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Gender Equality in Finnish Official Development Assistance (ODA) Policies

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ABSTRACT

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Finnish development cooperation applies the Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) to challenge gender power relations in their projects conducted by an NGO, *The Trade Union Solidarity Centre of Finland (SASK)*, in Indonesia. When following this paradigm, SASK expects to see some tangible results. This case study is based on documentary research as well as interviews and observation during a 2-week field trip in Indonesia. Documentary research included academic journal articles, government publications, and NGO reports. Interviewees included Indonesian beneficiaries, trade union members, as well as employers. This research also analyses whether the projects follow Women in Development (WID) or Gender and Development (GAD) paradigm. The Human Rights-Based Approach is likely to have some positive impact in terms of challenging power relations, which is also the main element of GAD. There is still work to be done to understand HRBA for both recipients and donors fully. The results from the field trip suggest that the projects end up with WID. The projects fail to challenge power relations, women and men are not treated equally or activities are organized to women only. HRBA has the potential to challenge gender power relations when understood and used correctly. More training about HRBA should be offered to both the Foreign Ministry's and NGO's staff. Gender equality friendly budget should be extended to all projects instead of only one project in which beneficiaries are all women.

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Introduction

Since the mid-1990s, all Official Development Assistance (ODA) projects funded by Finland have promoted human rights. "The Finnish Development Policy Program of 2012 explicitly articulates a Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) to development presupposing systematic efforts to screen all Finland's development policy and practice through human rights" (Katsui et al., 2014, p. 5). HRBA means that human rights principles guide the development cooperation processes and work as a basis for composing the objectives for development policy (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2015). "When a human rights-based approach is taken seriously, the inclusion of disadvantaged groups does not depend only on individual interests but is ensured with clear mechanisms to be applied in all activities within an enabling environment" (Katsui et al., 2014, p. 65).

In addition to special gender programs, Finnish development co-operation aims to consider gender in their development policies, covering various sectors. "Gender equality is a long-standing priority for the Finnish development policy. Finland has pioneered in promoting the rights of all women and girls and gender equality, and the matter continues to be a significant objective of development policy" (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2015). Finland claims that promoting the rights of women and girls is the number one objective of their ODA policy. As SASK is mostly financed (74%) by Finland's development cooperation funds, they are intended to follow the same policy.

The Finnish trade union movement got some international support and solidarity in the early years. And now, when the labor unions in Finland are perhaps the strongest in the world, they want to offer support and solidarity to the unions in the developing countries. The Trade Union Solidarity Centre of Finland (SASK) is the only development cooperation organization in Finland, concentrating on the worker's rights. According to SASK, the most sustainable way to erase poverty and inequality is decent work and living wages, which means that everyone can support their family by the salary they earn and have the right to safe and humane working conditions (SASK, 2019).

This research relies on qualitative documentary research methods. Documentary research was made to get a clearer picture of the policies and expectations. Official documents can be used as 'unproblematic statements' when finding out how things are or used to be (Knight, 2002, p. 104). This research analyses how gender equality and HRBA are emphasized in the projects. Gender equality is including women and girls in the agendas of the projects and aiming to challenge the power relations between genders, where women traditionally have less influence.

Documentary research went through the data related to the topic and found out whether or not they address power relations and how. From a rights-based approach, the documentary research concentrated on finding out how the projects propose to ensure, for example, participation or whether the people involved have opportunities to influence the formulation of problems, planning, implementation, and follow up. In other words, are the people involved with the project having active and meaningful participation?

Documentary research alone could provide incomplete answers. Documents are not objective because they often carry an official male voice (Knight, 2002, p. 118). Therefore, this research also included observations and discussions with Indonesians. The informants included stakeholders such as workers, union members, and employers in Indonesia. The objective of the observation and discussions is to supplement the documentary research.

