion of GE, but to explore why is beyond the scope of this paper.

6 Discussion

The findings suggests that the gender equality model that corresponds best to how Sweden discusses GE in the country strategies are transforming. The strategies mainly promote the use of GM to achieve more GE in the partner country. Table 5.1 below present an overview of the identified models in each of the strategies.

Table 5.1 Gender equality models in country strategies 2003-2014

Country strategy	Tinkering	Tailoring	Transforming
Ethiopia 2003-2007		x	X
Zambia 2003-2007	x		X
Mali 2004-2006			x
Burkina Faso 2004-2006		x	X
Mozambique 2008-2012	x		x
Kenya 2009-2013	x	x	x
Uganda 2009-2013	x	x	X
Rwanda 2010-2013	x	x	X
Zambia 2013-2017			
Tanzania 2013-2019		x	
Uganda 2014-2018		x	x

Explanation: x- present, **X** - most common

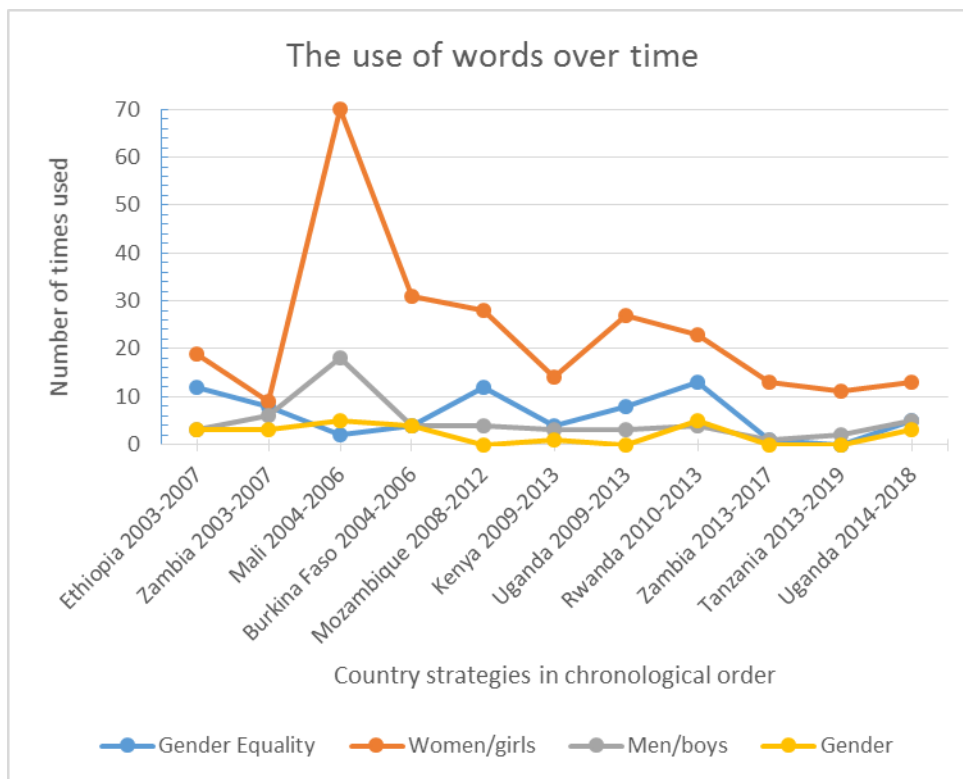
Ideas related to transforming were identified in all strategies except two. As the table shows it was often complemented with tinkering, tailoring or both. Tinkering was never found alone and tailoring was only identified alone once. To relate this to the theoretical debate, the Swedish promotion of GE in development cooperation suggests that the models can complement each other and support where another model falls short. The use of gender does not automatically eliminate the need for special support to women (or men). However, one of the models are often more dominant than the others in the Swedish country strategies for development.

The theory chapter linked three different feminist approaches to the transformative GE model. It is arguable to say that the earlier strategies, which brought up structural problems, patriarchy and norms as the problem, are more informed by a socialist feminist perspective. The later strategies show more of a postmodern approach concerned by diversity mainstreaming and equality, 'jämlighet' in Swedish. The more radical ideas of changing power relations are not present in the result strategies.

