

Gender and Development – No-Man’s Land Revisited
Learning from Men’s Inclusion Discourse and Practice in Uganda

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Master’s Thesis
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ABSTRACT

This multi-disciplinary study was conducted as part of two Master’s Degrees: in Arts and in Social Sciences. The aim of the study is to examine how men as beneficiaries are included in the gender and development (GAD) approach in development cooperation at the levels of discourse and practice in Uganda. The study aims at providing a case for learning, and initiating discussion and advocacy on more male sensitive approach to gender and development.

The primary data consists of ten semi-structured thematic interviews of the staff members of the organization World Vision Uganda on their perceptions and experiences on gender and development in Uganda. The secondary data consists of discussions with community members and organization staff as well as documents and literature. The analysis is divided into two: critical discourse analysis and transitivity analysis of the discourse of GAD, and social scientific analysis of the practice of GAD, both of which are qualitative in this study.

It can be concluded that GAD in Uganda is highly consistent with the overall tendency of the GAD approach as more preoccupied with women leaving male beneficiaries in the margin. Moreover, the manner of inclusion is not consistent with gender mainstreaming principle but derives from arguments based on needs rather than rights. However, there is openness to men’s inclusion through the concept of gender partnership at both the discursive and practical levels in Uganda. Recommendations include acknowledging and encouraging men’s role at policy level, moving away from bipolar conflict premise in gender work, learning from contextual responses to men’s inclusion, engaging discourses in sharing experiences via discussion forums, and taking a holistic approach aiming at increasing the welfare of the household as the scene for gender equality work.

Key words: gender, development cooperation, men, discourse, equality, mainstreaming, Uganda

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TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä poikkitieteellinen Pro gradu -tutkielma tehtiin osana filosofian maisterin ja yhteiskuntatieteiden maisterin tutkintoja. Työn tavoitteena on tutkia, kuinka miehet on sisällytetty hyödynsaajina GAD-sukupuolinäkökulmaan kehitysyhteistyössä niin diskurssi- kuin käytännön tasolla Ugandassa. Työ pyrkii tarjoamaan tilaisuuden oppimiselle, virittämään keskustelua ja vaikuttamistyötä miehet paremmin huomioivan sukupuolinäkökulman edistämiseksi kehitysyhteistyössä.

Pääasiallinen aineisto koostuu kymmenestä puoli-strukturoidusta teemahaastattelusta, jotka kohdistuvat World Vision Uganda -järjestön henkilökuntaan ja heidän näkemyksiinsä ja kokemuksiinsa sukupuolinäkökulmasta kehitysyhteistyössä Ugandassa. Tausta-aineisto koostuu keskusteluista paikallisyhteisön jäsenten ja järjestön työntekijöiden kanssa, sekä asiakirjoista ja kirjallisuudesta. Analyysi on jaettu kahteen osaan: GAD-diskurssin kriittiseen diskurssianalyysiin ja transitiivisuus analyysiin, sekä GAD-käytännön analyysiin sosiaalitieteellisin menetelmin, jotka molemmat ovat tässä työssä laadullisia.

Työn johtopäätöksenä on, että GAD on Ugandassa johdonmukainen yleisen GAD-suuntauksen kanssa, joka keskittyy enemmän naisiin ja jättää miehet hyödynsaajina marginaaliin. Miesten sisällyttämisen tapa GAD:ssa ei myöskään ole yhdenmukainen sukupuolen valtavirtaistamisen periaatteen kanssa, vaan pohjautuu tarveperustaisille eikä oikeusperustaisille väitteille. Miesten sisällyttämiseen suhtaudutaan kuitenkin avoimesti sekä diskurssi- että käytännön tasoilla kumppanuus käsitteen kautta. Suositukset sisältävät miesten roolin huomioimisen ja kannustamisen politiikan tasolla, siirtymisen pois kaksinaipaisesta konfliktilähtökohdasta tasa-arvotyössä, oppimisen miesten sisällyttämisen kontekstisidonnaisista muodoista, diskurssien osallistamisen kokemusten jakamiseen eri keskustelufoorumeilla, sekä kokonaisvaltaisen lähtökohdan omaksumisen, joka tähtää kotitalouden hyvinvoinnin parantamiseen tasa-arvotyön toteutuspaikkana.

Avainsanat: sukupuoli, kehitysyhteistyö, miehet, diskurssi, tasa-arvo, valtavirtaistaminen, Uganda

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Abbreviations

ADP	Area Development Programme
CA	Conversation Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of Children
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DA	Discourse Analysis
FBO	Faith-Based Organization
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gender Equality and Men; Gender Empowerment Measure
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MAD	Men and Development
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
NAWOU	The National Association of Women's Organizations in Uganda
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
POMU	Positive Men's Union
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UHRC	The Uganda Human Rights Commission
ULRC	The Uganda Law Reform Commission
UN	United Nations
UNCST	Uganda National Council of Science and Technology
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UWOPA	Uganda Parliamentary Women's Association

WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development
WVU	World Vision Uganda

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Picture 2: Map of Uganda

1 Introduction

This chapter presents the premise of the study: the aim, objectives and focus as well as the overall research problem and the specific research questions. It also briefly discusses the most central concepts, the theoretical position taken in this study, and literature and previous studies.

1.1 Aim, objectives and focus of research

The aim of this master's thesis is to understand how the concept of gender is currently used in the discourse of development co-operation in Uganda, and how the implementation of gender work at the grassroots level is carried out. The aim is to facilitate learning and discussion on gender and development, and to advocate for a more male inclusive approach. Keeping in mind the limitations of the master's thesis in general, the research also functions as a learning process reflecting the knowledge and skills acquired from the completed university education. It also functions as a learning experience in terms an encounter of meaning-making between two parties of non-native English speakers: the researcher and the Ugandan informants.

One of the objectives of the thesis is to influence the development co-operation policies and the related discourses both in Finland and Uganda towards a more male inclusive approach. The study aims at giving recommendations and reporting on best practices concerning the realization of gender work as well as providing food for thought for policy formulation through understanding the discursive level. Another objective is to contribute to the wider academia on the findings of the study. As a result of the dissemination of the acquired information, development policies and practices ideally become more effective in fulfilling their goals towards gender equality.

The approach in this study is multidisciplinary as it is part of two different Degrees – namely, Master's Degree in Arts in English philology at the University of Tampere, Finland; and Master's Degree in Social Sciences in the Master's Programme of Development and International Cooperation majoring in sociology at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland.

Chapters 1 and 2 are to be shared by both degrees. Chapter 3 functions as the theoretical background to the degree in Social Sciences, whereas chapter 4 provides the specific theoretical and methodological background to the degree in Arts. Chapter 5 on the overall research methodological process is shared, except the sub-sections specific to each degree: 5.3.1 for Social Sciences and 5.3.2 for Arts. There are separate chapters on the findings from the analyses: chapter 6 for the degree in Arts, whereas chapter 7 is included in the degree in Social Sciences. Chapter 8 on discussion includes sub-sections specific to each degree: 8.1 for Arts and 8.2 for Social Sciences, but also shared sections on synthesis 8.3 and the reflection on research process in 8.4 for both degrees. Chapter 9 on conclusion is shared.

Research focus

Although researching the concept of gender, which includes both women and men, the focus in this study is on men rather than women. This is more fruitful given the fact that a vast feminist literature and research tradition of *Gender and Development* (GAD) which has tended to focus on women already exists. Indeed, GAD as an approach pays attention to the social relationships between the two sexes, thus including both men and women, as is discussed later in this chapter as well as in chapter 3. More recently, a new paradigm has arisen, namely, *men and development* (MAD) which has recognized the importance of bringing men in into gender-related initiatives. However, as the GAD approach is seen as the main contemporary paradigm for issues relating to gender and development (Cornwall 2003, p. 1326), it is taken as the premise of the study. Moreover, this starting point is coherent with what is called *gender mainstreaming* (discussed later in this section) in which gender is seen as a cross-cutting issue which should be taken into account in all aspects and levels of development cooperation – not as a separate entity for women or men. Despite the focus on men in the study, women should also remain as an equally important social group to be taken into account and women's empowerment should continue to be furthered in gender work.

The study focuses on the case study of Uganda, and particularly employees in a non-governmental organization (NGO): World Vision Uganda (WVU). In coherence with the gender mainstreaming approach in which gender is seen as a cross-cutting theme, this study concentrates on the general experiences of the staff instead of focusing on specific gender

projects or gender specialists only. As the focus is thematic and concentrates on gender and development in Uganda, the views presented in this study do not necessarily represent the official view of World Vision Uganda as an organisation and thus should not be interpreted as such.

1.2 Research problem and research questions

Research problem

In this study the overall research problem is: How have men at the beneficiary level been included in GAD and development cooperation in the discourse and practice in Uganda? Thus, *men* in the research problem refer to the men at the grass-roots level who are considered as the beneficiaries of development projects and processes – it does not refer to the men engaged in development cooperation in the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) who are implementing the gender work. Reference to men as beneficiaries is frequently made in this study; it should not be interpreted as taking men to be a passive party in development interventions. It is merely used in order to avoid confusion between men at the beneficiary level and men acting at the organizational level in NGOs. The terms *male inclusion* and *men's inclusion* may at times be used interchangeably as referring to adult men, although it is equally important to address the issues of gender among boys.

The term *inclusion* is used with some degree of reluctance as it may imply the meaning of 'add-on'. However, the alternatives such as *involvement* and *participation* are equally problematic as the former may be understood as 'actively involving somebody' with the 'add-on' implication. Moreover, neither *involvement* nor *participation* is compatible with the intended meanings related to examining the discourse of GAD. In other words, referring to men's involvement or participation in the discourse of GAD implies that the ways in which men engage themselves in the GAD discourse are studied, not how they are represented by it. Therefore, *inclusion* is chosen as the best term and it is most often used in this study as referring to 'the extent and manner of being included' in the discourse and practice of GAD.

The assumptions upon which the study rests are, firstly, that GAD is the mainstream paradigm in development cooperation discourse and practice in contemporary Uganda. Government and

organisational policies support this assumption. For details, see chapter 2. Secondly, it assumes that there is a bias towards women in GAD. The literature and previous research support this assumption. For details, see chapters 1 and 3. Thirdly, the assumption that women possess less power than men (also) in Uganda has been taken as a premise. The secondary data gathered support this assumption. For details, see chapter 2. Furthermore, the study assumes that men at the beneficiary level have been somewhat marginalised and at times even left out of GAD discourse and practice at the grass-roots. The vast academic literature on the topic supports this assumption. For details, see chapter 3. However, if this will not be the case in Uganda, the possibility of changing discursive agendas and integration policies and practices will be discussed and reflected upon. Lastly, there is an assumption that both the informants and the researcher are able to comprehend each other in their interaction through English as a second language to a sufficient degree. The researcher's higher education and previous experience in the English language as well as intercultural communication on the one hand, and background research on the language situation in Uganda (see chapter 2) as well as pre-field visit communication with WVU staff in English through email correspondence, support this assumption.

Research questions

The specific research questions have been divided into two sets: The first set corresponds to the Master's degree in Arts; the second set corresponds to the Master's degree in Social Sciences.

The specific research questions are:

1. What kinds of meanings and values does the concept of gender have in the GAD discourse in Uganda? What characterizes the discourse of GAD in contemporary Uganda? How are men represented in this discourse? What kinds of ideologies, myths and power hierarchies emerge in the discourse of GAD in relation to men's inclusion?
2. How are men at the grass-roots level included as beneficiaries in development projects in practice in Uganda? What have been the success stories and hindrances to involving male beneficiaries in promoting gender equality at the grassroots level? What has been the best way to mobilize men to take action towards gender equality? In what contexts have men

been targeted for gender issues? Are male and female aid workers equally able to mobilize men for gender equality? What are the policy implications, best practices and lessons learnt?

Despite the vast literature on masculinities and men, relatively little research has been done on men and GAD as a social and developmental phenomenon. In a similar vein, the discursive practices that constitute the relationship between men and GAD are little known. This thesis will contribute to the field of gender and development with new information on the discourse and practice on gender and men's inclusion. The topic is especially important because of a considerable lack of previous studies in men's inclusion in development in the Finnish development literature and research, the bulk of which is concentrated on women as part of development processes. This fresh approach gains new information for both development workers as well as academia in Finland – and possibly elsewhere. In addition, a study that examines both discourse and practice has added value in the applicability of the findings as the benefits range from influencing policies at international, national and organizational levels to improving practices at the grass roots level for more sustainable development cooperation. Ideally the findings of the study – namely the lessons learnt, best practices and policy implications – will have practical use and applicability in development cooperation. This will fill some of the gap on the need to report more on the practicalities, experiences and best practices (Chant 2000, pp. 8-9; Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 10; Lang 2003, p. 4) on men's inclusion in gender and development.

The issue of gender has had a central role in the international development cooperation in the past thirty years. The launch of the UN International Women's Decade (1976-85) (Visvanathan 1997a, p. 3) was among the first to take place. UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) played an important role at the time when the discussion on women's integration into development gained momentum in the early 1970s (Tinker 1997, p. 33). Moreover, the establishment of the World Conferences on Women by the United Nations (UN) in 1975 resulted in a succession of conferences (United Nations 1995, online; Visvanathan 1997a, p. 3) the latest being the Platform for Action conference in Beijing in 2005. Another type of UN convention, namely the UN Convention on the Elimination of All

Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), took place in the 1979. Perhaps the best-known of all is the Millennium Summit where all member states of the UN agreed on universal goals, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), to reduce global inequality at large. Gender was overtly assigned as the focus of two out of the eight goals. Therefore, the topic is timely: Gender equality being one of the Millennium Development Goals certainly calls for the inclusion of both genders. Many of the goals cannot be attained without the inclusion of men. However, some feminists have argued that gender is not being treated as a cross-cutting issue affecting the achievement of all the Millennium Development Goals, and that the broader targets set by the previous meetings have not been taken into account and run the risk of being subsided. Consequently, UNIFEM (2005) stresses the importance of coordination and mutually supporting processes between the CEDAW, Beijing (1995, 2005) and the MDGs. (United Nations 2005, pp. 4-13.) Addressing gender as a cross-cutting issue also requires the acknowledgement of men as part of gender.

1.3 Key concepts and terminology

Gender refers to the socially constructed relationship between men and women (Moser 1993, p. 230). Gender describes “the socially given attributes, roles, activities and responsibilities connected to being male or female in a given society” (March et al. 1999, p. 18). There is great variation between cultures as the term is determined by the way a given society is organized (March et al. 1999, pp. 17-18). Gender extends beyond the personal relationships between individual men and women to cover all aspects of social activity and influences all social interaction (Pearson 2000a, p. 385). It is important to distinguish gender from the concept of *sex* which has traditionally been used in referring to biological differences between men and women (Moser 1993, p. 3).

Gender politics are subject to constant debate and renegotiation. Connell (1987, p. 140) argues that gender is a process rather than an entity. There are a number of scholars who are critical of the division into sex and gender. Cornwall (2000) criticises the polarities on which the GAD discourse is based on. She maintains that sex is socially constructed in a similar vein as gender. (Cornwall, 2000, p. 20.) Similarly, White (2000) points out that recent social theory

has questioned the understanding of gender as somehow “sex dressed” with a necessary association with sexed bodies. The underlying idea is that bodies, to which *sex* often refers, cannot exist outside of society and that conceptions of sexual difference are very much socially constructed. It is difficult to define “where ‘biology’ stops and ‘society’ starts”. (White 2000, p. 37.)

Gender does not only refer to persons and inequality but also to values and meaning, which, in turn, relate to power (White 2000, pp. 37-38). Young (2002, p. 321) points out that the term *gender* has been rather well received by the international community. However, many feminists prefer not to use the term as it appears to have been reduced from its original meaning to a synonym for *woman* or *women*. On the other hand, it may act as a link between different social practices (Connell 1987, p. 140). Especially in the field of development cooperation the term has a unifying emphasis. Indeed, Vuorela (1999, p. 25) maintains that the concept of gender serves as a strategic choice that enables the speech including of men in the contexts where men may express their suspicion on gender initiatives targeting women. However, the term has suffered inflation as it has been reduced to mere political rhetoric with little bearing in real life. (Vuorela 1999, pp. 25-26.)

Similarly to the concept of gender, *sex* has also received criticism as the entity to which gender is being compared against. March et al. (1999, p. 17) maintain that “sex differences are concerned with men’s and women’s bodies. Men produce sperm; women bear and breastfeed children. Sexual differences are the same throughout the human race.” In other words, it is widely accepted that there are two oppositional categories of sex. These categories of men and women are presented as static and oppositional (Cornwall 2000, p. 20). In debates around gender, there is often the notion that women and men are fundamentally different, which results in dismissing further discussion on the topic (Connell 1987, p. 66). However, the picture need not be as binary as described by this approach. Perhaps most people can be identified as male or female by their genetics, but there certainly are multiple physical variations of these two categories that “deviate” from the norms. In a similar vein, gender identities do not necessarily fall in with the dual categories but are multiple in nature. As the task of this present study is not to investigate the different manifestations of gender identities

among the informants, the dual sex categories of male and female as well as gender categories of masculine and feminine are nevertheless adopted.

Gender relations refers to the “social relationship between men as a sex and women as a sex” and they have various simultaneous forms ranging from cooperation and support to conflict and inequality (March et al. 1999, p. 18). Gender relations incorporate the meaning of being male and female, and therefore what behaviour and action is coherent with being male or female (Pearson 2000a, p. 385). Gender relations vary according to context (Moser 1993, p. 230) such as time and place and other social determinants such as class, race and ethnicity for example (March et al. 1999, p. 18).

Gender is the unit of analysis for the mainstream development approach known as *Gender and Development* (GAD) (Levy et al. 2000, p. 87). In contrast to its predecessor *Women in Development* (WID) that concentrated on women, its aim is “to achieve equality and power-sharing between men and women as means, and end, of wider exercise of human rights, and people-centred sustainable development” (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 8). The emphasis of the approach is on gender relations between the sexes and it views men as potential allies in the process of achieving gender equality. It takes on a holistic perspective of gender structures in society and aims at altering the underlying structures that maintain inequality. (Visvanathan 1997b, pp. 23-24; Young 1997, pp. 51-54.) More detailed discussion of the GAD approach as well as the evolution of gender issues in the field of development cooperation will be presented in chapter 3.

In the context of development cooperation, *gender mainstreaming* is nowadays seen as the most prominent approach to addressing gender issues (Crewe and Harrison 1998, p. 56). It has been one of the key methods of achieving gender equality through applying gender analysis to all levels of development interventions. With this strategy the aim is to mainstream gender into a development policies, programmes and projects to prevent (especially) women’s concerns to be included into development activities. It works against separate gender units or focal points and aspires towards institutionalizing gender into being a natural part of all organisations and interventions. Both men’s and women’s views shall be voiced into

development planning through mainstreaming. (Pearson 2000a, p. 400.) However, Chant and Gutmann (2000, p. 10) point out that mainstreaming in the context of gender and development should not be confused with *mainstream development* that reflects male-determined and male-biased development. Instead, *GAD mainstreaming* refers to “re-working structures of decision-making and institutional cultures so that gender is dealt with centrally, sustainably, and organically, as opposed to peripherally, sporadically, and mechanically” (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 10).