This study sought an answer to a research question: " Has HRBA contributed anything to gender relations changes, and, if not, how the failure occurs? The field trip encounters suggest that HRBA has the potential to challenge gender power relations if understood and used correctly. However, the observation also found that there is still a lot of room for improvement. This article will first take a look at the essence of the Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA). Then the research will move into the history of women in development and gender power relations. Later this paper will analyze the Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) contribution to change gender power relations. At the end of the article, the findings from Indonesia's field trip will be presented more in detail. The examples from Indonesia suggest that women and men are not treated equally and separate activities are organized to women only, meaning that they fail to challenge power relations and thus ending up with

WID paradigm. This article finishes with conclusions and recommendations.

Research Methods

This case study is based on documentary research as well as interviews and observation during a 2-week field trip in Indonesia. Documentary research included policy documents, academic work, such as studies about ODA, HRBA, WID and GAD, as well as reports from the civil society groups. During the 2-week field trip, the data was collected via 8 interviews. The gender ratio of the informants was 50 / 50. All perspectives were intended to include in the research and this was also considered in the sampling. Discussions and interviews were conducted with Indonesian workers, employers, union representatives and SASK staff. All the encounters with the informants were executed at the work sites such as hospital, clinic, factory, union house, power plant, supermarket and so forth. This method enabled also observing the workplace in general, in addition to having the results from the interviews.

Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA)

Human rights have a moral origin. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights," but in reality, not everybody has equal opportunities in life. Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) is about ensuring that everyone has a better chance of getting equal opportunities. HRBA is a way of involving people as active participants in the development projects, instead of being a passive recipient of development assistance (Grambye, 2016). HRBA consists of five principles: participation, transparency, accountability, good governance and equality, and non-discrimination. In the field of development cooperation, accountability, participation, and equality and non-discrimination are operationally more relevant than, for example, indivisibility (Broberg & Sano, 2018). HRBA redresses discriminating practices and unjust distributions of power, this is the most obvious link to GAD, which objective is to challenge the gender power relations. As long as women are in a "traditional" gender role, their needs

will have to be also recognized in development co-operation. “Practical gender needs relate to women’s daily needs in caring for themselves and their children, whereas strategic gender interests relate to the task of changing gender relations and challenge women’s subordinate position” (Parpart et al., 2000). It could be said that following WID only satisfies the practical gender needs, such as food, shelter, water and so forth. In order to fulfill also the strategic gender needs, i.e. land, inheritance and political participation, it would be necessary to use GAD paradigm.

Until the 1980s–1990s, development cooperation did not consider human rights. The end of the Cold War made it possible to demand accountability from the governments and take steps towards democracy and good governance. During that time, it was realized that economic growth is not enough for development, but it is necessary to include human rights to create a more holistic approach (Uvin, 2010). The human rights-based approach did not appear from thin air but was evolved from earlier paradigms. Right to Development Resolution (United Nations General Assembly, 1986) by the UN General Assembly brought human rights and development together for the first time.

The right to development is an inalienable human right by which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural, and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized (United Nations General Assembly, 1986).

Right to Development is not a treaty but a resolution without binding force. It could be seen that these kinds of resolutions are not effective, but Uvin (2010, p. 599) argues that "even in the absence of enforcement mechanisms, international law does matter by affecting actors' perceptions, calculations, reputations, and norms." In other words, even if the impacts of such resolutions might be minor in the beginning, when more time passes, the impacts could be seen.

During the 1990s, human rights were also linked to good governance. The UN system and some bilateral donors such as the World Bank adjusted their terminology and included human rights as a part of good governance (Uvin, 2010). United Nations human rights office of

the high commissioner describes the linkage as the followings:

Good governance and human rights are mutually reinforcing. Human rights principles provide a set of values to guide the work of governments and other political and social actors. They also provide a set of performance standards against which these actors can be held accountable. Moreover, human rights principles inform the content of good governance efforts: they may inform the development of legislative frameworks, policies, programs, budgetary allocations, and other measures (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights[OHCHR], 2007, p.1).

