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Mainstreaming the Environment

Does Sida Conceptualize Poverty-Environment Linkages in Accordance with the Global Norm?

Swedish Agency for Development Evaluation
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Mainstreaming the Environment. Does Sida Conceptualize Poverty-Environment
Linkages in Accordance with the Global Norm?

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Preface

The Swedish Agency for Development Evaluation (SADEV) is an autonomous government-funded agency that conducts and disseminates independent evaluations of Swedish international development cooperation.

The environment has for decades been of central importance to Swedish international development cooperation, and the Swedish Government has defined environment and climate as one of three thematic priorities in international development cooperation. Sustainable use of natural resources and protection of the environment are repeatedly put forward as necessary building blocks in order to eradicate poverty and to make it possible for poor people to improve their living conditions. In order to achieve this, the key mode of implementation is mainstreaming. This implies that the environment should be considered in all interventions and that implementation is the responsibility of all staff within the organisation.

This report presents the findings of an evaluation focusing on the requirements for successful mainstreaming. More specifically, the evaluation focuses on whether the linkages between the environment and poverty reduction are conceptualized similarly across different levels within Sida, and on whether these conceptualizations are coherent with a global norm on how such linkages ought to be conceptualized. It also provides recommendations on how the process of mainstreaming of the environment can be improved even further.

The evaluation commenced in September 2008 and was finalised in November 2009. It was carried out by Martin Sjöstedt.

Gunilla Törnqvist
Director General

December 2009

Executive Summary

Background

The failure to properly recognise the linkages between the environment and poverty reduction has previously been put forward as a critical shortcoming in Swedish development cooperation as well as in development cooperation in general. If such linkages are conceptually unclear, and if environmental aid is unable to effectively communicate its value added in terms of poverty reduction, environmental issues tend to be neglected, the argument goes. Following this logic, lack of precision and lack of coherence in the conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages has in fact been put forward as a potential explanation to why mainstreaming of the environment has been problematic in many cases.

Overall objective

The overall objective of this evaluation is to evaluate the external and internal coherence of the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found within Sida. This is evaluated by comparing how poverty-environment linkages are conceptualized at different levels within Sida, and by comparing the Swedish conceptualizations with how poverty-environment linkages are conceptualized “ideally”, i.e using a global norm or global programme logic as a baseline and indicator of best practice. The mainly conceptual and qualitative focus in the analysis is complemented by a quantitative analysis of aid allocation, which in turn gives an answer to whether or not the conceptual shift emphasising that more sectors than the “traditional” environmental sectors should have the environment as a policy objective has penetrated Swedish development cooperation. The assessment of coherence in turn speaks directly to the relevance and effectiveness of Swedish environmental aid. More specifically, the logic is that Swedish environmental aid is more likely to be relevant and effective if linkages between poverty and environment are recognised in accordance with the global norm, that is, if external coherence is high, and if they are conceptualized in a similar manner within Swedish development cooperation, i.e. if internal coherence is high.

Methodological approach

This evaluation combines document studies and policy analysis with semi-structured interviews and a quantitative analysis of aid allocation. In order to assess external and internal coherence as regards poverty-environment linkages – and in the end assessing whether Swedish environmental aid is likely to be relevant and effective – the evaluation first develops a global norm or ideal conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages. This ideal conceptualization then serves as a baseline against which the Swedish conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages is compared. The analysis begins with a focus on aid allocation and classification, highlighting how much of Swedish aid is classified as having environmental objectives, and how large a share of the aid given in different sectors that have the environment as a policy objective.

Thereafter follows an analysis of the Swedish conceptualizations drawn from central policy documents and from semi-structured interviews performed at Sida headquarters (HQ) and at one of the Swedish embassies.

Ideal conceptualization

The central message in the ideal conceptualization – as stated by for example the *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment* – is that the environment represents not only a set of problems but also a set of opportunities. The traditional “do-no-harm” approach should thus be avoided and environmental aid should not have a narrow focus on conservation and environmental protection only. When it comes to the quantitative analysis in this evaluation, this implies that if Swedish environmental aid is to be coherent with the ideal conceptualization, a large share of aid should have the environment as a principal or significant objective.

Even more importantly, not only “traditional” environmental sectors should have the environment as a policy objective. As regards the qualitative analysis of policy documents and semi-structured interviews, if coherence is to be high, the documents and staff at Sida HQ, as well as field personnel, should sort the linkages between poverty and the environment in the categories found in the ideal conceptualization: *environment and health*, *environment and economic opportunity*, *environment and security*, and *environment and empowerment*. In addition, key reforms and responses should, according to the ideal conceptualization, be placed in the following categories: *institutions and governance*, *economics and incentives*, *social and behavioural responses*, *technological responses*, and *knowledge and cognitive responses*.

The results

The quantitative analysis, based on data obtained from OECD Creditor Reporting System (CRS), shows that a large share of Swedish aid has the environment as either a significant or principal policy objective. This share is much larger than among other OECD donors. In addition, and importantly, there have been considerable changes in Swedish aid between 2001 and 2006. While “traditional” environmental sectors quite naturally dominate among the sectors having the environment as either a significant or principal policy objective in both years, more “non-traditional” environmental sectors (such as industry, construction, health, trade policy and regulation) get a “policy flag” for having the environment as an objective in 2006 than in 2001. The quantitative investigation thus answers affirmatively to the question of whether or not the conceptual shift emphasising that a large share of aid should have an environmental focus and that more sectors than the “traditional” environmental sectors should have the environment as a policy objective has penetrated Swedish development cooperation.

The analysis of Sida’s policy documents also indicates that the conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages to a large extent is coherent with the ideal conceptualization. In line with these results, interviews with staff at Sida HQ reveal that their conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages by and large are coherent with the linkages identified in the ideal conceptualization. Similarly, the interviews with field personnel at one of the Swedish embassies reveal far-reaching coherence. The interviews at Sida HQ and at a Swedish embassy show that the conceptualizations of

poverty-environment linkages found among Sida personnel, to a large extent, is coherent with the ideal conceptualization. However, the respondents expressed some concerns over whether the awareness of the linkages between the environment and poverty reduction – as articulated in for example the *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment* – was common knowledge within the organisation. For example, the respondents identified a risk that sectors not explicitly involved in environmental work still tended to fall back on a do-no-harm approach where the environment was considered as an add-on rather than as an integral part of their work toward poverty reduction.

Conclusions and recommendations

- The overall conclusion is that Sida, to a large extent, conceptualizes poverty-environment linkages in coherence with the “global norm” of how such linkages ought to be conceptualized.
- The hypothesised explanation for why mainstreaming may be problematic put forward in previous evaluations – i.e. lack of conceptual clarity when it comes to how the environment contributes to poverty reduction – hence does not seem to hold true.

Given the results from this evaluation, there is no clear-cut justification for blaming poor performance of mainstreaming of the environment on lack of conceptual clarity or diverging views on how the environment contributes to poverty reduction. This conclusion can be contrasted to the critique articulated by an external evaluation from 2006 of Sida’s mainstreaming of the environment. The work conducted by Sida as a response to the 2006 evaluation thus seems to have had a positive effect. Yet, while environmental issues to a large extent seem to have proven their value added in terms of poverty reduction, the results from this evaluation indicate that the linkages between poverty and the environment in fact must be communicated and followed up even more strongly throughout the organisation and in the day-to-day operations. In this conclusion SADEV supports the 2006 evaluation.

- SADEV identifies a risk that sectors and personnel not explicitly involved in environmental work tend to employ a do-no-harm approach where the environment is considered as an add-on rather than as a crucial input and integral part of the fight against poverty.
- There is clearly room for improvement when it comes to making sectors and personnel not explicitly focused on environmental issues recognise the poverty-environment linkages expressed in the ideal conceptualization.
- This in turn requires that analysis and assessment of poverty-environment linkages truly become an integral part of Sida’s day-to-day operations – from poverty analysis at the country level, through preparations of collaboration, to follow up and reporting of results.
- There must also be a continuous focus and clear signals from the top management on mainstreaming of the environment in general and on making the results from mainstreaming of the environment explicit in particular.

Although the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found at Sida to a large extent correspond to the ideal conceptualization, the awareness of the ways in which the environment potentially contributes to poverty reduction could be raised even further. In order to make the environment fully embedded in daily routines, this awareness should in turn be reflected in central guiding documents and in functional management routines and requirements. *Sida at Work* is for example presently being revised, and although the conclusions from this evaluation are predominantly positive, it is of crucial importance that the linkages between poverty and the environment are fully recognised. Proving and communicating the environment's value added in terms of poverty reduction thus remains a pedagogical, organisational and methodological challenge demanding strong leadership, clear routines and adequate tools as well as continuous training and capacity development throughout the organisation.

Sammanfattning (Swedish Executive Summary)

Bakgrund

Tidigare utvärderingar har antytt att kopplingarna mellan miljöfrågor och fattigdomsbehandling på många sätt är otydliga inom Sidas arbete. Otydligheten sägs huvudsakligen bestå i att man inte specificerat hur så kallad mainstreaming av miljöfrågor bidrar till det övergripande målet att bekämpa fattigdomen. Med en sådan otydlighet riskerar miljöfrågor i sin tur lätt att hamna i skymundan i utvecklingssamarbetet och mainstreamingarbetet riskerar på så sätt att misslyckas. Tidigare utvärderingar har dock inte fokuserat explicit på hur kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom kommer till uttryck och huruvida den otydlighet som antyds verkligen föreligger är således inte empiriskt klarlagt eller utvärderat.

Mål och syfte

Med utgångspunkt i tidigare utvärderingars argument om att brister i mainstreamingarbetet kan förklaras av otydliga kopplingar mellan miljö och fattigdom fokuserar denna utvärdering på hur kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom kommer till uttryck i svenska utvecklingssamarbete. Det övergripande målet med utvärderingen är att utvärdera samstämmigheten av det sätt på vilket Sida ser på kopplingar mellan miljö och fattigdom. Detta görs genom att jämföra hur dessa kopplingar kommer till uttryck på olika nivåer inom Sida - i policydokument, bland personal på Sida i Stockholm och bland personal i fält. De olika synsätt som framkommer jämförs sedan med en så kallad idealtyp eller global norm – det vill säga det synsätt som återfinns i den internationella debatten och då främst i FN:s *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment*.

Som komplement till en huvudsakligen konceptuell och kvalitativ analys innehåller utvärderingen även ett kvantitativt inslag vilket syftar till att undersöka hur stor andel av svenska bistånd som har miljö som en huvudsaklig eller viktig delkomponent. Dessutom visar denna analys inom vilka sektorer miljö återfinns som en huvudsaklig eller viktig delkomponent. Om svenska bistånd är samstämmigt med den globala normen bör en stor andel av biståndet ha miljö som en huvudsaklig eller viktig delkomponent och det bör inte enbart vara inom ”traditionella” miljösektorer som miljö återfinns som en sådan komponent.

Den kvalitativa jämförelsen inom Sida syftar till att bedöma den interna samstämmigheten – det vill säga bedöma huruvida kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom kommer till uttryck på liknande sätt på olika nivåer inom Sida. Jämförelsen med det synsätt som återfinns i den internationella debatten syftar i sin tur till att bedöma extern samstämmighet. Genom att utvärdera intern och extern samstämmighet talar utvärderingen direkt till OECD/DACs utvärderingkriterier relevans och effektivitet. Logiken är att om samstämmigheten är hög i bemärkelsen att kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom kommer till uttryck på liknande sätt på olika nivåer inom Sida

och att dessa synsätt stämmer överens med det synsätt som återfinns i idealtypen så ökar sannolikheten att Sidas arbete inom miljöområdet är relevant och effektivt.

Metod

Utvärderingen kombinerar kvalitativa och kvantitativa metoder och innehåller dokumentanalys, samtalsintervjuer med personal på Sidas huvudkontor och med personal på en av Sveriges ambassader samt en kvantitativ analys av biståndsallokering och klassificering. Som jämförelsepunkt för att bedöma samstämmigheten utvecklas ett så kallat idealtypsverktyg vilket representerar en global norm kring hur kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom *bör* komma till uttryck i utvecklingssamarbetet. Denna idealtyp fungerar alltså som jämförelsepunkt och bygger i stor utsträckning på det resonemang som förs i centrala internationella publikationer såsom *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment*.