In gender mainstreaming, the points of view, experiences and needs of men and women are to be taken into account in all areas of a given community. All processes in the community should be sensitive to the existing inequalities and actively work in favour of improving gender equality so that both men and women benefit in an equal degree from the outcomes of all societal work. The core principle is that gender mainstreaming ideally becomes an integrated part of the workings of all kinds of organisations and development projects rather than being a separate phase in the decision-making process. In other words, gender becomes a cross-cutting issue in all levels of society. However, the main purpose of the mainstreaming process should be achieving gender equality – mainstreaming should not be seen as an end itself. (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland 2003b, p. 8.)

Gender equality is rather a political term. It is used to refer to a situation in which women and men have equal rights and opportunities in all aspects of life. In an equal situation people are free to build and improve their personal skills and to be free from limitations of rigid gender roles in society when making choices in their lives. The differences between men and women are appreciated and discrimination and unequal status based on these differences are eliminated. Due to the lower status of women in the world in general, action is needed to achieve gender equality. (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland 2003a, online.) When compared with *gender equity*, gender equality in general can be seen as equal representation in numbers, gender equity refers to an outcome that is “fair” or “just” (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 24). There seems to be a preference over gender equality in the political arena perhaps not the least because measuring fairness is inevitably difficult. It also raises the questions of who defines what is fair or just.

The social surroundings in a given society direct the adoption of *gender roles* by imposing different expectations on girls and boys. These roles regulate, for instance, how different tasks are divided in a society or community in question. (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland 2003a, online.) Such tasks can be divided into four types: Work connected with maintaining the labour force through domestic work as well as biological reproduction (*reproductive work*); paid work connected with production (*productive work*); unpaid community-related work, such as attending to community services, activities and needs (*community managing work*); and often paid work at the community, organisational or national level (*community politics work*). In many societies women have traditionally taken care of reproduction and community work. Both men and women have engaged themselves into productive work. However, the community managing role has traditionally been occupied by women whereas community politics role has mostly been carried out by men. (Moser 1993, p. 230.) These gender roles are not rigid but dynamic and in many cases women have also began to take an increasing role in production just as many men have taken part in reproductive work at home.

The different *gender-related needs* arising from the gender roles have to be acknowledged. They are divided into two: *practical gender needs* and *strategic gender needs*. The practical needs rise from the concrete, material conditions needed to guarantee basic needs of human beings such as nourishment, health care and employment. They can be tackled with concrete action. These needs are related to gender if their fulfilment is specifically confined to one gender as fetching water in many developing countries is the task socially assigned to women. In other words, they arise out of the accepted gender roles in a given society. Addressing practical gender needs does not alter the hierarchical power structure in the given community. The second type, the strategic gender-related needs, is concerned with the power relations and their fulfilment requires attitudinal change in gender roles and wider structural changes in the community. It aims at reaching greater gender equality and changing the status quo of power relations. The strategic gender needs are also bound by contextual differences. (Moser 1993, pp. 230-231.) Such broad-scale alterations are slow but once in effect they have proven to be rather sustainable. Examples of strategic needs are, for instance, the right to own and inherit land and money and the right to develop oneself on one's own terms. Many development

projects have aimed at increasing women's participation in decision-making via educating women and men about women's rights. Both the practical and strategic needs have to be tackled: the wider strategic change guarantees better sustainability but often meeting the practical needs is a prerequisite to achieving wider gender equality. (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland 2003a, online.) Crewe and Harrison (1998) are critical of the division into practical and strategic gender needs. They point out that needs are relative, subjective and contextual and, in reality, many practices fulfil both needs either simultaneously or successively. (Crewe and Harrison 1998, p. 55.)

Masculinity as summarized by Morrell (1998, p. 607) is a socially constructed collective gender identity in contrast to natural features of men. It is constructed in opposition with *femininity* (Karlsson and Karkara 2004, pp.6-7) as they are engaged in a process of negotiation of their relationships (White 2000, p. 38). The attempt to establish difference between the male and the female norm most frequently relies on gender roles, or "sex roles", as Connell (1987, p. 170) puts it. There are certain social structures that influence the way masculinity and femininity as collective entities are formed. Such a structure defining the interrelation between masculinity and femininity is the global dominance of men over women. There is also an ordering of different types of femininity and masculinity within society. The concept of *hegemonic masculinity* incorporates this idea (see below). However, both femininity and masculinity are not homogeneous but vary considerably within the traits ascribed to the categories. Masculinity and femininity are not rigid polar oppositions. In effect, both feminine and masculine traits can be identified in the same person. In addition, they are subject to constant change over time and places. (Connell 1987, pp. 167-183.) *Masculinity* has often falsely been used to cover all men (White 2000, p. 36).

In the more recent literature there is evidence of increasingly popular reference to the plural form *masculinities*. Morrell (1998, p. 607) who studied masculinity in the African context, points out that there is no universal form of masculinity but many different kinds with various degrees of power and influence. Poststructural, postcolonial and postmodern theories have resulted in a shift towards understanding multiplicity. Morrell (1998, pp. 607-611.) The term of masculinities has also received criticism. Firstly, it assumes that gender is the sole

denominator of inequality as compared to other social factors such as race or ethnicity, and secondly, there is the danger that eventually there are as many masculinities as there are men (White 2000, p. 37). White (2000, p. 38) further points out that “it is not masculinities that are multiple, but rather the diverse ways in which men and women deploy, re-shape and subvert the symbolic resources of gender and other power divisions”. On the other hand, Datta (2004, p. 255) maintains that it has become clear that feminist recognition of the constructions of masculinities is crucial to the process of confronting the patriarchy. Given the “postist” approach of the present study, the plural form is preferred instead of the singular, except in the context of hegemonic masculinity.

Connell (1987, pp. 183-188) defines the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a social construct that exists in relation to other subordinate masculinities as well as women as a subordinate group. Drawing on the Gramscian term *hegemony* as a social ascendancy influenced by social forces, Connell notes that the term does not refer to ascendancy gained by force. He notes that hegemony is not absolute dominance but engaged in a process of balancing forces. He also points out that hegemony is not to be understood as ‘male sex roles’. Instead, hegemonic masculinity is public. However, it does not equate with the powerful men *per se* in society, but rather the forces that sustain their access to power as well as the rationale for its support by many men. Because of the complex nature of gender relations,

Hegemonic masculinity can contain at the same time, quite consistently, openings towards domesticity and openings towards violence, towards misogyny and towards heterosexual attraction. (Connell 1987, p. 186.)

Hegemonic masculinity has tended to incorporate norms of heterosexual relationships based on the institution of marriage. In effect, the subordinate masculinities have frequently been those of young or homosexual men. Hegemonic masculinity also reflects the oppression of women, which many men directly benefit from. He also argues that there is no corresponding hegemonic form of femininity in the same sense because of the global subordinate position of women as well as the non-existence of an idea of dominance over the other sex in the social constructions of femininity. (Connell 1987, pp. 183-188.) Hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form of masculinity that incorporates a set of ideals of manliness, towards which many men aspire in their lives. It should be noted that it is not men as such but rather specific ways of expressing masculinity that manifest power and dominance (Cornwall 1997, p. 11).

Hegemonic masculinity forms a central component of patriarchy (Morrell 1998, p. 609), the main function of which is reinforcing the subordination of women (Moser 1993, p. 42).

Patriarchy is frequently defined by radical feminists as:

a system of sexual hierarchy in which men possess superior power and economic privilege. Patriarchy is maintained through male control over such arenas of power as politics, industry, religion and military both within and outside the state. (Moser 1993, p. 42.)

Discourse in the context of linguistics refers to, according to Collins Cobuild English Dictionary (1995, p. 468), “natural spoken or written language in context, especially when complete texts are being considered”. Study on discourses can be seen as focussing on

the properties of what people say or write in order to accomplish social, political or cultural acts in various local contexts as well as within the broader frameworks of societal structure and culture. (Van Dijk 1997, p. 1.)

Studying discourses, today, has a multidisciplinary relevance and applicability and it has indeed been adopted by various disciplines as well as schools of thought. In the field of social sciences, discourse is often related to politics and the investigation of ideology to reveal “historically conditioned mentalities of importance to the political identity and mode of action of particular social groups.” (Martinussen 1995 p. 318). The term has been used “to refer to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practices” as in the work of Michel Foucault. Discourses are seen as not only reflecting social realities but also as constructing them by positioning human beings as social subjects. Thus, the foci of discourse analysis are frequently on the social effects of discourse as well as historical change and evolution of a new discourse. (Fairclough 1992, pp. 3-4.) In linguistics, where the focus has typically been on units smaller than a sentence, discourse exceeds this previous tendency and refers to different kinds of language used in different social situations, for example, in news paper discourse or discourse of medical consultations (Fairclough 1992, pp. 3-4). Discourse analysis in general identifies connections between the marginalised and the dominant, as it allows the discovery of how power works via language, culture, and institutions that set the framework for the daily lives of people (Loomba 1998, p. 47). Due to its multidisciplinary character there are multiple approaches on how to analyze discourses. The framework applied in the present study is *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA). In this context, discourse is

especially viewed as a type of “social practice” (Van Dijk 1997, p. 258). More detailed discussion on the concept of discourse, different approaches to studying discourses as well as the framework of CDA is given in chapter 4.

1.4 Validating the theoretical position – A multidisciplinary approach

The inter-linkages of the theoretical approaches: *poststructuralism*, *postmodernism*, *postcolonialism* and *feminism*; as well as the different academic fields of this study: linguistics and CDA, sociology, development studies and women’s studies are multiple. Structuralism as a theoretical approach is concentrated on either social structures or linguistic structures. Poststructuralism, on the other, shifts its focus from the structures *per se* to the ways in which these social or linguistic structures are used by social agents. (Lash 1991, pp. ix-xiv.) Structuralism initially developed in linguistics where it was later incorporated into various disciplines both in the social sciences and the humanities (Giddens 1993, p. 713). Postmodernism is rather difficult to distinguish from poststructuralism. The difference between poststructuralism and postmodernism is that the latter, according to Lash (1991, p. xiii), is more sociological giving more attention to social change and socio-historical settings. From the point of view of sociology, postmodernism can be seen as a slight improvement of poststructuralism in some of its forms that give attention to social change. Both poststructuralism and postmodernism have also received criticism. The communitarians have criticised the reliance on abstractions by both approaches and maintain that more focus should be given to the concrete and local. In addition, ecological thinking has criticised modernism and postmodernism of the dominance of the individual over nature. (Lash 1991, pp. ix-xiv.) Despite the criticism poststructuralism and postmodernism have very much in common. Pearson (2000b, p. 43) identifies the link between “postist” politics that are based on deconstructing social identities and has utilised postmodernist analysis that celebrates difference.

Postcolonial theory in general, has been widely influenced by the theories of exploitation in Marxism; poststructuralist deconstruction and critique of the Western¹ civilisation; and the anti-humanist critique of rationality and universal human nature. One of the early writers of the postcolonial tradition describing the encounter with, and resistance to, the colonial powers were Gandhi, Fanon and Said. (Gandhi 1998, pp. 17-23, 41, 64.) Postcolonialism has established its place in its relation with other schools of thought such as poststructuralism, psychoanalysis and feminism but also in the humanities as a very influential critical discourse. Hence, its applicability has become vastly interdisciplinary. It has served both as a meeting point and a battle field for different theories and disciplines. (Gandhi 1998, pp. viii, 3.)

In feminism, postcolonialism has given voice to marginal groups (Gandhi 1998, p. 83). Among the feminist postcolonial critics perhaps some of the best-known are Spivak, Mohanty and Minh-ha (see for instance Gandhi 1998, pp. 81-101; Vuorela 1999, pp. 18-35). Vuorela (1999, p. 16) points out that just as there is no global unity among women, there is no one correct way of speaking of women either. In other words, the multiplicity of women's lives and experiences is an important premise for postcolonial feminism. This also means that there are several different feminisms concerned with different issues and taking on various political positions. Cooperation between postcolonialism and feminism has also enabled them to join forces against "the aggressive myth of both imperial and nationalist masculinity" (Gandhi 1998, p. 98). However, postcolonial studies have not only paid attention to the oppressed and colonised women. In fact, the barbaric nature of the native men served as a justification for imperial rule and imposition of colonial policy. (Loomba 1998, p. 154.) Therefore, through a postcolonial lens it has become possible to "reread the colonial encounter in these terms as a struggle between competing masculinities" (Gandhi 1998, p. 98).

Loomba argues that the feminist agendas in the postcolonial era are considerably moulded by global imbalances (Loomba 1998, p. 230). According to Vuorela (1999, p.15), postcolonial feminism also gained momentum in the developing countries via increased attention to the

¹ This study makes a distinction between *West* and *west*, where the former is used to refer to the global west (i.e. industrialized countries) and the latter to more "literal" geographical location as in *west of Uganda*, for example. Similarly, *North* and *South* with capital letters refer to the global north and south, i.e. developed countries and the developing countries. In case of Proper Nouns such as *East Africa*, the capital letter is also naturally used.

Western feminist domination in the development discourse and it began to function as the voice of the marginalised people in the global South. In the context of development, the postcolonial critic may ask how should women and gender be addressed; what role do feminist theories have in this discussion; and how do different agents speak of women in the development field? (Vuorela 1999, p. 22.) However, postcolonial theory and feminist theory are not entirely mutually compatible. Gandhi (1998, p. 83) outlines three areas of controversy: the debate on the concept of “third world woman”; the problematic historical position of the “feminist-as-imperialist”; and thirdly, the colonialist tendency of using the “feminist criteria” to legitimise the civilising mission.

According to the GAD approach the link between gender relations and development process is interactive and reciprocal. Therefore, it argues that systemic changes are needed to overcome the prevailing gender inequalities. Thus, public policies are highly significant. (Moghadam 1998, pp. 590-592.) Gender policies have also witnessed a broadening of scope from the focus on women to the focus on gender, as discussed in chapter 3. According to Moghadam (1998, p. 591) the GAD approach is

flexible and interdisciplinary, reflecting the diversity of theoretical backgrounds and methodological approaches – including Marxism, feminism, and neoclassical economics – of the sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists and economists undertaking GAD research.

Despite this overarching nature, there are some underlying assumptions, concepts and methods that can be seen as formulating the GAD framework such as how women in all societies constitute a disadvantaged, oppressed social group having more limited opportunities than men (Moghadam 1998, p. 591). Such world-wide tendency for inferior status of women needs a broad perspective to be comprehensively analysed. It may be no surprise that gender in the context of international development cooperation has frequently been referred to as a cross-cutting issue (see, for instance, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland 2003a, online) and thus there is a need for multi-disciplinary knowledge.

The field of development cooperation is one that seeks to improve societies in the developing countries. Development workers and international agencies are involved in considerably broad sectors of society including the economy, politics, civil society and health services to the

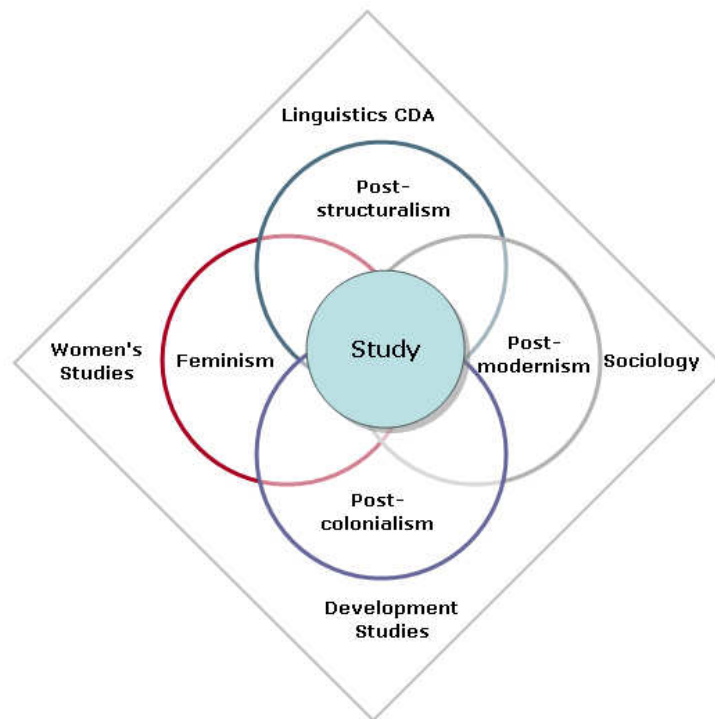
environment and culture, for instance. Moreover, the contemporary development cooperation policies tend to favour a cross-sector approach for better efficiency and impact (see, for example, United Nations 2003, p. 108). Being engaged in such a broad arena of sectors a multidisciplinary approach combining sociology, development studies, critical language studies and feminism is inevitable for a holistic understanding of such dynamics.

Although sociology as a discipline derives as the study of modern industrialised societies, one of its more recent fields of interests investigates social change in the modern world including the globalizing of social life. One aspect of this is the role of the global South, namely the Third World societies. Thus, sociologists also take an interest in the developmental nature of social change. The study of gender relations has also become central to the discipline of sociology. (Giddens 1993, pp. 12-15, 205, 526.) The 1980s saw the coming of both poststructuralism and post-modernism in sociology that originated in the “linguistic turn” of structuralism in the French social thought in the 1960s. The social was studied through linguistic models first by Levi-Strauss in the late 1950s followed by Barthes, Lacan, Derrida, and Foucault. (Lash 1991, pp. ix-xiv.) Said, Mudimbe, Mohanty and Bhabha have extended Foucault’s discursive approach into colonial and postcolonial contexts (Escobar 1995, p 5). Just as sociology can be seen in what Giddens (1993, pp. 702-703) calls a “reflective” relation to human behaviour thus becoming an important factor in sustaining societies, this is ultimately realised through the dialectical relationship between language, discourse and reality, as discussed in chapter 4.

Escobar (1995) takes on a poststructuralist discursive approach and argues for seeing development as a historically produced discourse. He aims at deconstructing the development discourse and the concept of the Third World through what he calls “anthropology of modernity”. (Escobar 1995, pp. vii-14.) Similarly, Olivier de Sardan (2005, p. 1) promotes a cross-disciplinary approach. He maintains that in the field of processes and phenomena related to development, anthropology and sociology cannot be separated from one another. In fact, he argues that there cannot be a separate discipline addressing development issues as anthropology and sociology provide the field with the comparative approach and the concepts. (Olivier de Sardan 2005, pp.1-35.)

