APPROACHES ON GENDER EQUALITY IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

A Comparison between the International, National and Project Levels

Master's Thesis in Social Policy

University of Jyväskylä
Department of Social Sciences
and Philosophy

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Abstract:

This study concentrates on the international, national and project level approaches on gender equality and compares the objectives on this topic on these three levels. The purpose of the study is to find out if all levels have the same kind of objectives or if there are conflicts between them. The purpose is not to evaluate individual policies or projects as such but rather to compare the gender issues on the different levels.

The theoretical background of the study consists of the global discussion on equality and gender issues in development cooperation. Theories include strategies and policies for including women in development and the different levels of gender awareness. Other relevant topics are gender needs and different approaches on gender and equality as well as the transformation of women issues into gender issues.

The data consists of written documents from all three levels mentioned above. The time frame of the analyzed data was confined to the time when the chosen projects were implemented (1988-2002). On the international level the United Nations was used as an example, specifically the resolutions of the UN World Conferences on Women. The most important Finnish policies and guidelines regarding development cooperation and gender issues represented the national level. The project level consisted of the documentation of three Finnish-Tanzanian forestry sector projects, including project plans and reports. The data was analyzed by using content analysis.

Significant changes in the strategies and approaches were undertaken on the three levels mentioned above during the time period analyzed in the study. The changes have been similar in direction but the timing and speed of the change has varied between the different levels. In general the integrationist strategy has gradually been replaced by the transformative strategy and the approaches have gradually changed from welfare approach to anti-poverty approach and further to equity and empowerment approaches. The only approach which has somehow maintained its position is the efficiency approach. New ideas and approaches have first been officially adapted on the international level. After that the national level has followed the lead quite rapidly. The most challenging part has been to transfer those ideas onto the project level.

Key words: development cooperation, equality, Finland, gender, Tanzania, United Nations

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1   Introduction

According to the World Bank women and men are not equal in any region of the world. Men and women don't have equal rights, equal resources at their disposal or equal possibilities to be heard. In many countries women still don't have the possibility to own land or property or even to travel without their fathers' or husbands' permission. Women still earn less than men even if they have the same education and the same job. Women also have less power to influence the decisions in their local environment and homes than men and there is also a smaller proportion of women than men on the top management of companies, as members of parliaments and as ministers. The inequality is often greatest among the poorest ones. (World Bank 2001, 4-6)

Inequality between people is a problem all over the world but the effects of inequality can be very different in different parts of the world. In many developing countries the lack of equality can lead to suffering or death while in many industrialized countries effects of inequality are much milder. Women and children are often worst off in an unequal society, but the consequences can be seen in the society as a whole. If a society develops towards equality, there is a better chance that the society will develop also in other respects. (World Bank 2001, 1)

The main idea behind development cooperation between developed and developing countries is to enhance the living conditions of people by using such tools as poverty reduction, good governance and nature protection. According to the World Bank, promoting gender equality is an important part of the strategy to improve living conditions and to reduce poverty. World Bank emphasizes gender equality as an essential development goal, not just as a by-product produced while other goals are pursued. (World Bank 2001, 1)

Women and gender issues come continuously up as a relevant issue when talking about development and development cooperation. There are numerous policies and guidelines regarding women and gender approved on various levels of development cooperation. Everyone seems to be interested in making things better, but are these policies and guidelines in line with each other and what kind of development is actually promoted?

1.1 Study

In this study I take a look at the international, national and project level approaches on gender equality and compare the objectives on these different levels. The purpose of the study is to find out if all levels have the same kind of objectives or if there are conflicts between these objectives. The purpose of the study is not to evaluate individual policies or projects as such but rather to compare the gender issues on the different levels.

The questions I want to find answers for are:

- How gender equality in development cooperation is approached on the international level, in the Finnish national level policies and gender guidelines as well as in the implemented projects?
- How the approaches adapted in projects correspond to the approaches adapted in the national and international level objectives and guidelines?

The global discussion on equality and gender issues in development cooperation forms the theoretical background for my study. Main issues are the different strategies for including women in development as well as the levels of gender awareness. Other relevant topics are the discussions on different approaches on gender and equality and the transformation from women issues into gender issues.

I take a look at the policies and guidelines on gender issues on the international level (using the United Nations as an example) and on the national level in Finland. On the project level my study concentrates on the official development cooperation funded by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland. As an example I use the Finnish-Tanzanian development cooperation, which was initiated in the 1960s (Porvali et al. 1995, 131). Tanzania is Finland's oldest development cooperation partner and according to the Finnish Government (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2001) the cooperation will also continue in the future.

I have selected three projects as examples of Finnish-Tanzanian development cooperation:

- Tropical Forestry Action Plan Programme (TFAP), 1988-1989
- Support to the National Forest Programme Formulation in Tanzania (NFP), 2000-2001
- East Usambara Catchment Forest Project (Phases I, II & III), 1990-2002

The selected development cooperation projects enable us to look at the support given to different kinds of purposes. TFAP and NFP represent national program development on two different occasions and the East Usambara Catchment Forest Project (EUCFP) is a project implemented as fieldwork during a longer period of time.

Especially on the forestry sector technical expertise has often been emphasized on the expense of softer values such as gender equality. It isn't always easy to see why gender issues should be taken into consideration in some very technical projects and even more difficult is to find out how to do it. This is why it is interesting to look at the gender issues specifically in the forestry sector cooperation projects.

At the time of the study I was employed by Indufor Oy, which was the Finnish consultancy company working with the TFAP and the NFP. Due to the fusion of Indufor Oy and Metsähallitus Consulting Oy, Indufor also took over the implementation of EUCAMP in 2002. Indufor has also supported the field trip to Tanzania connected to my master's thesis study and helped with practicalities concerning my trip. However, I have not been directly involved with any of the projects. This is why I claim that my linkage with the implementing company has not significantly influenced the results of my study. There may still have been some unconscious cautiousness regarding the opinions expressed, but as the purpose of the study has not been to evaluate the projects or the actions concerning gender issues in order to assess their appropriateness, even the unconscious cautiousness wouldn't have had significant effect on the study results. My intention has rather been to look at the approaches the projects have taken on the gender issues and to compare the approaches to the ones chosen by the Governments and the international community in the United Nations.

1.2   Content of the Study Report

The study report consists of four parts: (i) introduction to the study and the theoretical background, (ii) policy level issues in the UN and Finland, (iii) project level issues and (iv) conclusions.

After this general introduction I introduce the data and methods used in this study. After methods follows a short introduction to the background and basics of international development assistance; what is it and why is it done. Next there is an introduction to selected scientific discussion topics on gender and gender equality, which form the theoretical basis for my study.

After the first part I take a look at the international level in form of the United Nations. The concentration is especially on the UN World Conferences on Women and their results. After that the study moves to the national level and I take a look at the Finnish development cooperation in general and the policies regarding women and gender. I also look at the history of Finnish-Tanzanian development cooperation. After the national level issues follows the project level. There is a general introduction to the selected forestry sector projects and how women and gender issues have been dealt in the projects.

As the purpose is to compare the international, national and project level approaches on gender, the study report also includes analysis on gender issues on all those levels. The analyses of the different levels have been done separately, and in the end the separate analysis results are drawn together. The last chapter includes some final conclusions.

1.3   Some Important Terms

At this point of the study report a couple of essential terms need to be clarified.

Gender is a key term in this study. "Gender refers to the socially constructed roles of women, men girls and boys" (Vainio-Mattila 1999b, 10). While sex refers to the biological difference between men and women, gender concentrates to the social relations between them (Vainio-Mattila 1999b, 44).

DAC Guidelines for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development Co-operation determines gender as follows:

> "Biological differences between women and men do not change. But the social roles that they are required to play vary from one society to another and at different periods of history. The term *gender* refers to the economic, social, political and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female." (OECD DAC 1998, 12)

The term equality can be considered to include for example equality between generations, sexes, geographic areas, languages, social groups and ethnic groups. Equality has both quantitative and qualitative goals: quantitative equality can be measured by numbers and percentages while qualitative equality is regarded as an equal opportunity to participate and have impact on society, work and domestic life on one's own terms. (Petäjäniemi 1998, 14-16)

Gender equality is determined by DAC Guidelines as follows:

> "Gender equality requires equal enjoyment by women and men of socially-valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards. Gender equality does not mean that men and women become the same, but that their opportunities and life chances are equal. The emphasis on gender equality and women's empowerment does not presume a particular model of gender equality for all societies and cultures, but reflects a concern that women and men have equal opportunities to make choices about what gender equality means and work in partnership to achieve it." (OECD DAC 1998, 13)

1.4   Previous Studies

So far gender equality in the Finnish development cooperation has mainly been evaluated in individual projects but not as a larger issue related to the goals set by the governments and the international community. I believe it is essential to look at the development cooperation projects also as part of the actions taken to develop a more equal world. Most

of the studies concerning gender equality in Finnish development cooperation have been paid by the Finnish Department of International Development Cooperation and very few studies have been made on the subject purely in the academic world in Finland. Some master's thesis studies which touch the subject do exist.

Hannele Åberg (1995) has written her master's thesis, "Naiset vai kehitys? Kehitysyhteistyön tarkastelua naisnäkökulmasta", on how women have been taken into consideration in development cooperation. She has tried to find answers to questions such as what goals have been set for improving women's position, what kind of picture of women is development cooperation based on and what kind of development is pursued. Åberg goes through national and international development goals regarding women on a general level and points out that even though some goals to improve women's position exist very little actually happen. According to Åberg, the biggest obstacle for success of development cooperation projects is the emphasis on women's reproductive role. Importance of economic growth and modernization theory has caused women to be considered as beneficiars instead of active participants.

Maarit Pulli (1997) has written her master's thesis on equality approach in Finland's development cooperation in the 1990s. Her thesis is based on textual analysis and rhetoric, and asks whether the official documents produced in Finnish development cooperation administration include equality and if yes, how. As the main result she points out that equality can be found in the documentation but the situation varies a lot from a document to another and messages can be contradicting. Equality is seen as an important issue but it is only seen as a tool to achieve other goals, not as a goal of its own.

The topics of Pulli's thesis and my own thesis have many similarities and therefore a possibility to compare some of the results exists. In her study Pulli concentrates completely on Finnish development goals when my own study includes a comparison between various levels. Also the theoretical background and methodology differs significantly.

Anu Penttinen (2002) has written her master's thesis on gender in Finnish bilateral forestry sector development cooperation. She has approached the subject by doing a case study on a fire management project conducted in Burkina Faso funded by the Government of Finland. In her study Penttinen has analyzed the project documentation as well as taken a closer

look at the actual project implementation in the field. The empirical part of her thesis has been divided into three components that concentrate on different aspects of the project. In the first component she has analyzed the gender knowledge of the project staff and how gender aspect in taken into consideration in the project activities. In the second component she has studied the roles and needs of local people and their expectations towards participation in the project activities. The third component concentrates on the actual participation of local men and women into the project activities.

As a result of her study Penttinen says that the project and its implementation can be categorized to be gender-aware but there are still some improvements to be made. Gender roles in the rural areas of Burkina Faso are quite conservative. Men's participation in project activities is much more active than women's, and women's role is seen more as supportive while men do the actual work. The attitude of project staff towards gender issues was positive even though some confusion on the concept of gender could be found. In the project documentation gender aspect had been considered to a varying extent, but the level of gender awareness in the documentation increased in the course of the project.

2   Methods for Acquiring and Analyzing Data

2.1   Data

This study can be considered to be empirical, since the main source of information has been empirical data instead of purely theoretical literature or previous studies (see for example Toivonen 1999, 98). The main source of information in this study has been the secondary data in form of many kinds of written documentation. In order to analyze the international level gender policies the concentration has been on the United Nations' World Conferences on Women and the resolutions approved by the conferences. This way it is possible to get a comprehensive picture of the general level policies and the changes that have happened in them without getting lost in too many policy documents from various international institutions. On the national level I have recognized the most important general policy documents and gender related documents of the Finnish Government. Project level documentation that has been used includes the main project documents (plans and evaluations) and the documents that are directly related to gender issues.

