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Motives behind the Allocation of Aid

- A Case Study Regarding Swedish Motives for Aid Allocation

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Abstract

Receiving foreign aid is a necessity for many countries to be able to uphold basic needs for their citizens. Previous studies (Schraeder, Hook & Taylor 1998; Sogge 2002; Berthélemy 2005, 2006) have demonstrated that there are several motives behind the allocation of aid. This essay takes these earlier studies into account when trying to identify the main motives for Sweden's aid allocation. The aim is to test previous theories of aid allocation to gain a deeper understanding of Sweden's motives as they are conveyed in policy documents from the Swedish Government. A motive analysis is used to analyse the policy documents from the Swedish Government. The predefined motives are based on the abovementioned theoretical perspectives on aid allocation; these theories are put together in a motive scheme which is used to find the motives in the policy documents from the Swedish Government. The result shows that Sweden has humanitarian, economic, strategic, identity, ideology and environmental motives for their aid allocation. Furthermore, that Sweden's motives for continuing development cooperation and for phasing-out development cooperation do not differ remarkably.

Key Words: Foreign Aid, Aid Allocation, Cooperation countries, Development Cooperation

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1. Introduction

Many countries in the world are still dependent of aid to be able to uphold basic needs for their citizens. Much research has been devoted to the effectiveness and problems of giving and receiving aid. Motivations for aid allocation are one area within this field of research, which has received quite substantial attention. Mainly it considers which countries should receive aid and how much aid those countries should receive (Berthelemy 2002). Several papers have focused on the motives behind allocation of bilateral aid to cooperation countries; however most research has been conducted within the field of economics. Therefore, it is interesting to look at the matter from a different angle.

Sweden is one of the major aid contributors in the world, based on input of GDP. They are contributing around 1% of GDP; which could be argued to make their criteria for aid allocation interesting even though the Swedish contribution of aid is not large in a global perspective. Seen to the amount of money spent on aid, Sweden is not one of the major donors due to the states limited economy. However, Sweden has for a long time been viewed as the “darling of the south”, because of its extensive humanitarian work (Schraeder, Hook & Taylor 1998). With regards to the aforementioned and the extensive amount of research that has been devoted to foreign aid, it is interesting to take a closer look at Swedish motives for allocating aid today.

Sweden has for more than 35 years had a discussion concerning the effectiveness of its aid to developing countries, and what can be done to improve it. In 1973, the Swedish government recognised the idea of country selection, which has played an important role within Swedish aid ever since. In 2007 the Swedish government analysed Swedish aid to the cooperation countries. A decision was made to phase-out aid in a number of countries all over the world, with the aim of making Swedish aid more efficient. This essay will examine the policy papers from this decision and forward to see which motives steers Swedish aid allocation. The study is conducted with help of a motive analysis, which aims to clarify motives that can either be hidden or manifest. Moreover, this essay sets out to find the manifest motives in the policy documents from the Swedish government. Hence, this essay is a case study of Sweden in the context of Western aid allocation countries. According to George and Bennett (2005) this can be viewed as a most likely case since the probability that Sweden as a case confirms the earlier theories are relatively high. If, however, Sweden as a case do not confirm the theories

this will weaken and cast strong doubt on the tested theories of aid allocation. (George & Bennett 2005) Sweden is not, compared to for example France a former colonial power with the ties that evolve from colonialism. Nonetheless, Sweden is a western country which has been conducting development cooperation for a long time which of course makes it possible as a case to compare to other western countries with the same history of development cooperation.

To be able to localise the motives, previous research about aid allocation motives (Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998; Sogge 2002; Berthélemy 2005, 2006) have been studied. From these earlier writings, six different motives have been recognized: humanitarian, economical, strategic, ideology, identity and environment. These theories were chosen because of their well formulated ideas about aid allocation motives. The theories have been used as background when constructing an analyse scheme, which will be used as a tool to find the motives in the policy documents from the Swedish Government. To all of the motives at least two motive indicators have been assigned, as a means of simplify the systematic search for motives in the documents.

This essay is structured as follows; first the aim and the empirical questions, followed by a brief background on Swedish aid in the past and Swedish aid today. The third chapter entails previous research about motives for aid allocation and hence my theory. Chapter four contains the methodological considerations taken in this study; this chapter is followed by the result which is divided in to sections regarding the different motives. Finally, conclusion and some suggestions for further research are outlined.

1.1 Aim and empirical questions

The aim of this essay is to test previous theories (Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998; Sogge 2002; Berthélemy 2005, 2006) of aid allocation motives to determine if these motives are valid for Sweden. Hopefully this will lead to a deeper understanding of Sweden's motives for aid allocation. Hence the question's this essay aims to answer is as follows:

- Are Swedish aid driven by the motives outlined by theories of aid allocation?
- How does Sweden motivate, in the documents used, aid allocation to development countries?

2. Background

2.1 Swedish Aid – past and present

Christian missionaries arrived in Ethiopia in the 1860s and were the first to start a form of development cooperation. Their main priority was to convert as many as possible to Christianity, but they also built schools and gave medical assistance. Swedish aid was not formed as an institution so the government was not involved. After the Second World War Swedish aid became more pronounced, UN started their first foreign aid missions and Sweden contributed with approximately one million US dollars (Heppling 1986). In 1952, The Central Committee for Swedish Technical Assistance to Less Developed Areas, often only referred to as 'CK' was founded. This was due to a need for some sort of institutional arrangement that could be responsible for initiating a Swedish bilateral programme for development assistance. Two of the first countries that Sweden gave aid to were Ethiopia and Pakistan. Ethiopia was chosen because of its ties with Sweden, an outcome of Swedish missionary work. Pakistan was chosen more for humanitarian needs; it was a poor country that did not receive much foreign aid. The UN recommended that one percent of GNP should be transferred to developing countries. At the beginning of the 1960s, Swedish aid was approximately 0.1% of GNP. And by the end of that decade, Sweden had hardly reached 0.5 % of GNP (Andersson 1989).

In 1962 the Swedish parliament accepted an aid proposal that came to be leading for many years. The parliament decided that the goal for Swedish aid should be to reduce poverty. A goal concerning democracy and equality was also created at this stage. Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) was formed in 1965. The first years, aid missions had a focus on Ethiopia, India, Kenya and Pakistan as a result of earlier Christian missionaries, political motives and the fact that the former colonies matched with Sweden culturally.

In 1969 a decision was made, Swedish aid should be raised successively up to 1 % of GNP in the mid 70s. There was an ongoing debate considering the volume of Swedish aid at this time. Alongside the volume debate, was also a debate regarding aid and business. When the oil crisis struck in 1973, the Swedish government decided that the bound aid had to be raised. Consequently, cooperation countries had to buy Swedish products to a larger extent than before in exchange for some of the aid. This and the surrounding debate led to one of the key notions of Swedish aid, namely country selection (Andersson 1989). Swedish aid had the

benefit of a high international reputation in the seventies. Sweden was often mentioned as a forerunner in development aid by the OECD/DAC (Kärre & Svensson 1989).