Another paradigm that has impacted the birth of the human rights-based approach is Development as Freedom. Probably the most famous scholar linking development and freedom is Amartya Sen. Sen won the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1998 with his book *Development as Freedom*. Sen argues that economic poverty and cultural authoritarianism, social deprivation, and political tyranny make millions of people "unfree citizens." Sen also claims that lack of freedom is correlated to the state of poverty, and development is not only about basic income but also about the opportunity to freedom (Sandbrook, 2000; Sen, 1999).

In 2003, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), among other UN agencies, adopted the UN Common Understanding on a Human-Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) to Development Cooperation, concentrating on those who are most excluded, marginalized, or discriminated against. "This often requires an analysis of gender norms, different forms of discrimination, and power imbalances to ensure that interventions reach the most marginalized segments of the population" (United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA], 2017, p. 1). According to Uvin (2010), HRBA is about duties, claims, and mechanisms. In terms of accountability, the focus must move from needs to rights and from charity to duties. Mechanisms to hold rights violators accountable must exist, or there is no ground for claims. Uvin (2010, p. 603) reminds that "many forms of social counter-power, administrative mechanisms, open discussion, and shared ideological constraints can act as mechanisms of accountability," besides legal remedies. HRBA to development claims that all the projects funded by development aid should be

transparent, accountable, participatory, and include equality in decision-making processes and sharing the results of the projects (Sengupta, 2000, pp. 21-22).

According to Cornwall and Nyamu-Musembi (2004), there are some different interpretations of the shortcomings and strengths of HRBA. Some argue that HRBA is nothing but old wine in a new bottle and is merely fashionable to include it in the development agendas without concrete implications.

For some, the grounding of HRBA in human rights legislation makes them distinctively different to others, lending the promise of re-politicizing areas of development work—particularly, perhaps, efforts to enhance participation in development, that have become domesticated as they have been 'mainstreamed' by powerful institutions like the World Bank (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2006, p. 1).

According to scholar Schmitz (2012), "Human rights-based approaches (HRBAs) promise greater alignment of development efforts with universal norms, as well as a focus on the root causes of poverty." However, Schmitz (2012) claims that there is not enough evidence about the impacts of using HRBA in development, and the evaluation is made challenging because different actors hold different understandings of how HRBA should be adopted in the field of development. Not only Schmitz (2012) but also Kindornay et al. (2012) demand for evidence about the impacts of applying HRBA to development. In the search for evidence, Gauri and Gloppen (2012) suggest dividing HRBA into four categories; "global compliance based on international and regional treaties; human rights-based programming on the part of donors and governments, rights talk, and legal mobilization." Gauri and Gloppen (2012) claim that to review the benefits and limitations, and risks, it is beneficial to divide the approach into the categories presented above.

Even though everyone is not convinced about the rights-based approach's effectiveness, HRBA could be seen as more powerful than, for example, the human security framework. "Under HRBA, the plans, policies, and processes of development are anchored in a system of rights and corresponding obligations established by international law" (UN, 2017).

HRBA has a basis in international law, which gives a mechanism to hold parties accountable for their actions. When using HRBA, the programs and the policies in the development field are planned, the main goal should be to fulfill human rights. And further, "HRBA identifies rights holders and their entitlements and corresponding duty-bearers and their obligations, and works towards strengthening the capacities of rights-holders to make their claims and of duty-bearers to meet their obligations" (OHCHR, 2006). In addition to matters mentioned above, HRBA could also be rationalized because "it is the right thing to do" as well as "it leads to better and more sustainable human development outcome" (OHCHR, 2006). The former is called intrinsic rationale and the latter instrumental. One of the objectives of HRBA is to learn from good development practices and strengthen parameters for their proper implementation (OHCHR, 2006).