Idealtypen

Enligt idealtypen bör en stor andel av svenska bistånd ha miljö som en huvudsaklig eller viktig delkomponent och det bör inte enbart vara ”traditionella” miljösektorer som klassificeras på detta sätt. När det gäller kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom bör de synsätt som framkommer i policydokument och i intervjuer med personal på olika nivåer betona att de huvudsakliga kopplingarna kan klassificeras i följande fyra kategorier: miljö och hälsa, miljö och möjlighet till ekonomisk försörjning, miljö och säkerhet samt miljö och egenmakt (empowerment). Vidare bör föreslagna reformer hamna i kategorierna: institutioner och samhällsstyrning, ekonomiska incitament, sociala och beteendemässiga-, teknologiska-, samt kunskapsbaserade reformer.

Resultat

Den kvantitativa analysen visar att Sveriges bistånd har miljö som en huvudsaklig eller viktig delkomponent i mycket större utsträckning än vad andra givare inom OECD/DAC har. Dessutom har förändringar skett i svenska bistånd mellan de två undersökningsåren 2001 och 2006. Båda åren är det främst ”traditionella” miljösektorer som klassificeras som att de har miljö som en huvudsaklig eller viktig delkomponent, men år 2006 har även flera sektorer som traditionellt sett inte brukar betraktas som miljösektorer miljö som en huvudsaklig eller viktig delkomponent. Biståndet inom industri, byggnadssektorn, hälsa och handelspolitik har till exempel miljö som en viktig komponent år 2006 medan inte detta var fallet 2001. Detta resultat är helt i linje med hur svenska bistånd ”borde” se ut enligt idealtypen.

Den kvalitativa analysen visar liknande resultat. I de policydokument som ingår i analysen framgår att Sidas sätt att se på kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom stämmer väl överens med det synsätt som återfinns i idealtypen. Säväl kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom som de föreslagna reformerna hamnar således i stor utsträckning i de kategorier som idealtypen föreslår. Detta gäller även de synsätt som kommer till uttryck i intervjuerna med Sidas personal på olika nivåer. Dessa synsätt är alltså koherenta med varandra (dvs. den interna samstämmigheten är hög) och de är koherenta med idealtypen (dvs. den externa samstämmigheten är hög). Samtidigt framkommer det i intervjuerna dock vissa tveksamheter till huruvida de positiva kopplingarna mellan miljöarbete och fattigdomsbekämpning verkligen är allmänt

kända inom organisationen. Framförallt uttrycks farhågor kring att sektorer och personal som inte explicit arbetar med miljöfrågor ibland har svårigheter att se hur miljöarbete bidrar till det övergripande målet om fattigdomsbekämpning.

Slutsatser och rekommendationer

- Huvudslutsatsen i den här utvärderingen är att kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom kommer till uttryck på liknande sätt i policydokument och bland personal på olika nivåer inom Sida. De sätt på vilka kopplingarna kommer till uttryck stämmer i sin tur väl överens med idealtypen – det vill säga hur kopplingarna borde komma till uttryck enligt den globala normen.
- En andra slutsats är att brister i mainstreamingarbetet inte primärt kan förklaras av otydlighet när det gäller hur man inom Sida ser att miljöarbete bidrar till fattigdomsbekämpning.

En sådan förklaring har förts fram av tidigare utvärderingar både i Sverige och internationellt men får alltså inget nämnvärt stöd i denna utvärdering. De i huvudsak positiva slutsatserna följer dock med reservationer. Även om miljö i stor utsträckning ses som en nödvändig förutsättning för utveckling och fattigdomsbekämpning kan kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom göras ännu tydligare och följas upp mer systematiskt i Sidas dagliga arbete.

- Det finns en risk att sektorer och personal som inte explicit arbetar med miljöfrågor i lägre utsträckning ser de positiva kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom som idealtypen ger uttryck för. Istället för att se miljö som en nödvändig förutsättning för fattigdomsbekämpning riskerar här miljö istället att ses i termer av att man huvudsakligen skall undvika att göra skada.
- Det finns således möjligheter till förbättring när det gäller att göra sektorer och personal vars arbete inte uttryckligen fokuserar på miljöfrågor medvetna om kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdomsbekämpning.
- För att öka medvetenheten om kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdom krävs därför ett fortsatt fokus på mainstreaming av miljö i Sidas dagliga verksamhet – alltifrån bedömning av program och insatser till resultatredovisning och uppföljning.
- Detta innebär också att det krävs ett förstärkt fokus från ledningens sida när det gäller att explicitgöra resultaten och nyttan av mainstreaming av miljö. För att miljö verkligen skall bli en integrerad del av Sidas verksamhet krävs således fortsatt arbete och ansträngningar med att visa och kommunicera hur och på vilket sätt miljö och fattigdomsbekämpning hänger ihop.

Trots hög extern och intern samstämmighet med den globala normen kring hur kopplingarna mellan miljö och fattigdomsbekämpning borde komma till uttryck återstår alltså en pedagogisk, organisatorisk och metodologisk utmaning att demonstrera för all personal hur miljöinsatser och mainstreaming av miljöfrågor bidrar till det övergripande målet att bekämpa fattigdomen.

Abbreviations

CRS	Creditor Reporting System
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
HQ	Headquarters
MEA	Millennium Ecosystem Assessment
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
SADEV	Swedish Agency for Development Evaluation
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
UN	United Nations
USD	United States Dollars

1 Introduction

Today, many organisations involved in development cooperation are attempting to develop a better understanding of the linkages between poverty and the environment. While both poverty reduction and the environment have been prioritised issues in development policy for decades, the linkages between these two issues have, to some extent, been indistinct – in policy as well as in practice. For that reason, there have recently been calls for a conceptual shift, not focusing on the environment as a stand-alone issue but as being closely linked to poverty reduction and an integral part of poverty reduction strategies (Hicks 2008; Bass 2005; World Bank 2008b). The central question guiding this evaluation is whether or not such a conceptual shift has penetrated Swedish development cooperation.

The failure to properly recognise the linkages between the environment and poverty reduction has, in fact, previously been put forward as a critical shortcoming in Swedish development cooperation, as well as in development cooperation in general (Sida 2007a; 2006a; Liebenthal 2002; DFID 2000). If those linkages are unclear, and if environmental aid does not prove and communicate its value added in terms of poverty reduction, environmental issues tend to be neglected, the argument goes.

Following this logic, lack of precision and lack of coherence in the conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages has been suggested as a potential explanation as to why mainstreaming of the environment has been problematic in many cases (DFID 2000). Yet, before this evaluation, no systematic evaluations have focused explicitly on how these so called poverty-environment linkages are conceptualized in Swedish development cooperation. More specifically, the extent to which the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found at Sida correspond to the new international consensus – advocated by the *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment* (2005) and others – on how such links ought to be conceptualized has not been evaluated.

In addition to exploring the extent to which the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found at Sida are externally coherent with this global norm, this evaluation focuses on internal coherence and evaluates the coherence of the conceptualizations found in policy documents and among staff at Sida headquarters (HQ) and at one of the Swedish embassies.

1.1 Objectives

The overall objective of this evaluation is to evaluate the external and internal coherence of the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found at Sida. This is evaluated by comparing how poverty-environment linkages are conceptualized at different levels within Sida, and by comparing the Swedish conceptualizations with how poverty-environment linkages are conceptualized “ideally”, i.e using a global norm or global programme logic as a baseline and indicator of best practice. The mainly conceptual and qualitative focus in the analysis is complemented by a quantitative analysis of aid allocation, which in turn gives an answer to whether the

conceptual shift emphasising that more sectors than the “traditional” environmental sectors should have the environment as a policy objective has penetrated Swedish development cooperation.

This evaluation’s assessment of coherence deals directly with the evaluation criteria relevance and effectiveness. Following OECD/DAC’s evaluation criteria, relevance is defined as a condition in which the activities and outputs are consistent with the overriding goals, as well as with the intended impacts and effects. Assessing effectiveness means assessing the likelihood of whether an aid activity attains its stated objectives (OECD 2002). More specifically, the logic is that Swedish environmental aid is more likely to be relevant and effective if linkages between poverty and environment are recognised in accordance with the global norm, i.e. if external coherence is high, and if they are conceptualized in a similar manner within Swedish development cooperation, i.e. if internal coherence is high.

1.2 Purpose

A number of shortcomings have been identified in the practice of mainstreaming of the environment in Swedish development cooperation, and the assessment of coherence thus implicitly serves as a test of whether lack of coherence is a plausible explanation to why these shortcomings exist. The assessment of external and internal coherence of the conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages found at Sida also serves the purpose of providing input and recommendations on how mainstreaming and implementation of the environment could be improved.

1.3 Evaluation questions

When it comes to evaluating external coherence, the central evaluation question is:

- Does Swedish development policy conceptualize poverty-environment linkages similarly to the global norm on how such linkages ought to be conceptualized?

To reiterate, in addition to evaluating external coherence, the evaluation also compares conceptualizations within Sida, i.e. the internal coherence. This is done by an analysis of policy documents as well as through interviews with staff at Sida HQ and field personnel at a Swedish embassy. The question here is:

- Do the policy documents of Sida, staff at Sida HQ, and staff at one of the embassies conceptualize poverty-environment linkages in a similar manner?

1.4 Target groups

The primary target group for this evaluation is officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Sida HQ with responsibility for environmental policy and practice. Due to the increased focus on poverty-environment linkages within international development cooperation in general, the findings would potentially be of interest to other donors and development organisations as well. This evaluation also contributes to the growing research within the field of environment and poverty reduction. In addition to being of interest to those involved in policy development, operational practices, and research within the environmental area, the results and analytical framework are likely to provide valuable input to policymakers concerned with other mainstreaming

issues such as gender and HIV/AIDS, issues which often face similar constraints as does environmental aid.

1.5 Delimitations

The evaluation will not explicitly investigate how successful Sweden's environmental policies and priorities have been when it comes to producing desirable outputs, outcomes and impacts at the contribution level. Yet, the focus on coherence – and indirectly on relevance and effectiveness – hints at the issue of whether Swedish environmental aid is likely to have a positive impact or not.

1.6 Outline

The evaluation is organised as follows. To start with, the following chapter provides an overall rationale for the focus on poverty-environment linkages by performing a short review of previous evaluations of Sida's work with the environment. This chapter also provides an international outlook, in which ongoing trends and evaluations of other large donors and their experiences within the field of environmental aid are briefly scrutinised. Chapter 3 spells out the evaluation criteria and the methodology employed. Chapter 4 focuses on constructing the ideal type conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages. Then follows a chapter with a quantitative focus on aid allocation. Chapter 6 analyses the conceptualizations found in policy documents, while chapter 7 analyses the conceptualizations among staff at Sida HQ and among Sida field personnel. Finally, Chapter 8 provides conclusions and recommendations.

2 The environment in international development cooperation

The environment has been a prioritised policy issue in development cooperation for decades. Yet recently there have been some concerns that environmental issues have lost ground in international development circles (Hicks 2008; DFID 2000). One of the principal reasons suggested for this is a lack of precision in defining the role for the environment in the efforts toward the overriding poverty reduction goal. Recent research holds the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) as a striking example of this lack of clarity as regards poverty-environment linkages (World Resources Institute 2005). Admittedly, the seventh MDG explicitly deals with environmental sustainability, but fails to pin down how the environment actually contributes to the overall development process. The environment is in fact conceptualized more as an add-on than as an essential component of human well-being and economic productivity, and this makes it difficult for governments and donors to perceive – and act on – crucially important linkages between the environment and poverty reduction. Similarly, it is argued that Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers generally overlook how ecosystem services, for example, might be a critical input in pro-poor economic growth. In this vein, there have been calls for more clarity and coherence when it comes to conceptualizing poverty-environment linkages. As will be clear from the following section, evaluations of some important international actors within the field of development cooperation echo this critique.

2.1 Evaluations of environmental aid

The World Development Report, *Development and the Environment*, from 1992, is generally regarded as a major intellectual contribution that advanced thinking on the environment and its linkages to poverty reduction within the World Bank and in the development community at large (World Bank 1992). Yet, in the document *Promoting Environmental Sustainability in Development. An Evaluation of the World Bank's Performance* (Liebenthal 2002; World Bank 2008a) the evaluators argue that the Bank did not sufficiently pursue the linkages between environmental sustainability and poverty alleviation. It is concluded that the Bank has played a leading role in addressing global issues and has improved awareness of the linkages between the environment and development, but the linkages should and could be made even more explicit. The evaluators conclude that the Bank's performance on the environment has improved in a number of areas, but progress is regarded to have been slow and fragmented. The Bank's environmental strategy has been ambivalent which has implied uncertainty about whether to treat the environment as a sector in itself or as a cross-cutting issue.

