Swedish Development Assistance Policy 1990- 2012

How has it changed?

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Abstract

It has gone more than 50 years since Sweden officially started organizing and giving development assistance to needing countries. There have been many different Governments with differences in both ideological background and political aim during that time, not only in Sweden but also internationally. How much has circumstances and the different rule affected the Swedish development assistance policies? To answer that question has been the main aim for this thesis.

In my study I have focused on the last 22 years, as from 1990 until 2012, and studied one budget proposition for development assistance per Government. I have also studied some of the most important steering documents, important events and international decisions that have affected the Swedish development policies. Since the budget propositions show the ambitions of the Governments it is also their policies. It is these policies that I will analyze using the two variables: size of the aid, and the goal for the aid. The analysis is has been done using Nikolaos Zahariadis policy theory The Multiple Streams Framework.

My study shows that the policies that were adopted 50 years ago still have a large, if not settling, impact on today’s policies. The main goal for the development assistance today only differs on a few words from what was written in proposition 1962:100. The economic goal which is one of the most fundamental parts of today’s development assistance, that one percent of Sweden’s GDP should go to international aid, was first decided in 1968.

Finally, I have concluded that both the way the goal of the development assistance has been formulated and how extensive the frame of funding for development assistance has been, haven’t always percental been followed with how much money that have been spent on the budget point development work.

Key-words: Swedish development assistance, international aid, development policy.
Lists of abbreviations

BITS: Beredningen för Internationellt Tekniskt Samarbete  
CK: Central Kommittén för Svenskt Tekniskt Bistånd  
DAC: Development Assistance Committee  
EU: The European Union  
GDP: Gross Domestic Product  
IMPOD: The Import Office for Developing Countries  
MS: Multiple Streams  
MSB: Myndigheten för Samhällsskydd och Beredskap  
NIB: Nämnden för Internationellt Bistånd  
ODA: Official Development Assistance  
OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development  
PGU: Politik för Global Utveckling (Policy for Global Development)  
SAREC: Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries  
SIDA: Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency  
SWEDFUND: The Fund for international Co-operation with developing countries  
UN: United Nations

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1. Introduction and background

In this introducing chapter I will give a brief introduction and background of the themes in my thesis. I will also declare my purpose and research questions as well as clarify the limitations of this study. Finally I will define both the one percent target and the meaning of development assistance.

1.1 Introduction

“For 50 years we have allowed the development assistance to over flow all limits...” - Gunilla Carlsson, Sweden’s Minister for International Development Cooperation. (Sveriges Radio, 2012a)

It is not seldom that the Swedish development assistance is criticized. Many people say that we give too much or that we don’t give enough development assistance, and others say that we give aid to the wrong projects or in the wrong way. When the opposition doesn’t criticize the aid, the Government, and even the Minister for International Development Co-operations herself do.

It has now gone just over 50 years since Sweden got its first official development assistance policy. Much has happened with the Swedish foreign aid policy since proposition 1962:100 was put forward by the parliament, a proposition which ever since that has been a guideline for Swedish aid. Other policy’s on how the aid should be formed, where and in what way it should be used, has been released from both the international and national community.

International conferences have been held in around the world where Sweden, as the percental biggest giver, should have had a certain influence.

After 1962 years proposition 100 came, the Millennium Development goals have supervened, the Paris declaration has been signed and Sweden has created their “Policy for Global Development” (PGU). During the last 22 years (which this essay will study) we have also had three sets of Conservative Coalition Governments and four sets of Social Democratic Governments. The question is, after all these changes, has the Swedish aid policy changed? And if it has, then, how?

These questions are the core of my essay and what I with my material and my analysis want to study. In this study I will use two specific variables: the goal description for the aid and the percent of the GDP which is budgeted for international aid, as they are considered by me to
show the fundamentals of the policies. I will then analyze the answers and the changes using Nikolas Zahariadis theory *The Multiple Streams Framework*.

Since I have been interested in how the different Governments wanted to shape the Swedish aid policy, this essay will take a look at seven budget propositions from the last 22 years covering seven changes of Government’s. I’ve also found it surprising that there were so few, longitudinal studies made by scientists in this central and often debated area of politics, which would make this study an important contribution to Peace and Development as a subject as much as the issue of development assistance itself.

1.2 Background

Swedish aid has changed in a substantial way since the creation of *Centralkommittén för svensk tekniskt bistånd till mindre utveckade länder (CK)* which was the first organized attempt to channel the Swedish development aid. It was created as early as in 1952 by 45 different popular movements to channelize the first Swedish aid to other countries. When CK was created, it was established that Sweden would send aid to two countries, one in Africa and one in Asia. The chosen countries were Ethiopia and Pakistan. During the nine years that CK existed, it had a total expense of about 20 million Swedish kronor (further mentioned SEK). Looking at today’s numbers, with today’s development assistance administrative authority, who yearly administers about half of the budget of 30 263 823 000 SEK to 139 countries and regions. These numbers shows with certainty that there have been massive changes in the Swedish aid policies since its early years (Open aid, 2012).

It is among other things with background to these changes in the Swedish aid policies that I’ve wanted to do my studies in this subject.

1.3 Purpose and presentation of research problem

The purpose of this essay is to see how much the Swedish policy for international aid has changed with the changes of Government from the budget years 1990/1991 until 2011/2012. The reason why my studies mainly will analyze the Governments’ propositions for international aid is that they, at the time of their publishing were the Government’s policy over how they wanted to manage the Swedish international development assistance. These
propositions cover the different Governments ideas of what should be prioritized, how much of the country’s total budget would go to aid, and what kind of contributions is regarded as extra important at the moment. There is in fact very few studies done with longitudinal analyses of the Swedish development aid policies and there is a need of such overviews.

A number of factors, such as the most important policy documents, the country’s economic situation and not least the country’s governance does most likely affect the content of the budget proposition. The budget proposition could therefore be seen as a concentrate of how Sweden’s Government sees and wants to manage its international aid politics.

I will use two variables in my analysis:

Firstly it is the goal description for the development assistance, and secondly it’s how much of the country’s GDP that the Parliament decided should go to international aid.

My research questions formulation are hence:

- To what extent and in which way has the Swedish goals for the development assistance changed between the years 1991 and 2012?
- Has the percentage of the country’s GDP committed to international aid changed between the years 1991 and 2012? If so: How has it changed?

The answers to the above questions will then be analyzed using Nikolas Zaharaidis theory *The Multiple Streams Framework*, a theory that will help the reader understand the different factors that influence the changes in policies. The analyzed answers will also be reinforced with earlier studies on economy and policies.

1.4 Limitation and definitions

In this part I will describe some of the limitations and definitions in my study. The reason to why I have included the definitions are that some words and expressions that are co-occurring have more than one way to be defined, or is a term that is only used in the specific area of development aid.
1.4.1 Limitation

The different time periods, their correlation and influence on a later decision will not be analyzed in this thesis. This, because of the contingency of how much and what that has been influencing the development assistance, would need a much more extensive study, which might not even be possible to carry out. When an effort for the development has been made, different factors such as the extent of political and economic stability in the country or region influence the effect of the contribution. Another factor is the country’s general level of education and how the world market for the country’s import and export looks at the moment. As a matter of fact it is impossible to make an exact measurement of how big a difference the money and services which Sweden gives to the receiving country’s really does. This is something former chief economist at Sida, Dag Ehrenpreis, described: "It is not possible to distinguish the effect of the international aid or any other effort that is made" (Wohlgemuth, 1997:16).

