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FOREIGN POLICY AS A TOOL FOR GENDER DEVELOPMENT AND EQUALITY:

THE IMPACT OF SWEDEN'S FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of International Relations to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.



Joshua Keegan Meyer-Watts ....

20th day of April 2021

ABSTRACT

In 2014, Sweden redefined their foreign policy objectives by expanding their policy application of feminist thought; consequentially introducing the world to its first feminist foreign policy. Sweden has made gender in international relations the focus of its foreign policy initiatives, and by so doing, laid the groundwork for the development of foreign policy that addresses gender issues on a global scale. However, what has yet to be determined is whether this groundbreaking policy has facilitated gender development and equality. Therefore, an examination of Sweden's foreign policy is needed in order to determine its effectiveness in encouraging gender equality and development in societies around the world. This paper aims to answer the question: To what extent has Sweden's feminist foreign policy been able to facilitate and engage with gender equality and development? It will explore the culture that led to such a unique foreign policy, its execution, and its evaluation. Furthermore, it will focus on SwedenSouth Africa relations in determining feminist foreign policy impact in sub-Saharan African societies. Through a critical realist perspective on process tracing, it will deductively link variables through causal inferences and links to determine the degree to which Sweden's feminist foreign policy has impacted gender equality and development in South Africa.

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ACCORD – African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes.

AIDS – Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome.

ANC – African National Congress.

CEDAW – The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

CSE – Comprehensive Sexuality Education.

CSO – Civil Society Organisations.

CUP – Comprehensive Urban Plan.

EU – European Union.

FGM – Female Genital Mutilation.

FPD – Foundation for Professional Development.

GBV – Gender- Based Violence.

GDI – Gender Development Index.

HAART – Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy.

HDI – Human Development Index.

HEARD – Health Economics and HIV & AIDS Research Division.

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus.

IFFG – Investing For Future Generations.

IJR – Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation.

SA – South Africa.

SACO – Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations.

SAHRC – South African Human Rights Commission.

SAIIA – South African Institute for International Affairs.

SANDF – South African National Defence Force.

SAT – Southern African Aids Trust.

SDA – Social Development Advisor.

SDP – Social Democratic Party.

SIDA – Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.

STD – Sexually Transmitted Disease.

TVEP – Thohoyandou Victim Empowerment Programme.

UN – United Nations.

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme.

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation.

VAW – Violence Against Women.

INTRODUCTION

For decades, Sweden has been at the forefront of gender equality and development. In recent years Sweden has seen its first female archbishop, several amendments to the Parental Leave Act and Education Act; which function as examples of Sweden's forward-thinking gender policies (Sverige 2019). In 2014, the culmination of years of normative, political and economic change for a gender-equal society, resulted in Sweden introducing the first-ever Feminist Foreign Policy to the world, theoretically and practically guided by feminist thought (M. f. Affairs, Handbook Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy 2018, 6). The Swedish Foreign Ministry defines its Feminist Foreign Policy as follows:

"Essentially, Sweden's feminist foreign policy is a working method and a perspective that takes three Rs as its starting point and is based on a fourth R. The implication is that the Swedish Foreign Service, in all its parts, shall strive to strengthen all women's and girls' Rights, Representation and Resources, based on the Reality in which they live. Sweden's feminist foreign policy is a transformative agenda that aims to change structures and enhance the visibility of women and girls as." – Handbook for Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy (M. f. Affairs, Handbook Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy 2018, 11)

Despite being implemented for almost five years, very little is known regarding the application of feminist thought in the making of foreign policy, and its resulting impact on the rest of the world. Thus, the rationale for this paper is to fill the gap in literature and knowledge in order for future scholars to better understand and modify, not just the application of feminist thought to foreign policies, but also other means and modes of thinking.

The key tenets of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy are the four Rs mentioned above. The first is Rights and involves the Swedish promotion of women's full enjoyment of human rights globally. The second is Representation and involves the promotion of women's influence and participation in decision-making processes. The third is Resources and works to allocate these in such a way that they promote gender equality and equal opportunities for women. Thus, the overarching purpose of the Feminist Foreign Policy is to extend the Swedish idea of gender equality through their relationship with the international (Service 2015, 5-10). The aim of the Feminist Foreign Policy is to facilitate the addressing and development of gender issues in various international organisations, multilateral and bilateral agreements through its key tenets

(Service 2015, 5-10). The extent to which Sweden has been able to achieve its purpose and aim is yet to be determined.

Research conducted by major international organisations, such as the United Nations (UN), shows sub-Saharan Africa ranks low when it comes to gender development and equality (U. N. Programme 2018). Subsequently, Sweden has attempted to change this through its relations and the incorporation of gender issues in policies towards the region (M. f. Affairs, Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation in Sub-Saharan Africa 2016-2021 2016, 4). The purpose and aim of this study is therefore to investigate the specific events, contexts, and resources which led to Sweden being able to develop such a radical and ground-breaking foreign policy. Parallel to this, is the aim to explore and discover whether Sweden has been able to facilitate, to any degree, the development of gender and gender equality in terms of raising awareness regarding sexual abuse and exploitation, the prevention of discriminatory practices in civil society, and the adjustment of legislation within societies in sub-Saharan Africa.

Areas where South Africa lacks gender equality.

The first area is peacekeeping. Unlike most states, South Africa makes a concerted effort to include women in its military forces for UN peacekeeping operations. In May 2015, 25% of the 66 252 uniformed members in the South African Military were women (Heinecken 2015, 229). Of these women, 19% served in combat services, and in forces deployed on peace missions, women made up 14% (Heinecken 2015, 229). South Africa's commitment is largely based on the reasoning (rooted in Liberal Feminist thought) that an increase in women's representation and participation in military ranks will reduce sexual abuse and exploitation by peacekeepers (Pather 2017).

However, despite the number of women in its peacekeeping forces, South African forces receive the highest number of sexual exploitation and abuse allegations in UN peacekeeping operations. Alarmingly, South African National Defence Force (SANDF) troops in peacekeeping operations account for roughly 35 cases of sexual misbehaviour made against UN peacekeeping operations from May 2015 to April 2019 (conduct.unmissions.org, Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: Alleged perpetrators n.d.). Overall, this means that out of 311 allegations sexual abuse and sexual exploitation across all UN missions between 2015 and 2019, South African troops account for 11% of these allegations (conduct.unmissions.org,

Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: Table of Allegations n.d.). Out of the 44 states whose military personnel have been accused of sexual abuse and sexual exploitation, South Africa ranks highest (conduct.unmissions.org, Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: Alleged perpetrators n.d.).

According to the Commission for Gender Equality, more girls finish school and enter institutions of higher learning than boys in South Africa (Mathebula 2018). However, when examining employment statistics, more men are in wage-paying jobs, and in higher-paying jobs (Mathebula 2018). Not only do men earn better, but they are also more likely to be placed in managerial or decision-making positions. This is as a consequence of the "deeply entrenched patriarchal system that benefits men and the process resulting in the gender pay wage gap." – Victor Mathebula (Mathebula 2018). This is supported by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) report that called gender inequality persistent due to the sexual division of labour (Commission 2017, 15).

Another area in which South Africa has failed in pursuing gender equality and development is the hindering of domestic gender-based violence. It is estimated that over 21% of women in South Africa, above the age of 18, have experienced violence from a partner (Commission 2017, 21). This violence has reached extreme levels against the LGBTI community, with a steady increase in "corrective rape" in South Africa (Commission 2017, 22). This is perpetuated by a low report rate by victims of gender-based violence. According to the SAHRC "only 3.9% of women report domestic violence, while only one in 25 rapes has been reported to the police" – SAHRC (Commission 2017, 22).

RESEARCH QUESTION

This paper will focus on Swedish foreign relations vis-à-vis sub-Saharan African states, particularly South Africa. Sweden has active policies directed at the sub-Saharan African region; thus it would be useful to see its impact in the region in terms of gender development and equality (M. f. Affairs, Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation in SubSaharan Africa 2016-2021 2016). South Africa is seen internationally as a state that prizes equality amongst all in its development and thus it would be worthwhile to analyse the Swedish approach to gender equality and development in South Africa due to both having aligned interests in establishing equality nationally and internationally. South Africa also ranks well on the UN HDI index for 2017 for gender equality and development when compared to most other sub-Saharan African states (U. N. Programme 2018).

Yet despite this, South Africa has come under scrutiny for gender equality and development. Examples of this include the increasing amount of sexual exploitation and abuse allegations made against South African peacekeepers (Martin 2018). Another area is that of harmful practices in civil society, including forced underage marriage, genital mutilation and virginity testing. Beyond this, South Africa also lacks gender equality in the workplace and in education institutions due to the large amount of sexual harassment and discrimination against women (Commission 2017). Thus, despite its high scores on UN HDI index for gender equality and development in relation to other Africa states, it still has a long way to go in achieving a gender equal society. It would therefore be useful to determine whether Sweden has been able to target these specific areas where South Africa has been found lacking in its development of gender equality.

Tracing the impact of Sweden's foreign policy may prove to be too abstract a task due to the natural obscurity of international relations. However, in many instances, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) functions as an extension of the Swedish government and foreign ministry in South Africa, i.e., Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy. Even prior to the induction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy, SIDA has had a more direct hand in the implementation of Swedish Foreign Policies in sub-Saharan Africa – not only in the promotion of gender equality, but also in other areas, such as economic growth and development.

Thus, by focusing specifically on SIDA's role in implementing Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy in South Africa, this paper aims to answer the question: Has SIDA been able to implement Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy in South Africa? An analysis of SIDA's implementation will be conducted via two key elements of gender equality and development in South Africa as identified by Sweden: Gender-based Violence and HIV/AIDS.

From answering this question, an evaluation of SIDA's role in advancing gender development and gender equality in South Africa, before and after the introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy, can be determined. The research will further seek to determine whether SIDA has been successful in implementing Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy in South Africa.

LITERATURE REVIEW

What is Feminism?

Feminism functions as both a political ideology and social movement. Despite its duality, the overarching theme of feminism remains the same: the desire for equality between men and women based on the values, assumptions, and ideas of gender – "gender equality" (Tickner and Sjoberg, Feminism 2013, 205). However, it important to understand the various feminist thoughts and sub-theories in conjunction with feminism as a movement, in order to fully comprehend its importance to Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy as this policy can be construed as a manifested culmination of political ideology and social movement. This literature review will first discuss the literature surrounding feminism as a social movement, by looking at what some scholars have described as the different forms of formal organisation of feminism. It will then go on to discuss the literature relating to different feminist thoughts and theories. Within each section, concise parallels will be drawn to Swedish interpretation of feminism and the incorporation of feminist thought into its foreign policy.

Feminism as a Movement.

Feminism is not just an ideology within which there are various theories. Rather, it is first and foremost a representation of a social movement (Delmar 1986, 9). Although this is arguably not academic literature, it nonetheless represents an important, indispensable component of feminism (Delmar 1986, 8-14). Feminism as a social movement represents the experiences and first-hand accounts of women, and it is these experiences from which feminist literature and theory is derived as a postpositivist perspective. Thus it is essential to this study to cover the experiences of women and how they choose to represent these, in order to fully grasp the theoretical literature (Delmar 1986, 8-14).