Due to limited resources the data used as a basis for the actual analysis has been confined. The project documentation has been confined to the actual Project Documents and TFAP and NFP Reports. The Project Document of the TFAP has not been available. I believe that using only part of the project documentation has not caused error in the study results, as the purpose of analysis has been to identify general level issues, not to make a detailed analysis of all possible factors. The time frame of all analyzed documentation has been confined to the time of the implementation of the chosen projects. Due to this time frame only some of the UN World Conferences and national policy documents have been included in the actual analysis. Confining the documents to the same period of time makes it possible to compare the approaches of the different levels. From the international level I have analyzed the resolution of the UN Nairobi World Conference on Women, concentrating on the substantive background of the Forward-Looking Strategies and the basic strategies for promoting equality, development and peace, and the resolution of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women, concentrating on the Beijing declaration, the mission statement and the strategic objectives. On the national level the analyzed documents include the Guidelines and Programme of Action (1988), Decision-in-principle on Finland's Development Cooperation (1996), Finland's Policy on Relations with Developing Countries (1998) and Operationalisation of Development Policy Objectives in Finland's International Development Cooperation (2001).

2.2 Analysis

Due to the material used in the study it was quite easy to choose the research method of the study to be qualitative. Because most of the information in the documents was in written form and there were very few statistics or other numeric information included, it would have been difficult to use quantitative methods in the analysis. During the analysis the approximate frequency of analytic units belonging to each category has been important but the exact amount of mentions has been irrelevant and too small for a statistical analysis.

The most important methodological background for this study has been content analysis. The goal of content analysis is to find out the content of some written, audio or visual data (Toivonen 1999, 125). The basic purpose of content analysis is to organize and simplify

the data into some meaningful and manageable themes or categories (Patton 1987, 150). Three main objectives of content analysis are to obtain information on the content of the communication, to obtain information on the producer of the communication or to obtain information on the recipient or the communication and its impact on the recipient (Toivonen 1999, 126). This study has concentrated on obtaining information on the content of the communication.

Analytic units of content analysis are the individual parts of text that are separated from the material and used in actual analysis. Analytic units can be divided into coding units, which are the smallest elements of material which may be analyzed, and into contextual units, which are the largest elements which may fall under a category. (Flick 2002, 191) In this study the analytic units vary from individual words into whole paragraphs. In general I have tried to avoid the use of individual words as analytic units, because they don't necessarily give the right picture of the message that has been given. Similarly the use of large pieces of text as analytic units may miss some differing messages inside a quote. Most commonly the analytic units in this study have been individual sentences or pieces of text no longer than few sentences.

In content analysis the analyst looks for analytic units that go together, that are examples of the same underlying idea, issue or concept (Patton 1987, 149). One of the essential features of content analysis is the use of categories. In qualitative content analysis the categories are often derived from theoretical models and brought to the empirical material instead of developing the categories from the empirical data itself. The main objective is to reduce the amount of material. (Flick 2002, 190) According to Timo Toivonen (1999, 125-126) qualitative and quantitative content analysis often concentrate on different issues, even though this divide is not binding. Qualitative content analysis often concentrates on hidden meanings of analytic units and the relations between the units when quantitative content analysis concentrates more on obvious meanings, denotations of analytic units and their frequencies.

In this study the categories have been pre-defined based on the theoretical framework. The main theory used as the basis of the categorization is the idea of gender strategies and levels of awareness by Naila Kabeer. In addition, I have used the idea of strategic and practical gender needs as well as Caroline Moser's ideal types of approaches on gender

analysis. According to Toivonen (1999, 129) the validity of the research may suffer from pre-set categories if they are not flexible enough. In this study the pre-defined categories have been kept fixed during the whole research, but the fact that one analytic unit may have been part of many categories or a combination of different categories has provided the needed flexibility.

It is possible to use three different analysis techniques while doing qualitative content analysis. One of the techniques is summarizing content analysis. In this technique the amount of analytic units isn't important and similar statements are skipped or combined into abstract generalizations. Another technique is explicative content analysis, where additional material is used to explain analytic units in more detail. The third technique, structuring content analysis, looks for types or formal structures in the material. (Flick 2002, 191-192) In this study none of those three techniques have been used. As the main goal hasn't been to find hidden meanings behind wordings, it has not been necessary to explicate the meanings of analytic units. One of the main goals was to identify the explicit mentions of gender in the data, so it wasn't necessary to look for implicit structures or scales inside the data. As one of the main objectives was to use the amount of analytic units inside each category as a tool in defining the categories the whole data belongs to, it was also important to know the approximate frequencies of analytic units in each part of data. This made it impossible to use summarizing content analysis. The analysis technique in this study has been quite simple version of content analysis, concentrating on explicit meanings and approximate frequencies of analytic units inside the data.

3   Background and Basics of International Development Assistance

3.1   International Development Assistance

The support the richer countries give to the developing countries has had many names: development cooperation, development aid, development assistance, etc. All of them refer to the same thing but still all of them have slightly different meanings. In my understanding the term development cooperation puts the emphasis on the cooperation between the donor and the receiving country. The term development aid seems to refer to a more passive aid that the donor gives to the receiving country. In my opinion the term development assistance is the most neutral expression. Development assistance sounds like

it is assistance given to the developing countries and the way it is used determines if it is cooperation or aid.

International development assistance may be considered to have begun after the II World War as USA started to assist European countries financially. European Recovery Program, also known as Marshall's aid, was a prototype of development assistance even though it wasn't directed towards actual developing countries. European Recovery Program gave an example of a successful development program and helped to create rules and laws for giving development assistance on a larger scale. (Siitonen and Sitari 1990, 26-27)

3.2   Forms of Development Assistance

Assistance given to the developing countries can be roughly divided into three categories. OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) has introduced the term official development assistance (oda), which means the resources that are transferred to the receiving country in order to promote economic development and well-being. Official development assistance needs to be partly or entirely a donation and if a loan is given the conditions need to be better than in a normal loan. In addition to the official development assistance, assistance is given also to a bit more developed countries (i.e. the East-European countries in transition) as so called official aid. Also many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) cooperate with developing countries and provide them with assistance. They operate with either private funds or on a voluntary basis. (Burnell 1997, 4-5)

One form of development assistance is economic support. Economic support has been given for example on grounds of the double gap theory. The double gap theory has been identified as one of the issues affecting the weak situation of the developing countries. According to the theory one gap the developing countries suffer from is the gap between savings and investments and the other one is the gap in the foreign trade. (Burnell 1997, 86) Figure 1 describes the cycle creating the gap between savings and the investments.

Figure 1
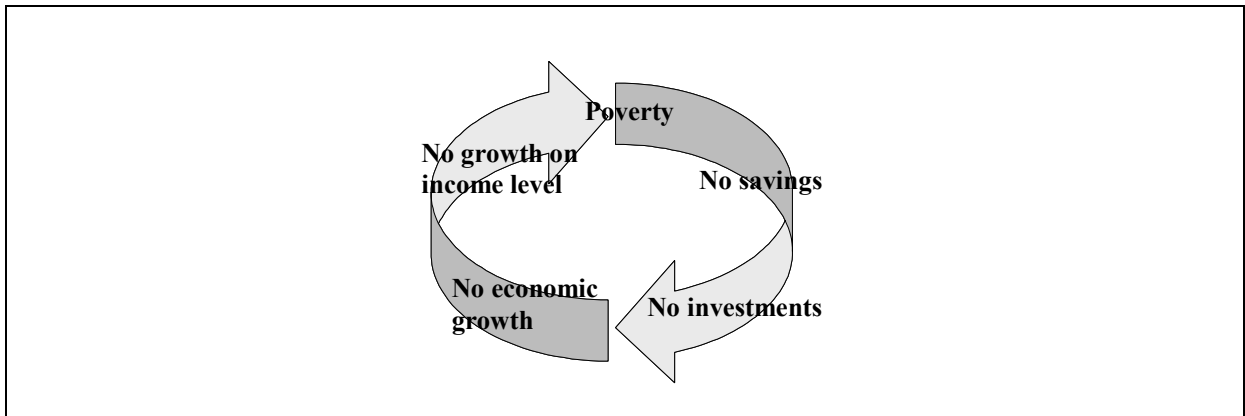
Most of the population in developing countries is very poor and for them it is not possible to save a significant part of their income. As there are not much savings it is difficult to make new investments for example in new technology. Lack of investments result in low economic growth and thus the income level and the level of savings of the households remain the same. (Burnell 1997, 86)

The second gap of the double gap theory, the foreign trade gap, is very similar to the gap between savings and investments. Developing countries rarely have the capital and products to satisfy domestic demand and they need to rely on imported products and foreign debt. At the same time the amount of exports from developing countries is not very high resulting in low income from exports. Money is continuously fleeing out of the country and the country is getting more and more indebted. Economic development assistance is used as a tool to attempt to stop this cycle in the developing countries. By supporting domestic production with foreign investments, the negative cycle should be stopped and the positive cycle should get started. (Burnell 1997, 86) Development assistance is supposed to act as the catalyst of change, not as a continuous source of resources.

Economic assistance isn't always enough to start and sustain the development. Even countries that attract private capital can't necessarily make use of the resources. Many developing countries have been colonies of industrialized countries and their labor force may not have appropriate education or they may not have much experience of demanding tasks. The aim of technical assistance is to create conditions which enable the country to

make the best use of the resources they have. Technical assistance is used for example to support governance systems and organizational or technical skills. (Burnell 1997, 87)

In the beginning of the 1980s the Bretton Woods institutions (International Monetary Fund IMF and the World Bank) started to require structural adjustment programs (SAPs) as a condition for loans to developing countries. As a condition for low-interest loans the countries in high debt had to commit to making significant political and economic adjustments. Many of the Western countries began to require similar commitments as a condition for their development assistance. Developing countries had to for example cut public expenditure, privatize government owned enterprises and commit to free trade. Adjustments and cheap loans supporting the adjustments were supposed to help the countries to put their economy on a sound basis and to secure political stability during the renewals. (Burnell 1997, 89-92)

Structural adjustment programs have been highly criticized by many social scientists, aid receiving countries and some aid organizations. Heavy cuts in state budgets have created new problems, such as increasing poverty and worsening of living conditions especially for the poorest parts of society. Governance systems have also suffered because of too fast changes. The World Bank is still using some kind of structural adjustment programs as a condition for its loans but the terms and the timetables of the programs have been changed to ease the social problems. (Burnell 1997, 92-94)

In some countries the barriers for development are not only the natural conditions or the economic instability of the country. Sometimes also the state itself and the government's and officials' ways of working hinder development. Instead of the structural adjustment programs, nowadays many donor countries require so called good governance, for example democratic multiparty elections and respecting human rights, as a condition for their official development assistance. Development assistance is given also for developing these governance systems. Assistance is offered to stabilize the economic situation of the country while the political and economic changes are done. (Burnell 1997, 95-97) Changes in governance systems are supposed to make the systems function better and to make it easier for the citizens to participate in decision making.

Humanitarian assistance is offered to meet quickly acute needs and ease acute suffering. The purpose of humanitarian assistance is to give first aid to help people to survive the worst situations and to get the more long term development work started. Humanitarian assistance is provided to areas suffering from acute natural catastrophes (for example food and field hospitals to earthquake areas or victims of a tropical storm) or to ease the worst situation on long-term emergencies (food to famine areas or tents and other basic supplies to refugee camps). Unlike other kinds of development assistance, humanitarian aid is offered also for areas that are not ready for long term development because for example of a war (Burnell 1997, 200).

3.3   Motivation for Giving Development Assistance

The motives for giving development assistance are several. There isn't any single reason why industrialized countries want to help countries and peoples far away. The motivation can be for example economic interests, national interests, political interests or simply the will to help. The motives can be roughly divided into two categories: moral motives and other motives that can also be called benefits. As the official development assistance began in the 1950-60s it was quite self-evident to have moral reasons for giving development assistance. Later, especially in the end of 1970s and in the beginning of 1980s, long term national interests became more important as a motive than before (Riddell 1987, 3-9).