This is another reason to why Sweden’s policy on international aid, or at least the Government’s view of how it should be managed, is extra important. Since the effect of the development assistance is hard, if not impossible to measure, it must be helpful to at least understand the goals for the development aid, as well as knowing what kind of means that are given to reach those goals. This study intends to analyze the international aid in the budget propositions presented by the Government. In those cases where the budget propositions haven’t been able to give me sufficient information, other sources have been used. This so I more clearly can see if/ how the different Governments through their international aid policies have had different views on how Swedish international aid should be used. The sources included in this study that are not budget propositions are mainly included with the purpose to give a background that explains how Sweden came to different situations in its development work. Other materials are used to give the theoretical framework (multiple streams, further explained in the theoretical framework chapter) a context and understanding that the budget propositions are not able to give.

1.4.2 Definition of aid

In this thesis I will use words like aid, international aid, development assistance and development cooperation synonymously. My study has mainly been based on documents
written in Swedish (e.g. the budget propositions) where the word bistånd (Swedish for “aid”) is frequently used. Since all, both national and international organizations uses several words for bistånd or internationellt bistånd as the expense area is called in the budget propositions, so will I in this English text. To exemplify the variations, Sida uses development assistance, aid, development aid and international aid on their English webpage.

In this essay, when I talk about aid or assistance, it most of the times emanate from the sum stated in the budget propositions.

OECD/DAC has measured development assistance since 1962 and their description of what they call ODA (Official Development Aid) is also the international standard for the definition of aid or development assistance.

DAC defines ODA as “…those flows to countries and territories on the DAC list of ODA Recipients and to multilateral institutions which are:

1. Provided by official agencies, including state and local Governments, or by their executive agencies; and

2. Each transaction of which:

a) …is administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective; and

b) …is concessional in character and conveys a grant element of at least 25 percent (calculated at a rate of discount of 10 per cent).” (OECD, 2013)

I use DAC’s ODA definition, not because the Swedish frame of funding, or department funding, is exactly the same as ODA, but because their definition is the ruling definition, which the Government themselves acknowledges (Regeringskansliet: 2011a). I do however want to emphasize that it is not the disbursed ODA that will be presented in the Result or Analyze and Conclusions chapter, but the frame of funding for development assistance (internationellt bistånd) the way it has been presented in the budget propositions.

I will not complicate the essay by describing what kind of resource transfers, or which form of development aid (bilateral/multilateral), that is used in a particular occasion, except in those cases where it is essential to the context.
1.4.3 Definition of the one percent goal

Ever since Sweden in 1961 said that they shared the UN’s opinion, written in a resolution the same year which declared an expectation that the rich member countries would have an ambition of giving one percent of their GDP in development aid, Sweden has strived to do so. In proposition 100 this is explained in following way:

“Sweden could be said to have undertaken the duty of reaching a level of aid that will be at least one percent of the country’s GDP. This goal has a great support in our country” (Prop, 1962:20).

However there are different ways of calculating and thus reporting how much aid a country really gives. In Sweden’s budget propositions the number has never been higher than one percent of the country’s GDP. In the OECD/DAC numbers, it has been. This, since they have several other areas which are counted as development aid. Expenses that are counted as a part of the development aid budget to the OECD/DAC that the Swedish Government doesn’t count as development aid is e.g. some of the costs for the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB), contribution to the EU development aid budget, the foreign administrations administration costs and several other posts (Regeringskansliet, 2011b).

2. Swedish development politics

This chapter will describe Sweden’s history of development assistance. It will describe how the Swedish politics was at the time of the different propositions, which important events that had a serious impact on the Swedish development policies and which national and international policies that has had an impact on the current and recent policies. I will also briefly display how Sweden is positioned compared to other countries when it comes to how big budget that is appropriated for international development.

2.1 Swedish aid policy 1952-1994

In the beginning of the 1950’s the UN recommended its member states to create their own committees for foreign aid. In Sweden, as mentioned earlier, 45 organizations and movements
jointly 1952 created Centralkommittén för svenskt tekniskt bistånd till mindre utveckade länder (CK). The modest amount that was given primarily went to job training in the receiving countries (Odén, 2006:52).

The Swedish aid started to grow when proposition 1962:100, also called proposition 100 or “The Swedish Aid Bible”, was written. The proposition specified the motives, goals and means for the Swedish development assistance policy, where the main goal was to increase the poor people’s standard of living by “…contributing to an increase in production growth which is faster than the population growth” (Wohlgemuth, 2012:5).

In 1962 Sweden’s first public authority with its main purpose to administer the Swedish aid was created. The authority was named NIB, Nämnden för Internationellt Bistånd. Soon after it was created it was clear that it didn’t have the capacity for the growing number of tasks, and it only took three years until it got replaced with a new public authority, The Swedish International Development Authority, Sida.

Sida also grew rapidly and the share of aid given bilateral, from Sweden’s total aid budget, increased from 15 percent in 1962 to 55 percent in 1970. Since the number of applications from needing countries had increased much since the NIB days, Sida chose to focus on six countries in Africa and Asia. These countries were: Ethiopia, India, Kenya, Pakistan, Tanzania and Tunisia. This focus meant that 85 percent out of Sweden’s bilateral aid went to the six chosen countries. The authority had during this time three key areas for the cooperation: education, health care and family planning.

In 1968 the Government’s proposition 1968:101 was approved, a proposition who in a lot of senses followed the guidelines from proposition 1962:100. But in 1968 years proposition it was said that Sweden, until the budget year 1974/1975 should reach the goal of giving one percent of the country’s GDP in development assistance (Odén, 2006:68ff). This number, the one percent of the GDP, is something that I will return to several times in this essay since this goal has played a huge part in the policy work.

In the 1970’s Sweden struggled with questions regarding if it was best to cooperate with countries who intended to have a socialist or capitalistic distribution of the given resources. The ideological choice finally fell on “…countries who’s Governments in their economic and social policy’s strived to accomplish structural changes that created the necessary conditions for a development, characterized by economic and social equalization” (Odén, 2006:84).
After a decision in the Swedish parliament (Riksdagen) which said that Sweden should reach the one percent goal in the mid 1970’s, the appropriation for international aid increased significantly.

Already in 1969 it was decided that liberation movements would get the possibility to get aid from Sweden. This kind of aid also increased rapidly during the 1970’s, from two million SEK 1978/79 to 72 million SEK in 1979/80 (Odén, 2006:86).

During the second part of the 1970’s Sida got complemented with a number of new public authorities. These authorities were The Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries, SAREC (1975), The Import Office for Developing countries, IMPOD (1975), The Fund for International Co-operation with Developing Countries, (SWEDFUND (1978) and The Advisory Committee for International and technical Co-operation, BITS (1979) (Odén, 2006:89).

Due to a number of factors such as the disappointment over how some of the cooperation countries had developed and the thought of combining poverty reduction and at the same time work export promoting, Sweden left its own aid philosophy and during the 80’s the aid policy moved closer and closer to the aid policies of the international organization OECD’s (The Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development). A distinct indicator of this was that Sweden strongly increased its share of credit aid and its import support (which increased the chances of giving Swedish company’s contracts in the cooperation countries). This stood in contrast to Sweden’s earlier ideology of “aid on the terms of the receivers” where a large share of the aid was seen as gifts.

It should be said, that Sweden still, partly, held on to their aid policy and continued giving a large share bilateral aid to the poorest countries and continued giving a high percent of aid with a relatively high share as gift (Odén, 2006:102ff).

During the first part of the 1990’s Sweden continued following the international trends in its aid politics with governance, human rights and democracy in focus (Odén, 2006:121).

2.2 Swedish aid policy 1995-2012

During the mid-90’s both Sweden and its aid policy’s changed vigorously. There were many reasons for that, one important reason was that Sweden carried out a comprehensive debt
relief order of the state finances. The result of Sweden’s weaker finances was that the Government lowered the percental aid share of the GDP from 0,96 percent in 1994 to 0,77 percent in 1995.

Another big change was that Sweden in 1995 became a member of the European Union, who in turn had their own ideas of how the aid should be used. As a member of the EU, Sweden also had to give 4-7 percent out of their development assistance budget to the EU commissions’ development assistance. At the same time several Swedish authorities merged into Sida who then became Swedish International Development Co-Operation Agency. After the merge the authority still kept the name abbreviation Sida (Odén, 2006:122f).