Even if the guidance to use HRBA in the development cooperation has its foundation in the Finnish Constitution. A case study by Katsui et al. (2014, p. 5) found that "HRBA has not been largely operationalized" in the practice of the Finnish Ministry of Foreign affairs. However, the researchers had observed that severe effort, especially on the policy level, has been noted. The study by Katsui et al. (2014) underlines that even if gender equality and reduction of inequalities lie at the core of Finnish development cooperation's objectives. When it comes to the activities funded by Finnish ODA, many girls, women, and persons with disabilities are excluded; yet the projects are precisely targeting them. HRBA was not operationalized at the projects in question because it lacked an understanding of the very concept itself. Both duty bearers, as well as rights holders, did not hold knowledge about HRBA. Also, the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not have enough expertise and "the absence of binding and systematic mechanisms, the shortage of expertise and experts, and the emphasis on cost-effectiveness in measuring results of initiatives" (Katsui et al., 2014, p. 5) was reported as major problems.

The history of women in development and gender power relations

"Gender equality, respect for human rights, and environmental sustainability are

cornerstones for achieving enduring impact on the lives and potential of poor women, men and children" (KARAT Coalition, 2010). Regardless of the international community's various commitments, women more likely lack the opportunity for education, are more likely the victims of violence and are worst affected by poverty. Women were not considered through their productive roles in the development cooperation before the 1970s but were only seen as mothers and wives. This was called the "welfare approach" as the projects concentrated on nutrition and health advice, as well as food aid (Momsen, 2004; Willis, 2005). "The development paradigm at the time promoted economic growth and democracy and believed that trickle-down effects would benefit the rest of society" (Zwart 1992 in Bennet, 2013, p. 24). During the 1970s, two theories and practices were introduced in the field of development: Women in/and Development (WID and WAD). European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE, 2017, p. 1) defines the WID approach as follows: "Women in development (WID) is an approach that calls for greater attention to women in development policy and practice, and emphasizes the need to integrate them into the development process."

WID movement was born in the aftermath of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, which was held in 1975 in Mexico City. Also, the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) had an impact during that time by promoting employment and educational opportunities for women as well as equality in social and political participation. UN Decade for Women also aimed to extend the welfare and health services (Razavi & Miller, 1995, p. 2). According to Ronkainen (2014), Esther Boserup's book "Woman's Role in Economic Development" also impacted the generation of the WID paradigm. WID approach promised that women could rise from poverty by increasing their income through advancing their economic skills. However, the other role of women as care-givers was not recognized, and therefore these types of programs were not highly successful (Bennet, 2013, p. 24). Razavi & Miller (1995, p.1) underline that the WID paradigm was not "gender-aware," and it was not considering the interrelations between women and men. Neither takes into account the "social connectedness" or "togetherness" of wife and husband.

Women and Development (WAD), on the other hand, was impacted by Karl Marx's ideas of class divisions, claiming that "men, as well as women, were disempowered during the development process" (Rathgeber, 1990; Momsen 2010 in Bennet, 2013, p. 24). Momsen (2004,

p. 14) also draws the line between WAD and the dependency theory and argues that the "Women and Development approach focuses specifically on the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism." WAD could be seen as another version of WID only "introducing a broader framework which acknowledges the structural and political barriers to women's participation in development" (Momsen, 2004, p. 14). However, WID fails to tackle the inequalities between genders and the root causes that enable the inequity.

Whereas WID and WAD focus on the project specifically designed for women, Gender and Development (GAD) that emerged in the 1980s addresses women differently:

Mainstreaming women/gender at the program and policy level, and more significantly, from reliance on top-down planning to a growing emphasis on "bottom-up" or "participatory" development strategies signifying the growing politicization of the development agenda (Razavi & Miller, 1995, p. 1).

With the GAD paradigm, the weight was put on the power relations between women and men (Bennet, 2013, p. 24). Unlike the earlier paradigms, "GAD seeks to emphasize the important influence of differences like class, marital status or religion" (Ronkainen, 2014, p. 40). When talking about Gender and Development (GAD), it is also crucial to make a distinction between sex and gender. According to the World Health Organization (2006), sex refers to physiological and biological characteristics that define human beings as male or female. Whereas gender could be defined as:

...roles and responsibilities of women and men that are created by social and cultural expectations about appropriate behaviors and activities (femininity and masculinity). These gender roles are learned, highly variable, and set by convention and other social, economic, political, and cultural forces. They can change over time and vary within and between cultures (Dodhia & Johnson 2005, p. 33 in Bennet, 2013, pp. 21-22).