An alternative approach to development cooperation in terms of representation of men is taken in this study. This choice is based on the idea that the resistance by the postcolonial theory against the fixed binary oppositions in the colonial discourse, such as maturity/immaturity, civilisation/barbarism and developed/developing (Gandhi 1998, p. 32) and celebrating difference, in my view, also provides with a possibility of transcending the rigid division to men and women in development. Poststructuralism and linguistics provide the study with a multidisciplinary approach to analyzing language, whereas the postmodern stance relates to the aspect of social change. Lastly, feminism provides a critical stance challenging the notion of gender inequality. Here, the choice for using the term *feminism* is made consciously in attempt to promote a view of the concept as aiming towards gender equality and as such including both the interests of men and women as social groups, and no further discussion on the different types of feminisms is provided in this study.

To summarize, the multidisciplinary position is presented in Picture 1 below. This is not an exhaustive model of the linkages between the theories and academic fields, but rather provides an overview of the theoretical approach adopted in the present study.



Picture 1: Multidisciplinary approach

The study functions as a multidisciplinary meeting point for the above theoretical approaches. In the next section an overview of previous research and literature is presented.

1.5 Review of existing literature and previous studies

Gender analysis has frequently been seen as something carried out by women and focussing on women (Crewe and Harrison 1998, p. 58). The majority of development workers and scholars that are engaged in the field of men and gender are women. Moreover, women seem to contribute to the bulk of academic literature on gender. Interestingly, there seems to have been a rising interest also in the topic of men and gender since the latter half of the 1990s among scholars, the majority of whom have also been women. This study utilizes the work of both male and female scholars that have been engaged in gender related research and debates. However, the work of such scholars is not discussed here in any more detail, but referred to throughout the study. Nor is the relatively broad field of discourse research presented here in detail. Instead, previous research that directly relates to the focus of this study, namely gender and development discussed, some of them also taking a discursive approach.

A master's thesis on gender and men has already been done in Sweden. Färnsweden and Rönquist (1999) carried out a pilot study on the attitudes of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) staff members towards male participation in the promotion of gender equality in development. The results indicate that men's participation is seen as important by the organization's staff and there is a consensus on the importance of gender equality. To further this, men should become involved. However, the form of the involvement was not as clear to the respondents. Female respondents saw male participation as a potential threat more than the male respondents, whereas the majority of the male respondents did not regard gender issues as being highly valued, which reinforce the idea that gender issues are for women. The findings suggest that if more men were involved it would inspire other men to take part in gender equality advocacy – the management's commitment being one of the most important forms. This study differs from the Swedish study in its focus on the experiences and attitudes of Southern development workers on men's inclusion without investigating those of the development organization itself.

Men and gender is a relatively new topic in Finland. All in all, not many theses have been written on gender and development in Finland and the ones that have been written more or less exclusively focus on women. Välimaa (2004) compares gender equality in development cooperation at different levels of society ranging from the international to the local level to investigate whether all levels have the same objectives and whether there are any conflicts between them. She looks at the UN as representing of the international level, Finnish development policies representing the national level, and three Finnish-Tanzanian projects representing the project level and carries out a content analysis. She finds that there has been a gradual shift from an integrationist strategy to the transformative as well as from the welfare approach to empowerment approach. She notes that new approaches are first adopted at the international level with the consecutive application at the national level whereas the adoption at the project level faces most challenges. She maintains that as long as there are specific references to either women or men instead of people, there is no real gender equality (Välimaa 2004, p. 58).

Simojoki (2003) examines the role and socio-economic impact of credit and in empowering women in Nairobi, Kenya. She finds that income-generating activities are necessary for women because of reduced workload, increased income and self-esteem and control over resources for women. She argues that money alone does not empower women but there is also need for other complementary services strengthening empowerment. Relating to men she notes that men's support and respect for women's participation in micro-finance projects was highly important (Simojoki 2003, p. 105).

Penttinen (2002) analysed the gender awareness of forestry sector development staff in Burkina Faso, the roles and needs of the local participants of projects as well as the actual participation by local men and women. She concludes that gender has been taken into account in project documentation to a varying extent and there is room for improvement. Despite the conservative gender roles at the grass-roots level, positive impact on practical and strategic gender needs in the villages was identified. Although the attitudes of the project staff towards gender issues were found positive, she recommends more attention to gender mainstreaming

during different phases of the project cycle. She also notes that men were generally more active than women in participating in the project activities such as fire committees.

Pulli (1997) engaged in textual analysis on Finnish development cooperation in the 1990s and used textual analysis of *equality* as well as the different textual contexts it appears in. She finds that the term is present at the document although the extent varies according to document. Moreover, it is presented in a contradictory way at the strategic level. At the project level, on the other hand, equality is present rather minimally and usually women are associated with other marginal groups. In general, equality is viewed as important but it is mainly used as a means for reaching other development targets. She maintains that the earlier equality is integrated into the project the more likely it present throughout the whole of the project cycle and therefore it should be explicitly included into project documents.

Åberg (1995) examined how international development cooperation takes women into account. She looks at the goals set, the type of development advocated and the image of women that development cooperation utilises. She finds that some international and national goals that consider women exist but the implementation in practice is lagging behind. The over-emphasis to women's reproductive role is one of the major hindrances to success. Moreover, women are viewed as beneficiaries and not active participants in development.

Varanka (2003) investigated the problematic relationship between men and feminism by discourse analysis in his Master's thesis. He looks at the general discursive atmosphere as well as ideological dilemmas present in messages sent to the Man-email list in Finland. He identifies that the atmosphere in the discourse is pro-feminism in general, however there are two ideological dilemmas: Can a man supportive of feminism be a feminist and what is the main focus of the men's movement – man-critical or man-proud? Although the study at hand also looks at the debate around men and gender equality, it nevertheless differs from Varanka's focus in that his study concentrates more on the theoretical and academic aspects of men, feminism and gender equality in Finland; whereas the focus of the present study is more restricted to development cooperation.

Kessey (2004) studied in his Doctoral thesis the gender dimension in participatory implementation of community level projects in Ghana. His study differs from the study at hand that it was based on gender-specific projects rather than looking at gender as a cross-cutting issue in project implementation. Instead, he examines the beneficiaries' participation in the project cycle as well as the treatment of gender issues within the implementation structures and the impact of that treatment on the society in question. His findings indicate that women did not participate effectively enough in the implementation processes or the stages of the project cycle. He recommends that participation should be widened to include the traditional institution of Chieftaincy. The study recommends men's involvement in WID projects is beneficial and should be strengthened. He notes that men's frustration and resistance is caused by the "win-lose" scenario created by WID and men should be assured that projects do not necessarily undermine their social status but increase welfare instead. All in all, he states that men's opportunities should be expanded and cooperation is to be solicited "even if it is symbolic" (Kessey 2004, p. 218).

Datta (2004) examines the conceptualisations of gender and development in urban Botswana and argues for the male inclusive agenda for gender and development cooperation. She finds that the evidence is contradictory as both the potential marginalization of women's rights as well as the need to include men are present in the discourse in Botswana. She concludes there is a need to begin to consider how new alternative male identities can be encouraged and how men can be included in GAD in a useful manner. Similarly to the present study, she presents the evolution of the gender issues within the development discourse and discusses the debate on the male inclusion in general. However, the study draws on the case of Botswana and investigates whether the time is right for male inclusion in GAD programmes and policies – thus implicitly assuming that men have so far not been included. This study is more concentrated on the extent to and manner of which men are possibly included in GAD in contemporary Uganda.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland has published a booklet and a strategy paper on gender equality in development co-operation that also mention the importance of the male inclusive approach (see the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2002, p. 3; 2003b, p. 11). However, no

guidelines have yet been published on the topic of men and gender as by many other governments. A report has been published in Sweden (see the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1999) on how men can gain on gender equality. The UK Department for International Development has also supported research into men and gender, the resulting articles of which were published in ID 21 Insights (see Cleaver 2000).

The United Nations has published a report on the men and gender (see United Nations 2004; Lang 2003). Väestöliitto (the Family Federation of Finland) has published a book in Finland on *Male Involvement and Gender Issues in South Asia* (see Alkio et al. 2002) and also launched a research project concerning men's role in reproductive health in developing countries. Save the Children Sweden-Denmark has published a report on "Working with Men and Boys" (see Karlsson and Karkara 2004). Oxfam has launched a project called "Gender Equality and Men" (GEM). In addition, Oxfam has published a number of books on gender and men: *Gender Equality and Men* (see Lang 2003), *Men's Involvement in Gender and Development Policy and Practice* (see Sweetman 2001), *Mainstreaming Men into Gender and Development* (see Chant and Gutmann 2000) and *Men and Masculinity*. Out of these publications, *Mainstreaming Men into Gender and Development* has the closest resemblance to the study in its approach to the topic. It is based on the consultations of various NGO personnel and their views of men's inclusion into GAD. However, the persons consulted are all from Western development organisations and can be seen as representing the view of Northern NGOs and development institutions, whereas the study at hand voices the perceptions from a Southern NGO. The next chapter presents an overview of the contextual settings of this study in Uganda.

2 Uganda – The Pearl of Africa

This chapter summarizes the findings of background research on Uganda carried out during the field visit in September-December 2005. It presents the contextual basis against which the findings of the two analyses are reflected. Firstly, a country overview is given together with statistics of development indicators of Uganda. Secondly, the cultural context and manifestations of gender relations in Uganda is discussed. Thirdly, an introduction to World Vision Uganda as a Southern NGO is given, following with a glimpse of the organisational culture and gender. Lastly, the origins of gender awareness for individual informants taking part in the semi-structured interviews are presented.

2.1 Uganda country overview

Uganda is a land locked country in East Africa in the Great Lakes region. It is situated astride the equator, with Kenya bordering in the east, Tanzania and Rwanda in the south, the Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire) in the west and Sudan in the north. It lies about 600 – 5100 m above the sea level and covers 241 500 square kilometres. (Uganda Human Development Report 2005, p. 1.)



Picture 2: Map of Uganda

The population was 24,7 million in 2002, around 88 per cent of which resides in the rural areas. The annual population growth rate was 3,4 per cent in 2003, whereas the average for the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa was 2,1 per cent. According to estimations Uganda is likely to reach 40 million by the year 2025. Life expectancy at birth was 45,7 years in 2004. Moreover, almost half of the population (around 49 per cent) is below 15 years of age. The population is divided into 56 recognised ethnic groups. (Uganda Human Development Report 2005, pp. 1-7, 19-31.) The official language is English, which has second-language speakers of 1,000,000, and is used in primary schools and law courts. The overall number of living languages in Uganda is 46 with 43 being indigenous. Uganda holds eleventh position as one of countries with most language diversity in the world. (Gordon 2005, online.) The majority of Ugandans are Christians (CIA World Factbook, online).

Uganda is a former colony of Great Britain and it gained its independence in 1962. The politics of the post-colonial era for Uganda have been largely affected by military regimes and violence. The most infamous of the regimes is perhaps that of Idi Amin from 1971 to 1979. Today, a more peaceful regime of Yoveri Museveni is in place (Thomson 2000, pp. 133-138), albeit for the third term. Uganda, today, is divided into four administrative regions with a further sub-division of 56 districts countrywide. Agriculture covers 31,8 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Annual growth rate of the GDP was 4,9 per cent in 2003. The amount of foreign debt was 3,8 billion dollars in 2003. The percentage of people in absolute poverty has slightly risen since the turn of the millennium to 38 per cent in 2003 leaving Uganda one of the poorest countries in the world. The increase in inequality and the poor performance of the agricultural sector have affected the increasing level of income poverty. The distribution of wealth is uneven with northern Uganda suffering the most. The ongoing political insurgency in northern Uganda has posed a challenge to development cooperation. The conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the government has resulted in 1,4 million Internally Displaced People (IDPs). (Uganda Human Development Report 2005, pp. 1-7, 19-31.)

Universal Primary Education (UPE) is in place in Uganda. The net primary school enrolment was 79 per cent in 2003. Moreover, in 1997 the government launched the Poverty Eradication

Action Plan (PEAP) which is now in place. However, widespread corruption is one of the challenges that Uganda faces in implementing policies. Another challenge is HIV/AIDS prevalence rate, which was 6,2 per cent in 2004. In 2002, Uganda had more than 1,7 million orphans ranking among the highest in the world. Malnutrition affects 23 per cent of the children under five in Uganda. Access to safe water was covered by only 52 per cent of the population in 2003. (Uganda Human Development Report 2005, pp. 1-7, 19-31.)

2.2 Gender relations in Uganda

As a norm, women experience a lower social status than men in the rural areas of Uganda (Discussion with an ADP Project Manager, Kampala, October 2005). One of its manifestations is violence against women and girls who often face both verbal and physical abuse at home. This is made worse by the frequent alcoholism among men. (Focus Group Discussions with community members, Nabuyoga, November 2005.) Another, cultural manifestation of the lower status of women is kneeling.

You can see it [submission] here in Uganda very much in like women kneel. And some people are like trying to tell you that's just culture, that's just culture, but it means something. And there have been some people I've met who won't kneel or who won't make their daughters kneel. Because it is subservient. It is saying: "I'm below you". (Interview with a Western Community Health Worker, Nabuyoga, November 2005.)

Women in Uganda are generally seen as weaker, incapable and a burden, which draws on the Bible and how the man was created before the woman (Dolan 2002, p. 61).

The biggest challenge to empowerment of women in the countryside is, according to an ADP Project Manager, the lack of ownership of resources such as land or money. Moreover, women are underrepresented in decision-making processes and their participation is limited. (Discussion with an ADP Project Manager, Kampala, October 2005.) When compared to statistics obtained by Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) that measures political and economic participation as well as power over economic resources, the situation in Uganda has slightly improved since the turn of the millennium to a GEM of 0,549. This improvement is mainly result of increased number of women in parliament and in senior and professional

positions. However, the opportunities are still very limited for women when comparing to those for men. (Uganda Human Development Report 2005, p. 27.) The decision-making power of women is reduced to a mere consultant to the husband. Independent decisions by women are not allowed as a norm. The domain women have some power over is the kitchen as they can, for instance, refuse to cook for the husbands in order to make them pay for the school fees for the children. Moreover, due to the perception that a wife is to obey her husband, it is often hard for the women to convince the men – who traditionally make such decisions solely – to use condoms. Thus, levels of family planning are low. The situation is worsened by the fact that it is common that men take more than one wives. (Focus Group Discussions with community members, Nabuyoga, November 2005.)

There are wide sex disparities in literacy rates as 76 per cent of the males are literate whereas the corresponding rate for females is 61. The Girl/Boy ratio in primary school was 96 per cent in 2003. (Uganda Human Development Report 2005, pp. 6, 20.) This means that the proportion of girls and boys in primary school are almost equal, boys being slightly more in numbers. The drop-outs from school by the girl child are affected by long distances to schools, early pregnancies and girls being sent off to work in town as house girls (Discussion with an ADP Project Manager, Kampala, October 2005). Moreover, traditional attitudes on educating girls pose a challenge.

Some people are receptive to the idea that girls need to be educated. But not everyone. But there were people like openly vocally telling us: “if we send out daughters to school we are just educating someone else’s wife. What’s the point of educating her, she’s just going to get pregnant [...] You need to send the sons because the sons are the ones who are going to look after you”. (Interview with a Western Community Health Worker, Nabuyoga, November 2005.)

The drop-outs from school by boys are mainly affected by stubbornness and seeking access to easy money. Child-headed households face high rates of drop-outs as they lack a figure of authority. A challenge to male participation in adult literacy classes is that they are ashamed to admit in public that they are illiterate. (Focus Group Discussions with community members, Kituntu, October 2005.)

Women and girls spend more time doing reproductive work such as taking care of the house and the children than the men and boys in Uganda (Focus Group Discussions with community members, Kituntu, October 2005) in accordance with the gender division of labour.

People do still very much believe in the division of labour. There are certain things that are woman's to do, there are certain things that are man's to do. [...] Here [in Uganda] you don't see people as much identifying cross-gender. You don't see like gender bending type of things like you do in the West. (Interview with a Western Community Health Worker, Nabuyoga, November 2005.)

Boys are often favoured over the girls by parents by giving them more food, clothing or money. Boys also have access to money of their own as they can take up various small activities that are paid for. The underlying idea still is that the man is the head of the household. On the other hand, adolescent boys may also be vulnerable as they receive less advice than the girls various issues. Moreover, boys stated that they feel that they have to work harder than the girls as the more physically demanding tasks are assigned to them. (Focus Group Discussions with community members, Kituntu, October 2005.) Open unemployment is largely urban, especially among women (Uganda Human Development Report 2005, p. 29). Possibilities for women to earn money in the rural areas are very limited. This is further exacerbated by the fact that opportunities for women and girls to move outside the home village or parish are limited. (Focus Group Discussions, Nabuyoga, November 2005.) Men are mainly the ones who make decisions about how money is used (Focus Group Discussions with community members, Kituntu, October 2005). Although this is the reality at the grass-roots level for many, it should be remembered, however, that these are not relevant to the lives of all women and men universally throughout Uganda. There is considerable variation in the gender relations between class, ethnicity, urban and rural populations, young and old people, as well as between different religious groups.

The government of Uganda has been active in establishing formal national mechanisms for improving gender equality in the country. Such mechanisms include Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD), the National Women's Council and the Directorate for Gender and Mass Mobilisation in the Movement Secretariat, the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC), the Uganda Law Reform Commission (ULRC), Uganda Parliamentary Women's Association (UWOPA) and the National Association of Women's

Organisations in Uganda (NAWOU). Moreover, gender focal points have been created in various ministries to promote gender mainstreaming in the respective sector policy formulation. Uganda has established a national gender policy and an action plan in response to the Beijing platform for women. Uganda has also ratified the CEDAW convention in 1985 as well as the Convention on the Rights of Children (CRC) in 1990. The 1995 Constitution of Uganda is recognised as among the most gender sensitive in the region. However, there have been some challenges in law reform in respect of the constitution. Only two laws have been revised: The Local Government Act 1996 guaranteeing a total of 40 per cent representation of women in the Local Council structure; and the Land Act 1998 requiring the consent of spouses on land transactions. (World Vision Uganda Gender Strategy 2005-2008, pp. 1-2.) Nevertheless, men own most of the assets at home. The majority of women and girls cannot currently inherit land or property in Uganda. (Focus Group Discussions with community members, Nabuyoga, November 2005.)

2.3 World Vision Uganda

Although the study does not attempt to analyze how World Vision as an NGO relates to the topic under investigation, it is nevertheless important to present some basic information of the context of the informants as employees of the organisation to be better able to contextualize the responses.

World Vision Uganda is a “Christian, childcare, relief, development and advocacy non-governmental organisation” (World Vision Uganda Gender Strategy 2005-2008, p. 3). It functions to respond to the needs of the poor and marginalized in 22 districts within the country. Their work is based on communities and emphasizes the focus on the child. They target the needy irrespective of their racial, gender ethnic or religious background. (World Vision Uganda Gender Strategy 2005-2008, p. 3.) For the purposes of this study, the geographical areas where World Vision Uganda operates have been reduced to three: Kampala National Office; Kituntu sub-county in Mpigi district south-west of Kampala towards Masaka; and Nabuyoga sub-county in Tororo district east of Jinja near the boarder of Kenya (see Picture 2).