Moral is a very wide concept, and there are many different reasons for giving development assistance that can be considered to be moral reasons. Religion is a very common motive for giving development assistance. Faith and the trust that the will of God is realized is a reason enough for helping others. (Riddell 1987, 17) Some believe that all people have certain common rights such as right to live. Right to live includes a right to conditions that sustain life. Human rights act as a basic standard for what kind of living conditions can sustain life. (Burnell 1997, 47) In the case that developing countries themselves don't have the possibility to create such conditions, the richer countries have the obligation to help to create the required conditions (Riddell 1987, 23). Some others believe that there are certain basic needs that have to be satisfied. Rich people don't only have the obligation to help to satisfy the needs but also to help to remove the structures that create lack of basic things. (Burnell 1997, 48)

Also utilitarianism is one moral motive for giving development assistance. Utilitarianism is based on a thought of the greatest benefit or happiness and according to utilitarianism the money transferred from the rich to the poor will benefit the poor much more than it would have benefited the rich. Even though the other one loses something in the operation, the sum of the happiness/benefit will be positive after the operation. (Riddell 1987, 20-21) According to John Rawls' justice theory all social commodities (i.e. rights, power, opportunities and wealth) should be evenly distributed if everyone, especially the ones in the weakest position, doesn't benefit from the uneven distribution. Because the current situation is not beneficial for everyone, redistribution needs to be done. (Burnell 1997, 49) Justice theory says that all people have in addition to the right to live a right to have decent living conditions even if the resources should be provided by others. As a difference to the utilitarian way of thinking, justice theory doesn't require the assessment of the greatest happiness, the right to the resources is regardless of any other things. (Riddell 1987, 21-23)

Benefits as a reason for giving development assistance can be divided into two categories: enlightened self interest and common interest.

Brandt commission's report "North-South: A Programme for Survival" emphasized in the beginning of the 1980s the benefits the highly developed countries get from assisting developing countries. According to the report developed countries would get at least two kinds of benefits from giving assistance: economic growth and security. Economic growth is based on the idea that as the economic situation in the developing countries improves there will be more markets for the products and services of the developed countries. At the same time the raw material supply from the developing countries can be secured. Security will increase as a result of the economic growth in the third world countries as the third world citizens will be more satisfied with their living conditions. (Burnell 1997, 63-64)

Also political and military goals directed the development assistance during the cold war. Especially the fight between USA and the USSR, capitalism and communism, influenced the money flows. On the one hand the fighting countries supported the countries that represented their own political view but at the same time they fought over so called neutral areas. By giving development assistance (which included military help) they wanted to buy

the loyalty of the countries and ensure that the opposite political ideology wouldn't get support. They also supported the enemies of the enemy even though the country's political opinions weren't exactly acceptable. After the cold war and the collapse of the USSR the political and military motives haven't been as significant as before but they haven't totally disappeared. (Riddell 1987, 61-64)

The most significant common concerns in the world are the environmental issues and global pollution. World Commission on Environment and Development report "Our Common Future" (1987) emphasized environmental threats as a crisis that will cause political instability in the developing countries and thus threaten global security. Environmental destruction in the third world could affect the developed countries in several ways: the whole planet's environment could be destroyed, political and social consequences of the weakening of the economic situation could create security threats and the amount of environmental refugees could increase dramatically. Development assistance could help developing countries to acquire more developed and environmental friendly technology to replace the old and environmentally destructive technology. Resources directed to research can protect biodiversity and poverty alleviation can have a positive effect on the environment. (Burnell 1997, 74-77)

One of the global problems that affect also the industrialized countries, and has been tackled by using development assistance, is the high population growth rate. Developing countries with high population growth numbers will suffer from direct consequences such as famine and lack of space but the developed countries are also being affected by indirect consequences. Too fast a population growth creates more conflicts and increases the refugee problem.

4   Scientific Discussion on Gender Equality in Development Cooperation

4.1   From WID to GAD

Term Women in Development (WID) has been used to describe all actions that involve women in the development processes. More specifically WID is a perspective on women in development, the way women were integrated into development in the 1970s. When it was noticed that development isn't effective if women are not taken into consideration, women

were in a way added to the prevailing development thinking and the development projects. The development model and men's dominant role in it were not reconsidered (Pietilä 2001, 45). Women were not integrated into all development projects but there were quite a few so called women projects planned and implemented either separately or as a separate part of a larger project.

WID perspective is based on the modernization theory that assumes that traditional societies are authoritarian and male-dominated and that modern societies are democratic and egalitarian. The assumption is that if society becomes modern, inequalities will lessen. WID perspective concentrates on productive sphere of life and promotes the women's need to access cash income. (Visvanathan 1997, 17-20) Women's organization into collective groupings is promoted in order to increase women's bargaining power in the prevailing economic system (Young 1997, 53). It has been argued that WID perspective focuses narrowly on inequalities created by sexual indifferences and ignores the structural and socio-economic factors that cause inequalities between genders (Visvanathan 1997, 21).

In the 1980s it was noticed that it wasn't enough to integrate women into the development projects. The 'Gender and Development' (GAD) perspective started to become more popular and the focus was shifted from women issues into gender issues and the roles men and women have in the society. It was acknowledged that in order to achieve equality between men and women there must be changes in the structures of the society. (Pietilä 2001, 45)

GAD perspective looks at women's lives as a whole, including both private and public spheres. It emphasizes the need for women to organize themselves, not just to improve their position in the market, but to increase their political power within the economic system. (Young 1997, 51-53) GAD perspective does not assume that women would automatically know what is best for them (Young 1997, 51-52) but promotes active participation and sensitivity for gender relations and interactions (Visvanathan 1997, 24).

4.2   Gender Needs

As men and women have different roles and different positions in society, they also have different priorities and interests in their lives. Gender interests are based on the roles different genders have in society. Interests and prioritized concerns can be seen as needs which need to be satisfied. Gender needs can be divided into two kinds of needs, strategic and practical gender needs. (Moser 1993, 37-38)

By analyzing gender roles in the society different gender interests can be identified. By knowing the gender interests also the strategic gender needs related to creating a more equal society will be recognized. (Moser 1993, 39) Strategic gender needs can be seen constituting "a 'vision' of the future in which inequalities between men and women are no longer found" (Young 1997b, 368). Satisfying strategic gender needs will change women's position and power relations in the society. Usually strategic gender needs are related to division of labor, power and control. (Moser 1993, 39)

Satisfying practical gender needs doesn't change the existing power relations or division of labor in the society. It rather sustains the existing situation by solving practical problems created by current gender roles. Practical gender needs are practical needs that genders have related to their everyday life and living conditions. (Moser 1993, 40-41) Practical gender needs can be related for example to food production, health care or housing conditions.

Same problems in the lives of people can be solved both by satisfying their practical or strategic gender needs. For example malnutrition problems of women and girls can be approached in at least two different ways. One way would be to satisfy their practical needs and send them more food and advise women on how to make more nutritious meals. Another way would be to identify reasons behind the lack of food and for example give women a possibility to own land and to control the use of the products of their land. Usually the solution for satisfying strategic gender needs is slower to implement than solution for satisfying the practical gender needs. Sometimes it is necessary to both satisfy the urgent practical needs at the same time as the ways to satisfy the strategic needs are identified. If only the practical needs are satisfied the real reason behind the problem may not be solved and the same problem will occur again. By solving the strategic issues

behind the problem a longer lasting solution can usually be found. However, just changing activities and ways of doing things won't necessarily bring a long-lasting solution but also the underlying attitudes and ideology of male superiority have to change (Young 1997b, 369).

4.3   Gender Strategies and Awareness

According to Naila Kabeer (1999, 33) there have been several ways feminist advocates have tried to change development policies and the activities made in the name of development. In my opinion the same division of strategies describes the ways the development projects work.

Main strategies for including women in development policies and activities can be divided into two: integrationist and transformative strategies. The goal of the integrationist strategy is not to change the existing gender roles but to recognize the different roles different genders have and to use that knowledge to use the development resources as effectively as possible. (Kabeer 1999, 40) Integrationist strategy tries to find ways to contribute to the advancement of women's interests within the agenda set by those not particularly interested in the women's issues. Transformative strategies go further than the integrationist strategy by wanting to change the development agenda to support the interests of women instead of just integrating women into the existing agenda. The transformative strategy wants to give women a greater role in setting the development agenda in the first place and to change the rules of development work. (Kabeer 1999, 33-34)

In both strategies there can be different gender policies and levels of gender awareness. Integrationist and transformative strategies include gender-aware policies, while gender blindness doesn't consider gender issues relevant at all. More specifically integrationist strategy includes gender-neutral and gender-specific policies and transformative strategy includes gender-specific and gender-transformative policies. (Kabeer 1999, 40)

Figure 2
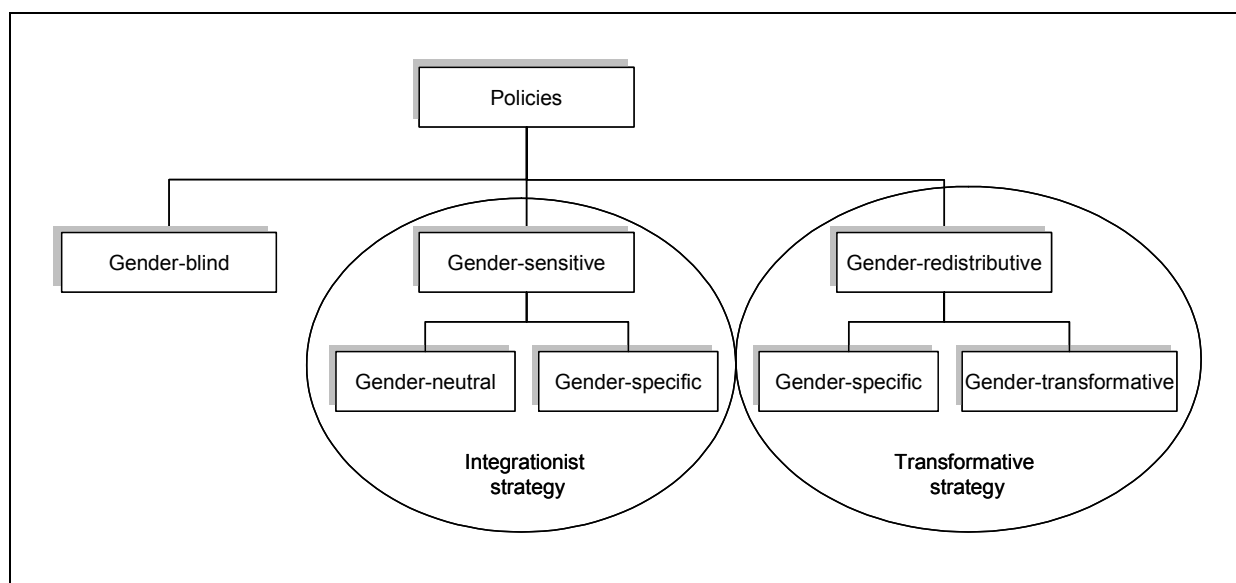
Gender blindness means inability to recognize that gender is an essential determinant of the life choices we have available to us in society. Gender blindness can be seen as a way to avoid power conflicts by not recognizing the need to reallocate power to make decisions over the use of resources. (Vainio-Mattila 1999, 11) Gender-blind policies have dominated the development discussion and the development projects. Biological differences and patriarchal cultures made men the primary actors in development. The things that were important for men became the main issues in development and thus in the development policies. Gender-blind policies are usually based on traditional assumptions and norms on gender roles. (Kabeer 1999, 39) Often the gender-blind policies are in fact male-biased (Kabeer 1996, 307).