"Feminism" and "women's movement" are terms often used synonymously with one another in literature and defined according to three historical waves (with the potential for the definition of a fourth); however, a "feminist movement" in this study will be defined differently. "Women's movement" refers to the multifaceted organisation of women across the globe, while the term "feminism" is often used more in reference to the challenging of gender relations, and to describe specific groups which establish this change as their objective (Ferree and Hess 2000, 10). Thus, the term "feminist movement" in this review of the literature will describe the

organised activities which seek to challenge and change gender relations (Ferree and Hess 2000, 10). This is important because it is the "feminist movement" – and its manifestations – which act as a channel for Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy.

When one speaks about the "feminist movement" there are three types of organisation, each with their own methods and objectives, identified by Myra Marx Ferree and Beth B. Hess in "Controversy and Coalition: The New Feminist Movement across Three Decades of Change". This informal typology will be used in this review to describe feminism as a social movement.

The first type is that of autonomous women's organisations (Ferree and Hess 2000, 10). These organisations exist independently from the state and define their objectives in broad terms. However, this does not mean they cannot work in conjunction with the state to achieve overlapping objectives (Ferree and Hess 2000, 10). For example, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), has worked as an extension of the Swedish Foreign Ministry to assist the development of gender equality through cooperation with local and regional NGOs and other autonomous women's organisations (Rogers 2018). Although Sweden has no direct partnership with a South African NGO aimed at addressing the development of gender equality, there are indirect links between SIDA funding for various NGOs in the Southern Africa (such as the Foundation for Professional Development and their work on eliminating gender-based violence in South Africa) (F. f. Development, SIDA Gender Based Violence Capacity Building Project 2014).

The second type of organisation that offers a manifestation of the feminist movement, is referred to as "state feminism" (Ferree and Hess 2000, 11). This involves the induction of women into influential positions within governments and global institutions (Ferree and Hess 2000, 11). This is the area where the Swedish Foreign Ministry has largely focused its efforts. A massive campaign was initiated to increase the number of women in the Somali parliament (Fillion 2018). The Swedish government has also worked extensively with major international organisations, such as the UN, to provide women with equal opportunities for representation within the organisations themselves (Sweden, Sweden's feminist foreign policy – examples from three years of implementation 2018). In terms of South Africa, a Swedish Gender Mainstreaming Report on South Africa emphasises the need for the Swedish government to increase representation and the mainstreaming of gender within governmental structures in South Africa (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in partner countries Country Report South Afric 2002).

The third type is that of the "unobtrusive mobilisation of women within institutions" (Ferree and Hess 2000, 11). This involves the mobilisation of women within political parties, educational institutions, and human rights groups to improve representation of women and raise gender issues (Ferree and Hess 2000, 11). Swedish focus in this regard can be primarily observed through their interaction and promotion of gender issues within the education of the South African population. This can be seen best through its attempt at gender development via research initiatives in tertiary education (such as the Gender Equality in Research South Africa – Sweden Workshop) (Sweden, Technology, et al. 2016).

Feminism as a Political Ideology.

Feminism is also a political ideology, although it is difficult to develop a coherent picture because of the multitude of differing epistemologies on gender equality, and strategies for achieving significant development in gender equality (Tickner, Gender in World Politics 2014). There are, however, a few fundamental feminist theories which serve as the foundation for feminist ideology, with particular relevance to this study.

The first is Liberal Feminism. In this instance, feminist theory is guided and informed by liberal thought (Tickner and Sjoberg, Feminism 2013, 208). Liberal Feminism is one of the earlier theories to significantly develop a feminist epistemology, and is unique in that it represents a positivist outlook on gender equality (Hutchinson and Mann 2004, 81). Traditionally associated with the first wave of feminism, the main objective of Liberal Feminism is the establishment of women's political, legal and social rights. By removing obstacles which hinder the endowment of these rights, Liberal Feminism suggests gender equality can be achieved (Hutchinson and Mann 2004, 81-82). In the interest of linking ideology and social movement, Liberal Feminism is largely associated with the aforementioned "state feminism". Most of the literature surrounding Liberal Feminism is directed at the documentation of women's subordination within political, legal, and social societal structures. For example, liberal feminist literature looks at income disparities between men and women, the differential treatment of women refugees, and the difficulties of a woman's ascent to a position of power (Tickner and Sjoberg, Feminism 2013, 208). Linking this to the study of Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy in the early 2000s, liberal feminist Mary Caprioli, and Mark Boyer, used gender as a variable in foreign policy analysis (Caprioli and Boyer 2001).

Although Liberal Feminism is essential in documenting the content surrounding women's subordination, it fails to challenge the epistemological assumptions about gender equality (Tickner and Sjoberg, Feminism 2013, 209). Therefore, while Liberal Feminism employs a positivist perspective, most feminist thought and theories endorse a postpositivist outlook (Hutchinson and Mann 2004, 82). Critical Feminism is such a theory. It goes beyond Liberal Feminism in that its focus is the ideational manifestations of gender equality/inequality. In this sense, the focus is not so much on the material differences between women and men, but rather the differences in ideas each has towards the other, which in turn influences the material (Tickner and Sjoberg, Feminism 2013, 209). Once again linking ideology and social movement, Critical Feminism is closely linked with the first type of feminist movement: autonomous women's organisations. This is because the purpose of both this type of movement and Critical Feminism is to identify unobservable existing power relations between women and men, and develop strategies to establish not just material equality, but ideational equality as well. Linking the literature to this study, research has been conducted that explores the different ways gender has been understood by states in international organisations (Tickner, Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspetives on Achieving Global Security 1992). The importance of understanding Swedish views on gender and the power relations between women and men, and how this reflects in its foreign policy, is in line with this.

Another postpositivist feminist theory is that of Constructivist Feminism. Constructivist Feminism zooms in further on the ideational aspects of gender inequality by examining how ideas of gender influence and impact world politics, as well as the way world politics shape ideas surrounding gender (Tickner and Sjoberg, Feminism 2013, 210). Constructivist Feminism is linked to the final type of feminist movement: mobilisation of women within institutions. In this sense, both movement and ideology have suggested the adding of a social layer to international politics that is purposefully genderised. The way states and other international actors interact with one another and address gender issues is a result of codified gender power relations (Locher and Prugl 2001, 111-129). Elisabeth Prügl used linguistics to examine this notion (Prugl 1999). Constructivist Feminism contributes to the understanding of this study as it provides a genderised context to the relations between Sweden and South Africa.

The final theory of relevance that will be discussed is Postcolonial Feminism. It is relevant in that it offers a possible critique of the Swedish approach to a Feminist Foreign Policy.

Postcolonial feminists claim Western feminists have constructed a false "universalised" idea of women, when in reality this idea is not representative of women from developing or previously colonised states. Therefore, knowledge of gender is directed to benefit women in a Western context (Tickner and Sjoberg, Feminism 2013, 212). Postcolonial feminists have suggested that a more "pluriversal" or "multicultural" understanding of women is needed in order to advance gender equality within specific contexts (Tickner and Sjoberg, Feminism 2013, 212). The Swedish model for gender equality derived from its Feminist Foreign Policy could be critiqued in this sense. If it is concluded that Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy has had little impact on gender equality and development in South Africa, postcolonial feminism could offer an explanation.

It must be noted that the aim of this study is not to critique Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy using feminist theory, but rather to determine its outcomes in the context of South Africa. Thus, the discussion of feminist theories in this literature review is to provide theoretical context to Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy, not to suggest a particular application.

Summary of Literature.

In summary, feminism in its entirety represents the amalgamation of social movements and political ideology. Feminism as a movement manifests in three types of organisations, specifically directed at challenging and changing gender structures in society. Each of these has its own modes of operation and objectives when it comes to challenging gender structure. Feminism as a political ideology can be sub-divided into several feminist theories and thoughts, each with its own defining characteristics and perspectives on gender equality and development. The literature suggests that Sweden has engaged with feminism as both a political ideology and social movement in regard to its foreign policy and South Africa through SIDA. Yet, South Africa still lacks in many areas in its pursuit of gender equality. Thus, a gap in the literature remains – has SIDA been able to improve on gender equality in the areas where South Africa is lacking in terms of gender-based violence by engaging with young men, assisting women and girls impacted by HIV/AIDS, and supporting gender-focused NGOs based in South Africa?

METHODOLOGY

The Approach.

Most works involving feminist epistemologies apply a Reflexivity approach to their studies (Ackerly, et al., 2006), but this study will use a "before & after" approach to observe and assess how policies and programs between Sweden and South Africa on the issues of Gender Based Violence, and HIV/AIDS have changed and evolved. The "before & after" approach will be an comparison over time (not between cases) based on the introduction of an intervening variable. This intervening variable will be Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy. This study will conceptualise *what* is known about observed and unobserved gender structures in society, rather than *how* we know about gender structures in society.

There are several reasons for the deviation from what can be considered "traditional feminist studies":

The first is that while Reflexivity would rely extensively on first-hand research and the recording of the experiences and epistemologies of women (as well as others involved in the facilitation of gender equality and development in South Africa) (Lamont, 2015, p. 19). This research focuses on the documentation, political policies, and institutions of Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy, and its impact on the structure of gender – not the impact on the *experience* of women in South Africa. The structure of gender in South Africa being defined by political policies, economic empowerment, and cultural norms (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2013, pp. 205-222). Therefore, the "before & after" approach will allow for the observation of the impact on the structure of gender in South Africa, without being hindered by inherent limitations of knowledge and subjective experiences of men and women. Simultaneously, this will allow leniency in being able to establish causal inferences based on unobserved social phenomena.

The second reason is that Reflexivity may not be well suited within the context of this study (Harvey, 2012-2019). This study will be establishing causal links between Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy and gender equality and development in South Africa based on an intervening variable (the introduction of the policy itself). Thus, while Reflexivity may be suited to reflecting on already established causal inferences, it is not ideal for identifying the causal links and inferences (Harvey, 2012-2019). Thus, "before & after" approach will allow for flexibility in this matter in order to assess the outcome of the policies and for the assessment of changes and evolutions in policies over time- allowing for greater insight into how feminism is used within foreign policies

Finally, the Reflexivity approach may not be suited to the levels of analysis required for this study (Lamont, 2015). Analysis on the impact of Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy at a regional and bilateral level on South African gender structures would require extensive insight into the experiences of women at these levels. However, there is simply not an appropriate amount of data to collect in order to generate convincing conclusions and hypotheses. A "before & after" approach increases the field of appropriate data significantly at both levels of analysis due to the increase in the inclusivity of the data available for analysis (Jackson, 2011, pp. 2-4). This will allow the study to draw out more conclusions, in greater depth, compared with a Reflexivity approach.

The Method.

The method used for this paper will be that of process tracing, which in turn will be guided by various feminist thought and theories. Process tracing is a data analysis method for identifying, validating, and testing causal mechanisms within case studies in a specific, theoretically informed way (Waldner, 2012, pp. 67-68). This will involve analysing the established policy, whether the policy has been carried out according to its own framework in South Africa, and finally whether that link has produced an outcome linked to the policy (i.e. an increase in gender equality and development in South Africa). Process tracing presents itself is the most appropriate method for this research for several reasons. The first is that it is able to incorporate both quantitative and qualitative data (George and Bennett, Chapter 10 Process-Tracing and Historical Explaination 2005, 207-208). While many methods are usually associated with different types of data sets, process tracing allows for the incorporation of all types of date sets in order to show sequential causal inference between independent variables leading up to a specific outcome.