During the 21 century Sweden became a strong intercessor of the Millennium Development goals (MDG) that had been resolved in September 2000 by the UN’s general assembly. Sweden had already during the 90’s started a decentralization of the administration of the aid which meant that a large part of the responsibility for the cooperation programs was delegated to the embassy’s in the receiving countries, a transposition that continued also during the 21 century.

In 2003 the Swedish Government proposition 2002/03:122, Policy for Global Development (PGU) was approved by the Swedish parliament. In the PGU it was written that the development work from now on should be characterized by the poor people’s perspective and a human right perspective (Odén, 2006:133f).

The Swedish development assistance reached its percental lowest point in 1999 when the country was down on 0,7 percent of the GDP. After this low point the percental share to aid slowly started to increase again, and in the budget proposition of 2003 it was clearly stated that Sweden would aim at continuing to give one percent of the GDP to international aid. At that point Sweden gave 0,86 percent of the country’s GDP to aid. Three years later, in 2006, Sweden once again reached the one percent goal, something that the country hadn’t been able to do since the budget year 1990/91 (Odén, 2006:135). The 21th century has been full of big international aid conferences. After the UN:s Millennium Development Goals had been decided in 2000, several conferences followed e.g. the UN conference Finances for Development in Monterrey in 2003 which resulted in the Monterrey Consensus document, The Rome declaration on harmonization, also in 2003 and The Paris declaration on aid effectiveness that was signed in 2005. The Paris declaration, sometimes called “the new
“development architecture” was going to influence to a large extent both the international and Swedish aid policies (Odén, 2006:129ff).

One example on the influence the Paris declaration had on Swedish aid policy’s was when the Minister for International Development Co-operation, Gunilla Carlsson, presented the so-called country focus in 2007. The 146 countries and regions that Sweden by that time had a bilateral development cooperation with, was according to the Government, now going to be decreased to just over 30 countries. The long term land focus had, at the time of the launch, a distinct Africa focus, but also focused on the former Soviet states and countries in South Eastern Europe (Regeringskansliet, 2007) (Open aid, 2012).

2.3 Country comparison of aid

This part will very briefly present how much development aid that Sweden gives compared to other countries. The purpose is to give some perspective on Sweden as an actor in the development aid arena.

Sweden is far from being the biggest aid giver in the world, if one would count the total amount of money spent on development assistance. But percental, counted on the country’s GDP, Sweden is the biggest giver. According to numbers from the OECD, Sweden gave 1,02 percent of the lands GDP in 2011. This could be compared with the US that during that same year gave 0,2 percent of their GDP in aid. According to OECD:s numbers it is only Sweden and Norway (1,0 percent) who had a frame of funding for international aid which was higher or touched one percent. Other big aid givers were Luxembourg (0,99 percent), Denmark (0,86 percent) and Holland (0,75 percent). The step down from these five countries is long, and a fistful of country’s ends up at around 0,5 percent of their GDP (OECD, 2012).

2.4 Important steering documents for Swedish aid

This part of the essay contains four important steering documents for the implementation of the Swedish aid. I will here describe them further one by one and explain their importance.
2.4.1 Proposition 100

Proposition 1962:100 was written in 1962 during the Social Democratic Prime Minister Tage Erlander. In the proposition it was written that the Government wanted to increase the humanistic aid from 42 to 70 million SEK where a large share would go to the UN:s technical aid activity. The 10 million SEK that Sweden early gave to the International Development Fund would increase with 30 million SEK and an appropriation on 20 million SEK for a bilateral financial aid. The appropriated aid would therefore be increased from 52 million SEK to about 130 million SEK the coming budget period (Prop, 1962:1).

The aid had, before the introduction of Centralkommitteén för svenskt tekniskt bistånd till mindre utvecklade lander in the early 1950’s been given out of ideological or religious motives. The aid that was proposed now, was justified by words like “ethical duty” and “international solidarity” and was according to the proposition “… an expression for a deepened realization that peace, freedom, and wealth is not a national matter, but something universal and impartible”. The Government meant that “The Swedish aid does not need any other justification then what just has been said” but still pointed on that there were both foreign policy reasons and economic reasons to increase the aid (Prop, 1962:5f).

This document turned out to be a crucial policy document in the history of Swedish aid giving, something that has been shown several times during the following years.

2.4.2 The Millennium Development Goals

During a UN summit in 2000 eight measurable goals called the Millennium Development Goals were adopted and were decided to be accomplished 2015 at the latest. 191 member countries, all of the UN agencies, The World Bank and IMF supported the goals so that they all, together, could try to reach them. The eight goals are:

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger – The share of people who live on less than a dollar a day, and the people that are starving should be halved.
2. Achieve universal primary education – All boys and girls should get primary education.
3. Promote gender equality and empower women – The educational differences between genders should be eliminated before 2005.
4. Reduce child mortality – The mortality of children under the age of five should decrease with two thirds.

5. Improve maternal health – The maternal mortality should be decreased with three quarters.

6. Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases – The spread of diseases should be stopped.

7. Ensure environmental sustainability – All countries should work after the principles of environmental sustainability. The share of people without access to clean water should be halved. The living conditions for the more than 100 million people who live in slum should be clearly better.

8. Global partnership for development – The partnership should be an open, fair and non-discriminating trade and finance system that respects the needs of the least developed countries (Sida, 2010).

A report in 2012 on the MDG’s stated that three of the goals were already met, three years before 2015. These were the poverty, water and slum goals. The UN secretary general Ban Ki-moon stated that it is still possible to reach the other five goals.

“The current economic crises besetting much of the developed world must not be allowed to decelerate or reverse the progress that has been made. Let us build on the successes we have achieved so far, and let us not relent until all the MDG’s have been attained” was the words of Ban Ki-moon (Newton Kanhema, 2012).

The report also states that the deadline in 2015 is getting closer and closer and that everyone needs to intensify their contributions if the goals should have a chance to be reached in time for the deadline (Newton Kanhema, 2012).

2.4.3 The Paris Declaration

In March 2005 the Paris Declaration was signed after representatives from international organizations, ministers and heads of Government from 91 countries decided on a number of extensive changes on how the aid should be made more effective, so that the MDG’s could be reached. The meeting in Paris had been preceded by similar meeting in Monterrey 2002, Rome 2003 and Marrakech 2004.
The Paris Declaration doesn’t describe what to do with the development assistance but is instead focused on how the aid operations should be managed. The declaration emphasizes that the receiving country’s themselves should decide what they want to do with the aid. The declaration is divided into five main components:

- **Ownership** – the receiving countries should be able to decide their own development policies, the giving countries will support them in that work.
- **Joint focus** – All support should have its take-off in the receiving country’s development plans.
- **Harmonization** – The efforts of the giving countries should be coordinated and transparent.
- **Result focused** – The (twelve) indications that were set in the declaration should guarantee measurable results, make it easier to do follow-ups and modifications of the efforts.
- **Mutual openness and mutual responsibility** – Both givers and receivers are responsible for the result. The givers should create trust, predictability and stability while the receivers (partners) should try to assure that the strategies will be as participating as possible on national level (Forum Syd, 2012).