WAD approach underlines that gender roles are socially constructed and are changeable. WAD paradigm also seeks to challenge the existing gender roles and the power

relations between genders (Reeves & Baden 2000 in Ronkainen, 2014, p. 41).

Human Rights-Based Approach contribution to change power relations

Power relations are inherent in all human interaction, and they exist at each level of society. "Inequalities between men and women are one of the most persistent patterns in the distribution of power" (Koester, 2015, p. 1). All over the world, political decision-making is lacking women's perspective. Gender roles influence imbalanced power between gender. Traditionally, women's roles have been obedient, accommodating, and quiet, whereas men are supposed to be outspoken and powerful (Koester, 2015). The Human Rights-Based Approach has a tremendous potential to have a positive effect on changing gender power relations. The most prominent elements of transformative potential are "participation and inclusion," as well as "non-discrimination and equality." These features are at the heart of the dilemma of power relations. As mentioned earlier, participation means that everyone, regardless of their background, has the right to meaningful and free participation in the decision-making process. "Participation and inclusion are especially important for strengthening the most vulnerable, marginalized, excluded, and invisible entities in the society " (Kocevski et al., 2017, pp. 17-19), which are often women.

The broadest meaning of equality is a commitment to guarding individuals from discrimination. Everyone is entitled to human rights regardless of their background, including gender. Human Rights-Based Approach pays special attention to addressing discrimination and inequality and therefore, "all decisions for development, policies, and initiatives while seeking to encourage local actors, are explicitly indebted to protect themselves from reinforcing the imbalance of power or contributing to the creation of new ones" (Kocevski et al., 2017, pp. 17-19).

According to Maitland (2015), the shift from male domination in the West has manifested itself in various ways. The rise of soft power, the decline of hierarchy, and change in men's attitude and roles when it comes to home and work life have balanced the power relations between genders. Interestingly, Maitland (2015) also claims that the increase in the

purchasing power of women has been a factor in changing gender power relations. All these mentioned above could easily be categorized under Human Rights-Based Approaches' elements of "participation and inclusion" and "non-discrimination and equality." It could be said that HRBA has the potential to have a positive impact on the change in gender power relations. However, the examples presented in the following paragraphs suggest that projects funded by Finnish ODA and managed by SASK do not end up with the Gender and Development (GAD) paradigm. Furthermore, in the case of SASK in Indonesia, HRBA does not contribute to changing gender power relations as could be desired. Moreover, if HRBA was understood and executed appropriately, it would have the potential to support the process of changing power relations.

Findings

One of the SASK projects in Indonesia is strengthening the service sector workers, targeting especially women and adolescence. The workers of the Hero supermarket chain organize special activities for women and youth. Now and again, women gather together to learn about gender equality and women's rights. However, men are not included in these activities (Interview E, 2019). It could be argued that when looking at these activities from the theoretical point of view, they fall into the category of Women in Development (WID) as empowerment is merely focusing on increasing women's capacity to analyze their situation and determine their own life choices and societal directions. If the managers wanted to upgrade to Gender and Development (GAD), they would have to include men too and start questioning the basis of specific gender roles. Besides, Finland's development policy strives to promote that "men and boys are more actively involved in gender equality promotion" (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2019, p. 1). Therefore, it is quite clear that this particular activity does not succeed in following the intended policy.

Another fact that was learned when discussed with the employees of Hero supermarket was that the employer provided health insurance. An employee of this particular company can add their spouse and children to this insurance scheme. A male employee can,

female cannot. It seems like women are not seen as a family provider, even if they would work outside the household. This case follows the Women in Development (WID) paradigm because it doesn't question the relations between gender roles. If all employees, regardless of their gender, were able to add their family to their health insurance scheme, the case would follow the Gender and Development (GAD) paradigm.