Secondly, process tracing presents itself as being more applicable to the structure of the study when compared to other methods. Ultimately this paper is guided by feminist thought and theory, therefore it would be unwise to apply a positivist methodology when the study itself will be guided by a postpositivist theory. Following this logic, selecting a postpositivist approach is important in order to generate ideational and epistemological congruency between theory, methodology, and subject matter (George and Bennett, Chapter 10 Process-Tracing and Historical Explaination 2005, 207-208). This is not to say that process tracing is entirely aligned with postpositivist methodologies, rather process tracing has used in positivist and postpositivist research (George and Bennett, Chapter 10 Process-Tracing and Historical Explaination 2005, 208). Process tracing allows the paper to not disregard any angles of analysis while staying true to theoretical roots as well as exploring other explanations for causality between variables in the process of producing an outcome. At the very least, process tracing will allow for a methodologically neutral or independent research paper.

Lastly, the paper examines a single case study, thus any use of comparative methods would be rendered pointless as there would be nothing to compare. Rather the paper examines the process of causality, how and to what degree the variables impact on one another within a single case. These variables will be derived from several feminist theories and thoughts and examine the procedural relationship between the variables. By doing this, one will be able to establish

variance for each of the variables identified, as well as variance on the outcome of the case study.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data Collection.

As with all studies, this study will need to define which data it will be collecting and how exactly it will be collected. When it comes to the type of data that will be collected, this study will rely on document-based and archival research (Lamont, 2015, p. 80). Thus, the data collected will be both primary source data and secondary source data (Lamont, 2015, pp. 8081). Primary source data is needed as this study will analyse the statements, speeches, and documents produced by individuals involved in the making of Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy, as well as those describing its impact in South Africa. Secondary sourced data will also

be useful in that it will assist in the making of causal inferences between variables. The inclusion of both primary source data and secondary source data will allow this study to increase its scope (as very little has been written in relation to this topic, thus expanding the scope of data collection is crucial), and availability (many of the sources will be official documentation, some of which will be accessible to the public and some of which will not) of the data collected (Lamont, 2015, pp. 80-81). Most of the data collected will be official documentation by the Swedish Foreign Ministry, international organisations, NGOs, the South African Department of International Affairs and Cooperation, scholarly articles, and media sources.

However, there are limitations to the type of data collected in this study. The first limitation is the data will only present a certain positionality or perspective on an issue or present itself as bias (Lamont, 2015, p. 82). This is mainly referring to official documentation made by state and international institutions. However, this will be compensated for by expanding the scope of the types of data collected. This ensures a somewhat multidimensional perspective on the topic.

Another potential limitation is the data collected will only offer limited insight into the production of the data available (Kawulich & Holland, 2012, pp. 231-237). There are many social interactions that are unobservable but would add valuable insights and may change the outcome or conclusions of a study. However, once again, this study will attempt to compensate by taking into consideration how these documents and sources were developed. This will allow for the indication and consideration – at least, to some degree – of the unobserved forces which influence the data collected for this research.

Data Analysis.

In terms of data analysis, process tracing lends itself to identifying causal inferences.
In analysing the data, this study will seek to link sources by causal inference (Kawulich & Holland, 2012, pp. 231-237). This means the link between variables leading to an outcome will need to be supported by the appropriate data, which can also be causally linked. The data analysis will involve identifying causal links between variables (Lamont, 2015, p. 89).
For example, stating the objectives of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy, one of which is to empower women through education. This variable can be causally linked to an increase in dialogue over the participation of women in research and knowledge production through

documentation describing the dialogue between South Africa and Sweden regarding gender equality in research. This can then be causally linked to gender development in South Africa by the variable of knowledge (measured by expected/average years of schooling) through documentation showing an increase in the number of women attending tertiary educational institutions. Thus, potentially increasing its gender development index, and tracing the causal inferences between variables.

SWEDEN'S FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

Internal Developments.

While Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy is relatively new, the domestic policies, culture, and societal norms which led to the development of a Feminist Foreign Policy have a longer history in the country, and in the Scandinavian region as a whole.

The social, political and economic underpinnings of gender equality in Sweden arguably started in the late 18th Century. It was not until the 1800s that it gained momentum, particularly in the latter half of the 19th Century. In 1846, laws were introduced that allowed widows, divorcees, and unmarried women access to work in specific positions and certain areas (Sverige 2019). In

1859, women were granted elementary school positions. In the 1860s, women were given the opportunity to work in postal and telegraph services (Hedlin 2012, 228-229). One of the greatest landmarks for the progress of feminist thought in Sweden came in 1883. Ellen Fries became the first woman in Swedish history to defend a doctoral thesis at Uppsala University (Hirdman 1991, 239). This came as a result of early Swedish laws that allowed women to attend school, receive equal inheritance, and finally the right to conduct business in their own name. While many women have accomplished amazing feats during this period in history, in spite of societal norms, pressures, and restrictions, this act by Ellen Fries was extraordinary nonetheless, and represented something of a mental shift in her surrounding society. Scholars within Sweden began to question what this would mean and two unofficial camps developed – those who believed Ellen Fries' actions were a representation of times to come, and those who hoped she would be the first and last (Hirdman 1991, 239). For a time, it seemed as if the latter camp would prevail, as it took the better half of a century before further significant progress was made in terms of women in Sweden gaining an equal footing with their male counterparts.

A precedent had been set, and a foundation laid, however, and it appears that the primary mechanism for women's equality and feminist thought advancement came from its linkage to the education of women and girls. In the 1950s Sweden saw its first professor emerge from Stockholm University – Ingrid Hammarström. This was followed swiftly by the appointment of another female professor, Birgitta Odén, from Lund University (Hirdman 1991, 239). In his 1960 article, "The Women Question in Sweden 1809-1840", Gunnar Qvist writes about the political efforts to remove legal restrictions of women during the early 19th Century. Qvist's work culminated in an interdisciplinarity seminar in the early 1970s at the University of Gothenburg, where an archive of women's history had already been established at the university library (Hirdman 1991, 240).

Yvonne Hirdman suggests in "Writing Women's History: International Perspectives" that the history of women in Sweden and their pursuit of equality has come as a result of two sources. The first is academic – the Gothenburg Seminar and its subsequent impact on scholars and Swedish academia (Hirdman 1991, 240). The second is more general – the result of the first and second waves of the feminist movement, which largely focused on women's suffrage and establishing political platforms for women, feminist thought, and gender equality (Hirdman 1991, 240). What was important about both these sources is that they interlink to establish a foundation for supporting the education of women which would allow them to advance by

elevating themselves in both the private sphere (in the household, and workplace) as well as in the public domain (in pursuing gender equal policies). Evidence of this is found in that almost every University in Sweden constructed a "forum for Women's Research and Female Researchers" (Hirdman 1991, 240). What followed was the quick rise of Sweden as frontrunner in the pursuit of a gender equal state.

The first wave of feminism in Sweden, largely orientated around women's suffrage, preceded the second wave of feminism in the country. With 350 000 signatures, women in Sweden gained the right to vote (Sverige 2019). Yet, what stands out in the context of Sweden, is that it is at this time that feminism becomes intricately linked to political parties' agendas. Over time, the rise and fall of political parties in Sweden became somewhat reliant on their ability to promote issues of gender equality and women's rights. At the time of the first wave we also see the rise of women's unions, such as the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations (SACO) (Gelb 1989, 146). A unique characteristic of the development and progress of feminism in Sweden was that militant liberation was minimal when compared to other Western states, such as Great Britain and the United States of America (Gelb 1989, 146). Unlike in most countries, here women had forums to address issues of class (and later gender) through the aforementioned political parties and institutions.

Therefore, the political opportunity structure of Sweden's political institutions was a major contributing factor to its progress towards gender equality. About the structure of the Swedish government, Lundqvist notes:

> "The individual legislator is elected as one among several representatives from multimember constituencies. He or she is nominated by the party and represents the party more than the special interests of the constituency. Cabinet ministries and administrative agencies are formally separated from each other. In reality, though, there is close cooperation on most matters of policy interpretation and implementation guidelines. Special interests in Sweden are thoroughly organized. They are represented not only on the main vehicles for Swedish policy formulation, the Royal Commissions, but also on the boards of administrative agencies" (Lundqvist 1980, 182).

This speaks to the political structure where women were able to generate a platform for change. Furthermore:

> "Swedish politics is characterized by a high degree of continuity. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) has dominated politics for 40 years, relinquishing its hold only in 1976-82, when a non-Socialist coalition ruled. However, because the five parties that in the main compose the Swedish political system, represent only a relatively modest

> transition from left to right, political compromise is usually possible regardless of electoral outcomes. Swedish politics is also distinguished by a high degree of organizational participation." (Gelb 1989, 140).

Speaking to this last point, the characteristic of a high degree of political structure has been encouraged by political parties themselves incorporating a high degree of public opinion into their campaign apparatus, manifestos, and agendas. During the second wave of feminism, the growth of the political platform for feminism, gender and women became a mainstay in party politics. All parliamentary parties at this time in Sweden adhered to a 40-60 principle – within a party's representative ranks, parties were permitted to have no more than 60% and no less than 40% of either gender. This is not to say that Sweden is perfect in its pursuit of gender equality and development, but it deserves praise for its efforts (Gelb 1989, 152).

As noted by Joyce Gelb, regarding other authors' observations of women having a significantly different role and idea of feminism in Sweden, due to the altered structure of its political system:

> "Ruggie (1984:17) regards Sweden as the society in which the interests of women workers have been most nearly realized, while Adams and Winston (1969) portray the Swedish approach to the integration of working women into the labor force and political system as in many ways superior to the American approach". (Gelb 1989, 138).

Based on the academic and feminist movement foundations suggested by Hirdman, Sweden progressively introduces new laws advancing women's right, gender equality and embracing feminist thought. The major landmarks of this are exemplified by the legalisation of birth control and abortion in 1938; the first women elected to government in 1947; introduction of three-month paid maternity leave in 1955; and parental leave replacing maternity leave (acknowledgement of the need for both paternity and maternity leave) in 1974 (Sverige 2019).

Between 1988 and 1991 there appeared to be a decline in female legislative representation which in turn led to public concern over general welfare of the state (Freidenvall 2003, 3-4). The extent of this concern was severe enough for a significant mobilisation of women, pressing for the establishment of a separate women's party. However, after the 1994 elections the levels of female legislative representation reached record highs as parties reviewed their gender equality and development policies (Freidenvall 2003, 3-4). The 1994 elections were subsequently dubbed the "gender elections" as it solidified gender equality and development

on the agenda for Swedish parties, as well as parliament as a whole (Freidenvall 2003, 4). From here we see an adjustment of previously established laws to enhance the already "near perfect" (arguably) gender equal society. The 1991 law on gender equality was substituted with the Discrimination Act of 2009, and in the same year, Sweden introduced an Equality Ombudsman (Sverige 2019). The culmination of the *internal* developments on gender quality came in the need to express it *externally* as well, thus the Feminist Foreign Policy was conceived in 2014.

External Developments.