Gender-aware policies recognize that there are both men and women as development actors, that they have different restrictions in acting as participants or beneficiaries in development and that their needs or interests may be different. Gender-aware policies can be divided into gender sensitive or gender redistributive policies based on whether they represent integrationist or transformative strategy. Gender-sensitive policies, which represent integrationist strategy, can be divided into gender-neutral and gender-specific policies. Gender neutral policies are based on the idea that by assessing the existing resources and distribution of responsibilities goals can be met efficiently. Action is based

on as much information as possible, which is used for finding the right actors for each situation. Integrationist gender-specific policies target the actions on one or other gender in order to meet targeted gender needs within the existing distribution of resources and responsibilities. (Kabeer 1999, 39-42)

Gender-redistributive policy, representing transformative strategy, includes gender-specific and gender-transformative policies. The difference between the gender-specific policy of the integrationist strategy and the gender-specific policy of the transformative strategy can be explained through an example of female circumcision. If the development intervention addresses circumcision as a health problem and simply offers health services to reduce the amount of deaths caused by female circumcision, the action can be categorized as an integrationist. If the intervention addresses the problem as a problem of women not having the right over their own bodies and through that tries to change the gender roles, the strategy is transformative. (Kabeer 1999, 42) Gender-transformative policies try not only to reduce gender inequality but also want to solve the underlying causes of the problems by targeting the activities on both genders. One example of such activity is rewriting school textbooks to promote equality instead of reproducing the existing unequal gender roles. (Kabeer 1999, 42-43)

4.4 Approaches to Women in Development

There have been very different policy approaches to women in development and development assistance. Approaches describe the way women and gender issues have been considered among development professionals and the countries involved in development assistance. The changes in the approaches towards women have reflected the changes in the surrounding world and the third world policies. Mayra Buvinic categorized three approaches to women and Caroline Moser later supplemented them with two more. Approaches can be considered as a linear process in the development thinking but in fact they haven't been developed in any specific order. The described approaches are so called ideal types and in reality the approaches different countries or organizations use are rather some kinds of combinations of different policy approaches. (Moser 1993, 55-58)

1) The welfare approach

The first policy approach concerned with women in developing countries, the welfare approach, has been in use in some form since 1950-60s. As the social welfare began, the economic growth was seen as the best way of creating well-being and social welfare was only seen as the ultimate form of helping those who couldn't take care of themselves. The same idea was adapted to development assistance and two separate ways of assisting developing countries were created: financial assistance to create economic growth and relief aid for vulnerable groups. The economic assistance was directed to productive work and male labor force and relief aid was directed to women and other vulnerable groups such as disabled and elderly. (Moser 1993, 58-59)

In the welfare approach women are seen as passive beneficiaries, not as active participants in the development. Women are seen in the first place as mothers and housewives and their most important role in the society is giving birth and taking care of their family. The main method of relief aid is satisfying practical needs for example through direct food aid, health care services or nutritional education. (Moser 1993, 59-60) The basic assumption is that the aid given to women will most likely benefit the whole family.

In the 1970s welfare approach began to attract more criticism. Mainly women researchers draw attention to the fact that often women didn't benefit from the development projects or their position was even worse than before. Also the success of the modernization theory in developing countries was questioned. As a result alternative approaches to women in the developing countries were introduced. (Moser 1993, 62)

2) The equity approach

The equity approach is considered to be the original WID (Women in Development) approach that was introduced during the United Nations Women's Decade 1976-1985. The equity approach rose from the fact that women's economic role in the society could not been seen in the national statistics nor in the development project's plans or implementation even though they had a significant role in their communities especially in the agriculture. Attention is paid to the inequality of men and women not only in homes but also in public spheres of life and economic autonomy is equalized with equity.

According to equity approach benefits need to be redistributed and in the process men will loose some of the benefits they have gained earlier on the expense of women. (Moser 1993, 62-64)

In the equity approach women are seen as active participants in development both in their productive and reproductive roles. According to the equity approach strategic gender needs will be satisfied by changing the structures and the legislation of the societies and women need to be given full political and economic rights, which will enable them to act as equal members of the society. The challenge with the approach has been that the development assistance donors have been reluctant to interfere with countries' traditions or culture and to require any changes of power distribution in the receiving countries. Another difficulty has been the implementation of equity programs even though the policy statements were in accordance with the idea of equity approach. Implementation of the program has perhaps just meant that more women have been included in the old programs without changing the content otherwise or that the effects of the political or legislative changes could not be seen at the grass root level. (Moser 1993, 62-65)

3) The anti-poverty approach

The anti-poverty approach was introduced in the 1970s and it is considered to be the second WID-approach. It is thought to be a toned down version of the equity approach as it doesn't require interference with the power relations in the developing society and thus doesn't try to meet women's strategic gender needs. The approach concentrates on reducing income inequality but doesn't recognize the women's subordinate position compared to men. It is assumed that women's poverty and the inequality between men and women are consequences of unequal access to productive resources such as funding and land, as well as of sexual discrimination in the labor market. The basic objective of the approach is to alleviate poverty and redistribute growth by creating opportunities for income generating and employment for low-income women. (Moser 1993, 66-68)

Anti-poverty approach targets especially low-income women who are considered to be the poorest of the poor. The target group was chosen because women are thought to be important in meeting basic needs of the family and it has been noticed that projects that ignore women don't create development in the whole society. Income-generating projects

for women tend to be small in scale and often aim to increase productivity of traditional women's activities instead of introducing new areas of work to women. Small income-generating projects targeted on women have been criticized for assuming women's income being less important than men's income. Challenges anti-poverty projects have faced have included for example cultural restrictions on women owning land or obtaining credit. Anti-poverty projects often assume that women have free time which they can use on productive work and forget the reproductive role of women. Unless the projects include ways to alleviate the women's domestic work burden, it is difficult to meet the intended practical gender needs on poverty alleviation. (Moser 1993, 67-69)

4) The efficiency approach

The third and still popular WID approach on women gained popularity in the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s along the world economic crisis. The efficiency approach wants to meet women's practical gender needs but the emphasis isn't anymore on women but on development in which women participate. The approach is based on the idea that increased women's participation will create a more just and equal society. It is also thought that development is more efficient and effective if women participate in it. Women are expected to participate in development in all three roles of their lives: as productive workers, as community managers taking care of common issues and as reproductive members taking care of the families. The approach relies on the women's ability to flexibly move from one role to another and that the time women can use on different issues is flexible. (Moser 1993, 69-70)

One good example of the efficiency thinking are the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Word Bank started to require from the developing countries as a condition to getting more credit in the 1980s. SAPs resulted for example in cuts on state expenditure. The SAPs rely strongly on the unpaid labor of women to replace cuts on state services or income levels for example by self-production of food or taking care of sick people. Both SAPs and the efficiency approach have been criticized strongly on the reliance on women's unpaid labor. By trusting that women compensate state services or take care of development project tasks on the community level the already heavy workload on women will become even heavier. (Moser 1993, 70-71)

5) The empowerment approach

The empowerment approach was developed as some people were not satisfied with how the original WID approach transformed into anti-poverty and efficiency approaches. It is the most recent approach and mostly used by some non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Because of its challenging nature it is still quite unpopular especially among national governments and bilateral agencies. The empowerment approach recognizes the inequality between men and women but also emphasizes that women have differently subordinate position based on race, class and colonial history and economic situation of their country. It is admitted that it is important to change the power balance in the society but in order to give more power to women it is not necessary to take it away from men. Women need to learn to trust their own skills and abilities to be able to get control over important material and non-material resources and to influence their own lives and their position in the society. (Moser 1993, 74-78)

According to the empowerment approach the action needs to start from the grassroots level. By addressing practical gender needs people will get through the problems at hand and at the same time the awareness of related strategic gender needs will be raised. Through bottom-up organizations women can challenge their own subordinate position. In order to change the women's position in the society it is important to transform the structures that sustain inequality but it has to happen in cooperation with women's organizations not just by top-down legislative changes. (Moser 1993, 76-77)

5   Women in the United Nations

5.1   Women Issues in the UN from the Beginning to the 1980s

The United Nations was founded right after the II World War to replace the collapsed League of Nations. Right from the beginning the voice of women has been heard surprisingly well in the UN decision making. Of course the decision makers were men but still some active women groups had their influence on the most important documents, such as Charter of United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights, and the choices of words in them. Some of the choices, which may seem to be quite insignificant but proved

to be important choices of principle later on, was to use term "equal rights for men and women" instead of just men and to use words human being instead of men. In general, during the first few decades, the questions of principle and defining terms seemed to be an important mission for female activists. It was also important to get attention to the juridical position of women and to set basic level of human rights for women. (Pietilä 2001, 13-24)

In the beginning of 1970s the idea of women in development started to change. Feministic movements and associations started to become more active in the industrialized countries. Also the growing food and population crises forced decision makers to reconsider their ideas of development. People started to realize that women have an important role in solving development problems. (Pietilä 2001, 24-25) It became important to integrate women into development and to use the female resources that had not been used so far (Pietilä 1991, ii).

Using the growing attention on women, it was proposed that the UN would organize a world conference on women and declare a theme year for women. The proposal was approved and the year 1975 was announced to be the International Women's Year (IWY). A world conference was decided to be organized in Mexico. After the conference it was decided that the decade 1976-1985 would be declared to be the United Nations Decade for Women. (Pietilä 2001, 24-27)

The World Conference for Women in Mexico City was the first intergovernmental world conference held to draw attention to the problems of women. It was historical also in the sense that the vast majority of participants (73%) were women. No other UN conference had ever had that great proportion of female participants. The conference approved a ten-year plan, World Plan of Action, for the implementation of the objectives of the International Women's Year. "Equality, development and peace" became the theme of the conference, and later on, the same theme was approved for the United Nations Decade for Women as well as for all other UN conferences on women. The conference decided to found a special fund to support the implementation of the approved Plan of Action. After the Decade for Women the fund was altered to the permanent United Nations Development Fund for Women, UNIFEM. The conference also found it necessary to have a research and training institute to promote women's position, and a year later INSTRAW, the United

Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, was founded. (Pietilä 2001, 27-29)

After the Mexico conference female perspective had become more visible in numerous different occasions. Women's issues were now handled in several conferences which concentrated on other issues and women got attention also in other UN committees than in the committee that handled social and humanitarian issues. It was realized that advancing women's position required also considering women in economical development. One challenge in the Mexico World Conference had been that there was only a limited amount of information on women's position in different countries. After the conference a huge amount of information was gathered and a more profound picture of women's position could be drawn. (Pietilä 1991, 75)

As already decided in Mexico, the Second World Conference on Women was held in 1980 in Copenhagen, Denmark. The results of the Decade for Women so far were reviewed and more specific goals were set for the second five-year period in the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women. In Copenhagen many countries signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which had been approved in 1979. (Pietilä 1991, 74-75) The convention may be considered as the most important United Nations document for women, as the convention is legally binding for all the countries that have ratified it (Pietilä 2001, 21). The Copenhagen conference decided that the Third World Conference on Women would be organized in 1985 to evaluate the results of the Decade for Women and to set goals for further development. (Pietilä 1991, 74-75)

5.2 Nairobi World Conference on Women

> "From the great hopes and wishful, barely articulated expectations of the Mexico City conference which opened the United Nations Decade for Women in 1975, the women of the world have developed their aspirations to the point at which they became well-defined action plans in Nairobi." (Pietilä & Vickers 1994, 1)

In 1985, in the end of the Decade for Women, the third World Conference on Women was held in Nairobi, Kenya to evaluate the results of the past decade. It was clear that the goals that had been set for the decade were not achieved, but many things had changed. The UN Decade for Women had given a framework for advancing women issues on many fields. (Pietilä 2001, 26-29) One of the main results of the Decade was that much more accurate and detailed information existed now on women and their position in different countries. Now many countries had sex disaggregated data for the first time and leaders were forced to see the implications of development policies. (Tinker 1997, 35) It was possible to set more detailed goals for advancement of women's position and make more concrete action plans than before (Pietilä & Vickers 1994, 1). The awareness of women issues had grown greatly both among women and men and the attitudes towards women issues had become more positive (Pietilä 2001, 28-29). Women had also gained self-confidence to demand their rights. Especially during the parallel meetings new connections between women all over the world were made and networks of women across the borders were created. One important result of the Decade for Women was that also many UN organizations and individual countries were "forced" to make decisions and recommendations that took women into consideration. Even though not everyone was serious about women's issues, the official decisions gave women legal support for their demands. (Tinker 1997, 35)

In addition to evaluating the results of the Decade for Women, the Nairobi conference also made plans for the future. The conference approved the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women towards 2000. The Purpose of the Forward-looking Strategies (FLS) was to "provide a framework for renewed commitment by the international community to the advancement of women and the elimination of gender-based discrimination" (United Nations 1985, paragraph 6). It also presented strategies and concrete actions how to achieve the reconfirmed goals of equality, development and peace. It was seen that all three areas are interrelated and influence each other. (Pietilä & Vickers 1994, 49) Women's development and equality between men and women will promote peace and development in the society, and peace will again promote further development.