Another SASK project, which concentrates on strengthening the rights of Indonesian National Energy Company employees, introduced the nursing rooms for women (Interview A, 2019). The idea of providing nursing rooms for women at the working place is outdated and, theoretically, can be seen as the means of WID. If this situation were taken care of with methods of Gender and Development (GAD), the state would provide social services in promoting women's emancipation, including paid maternity leave. It could be concluded that none of these examples above reaches closer to the Gender and Development (GAD) approach because they all fail to challenge the existing power relations and gender roles.

If ending up with WID, the projects merely just increase number of women or target activities only to women. If they want to address both practical and strategic gender needs which are identified by women and men and empower the disadvantaged and women, they should use the GAD paradigm in order to challenge power relations and promote gender equality. When it comes to HRBA, the projects seem to succeed in participation, as they do underline the importance of including women too. However, in the example of Hero supermarket, they fail to invite men to the gatherings where they talk about gender equality. It would be very important to include everyone. In the case of transparency, they could improve. Even if the structural discrimination based on gender is already seen, in the form of for example higher income tax for women or restriction to birth control only to married women after first child, it would be necessary to challenge structural constraints. In order to follow HRBA principles, it would also require engagement of women in monitoring of their equal enjoyment of social rights. This type of accountability was already seen in the trade union movement. Women were strong members and they were aware of their rights and able to promote them.

Part of SASK's work is to promote gender equality and encourage women to take active roles in the trade union movement. Women's salary, harassment, discrimination, and parental leaves are ongoing topics in the discussion concerning working life. SASK realizes that these themes are even more challenging when talking about developing countries. SASK works everywhere to ensure equality in the workplace. Many projects pay particular attention to the position of women and young people. Collective agreements have made it possible to influence issues such as occupational safety issues, breaks in breastfeeding, and equal pay. Also, some achievements of SASK are separate bathrooms for women and access to them. As well as employers provided transportation to women if the journey is dangerous, in some states, SASK has been able to make an impact concerning the length of maternal leaves (SASK, 2020).

Perhaps the most vulnerable group of workers in the world are domestic workers. They often do work that is invisible to society within the walls of their employer's homes, with extremely low pay (Interview D, 2019). The days are long, with the threat of illegal and inappropriate treatment by the employer and the lack of rights enforcers. SASK's job is to get domestic workers the same rights as other workers - and to make sure they know their rights too. The challenge is not small, as there are an estimated 6.5 million domestic workers in SASK countries. They are estimated to be over 67 million worldwide, the majority (81.5 percent) of them women (SASK, 2020).

When asked how they follow the Finnish ODA policy of gender equality, SASK staff answered, "the domestic worker's projects cover this" (Discussion with SASK staff, 2019). Unfortunately, this mindset does not reach the level of GAD because it fails to consider the question of power relations. "The Gender power relations refer to " ways in which gender shapes the distributions of power at all levels of society" (EIGE, 2019, p. 1). If SASK wanted to reach GAD, they should consider gender equality in all of their projects, not only in the one project which is targeting women.

One of the most persistent patterns in the distribution of power is that of inequalities between women and men. The set of roles, behaviors, and attitudes that societies define as appropriate for women and men ('gender') can be the cause, consequence, and mechanism

of power relations, from the intimate sphere of the household to the highest political levels of decision-making. Wider structures and institutions can also shape power distribution by reinforcing and relying on gender roles (EIGE, 2019).