An evaluation of DFID's environmental work from 2000 – *Environment. Mainstreamed or Sidelined* (DFID 2000) – reached similar conclusions. DFID's policy has accorded high priority to the environment for decades. Yet, despite the high policy priority, there are indications that environmental issues are now a lower priority for country

programmes than they were in the 1990s, and that the links between poverty and environment are unclear. The overall conclusion is that DFID is successful in projects explicitly framed as environmental projects. However, it is more questionable whether environmental procedures are adequate for non-environmental projects. DFID is also said to suffer from the so-called non-harm approach, where most effort is put on avoiding harm rather than on exploiting the potentially positive links between the environment and poverty reduction. In fact, current advisory resources, priorities and perceptions are said to significantly constrain the identification and exploitation of environmental opportunities which could contribute to poverty reduction goals. Hence, the environment is by and large perceived as a risk to be minimised and mitigated rather than as a potential development opportunity. There is also a perception that environmental improvement is less likely to contribute to poverty reduction than other interventions. The evaluators conclude that the key challenge is to identify and demonstrate the potential contribution of environmental management to poverty reduction and livelihood improvement, to the sustainability of poverty reduction, and as an enabling action to achieve the international development targets. It is argued that the environment has been sidelined in some programmes and projects. This is not because of an absence of adequate policy, procedures, or staff. Rather, the issue has usually been sidelined because the case for the environment within the development cooperation has not sufficiently demonstrated its value-added in terms of specific contributions to poverty reduction (DFID 2000).

2.2 The Swedish experience

This section takes a closer look at previous evaluations focused on Sida's work with the environment. Two of the most recent and central evaluations are in focus: *Mainstreaming at Sida. A Synthesis Report* (Sida 2007a) and *Integrating the Environment. Environmental Considerations in Sida's Work* (Sida 2006a).

The mainstreaming report does not exclusively focus on environmental issues but rather on mainstreaming issues in general, i.e. in addition to the environment it also focuses on gender and HIV/AIDS. As the title makes clear, it is a synthesis report where three evaluations of the implementation of Sida's policies on gender, HIV/AIDS, and the environment are put together. All those policies have mainstreaming as the main implementation tool, and the purpose of the synthesis report is to assess how well this mode of implementation actually works.

First of all, the synthesis report clarifies that the evaluations of mainstreaming when it comes to gender, HIV/AIDS, and the environment all come to remarkably similar conclusions. In fact, Sida does not appear to have managed to effectively implement any of the policies. The implementation process seems to suffer from a similar shortcoming, that is the mainstreaming issues are more often than not treated as separate sectors – if not disregarded totally. The major explanations put forward emphasise the lack of clear guidelines and goals, absence of systems for follow-up and learning, shortage of qualified staff, and a general overload of different policies and guidelines that are to be considered (Sida 2007a).

The evaluation *Integrating the Environment. Environmental Considerations in Sida's Work* (Sida 2006a), is an assessment of (i) how Sida integrates environmental issues in its

policies, guidelines and other documents, (ii) how Sida's programme officers and managers deal with environmental integration in their daily work, and (iii) how Sida as an organisation implements integration of environmental considerations through its environmental management system. It also aims at contributing to an understanding of why the integration potentially fails.

In short, the overall picture given is that Swedish development cooperation has consistently failed in its attempts to integrate and add environmental concerns and dimensions to Sida's work. While environmental dimensions should be integrated in all activities, the evaluation finds that too often is the environment treated as a sector, i.e. as a separate issue rather than as a cross-cutting issue. There is also a clear tendency towards trying to avoid harm rather than recognising any positive linkages between environmental support and poverty reduction (Sida 2006a).

It is clear that a number of general themes appear across previous evaluations of environmental aid. These include the fact that the environment tends not to be a priority and tends to be treated as a sector rather than as a cross-cutting theme, meaning that mainstreaming is not working satisfactorily. One of the main reasons for this failure is time and again stated to be that environmental assistance and work within the area of sustainable development generally suffers from a lack of understanding of the linkages between environmental issues and poverty reduction. While the environment is regarded as a priority issue at the policy level, it is more or less uncertain how such a priority contributes to the overriding poverty reduction goal. The main issue of concern is thus that the poverty-environment linkages and the relationship between ecosystem services and poverty reduction often are unspecified, and that it is unclear how contributions that integrate the environment help reduce poverty better than contributions that disregard the environment.

3 Methodological approach

In order to fulfil the objectives of the evaluation – and in order to give an authoritative answer to the evaluation questions – this evaluation combines document studies and policy analysis with semi-structured interviews and an analysis of aid allocation.

3.1 Evaluation criteria

This evaluation works with the analytical tools of external and internal coherence, which relate directly to the evaluation criteria relevance and effectiveness. In short, to be relevant aid activities should suit the priorities and policies of recipients and donors. In addition, the objectives of the programme should be valid, and the activities and outputs should be consistent with the overall goal as well as the intended impacts and effects. Effectiveness in turn is a measure of whether an aid activity is likely or not likely to achieve its objectives (OECD 2002). As stated previously, the logic here is that Swedish environmental aid is more likely to be relevant and effective if linkages between poverty and environment are recognised in accordance with the global norm (i.e. if external coherence is high), and if they are conceptualized in a similar manner within Swedish development cooperation (i.e. if internal coherence is high).

3.2 Evaluation design

In order to assess external and internal coherence as regards poverty-environment linkages – and in the end assessing whether Swedish environmental aid is likely to be relevant and effective – the evaluation first develops a global norm or ideal conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages. Secondly, this ideal conceptualization serves as a baseline against which the Swedish conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages are compared. The analysis then begins with a focus on aid allocation and classification, highlighting how much of Swedish aid is classified as having environmental objectives and how large a share of the aid given in different sectors have the environment as a policy objective. Thereafter follows an analysis of Sida's conceptualizations drawn from central policy documents concerning the environment and its relationship with development issues in general. Finally, internal coherence is assessed by comparing the conceptualizations found in Sida's policy documents, in semi-structured interviews at Sida HQ and at one of the Swedish embassies.

3.3 Methodological specifications

3.3.1 Ideal type analysis

The analytical approach of ideal type analysis can be traced to Weber, and is an analytical construct that facilitates policy analysis and evaluation. Constructing an ideal conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages implies a close and systematic reading of central international documents providing normative central standards

on how poverty-environment linkages ought to be defined. These central standards might not be ideal in any true sense, but they serve the purpose of providing a baseline of best practice against which the Swedish conceptualizations can be compared. In order to construct the ideal type, this evaluation synthesizes the message from the *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment* (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005), central publications from the World Resources Institute (World Resources Institute 2005), and academic research on poverty-environment linkages (Bojö et al. 2002; Ambler 1999; Bass 2005; Reed 2004; World Bank 2008b), and organises the information from these documents into A) poverty-environment linkages, and B) suggested reforms and responses.

3.3.2 Quantitative analysis of aid allocation

The quantitative analysis contributes with data on aid allocation and classification, complementing the evaluation's otherwise predominantly conceptual analysis. The data is obtained from OECD Creditor Reporting System (CRS), which relies on information and surveys that donor governments and multilateral organisations submit about their aid activities each year. The quality of this data can, however, be questioned (see forthcoming SADEV Report on the quality and usefulness of aid statistics). Nevertheless, in this data, every single contribution gets a "policy flag" indicating whether it has been screened against environmental objectives or not, whether the environment is not targeted, whether the environment is a significant objective, and whether the environment is a principal objective. This analysis thus depicts how much aid has the environment as an objective, and also indicates in which sectors the environmental objectives are dominating. The analysis is conducted at two points in time – 2001 and 2006 – and the Swedish allocation and classification is compared to all other OECD donors. The quantitative analysis gives an answer to whether or not the conceptual shift emphasising that sectors other than the "traditional" environmental sectors should have the environment as a policy objective has penetrated Swedish development cooperation.

3.3.3 Coherence

In order to evaluate the coherence of Swedish environmental aid, the Swedish conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages are compared with an ideal type conceptualization representing best practice when it comes to how poverty-environment linkages ought to be defined. Of central importance here is policy coherence – defined as the systematic promotion of mutually reinforcing policies across government departments and agencies creating synergies towards achieving the defined objective (Duraiappah & Bhardwaj 2007). This coherence can in turn be analysed internally (across spatial/organisational levels) and/or externally (along the same levels but across organisations/actors). In line with the structure of the ideal type conceptualization, coherence can then be assessed in terms of how poverty-environment linkages are conceptualized and in terms of which kinds of reforms are suggested.

3.3.4 Semi-structured interviews

In order to investigate how poverty-environment linkages are conceptualized among Sida's personnel at different levels – i.e. in order to gather information necessary for

performing an analysis of coherence – semi-structured interviews are performed. At the core of such a technique lies a fairly open framework allowing for two-way communication, which is conversational yet focused. While the overall framework is guided by an interview guide (structured along the same dimensions as the qualitative policy analysis, i.e. poverty-environment linkages and suggested reforms) not all questions are phrased ahead of time but rather created during the interview.

4 Ideal conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages

The aim of this section is to articulate the way poverty-environment linkages are defined in the works of key international actors within the field of environment and development. The conceptualizations advocated by the different actors may differ somewhat, but together they produce so called theoretical saturation on how poverty-environment linkages can be conceptualized and can act as a baseline against which the conceptualization found within Sida can be compared.

4.1 Poverty-environment linkages according to the global norm

Policy and research within the field of environment and poverty reduction focuses on the linkages between ecosystems and human well-being. Ecosystems generally provide a range of benefits for individuals and societies. These benefits are normally called ecosystem services and are grouped into provisioning services, regulating services, cultural services, and supporting services.

Provisioning services include direct benefits such as food, water, timber, and fibre. Regulating services comprise goods that affect climate, floods, disease, wastes, and water quality. Cultural services in turn provide recreational, aesthetic, and spiritual benefits. Finally, supporting services include soil formation, photosynthesis, and nutrient cycling (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005).

These various services all affect human well-being in a number of ways, and human well-being itself is, of course, a multifaceted concept. First, people need to have the basic material for a good life, such as secure and adequate livelihoods, enough food at all times, shelter, clothing, and access to goods. Second, human well-being includes health-related components such as clean air and access to safe water, but also good social relationships, the ability to help others and provide for children. Thirdly, human well-being is determined by a sense of security, i.e. secure access to natural resources, personal safety, and resilience to natural and human-made disasters. Finally, human well-being includes freedom of choice and action. In addition to ascribing value to the various services and the direct or indirect effects on human well-being, sustainable ecosystems can also be ascribed an intrinsic value (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005).

A central pathway to reducing poverty is in MEA's line of reasoning to improve poor people's ability to derive sustenance and income from more sustainably managed natural resources. When it comes to poverty reduction, it is argued that natural resource management should be regarded not only from the perspective of limiting exploitation and avoiding doing harm, but also in the context of sustainable opportunities for attacking poverty.

The position argued for in the MEA is confirmed by a close reading of the publications of other influential organisations and by academic research. For example, the World Resources Institute published a report in 2005 where some of the MEA's views are developed further (World Resources Institute 2005). This report states that there is now sufficient evidence to demonstrate that poverty reduction and concern for the environment are certainly not incompatible. The environment should not only bring restrictions and problems to mind. In fact, natural resources can clearly be put to more productive use to alleviate poverty – mainly through positive effects on health, economic opportunities, and security of poor people. In this line of reasoning, environmental activities can also provide effective ways to empower the poor. This conceptualization finds support in research on the linkages between the environment and poverty reduction where there has been a move away from a simplistic approach of viewing poverty and environmental degradation as exclusively being linked in a downward and mutually reinforcing cycle (Forsyth & Leach 1998; World Bank 2008b). The "traditional" argument tends to view poverty as one of the main causes of environmental destruction and not much attention is being given to the reversed causality or to the fact that natural resources can serve as a platform for economic opportunity.

The central message in the ideal conceptualization is that the environment represents not only a set of problems but also a set of opportunities. A bottom-up approach to poverty reduction begins naturally with the assets that the poor already possess, and a traditional do-no-harm approach should be avoided (World Resources Institute 2005; World Bank 2008b). A synthesis of the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages above provides the following analytical guidelines to be employed in the subsequent analysis: key linkages between poverty and the environment can be sorted under the headings, environment and health, environment and economic opportunity, environment and security, and environment and empowerment (Bojö et al. 2002; Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005; World Bank 2008b).

4.2 Proposed focus for reforms within the environmental area

The review of the analytical and empirical work within the area of poverty and the environment clearly comes out strongly in favour of paying more attention to the linkages between poverty and the environment. Policy and interventions should thus consider direct environmental contributions to poverty reduction rather than only ensuring that poverty reduction activities are environmentally sustainable. The above section demonstrated what these links may look like, i.e. what the goals of environmental reforms ought to be. This section focuses on the tools needed to achieve the goals. What kind of reform is called for in the ideal conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages?