In 1978 the overarching goal to reduce poverty was complemented with four component goals; resource growth, economic - and social equality, economic - and political independence and democratic development. Two years later, the focus of Swedish aid changed to agricultural development. This included increased aid to the poorest third of the worlds population; thus Sweden decided to start development cooperation with a few more countries. In the beginning of this decade, Sweden, as many other donors, began to support the World Bank and IMF's programs to stabilise and liberalise the economy of the developing countries. In 1988, a fifth goal was added; the purpose of this goal was proactive management concerning nature resources and caring for the environment. When the Berlin wall fell in 1989, Sweden started development cooperation with Eastern- and Central Europe. Up until now, Swedish aid had been channelled to about 20 so-called program countries, but in the end of the 1980s Sweden started supporting democratisation and change of regime in East-and Central Europe¹ .

The number of countries that Sweden gave aid to grew, and the amount of aid to each country diminished (Kärre & Svensson 1989). The new Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) was formed in 1995, through a merging of SIDA and the smaller aid organisations BITS, Swedecorp, SAREC and Sandö u-centrum. Sweden's number of partnership countries grew from 2 countries in the beginning of the 1950s to a 121 at the start of the new millennium. The Swedish government realised that the merging number of cooperation countries led to less influence in the aid debate in each country. For example; in the period from 1988 to 2005, the percentage of Swedish bilateral aid to the 20 largest cooperation countries declined from 90% to 45%. In the beginning of the 1990s, Sweden was one of two large and prominent contributors to Tanzania. Today Sweden is one of seven large donors, thus Swedish influence has declined². In the autumn of 2002, the Swedish government decided that the number of development cooperation countries should be reduced; a so-called country focus process was initiated. This process resulted in a decision in august 2007 that Sweden is to give aid to around 30 countries, which means that aid is phased-out in approximately 40 countries in the course of three years.

¹ See www.sida.se

² See Focused bilateral development cooperation p. 3

3. Previous research

3.1 Theories of aid allocation

According to Sogge (2002) there are several motives behind aid; assigning one single incentive to the aid regime would be unreasonable. However, discussions about which motives actually drive aid and aid allocation; hides behind discussions of what should drive aid allocation. Furthermore, Sogge (2002) recognises three main motives for giving aid, and these have both short-term and long-term implications. The first motive is strategic socio-political, in the short –term this motive involve keeping a client, in other words a cooperation country, on side during for example wars or crises. In the longer run, this motive also includes gaining regular access and loyalty of leadership in the cooperation country. Thus, being able to set and guide both the economic and political agenda of the cooperation country. The second motive, he refers to as the mercantile motive, in a short-term perspective this means recognising and seizing market opportunities in the cooperation country. In the longer perspective to gain and expand trade and investment opportunities, this also includes getting easier access to natural resources and to win adherence to international economic rules. The third motive is humanitarian and ethical, this means in a narrow perspective to show compassion for victims of war and natural disasters, and in a more long-term perspective to demonstrate concern about poverty and the importance of human rights (Sogge 2002).

Moreover, Sogge (2002) also recognises two motives of aid allocation that he argues have been ignored. First, it is giving aid as compensation. One example of this is after the Second World War when the United States helped Japan to rebuild the society. This motive contains contradictions. Western powers have always been very clear that foreign aid to former colonies is not compensation for the violations and damages that colonialism imposed. A second, somewhat neglected, motive is common interest; this motive mirrors thoughts about the common fate that both rich and poor countries share. Greenhouse gasses, pandemics and terrorism are only a few of problems that are global and not depending on GDP (Sogge 2002).

Berthélemy (2005, 2006) argues that the foremost motive for giving aid is commercial interests. Even if a donor does not have strong geopolitical interests, all donors have trade interests. Cooperation countries are often selected from a trade perspective. Countries with which a donor has, or sees a possibility to good trade with are often preferred as cooperation countries. Aid might also be seen as a good way of receiving a more positive attitude from the

cooperation country and as a reason aid is often beneficiary to like-minded countries or countries who can become potential political allies (Berthélemy 2005). Nonetheless, political alliance might be a result of aid allocation as much as a determinant.

Within the literature of foreign aid, it is largely adopted that foreign aid is driven by self-interest. Schraeder, Hook and Taylor (1998) identify three overarching motives; humanitarian need, strategic importance and economic potential. Moreover, they recognise three additional motives which are cultural similarity, ideological stance and region.

The humanitarian need motive, can be understood as the policymaker's effort to reduce poverty and ease suffering of people in distress. This motive is the most accepted one, and the motive that most policymakers want to be associated with. Schraeder, Hook and Taylor (1998) argue that if humanitarian need is a cornerstone in a policymaker's foreign aid allocation; aid would mainly be disbursed towards countries where people are suffering from a low life expectancy and with low levels of average caloric intake. Features behind the second major motive, strategic importance are that donors use aid as a tool to improve national security. Hence, the strategic importance of the cooperation country is of importance. This motive can emerge through a security alliance between the partnership countries which can be observed through the signing of a formal defence or military access agreement.

Economic potential is another motive that has been considered to be driving aid; hence, donors chose cooperation countries that potentially could contribute to the donor's economy. Cooperation countries are favoured if they are the most powerful economies in their region. Policymakers have also recognised the need to demonstrate that foreign aid will help contribute to the economy of the donor country through trade and investment (Schraeder, Hook & Taylor 1998). Moreover, the former colonisation of countries has led to the colonised states adopting the cultures from the former colonisers, hence cultural similarity. Areas that are most frequently adopted are legal systems, education and the most pronounced; national language. Ideology might also play a significant role when it comes to foreign aid allocation. Donors might favour cooperation countries that share their ideological beliefs. Schraeder, Hook and Taylor (1998) argue that capitalist regimes in the industrialized North should be more prone to allocate aid to other capitalist regimes and neglect socialist and Marxist regimes. Similarly, socialist regimes would favour socialistic cooperation countries.

Official aid is rarely only an instrument of altruism, even in the case of Sweden whose aid was long assumed to be driven by humanitarian concerns, there is underlying motives of for example trade. Sweden acts more like a merchant than an activist. Even in the 1980s when Sweden made important contributions to help political change in South Africa, the merchant motive was apparent after the sales of weapons to South Africa which was stained by corruption (Sogge 2002).

In the beginning of the 1990s after the cold war, more and more western donors began to question the proper role of aid distribution as a means of foreign policy. Many countries, like for example the US, drew back extensive amounts of aid, mainly because of the general public's opinion that the money was needed at "home" (Schraeder, Hook & Taylor 1998: 294). Sweden, however, chose to continue their aid disbursement and this has been argued not only to be for altruistic reasons. It has been disputed that these aid flows served Swedish domestic economic interests (Schraeder, Hook & Taylor 1998).