One of the main changes brought by FLS is the changed idea of woman in development compared to all previous UN documents. Women were no longer considered only as mere objects of development or human resources but as equal partners and subjects of development. (Pietilä & Vickers 1994, 50) It was also understood that women's

participation is not only beneficial but that it may be essential for reaching the development goals.

> "The attainment of the goals and objectives of the Decade requires a sharing of this responsibility by men and women and by society as a whole and requires that women play a central role as intellectuals, policy-makers, decision-makers, planners, and contributors and beneficiaries of development. (…) The need for women's perspective on human development is critical since it is in the interest of human enrichment and progress to introduce and weave into the social fabric women's concept of equality, their choices between alternative development strategies and their approach to peace, in accordance with their aspirations, interests and talents." (United Nations 1985, paragraphs 15 & 16)

One of the great achievements of the Nairobi World Conference on Women was that the final document, Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, was unanimously approved. It may be considered as an indication of a successful conference as well as a proof that something had changed in the attitudes of the leaders of the world during the UN Decade for Women. It also gave the strategies more importance and significance as the implementation was beginning. (Pietilä & Vickers 1994, 48)

5.3   Beijing World Conference on Women

The Fourth World Conference on Women was held in 1995 in Beijing, China. The conference summarized and confirmed the results achieved in other UN conferences during the beginning of the 1990s, and set objectives and an action plan for the next five years (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1996, 12). The conference approved the Declaration and Platform for Action (PFA) for Equality, Development and Peace.

The main objective of Beijing PFA is told in the Mission Statement of the document: "The Platform for Action is an agenda for women's empowerment" (United Nations 1995, paragraph 1). The objective was no longer just to remove obstacles of women's advancement like in Nairobi, but also to empower women to act themselves. According to

the PFA empowerment aims at "removing all the obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making". PFA also states that empowerment means that "the principle of shared power and responsibility should be established between women and men at home, in the workplace and in the wider national and international communities". Equality between men and women was seen as a matter of human rights and as a condition for social justice. (United Nations 1995, paragraph 1)

Another main objective of PFA can be summarized by quoting one action which has been included under every strategic objective:

> "[G]overnments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively." (See for example United Nations 1995, paragraph 79)

In PFA all governments committed themselves to mainstreaming gender and to making so called gender impact assessments before making any decisions (Pietilä 2001, 43). As the PFA states, the gender impact assessment assesses if and what kind of impacts the decision has on men and/or women.

The PFA also recognized twelve critical areas for women. The areas include for example poverty, health, human rights, media and environment. Strategic objectives were set for each area of concern and a number of actions were proposed to achieve those objectives.

The Beijing World Conference on Women also brought one change to the discussion on women in the UN. Even though the word gender had become familiar in development discussion already in the 1980s, it only was established into the official UN language in the Beijing conference. (Pietilä 2001, 44-45)

The results of Beijing PFA were evaluated in Beijing+5 meeting, where the goals of the PFA were confirmed. The next World Conference on Women may be held in 2005. (Pietilä 2001, 55-56)

5.4 Approach on Women in the UN World Conferences on Women

The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (FLS) addresses some practical gender needs of women such as hunger and malnutrition and the need for giving more attention and assistance to the victims of violence against women. It also addresses women's strategic gender needs by promoting a more just society in which women may reach their full development. The Nairobi FLS document can in general be considered as a combination of integrationist and transformative strategies.

There are several examples of the FLS's integrationist strategy. The document highly emphasizes the importance of integrating women into development and women's active participation in development. The document also emphasizes the meaning of women as a valuable resource in order to create effective development. The optimum development of resources will be achieved only if women's participation and contribution will be acknowledged and valued. Women need to be integrated into existing economic life as well as into development plans and programs instead of just writing down the intent to include women or by creating separate small-scale women projects.

Even though the integrationist strategy has a strong position in the FLS document, the position of the transformative strategy is even stronger. The document emphasizes that women should be an integral part of the process of defining objectives and modes of development as well as developing strategies and measures for their implementation. The female perspective on all sectors and all spheres on life is seen as crucial in order to achieve any development goals. Women should also have an access to political power and an opportunity to full participation in decision-making.

The FLS document emphasizes the importance of changing gender roles and norms, which can be considered to represent the gender-transformative policy. Informal work should be given more appreciation and domestic work load including parental responsibilities should be shared by women and men. In addition to necessary legislative changes to promote equality, also education and information dissemination should be directed at changing

discriminatory attitudes and stereotypes. Dissemination of information may help men to understand the value of women as well as women to understand their rights.

The FLS document is a combination of equity and efficiency approaches to women. The main emphasis is on creating equal conditions and equal appreciation of women and men, but also women's role in making things happen more efficiently is recognized.

The resolution of the Beijing World Conference on Women recognizes many strategic issues and needs that affect the lives of women and girls and cause many practical difficulties in their lives. In the Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) many of the strategic objectives are in fact related to very practical issues but it is recognized that by solving those issues also the strategic gender needs will be satisfied. Such objectives are for example giving the access to credit mechanisms, eradicating illiteracy among women and increasing women's access to quality health care and health related information.

The resolution of the Beijing World Conference on Women includes a few examples of the integrationist strategy, such as giving women access to economic resources and making it possible for women and girls to participate in development process, but in general the document may be considered to represent the transformative strategy. The document emphasizes the empowerment of women and women's full participation in all spheres of society. This includes participation in all kinds of decision-making processes and access to power on the basis of equality. Women are recognized to be "a fundamental force for leadership, conflict resolution and the promotion of lasting peace". The document sees it as essential to create gender-sensitive policies and programs that foster empowerment and advancement of women.

The PFA document emphasizes the need for change of attitudes against women and girls. The media is urged to give a balanced and non-stereotyped picture of women and the need for awareness raising on the needs and potential of girls is recognized. The document also recognizes the importance of shaping attitudes already on the early age and states that the principle of equality of women and men must be integral already to the socialization process of children.

The main approach on women in the Beijing PFA is the empowerment approach. The PFA document recognizes women's subordinate position and emphasizes the importance of not only legislative changes but also grass root level activism.

6   Finnish Development Cooperation

Finns have been active in assisting developing countries already before Finland's independence. Voluntary organizations and missionaries have had activities in developing countries since second half of 19th century. (Rekola 1994, 86) First contacts Finland had to official development assistance was through active involvement in the United Nations (Porvali et al. 1995, 131). Finland wasn't directly involved in the development cooperation activities until beginning of 1960s. In the beginning Finland was involved in multilateral projects and the bilateral cooperation was slowly started in cooperation with other Nordic countries (Siitonen & Sitari 1990, 50). The first actual development cooperation project that Finland was involved in was starting an agricultural school and a health center in Kisarawe, Tanzania in cooperation with other Nordic countries in 1962. In the development cooperation guiding principles outlined in 1963, Finland emphasized the role of the United Nations and the Nordic cooperation. Finland set one per cent of the GNP as a target level for its development assistance funds (Porvali et al. 1995, 131).

As Finland started to give development assistance, the first target countries were Tanzania and Kenya. (Siitonen & Sitari 1990, 57) In the beginning Finland didn't have a clear development policy and the choices for the countries receiving assistance have been done for several different reasons. In the beginning the most important reason was the example of other Nordic countries and cooperation possibilities in for example Tanzania and Kenya. Also United Nations' policies influenced Finnish decisions makers to choose some of the poorest countries such as Ethiopia. Historical connections, through for example missionaries, and power relations between political parties in Finland also affected decisions. It was very rare that economical and trade issues would have had a strong effect on Finland's country decisions. (Siitonen & Sitari 1990, 65-67)

The volume of Finnish development assistance has varied greatly. Starting from 0,5 million Euros (FIM 3 million) in 1961 (Rekola 1994, 86) the amount of development

assistance budget has grown to be about 480 million Euros (FIM 2,85 billion) in 2002 (Ulkoasiainministeriö 2003b, 31). In the beginning of the 1990s the amount was as high as 630 million Euros (FIM 3,7 billion) (Rekola 1994, 87). On international perspective the actual amounts of money Finland has given as development assistance have been modest but the percentage of GNP has given a more positive picture. In the beginning of 1990s Finland reached the United Nations recommendation of 0,7 % of GNP for development assistance (Rekola 1994, 87). Due to the cuts during recession later in the 1990s the percentage has sank into 0,34% in 2002 (Ulkoasiainministeriö 2003b, 31).

Why Finland gives development assistance? According to Siitonen & Sitari (1990, 49-54) there have been many different reasons, one of the most important ones being Finland's foreign policy and its credibility. In order to be credible in the eyes of the other countries, it is required also to invest some money on solving development problems, not only to discuss them. The image of Finland as a Nordic welfare country also requires some development investments. Being active in development assistance has also been useful for Finland's reputation as a neutral country. Finland hasn't had any specific strategic or political interests outside Europe. Neither has it any military allies and it has never given military assistance to any country. This has given Finland relative freedom in choosing the countries it wants to assist. One reason for giving development assistance may have been that it has been important for Finland to show that it belongs to the group of developed industrialized countries, not to the group of developing countries. In fact, until 1968 Finland was receiving more assistance from the World Bank than it was giving to other countries.

Other reasons for Finland's involvement in development assistance are ethical and financial. Christian missionary work as well as labor and peace organizations have had quite a strong impact on the idea of development assistance in Finland as well as in all Nordic countries. Finland also has agreed on the idea that development of poor countries promotes economic growth all over the world. Also the lessons learnt from assisting developing countries have been considered as valuable for Finnish exports companies. (Siitonen & Sitari 1990, 54)

6.1 The Goals of the Finnish Development Cooperation

During the first two decades of Finnish development cooperation no clear development strategies were formulated (Shepherd et al. 1999, 27) but in 1974 the Finnish Government approved a decision-in-principle on international development cooperation. The paper stated the basic principles Finland would follow while giving development assistance. The Government stated that it would follow the principles approved by the UN in its development strategy for 1970s. The main purpose of development was to offer better possibilities for living for all people. To promote social justice and efficient production a more equal distribution of income and property was needed. National sovereignty was seen as a basic precondition for economic and social development and developing countries were seen as main responsible for their own development. (Hallituksen hyväksymä… , 246-248)

In the 1980s when the volume of development cooperation expanded rapidly it became obvious that a proper development strategy was needed. The first explicit development strategy for Finland was published in 1993. It has been argued that the strategy was made to defend development cooperation during high budget cuts of the beginning of 1990s. (Shepherd et al. 1999, 27)

The strategy paper published in 1993, Development Co-operation in the 1990s; Strategic Goals and Means, positioned development cooperation as a part of Finland's foreign policy. Through material and human resource transfers to developing countries Finland wanted to promote sustainable development, peace, equality, democracy and human rights and to further interaction between Finland and developing countries. All cooperation partners, including governments and organizations, were to commit themselves to the goals of poverty reduction, combating global environmental threats and promoting social equality, democracy and human rights. Finland stressed the responsibility of the developing countries for their own development and required will to develop as a precondition for assistance. (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1993, 15-16)

According to Koponen and Mattila-Wiro (1996, 13) the main changes in Finnish development theory brought by the 1993 development strategy were a shift from modernization theory to direct poverty reduction approach and the adaptation of free

market model. Other changes were also the emergence of demand for good governance and emphasis on sustainability. Sustainability was thought to mean both environmental sustainability and ability to maintain activities and benefits after the foreign aid has ended. Another main change was increased attention given to the role of women and gender in development.