2.3.1 Gender and organizational culture

Gender mainstreaming has been recognised as an important component in the functions of World Vision Uganda: “Mainstreaming is established as the overall strategy for promoting and strengthening gender equity at all levels” (World Vision Uganda Gender and Development Policy June 2005, p. 4). Gender Self-Assessment (Gender Audit, June-August 2005) was carried out, upon which Gender and Development Policy (June 2005) and Gender Strategy (October 2005-September 2008) have been devised. Moreover, Gender Committee headed by Gender Focal Person is in place as well as GAD Advocacy Officer in the National Office. In addition, the Human Resource and Administration Division guides gender mainstreaming in the organisation and administrative processes. (World Vision Uganda Gender and Development Policy June 2005, p. 4.) The organisation has very effectively taken on the issues of gender.

Some unique characteristics to be found in the WVU gender policies can be found. The purpose of the Gender and Development Policy is: “to support the achievement of *equity* between women and men, boys and girls, to ensure sustainable development for WVU and communities where WVU operates” (World Vision Uganda Gender and Development Policy June 2005, p. 2, italics added). Indeed, both Gender and Development Policy 2005 and Gender Strategy 2005-2008 consistently refer to *equity* instead of *equality*. This particular focus may perhaps be explained by one of the guiding principles stated in the Policy: “i. The gender policy will uphold Biblical Christian values and principles in promoting gender equity and women empowerment” (Gender and Development Policy 2005, p. 3). Another guiding principle supports this approach: “iv. Achieving gender equity does not mean that women become the same as men; women and men, boys and girls have different God given roles and WVU will not attempt to change this“ (Gender and Development Policy 2005, p. 3). Furthermore, one of the objectives stated in the Strategy is “to promote *healthy relationships* between men and women, boys and girls in the organisation, families and communities where World Vision Uganda operates” (World Vision Uganda Gender Strategy October 2005-September 2008, p. 7, italics added). The policy does not further elaborate on what is meant by “healthy relationships”. As part of this organisation the responses given by the informants are also possibly influenced by these policies and awareness of them.

According to the findings of the Gender Audit (June-August 2005), gender mainstreaming in the organisation is proceeding well and the organizational culture is vastly gender sensitive. Gender responsive approach has been identified in programme planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation to a great extent, as well as in staffing and human resources. (World Vision Uganda Gender Audit Report June-August 2005, pp. v and 24.) A lot has been done to address gender issues in the organisation with many good results. However, the strong role played by religion needs to be taken into account, which was also acknowledged by the organisation itself.

The organisation's Christian background has a lot to do with promoting a good organisational culture but Christianity and different cultural backgrounds do not necessarily promote free discussion of gender issues. Gender sensitizations and training will promote open discussion of gender issues in the organization but SLT needs to actively promote this. (World Vision Uganda Gender Audit Report June-August 2005, p. 26.)

These special features of WVU as an organisation form some of the context against which the findings of the study is reflected.

2.3.2 The informants' origin of gender awareness

Question number two in the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 1) examined how the gender awareness has risen in the personal lives of the informants. Besides the above mentioned national and organisational factors, these personal experiences also contextualize the data gathered.

Most of the informants stated that their awareness and knowledge of gender issues have been raised through formal education, mostly at the university level. Six of the informants had taken part in a module on gender issues as part of their university studies. Gender awareness and knowledge had also considerably been raised through their work positions. Besides gender issues being addressed in the general working environment, some had also taken part in gender trainings. In sum, for most of the informants gender awareness and knowledge came about in adulthood via sensitization at the university or at various workplaces.

For two informants the awareness had already risen in childhood through the socialisation process at home. For example, for Female 2 the parents provided the girl child the same opportunities as for the boy child.

I realised that in our family my Dad and my Mom gave me the opportunity to participate. [...] And to me that was the awareness that I'm the same like my brothers and when I got to the school, right from primary to the time I finished [...] I was treated the same like the boys. (Female 2.)

Only two people mentioned the influence of government policies and the changing socio-political environment in Uganda as raising gender awareness. The general awareness by the society of gender issues started to increase during the last ten years.

Especially mid 90s, the government policies started to be more deliberate to focus especially on women. [...] So I think the general environment started recognizing issues related to gender. We saw a government ministry created for that. And then things like policies came in place. Then also a lot of radio programmes, newspapers. People started to talk more and more on gender. And the women themselves, the activists, started coming up. (Male 3.)

Nevertheless, according to the data it can be concluded that in most cases gender awareness is not something that came about in socialisation in the respondents' childhood. The issues are not addressed overtly by referring to gender.

[...] in the community, in my up-bringing there wasn't much of gender. *Gender* – we don't necessarily use those kinds of words in the home. (Female 5.)

This is perhaps not surprising as the term is of Western origin and still rather academic. Even in the Western context the concept itself is not by far taught to children as part of their up-bringing. However, what is important is that the rural people in Uganda may have special difficulties understanding the meaning and relevance of the concept as no direct translation exists that covers the social aspect of it.

[Gender] needs to go beyond the educated and the urban people [...] Because today when you talk about gender, someone educated and someone living in an urban area say: "we'll understand you". But deep in the village where we have 82 per cent of our community, they do not know anything about it. We do not even have in many languages the interpretation of the word *gender*. (Male 4.)

Although the general socio-political environment has started to change to a more gender sensitive one in Uganda, gender awareness for most of the people outside the urban higher education remains limited. This poses a challenge to gender equality work in Uganda. Gender

is also largely confined to the academic level on a global level. In the next chapter, the evolution of gender issues in the development context is presented from an academic perspective with an overview of the debate on men's inclusion into GAD.

3 Gender politics and the Third World – Theoretical background

This chapter investigates the evolution of gender issues in development cooperation from a social scientific point of view. First, the emergence of *Women in Development* (WID) is discussed. Then, the gradual shift to *Gender and Development* (GAD) is presented along with the rising interest towards male inclusion in development cooperation. Appendix 2 presents a summary of the comparison between WID and GAD. An overview of the arguments for and against including men into GAD is given in the last section.

3.1 From Women in Development to Gender and Development

According to Loomba (1998, p. 230) globalisation has influenced the emergence of an international network of women's development linking together NGOs, aid-organisations and development agencies in their collective attempt for women's empowerment. Young (2002, pp. 321-325) outlines the emergence of development policies sensitive to women's issues. In the 1970s women in international aid agencies began to call for more attention to the neglect of women in development programmes, which developed into a wider movement in the field of development co-operation known as *Women in Development* (WID). The publication of *Women's Role in Economic Development* by Ester Boserup marked the emergence of the era of women in development (Moghadam 1998, p. 590). According to Young (2002, p. 321) one of the initial concerns of WID was to fight the existing false presupposition that women automatically benefit from resources directed to households. The attempt was also to reveal the negative effects of development policies and programmes on women. The proponents of WID called for improving the productivity of women's economic activities as well as integrating women into the public sphere into positions in the government and development agencies via establishing women's units. Despite that many WID advocates were influenced by liberal feminist theory for women's equality, they based their arguments on the anti-poverty factors rather than those of equality as a strategic reaction to the opposition that they received from mainstream society. In the 1980s the attention shifted slightly to demonstrating the inefficiency of development policies due to ignoring women's contribution. (Young 2002, pp. 321-325.) In sum, the early WID approach called attention to women's role in economic

production, access to resources and access to new employment opportunities in the public sphere (Moghadam 1998, p. 590). The integration of women into the economic arena was seen as crucial.

In its emphasis on increasing women's participation in economic activities the WID approach failed to recognise the dual activities of production and reproduction carried out by Third World women, which resulted in increasing the already intense work load for women. Young (2002, p. 322) argues that this led to the actual worsening of women's status as some of the resources women previously had were lost due to the economic changes proposed. The WID approach also received criticism for not challenging the mainstream model of development based on neo-classical economic theory, market economy and modernisation. Moreover, it did not question the usage of biological differences between men and women as the starting point for analysis. In its emphasis on women's equal capacity for rationality it dismissed the value discussion of mothering and caring. (Young 2002, pp. 321-325.)

Reflecting the criticism that the WID approach received, a new approach emerged in the early 1980s, namely *Women and Development* (WAD). Its proponents claimed that the previous approach did not pay enough attention to the capitalist nature of the development process, and wanted to question the kind of development that women were to be integrated into. This socialist-feminist approach claimed that both patriarchy and capitalism narrowed down women's opportunities. (Moghadam 1998, p. 590.) The centrality of production, which was seen as a public domain and thus associated with men, meant that women were assigned to the private sphere of reproduction and consumption (Visvanathan 1997b, p. 21).

During the mid-1970s a group of feminist scholars had begun to formulate an altogether different position starting from the unequal power relations between the sexes. Aiming to avoid the division that the WID proponents made between the developed and the developing countries, these feminists claimed that the inequality in power relations was not solely a feature of the Third World but also manifested itself in the developed countries in job hierarchies and positions of power. They adopted the usage of the concept of gender to analyse how development activities influence these power relations, many of which hindered women

from utilising the opportunities specifically targeted to them. This new approach became known as *Gender and Development (GAD)*. (Young 2002, pp. 321-325.)

The GAD approach merged together aspects of both WID and WAD (Moghadam 1998, p. 590). Indeed, many of the early GAD theorists were social feminists like those of WAD, thus critical of the model of development based on economic growth. They called for the recognition of the economic value of women's reproductive and caring activities arguing that women were not, in fact, left out of development but were at the core of it as the providers of unpaid labour. (Young 2002, pp. 321-325.) However, the main point of departure in GAD is the system of gender relations that, together with global capitalist economic relations, influence the possibilities for both sexes. These relations between the sexes are deeply rooted in ideologies and power hierarchies. (Moghadam 1998, p. 590.) In other words, by adopting the usage of the concept of gender the perspective was broadened to include men. However, the supporters of the GAD approach did frequently admit that the focus on women was perhaps necessary in the initial development of a more gender sensitive development paradigm (Martinussen 1995, p. 308).

The broadened perspective is also reflected in research. Although many GAD researchers pay attention to the neoliberal economic policies often biased against women and the poor, the issues under examination have broadened to also include health and reproductive rights, female-headed households, intra-household inequalities, violence against women, women and decision-making as well as collective action by women. (Moghadam 1998, pp. 590-592.) Another important improvement was that the GAD approach challenged the earlier traditions of seeing women as a monolithic group via introducing the concepts of class, age, ethnicity and religion, among others, as markers of difference between women. (Young 2002, pp. 321-325.) Indeed, the discourse of gender and development has largely been influenced by postcolonial feminism. As in GAD, the idea of women as an internally heterogeneous group is also one of the core arguments of postcolonial feminism. Vuorela (1999) notes that the tendency by the postcolonial feminist approach to underline the differences among women has raised discussion in the circles of development practitioners. On the one hand, this feature has been useful in undermining the totalising discourses of the development theories, on the other

hand, too much focus on the differences may pose challenges to the practical organisation of, and lack of willingness to, women's cooperation. (Vuorela 1999, pp. 28-32.)

The gradual evolution of integrating women into development policies and practice has taken place over the last three decades. From the initial focus on increasing women's access to and participation in the economic sphere (WID) there has been a shift towards a broader approach more aware of the oppressive structures of capitalism and patriarchy on women's opportunities (WAD). However, both of these approaches lacked an understanding of the complex power relationships between the sexes. Eventually a more holistic approach emerged that focus on both men and women and the wider gender relations that underpin society (GAD). Women were no longer seen as a passive, unified group with uniform experience of oppression. Moghadam (1998, p. 594) underlines that the GAD approach not only pays attention to the structures of power hierarchy but also to the active agency by women. Despite the differences between the WID and GAD approaches², Young (1997, p. 51) points out that there is also some overlap to be seen, especially between GAD and WAD. Today, a multitude of local women's organisations are linked to each other forming a global women's movement. Moghadam (1998, p. 594) suggests that international development may have given birth to its most challenging critic in international feminism.

3.2 Enter the men – The rise of the male sensitive gender politics

The twentieth century witnessed an overall change in patterns of gender, which has raised the interest in men and masculinities as well as their changed position in the education, labour market and family organisation for example. Men at the world at large have had to adapt to the changes in their roles as the primary breadwinners as more women enter the labour force, which has also changed the domestic power relations. Moreover, many young men are facing problems in attaining education and employment. (Chant 2000, p. 8.) Globalisation at large moulds the way in which national and local masculinities are articulated thus transforming patriarchy in the domestic and public spheres. For instance, globalisation involves a process of proletarianisation of local peasantries, which leads to massive labour migrations that typically

² For a summary of the WID/GAD comparison, see Appendix 2.

consist of men. (Kimmel 2002, p. xii.) The growing international awareness has more recently taken GAD itself under scrutiny.

Besides the global transformations in gender roles and relations, the internal pressures for development in WID/GAD have affected the rise of male sensitive gender politics. Since the late 1980s the development literature on gender has showed evidence of being aware that it has excessively focussed on women. (Chant 2000, pp. 7-8.) The GAD approach has recently witnessed an increasing amount of criticism and self-appraisal from its own supporters. Although a level of success has been experienced in bringing in gender issues into development, many scholars and practitioners have increasingly expressed their concerns about a balanced representation of views of both men and women as the tendency has been to nevertheless concentrate on women and neglecting men. (Pearson 2000a, p. 400.) The emerging awareness of previous focus on women has been influenced by the internal evolution of the GAD approach. The three decades of development from the initial WID movement to the GAD approach came to the point where gender is seen as shaped by both multiple time and place bound factors such as culture and institutions, and other social categories such as class, age and race. The focus on women only became conceptually questionable as well as restricting the transformative effect of gender interventions. This encompasses the inclusion of men in the process of change. (Chant 2000, pp. 8-9.) A number of the GAD scholars seem to be unhappy about the mainstream GAD approach with a focus on women and moving towards a new paradigm, namely *Men and Development* (MAD), in which men and masculinities are taken as the group of focus for development practice and theory (Forrest 2002, p. 84).

Rather than the MAD approach, this study identifies itself to belong to the new evolved branch of the GAD approach welcoming the fresh arguments for male inclusion. As in the old GAD, this approach accepts the fundamental goal of gender equality, which entails the examination and understanding of gender relations in general – including the inter-relationship and interaction between men and women. It rejects the previous tendency of concentrating on women's needs and experiences despite its rhetoric of the male inclusive concept of gender, creating a new organisational structure to gender planning. Just as targeting women only,

concentrating solely on men lacks profound transformative power to make a wider difference. This relates to the second argument, namely, mainstreaming gender into all development initiatives and policies, which requires the examination of both men and women together to form holistic contextual understanding of gender. Levy, Taher and Vouhé (2000, p. 87) point out that there is no need to treat men as a separate unit under GAD, or as somehow additional category, such as MAD or MID (as in WID). In order to further the goal of gender mainstreaming, the relationships between men and women should be examined, not either men or women as a separate category.

This is not to argue that there is absolutely no need for specific initiatives for the groups of women or men. Initiatives that have been planned to target either men or women are very much useful in promoting gender equality. For instance, there may be need for a specific women's project component even if targeting both men and women if there is the danger that women may not participate in activities aside with men. (Moser 1993, 152.) At the same time, male-specific initiatives may be useful as long as their goal is gender equality. (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland 2003b, p. 7.) However, these initiatives should be further integrated to broader gender mainstreaming practices at a wider societal level to become even more effective. There seems to be some confusion on the part of development organisations that frequently confuse a women's project with a mainstream project with a women's component in it (Moser 1993, p. 152).

Besides the above factors of globalisation and evolution of the WID/GAD paradigms, the rise of the male sensitive gender politics is contextualized in the overall evolution of the different development policy approaches to addressing women in development cooperation. Moser (1993, pp. 56-57) outlines the features of these different policy approaches. The first one, "welfare approach" (1950-70) sought to further women's practical gender needs and treated women as passive recipients. The second approach, "equity approach" (1975-85), promoted equity for women and considered them as active agents in development. It aimed at meeting the strategic gender needs of women by activating the state to direct top-down action to increase women's autonomy. The third approach, namely the "anti-poverty approach" (1970s onwards), saw women's lower status as resulting from underdevelopment and thus aimed at

increasing their productivity by meeting the practical gender needs of women's access to income. However, this approach saw poor women as an isolated separate category. Fourthly, the subsequent "efficiency approach" (post-1980s) laid emphasis on more effective and efficient development by increasing women's participation in economics and approached women in terms of their delivery capacity. It promoted women's practical gender needs drawing on all three gender roles of women. Lastly, the "empowerment approach" (1975 onwards) called for ensuring women's self-reliance and furthering their strategic gender needs by mobilizing at the grass-roots to confront oppressive structures. (Moser 1993, pp. 56-57.)

Drawing on Moser's approaches, Chant and Gutmann (2000, pp. 7-8) present the evolution of male sensitive gender politics in relation to the above policy approaches. They link the "equity", "anti-poverty" and "efficiency" approaches to the WID paradigm. The "empowerment approach" is associated with WAD paradigm because its "multi-relational contingency of gender makes it more closely aligned with GAD than WID thinking" (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 9). The early version of the GAD paradigm draws partly on the "empowerment approach" with its focus on transformation of power relations in development as well as the emphasis on participatory methods. Nevertheless, Chant and Gutmann associate the first GAD paradigm with a sixth approach, namely "integration" or "mainstreaming approach" (1980s onwards) that attempts to integrate gender into all aspects of development. At this point men have been included alongside with women as the target group of the interventions. The seventh, "equality approach" (1990s), is the latest GAD variation aiming at and working through equality and power balance between the sexes with emphasis on human rights and people-centred attributes. (Chant and Gutmann, 2000, pp. 8-9.) Most evidently, the latest form of GAD offers the greatest space for including men into gender work. In sum, the present male sensitive GAD basically is founded on the ideas of mainstreaming and equality. It is perhaps comprehensible that the welfare, anti-poverty and efficiency approaches concentrated on improving women's social status as they were furthering the practical gender needs of women, as well as the need for focussing on women's strategic gender needs when addressing the empowerment issue. Interestingly, the previous women-specific "equity" approach seems to have incorporated the idea of justice and fairness only for women – not for men, whereas *equality* as a concept inevitably requires both sexes as the focus is more on

equal opportunity and representation as well as gender relations. The goal of furthering women's strategic gender needs by the equity approach must have therefore gained only limited success.

Due to the effect of these three factors: global transformation, WID/GAD evolution, and the influence of the mainstreaming and equality approaches to gender policies in development cooperation, "Gender and Development" (GAD) has embodied greater reference to men, and arguably created greater space for the inclusion of men as actors and clients in gender interventions" (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 6). Although men are already in power in many development organisations and enjoy a privileged position in many societies in general (Lang 2003, p. 3), GAD does not insist that all men are aware of the causes of male dominance or that all men actively work towards preserving such dominance. In a similar vein, women according to GAD are not necessarily any closer to "right" behaviour in relation to gender. GAD does not attempt to place the blame on men as labelling them "bad" or "evil". However, it does recognize the power enjoyed by many men, which may make it challenging to include the men to furthering the status of women. (Young 1997, pp. 51-52.) The next section examines the challenges expressed by different gender scholars and practitioners.