While it can be considered that Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy largely came from internal domestic progress in the area of gender equality, there is an element of desire for an external influence as well. Since the post-war period, Sweden made a conscientious effort to develop the identity of a "modern" state in respect to social reform. It was this idea of the "modern state" that Sweden began to express externally in its social reformations and advancements (Towns 2002, 163). When preparing for its entry into the European Union (EU), Sweden produced publications which set "expectations on the Swedish membership and what this may mean for the EU's gender equality work. This has placed special demands for Swedish contributions in various areas". Thus, Sweden developed a sense of pride in its ability to be ahead of the curve on both internal and external promotion of gender equality.

> "If Sweden is to keep its head position and answer to the expectations of other countries, we must be able to demonstrate that our work is resolute, structured and goal-oriented. Each ministry and policy area is expected to highlight the gender equality perspective within its policy spheres." ('Regeringskansliets inbjudan till seminarium inför ordförandeskapet i EU: Jämställdhet – från ord till handling', 5 May 2000).

The above quote is an invitation sent to under-secretaries and chief civil servants for a seminar on gender equality prior to Sweden's ascendency to the EU Presidency. How Sweden presented itself and acted in the international arena (particularly in multinational organisations, such as the EU) played a role in developing its state identity. Sweden not only considered opportunity for change in terms of gender equality internally, but external influence in this respect as well.

The 1990s presented a historical juncture for Sweden, regarding the promotion of gender equality and development in the international sphere. It is during this decade (just prior to EU membership) that Sweden conducted an investigation to determine the consequence of itself potentially entering the EU and what it would mean for gender equality and the social welfare of the state (Towns 2002, 164). In the final report it was determined that Sweden, along with

the other Nordic states, were well "ahead" in terms of gender equality and development. It was also suggested in the report that other European states had the expectation of Sweden having to lead, or at least have a major impact, on gender issues within the EU and the region as a whole (Towns 2002, 164). Membership of the EU would come with the obligation that the Swedish government would share its knowledge of gender equality and development with the rest of Europe and become the standard against which other states can measure themselves (Towns 2002, 164). Having this expectation placed on it undoubtedly had an influence on its state identity. Sweden was given the opportunity to present itself as an expert on a very niche, but growing, concern in international affairs, thus strengthening its soft power to a large degree. It is this increase in Sweden's soft power that contributed to the long-term development of its Feminist Foreign Policy, as according to Realist perspectives on foreign policy (which historically still largely dominated foreign policy perspectives at this time) states constantly seek to increase power through foreign policy.

Beyond the EU, the UN also had a major impact on Swedish state identity and forming it into the frontrunner for gender equality and development. During the mid-1990s, Sweden was established at the top of several UN rankings focused on gender equality and development (Towns 2002, 164). Previously, the UN had minimal indicators in terms of measuring gender equality and development, only having data regarding gaps between males and females within each state in the United Nations Human Development Programme (UNDP) – data such as life expectancy, and school enrolment. During this period, Sweden ranked fourth at best. However, in 1995 new indices were introduced by the UN for measuring gender equality: The GenderRelated Development Index and the Gender Empowerment Measure (Towns 2002, 164-165). On both of these indices, Sweden was ranked number one and thus the most gender equal state in the world. A month later, Sweden also ranked number one in terms of female members of parliament according the Geneva-based Inter-Parliamentary Union (Towns 2002, 164-165). While this does not necessarily demonstrate Sweden's active action to influence gender equality and development externally, it did encourage them to maintain their path in this regard. The external praise and influence heaped on Sweden, played a significant role in developing its state identity and building its reputation as a gender equal state. Sweden's external pursuit of gender equality and development continued through international organisations such as the UN and EU; however, they also pursued it through certain organisations that function as

extensions of the Swedish government – arguably the primary one being the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).

SIDA and Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy.

The Swedish International Cooperation Agency (SIDA) is headquartered in Stockholm. It functions as an extension of the Swedish government, but only in some respects. While it cannot introduce official government policy, nor enter into bilateral agreements with foreign governments, to which the Swedish government could be held accountable, SIDA serves to enact Sweden's foreign policy objectives and facilitate cooperation with foreign governments. In other words, Sweden is the source of foreign policy strategy, and SIDA is the action arm. As noted by SIDA in 2019:

> "The strategies set the objectives for Swedish development cooperation, i.e. what the cooperation should contribute to during the strategy's period. The goals and the formulations in the strategies therefore determine what kind of projects or programmes that SIDA may fund during a specific period of time" (SIDA, Our Work is Guided by Strategies 2019).

Because of their close cooperation in implementing the will of the Swedish government, it is important for SIDA to align itself with the beliefs, ideas, and objectives of the Swedish government– not only for the purpose of consistency in Sweden's external expression to the rest of the world, but also for funding. A large portion of Swedish government funding is directed through SIDA projects and programmes. In 2019, a little over USD 43 million was directed through SIDA by the Swedish government (Women 2020). Therefore, the introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy resulted in a realignment for SIDA as well.

It is important to note from the beginning that SIDA is not solely focused on work involving gender equality and development. There are several other key areas of work that are emphasised within the organisation. Yet, gender equality and development has been part of

SIDA's mandate since 1996, and since the introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy the idea of gender equality and development became an increasing and highly emphasised area of focus (Bjarnegård and Uggla 2018, 29). An illustration of the necessity for alignment on this issue between the Swedish government and SIDA was the task set forth by the Swedish government for SIDA to develop a plan to enhance gender integration that would be enacted between 2016 and 2018 (Bjarnegård and Uggla 2018, 29).

From the introduction of the Feminist Foreign Policy, SIDA has implemented several programmes and strategies (internal and external) on behalf of the Swedish government in order to increase gender equality and development in certain partner countries. Some key internal focus areas for SIDA have been economic empowerment, which is demonstrated in the emphasis on SIDA's action plans for gender integration 2015-2018. SIDA has also communicated the importance of Sweden focusing on increasing the democratic space for the LGBTQ community. SIDA also designed and implemented a "gender toolbox that provides knowledge, tools and inspiration on how to operationalise gender equality in Swedish development cooperation; a Gender Equality Network of staff specialists and advisors; and regional Gender Help Desks" (OECD 2019). In terms of external programmes and strategies within partner countries that seek to implement Feminist Foreign Policy, in 2017 SIDA allocated 20% of its aid to gender equality specifically (up from 18%). According to SIDA:

> "assistance that is tied to at least one gender equality objective within a larger contribution constitutes 69% of the agency's work, while the proportion of aid without a gender equality objective stands at 11%" (Rogers 2018).

It is crucial to note that SIDA rarely implements general programmes and strategies. Most actions are country specific, so when it comes to South Africa, SIDA and Sweden's approach to gender equality and development requires an in-depth view.

SIDA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Sweden and SIDA Policies and Strategies for South Africa.

In preparation for the ending of the Apartheid regime in South Africa, Sweden began the process of engaging South Africa on the promotion of gender equality and development (Mikkelsen, Freeman, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Eqaulity: Sida's suppport for the promotion of gender equality in partner countries 2002, preface). SIDA and Swedish embassy staff were committed to developing programmes that would highlight and directly address

issues of gender inequality. To develop such a programme, there would need to be a deliberate detailing of the needs and conduct of the project. In 1996, gender equality was established as a goal for Swedish cooperation, and what followed was an action programme detailing a strategy for the promotion of gender equality and development in partner countries (Mikkelsen, Freeman, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Eqaulity: Sida's suppport for the promotion of gender equality in partner countries 2002, preface).

In 1997, SIDA adopted this action programme. One of its main points was the development of gender-based dialogue between Sweden, SIDA and the country (Mikkelsen, Freeman, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Eqaulity: Sida's suppport for the promotion of gender equality in partner countries 2002, v). The extent to which SIDA and Sweden engaged in and promoted dialogue regarding gender equality and development was dependent on the country, however, dialogue occurred as three distinct types as defined by SIDA: government-to-government dialogue; intervention-specific dialogue; and civil society dialogue (Mikkelsen, Freeman, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Eqaulity: Sida's suppport for the promotion of gender equality in partner countries 2002, 20). Dialogue appears to be the *modus operandi* for SIDA in terms of promoting gender equality and development across the specific areas of Gender-based Violence, HIV/AIDS, and education (Baden, Hasim and Meintjies 1998, 70-75).

In terms of government-to-government dialogue, SIDA's objective was to facilitate cooperation and dialogue between Sweden and partner countries. This was subject to the capabilities and motivations for the mutual pursuit of agreed gender equality and development goals (Mikkelsen, Freeman, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Eqaulity: Sida's suppport for the promotion of gender equality in partner countries 2002, 20). The annual consultations between Sweden and South Africa appear to be the most important forums for government-togovernment dialogue and covered significant developments in national political and economic policies. In these annual consultations, Sweden consistently referred to the idea of gender equality and mainstreaming as a means for development and cooperation:

> "a second cross-cutting theme was a very strong emphasis on gender equality. In this regard, apart from specific gender programmes, SIDA was continuously striving to mainstream and integrate gender issues in its other programmes." – *Agreed Minutes of 1998"* (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 30).

Beyond this, an informal mode of government-to-government dialogue took place. The Swedish embassy and SIDA attempted to interact with various government partners, however both institutions have concluded the difficulty of maintaining these informal relations, due to understaffing and overwhelming workload of South African government partners, such as the Commission on Gender Equality and the Office on the Status of Women (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 30).

Intervention-specific dialogue focuses on the alterations to gender equality programmes within a partner country; and on the communications between Sweden/SIDA and implementing partners in South Africa (Mikkelsen, Freeman, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Eqaulity: Sida's suppport for the promotion of gender equality in partner countries 2002, 22). Implementing partners appear in the form of consultants, project implementors – specifically the Social Development Advisor (SDA), Comprehensive Urban Plan (CUP), and the Local Government Development Support Programme (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 31). The degree to which this dialogue is possible and the intensity to which it works varies, dependent upon SIDA staff and the recipient country. The SDA arguably played the most crucial role in terms of intervention-specific dialogue, as it was proactive in facilitating gender training workshops and emphasising the need for more women's participation when arranging these workshops (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 31). StatisticsSA (StatsSA) and SDA also partnered with the Swedish embassy and SIDA to discuss findings and adjustment of urban evaluations (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 31). For example, StatsSA was found to make no mention of gender equality, other than the gender composition of staff in one of its reports (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 31).

The final type of dialogue is relevant to civil society organisations, and SIDA's support of these civil society organisations – particularly that of NGOs – which seek to advocate gender equality and development. SIDA gives a large amount of financial support and funds to NGOs and civil society networks (Mikkelsen, Freeman, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Eqaulity: Sida's suppport

for the promotion of gender equality in partner countries 2002, 23-24). Although SIDA sought to fund organisations working in the areas of human rights, and conflict resolution; according to organisations receiving funds, discussions with SIDA and the Swedish embassy consistently included dialogue that was intensely gender specific (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 32). In 2000, the specific session for NGO dialogue with SIDA and the Swedish embassy was terminated, and these organisations were asked to join the annual consultations instead (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 32).