4. Methodological considerations

4.1 Material

The empirical materials that will be analysed are official documents from the Swedish Government. Statement of Government Policies for the years 2005-2009, Global Challenges – Our Responsibility (Skr. 2007/08) and four Strategies for development cooperation and two Phase-out strategies. A Strategy for development cooperation is a document describing how the development cooperation is to be conducted, for example which parts should be focused on. A Phase-out strategy is describing how aid is to be phased-out in a responsible matter and which parts of cooperation that should be phased-out first and which parts that needs more time. Moreover, these Phase-out strategies also describe why aid is ended in these countries. In the empirical result all material is used as one analyse unit, however, it might become necessary to look at the material as different analyse units in the conclusion if the results are interesting. The selection of cooperation strategies and phase-out strategies where made from availability, there are only two proper phase-out strategies available, namely Nicaragua and Central Asia. Namibia is a country where aid is about to be phased- out, but there are no special phase-out strategy, instead there is a cooperation strategy for the years up till the end of cooperation. The cooperation strategies where chosen as to be countries that are relatively different from each other and from the phase-out strategies, to gain a broad spectrum of aid receiving countries and to be able to see differences in motives from countries that are still cooperation countries and those countries where aid is phased out. This material where chosen since it is the Swedish Governments motives that are of interest and therefore their documents containing information about aid allocation are studied. The fact that the material are from the Swedish Government can of course be a weakness as well, since they might hide the real motives for their actions. Nevertheless, this seems to be the best material to use.

4.2 A qualitative approach

This essay is conducted with a qualitative approach, hence the purpose is not to count how often or how many times something is occurring. The purpose of a qualitative study is to be able to describe and gain knowledge about the qualities of what is studied. In this case the qualities are used in a non normative manner. A qualitative method takes it starting point in a reality based event or occurrence, in this essay this is represented by the Swedish governments motivations for aid allocation (Eneroth 1984). Hence, the intention is to gain a

deeper understanding about Sweden's motives for aid allocation with help of the previous mentioned theories of aid allocation.

4.3 Motive analysis

The purpose with a motive analysis is to clarify which motives an actor has considered to reach a decision (Esaiasson et. al. 2003). A motive analysis investigates an actor's intentions, purposes, aims and what the actor tries to achieve. When one knows the thoughts of an actor it is easier to explain why the actor proceeded in a certain manner. According to Esaiasson et. al. (2003) the first step in a motive analysis is to define the subject, i.e. the actor whose motives one wishes to study. Furthermore, if the actor is constituted by a collective one or a couple of persons should be chosen for the study as representatives for the collective. This is due to the fact that a motive analysis investigates "conscious conclusions" made by the actor, something that a collective is not capable of (Esaiasson et. al. 2003:317). However, in forthcoming study, a collective will be studied – the Swedish government. The material investigated in this study is produced by the Government as a whole, and therefore it is possible to define the Swedish government as an actor. All motives that might be found in the material can be defined as motives by the Swedish government and not by a specific person. Moreover, Esaiasson et. al. (2003) mentions the hardship of knowing if an actor bases decisions out of conscious considerations and it is difficult to distinguish egoistical motives from altruistic ones. This is due to the duality of motives; a motive can be altruistic in one aspect but egoistic in another aspect.

Three earlier writings, Schraeder, Hook and Taylor (1998); Sogge (2002); Berthélemy (2005, 2006) about aid allocation motives have been taken into account and summarised in a motive scheme. The advantage with predefined motives is that some aspects of motives might be overlooked if not acknowledged in advance. Moreover, the chances of finding strategic and self-fulfilling motives are less likely when working without predefined motives. Hence, working with predefined motives somehow eases the problem of the duality of motives. On the other hand, the benefit of working without predefined motives is that unexpected motives might be found, which have not been taken in to account and thus would not be detected if the motives are decided on beforehand (Esaiasson et. al. 2003).

4.4 Motivations vs. Motives

One important distinction when using this method is the one between motives and motivations. All that is known is what appear to be the actors sincere motivations regarding a decision, thus the actor might want to hide the real motives concerning the decision. Hence, one of the difficulties with a motive analysis is the fact that motives can not be directly observed, they are merely mental processes within the actor. Only the motivations are possible to observe which makes it difficult to say anything about the real motives for acting. When it comes to questions about aid and aid allocation, the discussions between Swedish government and the parliament are mostly conducted in consensus. Thus, there should not be a problem of validity by equalising motivations and motives in this study. The more sensitive a question is, the more likely it is that an actor has prerogatives by hiding the true motives for action.

4.5 Motive scheme and motive indicators

This study, as mentioned above, will work with predefined motives. What is unique with this study however is that motives defined by three different earlier studies (Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998; Sogge 2002; Berthélemy 2005, 2006) have been put together in a motive scheme to test previous theories and hopefully gain a deeper understanding of the Swedish motives for aid allocation.

	Motives					
	Humanitarian	Economical	Strategic	Ideology	Identity	Environment
Motive indicators	Reducing poverty	Trade	Bonding	Politics	Experience and Knowledge	Aid for a better environment
	Showing compassion	Investment Export	Embassies Security Alliances Peace and Security	Values Democracy Human Rights	Political Aims International recognition	International responsibility

Figure 1: Scheme of aid allocation motives.

This scheme is my analytical instrument for finding motives in the texts from the Swedish government, the instrument is based on earlier research but it is solely for this study. Therefore, it is possible to make other interpretations from the documents when using another analyse instrument. After defining the motives, the next step is to find motive indicators in the

text. The motive indicators are here constituted by different characteristics that are significant for each motive. Hence, when the Swedish government are talking about the importance of reducing poverty this will be interpreted as a humanitarian motive. The motive indicators are sentences that illuminate the actor's motives, such as the actors own motivations to why the actor operates in a certain manner. Furthermore, the motive indicators represent the motive as a whole. Thus, the motive indicators are used to alleviate the process of searching for the different motives in the texts. To gain reliability, the motives are described and clarified by an illuminating sentence from the texts used.

Humanitarian

When Sweden is expressing compassion about victims of war and poverty and talks about poverty reduction this is understood as humanitarian motives.

Ex: *“Sweden is now increasing its development assistance, a step that is motivated by solidarity and with the poor and the oppressed...”* (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006: 10)

Economic

When Sweden is talking about trade, and promoting Swedish business and export to the cooperation countries this is interpreted this as an economic motive.

Ex: *“The principle of free trade forms an important cornerstone for foreign and business policy, as well as for economic policy in general. Sweden's welfare rests on the ability of our companies to compete in markets all over the world”.* (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007: 7)

Strategic

Opening new embassies and bonding with the cooperation countries have been interpreted under the strategic motive, as the global threat of terrorism.