Overall the discussion of GE is absent in the results strategies. Diagram 5.1 below illustrates the use of GE, women, men and gender in the strategies. Since the strategies are of various length and context a comparison of absolute number

is not adequate. However, it gives a perception of how much/little GE is promoted over the time period.

Diagram 5.1 The use of words in the country strategies 2003-2014.



After the prioritization of GE in 2007, the references to GE slightly increased for a couple of years. Even though it was mainly given attention as one of three thematic prioritization and as a question Sweden had added value in promoting.

What kind of GE Sweden promotes has two different answers. When looking at the time period 2003-2014, the answer is, as mentioned, transforming. Sweden uses GM and focuses on mainstreaming gender issues and integrating ideas of GE between men and women in all sectors. It is not only about giving women the same rights as men but giving everyone a fair possibility to influence and to participate in planning and decision-making. An intersectionality perspective is present and emphasize other factors such as ethnicity, age, income and sexuality as variables effecting inequality and in some cases the strategy go beyond GE and focuses on equality. If only looking at the most recent results strategies, the answer is slightly different since GE promotion is almost absent. The results from this time period relate more to tailoring. This can be related to the previous literature by Holvoet and Inberg (2014) that suggested that the WID-approach is re-entering the field and push gender issues and social change to the margins.

One of the shifts to be transformative is to integrate gender into the mainstream agenda. This was seen in some of the analyzed texts, although, gender issues were rarely included in all targeted sectors. This relates to the feminist criticism of GM as being selective (see 2.3). Gender issues are brought up where

it does not acquire any big changes and it misses out on some of its transformative potential.

7 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to examine what kind of GE Sweden promotes in country strategies for development cooperation. It also aimed at answering how GE has changed over time in the strategies. This was done through a qualitative content analysis of Sweden's strategies. The results show that the answer is twofold. Sweden has during the investigated time period promoted GE mainly in line with the transformation model by using the strategy of GM. An example of the model is to integrate gender in the mainstream project such as democracy building or access to water. Another is to also raise awareness of diversity among men and women e.g. age, ethnicity or sexuality. The promoted model was in many of the strategies supported by features from the tinkering, equal rights and access, and the tailoring model, positive actions for women/men. However, in recent years the promotion of GE have been more in terms of special support and programs to women and less about unequal gendered structures and norms. Previous literature suggested that the WID-approach is re-entering the field which the Swedish results strategies partly confirms.

The change over time is surprisingly small. I thought a prioritization of GE in development cooperation would at least increase the presence but, except for a slight increase of the use of the word 'gender equality' for some years, it has gone the opposite way. The change can be viewed in how Sweden addressed the problem of gender inequality. The earliest strategies addressed power relations, gender norms and the enjoyment of women's rights to a higher extent than after the prioritization. The second time period used all three models more interrelated than the other two periods. Most recently GE is less visible in the results strategies and less radical in its promotion of GE.

For future research it would be interesting to compare the Swedish case to how other donor countries promote GE in their strategies for development cooperation. Sweden is often viewed as a success country in GE even though this thesis showed that the transformative vision of GM is not fully achieved or promoted. Another option would be to look at how this promotion takes place in practice. A final suggestion is to examine why GM is absent in the results strategies.

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Appendix 1 Coding gender equality

Gender equality	Examples of theoretical coding	Coding from material
Tinkering	Equal rights (giving women same rights as men)	Problems:
	Enforcement of laws and rights	Discrimination
	Gender equality in the public sphere	Women lack access to land, capital
	Equal pay	Female genital mutilation
		Solution:
		Inform about human/women's rights
Tailoring	Women as a group	Problems:
	Positive actions/discrimination	Fewer girls than boys finish school
	Focus on equal outcome	Few women on higher positions in the society
	Gender quotas	Solution:
		Special support to women (education, health, day-care...)
Transforming	Women, men, girls, boys	Problems:
	Gender integrated in all areas	Patriarchal society
	Equal participation in decision-making	Male-oriented culture
	Gender based analysis	Structures
	Changing male-as-the-norm	Gender based violence
	Diversity e.g. transgender, ethnicity, age, sexuality	Solution:
		Gender Equality dialogue with men and women