In 2002, SIDA commissioned an "Evaluation of SIDA's support to development cooperation for the promotion of Gender Equality" to determine the effectiveness of the 1997 action programme. This evaluation had three objectives. First, to assess how – if at all – SIDA's strategy to mainstream gender equality and development in government-to-government dialogue was reflected in the country's processes. Second, to assess the practical changes that were made to promote gender equality and development through interventions supported by SIDA. Third, to provide an in-depth understanding of the change of ideas surrounding gender equality and development due to SIDA-supported interventions (Mikkelsen, Freeman, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Eqaulity: Sida's suppport for the promotion of gender equality in partner countries 2002, 2-3).

In 1997, South Africa presented itself as a unique opportunity for SIDA due to the recent abolition of Apartheid and a new democratic government led by the African National Congress (ANC) coming to power. The idea and pursuit of racial equality was at the forefront of ANC policies and quickly formalised. As a result, the Swedish strategy with South Africa focused on overcoming the legacies of Apartheid by addressing institutionalised racial inequalities which had left majority of South Africans to live in extreme poverty (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 23). On the other hand, South Africa – according to a UNDP assessment – fell into a Medium Development Group, which meant it did not rely on traditional forms of donor aid (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa

2000, 23). Sweden's partnership with South Africa was therefore atypical. Sweden did not seek to give budgetary/economic aid to South Africa, but rather opted to facilitate an increase in trade, business, and general economic cooperation between the two states. Regarding their country strategy for South Africa, the Ministry for Swedish Foreign Affairs stated:

> "Continued Swedish support is motivated primarily by the extreme income gaps and special difficulties that have been inherited from the Apartheid period. South Africa is, however, a country with rich resources and good prospects within the foreseeable future of making itself independent of donor assistance. This perspective [...] opens the possibilities for development of new and long-term sustainable forms of cooperation." – Country Strategy for Development Co-operation – South Africa, January 1, 1999– December 31, 2003, Ministry for Foreign Affairs (M. f. Affairs n.d., 11)

Yet, despite such statements, Sweden – through SIDA – continuously looked to push and mainstream issues of gender equality and development in South Africa. Their approach towards South Africa with a feminist/gendered lens can be seen primarily through Sweden's analysis of gender equality in South Africa; Sweden's descriptions and critiques of the South African government's policies and priorities in relation to gender equality and development; the dialogue between Sweden and South Africa on gender issues; and SIDA's objectives as a result of the previous three components of Sweden's approach to South Africa (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 24-27).

Beginning with the analysis of South Africa regarding gender equality Sweden – through SIDA – identified that at the time (1997-2002), there were minimal efforts to ensure legislative gender equality:

> "The biggest challenge is that there are no plans in place to ensure that legislation is implemented, and gender equality is mainstreamed in the implementation of programmes, which the national machinery is mandated to do."

Another unique challenge to the South African case for SIDA is that statistics and data collected prior to 1997 were minimally useful. This is because the Apartheid regime only collected information on a minority demographic of the South African population (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 23). This meant that, at the time, SIDA was limited in its approach due to inadequate data on gender statistics for the majority of the population. However, there was some data available which gave minimal insights into gender

issues in South Africa (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 23). For example, there were statistics regarding the number of female-headed households, women's unemployment, and recorded incidences of rape. It was also stated that poverty appeared to be inextricably linked to gender, or at the very least, had a powerful gender dimension (Keller, Forti, et al., Mainstreaming Gender Equality: Sida's support for the promotion of gender equality in parnter countries- Country Report South Africa 2000, 23).

There were two clear themes in the context of gender mainstreaming across SIDA and Swedish policies towards South Africa, namely Gender-based Violence (GBV) and HIV/AIDS. In many country policies, strategies, reports, and action plans, these two points are highlighted and often linked as key issues when it comes to gender equality and development in South Africa. The next section will look into these issues, how SIDA attempted to implement Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy in addressing them; and whether they were successful.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

What is Gender-based Violence for SIDA?

Before evaluating SIDA's impact in the area of Gender-based Violence (GBV) in South Africa, it is important to understand how SIDA views and defines GBV.

SIDA defines GBV as:

> "Any harm or suffering that is perpetrated against a woman or girl, man or boy and that has a negative impact on the physical, sexual or psychological health, development or identity of the person. The cause of the violence is founded in gender-based power inequalities and gender-based discrimination." – Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 6).

What is unique about this definition is that it is expanded to include boys and men. This contrasts to other international organisations such as the UN, which defines GBV as only targeted at women. The UN even prefers the term "violence against women" (VAW), although it must be noted that GBV and VAW are used interchangeably in some contexts (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 6).

SIDA attributes violence against women as being due to societal gender inequalities and gender norms which inherently link the "female" and "femininity" with the idea or perception of weakness, victimisation, and inferiority. While violence against men and boys is understood to be built upon differing norms and ideas of masculinity and what it means to be a "real man". Thus, often gay, trans, and bisexual men are targeted for not conforming to societal expectations of masculinity (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 6). SIDA recognised an increased prominence of "correctional rape" in South Africa, specifically targeted towards lesbians and other LBGTQA+ community members in poverty-stricken areas:

> "In South Africa, perpetrators of GBV often rape lesbians and gays to 'make them straight' or to 'correct' their sexuality. Lesbian women are particularly targeted for rape in townships where men rape or gang rape 10 lesbian, or 'perceived to be lesbian', women weekly" (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 8).

For SIDA, GBV is a development goal in itself, however it can be linked to other socio-economic and political issues that are key to achieving sustainable development in South Africa. One of these is human rights. SIDA identifies GBV as a human rights issue, meaning victims of GBV are "active rights holders". GBV is a form of discrimination against women, as set out by international human rights law and supported by The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 14). Therefore, in order for states to meet their human rights obligations, according to international norms and standards, they would actively need to seek to regulate power relations between men and women.

A socio-economic issue linked to GBV is that of poverty. For SIDA, addressing GBV is important in attempting to reduce poverty and promote economic development. A study conducted by the UN showed that violence against women restricts their ability to make choices

that will contribute to, and benefit from, economic development, which can impact the overall economic performance of the state (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to GenderBased Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 14-15). According to the World Bank, GBV can be an economic cost. The World Bank claims that violence against women and children, or GBV has cost up to 3.7% of some countries' GDP (Bank 2019). Not only can GBV be influenced by issues of poverty, but it can influence poverty as well (Bank 2019). Domestic violence has been linked to poverty with the understanding that this partly reflects the ideas and expectations of the male in the provider role in which they achieve a sense of "failed masculinity" – SIDA (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 14-15).

Another issue linked to GBV, and identified by SIDA, is that of the protection of sexual and reproductive health and rights, of which the major exemplar is HIV/AIDS (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 15). Violent acts, such as rape and gang rape, commonly lead to the transferral of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and unwanted pregnancies. HIV/AIDS is an STD which carries a large amount of social stigma (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2004: South Africa 2005, 23). The results of this stigmatisation can range from ostracism by family members, to unsafe abortions and suicide. The stigma attached to HIV/AIDS often stops women from seeking medical assistance, particularly the demographic of adolescent girls (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2004: South Africa 2005, 23).

Moving beyond SIDA's definition of GBV and what it encompasses, SIDA identified various forms of GBV. The first is domestic violence or intimate partner abuse, the type of violence most often associated with GBV statistics (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 9). Intimate partner violence involves systematic physical, sexual, and psychological abuse. Although it does recognise that in some cases men are the victims, they are more often the perpetrators, while women, boys, and girls (children) after more likely to be victims (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 9). While most countries have policies which outlaw such forms of violence – as well as policies and institutions to actively combat intimate partner violence – this form of abuse occurs in the private sphere. Therefore, many women and children find it difficult to seek assistance in terms of medical or legal services to correct these injustices

(SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 9).

The second expression of GBV identified by SIDA is sexual violence by non-partners. This includes violent sexual actions, such as sexual harassment and assault, rape and gang rape. In South Africa, an enlightening study concluded that roughly one in every three men have reported raping a woman in their lifetime (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 10). This not only reveals the drastic suffering of women and children in South Africa, but also the attitudes of men towards women within South African society. Gang rape in particular is an extremely violent act in which several men intentionally sexually harm women and children (sometimes men are the victims themselves as well) (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 10). This is what SIDA concludes about gang rape:

> "These acts are expressions of misogynistic, xenophobic, racist, homophonic norms that produce and reproduce socialisation processes that victimise and devalue women and femininity, and high levels of economic poverty, unemployment, social exclusion and marginalisation seem to increase the violence" – SIDA (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 10).

The third form of GBV identified by SIDA is dominant within sub-Saharan Africa. Known as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), it is often not conducted by medical professionals, but rather by traditional practitioners. What is unique about FGM in the context of GBV is that it represents a convergence of negative cultural ideas of female sexuality. This expression of GBV is different in that it is often done by women themselves, on other women, and is a frequently cited as a way of gaining social acceptance (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 11). Studies into FGM have linked this form of GBV with socio-economic problems such as patriarchy, reproduction, gender roles, and men's perceptions of women's sexuality (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 11).

The final expression of GBV, as identified by SIDA, is violence against LGBTQ + persons. The reasoning behind this is to punish nonconformity to traditional perceptions and societal norms surrounding sexual orientation (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 13). Women, in particular, can be subject to this form of violence through corrective gang rape/rape, however they can also be forced into

heterosexual marriages in which marital rape is commonly practiced in this context (Commission 2017, 22). The difficulty for the victims of this expression of GBV is that once the individual has sought out legal, psychological or medical assistance, they are commonly subjected to secondary victimisation (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 13). Secondary victimisation is the result of social services professionals victim-blaming or being insensitive towards LGBTQ + victims (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 13). Although South African legal polices are considered progressive when it comes to the LGBTQ+ community, this does not mean that this community does not suffer from societal exclusionary norms, pressures, and victimisation in day-to-day activities (Commission 2017, 22). Cultural expectations and norms also play a role in the psychological suppression and violence in South Africa of the LGBTQ+ community.

There are several other expressions of GBV identified by SIDA (such as human trafficking, early/child marriage, and violence in the name of honour); however, the four presented above arguably represent the forms of GBV most applicable and relatable within a South African context (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 9-13).

SIDA on GBV in South Africa Prior to Introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy.

Prior to Sweden's introduction of a Feminist Foreign Policy, SIDA's engagement surrounding GBV was not as active as initially anticipated. Instead of facilitating direct engagement and dialogue between governments or seeking intervention-specific dialogue, SIDA sought to support civil society organisations. Yet even beyond this, in SIDA's 2006 report on South Africa, GBV was not isolated as an issue to be addressed (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2006: South Africa 2007, 19). At this stage, GBV had not been identified as a prominent issue in terms of gender equality and development. This is not to say that SIDA chose to ignore it, or was unaware of it, but rather in the context of South Africa, it appears not to have appeared onto the radar of gender issues yes. GBV statistics in South Africa were semi-reliable at best, and the Swedish government had yet to introduce their Feminist Foreign Policy, so selectivity in what needed and could be addressed in South Africa was based on priorities at the time (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2006: South Africa 2007, 19).

However, this did not stop SIDA from identifying the growing societal issue of GBV. SIDA began identifying a link between HIV/AIDS and GBV through their support of civil society organisations (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2006: South Africa 2007, 19-21). One of these organisations was the Masimanyane Women's Support Centre. At the end of 2004, the second phase of support for Masimanyane came to an end, and the 2006 SIDA report on South Africa recognised the increasing focus of the centre on the link between HIV/AIDS and GBV (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2005: South Africa 2006, 16). This support yielded some results as the director of Masimanyane (Lesley Ann Foster) received an honorary doctorate at Fort Hare University and according to the report:

> "was the first time that an academic institution in South Africa acknowledged work on violence against women in this way." – Embassy of Sweden (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2006: South Africa 2007, 21).