### 2.4.4 Policy for Global Development (PGU)

PGU, or Policy for Global Development, (in Swedish: *Politik för global utveckling*, PGU), is an aid proposition from 2003 regarding long-sightedness on development policy’s and was supported by vote by all Swedish parliament parties when it was decided. PGU does among other things, control the aid policies and the work of SIDA. The PGU was preceded by a parliamentarian committee that was supposed to design the policies. Their investigation showed that Sweden’s efforts for a global development shouldn’t only be managed by the foreign ministry and Sida. Now all society, from counties to popular movements should take part in the international development issues. This was decided since the committee meant that many decisions which may not seem directly as an international development issue, still often affect the international development (Sida, 2010)

The goal is that the Government and all its policy areas, should work together towards six global challenges to improve the global development. Earlier, the Government said, the
different policy areas of the Government could counteract or even cancel out the area of international aid’s efforts. The six challenges are:

- Oppression
- Economical exclusion
- Migration streams
- Climate changes and environmental impact
- Conflicts and failing situations
- Contagious diseases and other health threats (Regeringskansliet, 2012)

All of these policy documents has affected the Swedish aid policy and consequently Swedish aid’s most fundamental policy documents; the budget proposition for international aid. It is therefore interesting to see when new different policy documents came up and how this has affected the aid policies in Sweden. This is also clearly of relevance in peace and development studies and my thesis.

3. **Previous research and existing literature**

Quite a lot has been written about Swedish development politics, both by Swedish writers/scholars and foreign. It is not unusual that the foreign writers acclaim Sweden due to their high percentage of aid, while the Swedish writers criticize Sida and the Government because they believe that the money doesn’t go to the right things. One example of that is Jan Mosanders book “Pengarna som försvann, missbruket av det Svenska biståndet(2008)”. The evaluations of Swedish aid has in a clear majority of the cases been focusing on the handling and the delivery of the efforts, but I have not found anything that directly has focused on the primary policy’s and the will of the Government that in my case is shown in the budget propositions.

Few scholars has followed the development of the Swedish aid in a historical perspective, but two that has done that is Bertil Odén and Lennart Wohlgemuth, who both has contributed to the area.

Bertil Odén is a fil. lic. in peace and development research, an independent writer, lecturer and consultant who earlier worked with development issues on different departments in Sweden, Tanzania and Mozambique. He has also worked for Sida and done a lot of research
and writing on the development issue (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2012). Among the publications that have been important in the writing of this thesis is the book “The development aid’s history of ideas: From Marshall help to the Millennium Development Goals”. In this book Odén describes the development, both international but especially how it has worked in Sweden, from the 1940’s until today. The book has followed the Swedish aid in a way that resembles of the way that I do in this essay and has been of great help in my work, especially for my historical review on the Swedish development assistance.

Lennart Wohlgemuth has been the Director in the Nordiska Afrikainstitutet since 1993 and has also worked for Sida and the University of Gothenburg (The Documentation Centre of Cambodia). Wohlgemuth has among other things published the anthology Development on the developments conditions (1997). Wohlgemuth is both editor and writer in the publication. In the anthology the writers treat the issue from different approaches and touches subjects like the efficiency of the, structure adaptation, gender equality and aid policies.

Wohlgemuth also released the publication Swedish development work 50 years (2012) which examines Swedish development work from the start through proposition 100 in 1962, until 2012. Wohlgemuth means that the Swedish development work has given Sweden a better position on the international arena, and benefitted Swedish companies. It has also “showed Sweden the world, and showed the world Sweden”. He also writes that the goal for the international cooperation hasn’t changed since the start with NIB in 1962.

“The clasp goals for the development work really have been the same for fifty years except some smaller additions or slight reformulations. At the same time the objective, the organization, the way the responsible people work and the prioritizations has changed vigorously, in some cases it has turned 360 degrees, and in some cases it has gone back to the way it looked in the 1960’s, only that the world it is active in has changed completely” (Wohlgemuth, 2012:6).

In his conclusion he says that many of the countries Sweden (as Mali, Rwanda and Bangladesh) has had as co-operation countries has gone from low-income countries to middle-income countries. The importance of Sweden’s help has probably not been the only or even the biggest contributor to this, but Sweden have been a part of the development that these countries have experienced. Also, the writer argues, Sweden has been normative in the development aid debates that have been held in organizations like DAC, UN and the World Bank (Wohlgemuth, 2012:43). Wohlgemuths publication has been to some help to me but
has, in contrast to this thesis, had its focus on the development aid to different regions and different issues with the international aid.

Odén and Wohlgemuth have also worked together on a few publications e.g. *Where is Swedish Aid Heading* (2009) and *Swedish aid policies in an International Perspective* (2006).

Both these publications are handling the same issue as I do (just as the titles suggest) but has not been focused on the two variables that I have used.

Another scholar I have studied is professor emeritus in political science, Göran Hydén, who has worked for Sida and the Nordic Africa Institute. He has written several articles and books on the Swedish development aid, mainly with Africa as his main focus. Hydén describes the Swedish aid’s development in one chapter in his book “*Aid and development, Africa: the giver's big challenge*” (2010), where he divides the Swedish aid history in several time phases that were too wide to be used in this thesis. The book has, however, given me an insight in how the Swedish aid politics went from being a popular phenomenon, that mainly was managed by individuals or organizations that themselves had a great interest in the issue (like the church). According to Hydén Sweden then went through a bureaucratic phase to later (today) being a politicized arena.

I have also studied some of the international writers/scholars that have written about the Swedish development aid. In Roger D. Ridell’s book “*Does foreign aid really work?*”, he says that Sweden is one of the bigger “small” aid givers. He is also describing the highs and lows (GDP statistically seen) over time of Sweden’s aid giving. Ridell says that Sweden sees international development through human rights and has a leading role to create an international framework for how the international catastrophe help should be managed (Ridell, 2007:71f).

Ridells review of the Swedish development assistance is too brief to be of any greater help to this essay. This since Ridell doesn’t focus on Swedish aid specifically but rather tries to answer the book titles question. His answer to, if foreign aid really works is that, to get the development aid to work, the giving countries needs to coordinate their efforts mainly by following the Paris declaration which pushes for that management approach (Ridell, 2007:381).

Olav Stokke is another scholar who has tried to make an overview over the history of the Swedish development aid with his book “*Sweden’s foreign politics and development aid*
polices” (1978). Stokke was during the writing of the book first employed by the Nordiska Afrikainstitutet in Uppsala and later worked for the Norwegian Foreign political institute in Oslo. The writer describes everything from Sweden’s motives and goals to its distribution of bilateral and multilateral aid in the book. Since the book was first published in 1978 and my essay mainly takes on Swedish development assistance from 1990 until today, it has not been able to give much material for this study.

I’ve also studied one of the state investigations that contributes to this thesis, written by the Office of Public Management (Statskontoret) in which they have done an evaluation of the Governments result control of the international development cooperation from 2007. In this, the Office of Public Management evaluated if the new result control model “... has contributed to an effective, clear, long term, strategic and result controlling regulation of the international development work”. In the evaluation the Office of Public Management argue that the development work is controlled by a large number of national and international goals in a large number of policy documents. The Office of Public Management also says that the large number of documents makes it harder to understand what the will of the Government is and that the prioritizing of the document is hard to follow for the different participants working with these questions (Statskontoret, 2011:7).

The Office of Public Management continues with saying that the decision from 2007, to focus on result controlling has led to many of the reports on development aid has been way to observant on the short term effects and achievements, even though a long term perspective would be preferable. They also conclude that the Government should focus on strategic control of the development cooperation instead of micromanaging Sida, something that the Office of Public Management says that the Government has done (Statskontoret, 2011:8f).

This evaluation has just like many other studies had their focus on specific cases and areas of the world instead of focusing on the entirety and development of the Swedish development assistance, which is what this essay does.

4. Theoretical Framework

This study is an analysis of policies. I will not analyze the whole budget propositions but instead work with a two variables in the policies that I have found important to this study. This is because even though Sida realize most of Sweden’s development work, the decisions
comes from polices written and decided by the Government and the parliament of Sweden. It is the Government’s budget propositions that are the Government policies, which guides Sida’s work. The budget propositions are just like most policies no exact directions but framework and guidelines for the work and the priorities.