3.3 The challenges of men's inclusion

In recent years, as gender issues have become increasingly debated in the discourse of development cooperation, academic scholars resisting men's inclusion into gender and development have become more vocal. There are some recurring issues that characterize the debate on men's inclusion in gender (Cleaver 2002, p. 5). The first set of arguments address the feminist agenda of GAD. Some feminists seem to fear that bringing men into gender will remove attention away from women and their subordinate position and that men will somehow "take over" (Cleaver 2002, p. 5). This could result in a reduced profile and visibility for women as well as in the subversion of existing projects focussing on women. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 19.) It may create a false perception that women's issues have been furthered enough and that men should now be focussed upon. This may lead to the shifts in the prioritization of questions of power and empowerment on various research agendas. (Datta

2004, p. 256.) There seems to be some evidence of difficulties in attempting to prevent men from taking over or obtaining any considerable improvement in gender relations in the process of including men into GAD. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 19.) Moreover, there has been wide discussion on whether the present feminist GAD approach is entirely appropriate to be used in the male perspective: can it be altered in such a manner that it does not favour women or should there be another approach applied, say MAD? (Cleaver 2002, pp. 5-6). Cornwall and White (2000, p. 2) point out that some critics are afraid that including men may dilute the feminist agendas of GAD.

Given the inferior status of women and their wellbeing in general as compared to those of men in general, there is clear need for allocating funds in a manner that targets women. It is therefore that men's inclusion in GAD has raised objections given the limited amount of funds flowing to GAD. As the budgets are limited, so are the ways how to allocate funds. Even if additional funds were available for men and gender, competition in the arena of constantly falling rates of development aid would be likely to increase. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, pp. 16-19.)

One of the reasons why development organisations have preferred not to include men into gender work has to do with the legacy of the WID approach and its emphasis on women. WID has been largely favoured by large development organisations over GAD. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 20.) Some scholars have questioned the role of gender analysis in GAD as "intruding" into the private sphere of personal relationships rather than public dimensions of gender such as enhancing women's participation. Indeed, development agencies have tended to prefer women-only interventions to avoid becoming involved in the problematic issues of relationships between women and men as well as complicated issues of personal and sexual identities (Cleaver 2002, pp. 7-8, 18). Such involvement has been as a threat to the diplomacies of development cooperation. WID has indeed been seen as less threatening with its add-on rationale, whereas GAD has been seen more confrontational in its goal in more fundamental and integrative results. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 20.) In addition, NGO staff might feel that incorporating a rights-based gendered approach has too long a time span, and it is too challenging to point out concrete results (Lang 2003, p. 3). It also calls for larger

commitment of resources and it is essentially problematic to tackle in both planning and implementation phases (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 20).

Even development agencies that seem to support the idea of male inclusion have received criticism. One of the criticisms is that the actual guidelines for how to integrate men and in what contexts have not been realised despite the growth in the rhetoric about men. In such a context it is easy for development organisations not to take any risks and include men, as the practicalities are still rather poorly defined (Chant 2000, pp. 8-9) and there are not many past experiences to build upon (Lang 2003, p. 4). There is a gap between rhetoric and reality in men's inclusion into GAD.

Another criticism is that there is an ideological gap between the interests of Southern men as they struggle to challenge the dominant masculinities and between the critical men's studies in the North. Thus, when speaking about men and masculinities, the question of who is in actual fact represented and whose interests are taken as the premise should be kept in mind. (Clever 2002, pp. 7-8.) The debate about inclusion has to ask what are the men being included into, when and what does this inclusion benefit and which men (Cornwall and White 2000, p. 3). Thus drawing on the postcolonial theory, the various stances of different men should better be taken into account.

The very idea of men being excluded has been challenged by gender scholars. Everyday negotiations on gender identities take place in the private realm. Moreover, fieldworkers constantly need to adapt to the overall gender context they face at the grass roots level. Interestingly, the reality of men being already involved in various ways is not reflected in the previous discourses of GAD, in which men have been largely excluded. (Cornwall and White 2000, p. 3.) Moreover, the power in most development organisations is male (Lang 2003, p. 3), the organisational structure of development organisations is largely male-biased and the national governments in the South are as a rule governed by men. Besides all this, men also generally enjoy privileged status in society. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, pp. 21-23.) White (2000) reminds of the danger that when addressing the male question, GAD runs the risk of falling in with the mainstream patriarchal structures (White 2000, p. 38). It should be

remembered that the men in the organisations may have a vested interest in preserving the status quo as having power over women as well as other men (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 22).

The resistance and anxieties by men themselves also pose a challenge to men's inclusion into GAD. It seems to stem from the fear of drawing more attention to their privileged status and the invisibility of their gender that maintains it (Lang 2003, p. 4). Men in development organisations may fear what other men might think. Despite the possible sympathies, they may also be sceptical of how much they can influence the approach taken by the organisation. How men should be included is to a large degree also determined and negotiated by women instead of men or both sexes. This may not appeal to men who first have to go through identifying and critically evaluating the existing power hierarchies. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 22.) Besides the fear of straying from the usual focus on women, the men may also fear that by introducing men into gender it may be interpreted into the need for male authority to implement policies. There seems to be a lack of space in the debate on gender issues for men to actively participate. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, pp. 22-23.)

As presented above, there is a wide continuum of standpoints that argue against men's inclusion into GAD. The reasons for excluding men vary from deliberate to unconscious. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 23.) Women can gain as much as men from male participation by breaking the silence that constitute some of the forms of masculinities that are oppressive to both women and men. (Cornwall and White 2000, p. 3.) Taking on the latter view in the following section, the arguments for the inclusion of men in GAD are discussed to give a more balanced account of the debate of men's inclusion in GAD.

3.4 Why should men be included in gender and development?

The first reason to include men relates to the fact that the international community is bound by conventions. Some, such as the Millennium Declaration and Goals, do not overtly state the inclusion of men into achieving gender equality. Others, however, have begun to clearly formulate statements that actively encourage involving men. The Beijing Declaration and

Platform for Action 1995 states that the governments and the international community are determined to: “25. Encourage men to participate fully in all actions towards equality” (United Nations 1995, p. 3). Moreover, the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) has come forth in 2004 with agreed conclusions on “The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality”. The Commission urges governments, organisations, the UN, international financial institutions as well as the civil society to take action to include boys and men into the gender agendas (United Nations 2004, p. 2).

Besides international policy commitments to including men into gender, there are also many academic scholars that actively promote this cause. Firstly, the debate on men’s inclusion in GAD has mostly been realized by women and for women. Women seldom are autonomous individuals in their communities. Therefore, including men inevitably makes the interventions more relevant and workable, and the transformations gained will be more sustainable. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, pp. 3, 27-28.) Including men secures more effective delivery of development services (Cleaver 2002, p. 2). As the focus is on gender relations, a change inevitably requires the participation of both parties (White 1997, p. 14). Therefore GAD can be seen as compatible with men’s inclusion, and the fear of diverting attention away from women’s concerns and needs becomes unnecessary.

Secondly, with regard to the inclusion of men in gender projects, there is also the question of reducing the workload and responsibilities of women (Chant 2000, p. 10). This applies equally to both project beneficiaries as well as staff, as the people working with gender issues are predominantly women. According to Chant and Gutmann (2000, p. 26), the argument of male exclusion increasing the workload of women have been especially prominent where the efficiency approach to development, which emphasizes the need for women’s participation in economic activities for a more efficient development, has been adopted.

Thirdly, Chant and Gutmann (2000, p. 19) point out that continuing to exclude men may be just as problematic as including men when it comes to the limited budgets for gender work. Confining to the previous focus on women may equally limit the possibilities of obtaining a

bigger share of development funds for gender initiatives. Men are, after all, in key positions in many organisations in this respect. Moreover, including men to the agenda may increase the overall support for gender equality of these men. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 19.) The fear that resources that have been earmarked for projects targeting women would be reallocated to benefit men is, as Sternberg and Hubley (2004, p. 394) argue, unrealistic. Firstly, in the case of reproductive health promotion there is vast evidence that many men approve and care about family planning and the welfare of their families. Secondly, there is evidence from interventions that men in actual fact wish to be part of the activities and many have responded very positively. (Sternberg and Hubley 2004, p. 394.)

Another argument for the inclusion of men is the limited benefits of women-only projects, which usually only marginally advance the long-term strategic gender interests of women. In practice, this may mean that such projects assume that women are better able to influence the course of development or gender relations in the households than they actually are. Women, for example, are not as much able to determine their own sexual behaviour or the dietary behaviour of other household members. Besides helping to overthrow power hierarchies, including men will also engage them to take more responsibility for changing unequal gender relations. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 27.)

Fifthly, the current scope of male inclusion is rather limited in GAD work as it often revolves around the themes of violence, reproductive health and family planning. It should be further broadened to include other sectors such as intra-household budgeting, labour market distortions, education and training, and property rights and legal status for men and women. (Pearson 2000b, p. 42.)

The contemporary discourse on development policy stresses what is called a rights-based approach. This differs from the previous needs-based approach in that no longer is the need for development and assistance seen as the basis for interventions, but rather the people in the developing countries having the right to receive it (see for example, Degenbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen 2003, pp. 10, 247, 87; and United Nations 2003, p. 18). Drawing on this approach, Chant (2000, p. 12) argues that to exclude men from gender projects, and thus deny

them of the rights that have been promoted to women in the gender and development context, is fundamentally unjust. Similarly, Chant and Gutmann (2000, p. 28) maintain that leaving men out in the climate of post-Beijing GAD equality approach is denying the men the rights that women are technically entitled to, and is thus violating the human rights of men. On the other hand, human rights is not very convincing as an argument as women have been largely taken as a residual category of human rights along with the notion of “women’s rights” (Chant 2000, p. 13).

The seventh factor in favour of including men and boys into development initiatives is the need to work with, and not against, different political forces such as the Taliban in Afghanistan to promote gender equality (Pearson 2000b, p. 46). Most frequently political groups assign power to men. Including men helps prevent unnecessary conflicts and works as unifying the forces towards gender equality. There is perhaps also a need for conflict prevention in the tendency of viewing male exclusion separate from and oppositional to the exclusions of women from development, as it may evoke anti-feminist reactions that blame the feminist movement of excluding the men. Including men may unify people for the achievement of gender equality. (Datta 2004, 255.)

There has also been a lot of debate about the *crisis of masculinity* that results from the ongoing changes in the economy as well as social and household structures. These changes challenge the fundamental identities of men, and the crisis arises as there are no alternative roles for men, which occasionally leads to anti-social behaviour. (Cleaver 2002, pp. 3-4.) At the same time, it presents an opportunity of opening up new spaces for masculine identities, in the realm of parenting for instance (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 29.) In the dynamic relationship between gender relations and societal change, it is a risk to exclude men from gender issues.

The crisis of masculinity that leads to a situation in which men lose some of their previous power, status and entitlements may result in women being the victims, notably of violent behaviour (Chant 2000, p. 13). Indeed, initiatives that concentrate on reducing the violence against women have widely recognised the need for also targeting men for change. According to Chant and Gutmann (2000, p. 26), there is much evidence that men, when excluded, may

retaliate posing a threat to the success of gender initiatives. The causes of such backlashes lie most probably both in the fact that they have been excluded from specific projects and the general anxieties about the changing social reality of their lives. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 26.)

Moreover, gendered vulnerabilities must be taken into consideration when planning for development. Claiming that men are always the privileged ones ignores gender-specific inequalities and vulnerabilities. For instance, in the health sector numerous men in the developing countries face problems of mental health, exposure to pesticides as well as increased HIV infections that are often affected by the linkage of masculinity to virility. Young boys may be expected to become migrant workers and thus left out of education, which later affects their ability to attain other forms of paid work. (Cleaver 2002, pp. 2-3.) It is important to note that men also are subject to inequalities on the basis of gender, class and religion for instance, and therefore address various kinds of inequalities in their lives, as do women (Levy, Taher and Vouhé 2000, p. 87). The proponents of gender equality and social justice point out that both men and women may suffer from social and economic structures and equally deserve to be free from want and oppressive practices (Cleaver 2002, p. 2). Men suffer alongside with women from the patriarchy and models of masculinity (White 1997, p. 18). Although men's suffering is worthy of recognition *per se* (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 29), there is a need to transcend merely articulating "poor men" (White 1997, p. 18). There is evidence of men searching for help out of their own initiative. (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 29.)

The notion of negotiated gender roles and relations is important. As gender roles are negotiated in the private sphere, the process of negotiation provides with an important means for women to increase their participation in development projects and overcoming possible resistance to it by men. Similarly, men may play an important role in women-only projects and women's groups. (Cleaver 2002, p. 4.) The success of this negotiation is linked with the fact that women in the South are engaged in what Kandiyoti (1997, p. 92) calls "patriarchal bargains" that limit their options both in the private and public arena. Similarly, Chant and Gutmann (2000, p. 29) identify the opportunity of renegotiating masculinity.

Finally, there have been strong arguments for strategic gender partnerships. Such partnerships are based on arguments that men provide access to valuable resources, they are needed as partners to ease the workload of women, and they are needed as partners in sharing the responsibility for the family and bringing up of children, and men are needed in political movements and development agencies to ensure gender mainstreaming. (Cleaver 2002, pp. 4-5.) The fact that men are already included in various positions of power, is precisely why there is a need to work with them rather than dismissing them or working against them. Engaging in an equal and mutually supportive partnership also means that there is no need for fearing that men will somehow take over. However, caution should be taken not to fall into the same pitfalls as previously with the add-on rationale of WID. Cornwall and White (2000, p. 6) warn of simply making room for men in GAD. To gain lasting structural transformations in gender relationships there is a need for focus on power positions and relations.

requires that we refocus our concern on the positions and relations of gendered power and powerlessness that produce and sustain inequality, seeking through this a way of moving beyond static frameworks and stereotypes towards genuinely transformatory practice. (Cornwall and White 2000, p. 6.)

In sum, including men into gender and development is crucial because power and inequality issues in society can not be understood by simply focussing on isolated factors or social groups.

Widening the gender perspective to include men and masculinities should broaden and deepen our understanding of power and inequality, not only between men and women but in other social relationships, and thus increase the effectiveness of development interventions. (White 1997, p. 14.)

Because the poststructuralist view of celebrating difference is adopted in the present study, it also draws on the notion that not all men resist or support gender initiatives. Following the same logic of heterogeneity, there must also be a great number of men who need to be included into gender action as beneficiaries given the existence of gendered vulnerabilities. Although Levy et al. (2000) maintain that the various forms of resistance to gender initiatives should not act as hindrances in working towards gender mainstreaming and male inclusion in development, they nevertheless assert that these risks should be kept in mind when planning and engaging in the gender debate. (Levy et al. 2000, pp. 93-94.) For a holistic picture, a summary of the debate on men's inclusion is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: For and against men's inclusion – The debate	
For	Against
▶ International conventions: Including both men and women crucial	▶ Diluting the feminist agenda with men's inclusion
▶ More sustainable and effective development	▶ Lack of details on the of implementation
▶ Both men and women suffer from oppressive gender structures gendered vulnerabilities	▶ Shifting attention away from women's lower status and specific needs
▶ Focus of GAD on gender relations includes both sexes as agents	▶ GAD's focus on gender relationships too confrontational and complicated to adopt
▶ Crisis of masculinity and changing identities and roles of men	▶ GAD based on critical men's studies of the North: Who is represented?
▶ Heterogeneous interests of men: No universally oppressive group of men exists	▶ Men taking over the interventions
▶ Heterogeneity within the social category of men	▶ Which men are to be included?
▶ Limits of women-only projects to real transformation	▶ GAD not necessarily compatible with the idea of men's inclusion
▶ Scope for men in GAD is too narrow: Need for more sectors to be involved	▶ Men already included at various levels: They are in power in society and organizations
▶ Strategic gender partnership for joining forces for gender equality ▶ Men themselves care and wish to be included	▶ Resistance by men a hindrance to cooperation
▶ Possibility for more budget allocations for gender work: Men decide on development budgets	▶ Scarce funding to gender issues: Decreasing women's proportion even further
▶ Possibility of women becoming victims of men not included	▶ Women already victims of patriarchy
▶ Relieving the labour burden of women	▶ Increasing the labour burden for women working with gender
▶ Renegotiating gender roles with men increases women's participation and bargaining power	▶ Women's participation limited by being engaged in the patriarchal bargain
▶ Rights-based approach: Excluding men is unjust and in violation of human rights	▶ Human rights are male-biased as women's rights have been excluded

This last section has presented counter-arguments for the challenges to men's inclusion and found that there is a need for greater partnership in gender work both at the organisational and beneficiary level. However, the valid criticism of the need to report more on the grass-roots experiences and best practices in order to further the formulation of policy guidelines still remains. The present study aims at making a small contribution to filling part of this deficit. Although the practical side of including men bears important implications to the implementation of development interventions, the issue of how men are included into development at the level of discourse is also of importance – not the least when designing

policy guidelines. The next chapter examines the relation between discourse and the social reality.

4 Discourse and the social construction of reality – Theoretical and methodological background

The study of discourse can be traced back to the theoretical approaches referred to as structuralism and post-structuralism (Chilton and Schäffner 1997, p. 207; Lash 1991, pp. ix-xiv). In this chapter, the focus is on a specific linguistic approach: critical discourse analysis (CDA). First, some basic concepts and definitions are given, along with the special issues of interest to critical discourse studies as well as an account of the various academic positions within the field with further attention to that of linguistics. Moreover, the linguistic method of transitivity analysis is presented. Next, a synthesis of the various approaches to CDA is given to provide the basis for analysis for the study at hand. Lastly, an overview of the contemporary GAD discourse in relation to men is given based on the existing academic literature.

4.1 Concepts and definitions

As already noted, the concept of discourse has a multitude of different definitions. In linguistics, *discourse* is used to refer to larger units than the sentence of analysis in spoken or written language. This approach differs from more traditional forms of linguistic studies where the focus of analysis was on sentences or smaller linguistic units. The utilisation of the concept of discourse enables the examination of the interaction between the participants, the process of production and interpretation, and the context in which the language is being used. It is important to understand that *text* is considered to be one aspect of discourse, namely the written or spoken end product of the communication event. For instance, the transcript of an interview is considered as *text*. (Fairclough 1992, pp. 3-4.) Thus, in the process of analysis the aim is to examine manifestations of discourses in a given text or set of texts.

Norman Fairclough seeks to develop a synthesis between the linguistic and social scientific branches of discourse analysis to be able to examine social change (Fairclough 1992, pp. 4, 8). Thus, his definition of discourse is three-dimensional simultaneously consisting of a piece of *text*, a manifestation of *discursive practice* as well as a form of *social practice*. The text dimension allows analysis of texts, whereas the discursive practice defines the processes of

text production and interpretation by looking at which types of discourse are used and how they are drawn together. The third dimension of social practice covers questions related to social analysis of, for example, the institutional or organisational context in which the discourse event takes place and how that influences the constructive aspect of discourse. (Fairclough 1992, p. 4.) These three dimensions are used as the basis for the entire study, which is further explained in chapter 5.