Information from organisations such as Masimanyane, provided disturbing, yet poignant examples of the clear link between the two issues plaguing South African women. Forced sex and rape increases the risk of HIV transmission and physical trauma (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2004: South Africa 2005, 22). Violence (and the threat of violence) may limit the capability for safer sex. These circumstances are often coupled with a lack of incentive for post-exposure treatment and reporting because of inadequacies in the South African justice system at the time of the report (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2004: South Africa 2005, 22). Sharing of one's HIV status with a partner commonly leads to violence (towards both women and children). As a result of the strengthening of the linkage between HIV/AIDS and GBV, SIDA sought to fund a film on the issue which was to be aired on South African national television, with the potential to be screened internationally (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2004: South Africa 2005, 22).

Prior to the introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy, SIDA not only looked at civil society organisations with a specified focus on gender development and equality, but also on ones that have attempted to include gender as a cross-cutting issue in their approach to other issues (Embassy of Sweden, Sida Country Report 2006: South Africa 2007, 19-21). This is seen through SIDA's support for organisations such as the South African Institute for International Affairs (SAIIA), the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) (Jansen, et al. 2008). In this

sense, SIDA identified that these institutions were inclusive of gender equality and development in their research, with a specific focus on GBV and how to combat it.

In a 2008 report, SIDA accurately identified the inclusion of a focus on GBV of these institutions:

- ACCORD: "Within the context, gender is recognized as a crucial element and research has been carried out into approaches to combating gender-based violence." (Jansen, et al. 2008, 25).

- IJR: "IJR has worked on mainstreaming gender, other women's organisations and activities in reconciliation processes." (Jansen, et al. 2008, 33).

- SAIIA: "There is no dedicated research focusing on gender, but this regularly arises in some studies. A study was conducted with the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) and the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)." (Jansen, et al. 2008, 43).

It is worth noting that the programmes, initiatives, and research conducted by the above institutions were often done in the context of a focus on HIV/AIDS as well.

While GBV was an issue that SIDA was aware of prior to the introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy, it was not something they looked to address as a separate issue in South Africa, but rather in the broader context of gender equality and development. It was often linked to the socio-economic issue of HIV/AIDS, and addressed as a consequence of this problem – not a problem in itself. SIDA addressed GBV prior to 2014 through dialogue with civil society organisations and not governments, yet did not specifically fund this area of initiatives and research, but rather recognised and encouraged it within its broader spectrum of support against GBV.

This is not to say that they did not recognise GBV at all, as some steps were taken to address the issue directly. In 2008, SIDA released a report for an action plan that would highlight GBV as a mainstream issue in terms of gender equality and development. Out of this came several initiatives which have taken place in South Africa and have had some impact prior to Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy.

One of the most notable efforts is the emphasis and support of Zivikele Training which had a specific focus on GBV and HIV/AIDS (Dijk, Chelechele and Malan 2008). While GBV is still linked to HIV/AIDS at this point, the 2008 SIDA evaluation of Zivikele Training places a

considerably larger emphasis on GBV compared to any previous evaluation or report (Dijk, Chelechele and Malan 2008, 3-4). In this paper, SIDA highlights the development of training material on GBV, evaluates current training, provides recommendations and actions steps for the support for this initiative (Dijk, Chelechele and Malan 2008, 10-18).

Another civil society organisation supported by SIDA is the Thohoyandou Victim Empowerment Programme (TVEP), which focuses on GBV within the Limpopo province of South Africa (TVEP 2020). This is one of the first instances where SIDA has specifically funded and supported a civil society organisation devoted solely to GBV. Significantly, the prominence and recognition of GBV as an issue to be addressed, as distinct from other gender issues in South Africa, is identified by SIDA (F. f. Development, SIDA Gender Base Violence Capacity Building Project 2014). However, today SIDA is no longer considered a funder of TVEP – it appears that the Swedish government has taken over this role (TVEP 2020).

In a 2013 report, SIDA doubted the impact of these efforts:

> "This awareness has not translated into large-scale observable changes in practice by officials in communities, probably because the issue remains a low priority for the government departments involved" (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 25).

To counter the slow progress, the plan of attack changed. The focus shifted to "Swedish Father's Groups" with an emphasis on involving men in addressing these issues (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 26). However, this too proved slow in terms of progress as men were unenthusiastic to be "fathers" and participate in addressing GBV in local communities.

This is not to say the focus on men did not have any success. Programmes such as Sonke Gender Justice received large amounts of funding in educating young men regarding GBV (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 25-26). Yet SIDA admittedly did claim that once again – despite the effort and progress – young men were a growing source of concern in terms of GBV in South Africa: "Relatively little workplace responsibility has been accepted for this concern, and substantial advocacy work into workplaces is clearly a priority for the men's sector" (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 26).

SIDA tackling GBV in South Africa After Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy is Introduced. The question now becomes: How does SIDA address the issue of GBV in South Africa after the introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy?

In addressing GBV post-Feminist Foreign Policy introduction, SIDA has several strategies in play, of which the first was the initial prevention of GBV. This required a shift in focus from seeing women as victims to viewing them as survivors, actors, and agents for change (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 16). This would mean going beyond treating acts of violence retrospectively and empowering women to take an opposing stand in the first place. The strategy for the prevention of GBV would also include an increase in women's political participation (particularly in the context of humanitarian crisis and peacebuilding) as it adds a gendered lens to these conflicts which allowed women's susceptibility to GBV in these situations to be addressed (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 16-17). Furthermore, a prevention strategy would seek to empower women economically, thereby enhancing their ability to leave abusive relationships and become independent from "toxic masculinity" (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 16). An effective prevention strategy would need to increase efforts and emphasis on sexual and reproductive health and the rights of women. This would mean increasing efforts to allow women to have more control over matters related to their sexuality and reproductive health (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 16-17).

An effective prevention strategy would need to include a shift in focus and perspectives of men and boys to not only include them as perpetrators, but victims and agents of change as well (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 17). Specifically, boys are neglected as survivors due to societal expectations and norms. Thus, there is also a need to transform ideas surrounding gender roles and relations in society in SIDA's prevention strategy.

Another strategy employed by SIDA to address GBV is increasing accountability and focused on strengthening legal and policy frameworks. This would involve improving existing legislation directly linked to GBV (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 18). In order to do so, all three previously

mentioned forms of dialogue would need to be employed. This strategy would also look at building on existing legislation indirectly linked GBV, involving acts such as supporting women's legal rights to enter the workforce, equal pay, and the right to property and inheritance (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 18).

This strategy also seeks to close the gap between law and practice. This is where the idea of accountability plays a crucial role. This strategy would aim to establish a framework or mechanism in which perpetrators of GBV (and other forms of gender discrimination) can be held accountable for their actions (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 18). Beyond this, the strategy (like the one before) recognises that convictions of perpetrators are not enough to end GBV. It would seek to change the driving forces that entrench negative gender roles in society (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 18).

The third and final strategy is retrospective and immediate in its' action by seeking to improve on the response service for survivors. According to SIDA, this would involve an enhancement of "multi-sectorial services" which are "effectively coordinated in development and humanitarian contexts" (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 19). This strategy also includes the recognition of links between prevention and response. At this juncture, SIDA proposes that organisations would need to take a more active role in seeking out perpetrators due to the lack of strength by victims to seek assistance (SIDA, Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence: Expressions and Strategies 2015, 19).

Despite the development of these strategies, SIDA has done remarkably little to enact them in South Africa beyond their current support. SIDA has attempted to increase the focus on GBV through current HIV/AIDS initiatives, as well as established programmes (such as Zivikele Training). However, SIDA's most significant work post-Feminist Foreign Policy has been through the Foundation for Professional Development (FPD).

The support for the FPD came in the form of monetary funding for the Gender Based Violence Capacity Development Project. The objectives of the project were:

- "To improve the knowledge, attitudes and skills of health care and educational professionals on violence in general and gender-based violence through training, specifically to allow them to recognise, counsel, collect forensic evidence where

appropriate, and to refer such victims to appropriate support services." (F. f. Development, SIDA Gender Base Violence Capacity Building Project 2014).

- "To improve service delivery for victims of violence through building referral linkages between public sector facilities such as schools and hospitals and organisations that provide support services to victims of violence such as places of safety, rape counselling services." (F. f. Development, SIDA Gender Base Violence Capacity Building Project 2014).

- "To increase awareness amongst key opinion makers of violence as a priority public health issue." (F. f. Development, SIDA Gender Based Violence Capacity Building Project 2014).

They achieved these objectives by designing GBV courses that would increase the training and exposure of educators and health care professionals in handling cases of GBV. Targets for training during this project were met thanks to the monetary support of SIDA (F. f. Development, SIDA Gender Based Violence Capacity Building Project 2014). FPD was also able to establish a partnership with Zivikele Training (alongside SIDA), to develop bottom-up approaches and community responses to address and manage GBV. The project placed an major focus on partnering with civil society organisations and implementing training for delegates regarding increasing services to survivors of sexual assault (F. f. Development, SIDA Gender Base Violence Capacity Building Project 2014). Beyond this, the project also addressed other socio-economic issues linked to GBV such as education, HIV/AIDS, and poverty (F. f. Development, SIDA Gender Based Violence Capacity Building Project 2014).

While this project has directly impacted the lives of countless South Africans, SIDA's involvement was indirect and did not go beyond monetary support and recommendations. This could be due to the introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy as more direct involvement on behalf of the Swedish government in addressing the issue of GBV in South Africa replaced or superseded the role of SIDA in the country.

Critical evaluation of SIDA policies after the introduction of the Feminist Foreign Policy.

There does not appear to be a significant escalation in any of the three forms of dialogue between the two countries through SIDA regarding gender-based violence. With that being said there are subtle shifts in the way SIDA addresses GBV in South Africa. The overall course of action taken under the new Feminist Foreign Policy is to make a small redirection of funds and support where they feel it will increase gender equality and development in South Africa, but beyond these small adjustments the approach is to continue funding and supporting this cause through the already established mediums and mechanism- namely civil society organisations.

There is also an element of inclusion and further emphasis in policies within these civil society organisations, but once again there is little escalation.

In terms of direct support for gender equality and development through addressing GBV in South Africa prior to the introduction of the Feminist Foreign Policy, the only evidence of this appears to be the Zivikele Training Programme, and even in this instance SIDA did not have a direct hand in the programme, only that the programme itself directly addressed gender development and equality. However, in the case of indirect support during this time period, SIDA can be seen to be more active. This comes in terms of funding for CSO's which do not directly address GBV but incorporate it into their approach to other societal issues in some form or another. We see SIDA indirectly address and take recognition of the GBV issue in South Africa through their policies and action programmes directed at HIV/AIDS and identifying the linkage between the two issues.