To start with, the causal model or programme logic on how environmental reforms can facilitate poverty reduction focuses on getting the incentives right. Dealing with environmental degradation may be a prerequisite for other poverty alleviation efforts, and when properly structured, efforts to enhance the environment and reduce poverty can proceed simultaneously. The poor are willing to invest considerable effort and resources in the management of natural resources, but their rights to enjoy the fruits of their investment must be secure. Poor people are simply too poor to

invest in endeavours that hold little benefit for them, but when the benefits are demonstrable and the incentives clear, the poor can be willing to contribute substantial effort and resources.

The remedies suggested in the MEA are based on the idea that roots of environmental degradation lie in institutional and policy issues. Reforms therefore demand changes in institutions and governance, economic policies and incentives, social and behavioural factors, technology and knowledge. Proposed reforms within the area of institutions and governance are primarily focused on the management of common pool resources and issues of ownership and access to such resources. Property rights that govern access to natural resources play an important role in maintaining productivity and enabling the equitable use of natural resources. Formal title and full transferability is not necessarily required for good husbandry, but perceived security of use will influence how people make decisions about exploiting and investing in natural resources (World Resources Institute 2005). The poor generally have difficulties when it comes to accessing and controlling resources, so improving environmental conditions to reduce poverty is not only a technical matter, but also one involving changing institutions and policy instruments (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005; Bojö et al. 2002).

When it comes to economic policies and incentives, the MEA suggests that reforms ought to focus on eliminating subsidies as well as making greater use of market-based approaches in the management of ecosystems. Property rights – communal or private, formal or informal – are a necessary foundation for natural resource management, but incentives by way of prices, taxes and subsidies also send important signals about economic opportunities. Creating incentives for better management of natural resources thus involves creating markets for environmental services, and increasing access to supporting services and infrastructure (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005).

Social and behavioural responses primarily concern population policy, education, the engagement of civil society, and general empowerment of communities, women and young people. Specific interventions proposed are: measures to reduce consumption of ecosystem services from already degraded ecosystems; efforts to improve communication and education among resource users; and empowerment of groups directly reliant on ecosystem services.

Technological responses focus on promoting yield-enhancing – yet harmless – technologies in agriculture, restoring degraded ecosystems, and promoting technologies that enhance energy efficiency. Knowledge responses are motivated by the fact that effective management of ecosystems is hampered by not only a lack of knowledge and information about characteristics of resource systems, but also a lack of resolve when it comes to using existing knowledge to address the management problems at hand. In order to address such problems, the MEA suggests incorporation of non-market values of ecosystems in resource management and various investment decisions, utilisation of traditional knowledge and input from practitioners, and a focus on sustaining human and institutional capacity for analysing the effects of ecosystem change and acting on the results of such analysis.

Key responses to strengthen poverty-environment linkages can be placed in the following categories: institutions and governance, economics and incentives, social and behavioural responses, technological responses, and knowledge and cognitive responses (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005).

4.3 The analytical instrument

Before turning to the empirical investigation, this section briefly summarises the analytical tool to be employed in evaluating external and internal coherence. According to the ideal type conceptualization of environment and poverty, environmental aid ought not to have a narrow focus on conservation and environmental protection alone. When it comes to the quantitative analysis, this implies that if Swedish environmental aid is to be coherent with the ideal conceptualization – and thus more likely to be relevant and effective – a large share of aid should have the environment as a principal or significant objective. In addition, not only “traditional” environmental issues should have the environment as a policy objective. As regards the qualitative analysis of policy documents and semi-structured interviews, if coherence is to be high, staff at Sida HQ as well as at one of the embassies should sort the linkages between poverty and the environment into the following categories:

- environment and health,
- environment and economic opportunity,
- environment and security, and
- environment and empowerment.

When it comes to reforms, the responses should, according to the ideal conceptualization, fall under the following headings:

- institutions and governance,
- economics and incentives,
- social and behavioural responses,
- technological responses, and
- knowledge and cognitive responses.

5 Quantitative analysis

This section serves the purpose of assessing how large a share of Swedish aid has environmental components, and in which sectors this aid falls. This section takes a closer look at what kind of aid that is classified as environmental aid in Swedish development cooperation. A comparison with all other OECD donors is provided, and data is displayed for two points in time, 2001 and 2006, in order to try to detect any changes.¹

Using the Creditor Reporting System, the first series of analyses simply portrays the share of Swedish and OECD aid that has the environment either as a principal or significant policy objective. The share of aid that either has not been screened against the objective or in which the environment is not targeted is also provided.² The analysis then establishes what proportion of aid in the various sectors that have the environment as a principal objective, a significant objective, not targeted, and not screened. In addition, this analysis reveals whether the classification has shifted over time. Finally, the cross-examination of sectors and policy objectives is compared to a similar analysis of the aid given by all other OECD donors. Unfortunately, the quality of this data can be questioned and the conclusions must be handled with care (see forthcoming SADEV Report on the quality and usefulness of aid statistics).

5.1 The environment as a policy objective

To start with, comparing the share of Swedish aid that gets the four different policy markers – not screened against the environment, not targeting the environment, and having the environment as either a significant or principal policy objective – reveals that 43 per cent of all aid in 2001 had the environment as either a significant or principal objective. This figure increases slightly to 46 per cent in 2006. At the same time the share of aid that does not target the environment decreases from 42 to 31 per cent, while the share of aid that has not been screened against the environment increases from 15 to 23 per cent.

¹ The selection of years was primarily motivated by data availability.

² According to the DAC instructions for the policy marker system "Principal (primary) policy objectives are those which can be identified as being fundamental in the design and impact of the activity and which are an explicit objective of an activity. Significant (secondary) policy objectives are those which, although important, are not one of the principal reasons for undertaking the activity. The score not targeted means that the activity has been screened against, but was found not be targeted to, the policy objective. [...] An empty field indicates that the activity has not been marked (not screened against the objective.)"

Figure 1 The Environment and Swedish Aid 2001

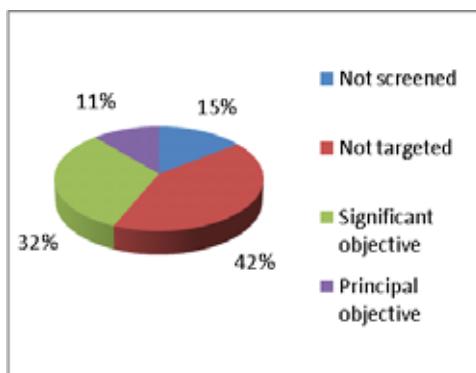
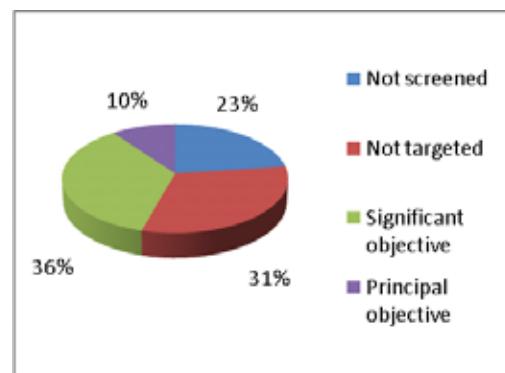


Figure 2 The Environment and Swedish Aid 2006



A comparison with the other OECD donors reveals that a much larger share of Swedish aid has the environment as either a significant or principal objective. This might indicate that the environment is a more central element in Swedish aid – but it might also reflect that Sweden conceptualizes the environment more in line with the ideal conceptualization, that is, Sweden not only classifies traditional environmental protection and conservation as environmental aid. As the pie charts below reveal, in both 2001 and 2006, only 3 per cent of the aid given by all the other OECD donors has the environment as a principal policy objective – and the share of aid having the environment as a significant objective is reduced from 11 to 5 per cent.

Figure 3 The Environment and OECD Aid in 2001

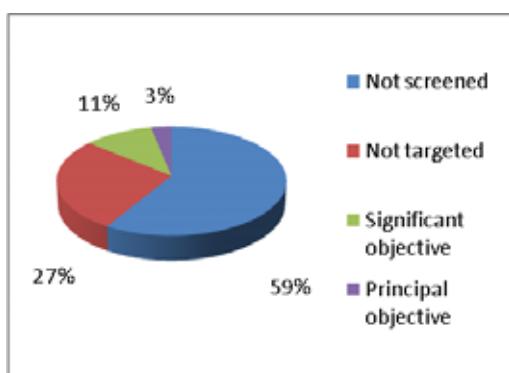
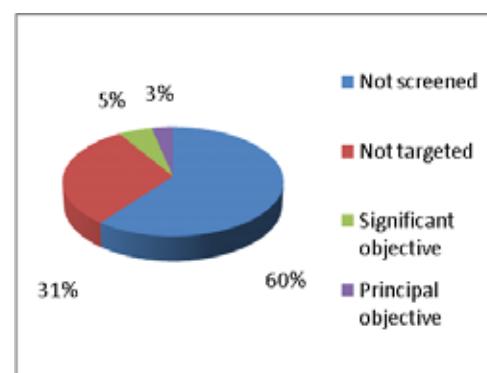


Figure 4 The Environment and OECD Aid in 2006



5.2 Share of different sectors that have the environment as a policy objective

This section answers the question of what percentage of aid is classified under each of the four policy markers.³ The appendix gives an account of all Swedish aid in 2001 and 2006, and is presented by sector and by the four environmental policy markers. The table shows the percentage of aid in each sector that falls under the headings of: having not been screened against the environment, not targeting the environment,

³ According to the OECD/DAC guidelines, the sector of destination of a contribution should be selected by answering the question “**which specific area of the recipient’s economic or social structure is the transfer intended to foster**”. The sector classification should thus not refer to the type of goods or services provided by the donor. Sector specific education or research activities (e.g. agricultural education) or construction of infrastructure (e.g. agricultural storage) should be reported under the sector to which they are directed, not under education, construction, etc.

having the environment as a significant policy objective and having the environment as a principal policy objective. In the table showing figures for 2006, the change in percentage points (from 2001) is depicted after each column with policy markers. In this way the table can reveal whether the share of aid with environmental objectives is greater than before. The specific amount in million USD disbursements going to the each sector is also depicted in order to give a clearer view of the significance of the respective sector.

The table reveals that in 2001 the only sector with 100 per cent of its contributions having the environment as a principal policy objective is general environmental protection. After this follows fishing with 90.6 per cent of the contributions having the environment as a principal policy objective, then agriculture, forestry, and water supply and sanitation (86.2, 45.5, and 42.7 per cent respectively of the money going to these sectors have the environment as a principal policy objective).

When it comes to significant objective, administrative costs of donors for some reason have 100 per cent of contributions with this objective. After this follows secondary education (88.9 per cent), energy generation and supply (72.8 per cent), water supply and sanitation (57.2 per cent), and support to NGOs (59.1 per cent).

The sectors having the smallest share of its contributions with the environment as either a significant or principal policy objective are industry (0.9 per cent in total), trade policy and regulations (3.0 per cent in total), population policies/programmes and reproductive health (2.7 per cent in total). Correspondingly, the sectors where the environment to the largest extent have not been targeted is population policies/programmes and reproductive health (97.3 per cent), communications (93.3 per cent), basic health (92.5 per cent), health general (89.5 per cent), and industry (87.8 per cent). The sectors that to the largest extent have not screened their contributions at all are trade policy and regulation (37.8 per cent), unallocated/unspecified (23.3 per cent), and industry (11.3 per cent).

Moving on to 2006, the top five sectors with the environment as a principal objective are general environmental protection (100 per cent), mineral resources and mining (100 per cent), fishing (90.9 per cent), forestry (60.3 per cent), and water supply and sanitation (55.5 per cent). Thus there have been no major changes in these sectors between 2001 and 2006 – apart from the fact that contributions to agriculture are no longer among the top five.⁴

A closer look at the sectors having the environment as a significant objective reveals quite remarkable changes between 2001 and 2006. First we find two sectors that were not addressed at all in 2001: tourism has 100 per cent of its contributions with this objective, and reconstruction relief 93.6 per cent. Thereafter follow transport and storage with 85.6 per cent, industry with 79.7 per cent, and energy supply and sanitation with 74.1 per cent of its contributions having the environment as a significant objective. In addition to this, we have a number of sectors where more than 60 per cent of the contributions are classified as having the environment as a significant objective. The sectors with the largest share of their aid not targeting the environment

⁴ Agriculture now has 33.2 per cent of its contributions having the environment as a principal objective. Yet, if combined with the aid having the environment as a significant objective, where 65.8 per cent of the agricultural aid now falls, 99 per cent of the support to agriculture have the environment as either a principal or significant objective.

are developmental food aid/food security assistance (100 per cent), basic health (92.2 per cent), general budget support (68.7 per cent), communications (66.2 per cent), and trade policy and regulations (65.8 per cent).