Table 1: The features of WID and GAD

	WID	GAD
The approach	women at the center of the problem	approach to development
The focus	women	gender relations
The problem	exclusion of women from the development process	unequal power relations
The Goal	efficient and effective development	equitable and sustainable development with women and men in decision making
The solution	integrate women into the existing development process	empower the disadvantaged and women
The strategies	women's projects, increasing women's income and ability to look after the household	Address practical and strategic gender needs identified by women and men

Source: United Nations Development Programme (2014)

One of the Finnish ODA policy objectives is to include women in political decision-making and enhance the opportunities and capacity to participate. This is one of the huge successes of SASK projects. During the two-week visit to Indonesia, it was very clear that these trade union activities have an impact on empowering women. In the trade unions, women were strong and powerful and had responsible roles as leaders and activists (Interview C, 2019).

Given that women are usually in a disadvantaged position in the workplace compared to men, the promotion of gender equality implies explicit attention to women's needs and

perspectives. Simultaneously, there are also significant negative effects of unequal power relations and expectations on men and boys due to stereotypes about what it means to be a male. Instead, both women and men, and boys and girls, should be free to develop their abilities and make choices – without limitations set by rigid gender roles and prejudices – based on personal interests and capacities (International Labour Organization- ILO, 2020, p. 1).

It would be helpful to acknowledge the history of male privilege. Gender stereotypes and changes in social norms should be taken into account in gender equality work. Men and boys should be involved in the work as well as integrating masculinity issues into the gender equality framework. "A change in masculinity norms can provide a safer society with less violence, improved health for inhabitants, more gender-equal relationships, as well as a key to the gender-segregated labor market" (Rosenberg, 2018, p. 1). Nordic countries have included the "men and gender equality" theme into their national gender equality policies. This could be the reason why the region has improved gender equality in all sections of society (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development - OECD, 2018).

Promoting gender equality is not only just, fair or right thing to do; it is also good for the economy. According to OECD (2018), in the Nordic region (Denmark, Finland, Island, Norway, Sweden), 75 percent of women are currently working. The increase in the number of women in the workforce has benefited to GDP by up to 20 percent during the past 50 years. If those women who are now working part-time started working full time, this would increase GDP by up to 30 additional percent. Nordic countries still have work to do in the field of gender equality, and they have stated that addressing masculinity norms is the key factor (Rosenberg, 2018, p. 1).

Conclusions

Gender equality is a priority to Finnish development policy. This is the narrative seen anywhere. The importance of gender equality to Finnish ODA is underlined anywhere you look. The online presence of the Finnish government, their social media accounts, their publications, as well as presentations in any events. The message is very clear: gender equality is a cross-cutting objective in Finland's development policy.

There is no doubt that policymakers are genuinely concerned about promoting gender equality. However, the examples presented in this article indicate that it is not as successful at the grass-root level as one might hope. First of all, the understanding of gender equality work could be improved. When SASK staff was asked if the funding (Finnish ODA) requires any emphasis on gender equality, they answered, "the domestic workers' project covers it." Domestic workers are mainly women, so the fact that the funder finds that having one project where beneficiaries are mainly women covers gender equality work is very outdated.

Earlier, it was mentioned that when it comes to these encounters in Indonesia, which have been used here as examples, it could be challenging to influence through ODA if the inequality is in a sovereign state's structures. However, what could be done, is to consider gender equality in all the projects, not only the one which targets women.

The trade union movement has been impacting the development of the modern welfare state of Finland. Similarly, trade unions could be a factor in Indonesia when it comes to promoting gender equality. What was seen in Indonesia is that women who were involved in the trade union were strong and respected. They oftentimes held a position of power as leaders, and so forth. Trade unions seem to contribute to women's empowerment. Also, the men who were involved with the trade union activities seem to be aware of gender issues. The trade union activists were promoting maternity leaves and thought that it is not fair that women have to pay more income tax. It is also important that ODA donors are aware of these structural inequalities. It cannot be accepted or explained with cultural relativism.

The research question was:

1. Has HRBA contributed anything to gender relations changes, and, if not, how the failure occurs?

The Human Rights-Based Approach has been used in the Finnish ODA project for years now. According to the experiences in Indonesia, HRBA does not seem to contribute to changing power relations. Women and men have separate activities groups, and even if women and adolescent groups would be educated on gender issues, men are left out. In Indonesia, traditional gender roles seem to be enforced. Even the government tries to encourage women to stay home by collecting higher income tax from women than men. Also, the role of wife

and mother is encouraged by the structures, and therefore, women can only have birth control after marriage and after first childbirth (Interview G, 2019).