Ex: *“These new threats require a broadened concept of security. They require a security policy that focuses on the protection and rights of the individual, and on international law.”* (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:2)

Ideology

This motive have been interpreted when Sweden talks about common politics and values or that they want to help a country in need of more democratic authority. Furthermore, human rights adherence is understood as an ideology motive.

Ex: *“It proceeds clearly from the values on which our own society is built and from our own interests. Efforts to promote democracy, human rights and sustainable development underlie Sweden’s entire foreign policy.”* (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008: 2)

Identity

When Sweden expresses that they are of importance for the cooperation county or Sweden’s reputation in the international arena, it expresses the identity motive.

Ex: *“We are also increasing our own development cooperation with Africa. It is vital that Europe and other donors fulfil their development assistance commitments, even in hard times. In this respect Sweden will continue to set a good example.”* (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 18th of February 2009:4)

Environment

The environment motive has been interpreted when Sweden talks about helping poor nations gaining a sustainable environmental policy. Furthermore, helping out when natural disasters caused by environmental changes occur.

Ex: *“A stronger focus on the environment and climate is permeating international development and trade cooperation.”* (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:9)

This scheme was used to analyse the policy documents from the Swedish government, hence the above motives shows how my research have been carried out. This study looked at the explicit message of the documents and extracted motives from them. The predefined motives, seen above in Figure 1, were used as a filter on the documents, through reading the texts and finding sentences that coincide with the motive indicators and thus with the motives. Therefore, it is Sweden’s explicit explanations for aid allocation that is of interest here. Certainly, this material can be interpreted differently by other scholars, with other methods and theories. This is my interpretation through the instrument created from earlier research put together to an analytical motive scheme. Another possible method would have been to

interview the persons responsible for Swedish aid allocations, namely the ministers in the Government and their co-workers. A method that could have given more direct answers, politicians are however, not famous for spelling out all of their motives and hence the interviews might not be successful anyhow, at least not more successful than with the existing method and material. Hereafter follows the result, the motives found in the texts from the Swedish Government.

5. Empirical results

The following chapter is dedicated to presenting the results of the conducted study. The different motives are presented each in turn and with comments to validate them. The following Figure 2, demonstrate explicit motives found in the policy documents from the Swedish Government.

Policy Documents	Motives					
	Humanitarian	Economical	Strategic	Ideology	Identity	Environment
Global Challenges – Our Responsibility (PGU)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Statement of Government Policy 2005	X	X	X	X	X	X
Statement of Government Policy 2006	X	X	X	X	X	X
Statement of Government Policy 2007	X	X	X	X		X
Statement of Government Policy 2008	X	X	X	X	X	X
Statement of Government Policy 2009	X	X	X		X	X
Strategy for Development Cooperation with Afghanistan	X	X	X	X	X	
Strategy for Development Cooperation with Belarus	X	X	X	X		X
Strategy for Development Cooperation with Liberia	X	X	X	X	X	X
Strategy for Development Cooperation with Namibia	X	X	X		X	
Phase-out strategy for Swedish support to Nicaragua	X			X	X	
Phase-out strategy for Swedish support to Central Asia	X					

Figure 2: Motives found in Policy Documents.

5.1 Humanitarian

As described in the methodology chapter, the motive indicators for this motive are reducing poverty and showing compassion. The result will be presented in line with the motive indicators; hence first the sentences that correspond with reducing poverty will be presented followed by showing compassion.

5.1.1 Reducing poverty

Reducing poverty is one aspect of the Swedish humanitarian motive for giving and allocating aid. Following sentences are extracted from the policy papers written by the Swedish government and are elucidating for this aspect of the motive.

“The policy is based on the right of every human being to live in freedom and with the best prospects possible of lifting her-/himself out of poverty.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007:8)

“Poor people and their potential for improving their living conditions are the point of reference for our development cooperation.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007: 8)

“The overall objective of our development cooperation is to help create conditions that will enable poor people to improve their lives” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 18th February 2009: 4)

“The fight against poverty in its various manifestations is a central point from which all Swedish development policy proceeds.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 18th February 2009: 4)

All of the above sentences are analysed as reducing poverty, which is a part of the humanitarian motive within Swedish aid allocation. A primary focus for Sweden is to reduce poverty and improve poor peoples living conditions which can be connected to a humanitarian motive for giving and allocating aid.

5.1.2 Showing compassion

Another indicator for the humanitarian motive is showing compassion for people in distress and victims of war. Therefore this indicator has been helpful when Sweden talks about solidarity with the world and helping victims of war.

“We must do so out of a sense of solidarity and because we share a responsibility for the future of the world.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 7)

“Sweden shoulders its share of the responsibility by offering a permanent solution to people who need protection through its refugee and asylum policies.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 30)

“We want to be able to help people in distress, even on the other side of the globe. We want to be able to do more, and to do more sooner.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:1)

“Sweden is now increasing its development assistance, a step that is motivated by solidarity with the poor and the oppressed; by also by the realisation that international peace and security require global justice.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006: 12)

Sweden is talking about the importance of responsibility, we are all living in the same world and hence all should take their responsibility. Solidarity is another important key word for Swedish aid, Sweden feels solidarity and thus compassion for the poor and oppressed in the world.

5.2 Economic

Within the economical motive, three motive indicators were used. They will be presented one by one, starting with trade followed by investment and finally when the Swedish Government is talking about exports to their cooperation countries.

5.2.1 Trade

This first indicator of the economical motive is interpreted when Sweden talks about international trade and how to help cooperation countries in to the international market. Economical exclusion is a problem for the poorest countries of the world, and hence helping them in to the international market is a way of reducing poverty. However, trade is also something that is beneficial for Sweden since the Swedish economy is dependent on trade.

“Economic exclusion, to which a substantial proportion of the world’s population continues to be subjected, can only be reversed through market economy reforms, increased access to the international market and the emergence of a vigorous enterprise sector.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 10)

“Sweden wants to deepen cooperation with Russia. We want Russia to be more involved in global issues... We are working to facilitate free trade between the EU and Russia.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:2)

“Sweden is also investing in special development assistance to enable development countries to participate seriously in international trade.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:9)

“We are increasing trade- related development assistance by 30 per cent so as to support developing countries’ participation in international trade.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006 :10- 11)

“We want to promote a world of more open societies, more open economies and more open trade.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007 :7)

“It is also important to continue strengthen relations with the rapidly growing economies in Asia and Latin America” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 18th of February 2009 :6)

“More open world trade will also contribute to growth in developing countries... More effective promotion of trade and investment is another favourable factor.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008 :20)

5.2.2 Investment

One part of the Swedish foreign aid is through investment, this benefits both the cooperation country and Sweden. For Sweden it is beneficiary that Swedish companies can invest and establish themselves abroad and for the cooperation countries it is good with Swedish knowledge and products. This also creates job opportunities and promotes economic growth in the cooperation countries.