To be specific about terminology, Fairclough refers to the above-mentioned three-dimensional view of language as *discourse* without an article in front. *Discourse types*, on the other hand, refer to the different conventions such as genres and styles that are utilised by language users engaged in discourse. Moreover, Fairclough distinguishes between *discourse practices* and *discursive practices* the former used by specific institutions, organisations or societies where as the latter referring to “analytically distinguishable dimension of discourse” (Fairclough 1992, p. 5). Finally, *a discourse* and *the discourse of* with an article, or *discourses* in plural are used in reference to specific “class of discourse types or conventions” as in “the discourse of biology”. (Fairclough 1992, pp. 4-5.) Because of a similar interdisciplinary position between linguistics and social sciences in this study, the same terminology is used, which is discussed later on in chapter 6.

However, Fairclough (1992, 1995) is not very specific about the terminology he uses about the methodology. He seems to use the term *discourse analysis* (DA) in reference to his interdisciplinary methodological stance, which to my mind has a stronger reference to linguistics and non-critical forms such as conversation analysis (CA). However, he does acknowledge the difference as the non-critical forms are tend to be descriptive of discursive practices rather than revealing the power relations and ideological traits as well as their constructive effects on identities (Fairclough 1992, p. 12). Nevertheless, he seems to use *discourse analysis* and *critical discourse analysis* interchangeably. Thus, as the standpoint of this study is more overtly critical, the term *critical discourse analysis* (CDA) is used to refer to the methodological framework and the analysis.

In CDA, discourse is seen as a form of social practice that is situated in “a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p. 258). In other words, a reciprocal relationship influence the way discourse is socially constructive of reality as well as socially constructed by the reality. Discourse thus sustains and reproduces the social status quo, but also works as a means of transforming it. Hence, issues of power inequalities, for instance between men and women, become central. (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p. 258.)

In order to be able to fully comprehend the logic behind CDA, the concept of hegemony needs to be discussed. Although originally a term used by Gramsci in his analysis of Western capitalism, it has established its place in CDA as well (Fairclough 1992, p. 91). Hegemony, according to Fairclough, is

leadership as well as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of society. Hegemony [...] is never achieved more than partially and temporarily, as an ‘unstable equilibrium’. Hegemony is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes through concessions or through ideological means [...] Hegemonic struggle takes place on a broad front which includes the institutions of civil society...(Fairclough 1995, p. 76.)

In other words, discourses entail power and are engaged in a power struggle as either hegemonic or marginal discourses. According to Fairclough, a specific relatively stabilised configuration of discourse practices, namely *order of discourse*, encompasses one manifestation of hegemony (Fairclough 1995, p. 2). The aforementioned imbalance results in “rearticulating new orders of discourse, new discursive hegemonies” and ultimately a discursive change (Fairclough 1992, p. 97). Thus, CDA opens up a possibility of challenging existing hegemonies and promoting social change. Similarly, the vast social changes in today’s globalized world are reflected in discourse: ”The new global order of discourse is thus characterised by widespread tensions between increasingly international imported practices and local traditions” (Fairclough 1992, p. 7). Besides changes in education, production and marketing there is also evidence of ”changes in relations between [...] women and men in the workplaces and in the family, all of which are partly constituted by new discourse practices” (Fairclough 1992, pp. 7-8). In other words, changes in hegemony and power relations are also evident in discourse.

In addition, the concept of *ideology*, perhaps best known from Althusser's work (Fairclough 1992, p. 86), is of utmost importance in CDA and also needs some clarification. Ideology is not merely existent in political thought but also in a broader sense as the "mental frameworks" of individual people and their relationship to the world at large (Loomba 1998, p. 25). In Fairclough's view, ideologies are

significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities) which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of dominance. (Fairclough 1992, p. 87.)

A dialectical relationship can also be seen as present in ideologies:

Ideologies are situated both in the structures (i.e. orders of discourse) [sic] which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform the conditioning structures. (Fairclough 1992, p. 89.)

Ideologies inherent in discursive practices are most powerful at a stage when they have reached the position of appearing neutral and "common sense". It is important to note that people are not likely to be aware of the ideological aspects of their own lives as they are often built into highly naturalised conventions of their every day practices and are thus difficult to identify. As ideology consolidates or restructures power relations, all discourse is ideological. However, this does not mean that individuals are not capable of transcending ideologies, nor does it mean that all types of discourse are ideologically loaded to the same extent. (Fairclough 1992, pp. 87-91.)

In sum, the issues of power, hegemony and ideology are central in CDA. With such a constitution of issues, CDA cannot avoid being overtly political in its academic stance. Despite this unifying factor, there have been a number of different academic positions within the field of critical discourse studies.

4.2 Approaches to studying discourse

Since the 1970s, the broad arena of discourse analysis has been occupied by a number of scholars each having a different disciplinary background. Fowler and his colleagues argued for

the utilisation of standard linguistic theories, such as Halliday's *systemic functional grammar* (discussed later in this chapter), and the use of grammatical devices to uncover power, manipulation and naturalising social hierarchies in texts. News discourses, for instance, were one of their topics under examination. (Wodak 2001a, pp. 5-9.) Fairclough (2001, pp. 121-129) draws on social theories in order to examine social change by CDA. He argues that semiosis is in a dialectical relationship between other elements of social practices such as cultural values and social relations and identities. Thus, discourses constitute diverse representations of social life as in the constitution of social problems. Language used by media and politics were some of his interests. Van Dijk (2001), like many of his colleagues, argued for text as the basic unit of language. He used a cognitive model of discourse understanding in individuals as a means of understanding discourse at societal level. He examined social representations, which, he argues, are particularised in mental models. Attitudes and ideologies are also part of representations. (Van Dijk 2001, pp. 95-120.) Thus, he analysed topics such as prejudice, racism and ideology.

Jäger (2001) presents criticism of Foucault's theories on discourse and points out the inevitability of mediation between the subject and the object: between the discursive and non-discursive practices (subjects) and physical manifestations (objects). Thus, social action becomes the link between discourse and reality. (Jäger 2001, pp. 32-62.) Scollon, on the other hand, is an expert on mediated discourse analysis, which is more preoccupied with social actions. It seeks to establish links between discourses and social actions. (Scollon 2001, pp. 139-182) Wodak's area of study included the same topics of power, ideology and history as did the work of many other discourse analytic scholars. She became the proponent of the so-called discourse-historical approach that integrates historical background knowledge into analysis (Wodak 2001b, p. 65). She also drew on critical literary theory as well as the work of social philosophers such as Pêcheux, Voloshinov, Foucault and Habermas. Indeed, her point of departure is the argument that the relationships between language and society are so complex that an interdisciplinary approach is necessary. (Wodak 2001a, p. 8.) In addition, van Dijk (2001, p. 95) argues for diversity and an interdisciplinary approach. Indeed, their predisposition to the interdisciplinary is highly supported by and taken as a premise for this study together with the three-dimensional approach advocated by Fairclough. The textual

dimension of the study relies on a specific linguistic stance, namely systemic-functional linguistics, which is presented in the next section.

4.2.1 *Systemic-functional linguistics*

The linguistic approach to discourse analysis most frequently relies on the theory of *systemic-functional linguistics* by Halliday (1985). This theory views language as influenced by the functions it serves instead of focussing on the formal aspects *per se* (Halliday 1985, p. xiii). For systemic functional linguists language is a “system of meanings” where meaning is constructed by choice of words and grammatical features. This system provides the language user with an endless array of choice in meaning construction. It should be noted that this construction process does not always imply a conscious choice but rather a balancing process between conscious and unconscious choices from what is called the “meaning potential”. These choices are influenced by both the context as well as the particular language one is using. (Halliday 1985, p. xvii; Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 2-4.)

Systemic functional linguistics includes a grammar theory known as systemic functional grammar which emphasizes the semantic (concerned with meaning) and functional (concerned with how being used) aspects of grammar (Halliday 1985, p. xiii; Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 2). Its main focus has been on analysing the actual uses of language in real life by speakers or writers and therefore examining “authentic texts”. Systemic functional grammarians have been particularly interested in explaining how language works – which has also been called studying discourse – with an evaluation of texts which is based on original language in a certain context. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 5-7.) In critical linguistics discourse is viewed as “a system of meanings within the culture, pre-existing language” (Fowler 1996, p. 7).

The analysis of such discourse is restricted to sentence level, although in spoken language referring to *clause* is preferred as the main unit of structure under analysis. A clause is “made up of identifiable constituents, which has its own structure and follows a grammatical pattern” (Bloor and Bloor 2004, p 7). When two or more clauses are combined, Halliday talks about a *clause complex*. Example (1a) below presents a clause whereas (1b) presents a combination of two clauses forming a clause complex.

(1a) In the lower layers of the sea there are fewer animals.

(1b) In the lower layers of the sea there are fewer animals and they tend to eat each other. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 5-7.)

According to Thompson (2004), one frequently used field of application of systemic functional grammar is critical discourse analysis in its attempt to uncover hidden ideologies by analysing the range of relevant choices in terms of the types of meanings conveyed (i.e. function) and the wordings used to achieve these meanings, and the matching of these two areas of choice. However, the focus is not on analyzing whether such choices have been conscious or not but what the underlying reasons are for the choices made. Here, the role of context is crucial and the interdependence and mutual construction between language and context. The systemic functional approach takes linguistics closer to sociology (Thompson 2004, pp. 8-10, 251) with its focus more on the subject at hand, rather than language *per se* (Fowler 1996, p. 10).

Function is the basis of systemic functional linguistics and it is used to refer to various entities. Firstly, *grammatical functions* of linguistic entities include for example identifying what functions as a Subject in a given clause. Secondly, the *communicative functions* of utterances, such as greeting, are influenced by a given context. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 9-10.) The third notion of function, namely the *metafunctions* of language is especially important. According to Halliday (1985, p. xxxiv) language has three metafunctions: the *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual* metafunctions. The ideational metafunction which is used for expressing one's perceptions of the world and one's consciousness is further divided into an *experiential* metafunction focussing on ideas and a *logical* metafunction which focuses on the relationship between ideas. The interpersonal metafunction is concerned with interaction and roles taken in understanding and eliciting feelings, attitude and opinions. Lastly, the textual metafunction is concerned with how language organizes the text. These three metafunctions are in progress simultaneously in the construction of meaning. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 9-12.)

Depending on the research topic one or several of these metafunctions are often taken as the basis for analysis in critical discourse analysis. This study focuses solely on the ideational metafunction in its analysis (see chapter 6). This linguistic position of systemic functional grammar is taken as the methodological stance in the critical study of discourse in this study. It also provides the tool for analysis, which is presented in the next section. This linguistic stance of systemic functional grammar will be combined with the overall framework of CDA.

4.2.2 *Transitivity analysis as a tool*

When looking at meaning from the point of view of the ideational metafunction of language and the representations of the world as realized in the experiential metafunction, analyzing *transitivity* is perhaps the most frequent entry point. Transitivity according to Halliday (1985, p. 101) “specifies the different types of process that are recognized in the language, and the structures by which they are expressed”. The framework for examining meaning through transitivity is essentially built on three components: the process itself, the participants of the process and the circumstances that relate to the process. These are semantic categories that reveal how a given representation of reality is constructed by linguistic structures. (Halliday 1985, pp. 101-102.) Processes are realized in the clause by a verbal group and represent the “goings-on”. However, it should be noted that although *process* and *verb* are frequently associated with “doing-words”, verbs relating to ‘being’ as well as ‘sensing’ for example are also labelled as processes despite the seeming lack of physical action. The participants include the entities that are linked to the process. Circumstance, on the other hand, is concerned with aspects such as the physical and temporal settings, the manner of the process and the people or entities accompanying the process that are not participants. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 109-110, 131.) An example of transitivity analysis in terms of process, participants and circumstance of clause (2) is presented in examples (2a) and (2b) below. In the example (2b) by Thompson (2004), the linguistic label is positioned before the word it refers to in the actual text. This system will be used from this point onwards in this study.

(2) They slowly unlocked the front door.

(2a)

They	slowly	unlocked	the front door.
Participant	Circumstance	Process	Participant

(2b) [*Participant*] They [*Circumstance*] slowly [*Process*] unlocked [*Participant*] the front door. (Thompson 2004, p. 87.)

It should be noted that not all three of the components need to be present in a given clause. The labelling relies on identifying the nature of the process as signalled by the Main verb (Thompson 2004, p. 87). Halliday (1985, p. 131) divides the processes into *Material*, *Mental*, *Relational*, *Verbal*, *Behavioural* and *Existential* processes. Each of these has its respective participants.

Material process

This type of clause is what is often understood as the prototypical clause for “doing words” relating to action. The label used for it is [*Process: material*]. Its main participants are Actor (entity that performs the action) and Goal (entity that undergoes the action). (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 110-111.) However, there are also other participants such as Beneficiary which is realized by indirect Object (Thompson 2004, p. 106). However, in real life the entity referred to by Beneficiary may in fact not literally benefit from the action, as action may also have negative impact in reality. This is merely a question of labels. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 113.)

(3) He gave Smith some cash.

(3a) [*Actor*] He [*Process: material*] gave [*Beneficiary*] Smith [*Goal*] some cash.

Material processes can also take the passive voice as in example (3) below:

(3) Smith was given some cash.

(3a) [*Beneficiary*] Smith [*Process: material*] was given [*Goal*] some cash. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 114.)

A further but less common participant in the material process is the Initiator which is the instigator of the action, not the actor (Actor), which is demonstrated by example (4).

(4) He marched them up to the top of the hill.

(4a) [*Initiator*] He [*Process: material*] marched [*Actor*] them [*Circumstance*] up to the top of the hill. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 116.)

All the different types of processes except existential processes include a participant called Range, which is the element that specifies the range or domain of the process. In each of the processes it is given a specific label (Vebiage, Phenomenon etc. below) and therefore the more general term Range is not used in those contexts and no further discussion on range is needed. However, in material processes this distinction needs to be made in order to differentiate Range from Goal. This is done by referring to a specific type of Range in material processes, namely Scope. Here, Scope is not so much a participant but rather a circumstantial element that appears as if it is a participant. (Thompson 2004, p. 107.) Scope can be identified by searching key semantic features that are shared between the verb and the Head noun in the Scope element. For example, *die* is linked with *death* and *sing* with *song* and *anthem* as in example (5). Moreover, in Scope the verb may function as a delexicalized dummy³ not carrying meaning *per se* (6a), whereas in Goal the verb has lexical (literal) meaning (6b). The test to identify Goal is to ask: “What X did to the Y was Z it” (6c).

(5) She sang the national anthem.

(5a) [*Actor*] She [*Process: material*] sang [*Scope*] the national anthem.

(6) I took a bath.

(6a) [*Actor*] I [*Process: material*] took [*Scope*] a bath. (Meaning: I bathed)

(6b) [*Actor*] I [*process: material*] took [*Goal*] a bath. (Meaning: I stole a bath tub)

(6c) What I did to the bath was take it. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 115.)

Mental process

Mental processes include phenomena such as states of mind or psychological events together with verbs such as *think, know, feel, smell, hear, want, hate, enjoy* etc. The participants involved in this process are *Senser* and *Phenomenon* as demonstrated by example (7).

(7) He didn't see me.

(7a) [*Senser*] He [*Process: mental*] didn't see [*Phenomenon*] me.

³ Lexical items or words denote to the real word entities and constitute the ‘lexicon’ which is the listed individual words for a given language (Graddol et al. 1994, pp. 71, 86), or the vocabulary. Therefore, when a word is delexicalized, it is deprived of these qualities. The term ‘dummy’ is often used in grammar in the context of ‘dummy operator: do’ that must be included for grammatical purposes for certain constructions such as emphatic sentences, tag questions and wh-questions (See Leech and Svartvik 1994, pp. 327 328) and therefore does not include the lexical meaning of the verb ‘to do’.

The Senser must be an animate creature in normal literal style. Mental process can also take the passive voice as in example (8).

(8) I wasn't seen by him.

(8a) [*Phenomenon*] I [*Process: mental*] wasn't seen [*Senser*] by him.

In these structures the Senser can be and frequently is omitted with the implication of obscuring the Participant as in the following example.

(8b) [*Phenomenon*] I [*Process: mental*] wasn't seen.

The Phenomenon can also be realized as a clause, especially with the verb *know*. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 116-120.) An example is given in (9).

(9) He knows that Thaler came here.

(9a) [*Senser*] He [*Process: mental*] knows [*Phenomenon*] that Thaler came here.

As Phenomenon *per se* forms a clause in this case, it can further be analyzed in terms of transitivity as in (9b).

(9b) that [*Actor*] Thaler [*Process: material*] came [*Circumstance*] here. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 120.)

In transitivity analysis some elements that have interpersonal or textual metafunction are not included. Such elements include mood adjuncts such as *of course* and conjunctions such as *but*. Moreover, modal verbs are labelled as part of the process. (Thompson 2004, p. 114.) This is why *that* is left unanalyzed in (9b).

Relational process

These processes are realized by *be* and copular verbs like *seem, become, appear, feel, look, remain, smell, sound, taste*. Also in possessive structures with verbs such as *have, own* and *possess* are classified under this category. Relational processes are divided into two sub-groups: Attributive process and Identifying process.

In the Attributive process an entity is given an attribute. The participants are Attribute and Carrier as in examples (10) and (11). In attributive processes the participants are not reversible. The second participant is usually an adjective or an indefinite noun without an article.

(10) I had a little money.

(10a) [*Carrier*] I [*Process: relational*] had [*Attribute*] a little money.

(11) I feel sick.

(11a) [*Carrier*] I [*Process: relational*] feel [*Attribute*] sick.

In the Identifying process on the other hand the participants are the Identified and the Identifier as in example (12). In identifying processes the participants have a reversible relationship through the verb (if $x = y$, then $y = x$) with an equative meaning. Both participants are usually definite nouns (with definite article) or nominal groups consisting of noun and modifier.

(12) His immediate objective was the church.

(12a) [*Identified*] His immediate objective [*Process: relational*] was [*Identifier*] the church.

An analysis according to Identifier and Identified relies on the order of introducing new information in the clause. The new information is labelled as Identifier and is usually situated at end of the sentence and most often carries the main stress. The idea already introduced is Identified and is situated at the beginning of the clause, as demonstrated by the re-ordering in example (12b).

(12b) [*Identified*] The church [*Process: relational*] was [*Identifier*] his immediate objective.

However, in cases where the main stress is situated to the beginning of the clause for contrast and emphasis the ordering of the functions remain the same as in the non-stressed version of the clause.

(13) It's no good taking medicine if you've got a cold. *Rest* is the only cure for a cold.

(13a) It's no good taking medicine if you've got a cold.

[*Identifier*] *Rest* [*Process: relational*] is [*Identified*] the only cure for a cold. (Thompson 2004, pp. 97-100, 118-120.)

The same participants are sometimes also labelled as Value and Token to bring another point of view. Value can be seen as referring to a more general category where as Token is the more specific entity. Examples (14) and (15) show both the labels Value/Token and Identified/Identifier.