After the introduction of the Feminist Foreign Policy, there is a continuation of these direct and indirect approaches to GBV in South Africa by SIDA. However, what one can conclude is that SIDA re-focused their efforts within the already established support structures. In their support for CSO's in addressing GBV SIDA's focus shifted from a knowledge sharing strategy to a prevention and inclusion strategy (whereby boys and men were included to assist in preventing the growing concern of GBV in the country). There appeared to be an increased focus on laws and policies surrounding GBV within established support structures, refocusing efforts into a top-down approach.

One can suggest a hypothesis as to why SIDA merely had a continuation of policies and approaches to GBV in South Africa and not escalate the issue to improve gender equality and development in the country. The first is the shift of Sweden to a Feminist Foreign Policy resulted in the Swedish Government taking over the responsibilities in promoting the gender equality and development globally, while SIDA was left to support the Swedish Government in their efforts and not the other way around. In recent years, the Swedish has limited its bilateral dialogue with South Africa to focus on more under-developed nations in Southern Africa. This could be a reason why there is a continuation of indirect support for structures and institutions addressing GBV', but no new initiatives on behalf of SIDA. However further research will be required in order to test this hypothesis.

One can say that although gender equality and development in the context of addressing GBV in South Africa is no longer as prominent in using SIDA as a medium, this is still what Sweden envisaged. By introducing their Feminist Foreign Policy, Sweden is taking direct action toward gender related issues internationally and no longer relying solely on government arms and organisations to take up this strategy for them. Unfortunately, South Africa is not a prominent recipient of this foreign policy but that is not to disregard that Sweden is achieving their objectives through this foreign policy in other states within the Southern African region.

HIV/AIDS

What is HIV/AIDS for SIDA and How Do They Aim to Address It?

The responsibility for HIV/AIDS work within SIDA started around the mid-1980s. However, between the mid-80s and the 1990s the work conducted surrounding HIV/AIDS was primarily done by the Health Division (HÄLSO), and though the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs allocated a specialised budget for HIV/AIDS work, this fell by the wayside in the early-90s (Skjelmerud, Jansegers and Vogel 2005, 3). Although allocation of budget for HIV/AIDS varied in this early period, there was a slow increase in taking on the issue throughout all departments (Skjelmerud, Jansegers and Vogel 2005, 3-4). It was in 1999 when addressing the issue of HIV/AIDS was given a formal framework after the publication of the "Investing for Future Generations" (IFFG) paper. It highlighted HIV/AIDS as not only a health issue but also a development issue, and thus should be incorporated into country strategies by Sweden/SIDA in order to generate more effective development and cooperation within partner countries (Skjelmerud, Jansegers and Vogel 2005, 3). It is worth noting that a large portion of the reasoning for the sudden need for a coherent framework to address HIV/AIDS came from the African fields within SIDA (Skjelmerud, Jansegers and Vogel 2005, 3).

While HÄLSO continued to focus on the bio-medical approach to addressing HIV/AIDS, in the early 2000s SIDA made a conscious effort to take a more humanitarian approach to the epidemic (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 3). For this reason, in 2000 the African HIV/AIDS Team was established in Southern Africa. The main function of this team was to:

> "give advice to embassies and their focal points, especially on 'mainstreaming' of HIV/AIDS in development cooperation" (Skjelmerud, Jansegers and Vogel 2005, 4).

This African Team, alongside other initiatives, emphasised the need for access to correct treatment and minimising further spreading of the virus (Skjelmerud, Jansegers and Vogel 2005, 4). However, at the end of their first strategy period (2008) Sweden/SIDA's global and regional responses to HIV/AIDS were still broad; and it is only in the second strategy period (2009-2013) that the responses become more focussed (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 3). This is exemplified in an IFFG evaluation report that shows Sweden/SIDA's response to HIV/AIDS did so by looking at the issue in Africa as a continent, and not by identifying the specific needs within each region or state. This is not to say there was no localised support or response, but rather that it had not been a primary focus until the second strategy period.

During this second strategy period, the focus was more on the prevention of the virus through education, as well as addressing underlying socio-economic causes (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 3). It is during this period that HIV/AIDS becomes intrinsically linked to issues of gender inequality and under-development for SIDA. Some of the focus areas in Swedish policy which illustrate their acknowledgement of the linkage between HIV/AIDS and issues surround gender include:

- Increasing the accountability and responsibility of boys and men when addressing HIV/AIDS and gender inequality simultaneously.
- Ensuring women, men, girls, and boys have access to sexual reproductive health and rights (SRHR).
- Increasing the relevant sexual education of young girls and boys.

Another key element to this second strategy is that it highlighted the need to develop "partner-driven cooperation modalities" and the strengthening of "national ownership" to HIV/AIDS responses within states (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 4). This is to allow for bottom-up, contextualised, and localised, approaches to develop within countries and communities (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 4).

SIDA, HIV/AIDS, and South Africa Prior to the Introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy.

As suggested by the previous section on GBV, HIV/AIDS was one of the primary points within SIDA's country strategy for South Africa in the context of gender equality and development, even prior to the introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy. In 1998, a Country Gender report prepared for SIDA, the issue of HIV/AIDS is identified as the major health concern for South Africa in the context of gender equality and development (Baden, Hasim and Meintjies 1998, 43-44). At that time, the report stated that infection rates were higher among women than men, and occurred at an earlier life stage for women than men. The report suggests that this is because about two-thirds of women felt unable to insist on protection for sex, refuse sex, or ask their partners about previous sexual behaviour (Baden, Hasim and Meintjies 1998, 43-44).

In the period between 1999 and 2004, there appears to be minimal practical work done by SIDA in responding to HIV/AIDS in the context of gender equality and development within South Africa. This is not to say that no work was done. As mentioned, their response was a general and broad one towards the Africa/Southern Africa, mainly focused on internal discrepancies

between departments, and establishing a coherent framework with which to address the issue. Coming out of this, one can see the first and second strategy period (20042008 and 2009-2013, respectively) being put into practice in South Africa, via the three aforementioned forms of dialogue.

In terms of the first country strategy period (2004-2008), government-to-government dialogue was the primary form of addressing HIV/AIDS, with the focal points being individual women, and women within a family context (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 4). Most of the work involved the development of policies and institutional structures that would help respond to the growing epidemic, but once again in a general sense, and not yet country specific (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 4). SIDA identified that, not just in South Africa, but in the greater sub-Saharan African region, the epidemic highlighted ideas regarding gender:

> "…the HIV/AIDS epidemic has become predominantly feminized, due to the higher vulnerability of women to heterosexual transmission of HIV, and to a number of other factors that still increase that vulnerability, such as lower socio-economic status, genital mutilation, sexual violence, in particular in the context of conflict situations, etc." (Skjelmerud, Jansegers and Vogel 2005, 8).

Yet for SIDA, beyond facilitating government-to-government dialogue, and encouraging the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS in existing programmes, the majority of their work in the context of gender equality and development was linked to GBV. During this first strategy period, HIV/AIDS had yet to be "genderised", but SIDA did note the clarifying ideas and beliefs surrounding gender in South Africa/sub-Saharan Africa (Egerö, Hammarskjöld and Lazarus, et al. 2006, 11). This becomes apparent in a 2006 report released by SIDA (specifically focusing on sub-Saharan Africa), in which the different types of gender relations are examined with their importance to HIV/AIDS. The following table is from the report and demonstrates the increasing awareness of SIDA, regarding HIV/AIDS in the context of gender equality and development in South Africa/sub-Saharan Africa (Egerö, Hammarskjöld and Lazarus, et al. 2006, 11)

Table 1. Different types of gender relations of importance for HIV/AIDS

Type of relation	Expressions	HIV/AIDS-relevant examples
Area 1 **Primary relations, strong affection**	**"Private sphere inequalities"** • Pre-or extramarital "lasting love relations" • Marital relations (power, force, male, violence)	• Rape • Male contraceptive control • Incest

Area 2 **Primary relations, weak or no affection**	**"Inter-personal power and dependence relations"** • Trafficking • Prostitution • Occasional sex • Rape • Certain community rituals, initiations, and the like • Intergenerational sex • Paedophilia	• Infected men seek sex with virgin girls. • Religious leaders, teachers etc. misuse their position to get sex. • Resource-weak women accept transactional sex. • Orphaned children at increased risk.
Area 3 **Secondary contacts (mainly inter-personal)**	**"Public sphere inequalities"** • Male dominance in senior positions in governments, in international organisations and other agencies • Workplace relations • Services/ discrimination • Community leadership	• Male perspectives dominate planning and priorities. • Women's voices suppressed. • "Men first" in e.g. bonuses, HAART (Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy) to staff and promotions.
Area 4 **Tertiary (no personal contact)**	**"An environment of inequality"** • Laws linked to gender inequality • (Poor) law enforcement • Macroeconomic priorities • Male morals (some customary law and many religions)	• Male dominance slows down legal reform and /or law enforcement (World Bank, 2004). • Government budget reflects low priority to gender-relevant policies. • Inequality supported/ accepted by public authorities.

Egerö, Bertil, Mikael Hammarskjöld, JV Lazarus, Jerker Liljestrand, and Ditte Mårtensson. 2006. *HIV/AIDS and gender relations- Men have yet to take it seriously.* Report, Stockholm: SIDA: Department for Democracy and Social Development.

Based on the UNDP Gender Development Index at the time, SIDA concluded that 19 of the high-prevalence countries for HIV/AIDS, are also of the bottom 30 countries for basic gender equality, and that South Africa (although not in the bottom 30 at the time) had only a marginally better GDI than the lowest 30 (Egerö, Hammarskjöld and Lazarus, et al. 2006, 13). Furthermore, in 2007, SIDA produced a document that sought to recognise and understand the various organisations in the field of HIV/AIDS and human rights (Marock 2007). It contains a segment dedicated to the role of the Aids Consortium in addressing the relationship between gender, the LGBT community, and HIV/AIDS in South Africa, again demonstrating the

increasing awareness of the linkages between the epidemic and gender issues in South Africa (Marock 2007, 23-24).

The second strategy period (2009-2013), took a different approach as it become far more country specific and humanitarian (although the support for the bio-medical response to HIV/AIDS did not waiver) (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 3). SIDA did this by attempting to strengthen national ownership of the epidemic within South Africa through increasing the number of partners who can assist (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 4). This increased adoption of a humanitarian approach also led to a shift in institutional focus. Instead of facilitating bilateral dialogue between the Swedish and South African governments, the focus became support and partnering with civil society organisations in South Africa. These organisations were strategically based in addressing both the HIV/AIDS epidemic, but also awareness of socio-economic issues (especially those linked to gender inequalities and underdevelopment) (Nilsson, et al. 2013, 4).

The purpose is was to grow national efforts to prevent the spread of the virus, by looking into other socio-economic elements. It seems this is the point where SIDA adopted a gendered lens to the HIV/AIDS problem in South Africa, as a large portion of these socio-economic efforts entailed gender equality and norms, GBV human rights, and sexual and reproductive health of women. Many of the examples of support from SIDA can be seen in the previous section, as the HIV/AIDS work became attached to the work done regarding GBV, such as the aforementioned Zivikele Training. SIDA has supported the fight against HIV/AIDS mainly through Swedish civil society organisations, however they admittedly said that there has been little effort to create synergies between initiatives and attempt to share experiences with these organisations within South Africa.

SIDA And HIV/AIDS In South Africa After Feminist Foreign Policy is Introduced.