“Higher levels of investment are needed to speed up economic development in poor countries.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 20)

“Though trade and investment, Swedish companies help to generate economic growth by way of increased employment, technology and knowledge transfer, and higher tax revenues.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 24)

“We are therefore acting to strengthen trade and investment in Africa and to dismantle the barriers to trade that affect African goods and services, and we are supporting the growing involvement of Swedish companies in Africa” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006:4)

“We are adding new posts at some thirty embassies and consulates so as to promote Swedish companies abroad and contribute to foreign investment in Sweden.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006 :11)

“The overall aim of Swedish support for enterprise development has been to promote investment and trade” (Country strategy Namibia 2004-2008 :12)

“Increased trade and foreign investments of the kind that creates jobs with decent terms and conditions and contributes to knowledge transfer and socially and environmentally sustainable development are also essential. Swedish enterprise can play a part here.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 20)

“An important task for the Government is to help create favourable conditions for Swedish business abroad – not least for small and medium-sized enterprises.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007 :7)

5.2.3 Export

The third motive indicator for the economical motive is export, something that is important for Sweden due to the states limited economy. Even though Sweden no longer is tying aid, Sweden still exports quite a lot to their cooperation countries.

“As part of its enterprise and development policies, the Government intends to emphasise the vital role of private enterprise as a driver of growth and development...” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 20)

“Increased agricultural exports to OECD countries and more opportunities for developing countries to trade with one another comprise therefore a focus area for Swedish efforts” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 22)

“Sweden’s trade policy, export promotion activities and enterprise policy need to be better coordinated within the global development policy framework.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 24)

“Given the positive economic and democratic development on the African continent, the importance of aid will decrease successively and commercial relations and other cooperation will gradually take over.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007:15)

“Although trade with Namibia may not be a top priority concern of these nations, many would welcome increased commercial cooperation with the country.” (Country strategy Namibia 2004-2008:13)

“A precondition for a long-term sustainable partnership, however, is the gradual replacement of government funding by other forms of financing, e.g. commercial investment or direct cost sharing.” (Country strategy Namibia 2004-2008:24)

“The Namibian and Swedish economies are both highly dependent of foreign trade...In 2002, Sweden imported goods worth a total of SEK 4.5 million from Namibia, while the total value of Swedish exports to Namibia came to just over SEK 7.5 million. There are currently 10 Swedish companies represented in Namibia.” (Country strategy Namibia 2004-2008 :25)

“To promote trade relations between Namibia and Sweden, a Swedish official responsible for trade and industry promotion and enterprise development was seconded to the Swedish embassy in Windhoek between 1998 and 2000.” (Country strategy Namibia 2004-2008:25)

5.3 Strategic

The strategic motive is divided into four motive indicators, firstly bonding, secondly embassies, thirdly security alliances and fourth and finally peace and security. All four indicators help finding sentences that coincide with a strategic motive.

5.3.1 Bonding

The bonding indicator are analysed when Sweden is talking about close bonds to cooperation countries or expressing a wish to develop a closer bond.

“After the tsunami we have been brought together in sorrow, but we have also been united in solidarity. Let this serve as a starting point for deeper international cooperation.” Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005 p. 13

Let us support the peoples of Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Ukraine and others on the path away from oppression and towards freedom and democracy.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:13)

“It is in our national interest to have a closer dialogue with Russia on a range of different issues. We remain hopeful about a positive development in Russia.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007 :5)

“There is a broad agreement that the future security of our country is founded on community and cooperation with other countries.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:4)

“We are also aiming for closer ties in all areas of society with Russia. It is our hope that the remaining obstacles to Russian membership of the WHO can be overcome.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:8)

5.3.2 Embassies

This motive indicator is a part of the strategic motive, the opening and closing of embassies around the world is a strategic move from Sweden. Embassies are of help when for example handling Swedish interests in the country or promoting Swedish business abroad. Hence, it is of importance in which countries the embassies are located.

“The Government is raising its level of ambition for participation by Sweden in international missions. This spring Sweden will double its presence in Afghanistan.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006:5)

“Sweden wants to strengthen cooperation with Russia. During the year, a broad initiative to promote Sweden will be conducted in Russia. In a few days, a Consulate-General will be inaugurated in Kaliningrad”. (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006:7)

“The lack of democracy and civil liberties is a dark spot on the map of Europe. The Government will therefore increase aid and to support democracy and human rights in Belarus. The opening of a new Swedish embassy in Minsk is to be seen in this context.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007:4)

“Sweden’s commitment in Afghanistan are (sec) long-term and we will be opening an embassy in Kabul this year.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:12)

“Sweden supports Iraq in its efforts to achieve stability, security and democracy. The Government will continue to increase its commitment to the country, for example by strengthening Sweden’s diplomatic presence in Baghdad.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008 :17)

“We welcome the fact that development in Iraq are (sec) moving in the right direction, even though the situation is still fragile. Sweden will open its embassy in Baghdad in the early summer.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 18th of February 2009:7)

5.3.3 Security Alliances

This motive indicator was found in previous research and might have a larger impact on some countries foreign aid motives (Sogge, 2001). For Sweden it is more a question of not participating in any military alliances.

“The fact that Sweden does not participate in military alliances and is therefore not involved in defence cooperation that includes nuclear weapons strengthens our position in the fight against weapons of mass destruction.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006:9)

“The development and formulation of our foreign and security policy must continue to be based on broad national consensus. Sweden is not part of any military alliance. The future of our country is based on community and cooperation with other countries.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007:1)

5.3.4 Peace and Security

The fourth motive indicator for the strategic motive is peace and security, even if Sweden not participates in any military alliances, the question of withholding peace and security is still high up on the agenda. Sweden participates with both military and civilian staff in the UN: s peacekeeping missions and through the EU.

“These are often difficult to resolve and threaten regional stability, with consequences for international peace and security.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 10)

“An integrated approach to the management of conflicts and fragile situations is one of the challenges the Government has emphasised as part of its new start for Sweden’s policy for global development.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 10)

“Organised crime, and human trafficking in particular, is a threat not only to individuals but also to the cohesion and stability of society.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 18)

“Global terrorism and the risk of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction will continue to be a treat to world stability” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:2)

“Today’s complex conflicts place new demands on the international community.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 39)

“Crime and terrorism are also becoming globalised and make international collaboration necessary. Today’s terrorism poses a threat to Sweden and Swedish interests too.”(Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007:10)

“These new threats require a broadened concept of security. They require a security policy that focuses on the protection and rights of the individual, and on international law.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:2)

“In the longer term, the whole of the middle east should be made a zone free of weapons of mass destruction.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006:9)

5.4 Ideology

This motive will be interpreted when Sweden talks about shared values and a similar political stance. Furthermore, when Sweden feels there is a need for a reform of the political system in the country to be able to continue being a cooperation country.