There have been considerable changes between 2001 and 2006. Focusing on the positive signs in the columns where the changes in percentage points are depicted reveals that when it comes to having the environment as a significant objective, the largest increases have occurred in the following sectors: industry (+78.8), construction (+73.4), and health, general (+58). Agriculture has also increased (+53.4) but this is offset by a decrease in the share of aid having the environment as a principal objective (-53). Increases of more than 30 per cent have occurred in the following sectors; forestry, education (level unspecified), population policies/programmes and reproductive health, transport and storage, and conflict prevention and resolution, peace and security. As regards having the environment as a principal objective, the largest increases have occurred in education (level unspecified) (+26.4), energy generation and supply (+17.8), banking and financial services (+17.3), and trade policy and regulations (+14).

5.3 Comparison with other OECD donors

Turning now to the other OECD donors, it is clear that these donors have, on average, a much larger share of aid not screened against the environment or not targeting the environment than Sweden. The second table in the appendix reveals that the sector where the environment to the largest extent is a principal objective among OECD donors in 2006 is general environmental protection (75.6 per cent), followed by forestry (72.2 per cent), water supply and sanitation (27.4 per cent), fishing (17.4 per cent), tourism (12.0 per cent), and agriculture (10.6 per cent). The aid with the environment as a significant objective includes general budget support (39.7 per cent), disaster prevention and preparedness (24.9 per cent), tourism (20.9 per cent), energy generation and supply (19.5 per cent), and transport and storage (18.9 per cent).

The table also shows that the OECD donors have a lot of aid where the environment is not targeted or where the aid has not been screened against the objective. Support to NGOs is the sector with the largest of its aid not targeting the environment (74.7 per cent), closely followed by basic education (73.7 per cent), banking and financial services (64.7 per cent), secondary education (58 per cent), and reconstruction relief (55.9 per cent). Finally, the sectors having the largest share of aid not being screened against the environment are mineral resources and mining (97.9 per cent), unallocated/unspecified (86.3 per cent), refugees in donor countries (84.7 per cent), post-secondary education (81.5 per cent), and population policies/programmes and reproductive health (77.8 per cent).

Comparing the statistics for all bilateral OECD aid in 2006 with the Swedish aid in 2006, the largest differences when it comes to having the environment as a significant policy objective are found in reconstruction relief (+89.8), tourism (+79.1), construction (+71.1), and industry (+69.3). As regards having the environment as a principal policy objective, the largest differences are found in mineral resources and mining (+99.5), water supply and sanitation (+28.1), education (level unspecified) (+26.2), and construction (+25.7).

6 Conceptualizations in policy documents

In order to assess how poverty-environment linkages are conceptualized in Swedish environmental aid, the following section looks closer at a selection of relevant policies and method documents from Sida. The selection includes policies and method documents sorted under Sida's fundamental principles and values, overarching policies for the development cooperation process, thematic and specific sector policies, and position papers.

6.1 Sida's fundamental principles and values

Sida's work is guided by the instruction and the annual appropriations directive from the government (in turn guided by the parliamentary decision on Sweden's Policy for Global Development – see Regeringen 2002; Utrikesutskottet 2003; Regeringen 2003) as well as two internal documents; *Perspectives on Poverty* and *Sida at Work* (Sida 2002; 2005b). These two documents express Sida's fundamental principles and values and have the entire organisation as their target group. *Perspectives on Poverty* focuses on the overall mission, poverty reduction. In short, poverty is conceptualized as a condition where people lack freedom to decide their own lives and the ability to shape their future. Not having power, choices, or material resources thus constitutes the essence of poverty. Poverty is multidimensional, dynamic, and context specific, and when it comes to poverty-environment linkages the document explicitly states that: "A sustainable use of the environment is necessary to maintain long term efficiency in poverty reduction. The option is not to "fence off" natural resources but to ensure that their sustainable use and management provides a livelihood for poor people." (Sida 2002). Moreover, it is stated that it is important to consider the quality of growth from the perspective of environmental sustainability and that development must go hand in hand with responsible husbandry of natural resources.

In a special section on environmental dimensions, the publication states that: "Poor people are particularly – and directly – dependent on natural resources for their survival [...]. Good-quality soils, productive forests and aquatic systems, and clean water and air are necessary assets for ensuring food security, energy, shelter and good health. Sustainable use of natural resources and protection of the environment is therefore a prerequisite for effective poverty reduction" (Sida 2002). The report also states that development efforts must focus on the use and management of natural resources for production and consumption, and that while resource depletion and environmental pollution are to a large extent caused by actions taken by the non-poor, it is the poor that have to earn their livelihoods in areas that have the dirtiest water, the poorest soils etc.

When it comes to reforms, *Perspectives on Poverty* states that institutional and legislative frameworks that provide adequate, equitable, and secure access to land and natural resources are crucial for pro-poor growth. It also states that poor people have an impressive ability to generate savings if given the opportunity. Yet lack of credit, poor

access to markets and an inability to enforce their rights holds them back from productive activities. Among other things Sida supports capacity development of institutions and protection and expansion of the natural assets of the poor, including equitable management of ecosystems.

In *Goals, perspectives and central component elements* – which is a complement to *Perspectives on Poverty* (Sida 2005a) – sustainable use of natural resources and protection of the environment is identified as one of eight central component elements which state what the policy and development cooperation is to promote and focus on. The central component elements are regarded as necessary building blocks in the development of a society that intends to abolish poverty. However, although they are not to be given the same importance in all situations it must be safeguarded that no contributions damage the important values represented by any of the central component elements. On the contrary, supported programmes should take advantage of synergy effects and the various dimensions of poverty must be analysed at an early stage in order to avoid placing cross-sector issues on top of each other. Yet in this document neither the linkages between poverty and the environment nor any specific reforms are discussed explicitly.

With the points of departure in the global development agenda and the missions and goals delegated to Sida by the Swedish Government, *Sida at Work* (Sida 2005b) comprises three documents: A *Guide to Principles, Procedures and Working Methods* and two supplementary manuals on the preparation, implementation and follow-up of cooperation strategies and of Swedish contributions to programmes and projects. *Sida at Work* sets out the framework for steering and decision-making in Swedish development cooperation, including Sida's internal planning process. It also describes how Sida interacts with partners and how the organisation interprets its main roles as an analyst, dialogue-partner and financier. The document does not, however, discuss any specifics such as poverty-environment linkages.

6.2 Overarching policies for the development cooperation process

These policies have the entire agency as their target group and should be observed in every staff member's work. *Sida's policy for environmentally sustainable development* (Sida 2004c), which is the document in focus here, spells out the policy for sustainable development but also discusses the specific actions to be taken by Sida's different departments. It is important to note, however, that a new policy within the environmental area is currently being drafted by the government offices. When it comes to the existing policy, however, the main principles for Sweden's development cooperation within the environmental area are described as follows: (i) help partner countries identify and implement activities that protect and conserve natural resources and the environment, (ii) emphasise and support sustainability in the long-term perspective, (iii) follow the principle that prevention is better than cure, and (iv) enable partner countries to work with a long-term planning horizon and thereby achieve a permanent reduction in poverty.

These principles have the following practical consequences for Swedish development cooperation: (i) the environmental perspective must be included in Sida's overall

development analysis and in its country, sector, programme, and project analyses, (ii) Sida should refrain from contributing to activities, projects, and programmes that obstruct sustainable development, and (iii) environmental awareness and environmental considerations must be integrated in the work of all Sida's departments, field offices, and embassies in which development cooperation activities take place (Sida 2004c).

After discussing the policy, the document provides a comprehensive list of actions to be undertaken by various departments. Yet it delegates the task of integrating the environment and making sure departmental activities have an environmental perspective to the respective departments. It does not, however, discuss explicitly how all these activities and the integration of the environment contribute to the overriding poverty reduction goal.

6.3 Thematic and specific sector policies

These documents do not have the entire organisation as their target group but should rather be applied in the areas of work affected by the policy. All in all, there are sixteen thematic and specific sector policies, yet the analysis below includes only the publications produced by the Department for Natural Resources and the Environment.⁵

The first is *Pure Water - Strategy for Water Supply and Sanitation* (Sida 2004b). This document is an instrument to assist in decision-making on supporting water supply and sanitation. The main objective of this support is stated as being to improve the livelihoods of poor people. More efficient use of water resources, as well as treatment of human waste and wastewater, is one of the sub-objectives that are considered important in order to reach this objective. Sida's support to water supply and sanitation needs to improve poor people's livelihoods and comply with the overriding goal of poverty reduction.

The report comes out strongly in favour of integrating water and sanitation in national poverty reduction strategies, and safe water is seen as linked to poverty reduction through basic survival, and improved livelihoods, health, dignity, and well-being. Inadequate water supply on the other hand is seen as both causing and reinforcing poverty. The linkages are thus dealt with to some extent, and lack of water is identified as a critical contributing factor to poverty and has negative social, health, and economic impacts.

As regards suggested reforms, *Pure Water - Strategy for Water Supply and Sanitation* suggests a focus on appropriate institutional and legal frameworks, for instance creating and strengthening an enabling institutional environment. It also advocates a focus on extending democratic participation and empowerment as well as the development and use of new technologies. Moreover, it pays attention to the importance of education, as it suggests that more attention should be given to skills training, environmental awareness, and information. Finally, this report addresses the potentially productive role of the market, as it discusses the need to put incentives at

⁵ The logic is that if the ideal conceptualization is not found here it is not likely to be found elsewhere either.

the centre of attention – both among consumers and in operation and management systems.

In *Climate and Development* (Sida 2004a) it is explicitly stated that the climate issue reflects the link between environment and development, and that climate change affects people's living conditions since it affects agriculture, social structures, culture, and the economy. Diminishing access to natural resources as a consequence of climate change might be a breeding ground for conflicts. The publication discusses potential conflicts between goals: economic activity affects the climate, and climate change affects the possibilities of pursuing economic activity. It also states that since climate change can affect patterns of economic growth, it can also have an indirect effect on the ability of people to make a living. Changes in climate are recognised as contributing to ill health.

Climate and Development states that with the overriding goal of poverty reduction as its point of departure, Sida shall contribute to: "protecting the climate system from human influence by providing support for measures that prevent or minimise emissions of greenhouse gases and promote sustainable development [and] reducing the vulnerability of poor countries and strengthening the possibilities available to them to adapt to variations and changes in the climate" (Sida 2004a). Sida should thus create appropriate conditions for reducing effects on the climate and for adaptation to variations and changes in the climate. In addition, the document repeats the general ambition to integrate the environment into programmes of development cooperation rather than making the environment subject to targeted contributions.

All in all, Sida aims at approaching the climate issue from the perspective of reducing poverty. In this line of reasoning, a clear link between climate change and the Millennium Development Goals is recognised. One of the motivations for paying attention to climate change is that it affects the living conditions of the poor. However, the linkages between environment and development are not developed to any significant extent. Linkages to other sectors such as transport, energy, water resources, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and disaster preparedness are recognised, but how these sectors affect poverty is not discussed.

When it comes to suggested reforms, the action plan included in *Climate and Development* states that the focal point of Sida's actions should lie in contributions that contribute to preventing or minimising emissions of climate gases, i.e. in the energy and transport sectors. The document discusses the measures needed to protect the climate system and states that changes must be made in accordance with the precautionary principle. The report also calls for reforms within the areas of technology and capacity development, knowledge and capacity, opinion through civil society, as well as incentives and institutional development.

6.4 Position papers

Sida's position papers specify Sida's approach on important, but clearly delimited, issues. The review below is based on a selection of such papers. To start with, the position paper *Sida and the Convention to Combat Desertification* (Sida 2001) aims at harmonising Sida's work with Sweden's undertakings vis-à-vis the UN Convention to Combat Desertification. In addition to combating desertification, the objective of this

Convention is to alleviate the consequences of drought in the affected areas. Yet it does not specify what kind of input poor people can derive from combating desertification. It does, however, discuss a number of issues that contribute to desertification, such as issues surrounding land rights, methods and technology used in forestry and agriculture, as well as economic, social, and cultural conditions in general.