According to Koponen and Mattila-Wiro (1996, 44) there has been one major continuity in the stated goals and aims of Finnish development cooperation over the years even when general development goals and means for achieving them have changed. The emphasis on the reduction or elimination of inequalities in wealth and welfare between developing and developed countries has been included in all major policy documents all the way from 1974 Basic Policy statement until 1993 strategy paper.

In 1996 Finland approved a Decision-in-principle on Finland's Development Cooperation, which was made to detail and clarify the principles and means for attaining Finland's development objectives. The goals of development cooperation were reaffirmed to be poverty alleviation, combating global environmental threats and promotion of social equality, democracy and human rights. The Government set five principles which should be followed while striving for the goals. First of all development cooperation was to be considered as an element of foreign policy and objectives of various policy sectors were to be coherent. Secondly, poverty reduction was seen as one of the key goals of Finnish development cooperation and economic growth was to be coupled with promoting social development. The third principle of sustainable development was understood to mean "finding the right balance between economic growth, environmental capacity and demands for the redistribution of income, with the help of development support, structures and solutions that will remain environmentally, economically, socially and administratively viable when external aid stops". Fourth principle, promoting human rights, equality, democracy and good governance, was thought to be the best way to reach long-term economic and social development. One of the tools to achieve that was promoting implementation of Beijing Platform of Action. The fifth principle was pursuing effectiveness and quality. (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1999, 6-9)

In 1998 Finland approved a Policy on Relations with Developing Countries, which aimed at setting more common goals for Finland's relations with developing countries (Ministry

for Foreign Affairs 2001, 10). There development cooperation was identified to be one tool in achieving Finland's development policy goals. Other tools for increasing global security, reducing poverty and environmental problems as well as promoting human rights and economic interaction were identified as for example political and economic dialogue, cultural cooperation and increasing expertise and cooperation inside Finland. (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2001, 21-39)

In 2001 Finland approved a document called Operationalisation of Development Policy Objectives in Finland's International Development Cooperation. The document set criteria for selecting partner countries and instruments for cooperation. The partner countries for Finland's bilateral development cooperation were divided into two categories: long-term partner countries and other partnerships. Long-term partner countries were identified as poor countries who are willing and able to develop and who have capacity that allows effective use of the available resources. A prerequisite for assistance was also that Finland has experience in cooperating with that country and that Finland has some expertise that the receiving country needs. The cooperation with long-term partners was to be based on government-to-government development programs with the main objective of poverty reduction. In the countries that didn't fulfill the requirements for long-term partnership the cooperation was directed mainly through NGOs and other cooperation organizations. The cooperation was to be targeted thematically to for example environment, HIV/AIDS or human rights. The purpose was to reduce number of aid receiving countries and aid receiving sectors within those countries. (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2002, 8-12)

Finland also decided to continue emphasizing the role of the United Nations in international development cooperation and identified the UN as having a key role in formulation of common rules and goals. Finland also decided to give priority to international development goals established in the UN while setting objectives and deciding on practical implementation of programs with all development financing institutions. (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2002, 16-18)

6.2   Specific Gender Guidelines

Finland approved its first specific principles for including women in development cooperation in 1980. The document states that improving the status of women will be emphasized more than previously and that improving the position of women in developing countries is seen as a part of promoting social equality in general. It is emphasized that in addition to specific projects concentrating on improving women's living conditions also other programs and projects may have an effect on women's productivity and societal participation. (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1988, 9)

A more comprehensive Guidelines and Programme of Action concentrating on women was approved in 1988. Following the decisions made in Nairobi World Conference on Women, women's position in the society was no longer seen purely as a social question but women were seen as beneficiars as well as active participators in development. Women were also considered to be entitled to get their share of the development's results. (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1988, 11) The emphasis was put on so called integrated approach, which means that improving women's position is mainly seen as a part of all other programs instead of implementing special projects for women (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1988, ii). The fact that many developing countries had included equality in their development plans was seen as a permission to raise women question in negotiations about future development assistance (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1988, 24).

The main tools offered by the Programme of Action are two lists of questions that should be considered while planning and implementing projects. The first list includes following questions: (i) Are women a target group in the project? (ii) Have women been heard in the planning stage of the project? (iii) Do women participate in the project? (iv) Have the obstacles to women's participation been monitored and what has been planned to remove the obstacles? and (v) Have any experts on women issues participated in planning and evaluation? The second list includes questions that describe the benefits for women more closely: (i) How the project benefits women directly and can the aims/functions be made more detailed? (ii) Which resources have been nominated for achieving those results? (iii) Has there been gender specific information available during the planning process and what more information is needed? (iv) How does the project affect women's productivity, women's education possibilities, women's income (v) How does project affect division of

labor between men and women, women's workload, role of women in the family and community, women's reproductive rights, and (vi) Does the project improve women's social and economic independence? (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1988, v-vi)

During the 1990s there was no specific policy approved considering gender issues in Finnish development cooperation. The main emphasis was put on developing tools for including women and gender into development projects. (See Vainio-Mattila 1999, 6) In the beginning of the 1990s some reviews on gender issues in development cooperation projects were conducted and as one result of those reviews sectoral guidelines for water supply and sanitation sector, forestry sector and agriculture and rural development were published. Also a more general guideline on gender analysis was published. The purpose of the guidelines was to "serve as a tool in integrating the gender dimension into development projects". (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1995, 1) Another tool for gender analysis, Navigating Gender, was provided by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1999. Also quite a few trainings on gender issues were organized both to personnel of Ministry for Foreign Affairs and personnel of private sector and NGOs (Vainio-Mattila 1999, 4).

A new gender equality strategy and plan of action for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was approved in spring 2003. The strategy and the plan of action define the goals, principles and actions to increase the effect of Finland's development policy in promoting gender equality and women's rights in 2003-2007 (Ulkoasiainministeriö 2003, 4). The main actions to increase the effect are mainstreaming gender equality into all processes, methods and activities related to Finland's development policy and directing activities to promoting gender equality and women's rights. Finland also supports the implementation of gender related goals and strategies in all its partner countries and organizations. The principles include for example that gender equality is an essential part of Finland's development policy, women's empowerment has a central role in achieving equality and gender equality can be achieved only through cooperation between men and women. It is also stated that there is a need for specific actions against inequality in order to achieve gender equality. Some of those actions need to be directed specifically towards men. (Ulkoasiainministeriö 2003, 10-11)

6.3 Approach on Women in the Finnish Development Cooperation

In general the Guidelines and Programme of Action concentrating on women is aware of the importance of women for development and it emphasizes the importance of integrating women into all projects and programs. Women need to be integrated into development in order to create sustainable progress and social and economic development. Women are seen as a valuable resource and by giving women an opportunity to for example education their productivity can be increased. Most of the questions included in the check lists may be considered to ensure integrationist strategy towards women in the projects but some questions, such as questions about project's effect on distribution of work load or on women's role in the community, can also be considered to direct the projects towards the transformative strategy. The Programme also emphasizes the importance of women's participation in decision-making and redistribution of work load in order to give women more time for personal development.

The Guidelines and Programme of Action document is a combination of the efficiency and anti-poverty approaches on women. Women are seen as a valuable resource as well as a vulnerable target group for poverty reduction activities.

Finland's first actual development cooperation strategy, Finland's Development Cooperation in the 1990s, seems to be mainly gender aware even though women (or men) haven't been explicitly mentioned in that many places. The general objectives of Finnish development cooperation and requirements for cooperation partners include the idea of promoting equality. In the substantive goals Finland sets more specific goals for promoting equality. Finland promotes popular participation, which means that every individual has the right to help make decisions that affect him/her. Finland also wants to utilize both female and male resources and redevelop them equally. As a special issue related to bilateral cooperation Finland raises the status of women and emphasizes the importance of increasing women's opportunities to participate and influence decisions. Mainly the strategy Finland seems to have adapted is integrationist. The mentions on redeveloping men and women equally and on increasing opportunities of women to influence decisions affecting them may also represent transformative strategy.

The Decision-in-principle on Finland's Development Cooperation reconfirms the goals of the previous strategy paper for the development cooperation, including promoting social equality, democracy and human rights. As a tool for reducing poverty Finland wants to strengthen the participation of women in social and economic activities through for example encouraging for extensive basic education to girls and women. As a tool for promoting human rights and equality Finland wants to encourage equal participation by women in society and production. The Decision-in-principle on Finland's Development Cooperation represents mainly the integrationist strategy. The only part that represents any interest towards the transformative strategy is the part where Finland confirms the commitment to promoting the implementation of the transformative strategy of the Beijing Platform for Action.

The Finland's Development Cooperation in the 1990s and the Decision-in-principle documents use combinations of anti-poverty and equity approaches. Women are considered to be a poor group who needs economic opportunities in order to keep up with the development, but on the other hand they also need more equal rights in order to be able to grasp those economic opportunities.

Finland's Policy on Relations with Development Countries can be considered to be gender aware and it mainly represents integrationist strategy. It confirms Finland's commitment to the UN's Global Agenda, which includes promoting human rights and democracy as preconditions for equality in decision-making process. Finland's Policy on Relations with Development Countries also reconfirms the objective of improving human rights and equality. Finland emphasizes the relation between issues of gender equality and crisis prevention, emergency relief and rehabilitation. Inequality is recognized as one of the reasons behind conflicts and thus promoting equality is seen as a way to advance global security. Advancement of participation of women is also recognized as means for reducing poverty. Finland also wants to promote rights of women and girls, which can be considered to represent transformative strategy.

The Operationalisation of Development Policy Objectives in Finland's International Development Cooperation makes a strong commitment to promoting equality. It states that the promotion of gender equality must be given a central role in all cooperation in order to achieve Finland's main development objective of poverty reduction. The policy also sets

promotion of equality as one of the basic elements in the promotion of global peace and security. Equality is also presented as one of the areas where Finland may have thematic cooperation with its partner countries. The Policy can be considered to be very much gender aware, but the strategy and approach for promoting gender equality has been left pretty much for the development cooperation partner countries to decide.

It is difficult to say whether the Finland's Policy on Relations with Development Countries and Operationalisation of Development Objectives documents represent equity or empowerment approaches. It seems to be important for Finland to promote equal rights and opportunities for women and men but it has been left open what is meant by that.

7 Tanzania and the Development Cooperation with Finland

7.1 General Information on Tanzania

Tanzania came into being in 1964 when two former British colonies, Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged. Independent Tanzania committed itself to socialism and self-reliance. In the late 1960s Tanzania started to promote so called villagization (Ujamaa policy) which became more or less compulsory in 1973. Villagization meant that dispersed villages were grouped into bigger villages and communal production systems were introduced. The idea behind villagization was to facilitate the provision of improved services and to raise the productivity of labor. The purpose was also to promote stronger political consciousness. (Porvali et al. 1995, 48)

Even though many development economists thought that the idea of villagization would be successful, it proved not to be. Because of many internal and external reasons Tanzania ended up being one of the poorest nations of the world. (Porvali et al. 1995, 49-50) In the beginning of 1980s Tanzania committed itself into a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) (Porvali et al. 1995, 59). Since 1980s Tanzania has made reforms in the political system, economic management and government administration. Tanzania has now adopted a multiparty democracy system and it has converted its socialist economic system into a market one. It has also made cuts in the public sector. (Tanzania National Website)

Tanzania is still one of the poorest countries in the world and in the beginning of the 1990s it was estimated to have received more development assistance than any other country (Suomalainen tietosanakirja 1993, 15-16). The population of Tanzania is about 33 million and about 50% of the population is living below the poverty line (Tanzania National Website). The population growth rate is estimated at 2,6% and expected life time at birth is only about 52 years (CIA).