To analyze a policy it is helpful to know how a policy is created. According to Paul A. Sabatier, professor of Environmental Science and Policy on University of California and editor of the book *Theories of the policy process* the policy process have a number of variables who affect each other for a policy to be created.

First, actors are needed. One or a few that wants to create new or change the old guidelines or policies. In a political context there are often several actors with everything from politicians, officials, interest groups, media, scientists, lawyers and so on. And it is not uncommon that these different actors have different views on how the policy should be designed, something that is important to have in mind when looking back on why the policy looks the way it does.

Secondly, time is needed. According to Sabatier it often takes about a decennium to carry through a new policy, if one counts the time from when a problem has arrived and been found, until a new or changed policy is at use.

A policy must, thirdly, clearly be in line with, or stand over the other existing policy’s that handles the same subject. Often there is a number of policy’s that has been created on a lower level (or if it is a local policy; on a higher level). These policies’ cannot oppose or crash with each other.

Fourth, a policy must go through all the necessary processes, like juridical and administrative. It must also get approval from others than the original creators of the policy.

And finally, a certain economy is needed to get the policy the weight and to show that the policy really is implementable. A policy must be financed both during the creation phase and the implementation phase. It is also essential that the policy has authoritativeness and a clear attribution to be able to perform the goals that are described in the policy (Sabatier, 2007:3f).

Since Sabatier’s theory on policy is a more practical and general theory, it should in this paper only be seen as a help for how a policy could be created generally before we get into the more Government focused analyze theory. I have instead chosen to use Nikolaos Zahariadis theory *The Multiple Streams Framework (MS)* for my study. MS explains how a policy is created by...
a Government in issues where the result isn’t obvious but where there are several cases on how the policy will end up looking and working.

There are three main streams that decide on how the policy will turn out according to Zahariadis. These three streams are: problems, policies and politics. The streams will be in their own flows until the time when the new policy is created. In a successful policy, it is at this point that the streams first flow together (Sabatier, 2007:65).

The first stream, the problem stream, consists of different states or conditions that the policymakers or the citizen’s thinks are important and want to address. This could be anything from something in the budget to environmental problems or guidelines for schools.

Those who are responsible for the policy creating, then takes a look at all the different indicators (like statistics or other studies), individual incidents and feedback from earlier similar policies and/or programs.

The second stream is the policy stream. Policies are in this case an idea and/or an opinion created by some kind of network like bureaucrats, politicians, scholars and/or scientists who are gathered since they all have an interest in a certain subject. There are a flow of ideas of guidelines coming from all the participants but depending on their reputation as well as other factors, the different ideas are taken more or less serious. Those factors could for example be how your contacts are with the higher decision makers, that is, how integrated you are in the system. The policy networks that are greater and who has a higher position, has a greater capacity and therefore has a greater penetrating power for its suggestions than the smaller networks.

The last stream is the politics stream. This contains things like how the national situation in the issue is at the moment but also how different lobby groups sees the issue and how high the turnover rate is among the juridical and administrative positions. If there is a big change of personnel that are handling the question, the politic stream could be considerably changed as well.

The national position is a politic stream that often influence the decision makes. If, for example, a larger interest group or strong opinion would be created it is not uncommon that many of the politicians include that opinion in their decisions quite soon.
To get the most out of these three streams, it is important that they merge and stream in the same direction. This must also happen at the right time, in what Zahariadis calls a policy window. This window is defined in the following way:

“…opportunit[ies] for advocates of proposals to push their solutions, or to push attention to their special problems.”

This means that it is important, just as the streams showed, to launch a policy at the time where it still is very topical and accepted (Sabatier, 2007:70ff).

5. Methodological framework

As method for this thesis, qualitative text analysis will be used. The reason to why I chose to use the qualitative text analysis is that “…the wholeness in the text, the central parts that the scientist wants to catch, are supposed to be something else than just the sum from the parts.” (Esaiasson et al, 2007:237).

The text analysis could be divided into two main groups of question: Those who systematize the content and those who critically examine the content of the texts.

Sometimes, in methodological contexts, people talk about content analysis and sometimes they talk about document analysis. With content analysis they mean “a method that could help the scientist to analyze the content of the document”, and the same goes for text analysis. As a matter of fact it is a method that “could be used on any text, regardless if it is in writing, a sound or pictures that quantifies the content”. The selection of criterion should however be distinctly formulated (Denscombe, 2009: 307ff).

I will concentrate on the systemized studies, to, in a clearer way highlight and show the most essential content of the texts. My main sources are the budget propositions for international aid, which are also firsthand and primary sources compared to the supplementary sources that I mainly use to give the budget propositions a context. I will do my study so that I easier can discuss the development aid’s changes and development from the 1990’s until today, mainly with help of two variables. The reason to why I use the variables is to restrict the scope of the thesis and instead being able to concentrate on a set number of variables.
The word variables should in this study be seen as a synonym to factors and not as a way to prove a covariance. This study will only try to see how or if the different variables correlate.

The variables that I have chosen are:

- The size of the economic development assistance
- The goal description of the development assistance

The size of the aid is of course, just like any other decisions, affected by a number of other factors where one central factor is the economic situation in the country (Wohlgemuth, 2012:7). How big share of the country’s GDP Sweden give to international aid has for a long time been used as a quantitative scale to present how Sweden prioritize the size of the development aid. The scale is actually so consolidated that Sweden to this day, still gives one percent out of the GDP in spite of the fact that the Minister for International Development Cooperation, Gunilla Carlsson, wanted to get rid of the one percent goal since she doesn’t think that it gives a fair picture of how much aid we really give (Dagens Nyheter, 2008).

The goal formulation of the development aid is interesting because it is the very core of Sweden’s international aid policy. And this is in extension the base of the development work, and an indicator of, under which premises that Sweden’s Government gives aid to the needing countries. And as Wohlgemuth puts it:

“*The result should be declared and tried relative to the goals and policies that have been appointed for the operation*. (Wohlgemut, 1997:16)

I also want to clarify that all translated quotes, which almost all quotes are, are done by the author of this study. This includes the budget propositions, the books and the web pages, since most information on Swedish development work have been written in Swedish. Because this concern almost all of the quotes, I will not further specify after every quote that it has been translated.

5.1 **Difficulties during the work**

During the start of my work with this thesis I had a big focus on which and how many countries that Sweden has had development cooperation with. These numbers turned out to be very hard to find and both Sida and The Foreign Ministry told me to have a look at a homepage called openaid.se, a homepage that doesn’t show the number of countries, but the
number of “countries and regions”. Since that wasn’t what I was looking for, I only used that homepage in a limited number of cases. The home page is also only a beta version which it shows with a red warning symbol telling the readers the page isn’t quality assured. It also warns that the numbers are only complete between the years of 2007-2012. The assumption I had was that the homepage didn’t appear to be reliable for me to use as my only source for numbers of receiving countries and to make any correct conclusions from. Therefore I have used and had support from other databases which I will specify later (Open aid, 2012).

The difficulties written above hasn’t had any impact on this study but made me change direction due to which results that were able to find. This part of “difficulties during the work” is merely to show which limitations there are in data on Swedish development aid.

To go into any details in the budgets has also been difficult since both the shape and the different appropriation points has changed, both concerning their name, content and the number of different points, throughout the years. The difference between the frame of funding for the “international aid” and the budget point “development work” has also been difficult to define, which made me to decide that it is the frame of funding, the whole international aid budget, that was to be my focus in the analyze.

I also had to rethink my plan of analyzing the budget propositions with a constant interval of which budget propositions I would examine. The reason is mainly that the change of time period that the budget year stretched over, but also due to the change of length of the office in Sweden.

To find the main material, the budget propositions, has also been problematic. At least if you don’t live close to a library that has the budget propositions. On the governments webpage (regeringen.se) I could find budget propositions until 1996/1997 since the Government started to publish their budget propositions electronically (on their webpage) first 1994. I found the older budget propositions by using the search engine Google and writing in the exact name of the propositions (e.g. 1993/94:100) where I finally found the rest of the propositions. Luckily also the really old propositions such as proposition 100 from 1962 could be found that way.