The struggle against land degradation must, in many cases, be fought outside the natural resources sector – through, for example, enhancing economic growth. Other suggested reforms are to address the lack of knowledge and engage in training and advisory services. Moreover, reforms should focus on popular participation, the adoption of new technologies, and institutional development. The paper also touches upon the issue of market incentives, as it states that improved infrastructure and trade can play an important role.

Turning to the position paper *Sustainable Forestry. A summary of Sida's experiences and priorities* (Sida 1999b) it is clear that development cooperation within the forestry sector is primarily focused on poverty-based rural development, institution-building, capacity building, and research cooperation. It states that, “without people the concept of forestry is meaningless”. What this means is that it is the productive and sustainable use of forests that is of interest, since this can improve poor people's livelihoods. The linkages to improved livelihoods can be job opportunities, income, and food security, and also a variety of ecological functions. The paper states that forests provide people with a variety of useful resources such as food, medicines and paper, as well as other ecosystem services and social functions. Forests also have important cultural values and can be of importance for recreation purposes. Among the prioritised reform areas are the development of policies and supportive institutions, as well as capacity building and human resource development.

Unclear institutional circumstances and insecure rights are seen as contributing factors to unsustainable deforestation. The paper also highlights the issue of poverty traps, that poverty in itself may be a triggering factor causing unsustainable use, since poverty leads to short-term measures to meet immediate needs. It also emphasises the need for market incentives as well as human resource development in the form of education and research. Participation of various interest groups is here seen as an important element.

In the position paper *Sustainable Agriculture. A summary of Sida's experiences and priorities* (Sida 1999a) agricultural productivity is put at the forefront of poverty reduction and improved livelihoods. The specific aim is to “create preconditions for better living conditions and income for (primarily) poorer parts of the rural population. This is to be realised through sustainable and productive use of renewable natural resources with due consideration of the long term functioning of the ecosystems”.

How the ecosystems contribute to enhanced livelihoods more concretely is not specified in detail, and the various linkages are not dealt with to any extent. However, the causal links between environmental degradation and exacerbated poverty are touched upon, since the document states that degraded land results in food insecurity and poverty. Degradation is seen as caused by overgrazing, deforestation, and inappropriate agricultural practices – which by and large result from weak or non-

existent property rights, inadequate government policies, lack of access to markets and credit, outdated technologies, population pressure, and poverty in itself.

Malfunctioning property rights and tenure systems affect farmers' willingness to invest in long-term improvements. For these reasons, Sida has for many years prioritised tenure security and institutions most relevant to agriculture and rural development. Similarly, capacity building includes improving the capacity of governments to perform their functions, through building institutions and engaging in predictable and transparent policymaking and people-centred development. This involves training and skills development. Training and research is argued to have positive spill-over effects in terms of stimulating innovations and new technology. Yet the adoption of new technology is dependent on farmers' access to credit and finance. Reducing the cost of transport and thus improving poor people's access to markets is of crucial importance too. Finally, Sida also advocates a focus on biodiversity, including plant and animal genetic resources, which is seen as an input to enhanced productivity and profitability.

The position paper *Natural Resource Tenure* (Sida 2007b) is focused on the institutional arrangements through which people gain legitimate access to natural resources. It calls for reforms within this area. Reforms include technical as well as legal instruments, and may also include addressing overall governance structures and power relations.

The paper focuses on natural resource tenure, including the conditions under which people use natural resources and derive benefits from them. The paper states explicitly that poor people depend on natural resources for their livelihoods and shelter, and, as such, natural resource tenure is crucial for reducing poverty and achieving the MDGs. Increasing tenure security is seen as a way of enhancing investments, productivity, efficiency, and sustainability. This would increase food security and reduce poverty. In addition, it would also affect other components of human well-being; economic conditions as well as religious, political, and cultural values. Moreover, resource competition and weak tenure systems risk producing conflicts and political instability.

6.5 Summing up

The above sections reveal that Sida's policy documents discuss the linkages between poverty and the environment to a varying extent. Yet, when it is done, the conceptualizations capture many of the arguments found in the ideal type conceptualization. For example, in *Perspectives on Poverty* the environment is considered as a necessary component for poverty reduction. Poor people often depend directly on natural resources for their income, but linkages between environment and health and environment and security are recognised as well. Conceptualizations similar to the ideal conceptualization are also found in Sida's position papers and its specific sector policies, such as the strategy for water supply and sanitation, or the position paper on natural resource tenure (Sida 2004b; 2007b). Yet, other documents, for example, Sida's policy for environmentally sustainable development, do not specify in any detail the value-added of environmental aid in terms of its specific contribution to poverty reduction. When it comes to the suggested reforms, many of the conceptualizations in the ideal conceptualization reoccur. For example, similar to the global

norm, Sida suggests, among other things, that reforms should focus on institutional and legislative frameworks, capacity development, and on securing access to land and related natural resources.

The next chapter takes a closer look at the conceptualizations found among Sida personnel.

7 Conceptualizations among Sida personnel

This section gives an account of the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found among Sida personnel. Interviews were conducted at Sida HQ in Stockholm and at one of the Swedish embassies.⁶ Together these interviews serve the purpose of assessing to what extent the views expressed by these respondents correspond externally to the ideal type conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages. They also facilitate an analysis of the internal correspondence with the policy documents reviewed in the previous section as well as an analysis of the coherence between conceptualizations found among staff at different levels within Sida. The first section focuses on staff at Sida HQ, and the second on field personnel. Each section is structured similarly as in the ideal conceptualization described above, first with a focus on linkages and then on reforms.

7.1 Conceptualizations at Sida headquarters

7.1.1 Poverty-environment linkages

The complexities involved in classifying environmental aid was recognised by all respondents. None of the respondents were very clear on what environmental aid consisted of. Support to environmental administration in a country was without doubt seen as environmental aid, but whether issues such as energy was to be regarded more of an environmental issue than, for example, health was less obvious. In fact, even sectors seemingly further away from the environment were highlighted as potentially having significant environmental components. For example, although training of lawyers to deal with environmental issues was not seen as environmental aid per se, it was highlighted as perhaps being one of the most positive things you could do for the environment.

Looking closer at the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages, all respondents emphasised that poverty and the environment are closely interlinked and that the linkages are well-defined in Sida's work. The starting point was said to be that natural resources and the environment are a foundation and a prerequisite for poverty reduction. The environment was conceptualized as a starting point for further development and as an important factor for securing poor people's livelihoods. The respondents also referred to Sida's multidimensional poverty definition where they experienced that the connections between poverty and the environment were clearly expressed. In general, the respondents did not see Sida's work as focused on any intrinsic value of the environment but rather as an input in the general development

⁶ In total, five semi-structured interviews were conducted at Sida HQ in Stockholm. While the respondents covered a wide range of policy areas and belonged to different "pillars", there is a leaning towards the policy pillar. The interviews with field personnel were conducted at a Swedish embassy in one of the partner countries. The sample of respondents includes personnel explicitly engaged in environmental assistance as well as personnel from areas seemingly only remotely connected to the environment. In total, 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted. Of course, the answers given in 12 interviews are not representative for the entire organisation in a statistical sense. Yet, the conclusions drawn from semi-structured interviews do not build on a statistical logic. Instead, interviews aim at reaching so called theoretical saturation, which is possible to achieve even with a small number of interviews (McCracken 1988).

process, and as a provider of economic opportunity and security. The following quote illustrates this.

The environment is definitely an input in the long run since sustainably managed natural resources is good for poverty reduction and makes livelihoods more secure.

Much in line with the ideal conceptualization, the respondents expressed that Sida does not primarily work with the environment for the sake of the environment but rather because the environment is a development issue. Investments in the environment were seen as having multiplier effects in society. Such investments were seen as a source of positive outcomes in terms of economic opportunities and security, but linkages to health and education were also recognised. When it comes to health, it was expressed as follows:

The environment is without doubt a crucial health determinant. Everything from clean water to climate change has effects on health.

The statements above illustrates that the pathways between the environment and poverty reduction found in the ideal conceptualization – economic opportunity, security, health, and empowerment – can also be found among staff at Sida HQ. Still, it was highlighted that such linkages could and should be made even more explicit within the organisation:

It is important to identify how various issues such as gender equality, the environment, poverty etc link together. [...] In our backbone we know that these issues are prerequisites for further development. Yet, we do need to show the linkages explicitly. [...] We have to show the value added and the linkages.

Whether such positive linkages were broadly recognised in Sida's work or not was in fact seen as partly dependent on individual capacities, and there were mixed opinions as to whether or not a general awareness about the linkages between poverty and the environment exists within Sida. In addition, it was clearly recognised that some sectors might take the environment into consideration to a lesser extent than others, and that the do-no-harm approach still prevails in certain sectors. Yet, in general, the respondents concluded that the do-no-harm approach probably dominated before, but now has been replaced by a conceptualization focused on opportunities.

I can imagine that this was the case before: that the aim with environmental assessments was to avoid doing harm rather than an opportunity to assess poor people's ability to participate and have an influence.

In conclusion, the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found among staff at Sida HQ are by and large coherent with the linkages identified in the ideal conceptualization. Environment and health, environment and economic opportunity, environment and security, and environment and empowerment were all highlighted as central pathways between the environment and poverty reduction. As such, the interviews at Sida HQ reveal that the ideal conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages to a large extent, coherent with the conceptualization found among Sida personnel.

7.1.2 Reforms and responses

To reiterate, the reforms and responses found in the ideal conceptualization fall in the categories institutions and governance, economics and incentives, social and behavioural responses, technological responses, and knowledge and cognitive responses.

To start with, the respondents expressed the view that the reforms should be tailored to the specific country context in which they are employed. The needs and demands of the partner countries should thus be what ultimately guide interventions. When taking such considerations into account, however, the interviews reveal that institutions and governance responses were in many countries seen as central in order to manage natural resources more sustainably. On this note the respondents emphasized the need to strengthen legislation and enforcement frameworks. Yet, in order for such reforms to come about, and in order for the reforms to reach out to the broader population, the work of local NGO's and civil society in general was highlighted as being of crucial importance.

Reforms within the area of institutions and governance were also seen as closely linked to reforms focused on economics and incentives. In fact, as the following quote illustrates, in order for market incentives to work properly, there is a need to strengthen the surrounding institutional framework.

There should be interplay between markets and a well-functioning institutional framework. The market is a way to generate a surplus and make a living. The extent to which this is environmentally friendly in turn depends on the institutional framework. Yet, the development of markets clearly have the potential to create a dynamic economy and in that way a greater surplus that can be used for measures that are good for the environment.

A key to successful reforms within the environmental area was thus considered to be to get the incentives right. These incentives were in turn identified to exist at all levels in society, including carbon taxes at the global level to autonomy and control over community territories at the local level. In line with the ideal conceptualization, secure tenure and rights to resources were thus seen as important in order to encourage investments in sustainable natural resource management.

Following the ideal conceptualization, technological responses and reforms were voiced by several respondents. On the one hand, the respondents expressed a concern over the risk that rapid economic development might result in deteriorating stewardship of natural resources. But such an outcome was not seen as inevitable since development cooperation could facilitate leapfrogging where new technologies can help reduce poverty because it is of interest from an environmental perspective. That is, the introduction of for example efficient energy conservation, water management, and agricultural methods, could create conditions for general societal development and poverty reduction. More than introducing new technologies, however, several respondents emphasised the importance of also focusing on consumption patterns and potential changes in lifestyles. As such, the respondents clearly spoke to the concept of social and behavioural changes found in the ideal conceptualization.

Taken together, we have so far seen suggested reforms corresponding to the categories institutions and governance, economics and incentives, social and behavioural responses, and technological responses. When it comes to the remaining category in the ideal conceptualization – knowledge and cognitive responses – the respondents referred to this as having to do with the need to increase knowledge and capacity in the partner countries but also with the need to increase knowledge and awareness internally within Sida.

We need more people with competence within the area of environment and climate and we also need to raise the knowledge level generally. But we are working on this. A lot of embassies also need support. But it is also important to support the partner countries' environmental administration and to build capacities in partner countries.

The need for internal education was seen as a way to make mainstreaming work more efficiently. A central aspect here was considered to making the benefits of mainstreaming visible in terms of poverty reduction. More specifically, the respondents argued that it was important to refer the motivation behind mainstreaming not only to the environment but also to poverty reduction in general. This was basically seen as the only way in which specific sectors would realise that mainstreaming of the environment was beneficial – not only for the environment but for the specific sector and its goals as well. If such knowledge was not effectively communicated to all levels and sectors within Sida, the respondents expressed concerns that mainstreaming would only be “window dressing”.