5.4.1 Politics

The first motive indicator used under the ideology motive is politics, this includes Sweden's wish for a cooperation country to become more open and democratic, hence more like Sweden. Sweden does not want to cooperate with states that are too authoritarian and that oppress their citizens. Therefore, ideology can be seen as a motive for giving aid.

"At the same time, it is disturbing to note that bloggers and other people who use the internet to spread information are increasingly subject to arrest and persecution." (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 14)

"Freedom House reported in 2007 that countries such as China, Vietnam and Iran have in recent years imprisoned large numbers of journalists and cyber-dissidents who have published articles and views on the internet." (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 14)

"We must support the reform efforts of the new Ukrainian government .Sweden is stepping up the exchange of visits and doubling development assistance." (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:7)

"Belarus is a neighbour. From this chamber, it is closer to Minsk than to Kiruna. But democracy and human rights have been set aside. This is why the top political leadership must be isolated and the democratic forces supported. The Belarusian people have a natural place in the pan-European community." (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:8)

"The fact that the Nicaraguan government does not give high priority to anti-corruption is a complication factor for Swedish efforts, but at the same time, it makes these efforts even more essential." (Phase-out strategy for Swedish support to Nicaragua 2008-2011 :11)

"Sweden should be prepared to rapidly initiate a fully developed cooperation programme with the Belarusian political leadership in the event of a change in the country's democratic orientation." (Strategy for development cooperation with Belarus 2007-2010:7)

"A restrictive approach should be taken to direct cooperation with Belarusian authorities." (Strategy for development cooperation with Belarus 2007-2010 :1)

5.4.2 Values

This motive indicator is a part of the ideology motive. When Sweden talks about shared values, and a European set of values this essay have understood this as an ideology motive for aid allocation. For Sweden it is important that the cooperation countries share the fundamental values that Sweden and also the EU are founded on. Values are important for the

effectiveness of aid, shared values on human rights and anti-corruption are valuable for aid effectiveness and to be able to improve poor people's situation.

"The Ukrainian people have shown clearly that they share the fundamental values on which the EU is based. Ukraine has the same right as other European countries to a membership perspective." (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:7)

"Belarus is governed by a hard-line, authoritarian regime. Sweden's support to the democratisation of Belarus is best expressed through involvement – not isolation." (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006 :7)

"This is why Sweden supports the right of Palestinians to a state of their own. And this is why we consider that a solution to the conflict – which can only be achieved through negotiations – must be based on international law." (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006:12)

"We also want to continue our development support to the Palestinian areas. However, the level of cooperation depends upon the actions of the new Palestinian government. It must dissociate itself from violence in words and deeds, and except Israel's right to exist." (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006:12)

"We want a clear and robust dialogue on how civil liberties and rights in countries such as Belarus, Cuba, Burma and Zimbabwe can be guaranteed. Economic assistance to support democratic forces around the world will be augmented."(Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007:12)

"It proceeds clearly from the values on which our own society is built and from our own interests. Efforts to promote democracy, human rights and sustainable development underlie Sweden's entire foreign policy." (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:2)

"The Government's policy towards Belarus seeks to strengthen respect for democracy and human rights in this country and ultimately to help Belarus become integrated into European cooperation and the European community of values." (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:13)

5.1.3 Democracy

The ongoing struggle in many states away from oppression and towards democracy is important for Sweden. Sweden wants to be able to help the people in these countries, also as a means to reduce global exclusion and prevent war.

"Let us support the peoples of Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Ukraine and others on the path away from oppression and towards freedom and democracy." (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:13)

"In the Southern Caucasus too, a struggle is going on for freedom, democracy and development. We have expressed strong support for both the territorial integrity of Georgia and its path of democratic and economic reform." (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007 :4)

“Sweden remains strongly committed to the achievement of democratic change in several states with serious democratic deficits.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008 :19)

“Sweden’s democracy promotion efforts are aimed at helping to establish conditions in which women and men, girls and boys can influence and improve their situation.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 59)

“If developments move in the wrong direction, as in Zimbabwe, the grounds for cooperation come under threat.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006:4)

“Efforts to support democratic forces and counter oppression must continue, not least in countries such as Cuba and Belarus” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 18th February 2009:4)

“Belarus is governed by a hard-line, authoritarian regime... The government will take further initiatives internationally to support long- term democratic development in Belarus.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006:7)

“It is important that the opportunities offered by globalisation benefit everyone, not least those who today live in deep poverty and global exclusion” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 18th February 2009:5)

For Sweden, as a democratic country, it is important to help people in other states to gain democracy. Democracy is a cornerstone in reducing poverty and preventing war.

5.1.4 Human rights

The fourth indicator used for the humanitarian motive is human rights; Sweden is pursuing human rights adherence in all of its foreign aid work. Human rights are a necessity for people to be able to live a life free from oppression and in equality.

“..the Government declared that the most fundamental of all obstacles to equitable and sustainable development is the absence of freedom in the form of oppression, that is to say lack of democracy and respect for human rights.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 10)

“Sweden will extend broad political support for to democratisation processes and national and international action to promote respect for human rights.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 10)

“Respect for human rights and democratic principles are priorities that run through every aspect of Sweden’s policy for global development.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 13)

“A rights perspective and the perspective of poor people on development must be the guiding principles when setting priorities and framing Swedish policies in this area.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 53)

“Respect for human rights is a fundamental condition of equitable and sustainable global development.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 58)

“A precondition for deepened cooperation is that the Russian government ensures that democratic development in the country moves in the right direction and breaches of human rights ceases.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:8)

“The aims of Swedish support for democratic development are to enhance Namibia’s democratic culture, improve the management of government finances and strengthen civil society, and thereby promote democracy and respect for human rights” (Country strategy for Namibia:10)

One of the most important angles of Swedish aid is to promote human rights adherence, this is a long term motive with high moral grounds. It is important for Sweden that their cooperation countries abide to human rights and that the governments of the cooperation countries show a willingness to end human rights abuse.

5.5 Identity

The identity motive is illuminated when Sweden expresses their strengths and what they are achieving in the cooperation countries. It is important to see the achievements and know which areas that is most successful in order to make aid more efficient.

5.5.1 Experience and Knowledge

The first motive indicator for this motive is experience and knowledge; here all the citations where Sweden talks about their importance for the cooperation country have been interpreted. Sweden has been a donor for many years and hence has quite substantial knowledge and experience in many different areas of foreign aid work. This motive indicator is connected to the motive identity, since it shows Sweden’s thoughts about its own identity as a cooperation partner.