(14) Marlowe was the greatest dramatic writer in the 16th C apart from Shakespeare.

(14a) [*Token/Identified*] Marlowe [*Process: relational*] was [*Value/Identifier*] the greatest dramatic writer in the 16th C apart from Shakespeare.

(15) The strongest shape is the triangle.

(15a) [*Value/Identified*] The strongest shape [*Process: relational*] is [*Token/Identifier*] the triangle. (Thompson 2004, pp. 98-99, 118-120.)

In other words Value is represented by Token. This analysis is used to reveal the values and ideological beliefs of the writer as the use of Value reflects how the writer categorizes Tokens under discussion. The processes in these structures have equative meaning as with the following *be, include, constitute, represent, match, deserve, provide* and *is defined as*. (Thompson 2004, pp. 98-99, 124.)

The difference between Value/Token and Identified/Identifier analyses is the following: The former relies on pre-existing external nature of understanding the entities and analyzing them according to whether they are more general (Value) or more specific (Token) in meaning. The latter on the other hand helps in understanding the ordering in a text by analyzing what is already set as the known entity (Identified) and what is the new information in relation to that (Identifier). (Thompson 2004, p. 120.)

Verbal process

These processes include a notion of transferring a message via language (Thompson 2004, p. 100). The typical verbs for verbal processes include *say* and *ask*, and also selection of other, less neutral lexical choices such as *tell, urge, explain, remind, challenge, beg, promise, grumble, agree, and report*. The participants are Sayer (the person who produces the utterance), Quoted (direct speech), Reported (indirect speech), Verbiage (what is being transferred) Receiver (The person to whom the verbalization is addressed) and Target (the entity targeted by the process). It should be noted that Quoted and Reported are separate clauses themselves as they can further be analyzed in terms of transitivity, and it may be argued by some that they should therefore not be seen as participants in the same process. Usually the ordering is Sayer-Process-Quoted, which is the most neutral or *unmarked*

ordering. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 122-125.) Examples 16 - 19 present the participants in verbal process.

(16) I explained to her what it meant.

(16a) [Sayer] I [Process: verbal] explained [Receiver] to her [Verbiage] what it meant.

(17) She answered: 'Don't ask, just go'.

(17a) [Sayer] She [Process: verbal] answered: [Quoted] 'Don't ask, just go'.

(18) She told one interviewer that she didn't mind being recognized.

(18a) [Sayer] She [Process: verbal] told [Receiver] one interviewer [Reported] that she didn't mind being recognized. (Thompson 2004, pp. 102-103.)

(19) Former party officials criticized party leadership.

(19a) [Sayer] Former party officials [Process: verbal] criticized [Target] party leadership. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 125.)

For Targets the verbs in the process often include *describe*, *explain*, *praise*, *flatter* and *blame* for example. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 122-125.)

Behavioural process

These processes are somewhat challenging to classify as they are situated somewhere between material and mental processes. There is usually only one participant, Behaver. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 126.) Behavioural processes are concerned with human psychological processes. To distinguish from mental processes such as *see* and *hear*, the behavioural processes express the respective conscious act such as *watch* or *look* and *listen*. They also express conscious actions that reflect mental states such as *laugh*, *cry*, *sob* and *frown*. (Thompson 2004, pp. 103-104.)

(20) He stared.

(20a) [Behaver] He [Process: behavioural] stared.

(21) We all laughed.

(21a) [Behaver] We all [Process: behavioural] laughed. (Thompson 2004, p. 104.)

More rarely there is another participant, namely Behaviour that is another sub-category of Range, but which in this study is nevertheless labelled as Behaviour.

(22) I could cry salty tears.

(22a) I could cry [*Behaviour*] salty tears. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 126.)

Existential process

Existential processes merely express the existence of an entity. They have presentational purpose by announcing and staging the information in the text. There is only one participant, Existent. However, *exist* itself belongs to the category of material processes. (Thompson 2004, p. 104-105.) Existential processes are identifiable either from a pattern of copular verb and an empty *there* with no significant meaning *per se*, as in example (23a) or form a pattern of copular verb and the Existent as Subject of the clause as in example (23b).

(23) There were ten of us in the party.

(23a) There [*Process: existential*] were [*Existent*] ten of us [*Circumstance*] in the party.

(23b) [*Existent*] Ten of us [*Process: existential*] were [*Circumstance*] in the party.

(Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 125.)

Circumstance

As already discussed the third component of transitivity analysis besides Process and Participant is the Circumstance that presents the temporal and physical settings, manner and people accompanying the process. They are divided into nine main types: Extent (How long/often/far?), Location (When, Where?), Manner (How?), Cause (Why/as a result of what, What for and Who for?), Contingency (In what circumstance, In what circumstance that might have lead to result X but nevertheless did not?) Accompaniment (Who/what with?), Role (What as? What into?), Matter (What about?) and Angle (From what point of view?). (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 131-132; Thompson 2004, pp. 110-111.) The analysis of Circumstance only applies to circumstantial Adjuncts⁴ that incorporate when, how, why or where the event took place (Thompson 2004, p. 109).

⁴ The other two types of Adjuncts, modal Adjuncts (Signaling writer's attitude, interpersonal metafunction) such as 'unfortunately' and 'probably', and conjunctive Adjuncts (how the clause fits in with the preceding text, textual metafunction) such as 'on the other hand' are not categorized to having transitivity function (Thompson 2004, pp. 63-64, 109).

Examples of the above main sub-categories of Circumstance as given by Thompson (2004) are the following: “from time to time” (Extent), “at Trumpington” and “in 1937” (Location), “expertly” and “with a string” (Manner), “out of curiosity” (Cause), “In the event of fire” and “despite his exhaustion” (Contingency), “with her brother” (Accompaniment), “as a referee” (Role), “about the accident” (Matter), and “To miss Lewisham” in “To miss Lewisham, this had been a great relief” (Angle). (Thompson 2004, pp. 110-111.) Table 2 draws together the components in transitivity analysis.

Table 2 : The components in transitivity analysis	
Process type	Participants
Material	Actor, Goal, (Scope), Beneficiary, Initiator
Mental	Senser, Phenomenon
Relational	
Attributive	Carrier, Attribute
Identifying	Value, Token / Identified, Identifier
Verbal	Sayer, Verbiage, Receiver, Target, Quoted/Reported
Behavioural	Behaver, Behaviour
Existential	Existent
Circumstance	Extent
	Location
	Manner
	Cause
	Contingency
	Accompaniment
	Role
	Matter
	Angle

There are also ways of classifying the above categories of Processes Participants and Circumstance according to several sub-categories and even sub-categories of sub-categories⁵. For the purposes of this study the above degree of detail is taken as sufficient.

Clause complexes

Analyzing the experiential metafunction through transitivity patterns is used in the study. However, the other type of ideational metafunction, namely the logical metafunction is also relevant. According to Thompson (2004, p. 38), when texts include clause complexes, it also becomes meaningful to examine the relationships between different clauses. This is the logical metafunction. (Thompson 2004, pp. 38, 113.)

Thus, there is a need to analyze different levels. This is especially fruitful in the case of spoken language as the structures are more unplanned (Thompson 2004, p. 196). There are two dimensions that concentrate on relations between clauses: *Taxis* and *logico-semantic* relations. The former classifies clauses in terms of equal relations *parataxis*, or dependency *hypotaxis*. The latter, on the other hand, looks at the conjunctive relation between clauses. (Thompson 2004, pp. 198.) Paratactic relationships can be identified by coordination where clauses are brought together by linking conjunctions: *and, or, but, for, so* and possibly *then*. Hypotactic relationships can be identified by subordinating conjunctions: *because, since, when, whenever, until, before, after, while, if, unless, whether, although, even, though, in case, given that, so that*, etc. (Bloor and Bloor 2004, p. 27.) In example (24), the typical way of indicating paratactic relationship is established by numbering the clauses and by double slash:

(24) /// why don't we look at some // and I can have them set for you here ///

1

2

In case of hypotaxis, the subordinate clause that is dependent on clause 2 would be marked with one slash. Moreover, the dominant clause is signalled by Greek letters α and the dependent clause by β , as in example (25) below.

⁵ For example, Circumstance: location has two sub-categories: spatial and temporal location as was presented in the examples “at Trumpington” and “in 1937” given by Thompson 2004.

(25):

/// why don't we look at some // and if you're serious / I can have them set for you here ///

1

2 β

2 α

These specific conventions are used to analyze and indicate the relationships. (Thompson 2004, pp. 198-199.) However, this study only stays at the level of identifying such features as they appear in connection with interpreting findings from transitivity analysis. In other words, no separate analysis and illustration of clause relationships, such as in examples (24) and (25) above, are made in this study. In a similar vein, the logico-semantic features are only identified in terms of what kind of conjunction is in question. In other words, what is conveyed through the conjunction, for example cause, reason or result. There is no analysis of other logico-semantic features such as *expansion* and *projection*⁶ in this study as they are included in the transitivity analysis simply as Participants.

4.3 Critical discourse analysis – A framework rather than a method

According to Van Dijk (1993), the focus of critical discourse analysis is on dominance and inequality. It draws its interest from prevailing social issues that it seeks to better understand. Despite the practical orientation to problems, the usage of theories is very essential as well. In comparison to other discourse analysis stances, CDA differs in its explicit political stance deriving from the social aspect as it often seeks to target the power elites responsible for sustaining inequality. It acts as a means for political critique that is not targeted at individuals but to more general and structural entities or groups. The aim is to represent the point of view of minorities or the powerless. (Van Dijk 1993, pp. 252-253.) Wodak (2001a, p. 11) points out that texts are rarely a product of just one person as they are sites of struggle between differing discourses and ideologies.

Although the area of usage is considerably broad in scope and different scholars hold different views on the characteristics of CDA, it is nevertheless possible to identify the main principles

⁶ In 'expansion' "one clause expands the meaning of another", whereas in 'projection' "one clause projects another [clause] [...] [that] has already been said somewhere else" (Thompson 2004, p. 203).

used in this framework. In my view, Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 271-281) are best able to describe the features of CDA and summarize them into eight principles. These are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 : The principles of CDA

- 1 CDA addresses social problems
- 2 Power relations are discursive
- 3 Discourse constitutes society and culture
- 4 Discourse does ideological work
- 5 Discourse is historical
- 6 The link between text and society is mediated
- 7 Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
- 8 Discourse is a form of social action

(Fairclough and Wodak 1997, pp. 271-280.)

Firstly, CDA is concerned with social problems and relies on the assumption that social and political processes and movements are characteristically linguistic-discursive by nature. Secondly, power relations are negotiated and exercised in discourse. The interest is not only on power in discourse but also on power over discourse, which is an issue of access as well as capacity to control the rules of discursive practices and the structure of the order of discourse. It should be remembered, however, that such relations of power are by no means static or monolithic. (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, pp. 271-273.)

The third principle is the dialectical relationship between discourse constituting and being constituted by society and culture. Thus, the smallest usage of language acts as either reproducing or transforming the power relations and society at large. More precisely, there are three areas of social life that can be constituted by discourse: the representations of the world, the relationships between people, and the identities of people at individual and social levels. These are all constituted simultaneously by any part of text. Fourthly, CDA is engaged in ideological work, which is often done in a covert manner. For the purpose of analysis, it is not sufficient to examine texts only, but also the process of interpretation of texts, how they are received and what social effects they contribute to. (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, pp. 273-276.)

Fifthly, CDA is based on the notion that discourse is historical as it is always produced in a social context and thus has to be interpreted together with the context. Moreover, discourses are linked to other discourses: those that have been already produced as well as to those being produced at the same time or as a consequence. Understanding of intertextuality and socio-cultural knowledge are vital. Sixthly, the link between social structure of the reality and language are highly complex and thus best understood as indirect and “mediated” by orders of discourse. However, different scholars hold differing theories of what type of mediation takes place. Van Dijk, for instance, maintains that socio-cognitive mediation is the link between text and society. (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, pp. 276-278.)

The seventh principle relies on the argument that discourse is interpreted in multiple different ways depending on the audience and the degree of context information. Hence, various class-, gender-, age-, belief and attitude-specific interpretations are possible. The final principle of CDA relates to the overall aim of CDA as attempting to reveal power relationships and is, therefore, socially committed to promoting change and action. (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, pp. 278-280.)

Given its vast interdisciplinary location as well as various academic positions within the same disciplines, it is not possible to call CDA as a method to be used in data analysis. Rather, it is best described as a theoretical approach or a framework that seeks a systematic interpretation of discourse. In sum, it uses the text as the main object of analysis but also makes use of theories (linguistic and social scientific) as well as background knowledge (social scientific) to be able to situate the discourse under analysis into its context. It takes on an overtly critical stance including self-criticism and is ultimately aiming at social change and giving voice to the marginalised.

4.4 The discourse of GAD – Men the source of all evil?

In the discourse of GAD, the vast literature seems to point to the marginalised position of men. (Critical) discourse analysis, according to Cornwall (1997, p. 10) has proved to be very helpful, also in the field of development studies, in revealing some of the different and possibly contradictory discourses about gender. Through deconstruction, the categories of men

and women have been shown to include a set of assumptions, ideas and judgements. According to Cornwall (1997, p. 10), deconstruction can be seen as "taking apart taken-for-granted assumptions to explore the contradictions on which they are based". Here, some of the main features of the GAD discourses are presented in relation to representations of men especially.

According to Datta (2004), research and policy initiatives use the terms *women* and *gender* interchangeably even today. In this discourse, men have been largely left out as the "other". (Datta 2004, p. 254.) As the discursive practices about gender seem to favour women, the voices of possible vulnerable men become dismissed under the general category of "the poor" (Cornwall 2003, p. 1337), thus denying the men of their gendered self. The under-representation of men in GAD denies the men the legitimacy to use their agency as men and hinders the opportunities to work together with women. (Cornwall 2000, p. 23.) The invisibility of men and masculinity is political because the very processes that confine privilege to one group are themselves invisible to those in the privileged position. Thus, the invisibility of men and masculinity reinforces gender inequality in material as well as ideological ways. Therefore, the attempts of enhancing the status of women need to include action to involve men. (Kimmel 2002, pp. xi-xii.) It has even been suggested that a language specific to "men break their silence" should be established similarly to the process of the women's movement (Karlsson and Karkara 2004, p. 9).

Where men in fact have been visible in the GAD discourse, the representation of them has been rather generalising. GAD tends to represent all men as having power. The internal diversity within the category of men is not usually discussed, which reduces men to a homogeneous group of people. These binary oppositions are also present in the GAD discourse when referring to gender relations, which inevitably are reduced to oppressive heterosexual relationships between men and women. (Cornwall 2000, pp. 18-23.) Such oversimplifications have become so common that they have become to be taken for granted and becoming unquestionable myths (Jolly 2004, pp. 1-2). In their seemingly neutral nature, they serve as maintaining the status quo of power hierarchy.

The gender myths surrounding these [gender and development] issues are so sacred that they have their own, very potent, authority: silencing dissent, containing dissonance, maintaining orthodoxies (Cornwall 2000, p. 22).

To criticize oversimplifications, Karlsson and Karkara (2004, p. 6) point out that there is no uniform discourse of masculinity or power. Instead, they claim that "masculinities are shaped in relation to an overall structure and discourse of power and in relation to a general symbolism of difference (the opposition of femininity and masculinity) [sic]" (Karlsson and Karkara 2004, pp. 6-7). This holds true also in GAD, in which men have been represented and defined specifically in relation to women. (Cornwall 2000, pp. 18-23.) This relates to *stereotypical thinking* that by definition involves thought processes of rigid and inflexible categories (Giddens 1993, p. 763). Stereotyping according to Loomba (1998) is a phenomenon that seeks to process information by reducing images and ideas into a simple and manageable form. The purpose of it is to strengthen the boundaries between "self" and "other". In other words, the existence of stereotypes is not due to lack of authentic information but rather to serve as a method of categorising and self-reflection. (Loomba 1998, p. 59-60.) This way the notion of difference can be strengthened.

Previous studies have been able to identify some basic stereotypes of GAD. Perhaps the most established ones are the "Good girl" and "bad boy" gender stereotypes as well as the idea of men as "pampered sons and patriarchs" (White 1997, p. 16; Chant 2000, p. 9). An example of one of the most famous ones is the stereotype of "the African woman farmer and her lazy husband" (Jolly 2004). Others most commonly used are, for example, "men drink" and "men resort to violence". (Jolly 2004, pp. 1-2.) There is an element of blame in that men are treated as uninformed, promiscuous, irresponsible, as barriers to women's contraceptive use, under-investing in their children and unable to change. (Datta 2004, p. 267; Greene 2000, pp. 53-55; Large 1997, p. 6.) The general discourse on men and development have tended to draw on rather negative images of masculinity rather than say men as sons, lovers, husbands and fathers (Cornwall 1997, p. 10; 2000, pp. 18-23). Both women and men continually reconstruct the stereotypes as development workers and as members of society. The existing gender power relations can be seen to be based on the representations of women as vulnerable,

understanding, emotional and caring; whereas men are represented as technically knowledgeable, assertive, inventive, and therefore powerful. (Crewe and Harrison 1998, pp. 66-67.)

There seems to be two different spaces for women and men in GAD as presented by White (2000):

'GAD for women' is robustly materialist, concentrating on social relations particularly as they define rights and responsibilities in work, consumption and households. [...] 'GAD for men' is by contrast much more individualistic and personal, much more preoccupied with the self. (White 2000, p. 35.)

In other words, the GAD discourse incorporates the myth of female solidarity and "community-minded selflessness" (Cornwall 2000, p. 20; 2003, p. 1335). At the same time, the GAD discourse presents women as victims and men as problems, irrelevant and useless figures. This aspect has also sometimes been harnessed for acts of rescue for the women as needy of attention or worthy of being empowered by GAD at the grass-roots level. This discourse has also been used as one argument by advocates to increase the involvement of men (Cornwall 2000, pp. 21-22.) – as they are, so they claim, at the core of the problem.

On the other hand, the use of such stereotypes is highly problematic in terms of the social construction of reality. Both women and men pay the price of gender stereotyping, which limits the opportunities for both sexes to realise their full potential. Moreover, women should be recognised along with men as carriers of discourses of masculinity. (Karlsson and Karkara 2004, p. 9-12.) Jolly (2004, p. 8) suggests that rather than asking whether the gender myths are in fact true or not, it is more fruitful to discuss whether they aid or restrain the feminist project of development. Put in other words, being engaged in the pursuit towards gender equality, it is equally important to unravel the myths and stereotypes surrounding the role of men in GAD. In this study, the manifestations of power and representations of men in the context of GAD discourse in Uganda are examined.

5 Research process and methodology

This chapter describes the overall research and methodological process followed in this study. First, description of the research process is given. Secondly, the characteristics of the data and its collection are presented. Next, the methodological procedures are presented followed by separate sections on the social scientific analytical process and the critical discourse analytical process. Then, a section for reliability and validity issues for both analyses is given as well as representativeness of the data and the transferability of findings. Lastly, a brief discussion on ethical issues of the overall study is given.