There were also some concerns that the issue of how to integrate the environment into day-to-day work was not as evident after the re-organisation of Sida as it was before. However, while one respondent argued that the vertically defined networks hampered the work with mainstreaming issues, others argued that the networks facilitated dialogue between policy and operations and that the networks safeguarded that the work done within policy must be demanded and designed from operations and day-to-day work.

To summarise, the reforms and responses identified as crucial by staff at Sida HQ by and large correspond to the ideal conceptualization. Let us now turn to the conceptualizations found among field personnel.

7.2 Conceptualizations among field personnel

7.2.1 Poverty-environment linkages

To reiterate, the pathways between the environment and poverty reduction found in the ideal conceptualization are economic opportunity, security, health, and empowerment. To start with, among the respondents at one of the Swedish embassies, economic opportunity was strongly emphasised as being a crucial link between the environment and poverty reduction. Poor people were seen as having a close and important relationship with the environment, as many of them were seen as directly dependent on natural resources for their immediate survival. As well as this, natural resources were identified as often being the only source of economic income for the poor and many depend on the income generated from selling products

derived from natural resources. In this respect, the respondents emphasised the importance of having access to land as particularly important. One respondent expressed it as follows:

[...]the only way to lift someone out of poverty is to make sure that they have access to a resource like land or water. Because then they have some income; they can sell milk, or sell animals. But they have to have land. If not they go to the forest and cut trees to sell as firewood or charcoal, and that is destructive.

Poor people thus depend on land for livestock and farming. But land was also said to be important for reasons of security and shelter. In addition, lack of access to natural resources was seen as a source of crime and insecurity in terms of theft and robberies. Security aspects should not be underestimated, the respondents argued. As well as affecting the income or security of poor people, lack of natural resources or degraded ecosystems were also seen as having serious repercussions on people's health. Health status was in turn perceived to affect to what extent people prioritise conservation and sustainable use of natural resources.

As argued above, a starting point for the ideal conceptualization is that the environment is a fundamental input in the process of reducing poverty. While the field personnel clearly expressed that all activities within the environmental area had poverty reduction as an overriding goal and that conservation efforts were aimed at improving poor people's livelihoods, there were quite a few concerns over whether sectors not explicitly focusing on the environment shared this conceptualization. In fact, one respondent argued that minimising potentially harmful effects on the environment was the only way that the environment was integrated into his day-to-day work. In this example, and also in areas with no direct connection to the environment, the environment was not given a prioritised position, just seen as something that we should avoid harming.

People working in, for example, trade do not see the connection. It is not really being talked about. Sometimes you do environmental analyses, but how they feed in is usually not taken seriously. Yet, it should be an area of focus. At the end of the day, aspects of the environment should be a key mainstream but I do not think much has been happening. Now in the current, the environment could have been considered but there is no deliberate thinking about the linkages.

Several respondents do experience some problems when it comes to integrating an environmental perspective and linking poverty reduction to the environment in their day-to-day operations. All respondents were fairly aware of the requirements in policy and viewed the linkages between the environment and poverty reduction as crucially important. Yet, when it comes to implementation of the perspectives found in policy, it is always an issue of prioritisation:

The question is what is relevant and what is not relevant, and how much effort and attention we should give to cross-sector issues. There is clearly a risk that the environment becomes an add-on.

As well as being an issue of prioritisation, the conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages was also seen as a question of resources, capacity and competence. Some respondents simply questioned whether Sida had the appropriate organisational structures and resources to adequately integrate environmental issues. Whether the Swedish support is aware of the linkages between environment and poverty reduction was seen as dependent on the staff members' competence, interest and knowledge around that particular area.

Respondents argued that there is a risk that Sida is too compartmentalised and that the environment is generally treated as a stand-alone issue, despite policy efforts to integrate it across all sectors. Moreover, the guidelines from Stockholm were not seen as being very helpful, and lacking tool-kits on how to integrate the environment such integration risks becoming a mechanical task rather than something that is done from a conviction concerning the benefits that can be achieved in terms of poverty reduction. The respondents expressing more negative views did, however, to some extent, recognise that there could be potential win-wins, and that the environment could be an important input in poverty reduction. Yet, with no formal training on environmental issues, such linkages were hard to specify.

We are all good at our specific areas of competence, but then a lot of other perspectives are supposed to be integrated. Of course, this is important but I guess we all would benefit from more discussions on these issues. Mainstreaming might not work simply because we do not have enough competence.

The respondents at the Swedish embassy to a large extent conceptualized the linkages between poverty and the environment in line with the ideal conceptualization, and recognised linkages between the environment and issues such as economic opportunity, security, health, and empowerment. Yet some serious concerns were raised when it comes to the general awareness and competence as regards integrating an environmental perspective and linking poverty reduction to the environment in the day-to-day operations.

7.2.2 Reforms and responses

To start with, the respondents at the embassy identified reforms focused at governance and leadership as key areas. However, several respondents argued that in order to affect leadership, it is important to improve participation, people's involvement and their knowledge. Poor people need policies that give them a better understanding of poverty-environment linkages but also policies that specify their roles and responsibilities and help them to hold the government accountable. Hence it is important to empower poor people, especially women.

You must empower them. Start with capacity building, training, and advocating for policies they prefer. That is the best civil society can do; working with communities, training them, empowering them, supplying credit, and working on accountability.

Governments have the ultimate responsibility to have effective controls in place, but it is also seen as important to find entry points for reforms outside central government and to work with communities and civil society in order to make them hold the

government accountable, the respondents argued. As such, there is a need to work with capacity development throughout a broad range of stakeholders, the respondents argued. Implementing regional commitments down to the national level and then to the community level was, for example, identified as a key challenge, and education on poverty-environment linkages was put forward as a crucial aspect in order to make this happen.

What is missing in the communities is that they do not understand the relationship between poverty and the environment. The knowledge base is not there.

In addition to increasing knowledge through education, the respondents also expressed the importance of legislative reforms in order to strengthen the understanding of the linkages between poverty and the environment. One piece of legislation emphasised as particularly important was land legislation – as well as the incentives that follow from such legislation. The respondents argued that if people are not certain to reap the rewards of their efforts, they will be less likely to invest in improvements and long term management of land and natural resources. Developing land legislation would also be a way for poor people to be able to use the land as collateral and thereby accessing credit.

Technological responses were also brought up by one of the respondents, arguing that Sida supports the development of alternative production methods and techniques. Implementing such techniques would benefit farmers since it increases the yield from agriculture, but it would also be good for the environment as it hampers soil erosion.

In addition to alternative production techniques, the respondents also expressed the need for developing alternative sources of income. The lack of alternative sources of income may primarily have to do with lack of knowledge concerning what alternatives there are to overusing environmental resources. In this line of reasoning, people notice that environmental degradation affects their livelihood opportunities – and they understand the causes – but they simply have no alternatives. Hence poor people usually do not have a choice but to harvest what nature can give – even though it may be destructive in the long run.

It is therefore important to work with diversifying livelihoods, and in this process the private sector was put forward to play an important role as the development of markets for community products would improve poor people's income opportunities and livelihoods. Access to markets was identified as one of the key issues in order to make poor people reap the rewards from long-term management of natural resources. If markets were closer to the people, they could earn more money as a number of middlemen would be cut out.

Given the reliance of poor people on the environment, it is also important to improve education and information concerning how productivity can be increased, the respondents argued. Reforms should therefore focus on raising poor people's awareness. But the respondents also highlighted the importance of strengthening Sida's competence internally, especially on how to mainstream cross-cutting issues.

The respondents expressed that successful mainstreaming requires workshops and training in order to increase awareness of why mainstreaming is important.

In conclusion, the reforms and responses suggested by the respondents at one of the Swedish embassies to a large extent correspond to the reforms and responses suggested by respondents at Sida HQ, and hence also to the reforms and responses advocated by the ideal type conceptualization.

8 Conclusions and recommendations

The reason for this evaluation's focus on poverty-environment linkages has been that lack of success when it comes to integrating the environment in development cooperation can be traced back to a lack of agreement between key actors on how to conceptualize these linkages. For that reason, the above investigation focused on the coherence of Sida's conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages – both externally to a ideal type conceptualization, and internally through an analysis of conceptualizations at different levels within Sida.

The assessment of coherence of the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found within Sida implicitly serves as a test of whether lack of coherence is a plausible explanation to why mainstreaming fails. Yet, looking at the results, such an explanation does not seem to hold true. To start with, the quantitative analysis based on data obtained from OECD Creditor Reporting System shows that a large share of Swedish aid has the environment as either a significant or principal policy objective. This share is much larger than among other OECD donors. In addition, and importantly, there have been considerable changes in Swedish aid between 2001 and 2006. While “traditional” environmental sectors quite naturally dominate among the sectors having the environment as either a significant or principal policy objective in both years, more “non-traditional” environmental sectors (such as industry, construction, health, trade policy and regulation) get a “policy flag” for having the environment as an objective in 2006 than in 2001. The quantitative investigation thus answers affirmatively to the question of whether the conceptual shift emphasising that a large share of aid should have an environmental focus and that more sectors than the “traditional” environmental sectors should have the environment as a policy objective has penetrated Swedish development cooperation. An important caveat here, however, is that the quality of the data can be questioned.

Moving on to the analysis of Sida's policy documents, this analysis also indicates that the conceptualization of poverty-environment linkages to a large extent is coherent with the ideal conceptualization. Interviews with staff at Sida HQ reveal that the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found among staff at Sida HQ by and large are coherent with the linkages identified in the ideal conceptualization. Similarly, the interviews with field personnel at one of the Swedish embassies demonstrate far-reaching coherence. The interviews at Sida HQ and at a Swedish embassy thus show conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found at Sida to a large extent are coherent with the ideal conceptualization. However, the respondents expressed some concerns over whether the awareness of the linkages between the environment and poverty reduction – as articulated in for example the *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment* – truly was common knowledge throughout the organisation. For example, the respondents identified a risk that sectors not explicitly involved in environmental work still tended to fall back on a do-no-harm approach where the

environment was considered an add-on rather than as an integral part of their work towards poverty reduction. However, taken together:

- The overall conclusion is that Sida, to a large extent, conceptualizes poverty-environment linkages in coherence with the “global norm” of how such linkages ought to be conceptualized.
- The hypothesised explanation for why mainstreaming may be problematic put forward in previous evaluations – i.e. lack of conceptual clarity when it comes to how the environment contributes to poverty reduction – hence does not seem to hold true.

Given the results from this evaluation, there is no clear-cut justification for blaming poor performance of mainstreaming of the environment on lack of conceptual clarity or diverging views on how the environment contributes to poverty reduction. This conclusion can be contrasted to the critique articulated by an external evaluation from 2006 of Sida’s mainstreaming of the environment. The work conducted by Sida as a response to the 2006 evaluation thus seems to have had a positive effect. Yet, while environmental issues to a large extent seem to have proven their value added in terms of poverty reduction, the results from this evaluation indicate that the linkages between poverty and the environment in fact must be communicated and followed up even more strongly throughout the organisation and in the day-to-day operations. In this conclusion SADEV supports the 2006 evaluation.

- SADEV identifies a risk that sectors and personnel not explicitly involved in environmental work tend to employ a do-no-harm approach where the environment is considered as an add-on rather than as a crucial input and integral part of the fight against poverty.
- There is clearly room for improvement when it comes to making sectors and personnel not explicitly focused on environmental issues recognise the poverty-environment linkages expressed in the ideal conceptualization.
- This in turn requires that analysis and assessment of poverty-environment linkages truly become an integral part of Sida’s day-to-day operations – from poverty analysis at the country level, through preparations of collaboration, to follow up and reporting of results.
- There must also be a continuous focus and clear signals from the top management on mainstreaming of the environment in general and on making the results from mainstreaming of the environment explicit in particular.

Although the conceptualizations of poverty-environment linkages found at Sida to a large extent correspond to the ideal conceptualization, the awareness of the ways in which the environment potentially contributes to poverty reduction could be raised even further. In order to make the environment fully embedded in daily routines, this awareness should in turn be reflected in central guiding documents and in functional management routines and requirements. *Sida at Work* is for example presently being revised, and although the conclusions from this evaluation are predominantly positive, it is of crucial importance that the linkages between poverty and the environment are fully recognised. Proving and commu-

nicating the environment's value added in terms of poverty reduction thus remains a pedagogical, organisational and methodological challenge demanding strong leadership, clear routines and adequate tools as well as continuous training and capacity development throughout the organisation.