“Sweden can and will contribute to equitable and sustainable global development in areas where needs and challenges are great, where we have the required knowledge and skills and where Sweden has a particular interest.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 13)

“Not only are these particularly relevant to the policy for global development, they are also areas in which Sweden has relevant experience and is well equipped, to assume a proactive role.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 13)

“Due to its longstanding, well developed tradition of protection of freedom of expression, Sweden is particularly well equipped to vigorously defend and promote this freedom around the world.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 14)

“The fact that Sweden has managed to reduce emissions while maintaining sound economic growth is an important experience which needs to be shared with other countries.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 62)

“Sweden has had cooperation with Nicaragua since the end of the 1970s and in recent years cooperation has been concentrated to the sectors of democratic governance, rural development and health. Analyses that have been conducted show that improvements in these sectors will continue to be highly relevant if poverty is to be reduced in Nicaragua and that Sweden also has comparative advantages in these sectors.” (Phase-out strategy for Swedish support to Nicaragua 2008-2011:3)

“Two areas where Sweden should play an active role are education and infrastructure since these areas are already central parts of Sweden’s development cooperation and Sweden has long experience in both sectors.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Afghanistan 2006-2008:11)

“In the area of gender equality Sweden has a comparative advantage and will supplement the work of the EU.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Liberia 2008-2013:11)

“Sweden also has credibility in Liberia outside of development cooperation, starting with 60 years of church mission work and LAMCO’s mining operations until the 1980s. This has made Sweden a well-known and respected actor in Liberia.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Liberia 2008-2013:19)

“Sweden’s role in Liberia builds on the trust that Sweden enjoys.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Liberia 2008-2013:20)

“Sweden has been the leading donor to the police authority and during the phase-out period, efforts will be made to secure the involvement of other donors such as the European Commission and to increase aid effectiveness in the sector.” (Phase-out strategy for Swedish support to Nicaragua 2008-2011:7)

“The phase-out of Sweden’s support in the health sector will be noticeable since Sweden has a prominent role.” (Phase-out strategy for Swedish support to Nicaragua 2008-2011:19)

“Sweden enjoys a high level of credibility and has good experience of working both with local actors and national structures in these sectors.” (Phase-out strategy for Swedish support to Nicaragua 2008-2011:15)

5.5.2 Political aims

This indicator represents Sweden’s aims with its foreign policy. For Sweden it is important to be seen in the international context of foreign aid. Sweden is acknowledged in the donor community and hence wants it to remain that way. To promote Sweden and Swedish values in the cooperation countries is an important task for the Swedish Government.

“Bilateral dialogue – through conventional diplomacy, in connection with development cooperation or as a part of efforts to promote Sweden abroad – is a key platform for Swedish action.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 12)

“Sweden also continues to work actively to achieve a solution to the future status of Kosovo.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:7)

“In today’s complex world, it has proved counter-productive to conduct traditional foreign and security policy, trade policy and aid policy as separate pillars.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:22)

“At the same time the government is anxious to step up efforts to develop and strengthen other modes of cooperation between Namibia and Sweden. These must reflect the broader relations that have developed between the two countries and be based on mutual interest and areas and activities of mutual benefit.” (Country strategy Namibia 2004-2008:16)

“Sweden, which is already one of the largest bilateral donors of aid to the Palestinians and to Palestinian state-building, has pledged to increase its efforts.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:16)

“At the same time the government is anxious to step up efforts to develop and strengthen other modes of cooperation between Namibia and Sweden. These must reflect the broader relations that have developed between the two countries and be based on mutual interest and areas and activities of mutual benefit.” (Country strategy Namibia 2004-2008 :16)

“With the planned increase in the volume of aid, Sweden will be able to take on a more important role in the donor community and in relation to the government of Liberia during the strategy period.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Liberia 2008-2013:21)

5.5.3 International recognition

The third indicator for the identity motive is international recognition; this indicator can be clarified when Sweden talks about their role in the international community, and how they are perceived by the rest of the world. Sweden is a small country compared to many others, but in many areas Sweden has advantages due to long experience which it is important for Sweden to express internationally.

“Sweden is a strong voice for women’s’ rights all over the world.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 16)

“Sweden ha played an important part internationally in drawing attention to the interplay between health and closely related sectors of society.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 50)

“The Government believes that Sweden has helped lift these issues higher up on the international agenda and contributed to a broader discussion of the importance of finding ways and means of managing global public goods.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 65)

“During its ten years of membership, Sweden has helped make the EU its most important forum – alongside the UN – for influencing the global agenda.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:10)

“Sweden helps make the world a safer place through its involvement in the Middle East and through the new Anna Lindh Foundation for dialogue between cultures.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 9th of February 2005:11)

“Our long- sustained commitment to peace in the Middle East ,our institutions, such as the Swedish Institute in Alexandria and the Consulate-General in Istanbul, and our partnership with Egypt in hosting the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation in Alexandria, give Sweden great experience and credibility when it comes to dialogue between countries and cultures.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 15th of February 2006:2)

“In the global arena, we have assumed a clear leading role in efforts to face the challenge of the climate change. We are tearing down old barriers and opening the door to new opportunities.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008 :1)

“A number of donors, including Great Britain, the Netherlands and Finland, are preparing to phase out development cooperation with Namibia.” (Country strategy Namibia 2004-2008:13)

“Besides the traditional donors, Russia, China, Iran and Turkey are important donors to Tajikistan.”
(Phase-out strategy for Central Asia 2008-2010:7)

“Sweden is one of seven cooperation partners in a joint fund for sector programme support and one of about 15 in the health sector.” (Phase-out strategy for Swedish support to Nicaragua 2008-2011 :9)

“In 2004, Afghanistan was Sweden’s third largest development cooperation partner with assistance totalling SEK 406 million.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Afghanistan 2006-2008:1)

“Sweden, one of the biggest bilateral donors, has applied a relatively wide interpretation of permissible funding on the grounds that isolation of Belarus is not in interest of the population.”
(Strategy for development cooperation with Belarus 2007-2010:7)

“As a major donor in Belarus, Sweden should play an active part in donor coordination work.”
(Strategy for development cooperation with Belarus 2007-2010:7)

“Sweden is one of few donors who have been active in the area of human rights, where several Swedish-supported initiatives are being implemented in 2008.” (Phase out strategy for Central Asia 2008-2010: 8)

5.6 Environment

This motive is a rather new one, environmental questions have become more and more important and it is involving the whole world. The developing countries are the ones hardest struck by environmental change and hence, it is important for Sweden to focus on this matter. Sweden is in the forefront when it comes to reducing emissions and hence their policy on aid to help their cooperation countries is important.

5.6.1 Aid for a better environment

The first indicator for the environment motive is, aid for a better environment, this indicator have been interpreted when Sweden talks about the importance of helping their cooperation countries to reduce emissions and finding new energy sources.