As of 2014 – also the year in which Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy was introduced – Sweden elected to phase out bilateral development assistance to South Africa. This left a big gap in the area of HIV/AIDS in the context of gender equality and development in South Africa, a gap that SIDA (unlike in their response to GBV) would try to step into, but not to the fullest extent.

Because of the phasing out of bilateral development assistance, the increased support from SIDA did not come in the form of facilitating government-to-government dialogue, but rather in the form of support for civil society organisations. One of the major partners in this area has

been the Southern African AIDS Trust (SAT) (Africa, Grass roots organisations gain a voice in combating HIV/AIDS 2014). Although this organisation is not limited to South Africa, it has made significant strides in fighting the HIV/AIDS epidemic within the greater Southern African region. What is most important is their increasing knowledge focus on women who suffer from the virus, and through SIDA's support "Education has improved people's understanding of the disease and led to women achieving a stronger social position. It has also reduced the stigma against those who are HIV positive." – SIDA (Africa, Grass roots organisations gain a voice in combating HIV/AIDS 2014).

Another organisation with which SIDA has done significant work, is the Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division (HEARD), based in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. This partner is more South Africa specific, but focuses primarily on research and knowledge production on HIV/AIDS (Graeser, Buffardi and Kyomuhangi 2017, 5). SIDA's relationship with HEARD appears to be on an evaluation and advisory basis. Although the majority of the research produced has a core competency surrounding HIV/AIDS, it also focuses on gender and GBV (Graeser, Buffardi and Kyomuhangi 2017, 26). According to a 2017 SIDA evaluation of HEARD, just under 30% of HEARD's research has a primary focus on gender-related issues to HIV/AIDS, and just under 10% of knowledge production has the primary focus on GBV and its linkage to HIV/AIDS. In this evaluation, SIDA identified this research and seeks to encourage further growth within this area (Graeser, Buffardi and Kyomuhangi 2017, 26).

A core linkage between HIV/AIDS and gender for SIDA is that of education. This is the area where SIDA appears to coordinate with governments directly. In 2015, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) organised a workshop that brought together countries within Eastern and Southern Africa (of which South Africa was a participant) (UNESCO 2015). The purpose of the workshop was to understand and implement a SIDA-funded project: Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) (UNESCO 2015). Within this project, strong emphasis was placed on a rights-based approach involving a specific focus on issues of gender equality and development, by addressing prevailing gender norms and ideas within these two regions:

> "CSE comprises a rights-based approach that includes prevention of sexual harassment, gender-based violence and discrimination with regard to LGBT people and people living with HIV and AIDS" (Sida 2016, 2).

SIDA in this instance is using education as a tool to address HIV/AIDS via a lens that indirectly encourages gender equality and development in South Africa.

Although the response and activity on HIV/AIDS in the context of gender equality and development in South Africa is significantly more in than that of GBV, SIDA has somewhat pulled back after the introduction of the Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy. Their involvement appears in an indirect sense within South Africa – coordinating workshops for the Southern African region, including South Africa. The clearest example of direct work comes in the form of funding and support for civil society organisations responding to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa, specifically highlighting the linkage to gender equality and development.

Critical evaluation of SIDA policies after the introduction of the Feminist Foreign Policy.

The conclusion drawn from this segment of SIDA addressing HIV/AIDS in the context of gender development and equality in South Africa is largely similar to those drawn from the segment on GBV. This is to say, there is no escalation of policy quality of quantity after the introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy on behalf of SIDA. SIDA appears to make little adjustment in addressing the issue of HIV/AIDS in the context of gender equality and development, however as with GBV there does appear to be small shifts in funding and support as well as an emphasis on indirect support after the introduction of a new foreign policy.

Prior to the introduction of the Feminist Foreign Policy HIV/AIDS was not always linked to gender equality and development for SIDA. However, when compared to GBV, the issue of HIV/AIDS received a lot more direct attention from SIDA. Through programmes and policies towards South Africa, SIDA focused on HIV/AIDS research and prevention with the objective of stopping the epidemic in the country. While these actions are not necessarily link to gender equality and development, there was acknowledgement of gender relations/ perceptions within the broader issue and in the instances there was an established linkage, it would often be inclusive of other gender issues such as GBV. Thus, SIDA indirectly attempted to address gender equality and development in South Africa by direct action in the prevention of HIV/AIDS by acknowledging how the epidemic effects women and children in different ways socially when compared to men.

After the introduction of the Feminist Foreign Policy, SIDA facilitated less governmentgovernment dialogue and re-focused efforts on support and funding for civil society organisations. This is not to say that many programmes and policies did not remain in place,

but rather were not granted as much emphasis as support for grassroot solutions within the country. Beyond this, SIDA appears to have taken a regional approach to HIV/AIDS by addressing the issue within Southern Africa and not specifically South Africa. One can see the development of regional policies and initiatives as part of a regional strategy over new ones specifically targeting the issue in South Africa. It is also at this point we see the issue of HIV/AIDS become disconnected from issues of gender equality and development for SIDA. Gender equality and development is taken on as a separate policy issue for SIDA rather than exclusively linked to the epidemic.

Once again these shifts in focus and small adjustments to country strategy for SIDA can be explained through the diminishing of bilateral relations between Sweden and South Africa. Bilateral relations are certainly not non-existent, but Sweden has attempted to focus on the greater Southern African region and addressing gender issues linked to HIV/AIDS in more underdeveloped states within the region. The shift can also be explained by the introduction of the feminist Foreign Policy itself. Due to the introduction of this type of foreign policy, gender equality and development has become a priority objective for Sweden, and not a "subobjective" attached or included in other strategies as it is the entire strategy; thus its' linkage to HIV/AIDS was disconnected significantly as the epidemic became something to be attached to gender objectives and not the previously established inverse.

One can say that there has been a shift in focus in addressing gender equality and development in South Africa within the context of HIV/AIDS, this is more aligned with Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy as they envisaged it. The policy is looking to directly address the inequalities experienced by women and children based on their gender. While these policies are not necessarily directly targeted to South Africa, they are targeted towards the general Southern African region. Gender equality and development has become the strategy and not something to be included in policies when addressing other issues. This is evident through the shift in HIV/AIDS policies in South Africa.

CONCLUSION/ DISCUSSION

The above evidence gives an in-depth view into the most significant ways in which SIDA has implemented Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy in South Africa. In terms of Gender Based Violence (GBV) it is clear that SIDA prior to the introduction of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy implemented and focused on generating programmes and strategies addressing the issue in South Africa. A large portion of these programmes and strategies target educational structures with the aim of generating awareness of the problem and its' harm. These programmes also highlighted the need for adequate support for victims of GBV as this is arguably the primary objective of SIDA in this context. There is also a linkage for SIDA between HIV/AIDS and GBV and this linkage plays an important role in addressing GBV in South Africa for SIDA. Many of the programmes, strategies, and actions plans for South Africa have a segment which clearly links these two issues and how they can be addressed in conjunction with one another.

However, after the introduction of Sweden's Feminist foreign Policy, extraordinarily little new initiative is seen from SIDA in the area of GBV in South Africa. It appears as if there is an added emphasis on current programmes and strategies, rather than implementation of anything new despite it being a growing issue within the country. This is perhaps because SIDA felt there are already institutions and structures in place which they feel adequately address the issue, or due to a slow decline in bilateral relations between South Africa and Sweden (due to Sweden wanting to focus on more underdeveloped countries) SIDA no longer felt the need to strengthen addressing this issue. Yet, this does somewhat align with what Sweden is attempting to do globally with their Feminist Foreign Policy, as although bilateral relations diminished significantly, their support for the Southern African region increased. The Swedish government took a more direct approach to GBV in the region instead of using government arms like SIDA, and this direct approach appears to focus on other countries of which South Africa is not included.

This is concerning because GBV is an ever-increasing concern in South Africa as of recent and added support and funding for organisations that are attempting to address this issue is needed- if not essential- for an increase in gender equality and development within South Africa.
Overall, SIDA has implemented Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy by addressing the issue of GBV within South Africa in order to mainstream gender issues within the country and grow gender equality and development. Were they successful in implementing this policy? To the

degree that they continued to highlight an issue of which they were already addressing, then yes SIDA was successful. However, a question can be asked: If SIDA were not already addressing the issue of GBV in South Africa, would they have been successful? To answer this, further research would need to be conducted in other countries to see if one can draw up a comparative analysis in this regard, but it can be conceived that the Swedish Government not SIDA may have taken on the mantle in addressing GBV.

In terms of HIV/AIDS, it can be argued that this is where SIDA focused most of their efforts within the context of South Africa and the promotion of gender equality and development. However, a terribly similar result can be seen as with GBV. Prior to the introduction of the Feminist Foreign Policy a large portion of SIDA's plan, strategies, and financial support in terms of gender equality and development addressed the issue of HIV/AIDS within South Africa. This included research, and institutional support during two different strategy periods, during which one sees another linkage to GBV emphasised. Yet it could be argued that the highlighted gender element of HIV/AIDS is only a result of the disease being at its height. If HIV/AIDS was not as prominent an issue in the international sphere at the time, then Sweden may not have looked to address it through a gender mainstreaming lens.

However, after the introduction of the Feminist Foreign Policy, the support in the fight against HIV/AIDS is continued. Although some new initiative is introduced, and support for new research is conducted (predominantly through HEARD), one sees a robust decline in this area much like that of GBV. As mentioned, this could be due to a decline in the overall international focus on HIV/AIDS knowledge being produced (not necessarily in Southern Africa but globally). It could also be due to the movement of South Africa into being considered a more developed country, and Sweden wanting to focus on those countries considered to be more underdeveloped (much like in the case of GBV). With that being said, Sweden did well to ensure gender equality and development became its own issue to be addressed instead of it being exclusively linked to other societal issues such as HIV/AIDS. Once again, the introduction of the Feminist Foreign Policy ensured gender equality and development globally was made the objective of the state, it just so happens that South Africa is not a primary focus for them as Sweden attempts to focus on this gender relations in other states within the region.

Thus, as is in the context of Gender Based Violence, SIDA implemented Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy in South Africa through institutional and structural support, through funding and consultive work on strategies for addressing HIV/AIDS through the lens of gender equality

and development. In this case, SIDA has once again been successful in doing this, the critique is the same however, additional support is needed in this area. SIDA did not need to adjust much in terms of support even though being guided by a new foreign policy strategy; thus a comparative analysis is needed to determine whether they have been truly successful in implementing Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy in the area of HIV/AIDS through a gender equality and development lens.

To conclude, further research is required in order to determine the success of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy in promoting gender equality and development within states. Suggested expansion of this research will include an investigation into other countries within the Southern African region and determining whether Sweden has had an impact in gender development and equality within these states since the introduction of their Feminist Foreign Policy. This will need to then be compared to other states within the region or globally. Furthermore, investigation into the capabilities of foreign policy as a tool for addressing gender issues. One must acknowledge that not all diplomacy and foreign policy is conducted publicly, and it is necessary to understand that many conversation and decisions are made out of public view. This paper was limited in investigating fully the depths of foreign policy as a tool. This is because, it is beyond the scope and capacity of the paper to investigate diplomatic relationships conducted behind closed doors, such as in corridors of the UN or informally and in many cases these could be the instances where Sweden is able to address unequal gender laws, and improve gender development (especially regarding LGBTI and GBV into declarations and conventions).

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