Finally, the subject that my essay discusses hasn’t at all been illustrated as much as I first thought. This lead to that I, to a large extent, had to rely on the books and articles by Bertil Odén and Lennart Wohlgemuth since only a few bachelor thesis’s before mine touched the
subject. This is a phenomenon that Wohlgemuth mentions in the introduction of his newly published paper *Swedish development work, 50 years* (2012):

"During the period up to date it has been established that teaching materials with special relevance to Swedish and European development policies is not readily available to the extent that is required." *(Wohlgemuth, 2012:3)*

This comment from a well reputed and initiated writer within the field of development aid confirms what I have noticed in my literature searches when I have been looking for research and publications concerning “Swedish development policy”.

6. Presentation of research results

This chapter will mainly include the numbers and goal descriptions from the budget propositions 1990/91-2011/12. The chapter also brings up some of the surrounding factors that are needed for a better understanding of development assistance as an entirety and to support the conclusions in the “analysis and conclusions” chapter.

6.1 Results: Budget propositions 1990/91-2011/12

The Government has yearly been publishing the budget proposition. The budget year earlier ran between the 1st of July and the 30th of June, but since 1997 the budget year has followed the calendar year. This resulted in that the Government, during the transition had a budget year that stretched from the 1st of July 1995 until the 31st of December 1996, which is a period of 18 months *(Riksdagen, 2010)*.

In this chapter the Government’s suggestion of how the next budget period will be is presented. The time for every measured policy has been set so that each Government would have some time to set their own agenda of their development policies. As far as it has been possible I have therefore tried to have the time of the measuring one year after a new Government has been formed, or one year after their new term in the Government.

At the time for every measuring I have shown how big the frame of funding for development aid has been in the Government’s budget propositions, and how big percentage that has been dedicated from Sweden’s GDP (using the numbers from the budget propositions). I have also presented the sum that actually has gone to development work, in those propositions where it has been stated, which is from 1996/97 budget years proposition until today. The reason to why I have presented this figure is that the first thing that hits your mind (at least mine) when
thinking about what the frame of funding for international aid would go to, probably resembles the budget point “development work”.

The budget point “development work” is alterable and described in this way, “Sweden practice development work with more than thirty countries, in several sectors and through many multilateral, regional and national organizations and through several different development shapes (prop, 2011/12: 40). The indefinite formulations was found by the OECD who recommended Sweden to clarify their policies and other steering documents (prop, 2011/2012: 41).

The other budget points under the frame of funding for international aid have changed, but just to give an example, 2011/12 years budget proposition included seven budget points where one of them were development work\(^1\). The one percent goal is however counted on the whole frame of funding for international aid, and it is this number that is the variable of analysis.

The measurements will also show which goals the Government has had for the development assistance. In 1993/94 the “goal” part of the budget proposition reaches over a number of pages, so to make it possible to fit in my essay I have made a summary that years goals. In the budget proposition 1996/97 the headline “goals” were completely left out and instead the Government pointed on four development areas that they wanted to focus on. Since they could very much be seen as the goals of the Government, this is how I have used them.

In this chapter the seven budget propositions from 1990/91 until 2011/2012 are presented. Since the object of this essay is to study the changes in the Swedish policy for international aid, in the Swedish budget propositions, all numbers and goals in the propositions, are results themselves. I have added a comment at the end of every presented budget proposition, concerning the changes that were made since the last measured proposition. In some cases I have also commented if there have been any external circumstances that I think might have been a part of the changes, and thus affected the way the proposition looks. I will reconnect to the comments and results in the “Analysis and Conclusions” chapter.

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\(^1\) To show an example of which different budget points that could be included, here is the budget points in budget proposition 2011/12, frame of funding for international aid: Development work, The board of Sida, The Nordic Africa Institute, Folke Bernadotte Academy, Swedish National Audit Office: International Development Co-operation, Swedish Agency for Development Evaluation (SADEV) and Reform Co-operation in Eastern Europe.
Proposition 1990/91:100

The frame of funding for development aid is proposed to be 13 871 000 000 SEK which equals one percent of the country’s estimated GDP (Prop, 1990: 89)

Goals

“The overall goal for the Swedish Development aid is to increase the poor people’s living standard. This is concretized in five sub targets. The aid should contribute to growth, economic and social equalization, economic and political independence, and a democratic development of society and a foresighted economization with natural resources and concern of the environment in the receiving countries.” (Prop, 1990:15)

Comment

The Social Democratic Governments were able to suggest that one percent of the country’s GDP should go to international aid. The first sentence in the headline “goals” has been used since proposition 100. Under “goals” there are also five sub goals that are intended to increase the developing countries standards of living.

Proposition 1993/94:100

The frame of funding for development aid is proposed to be 13 360 000 000 SEK which equals 0,93 percent of the country’s estimated GDP. (Prop, 1993:89, 84)

Goals

Since the segment “Goals and prerequisites for the Swedish development cooperation’s” stretches over several pages, I chose to summarize the parts that handle development aid. I start off with quoting one of the first parts:

“The main goal for the Swedish development work is to increase the poor people’s standard of living, is as topical as ever. The struggle against poverty and higher standards of living demands interventions from several fronts at the same time. The parliament has therefore determined that the development aid should contribute to:

- **Growth**
- **Economic and social equalization**
• Economic and political independence
• A democratic development of society and
• A foresighted economization with natural resources and concern of the environment

The parliament has at several occasions emphasized that all the goals should be seen as an entirety (Prop. 1993:58).

In this budget proposition the Government writes that the goal of the development aid is to make themselves redundant by giving the poor countries the possibility to take part of “the international cooperation”, at the same time they emphasize that the value of free trade is very high in these cases and that the protectionism of the rich countries should be opposed.

The proposition continues to point at the value of that the achievements are coordinated so that no country gets overloaded by a large number of projects. One of the most important ways to do this is, according to the proposition, to be an active member of the European Union, so that Sweden would take part in the EU:s development policies. (Proposition 1993: 64f)

Comment

The conservative coalition Government suggest a decrease of Sweden’s development aid to 0,93 percent of its GDP. The five sub targets from 1990/91 years budget propositions stand. The Government also says that they can see that a membership in the EU would be beneficial for the coordination of the different development projects in the receiving countries. A referendum on whether Sweden would be a member in the EU was decided to take place in November 1994. In 1993/94 years budget proposition it was also suggested that it should be showed how much of the frame of funding for international aid that goes to development work, a number that was realized in 1995/96 years budget proposition under the budget point “development work”.

Proposition 1996/97:1

The frame of funding for international aid is proposed to be 0,7 percent of the GDP or 11 946 200 000 SEK where 9 779 093 000 SEK is deposited for development work (Prop, 1996:4f).

Goals
The proposition doesn’t define the Government’s development goals but puts up four key areas:

- Poverty
- Sustainable development
- Democracy and human rights and
- Gender Equality

Comment

The Social Democratic Government lowers the development aid to 0.7 percent of Sweden’s GDP. The sub goals has been slightly changed so that they don’t have as much focus on economy as the earlier measured budget proposition. Gender equality is added as a new main area. After that Sweden voted yes for a membership in the EU, part of the appropriation has to be incorporated into the EU’s development budget.

Proposition 1999/2000:1

The frame of funding for international aid is proposed to be 0.72 percent of the GDP or 14 299 000 000 SEK where 12 060 304 000 SEK are deposited for development aid (Prop, 1999:6f)

Goal

The main goal for the Swedish development work is to increase the poor people’s living standard. That goal has been interpreted to six sub goals for the development cooperation that has been decided by the parliament, which is to contribute to:

- Growth
- Economic and social equalization
- Economic and social independence
- Democratic development of society
- Foresighted economization with natural resources and concern of the environment
- Gender equality

Comment:
The social democratic Government has increased the appropriation for development aid to 0,72 percent of the GDP. The sub goals now consist of a merger of the sub goals from the early 1990’s and the sub goals that were first published in 1996/97 years budget proposition.