Tanzania's economy is dependent on agriculture which provides 85% of exports. Agriculture employs about 80% of the work force even though only 4% of Tanzania's total land area is cultivated. Forests and woodland is estimated to cover about 38% of the land area but deforestation and desertification are considered to be major environmental problems. (CIA)

7.2 The Finnish-Tanzanian Development Cooperation

The development assistance from Finland to Tanzania has been given since 1948 when Finnish missionaries started their operation in Tanzania. In addition to their religious objectives, the missionaries also gave development assistance especially in the fields of health and education. (Porvali et al. 1995, 173) The first official development cooperation project between Finland and Tanzania took place in 1962 in cooperation with other Nordic countries. The project was so called Tanganyika project which included starting an agricultural school and a health center in Kisarawe. (Porvali et al. 1995, 131) In the beginning the cooperation was entirely based on cooperation with the other Nordic countries and the governments of Finland and Tanzania didn't have any regular forum to communicate directly and to plan their joint development program. The official bilateral country negotiations started as late as in 1975. (Porvali et al. 1995, 138)

In the 1960s and early 1970s the cooperation between Finland and Tanzania consisted mostly of technical assistance in form of advisors attending work in parastatal companies and governmental institutions. There were also volunteers working in Tanzanian institutions. (Porvali et al. 1995, 174) In cooperation with other Nordic countries Finland supported mostly agriculture and rural development. Also education gained some attention. (Porvali et al. 1995, 179)

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the cooperation between Finland and Tanzania consisted mostly of bilateral project assistance. The amount of projects increased and the projects became increasingly capital intensive. Finnish companies were actively involved in project planning and implementation. Parastatal companies were often targets of the projects. (Porvali et al. 1995, 174-175) Industrial sectors were getting most of the Finnish support, forest industry being the most popular sector with about one third of the funds. Agriculture and forestry were no longer priorities and in the beginning of 1980s they received less than 8% of the funds. (Porvali et al. 1995, 179)

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the number of Finnish projects decreased and they became less capital intensive. Quality of the projects became more of an issue and more attention was paid on sustainability, participation of beneficiaries and women in development. Finland also supported the Tanzanian structural adjustment efforts. (Porvali et al. 1995, 175) The focus of Finnish support was no longer as strongly on industry as before and now transportation sector got the biggest share of funds in form of support to Dar es Salaam harbor. The combined share of agriculture and forestry sectors had grown into 18% of funds. In the beginning of 1990s the emphasis was on energy sector as a result of supporting Pangani Power Station. Agriculture and forestry received about one fourth of the funding. (Porvali et al. 179-181)

Tanzania has remained one of the main recipients of Finnish development assistance. Tanzania was originally chosen to be the first target of Finnish development assistance because of the example of other Nordic countries. Tanzania has had policies which have appealed on Nordic ways of thinking. It has had the policy of self-reliance and equality and it has had a strong emphasis on social services. It has also had a relatively good reputation regarding human rights. (Porvali et al. 1995, 173-174) In addition to the political reasons, Tanzania has also been one of the poorest countries of the world, which has made the decision to continue the support quite easy.

8   Selected Forestry Sector Projects

As examples of the project level I introduce three Tanzanian forestry sector projects funded by the Finnish Government. Two of the projects concentrate on policy level and they both have been projects supporting formulation of a forestry program. The first project, Tanzania Forestry Action Plan (TFAP), was implemented in 1988-1989 and the second one, Support to the National Forest Programme (NFP) Formulation in Tanzania, in 2000-2001. The third project, East Usambara Catchment Forest Project (EUCFP), was a field project which was implemented in 1990-2002. The selection of the projects makes it possible to study approaches on gender issues both in different periods of time and on different levels of action.

8.1   TFAP

The Tanzania Forestry Action Plan (TFAP) was based on a FAO/UNDP initiative to reverse deforestation in developing countries (Shepherd et al. 1999, 51). FAO/UNDP promoted a "coordinated approach to solving the tropical forest crisis" in form of Tropical Forestry Action Plan (FAO et al., 7).Tanzania had already before realized that it needed a comprehensive forestry plan and Finland became the leading donor supporting the development of TFAP (Shepherd 1999, 51).

The main objectives of the Tanzania Forestry Action Plan process were
1. To review past policies and development efforts
2. To formulate a long-term development strategy and to establish necessary quantitative targets
3. To prepare an Action Plan including programs for development activities and institutional support
4. To present project profiles for the implementation of the plan.

The strategic goal set in the TFAP was "to enhance forestry's contribution to sustainability of the country's land resources". The Plan included eight development programs which all included action plans and planned projects. The development programs covered various areas of forestry, including land husbandry, community forestry, forest management, bioenergy, forest industry, beekeeping, wildlife management and ecosystems conservation.

The Plan also recommended reforms on policies, legislation and administrative structures. Attention was also paid on need for education and training as well as for awareness building on the roles of forests. (MLNRT 1989, ix-xi) The funding for the implementation of programs and related projects was largely counted on external donors. (MLNRT 1989, 121)

The support to TFAP development achieved its main objective and the Plan was approved by the Government of Tanzania. The development of the Plan was followed by the second phase of the project, "Support to Implementation Project". (Shepherd 1999, 52) Soon after finalizing the original Plan there were major changes in Tanzanian society. For example a multi-party political system was adapted, many government-owned companies were privatized and sectoral policies and legislation were reviewed and revised. The original Plan became soon outdated and its updating was never completed. (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1999b, 1)

In general the TFAP report seems to consider the participation of all people (including women) as a precondition for a successful goal attainment. Sex or gender hasn't often been considered as an issue and at most places women are mentioned as a part of a list of special groups such as youth and rural poor. Most of the data hasn't been disaggregated by sex and often the report refers to people in general as population, community, farmers, etc. instead of separate individuals.

Even though the TFAP report can primarily be considered as gender-blind, some parts of the report are also gender-aware. The report does recognize the inequality between men and women in land usage and wants to examine the potential conflicts in land rights of men and women before law and the customary land rights. The willingness to give training to women regarding land rights and the support to different groups (including women) to get organized may be considered as gender-redistributive policy. Even though there are some features representing transformative strategy, at most places the report just integrates women into existing or planned activities in order to make the activities more efficient or includes women specific activities in order to meet some practical gender needs such as lack of time for gathering fuel wood.

The parts of the TFAP report that are gender-aware have a combination of efficiency and welfare approaches on women. Women are mainly seen as a resource in order to make development projects more efficient or in order to find solutions to some practical welfare problems.

8.2 NFP

Tanzania approved a new National Forest Policy in 1998. After that it became obvious that an instrument was needed to implement the new policy. (MNRT 2001, i) It was decided to develop a National Forest Program based on a framework provided by FAO (see FAO 1996).

The overall objective of the Support to the National Forest Programme Formulation project was "to enhance the contribution of the forest sector to the sustainable development of Tanzania and the conservation and management of her natural resource for the benefit of present and future generations". The project had two purposes: (1) "to support the national forest (and beekeeping) programme formulation", and while doing so (2) "to strengthen the national capacity to formulate and implement the NFP and NBP to support overall government policies and the anticipated changes in the sector". (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1999b, 18-19) The formulation of NFP was divided into five parts: (1) forest land management, (2) forest-based industries and products, (3) ecosystem conservation, (4) institutions and human resources and (5) beekeeping sector.

The stakeholders of the project were the same as the Tanzanian government had identified in the Forest Policy and Beekeeping Policy. The list of stakeholders included local communities, NGOs, private sector and/or specialized executive agencies, local government, forestry and beekeeping institutions, other government institutions and international community. A direct beneficiary was identified to be the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism through participating in the process and getting a tool for Forest Policy implementation. (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1999b, 17)

The project supporting National Forest Programme formulation will be followed by a project supporting the implementation phase of the NFP.

The Project Document of the Support to National Forest Programme Formulation can be considered to be gender-blind. In the document there are a few mentions that the program is supposed to work in a gender sensitive manner and that women are to be included into the process. The document also mentions that women's access to land needs to be considered and the program is supposed to meet some specific needs of for example women but gender or women haven't been included into the document consistently.

However, the actual NFP report can be considered to be gender-aware. Not all data has been disaggregated by sex and sometimes gender or gender sensitivity seems to be a magic word that has to be included into the text but in general gender seems to be a consistent part of the program.

Partly the program has a transformative strategy. It may be considered gender-transformative because the aim is to change old attitudes and customs and to empower women to become a normal part of the decision making processes. A gender-specific transformative feature is the motivation to improve women's rights to owning land and controlling its products. The program has also many integrationist features. It takes quite a neutral position on training and recruitment: it is more important to include women into forestry sector activities and make sure that there are enough men and women available for the work to be done than to think whether they should be men or women. Also by making sure that both sexes get benefits from development it is easier to motivate everyone to work for it. The program also wants to find integrationist gender-specific solutions to women's practical needs such as lack of fuel wood.

The NFP report has partly the efficiency and partly the empowerment approach on women. Integrating women into projects is seen as a way to make things happen more efficiently but on the other had it is seen as important to change attitudes and stereotypes against women and to empower women to become more active in the forestry sector.

8.3 EUCFP

Finland's activities in the East Usambara area in Tanzania started already in the end of 1970s. Finland commissioned an inventory in the area to find out possibilities for commercial logging. The inventory showed that it was possible to start the loggings and Finland gave its support to a parastatal company, Sikh Sawmills, to start operations in the area. In the beginning of 1980s another inventory was made and the results supported the continuation of the loggings. (Shepherd et al. 1999, 55)

In 1986 yet another study on the East Usambara forests was made. The study showed that the cuttings in the area were not as harmless as they were thought to be. The previous inventories had not considered other than commercial logging value of the forests and the volume of cuttings was way too high. As a result of the study findings as well as growing international pressure, a complete logging ban was set in the East Usambara forest reserve in 1986. The area became a target of increasing conservation efforts and is nowadays considered to be one of the world's most valuable areas from the biodiversity point of view. In addition to being considered 'the Galapagos in Africa' because of its rich biodiversity and existing endemic species the area is also valuable as a water catchment area for surrounding areas. (Shepherd et al. 1999, 55-56)

In the beginning of 1990s Finland started a conservationist project, the East Usambara Catchment Forest Project (EUCFP), in the East Usambara area. The project can be seen as an attempt to make good some of the damage caused to the valuable forest area and to repair the damaged image of Finland as a forestry country (Koponen & Mattila-Wiro 1996, 186-187). The project was prolonged with a second and a third phase.

8.3.1 Phase I

The first phase of East Usambara Catchment Forest Project was started in 1990 and continued until 1994. According to the Project Document, the long-term development objectives of the project were to "maintain the essential ecological processes and life support systems in the East Usambaras supporting the population in rural and urban areas in the Tanga Region, and to preserve the genetic resources for the benefit of the future generation", and to "ensure that the utilization of the East Usambara forest related

resources is rational and sustainable". Immediate objectives of the projects were (1) "establishment and management of the Amani Nature Reserve for preserving its biological diversity", (2) "establishment of sustained catchment forestry practices for watershed management and utilization of forest related resources", (3) "effective management of plantation forests for wood use reducing pressure on natural forest and as a buffer zone against the reserved natural forests" and (4) "improved capacity in the Forest Division to plan and manage natural forests for multiple purposes". (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1990, 10)

In compliance with the immediate objectives, the project was planned to consist of four components: nature conservation, catchment forestry, plantation forestry and institutional support. The main outputs of the different components were planned to be for example establishment of the Amani Natural Reserve in the East Usambara mountains, developing management plans for the East Usambara forests, controlling illegalities, increasing wood production on the plantations, research supporting surveying the area and improving management, and creating better office and rest house facilities. (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1990, 20-21)

The Project Document recognized a wide range of target groups for the project. The world community and all Tanzanians are seen to benefit from the project as well as local population and tea estates. The primary target groups are recognized as Tanga urban and industrial communities and other water consumers dependent on the East Usambara forest catchment. The benefits were to come in forms of sustainable water and fuel wood supplies, genetic variation for breeding, export earnings from the forest products and tourism as well as employment opportunities in the project. The Forestry and Beekeeping Division (FBD) was considered to be the direct recipient of the assistance for institutional capacity building. (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1990, 9)

The first phase of the project was considered to reach its physical targets relatively well. Creation of Amani nature reserve was prolonged due to long legal processes but for example illegal logging was reduced. A weak point in the implementation was reported to be the poor involvement of local people. Their role was limited to providing information and local people felt that forests were closed to them. The relations tensed even more when some project staff members were caught being involved in illegal pit-sawing in the area. A

need for genuine people's participation was recognized and this was taken into consideration while preparing the Project Document for the second phase of the project. (Koponen and Mattila-Wiro 1996, 102-103)