“Sweden can help strengthen the capacity of developing countries to integrate climate concerns into poverty reduction programmes through its participation in international efforts to change unsustainable consumption and production patterns.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 38)

“Our task is to promote international cooperation on growth and new technology to reduce environmental impact. This is not a matter of inhibiting the prospects of developing countries but of helping create scope both for a good living environment and growth and progress in those countries.”
(Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 14th of February 2007 :10)

“The Liberian economy is strongly dependent on natural resources and Swedish support will pay particular attention to the environmental aspects, irrespective of the cooperation area concerned.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Liberia 2008-2013:5)

“The link between environment and security and the importance of climate change for the design of Swedish support will be given attention, as will people’s vulnerability and the risk of natural disasters.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Liberia 2008-2013:5)

“The sustainable use and good management of natural resources will be integrated into the support.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Liberia 2008-2013:7-8)

“The goal of cooperation in this area is greater awareness of and commitment to environmental protection, enhanced environmental information and monitoring.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Belarus 2007-2010:9)

“Support for Belarusian participation in regional and global programmes such as the Baltic Action Programme, the Kyoto Protocol and emission trading may also become relevant.” (Strategy for development cooperation with Belarus 2007-2010:10)

5.6.1 International responsibility

The second indicator for the environment motive is international responsibility, this indicator have been interpreted when Sweden talks about the responsibility that the world share for the environment. For Sweden it is important that the rich countries take their responsibility and also helps the developing countries to be able to do the same.

“Climate change and environmental impact is one of the greatest challenges facing the countries of the world.” “Climate change and environmental impacts pose a serious and growing challenge to the countries of the world.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 32)

“Developing countries and poor people, however, are particularly vulnerable to climate change and environmental impacts.” (Global Challenges – Our Responsibility 2007: 32)

“Changes to our climate represent perhaps the greatest challenge of our time. The European Union summit in March last year gave climate issues a central position. Sweden played a proactive role in this decision.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:8)

“A stronger focus on environment and climate is permeating international development and trade cooperation.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 13th of February 2008:8)

“One important factor in this context is to help developing countries meet the challenges brought by climate change.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 18th of February 2009:3)

“The effects of climate change have an impact on many poor countries. The Government has therefore decided to reserve over SEK 4 billion over a three-year period within the framework of development assistance to improve the conditions for adaptation to a changed climate.” (Statement of Government Policy, Wednesday 18th of February 2009:3)

“Environmental aspects and the sustainable use of natural resources are integrated into support for productive rural development and are also reflected in other sectors.” (Phase-out strategy for Swedish support to Nicaragua 2008-2011:5)

6. Conclusions and Discussion

This essay has taken a closer look at Swedish motives for giving foreign aid and aid allocation. With help of previous research within this area, six predefined motives of aid allocation were formed. All of these predefined motives were found in the policy papers from the Swedish Government. The importance of the different motives have not been measured merely because it is interesting enough just to observe and investigate which motives the Swedish Government have with their aid allocation. Sweden is often portrayed as a country with mainly humanitarian motives; it was therefore interesting to take a closer look at the Swedish development cooperation. And the results showed that there are more to Swedish aid allocation than just humanitarian concern, even if that of course is one of the cornerstones.

According to Sogge (2002) Sweden acts more like a merchant than an activist. This is not entirely true when looking at the policy papers regarding Swedish aid today. What can be said is that it is important for the Swedish government to promote Swedish business abroad, but the other motives are as much present as the economic one in the documents from the Swedish government. Furthermore, the Swedish Minister for International Development Cooperation, Gunilla Karlsson, recently spoke about a closer cooperation between development cooperation and the Swedish business sector. This would of course both gain Swedish interests in times of financial crisis and the cooperation countries. Hence, the economic motive can be seen both as an altruistic and a selfish motive, something that probably can be said about all the motives for aid allocation.

Helge Hveem and Desmond McNeill (1994) have written a report on behalf of the Swedish Government regarding the Swedish aid policy from 1968-1993. This report has not been used earlier in the essay merely because of the fact that it was requested by the Swedish government. It is however, interesting to use as comparison to the results of this essay. Hveem and McNeill (1994) note that country selections always have been a controversial issue for the Swedish government. Most notable have been the choices of Cuba, Vietnam and Nicaragua as partner countries mainly because of their status as “favourite examples of Socialist development strategy” (Hveem and McNeill, 1994). Interestingly all of these examples are countries that Sweden now is phasing-out aid in, either in some sectors or the total development aid. When looking at the Swedish motives for aid allocation there are no major

differences between the motives in countries that Sweden have chosen to continue development cooperation and in countries where aid is phased-out. The humanitarian need is for example as visible in many of the countries where aid now is phased-out as it is in the remaining cooperation countries.

Furthermore, Hveem and McNeill (1994) has, as Sogge (2002), taken up the question about mercantilism within the Swedish development program, they argue that mercantilism in Swedish aid between 1968 and 1993 is one of the most significant positions within Swedish aid. They define mercantilism as both economic – and political interests. Mercantilism would therefore serve as a mechanism for Sweden's foreign policy, both by improving Sweden's reputation internationally and constantly following up the policy of neutrality.

This can be compared to the results of this essay which points at identity, economic and strategic motives for Swedish aid allocation. These motives are all consistent with what Hveem and McNeill (1994) calls mercantilism regarding Swedish aid. The motives found in the policy documents studied in this essay, confirms that the reputation Sweden holds internationally is important for Sweden to maintain and the Swedish Government are proud over what Sweden is achieving internationally concerning development assistance.

Ideology is another motive that derived from earlier research (Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1998), which also is present in the policy papers from the Swedish government. Sweden, are critical against authoritarian regimes but in some cases they have chosen to continue cooperation (Belarus, Zimbabwe) even if they do not cooperate in all sectors of society, and tries to keep the national government distant. The argument is that the people should not suffer because of the regime. However, in some cases (Vietnam, Malawi) Sweden has chosen to end cooperation mainly because of the authoritarian rule. Hence, the same motive is used both to continue cooperation and as a reason to phase-out development cooperation, which is interesting to note.

Environment as a motive for aid allocation has not been present in the theories more than a little note by Sogge (2002). Since the environmental threat is becoming reality, and Sweden is one of the countries in the forefront when it comes to reducing green gas emissions, therefore it was interesting to test environment as a motive. The result points at a growing interest to make development cooperation more environmental friendly. There are money directly

targeted to help the cooperation countries to reduce emissions and to develop new forms of energy sources.

6.1 Further research

When the work with this essay commenced, the idea was to look more deeply in to the country selection of the Swedish Government. Due to a lack of material regarding the phase-out strategies this idea had to step back for a more general study of the Swedish Governments motives for aid allocation. With more time one could perform interviews with the responsible politicians for the country selections which would be interesting. How is the cooperation countries chosen and for which reasons? The Swedish government has criteria's for country selection and it would be interesting to see if these correspond with the real selection of cooperation countries. Furthermore, to make a larger study comparing policy documents from several donor countries would be of interest to see for example if the theory that former colonial powers are more economical and strategically motivated to give aid to their former colonies. Or, if it is merely a question of compensating for suffering caused? Or that the former colonial powers feel a cultural similarity with the former colonies?

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