As analyzed earlier, the encounters experienced in Indonesia suggest that the Finnish ODA projects seem to end up with the traditional Women in Development (WID) paradigm. The only way to successfully challenge the power relations is to follow Gender and Development (GAD), which emphasizes the need to change gender power relations. Foreign Ministry has a real ambition to promote gender equality, but perhaps there is not deep understanding among the staff about challenging the power relations. Gender roles and stereotypes should be questioned to successfully challenge power relations. Also, involving men and boys in the equality work is not enough, but masculinity issues should be included, especially acknowledging the importance of reducing harmful forms of masculinity. It could be helpful to acknowledge the history of male privilege and how it has been contributing to the unequal power relations between genders. Learning from the past could encourage societies to transform from patriarchy towards equality.

There is room for improvement when it comes to engaging partners and ensuring the implementation of gender equality in the projects. At the moment, as far as the Finnish government is concerned, within SASK seminar 2019 at Ibis Hotel in Jakarta, gender equality "is covered" with the one project which is targeting domestic workers. Gender equality work is exceptionally challenging when Indonesia is still suffering from structural inequality. Women pay more income taxes than men, and birth control is only available after marriage and after the first child.

Policy and Strategy recommendations

1. **Gender analyses should be used more.** Foreign Ministry and SASK should analyze the gender equality situation in the project countries to understand the working environment. They should also realize the local context versus cultural relativism, meaning that local culture should not be trumping individual rights. For example, if in some project countries it is customary for women not to work outside the home, development cooperation actors

should not give up but try to find a solution to improve women's participation in working life together with local society, both women and men.

2. Gender equality targeted budget for all projects. For SASK, the domestic worker's project covers the gender equality work in Indonesia. All SASK projects should concern gender to end up with the Gender and Development paradigm and improve the position of women. Furthermore, when the Foreign Ministry of Finland is financing a major part of SASK work, there is a prominent gap in the understanding of the Foreign Ministry's gender policy, if they also find it sufficient.

3. All the staff in the Foreign Ministry and SASK should have the training and better understanding of gender issues. As it has been seen in this research, the gender policy of Finnish Official Development Assistance (ODA) looks valid on paper, but in reality, it is not followed. This situation could be improved by comprehensive training to staff, including the important feature of gender equality work, challenging the power relations as well as different paradigms of Women In Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD). Understanding the difference between these could help staff to grasp gender issues on a completely different level.

Management and Practices recommendations

1. More inclusive participation of rights holders, including men, is necessary. Some SASK partners in Indonesia, for example, Hero Supermarket, organizes events for women to discuss gender equality. SASK should encourage these groups to involve men too. For example, the Nordic Gender Equality model had been successful by including men and bringing masculinity to the heart of gender equality work. As gender does not mean only women, these kinds of practices that emphasize gender roles and the possibility to change them to change power relations, could be rewarding.

2. Capacity building. Thirty-nine percent of Indonesian women are working outside the home. There would be a lot of potential for capacity building for women who would like to work. Even those women who are already working could benefit from improving skills and

obtaining knowledge. In the long run, capacity building can also enable recipient countries to release from the need for development assistance.

3. Empowering, in the meaning of increasing self-esteem, courage, and social activity, is also a tool to improve women's situation. The goal of empowering is a subjugated group of people to rise to pursue their cause. In the case of SASK in Indonesia, the empowering of women was already seen in the trade union movement. Trade unions could be one possible channel to enhance empowerment more systematically.

Recommendations for future studies

More research is needed to understand the situation better. Gender equality work is challenging, and it is rather a marathon than a sprint. It would be recommendable to conduct more research to gain more understanding of the complexities and find the best practices.

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