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Appendix

Table 1

Sector/environment as policy objective	Sweden 2001				Sweden 2006							
	Not screened	Not targeted	Significant objective	Principal objective	Not screened	Change	Not targeted	Change	Significant objective	Change	Principal objective	Change
Education, level unspecified	0.0%	73.2%	26.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0	13.5%	-59.7	60.1%	+33.3	26.4%	+26.4
	0	4.72	1.728	0	0		9.511		42.28		18.56	
Basic education	0.6%	50.4%	49.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-0.6	32.1%	-18.2	67.9%	+18.8	0.0%	0.0
	0.063	5.054	4.92	0	0		13.074		27.605		0	
Secondary Education	0.0%	11.1%	88.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0	38.5%	+27.4	51.9%	-37.0	9.6%	+9.6
	0	0.003	0.024	0	0		2.275		3.072		0.568	
Post-secondary education	0.0%	24.3%	49.4%	26.3%	0.0%	0.0	62.0%	+37.7	38.0%	-11.4	0.0%	-26.3
	0	0.477	0.969	0.517	0		2.681		1.642		0	
Health, general	0.0%	89.5%	10.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0	31.3%	-58.2	68.6%	+58.0	0.1%	0.1
	0	19.036	1.89	0	0		19.346		42.393		0.088	
Basic health	0.0%	92.5%	4.0%	3.6%	0.0%	0.0	92.2%	-0.3	5.7%	+1.7	2.1%	-1.4
	0	10.353	0.444	0.401	0		84.253		5.174		1.958	
Population policies/programmes and reproductive health	0.0%	97.3%	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0	59.4%	-37.9	40.6%	+37.9	0.0%	0.0
	0	15.411	0.423	0	0		57.65		39.418		0	
Water supply and sanitation	0.0%	0.1%	57.2%	42.7%	0.0%	0.0	0.5%	+0.4	44.0%	-13.2	55.5%	+12.8
	0	0.015	10.494	7.823	0		0.318		27.713		34.935	
Government and civil society, general	0.1%	78.8%	20.2%	1.0%	0.0%	-0.1	61.7%	-17.1	35.6%	+15.4	2.7%	+1.8
	.029	37.669	9.674	0.455	0		281.588		162.528		12.414	
Conflict prevention and resolution, peace and security	0.0%	68.0%	26.4%	5.6%	0.0%	0.0	38.4%	-29.6	56.9%	+30.4	4.7%	-0.9
	0	2.462	0.958	0.203	0		20.955		31.062		2.59	

Sector/environment as policy objective	Sweden 2001				Sweden 2006							
	Not screened	Not targeted	Significant objective	Principal objective	Not screened	Change	Not targeted	Change	Significant objective	Change	Principal objective	Change
Other social infrastructure and services	0.0%	54.4%	44.3%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0	62.5%	+8.0	34.8%	-9.6	2.8%	+1.5
	0	9.279	7.556	0.215	0		54.197		30.157		2.426	
Transport and storage	0.0%	45.0%	53.7%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0	11.5%	-33.5	85.6%	+31.9	2.9%	+1.6
	0	6.197	7.384	0.175	0		3.767		27.92		0.948	
Communications	1.0%	93.3%	5.7%	0.0%	0.0%	-1.0	66.2%	-27.1	33.1%	+27.4	0.8%	+0.8
	0.036	3.278	0.2	0	0		5.596		2.796		0.065	
Energy generation and supply	0.0%	22.9%	72.8%	4.3%	0.0%	0.0	3.8%	-19.1	74.1%	+1.3	22.1%	+17.8
	0	6.958	22.128	1.317	0		1.973		38.894		11.623	
Banking and financial services	0.0%	75.7%	22.4%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0	53.0%	-22.8	27.9%	+5.5	19.1%	+17.3
	0	7.728	2.286	0.189	0		7.608		4.001		2.748	
Business and other services	0.0%	43.5%	50.7%	5.8%	0.0%	0.0	39.0%	-4.5	46.6%	-4.2	14.4%	+8.7
	0	3.093	3.607	0.409	0		11.95		14.266		4.428	
Agriculture	0.1%	1.3%	12.4%	86.2%	0.0%	-0.1	1.0%	-0.2	65.8%	+53.4	33.2%	-53.0
	0.016	0.19	1.88	13.078	0		0.873		56.132		28.339	
Forestry	2.9%	49.0%	2.6%	45.5%	0.0%	-2.9	0.0%	-49	39.7%	+37.2	60.3%	+14.7
	0.124	2.127	0.112	1.975	0		0		3.578		5.427	
Fishing	0.0%	0.3%	9.0%	90.6%	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	-0.3	9.1%	+0.1	90.9%	+0.3
	0	0.01	0.261	2.619	0		0		0.678		6.787	
Industry	11.3%	87.8%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	-11.3	19.9%	-67.9	79.7%	+78.8	0.4%	+0.4
	0.651	5.044	0.052	0	0		6.726		26.974		0.137	
Mineral resources and mining	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	-	100.0%	-
	-	-	-	-	0		0		0		0.212	
Construction	0.0%	79.2%	0.0%	20.8%	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	-79.2	73.4%	+73.4	26.6%	+5.8
	0	0.019	0	0.005	0		0		0.38		0.138	
Trade policy and regulations	37.8%	59.2%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0	65.8%	+6.6	20.2%	+17.2	14.0%	+14.0
	0.651	1.018	0.052	0	0		11.727		3.604		2.504	
Tourism	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	-	100.0%	-	0.0%	-
	-	-	-	-	0		0		0.195		0	
General environmental protection	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	0.0	100.0%	+0.0
	0	0	0	8.548	0		0		0		81.216	

Sector/environment as policy objective	Sweden 2001				Sweden 2006							
	Not screened	Not targeted	Significant objective	Principal objective	Not screened	Change	Not targeted	Change	Significant objective	Change	Principal objective	Change
Other	2.4%	26.0%	47.3%	24.4%	0.0%	-2.4	14.6%	-11.4	56.5%	+9.2	28.9%	+4.6
	0.542	5.9	10.742	5.537	0		21.445		83.254		42.629	
General budget support	0.0%	78.0%	8.9%	13.1%	0.0%	0.0	68.7%	-9.4	31.3%	+22.4	0.0%	-13.1
	0	13.838	1.574	2.321	0		80.29		36.619		0	
Developmental food aid/food security assistance	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	100.0%	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	-
	-	-	-	-	0		4.069		0		0	
Action related to debt	-	-	-	-	100.0%	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	-
	-	-	-	-	292.373		0		0		0	
Other emergency and distress relief	0.0%	53.6%	43.6%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0	33.0%	-20.5	65.9%	+22.3	1.1%	-1.7
	0.02	33.035	26.91	1.702	0		85.931		171.41		2.812	
Reconstruction relief	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	6.0%	-	93.6%	-	0.4%	-
	-	-	-	-			2.207		34.512		0.163	
Administrative costs of donors	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	99.0%	+99.0	1.0%	+1.0	0.0%	-100	0.0%	0.0
	0	0	0.317	0	172.948		1.754		0.068		0	
Support to NGOs	-0.6%	41.6%	59.1%	0.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-0.406	27.145	38.558	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unallocated/unspecified	23.3%	36.0%	29.3%	11.4	68.8%	+45.5	19.4%	-16.6	11.2%	-18.1	0.6%	-10.9
	162.298	250.579	203.982	79.687	139.104		39.24		22.618		1.15	

Table 2

Sector/environment as policy objective	OECD 2006				Sweden 2006							
	Not screened	Not targeted	Significant objective	Principal objective	Not screened	Diff.	Not targeted	Diff.	Significant objective	Diff.	Principal objective	Diff.
Education, level unspecified	48.6%	48.7%	2.4%	0.2%	0.0%	-48.6	13.5%	-35.2	60.1%	+57.7	26.4%	+26.2
	428.136	428.997	21.462	1.668	0		9.511		42.28		18.56	
Basic education	24.3%	73.7%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-24.3	32.1%	-41.5	67.9%	+65.9	0.0%	0.0
	434.098	1316.718	35.647	0.845	0		13.074		27.605		0	
Secondary Education	36.8%	58.0%	5.1%	0.1%	0.0%	-36.8	38.5%	-19.5	51.9%	+46.9	9.6%	+9.5
	175.035	275.657	24.145	0.473	0		2.275		3.072		0.568	
Post-secondary education	81.5%	17.2%	1.0%	0.3%	0.0%	-81.5	62.0%	+44.8	38.0%	+37.0	0.0%	-0.3
	2687.010	567.740	31.969	10.980	0		2.681		1.642		0	
Health, general	41.7%	55.8%	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%	-41.7	31.3%	-24.5	68.6%	+66.1	0.1%	+0.1
	608.467	814.446	35.794	0.212	0		19.346		42.393		0.088	
Basic health	57.8%	39.7%	2.3%	0.1%	0.0%	-57.8	92.2%	+52.4	5.7%	+3.4	2.1%	+2.0
	1203.695	827.025	47.019	2.995	0		84.253		5.174		1.958	
Population policies/programmes and reproductive health	77.8%	21.6%	0.4%	0.1%	0.0%	-77.8	59.4%	+37.7	40.6%	+40.2	0.0%	-0.1
	2581.452	717.710	12.242	4.565	0		57.65		39.418		0	
Water supply and sanitation	38.4%	18.4%	15.8%	27.4%	0.0%	-38.4	0.5%	-17.9	44.0%	+28.2	55.5%	+28.1
	1051.950	504.585	433.104	751.538	0		0.318		27.713		34.935	
Government and civil society, general	45.0%	47.2%	6.8%	1.0%	0.0%	-45.0	61.7%	+14.5	35.6%	+28.8	2.7%	+1.7
	2486.940	2606.521	376.974	54.384	0		281.588		162.528		12.414	
Conflict prevention and resolution, peace and security	63.1%	34.8%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-63.1	38.4%	+3.6	56.9%	+54.9	4.7%	+4.7
	1055.348	581.598	33.936	0.330	0		20.955		31.062		2.59	
Other social infrastructure and services	68.7%	27.9%	3.1%	0.4%	0.0%	-68.7	62.5%	+34.6	34.8%	+31.7	2.8%	+2.4
	2007.128	814.899	90.500	10.997	0		54.197		30.157		2.426	
Transport and storage	40.2%	40.2%	18.9%	0.6%	0.0%	-40.2	11.5%	-28.7	85.6%	+66.7	2.9%	+2.3
	1249.501	1249.501	586.627	19.009	0		3.767		27.92		0.948	
Communications	56.2%	40.0%	3.7%	0.1%	0.0%	-56.2	66.2%	+26.1	33.1%	+29.4	0.8%	+0.7
	175.304	124.940	11.468	0.299	0		5.596		2.796		0.065	
Energy generation and supply	48.9%	25.5%	19.5%	6.0%	0.0%	-48.9	3.8%	-21.8	74.1%	+54.6	22.1%	+16.1
	1446.294	754.381	576.985	178.741	0		1.973		38.894		11.623	

Sector/environment as policy objective	OECD 2006				Sweden 2006							
	Not screened	Not targeted	Significant objective	Principal objective	Not screened	Diff.	Not targeted	Diff.	Significant objective	Diff.	Principal objective	Diff.
Action related to debt	77.3%	22.4%	0.3%	0.0%	100.0%	+22.7	0.0%	-22.4	0.0%	-0.3	0.0%	0.0
	16056.330	4649.699	59.572	5.859	292.373		0		0		0	
Other emergency and distress relief	63.6%	35.5%	0.7%	0.1%	0.0%	-63.6	33.0%	-2.5	65.9%	+65.2	1.1%	+0.9
	3591.661	2005.337	40.819	7.731	0		85.931		171.41		2.812	
Reconstruction relief	39.1%	55.9%	3.8%	1.2%	0.0%	-39.1	6.0%	-49.9	93.6%	+89.8	0.4%	-0.8
	289.955	414.790	27.947	9.107			2.207		34.512		0.163	
Disaster prevention and preparation	57.1%	14.9%	24.9%	3.1%								
	14.398	3.766	6.269	0.794								
Administrative costs of donors	65.7%	34.3%	0.1%	0.0%	99.0%	+33.3	1.0%	-33.3	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	0.0
	1635.248	853.497	1.300	0.251	172.948		1.754		0.068		0	
Support to NGOs	23.9%	74.7%	1.2%	0.2%			0					
	328.150	1025.570	16.449	3.053			0					
Refugees in donor countries	84.7%	15.3%	0.0%	0.0%								
	1235.831	223.342	0.000	0.000								
Unallocated/unspecified	86.3%	12.9%	0.6%	0.1%	68.8%	-17.5	19.4%	+6.5	11.2%	+10.6	0.6%	+0.5
	2251.000	337.221	15.925	2.804	139.104		39.24		22.618		1.15	