**Proposition 2003/2004:1**

The frame of funding for international aid is proposed to be 0,86 percent of the GDP or 21 743 000 000 SEK where 19 224 800 000 SEK are deposited for development aid (Prop, 2003:7f)

*Goals*

*Sweden’s Policy for Global development (the development proposition)*

The development proposition will be handled by the parliament during the autumn of 2003. In the budget proposition for 2004 the first steps to implement the development proposition is set, provided that the parliament adopt it. The proposition tells about one goal for the policy of global development and one goal for the development work who replaces the earlier set goals who has regulated the development work for Central and Eastern Europe. The proposition also mentions two perspectives that will be guidelines when it comes to prioritizing and shaping of the Swedish politics. Finally it mentions a number of main features who tells of what the politics thoroughgoing will promote and focus on, both when it comes to interventions in different countries and the politics that are being held on a global level. (Prop, 2003:13)

*Comment*

The Social Democratic Government proposes an increase in the development aid appropriation to 0,86 of Sweden’s GDP. The Government hoped that the large reform of the development work policy, the PGU, would be adopted by the parliament. Sweden was also one of the 191 member countries that during the UN Millennium summit 2000, decided to aim to fulfill the eight goals that were decided on the summit and got the name the Millennium Development Goals. The Swedish National Audit Office also added the content in the budget with points that the OECD counted as development aid.

**Proposition 2007/2008:1**
The frame of funding for international aid is proposed to be one percent of the GDP or 32 038 000 000 SEK where 25 485 522 000 SEK are deposited for development aid (Prop, 2007:8f)

Goal

“The goal for policy area 8, International Development work is to contribute to the making of conditions for poor people to increase their standard of living

The development work are just like every other policy area, comprised by Sweden’s policy for Global Development which was adopted by the parliament in December 2003 and is based on the Governments proposition - Mutual Responsibility – Sweden’s policy for a global development- (prop. 2002/03:122, bet. 2003/04:UU3, rskr. 2003/04:112). The policy for global development gives all the policy areas the mission to, within the scope of its own area specific goals, find ways to strengthen the Swedish contribution towards a just and sustainable global development (Prop, 2007:13)

Comment

The Conservative Coalition Government could increase the appropriation to one percent of the country’s GDP. The goal for the development work has been closer defined since the proposition from 2003, Policy for Global Development was adopted. Sweden had, in addition, also signed the Paris Declaration who pushed for a more effective development aid. Sweden also presented their “country focus”, where the number of receiving countries is supposed to be radically decreased. The government had also added the budget point reform cooperation in Eastern Europe to the budget.

Proposition 2011/12:1

The frame of funding for international aid is proposed to be one percent of the GDP or 35 800 000 SEK where 27 869 770 000 SEK are deposited for development aid (Prop, 2011:7f)

Goal

The goal for the International Development work is to contribute to the making of conditions for poor people to increase their standard of living (Prop, 2011:16)

Comment
The Conservative Coalition Government could maintain appropriation at one percent of Sweden’s GDP. The goal for the international development cooperation is formulated the same way it was in 1962 with the difference of the addition “contribute for the making of conditions”.

6.2 Additional circumstances

During the 1980’s Sweden has a slow but constant growth. The positive trend had a sudden stop during three years (1990-1993) when Sweden’s GDP fell and the country had a negative growth. After these three years Sweden finally reached a positive growth even though it went down (but was still positive) in the beginning of the 21st century when the Information Technology bubble burst.

In 2008 and 2009, in connection with the worldwide financial crisis, Sweden once again had a negative growth. But Sweden recovered quite fast and already in 2010 the country reached a positive growth. (Ekonomifakta, 2012).

Studies have shown that the population of Sweden followed the national economic situation when they opined on the development aid.


“Both the appropriations and the Swedes will of giving aid has followed the national economic trends. When the Swedes are suspecting more favorable economic conditions for Sweden and their own households, the share of people that are positive to development aid increase. During the years 1981-1988, 1992-1994 and 1996-1998 the share of persons that suspected better economic times increased at the same time as the will of increasing the development aid. In the same way the number of people that were positive to an increased development aid appropriation, decreased when de economy wasn’t as favorable”.

(Holmberg, S & Weibull, L, 2000:355f)
As the table shows, there has been a decrease of development assistance at the times when the development of the GDP was negative except in the last economic crisis (2008) and the IT bubble (1999). Instead the development assistance kept its level of one percent until today (2013). There have however been modifications of what was counted into the frame of funding for international aid over time. One example was which the Minister of International Development Co-operation was criticized for was when she in the end of 2012 used money from the international aid budget to finance the reception of refugees (Sveriges Radio, 2012b).

7. Analysis and Conclusions

In this chapter I will first show how the both variables, the goal description and the size of the aid, have changed over time. I will follow by analyzing the changes in the budget proposition using Nikolaos Zaharaidis policy theory The Multiple Streams Framework (earlier presented in chapter 4 above, p. 17-19).
7.1 Goal description

The goal description of the development aid have changed over time. From having been a part of the running text, the whole part of international aid, today starts with the chapter “goals”. Over time also the “Description of goals” has been compressed and concentrated which now gives a clear overview on which areas that the policy focuses on.

The policy formulation that has lasted the longest, and most commonly used, is that the development aid has the goal to “increase the poor people’s standard of living”. This formulation is found in the budget propositions 1990/1991, 1993/94 and 1999/00. After having pointed on that the international development aid policy now would be based on Policy’s for a Global Development the formulation was found with a slight change in 2011/12 years proposition where it was written “The goal for the International Development work is to contribute to the making of conditions for poor people to increase their standard of living”. One would say that the sentence, once created for proposition 100 in 1962, is still going strong (Prop. 1962:7)

The international aid’s goal’s has on several occasions also pointed on several target points on the way to reaching that goal. In 1990/91 years budget proposition the following bullet points were presented:

Growth, economic and social equalization, economic and political liberalization, a democratic development of society and a foresighted economization with the natural resources and concern of the environment in the receiving countries.

Those target points were also found in 1993/94 years proposition but was changed in the budget proposition from 1996/97 to:

Poverty, sustainable development, democracy, human rights and gender equality.

In the next measured budget proposition, 2000/01, the different bullet points were basically merged together and the result were:

Growth, economic and social equalization, economic and politic liberalization, a democratic development of society, a foresighted economization with the natural resources and concern of the environment and gender equality.
The next measured budget proposition, 2003/04 didn’t have any bullet points since they focused on describing the PGU that they hoped would be adopted in the parliament. When the PGU later did get adopted they changed the name from in the earlier budget propositions being called “bullet points” to “challenges” in 2006/07 years budget proposition. The challenges were then:

Oppression, economic alienation, migration streams, climate change and environmental effects, conflicts and failing situations, contagious diseases and other threats to our heath.

Since the PGU still is the leading policy and steering document for the Swedish aid policies, it is the challenges mentioned above together with the current years’ budget proposition that are the ruling polices.

### 7.2 The size of the aid

Sweden has since 1962 been aiming at giving one percent out of the country’s GDP to the expense area “international aid”. Just like the diagram below shows, the Government lowered their ambition quite much during the harsher years in the 90’s, but still never went bellow the DAC recommended level of 0,7 percent of the GDP.

![Graph 2. Graph over the percental level of development aid of the GDP that Sweden gave between 1990/1991 and 2011/2012. (Source: Budget propositions1990/1991-2011/2012 )](image-url)
But even though Sweden weren’t able to reach the one percent goal during parts of the 90’s it was always mentioned as a goal that would be reached as soon as the economy admitted it. Ever since Sweden decided that they would strive to give one percent of their GDP, that is what they have done. The only correlation that have been shown in this study is the one between Sweden’s economy and their proposed frame of funding for international aid.