8.3.2 Phase II

The second phase of the EUCFP was implemented in 1995-1998. The long-term development objective of the second phase was "effective conservation of forests in the East Usambaras, for preservation of biological diversity, and promotion of sustainable catchment forestry and land use management, for the benefit of the local and global communities". The immediate objectives were (1) to "establish management of Amani Nature Reserve to promote biological diversity preservation", (2) to "establish new catchment forests and consolidate existing ones through improvements in watershed management practices", (3) to "encourage and assist local communities to undertake farm forestry and improved land management practices, to reduce pressure on natural forests and reduce women's workloads in fetching forest produce", (4) "improved institutional capacity to plan for and manage forests on sustainable and collaborative basis", and (5) "strengthened monitoring and research on forest ecosystems and their management". In accordance with the objectives, the project included five components: Amani Nature Reserve, Catchment forestry, Farm Forestry, Institutional support, and Research and Monitoring. (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1995, 26-28)

The primary target groups of the second phase of EUCFP were recognized as rural communities in the project area and Tanga water consumers. They were to benefit in forms of better water resources, better supply of fuel wood and other forest products and improvement in local conditions and employment opportunities. Local forestry administration in Tanga, Tanzanian nation and global community were recognized as secondary target groups. Local administration was receiving direct material assistance and the support was to strengthen its overall capabilities. Tanzanian nation was to benefit from possible economic benefits and global community was to get genetic resources. Also other individuals and organizations were to benefit from cooperation and improved forest product supplies. (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1995, 13-14)

Also the second phase of EUCFP seems to have reached its goals relatively well. The Amani area had reached the unique legal status of Nature Reserve in 1997 and also a management plan was made for the Reserve (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1999, v). People had been taken into consideration much better than before. Some sort of common understanding of the purpose of the project had been established between the project staff and the local inhabitants, and people trusted the project staff more than before (Shepherd et al 1999, 57). Some pilot villages had been established to begin farm forestry, which included for example tree nurseries, agroforestry and related income-generating activities (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1999, vi). Even though the project had planned to give increasing attention to gender issues, the implementation of EUCFP Phase II was heavily criticized for being gender-blind and forgetting gender from its actual activities (see Mäkelä & Salo 1997 and Kassea & Pirttilä-Backman 1999, 87-88).

8.3.3   Phase III

The third phase of EUCFP was named East Usambara Conservation Area Management Programme (EUCAMP) and was started in 1999. It was finished in the end of 2002. The long-term development objective of the EUCAMP was "Contribution to the global and Tanzanian efforts to conserve biodiversity in harmony with the needs of the local people". The purpose of the project was identified as "Effective conservation of forests in East Usambaras, for preservation of biological diversity, and promotion of sustainable catchment forestry and land use management, for the benefit of local and global communities". Thirteen results were identified for the project, including for example establishing East Usambara forests as a UNESCO Man and Biosphere (MAB) Reserve, developing management approaches for nature reserves, catchment forests and village forest reserves, developing farm forestry programme, increasing research relevant for forest conservation, and promoting eco-tourism in the East Usambaras. (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1999, 25-26)

The project identified primary beneficiaries of the project to be women, men and children relying on East Usambaras on fuel, medicinal plants, water and other forest products as well as people living on urban areas and rely East Usambaras on water and forest products.

Also international conservation community was identified as primary beneficiary. Local forestry staff, researchers, students, tourists and forest product dealers were identified as secondary beneficiars and stakeholders. Also other institutions were identified as secondary stakeholders. (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 1999, 23-24)

A mid-term evaluation of the EUCAMP was conducted in 2001 and according to the evaluation team many of the scheduled outputs had been achieved. The East Usambara Mountains had been declared as an UNESCO Man and Biosphere (MAB) reserve, the Amani Nature Reserve management plan was being implemented, a gender strategy for the project had been formulated and incidents of illegal cuttings and forest fires had gone down. However, some of the project results were criticized of being unsustainable in the long run. The approach to conserving East Usambaras was considered to be "traditional protectionist, command-driven and high-cost strategy". For example the illegal cuttings were said to have gone down due to law enforcement activities instead of community involvement and management practices of conservation were said to be based on traditional centralized approach instead of using decentralized district and village government based institutional foundation (United Republic of Tanzania & Republic of Finland 2001, 7-8).

The East Usambara Catchment Forest Project was completed by the end of 2002 and the full responsibility of conservation and management of the area was transformed to local authorities.

8.3.4   Gender Issues in EUCFP

EUCFP Phase I Project Document includes very few mentions on sex or gender. The only place in the whole document where women or gender has been mentioned is in the attached project analysis. In the analysis there is a section handling the role of women. The section gives gender-neutral information on different tasks and responsibilities men and women have. It also recognizes some issues in which the project may have different impact on men and women. As a whole, the EUCFP Phase I Project Document can be considered to be gender-blind.

The EUCFP Phase II Project Document can be considered to be gender-aware to a certain degree. Compared to the Phase I Project Document, the Phase II Project Document gives greater attention to the participation of people, including women. The different roles of men and women have been recognized and most, but not all, of the background information has been disaggregated by gender. The strategy of the project can mainly be considered to be integrationist, as the main goal of the project related to women seems to be to include women into the current activities of the project and thus to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the project. The project wants to meet some women's practical gender needs, for example to create income-generation through employment opportunities and to lessen the time women use on finding fuel wood through finding alternative sources of energy. Meeting some of the practical needs is seen as a means to reach some of the project's conservationist goals.

There are some goals and activities in the EUCFP Phase II Project Document that can be considered transformative. The project wants to encourage women's participation in forestry activities and to increase involvement of women in making decisions related to forestry development. It also raises the issue of women's right to land as an essential one in order to increase women's ownership of forestry issues. One tool to empower women to demand their rights is to support women's groups. Activities that can be considered gender-transformative include awareness-raising campaigns to all villagers and giving both men and women trainings on gender issues as well as on technical forestry related issues. In order to define for sure whether the EUCFP Phase II Project Document has gender-redistributive features, one would have to know the cultural context of the project and to be able to define how big a change for example including women into forestry development activities is.

The approach the EUCFP Phase II Project Document has on women is a combination of efficiency and anti-poverty approaches. Women are mainly seen as a resource in order to achieve project goals more efficiently and at the same time it might be possible to create some income generation possibilities for women.

In the EUCFP Phase III (EUCAMP) Project Document the main goal related to women doesn't anymore seem to be just to include women into current activities but to genuinely recognize different gender roles and needs and based on them to develop appropriate

strategies. The strategy of the project seems to have more emphasis on transformative strategy. The most important project activities related to gender issues is development of a comprehensive gender strategy and training to the whole project staff and all villagers based on the strategy. The project still doesn't have clear objectives related to gender equality but gender issues are seen as very important related to projects conservationist goals. The project promotes women's involvement in decision-making and wants to empower people for example by supporting women's groups, which can be considered gender-specific gender-redistributive activities. The project sees the promotion of women's right to land as important, which can be seen as gender-redistributive goal. On the other hand, some solutions to the problem the project offers include clearly integrationist actions such as acquiring the land with the assistance of kind villagers or village government, which doesn't change the existing distribution of power at all. As a conclusion, the strategy of the EUCFP Phase III Project Document can be considered transformative with some strong integrationist features included.

The EUCAMP Project Document is a combination of efficiency, anti-poverty and empowerment approaches on women. There are some features that suggest that the project wants to empower women to activate themselves but there are also many features that treat women as a tool to create efficiency. Project also wants to create income generating opportunities for women.

9 Comparison of the International, National and Project Level

On the international level, specifically in the United Nations, there has been a transformation from the equity approach to the empowerment approach between the Nairobi World Conference in 1985 and the Beijing World Conference in 1995. At the same time the transformative strategy has gained more importance and the integrationist strategy has become less significant.

On the national level in Finland the integrationist strategy has been the strategy all the way from the end of 1980s to the beginning of the 21st century. In the Operationalisation of Development Policy Objectives document, approved in 2001, the integrationist strategy is no longer so clear and there is more room for possible transformative features in the

Finnish strategy on women in development. The anti-poverty approach has been strong in the Finnish policy papers and it was part of the papers all the way from the end of 1980s until mid 1990s. In the end of 1980s another significant approach was the efficiency approach but its influence had decreased by the time the Development Cooperation in the 1990s strategy paper was approved in 1993. The equity approach seemed to take a strong position in Finnish policy papers and it may still have a great significance in Finnish development cooperation policies. In the end of 1990s the empowerment approach started to gain some foothold in Finnish policies but its position hasn't become very clear yet.

The project documentation was mostly gender blind in the end of 1980s and in the beginning of the 1990s and those few mentions that the documents have on sex or gender represent a very strong efficiency or welfare approach. By the mid 1990s women and gender became more visible in the documentation and the strategy was mainly integrationist. The approach on women was based on efficiency and anti-poverty approaches. In the turn of the 1990s the documents started to include not only the integrationist strategy but also the transformative strategy gained stronger foothold. In addition to the anti-poverty approach the project documentation adapted also the empowerment approach. The efficiency approach managed to stay visible in the documents all the way from the end of 1980s to the beginning of the new millennium, and probably will remain so in the future documents.

Even though the data analyzed in this study has been too limited to make any definite conclusions, it looks like there has been a clear development trend in both the strategies and the approaches at all three levels: the international, national and project levels. The integrationist strategy has gradually been replaced by the transformative strategy and the approaches have gradually changed from welfare approach to anti-poverty approach and further towards equity and empowerment approaches. The only approach which has more or less maintained its position is the efficiency approach. The changes on the different levels have taken place during different times. The change seems to have happened first on the international level, then on the national level and the last one to change has been the project level.

10 Conclusions

In this study the main objectives were to find out how gender equality is approached on different levels of development assistance work and to see whether the approaches different levels have adapted correspond or conflict with each other. As an example of the international level I have used the United Nations and its World Conferences on Women. The national level has been approached through the example of Finnish development policies and guidelines, and as examples of the project level I have used three forestry sector projects funded by the Government of Finland.

Significant changes in the strategies and approaches were undertaken on the three levels mentioned above during the time period analyzed in the study. The changes have been similar in direction but the timing and speed of the change has varied between the different levels. New ideas and approaches have been first officially adapted on the international level. After that the national level has followed the lead quite quickly. The most challenging part has been to transfer those ideas onto the project level. As a good example of this is the idea of mainstreaming gender into all plans and activities approved in the Beijing World Conference on Women in 1995. After the conference the same idea could quite soon be seen in the Finnish national level policies. The fact that one of the analyzed Project Documents from year 2000 was almost completely gender-blind can be taken as proof that gender issues were not yet mainstreamed throughout the development cooperation field. I believe that the level of gender awareness in projects always depends on the group of people who are working on the task at hand, thus making training and sensitization on gender issues essential.

It should also be noted that reports are only reports and what happens in reality may be, and often is, a completely different thing. The study hasn't analyzed the implementation of the selected projects so it is impossible to comment on what kind of approach, if any, the projects have taken on gender issues in reality. This would be an interesting subject for another study, and would require a detailed analysis of both the project implementation and the cultural environment in which the project has taken place. It would also be interesting to know where the approach adapted by the project comes from, and what is the significance of the project staff or government level guidance when the decisions are made.

According to the OECD DAC definition of gender equality quoted earlier in this study, gender equality means that women and men have equal opportunities and life chances. It is very difficult to say what would be the correct and most effective way to reach that objective. It is also difficult to say when that objective has been sufficiently reached. Gender equality means different things for different people in different times and places. For me, as long as women need to be mentioned as one of the special groups among for example the disabled, children and elderly, there is no real equality between men and women. There should be no need for specific mentions on men and women, just on people.

It has been an interesting task to find out how different actors in the field of development assistance have approached the issue of gender equality. I was glad to find out that the approaches at different levels correspond to each other with a small delay in time, and that in the long run the different levels work towards a common goal. However, the goal has not been reached yet, and it seems like it's still going to take a long while to reach it.

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