7.3 Policy analysis

If one was to look at Swedish development aid’s policy’s the last twenty years with the eyes of Nikolaos Zahariadis theoretical model “Multiple Streams Framework” (MS), it’s possible to make out a couple of factors that Zaharaidis would mean has been essential for the policy changes the last years 22 years.

Let’s start with what is called the problem stream in Zaharaidis model. This is the state and conditions that the politicians and / or the citizens wants to rise.

One example of this was during the weak economic climate that Sweden had, etc. during large parts of the 1990’s. This affected the policy when the politicians proposed a radical decrease of the appropriation of development aid. It also affected the policy later when it was a better economic climate and the Government proposed an increased appropriation for the Swedish aid.

Continuing with the policy stream. Sweden has, since we’ve had an organized development aid, and especially after the disappointments of the effects of the aid and the development work during the 80’s with the Swedish development model, instead been following the recommendations from the big international organizations and their recommendations on how to handle development aid. Already in 1962 years proposition 100, much of its content was based on a UN resolution that was adopted the year before. In a similar way many of the suggestions from the international organizations continued to affect the Swedish development work. Both the Millennium Development Goals and the Paris Declaration have been central policy documents that have been much of the foundation that Sweden’s own policy document has been based on the last years. This fits right into Zaharaidis idea on the certain policy networks because of their size, their backing, reputation and capacity has a much greater penetrating power than what smaller policy networks would have.
The last stream, *the political stream* includes subjects as the national situation, lobby groups and services within the administration. Also in this stream we can find a clearly visible trend.

Ekengren’s study (see page 35) showed that the public followed the economic/national situation and wanted a high appropriation in good economic times and a lower when times weren’t as good. This shows that the politics stream would be a working factor towards reaching the goal in the case of the budget propositions.

Zaharaidis also says that a new policy must be introduced during what he calls a “policy window”. This window, he says, is open when a policy is topical and accepted.

The time of when the policy changes should be done, is nothing that the creators of the policies have any influence over, when it comes to the kind of policies that this essay studies. The budget propositions are presented to the parliament every year by the Minister for Finance, a tradition which is legislated and that won’t be changed in the near future. This doesn’t change the fact that the multiple streams theory would suggest that the policies should/must be topical and accepted at the time they get published.

Just like I, and many with me, have pointed on, the development aid policy hasn’t changed radically more than when the economy has been weak. And just like Ekengren showed the budget propositions for the international aid has followed the economic situation which was also was the publics’ opinion. This should according to the multiple streams theory keep the policy window open. Zaharaidis also says that there would easily be a problem if a policy gets introduced when the policy window is closed, so it is important that the budget propositions continue to follow the public opinion if they want to be accepted and have as good impact as possible.

According to the MS theory it is important that the three streams synchronize at the time for the policy window to open and the policy to be as strong as possible.

So, the main target for Swedish development aid is still today, after all these years, that the poor people needs better living standards. One can also see that policies, both national and international, keep supervening. In the same way by the political stream both economically, as we have seen, but also the opinions. One example is that the critique on the efficiency of the development aid comes from both the Minister of International Development Cooperation’s, Gunilla Carlsson, but also from others, which surly has led to some of the changes that has been made by the Conservative Coalition during the last years.
The study shows that there is no real connection between the percental development aid that the Government has suggested in the budget propositions, and the goal formulations. Instead the frame of funding decreased during periods when the Swedish national economy had a dip. It is therefore fair to say that the policy that Sweden’s Government anno 1968 proposed, that one percent of the country’s GDP (BNP) should go to international aid has been well maintained. Also the formulation of goal has basically had a similar form the measured years, where only the sub goals really have changed.

7.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to see how much the Swedish policy for international aid has changed with the changes of Government from the budget years 1990/1991 until 2011/2012.

To reach that purpose I used two research questions:

- To what extent and in which way has the Swedish goal for the development assistance changed between the years 1991 and 2012?
- Has the percentage of the country’s GDP committed to international aid changed between the years 1991 and 2012? If so: How has it changed?

The answers, which have been presented earlier in this chapter, are that the goal barely has changed at all, except for some sub goals. Besides a slight reformulation the goal presented in 1962 that Sweden want to “increase the poor people’s standard of living” still prevail and has done so in most of the budget propositions.

The answer to the other question, if the percentage of Sweden’s GDP have changed between 1991 and 2012, is that is has. The percentage went down in the beginning of the 1990’s when Sweden’s economy decreased, and went up again until it reached on percent, when Sweden’s economy was stronger again.

The conclusion to the answers to both questions is that Sweden generally has kept their aims and goals if when it comes to the goal descriptions and the percentage of GDP that has been committed to development assistance.
8. Discussion

One of the main questions when discussing Sweden’s development aid and our development work policy is the question of what really is accounted as development aid. The answers are many. It is not even so that Sweden’s development aid that is presented in the budget proposition is the same as the one that Sweden presents to the DAC. Part of the reason is that the budget proposition and the DAC reports are not reported at the same time, and the financial situation can change during that time. Another reason is that DAC classification isn’t as hard as the Swedish on what is development aid or not. DAC does take things like the reception of asylum seekers and debt cancellations among other things, in account when they classify what is development aid.

How much that really goes to development work is also hard to see when one is looking at the budget propositions. When the percentage of Sweden’s GDP is presented, it is a percentage counted on the appropriation for aid, and not the budget item “Development work”.

Another question got raised when I was reading about Gunilla Carlson’s different moves and decisions on a more effective and result focused development aid and then compared that with the Government’s goal for the development aid. The formulation “The goal for the International Development work is to contribute to the making of conditions for poor people
to increase their standard of living” gets me thinking of a text that was written by Jerker Carlsson in Lennart Wohlgemuths anthology “Aid on the developments conditions”:

“The development works goals are not always formulated in a measurable way. High efficiency means that the goal that was set for a specific project was reached. This assumes that the goals are so obviously formulated that it is possible to measure the goals. But this is not always the case. Goals are quite often formulated in a very clasp and general way. This makes them immeasurable and consequently there is no real possibility to say if a project has been successful or not. Additionally the project often lacks obviously formulated instructions on how the result should be measured: indications and method assignments” (Wohlgemuth, 1997:34).

It is thus hard, almost impossible to measure the clasp goals of the efficiency. They are most of the time not measurable which makes one understand that the discussion on development aid will continue to be a hot topic.

9. Recommendations

There are still a lot of studies that could be done on the Swedish development assistance. Several “case studies” on different Sida projects have been done, but very few on the development assistance as whole, and even less that has followed it and its effects over time. I would like to recommend that a study was made that took a closer look on how much of the development assistance funds that went to the receiving countries, either in form of projects or in funds. I would like to see where the money in the development assistance funds end up (not geographically but by which means), and how that has changed over time. Which parts of the development budget has been prioritized and given bigger space? This is extra important since the measurement of the effect has proved to be very hard to prove. All these question that would give a “bigger picture” on the Swedish development assistance could be answered in more detailed studies by etc. scholars within Peace and Development studies or other Social Science related subjects.

I would also recommend that the sources which could make such studies much easier would be updated. The source I was told to see by both the foreign ministry and Sida was their joint webpage openaid.se. As written in the “difficulties” chapter, the page is still a beta version,
and shows it figures by “lands and regions”, making it hard if you are not interested in regions. I recommend that they complete the page so that it can serve as a credible source.

I would also recommend the Government to overhaul their search function for documents and to upload budget propositions that came before 1994. The budget propositions are available in paper, but if you don’t have a nearby library that has them, it starts getting complicated. I would recommend that budget propositions at least back until the 1950’s would be scanned and uploaded to the Governments webpage (regeringen.se).

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