5.1 Research process

The research process started in September 2004 with some preliminary background research on the topic. After completing some core reading, the research plan was devised. Some early drafts of the theoretical basis were written during spring 2005. As the internship placement for the master's degree at WVU was confirmed, the focus turned to Uganda. However, the master's thesis was carried out as an independent piece of research and was not included as part of the internship. During summer 2005 the research plan was updated and specified. At this point the focus was narrowed down to men's inclusion in GAD in the context of HIV/AIDS work. During the first week of fieldwork in mid-September 2005 in Uganda the research permit was applied for and granted on the 22nd of September 2005 by the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology (UNCST). After that, the interview format was devised and some preliminary background research of the context of Uganda and WVU was carried out. However, the preliminary research supported a slight pull-back in focus from HIV/AIDS to a more general level of men's inclusion in GAD work as it became clear that the possible informants at the WVU would be able to contribute to richer data on a more general focus, which later proved out to be fruitful. The pull-back to a more general level was also made because of the identified need to report experiences on men's inclusion in the South in general in comparison to the earlier, more specific sectoral foci of previous studies on issues such as violence, health, HIV/AIDS and so on. HIV/AIDS was nevertheless included in the study as one of the interview questions (see Appendix 1) due to Uganda's well-known position

as a rare case among the African countries to succeed in effectively reducing HIV/AIDS prevalence rates (discussed in chapter 7). The specific research questions as well as the questions in the semi-structured thematic interview are based on the gaps and the need for further research found in the academic literature and earlier studies (presented in chapter 1) as well as the advantages of specific experience on HIV/AIDS issues in Uganda. The data was collected during autumn 2005. In January 2006 the analysis of data was started after returning to Finland. Winter and spring 2006 were used for writing the report.

The motivation to carry out a research project with this particular focus was influenced by a multitude of factors. In development research the motivation often comes from the moral conscience of the researchers and a concern for issues of social justice (Scheyvens and Storey 2003, pp. 187-8) which is also true in this case. Due to a long-lasting interest in gender issues in various academic fields made the choice of topic rather easy. Moreover, I have experienced a growing interest in development issues, especially in the African context since the turn of the millennium. Uganda was a natural choice for me as I was fortunate to attain an internship position in World Vision Uganda for my degree in Jyväskylä. In addition, I have always been fascinated by the political nature of all language use. Studying in Coventry University in Great Britain in 2003-2004 further deepened my interest in discourse studies. Furthermore, I have keenly held the opinion that a multidisciplinary approach to research does not necessarily imply second-hand quality. Instead, a multidisciplinary approach, at its best, can be very productive in aiming at a holistic understanding of a given phenomenon.

5.2 Data collection

In order to attain answers to the two sets of research questions, semi-structured thematic interviews of World Vision project staff in Uganda were carried out during September-November 2005 (see Appendix 1). The average duration of the interviews was 31 minutes. The data acquired via these interviews form the primary data for the study. In all, ten (10) interviews were conducted maintaining a gender balance of five (5) women and five (5) men. The ages of the informants ranged from 25 to 49 with an average of 38. The duties of the informants at the time of interviewing varied from gender advocacy, community work and

programme management and administration to crisis prevention and logistics, thus relating to gender as a cross-cutting issue to various degrees. However, the present position in WVU was not as central as the informants were also encouraged to utilize the knowledge and experience of previous work positions in development cooperation as well as from personal life. This sample was chosen to represent the experiences of development workers addressing gender issues in Uganda. The experiences and level of gender awareness varied considerably among the informants, which provided rich data.

The snowball method, which includes finding and choosing one informant that suits the target group and then asking him/her to refer to others that he/she thinks suits the target group, was used. The identification of informants by the earlier ones expands the sample (Scheyvens and Storey 2003, p. 43). The criteria used for selection was Ugandan nationality, knowledge of English and the principle that some past experience and/or knowledge of gender issues in development cooperation context was required. Some self-targeting by informants themselves was also allowed with respect to these criteria as the researcher was also able to identify possible informants due to the internship placement. The informants were stationed in either Kampala National Office, Kituntu sub-county in Mpigi or Nabuyoga sub-county office in Tororo district (see Picture 2). Snowballing was continued until the saturation point, where no new characteristics of data emerges (Laws 2003, p. 367), was reached on the one hand and keeping the gender balance on the other hand. The data was recorded with a tape-recorder and transcribed word by word into hand-written data in the absence of a computer during the field research period. The data consists of simple transcripts of English used by informants and does not incorporate detailed descriptions of how the language was used (such as pauses, overlap, emphasis) as often used in linguistic discourse analysis such as conversation analysis.

In addition, background research on the context of Uganda in relation to gender politics and culture as well as the organizational culture of World Vision Uganda was carried out during the field research period. Methods used for background research included focus group discussions with local villagers in Mpigi and Tororo districts on gender issues and brief discussions with members of staff. These were integrated into the internship tasks. Moreover, library and Internet research was carried out on documents and literature to supplement the

data. All of this forms secondary data for the purpose of contextualising the primary data. Secondary data acquisition was completed in December 2005.

The study does not outline the interview format used in gathering the secondary data. This choice was justified by the fact that the discussions were designed and tailor made for acquiring information for the use of the specific development project itself as part of the internship. Moreover, the (loose) structure of the interviews of the focus group discussions varied according to the locality and participants in question and therefore resulting in nine (9) different discussions, the contents of which were directed by the projects and the spontaneous choices of focus group participants. Some of the focus group discussions were based on the Harvard Analytical Framework for gender analysis⁷, which guided the topics under discussion whereas others were more directed by tailor-made gender impact assessment. In this study, the references have been made to the field notes instead of the unpublished final reports as some of the secondary data was not included in the reports and the sources can better be validated.

5.3 Methodological process

The processing of the data collected for the first set of research questions was done with critical discourse analysis. The data for the second set of research questions was analyzed through qualitative methods of data interpretation and categorization. Qualitative methods were used in both analyses. The core process of qualitative analysis according to Laws (2003, p. 395) includes the following steps:

1. Familiarizing oneself with the data: re-reading notes and transcripts and making notes on emerging themes
2. Arranging the themes into preliminary lists of themes or categories
3. Going through the data for a second time and searching for the location of what themes are used and where in the data and making comments on the margins
4. During this second reading, examining the list of categories and themes and making changes as inconsistencies emerge

⁷ For the structure of the Harvard Analytical Framework, see Appendix 3.

5. Setting out the list of categories in a clear format that is easily linkable with notes, quotes, or references from the data
6. Going through the data for the third time and ‘coding’ the material in the data to relate with the categories found.
7. Elaborating on each category to see what the findings are. (Laws 2003, p. 395.)

These steps were utilized during the analysis phase flexibly as the study incorporates two different analyses. There was a clear need to go through the data more than three times because of the two analyses. In the CDA analysis, linguistic methods also influenced the phases of the analytical process. Nevertheless, the steps outlined were taken on both occasions when selecting relevant sections of text. The phases of listing categories and coding the relevant sections of data to the categories were largely done with a computer, which proved to be more effective. The social scientific analysis was carried out first, and is therefore also discussed first.

5.3.1 Social scientific analytical process

First, the general steps for qualitative research was carried out in the identification of relevant sections in the data. After the initial familiarization to the data, the process of analysis was started out by systematically identifying sections of data that related to the specific research questions and provided answers to them. Care was taken to include all possible varieties of answers found in the data for a given research question. The data was read through a number of times for finding the answers to each of the specific research questions at a time.

The identified sections of data were marked by highlighting the text by different colours corresponding to the respective research question. Additional notes were made in the margins of the transcripts as well as research notebook on possible categorisation of recurring themes within each research question. Highlighting the different sections by colour enabled to crosscheck and constantly revisit the selection of relevant sections with possible alterations done when searching for answers for another research question. This also worked towards avoiding overlap in data procession and categorization, although some sections of the data were taken into account in answering more than one research question. The most illustrative

examples of data were selected for quotation in the study report and the rest were paraphrased. The selection was made on the basis of the research questions as well as assessing the relative relevance of the section of data in terms of whether contributing more to practical or discursive understanding of the overall phenomenon.

After identifying the relevant sections in the data and coding them to the questions, the sections of the data were typed into a computer and attached under the heading of the respective research question. After that the research notes in the margins and notebook were consulted at this stage for the establishment of a list of recurrent themes within selected data for each research question. The themes for each research question were listed and typed into a computer. Then, the bulk of data already attached under the research question was rearranged and categorized according to these themes, which was the second coding carried out in the analysis. At the final stage the data in the resulting categories were interpreted, and the amount of data was cut down to leave the most illustrative and representative sections.

5.3.2 Critical discourse analytical process

In data analysis, CDA strongly relies on linguistic categories such as actors, mode and tense for example (Meyer 2001, p. 23). The methodology in this study relies on a multidisciplinary approach with a combination of the more linguistics-oriented transitivity analysis and the more social science-tilted CDA. Transitivity analysis which looks at linguistic processes and participants is considered as practical tool enabling more transparent line of argument in the overall CDA framework used. The three dimensions of discourse as maintained by Fairclough (1992, p. 4) are all covered in this study: engaging in analysis of texts (interview transcripts) through linguistic means of transitivity, examining discursive practices through CDA as well as providing a brief analysis of the social context of Uganda, WVU and GAD for understanding the social practice.

The overall process of analysis, as it relies on the CDA framework, was guided by Fairclough's pragmatic and problem oriented approach as identified by Meyer (2001, pp. 28-29) to data analysis was taken as the premise of operationalizing the analysis. It has the following steps:

1. Identify the social problem that has a semiotic aspect. Distance yourself from the text and describe the problem and identify the semiotic aspect,
2. Identify the dominant styles, genres, discourses constituting this semiotic aspect,
3. Consider the range of difference and diversity in styles, genres and discourses within this aspect,
4. Identify the resistance against the process of domination executed by the dominant styles, genres and discourses (Meyer 2001, p. 28.)

To operationalize these steps there are three analyses to be made: (I) a structural analysis of the context; (II) an interactional analysis of linguistic features such as agents, tense and modality; and (III) an interdiscursive analysis comparing the dominant and resistant forms of the discourses. (Meyer 2001, pp. 28-29.)

Following the operational steps above, for analysis (I) and step 1, the study first gave an introduction to the context in chapters 1 – 4. Chapters 1 and 3 of the study identified the social problem of GAD interventions typically focussing on women and leaving men into the margin. The semiotic aspect was clarified in chapters 3 and 4 as *gender* being reduced to meaning ‘women’. Chapter 3 especially discussed the different styles, genres and discourses that constitute to this through the discussion about academic literature, international policies and the different positions taken in relation to this semantic aspect of GAD. In the present study, the genre under analysis falls under that of interviews, as suggested by Fowler (1996, pp. 5-8). Moreover, in the analysis, the different discourses existent in GAD in Uganda were identified through qualitative means (step 2 by Fairclough) (see chapter 6). Analysis (II) by Fairclough was realized through linguistic transitivity analysis of samples of two selected discourses in this study (see chapter 6). The internal diversity of features of one discourse was analyzed (step 3), followed by an analysis of features of resistance by the other (step 4). Lastly, analysis (III) was carried out by discussing the interrelationship between these two discourses. The procedures for this process are described in more detail below starting from Fairclough’s analysis (I) and step 2, as the previous steps taken have already been established elsewhere in the study.

(I) Structural analysis: Identifying the discursive field of GAD in Uganda

In the beginning of the analysis the steps for qualitative research were taken and the entire data was analyzed in order to identify the relevant sections in the data that provide answers to research questions. At this point of the overall research process, the data was already rather familiar to the researcher and less reading was needed to identify the sections. After the initial familiarization with the data, sections of the data were again highlighted – however on this occasion only with one colour signifying the relevance to any of the research questions to distinguish from the data used for social scientific analysis. Direct coding of the data in accordance with research questions was not possible at this stage where the analysis takes place at a later stage via linguistic means. Notes on preliminary categorization were made in the margins of the transcripts when identifying the various discourses on the data (the identification and selection process explained in chapter 6 in more detail). This was further elaborated in the research notebook in drawing together the characteristics and boundaries of each discourse. After this initial categorization of data, the identified sections of data were typed into computer and organized according to the suggested categorization of found discourses, and cross-checked again for the preliminary characteristics identified and boundaries of the discourses. This first phase of identifying the discursive field of GAD was based on the general qualitative methods (of social sciences).

Although this methodology with a relatively high degree of selection by the researcher may be viewed somewhat problematic to linguistic discourse analysis, the choice of including only sections of the interviews was made on the premise of a very large data consisting of 129 pages of handwritten transcripts. Moreover, the use of only one or two key interviews was not an option as the informants utilized different discourses to a varying degree and this would have considerably limited the results. It should also be noted that although quantitative methods are sometimes used in transitivity analysis to count the number and frequency of the various processes and participants to establish what is typical of a given data or register (Thompson 2004, p. 134), this is not done in this study as the data consists of only one genre (interview) and the amount of data is too vast to be analyzed entirely. Carrying out social science-tilted CDA analysis first was necessary and a prerequisite for the identification of the various discourses used by all of the informants in order to be able to analyze the features of a

given discourse by linguistic means at a later stage. In fact, Thompson (2004, p. 126) maintains that it is possible to examine shorter sections of text and carry out transitivity analysis in particularly interesting extracts of the text.

After the first phase of the CDA where the discourses were identified and sections of data were coded to them, the analysis was narrowed down to two specific discourses identified during the first phase to carry out linguistic CDA (see chapter 6). The remaining typed sections of data belonging to either of the two discourses and as providing answers to research questions, which had been identified at the first phase, were then coded under the respective discourse. This raw data was categorized in a preliminary way according to features present in the extracts. Care was taken to include all different varieties of sections providing answers to research questions that were present in the data. Then the raw data was analyzed for transitivity.

(II) Linguistic analysis: Transitivity

Thompson (2004, p. 127) describes the process of working with transitivity analysis. In the first stage, the analysis relies on identification and labelling process types, participants and circumstances. In the second phase, the focus turns into identifying patterns. At the final stage, the interpretation of such findings takes place resulting in discourse analysis. (Thompson 2004, p. 127.) A similar process was carried out in this study by systematically going through the selected segments of data. First, the selected sections of text were divided according to clauses or clause complexes depending on what was the highest level where a process could be identified. Then, the clauses were labelled according to Processes, Participants and Circumstances. Then in the second phase, the focus was on finding patterns. However, as the data does not consist of whole texts, this phase was not trying to identify features typical of the genre, but the variety of features that were related to the research questions and the respective discourses under examination.

The preliminary categorizations were adjusted according to the features identified by transitivity analysis to form larger groups of features of the discourses under examination. Wodak (2001b, p. 51) maintains that discourse analyses are complete when no further contents and formally

new findings emerge, which usually happens surprisingly quickly in her opinion. This was also the case in the study as some of the sections of data could be omitted after completing the analysis and a small number of the most illustrative examples of each feature of the discourses could be left to support the interpretation. Then, at the third phase, the core features and their transitivity patterns were interpreted and brought together at a more general level discussion drawing on the theoretical and contextual factors.

(III) Analysis: Interdiscursive relations

After the last phase of transitivity analysis, the focus again turned to the multidisciplinary approach of the overall CDA framework. At the end of the analysis, the findings were taken to a more abstract level and Fairclough's analysis (III) of engaging in an interdiscursive analysis comparing the dominant and resistant forms of the discourses were discussed.

5.4 Reliability and validity

Reliability

In the case of interview data, the issue of reliability can be maximised by ensuring that all respondents understand the questions in the same way and that answers can be coded without uncertainty. The way to realize these include the following strategies: firstly, pre-testing the interview format; secondly, training the interviewers; thirdly, as much use as possible of fixed-choice answers; and fourthly, inter-rater reliability checks by colleagues on the coding of answers to open-ended questions. (D. Silverman 1993, p. 148.)⁸ In the present study the interview format was commented on by two people: one of the supervisors of the study as well as a development worker from World Vision Finland. The format was revised taking into consideration the comments from these people. The interviewer has obtained training in research methods as part of her current and previous degrees. The high use of fixed choice answers was not the case because of choosing semi-structured interviews, which allowed the informants to describe their knowledge and experience relatively freely. The inter-rater reliability checks by colleagues were only possible in the analysis of the focus group

⁸ The study refers to two different persons with the name Silverman, and therefore the initials are included for distinction.

discussions as the primary data was gathered and analysed independently from the internship work.

However, the reliability of the study has been taken into account by ensuring as transparent a line of procedure as possible as one of the criteria for assessing reliability is the consistent use of methodology (Hammersley 1992 cited in D. Silverman 1993 p. 145). The choices made and problems and questions faced during the research process were recorded in a notebook for later utilization in the study report. This was also to ensure the replicability of the study by other researchers. Reliability was also increased by the above discussion of the phases of analysis for both the social scientific research as well as for CDA. A multitude of direct quotations from the data was included to support the analysis. The reliability of the findings of the CDA is also increased by using a specific linguistic tool: transitivity analysis. The analytic categorizations and labelling for transitivity are presented overtly with a discussion on choices made for better transparency and ability to be replicated by other researchers. The status of second language users as influencing the findings is discussed later in this chapter.

Validity of tools

The validity of the tools used can be assessed on the basis of the discussion of the general features of qualitative research presented in this section as well as the discussion on CDA as an approach in chapter 4. This is complemented with the following presentation of the strengths and weaknesses of the methods applied in this study. Firstly, the challenge of snowballing is that it may be rather selective in whom the informants point out as the next possible interviewee (Scheyvens and Storey 2003, p. 43). However, the criteria of possible previous experience and/or knowledge of gender issues in development were explained before the suggestion of the next informant, and asked from the informants before the interview.

Secondly, According to Laws (2003, p. 297) some of the challenges of using one-to-one interviews include the interviewer's presence affecting the results he/she obtains. Moreover, the data only consists of what people claim they do or feel and does not necessarily reflect the reality. One-to-one interviews also limit the possibility of interaction and brainstorming with others, which is made possible in group situations. (Laws 2003, p. 297.) The lack of

interaction with other informants as well as the interviewer's presence have been accepted as possibly influencing the data. It should be noted that also in the case of quantitative research the researcher influences the data by the selection of questions and possible answers in survey formats and at interpretation of the findings. Assessing the influence of the researcher is better enabled by outlining the motivation for the study as well as personal stance of the researcher (discussed later in this chapter). Moreover, the subjectivity of the informants has been taken into account in the data interpretation as well as in the transferability of the findings (discussed later in this chapter).

Audio recordings inevitably only cover partial record of events as they will miss out on all non-verbal and contextual information and therefore posing a challenge to the validity of the study. Recoding the interview is also intrusive and will inevitably influence the interaction especially if informants are not used to the practice. (Graddol et al.1994 p. 178.) However, the use of recording was necessary because of the detailed analysis of text, and the influence it may have on the data has been accepted. The situation was made less threatening by stressing anonymity and that the tapes were to be destroyed afterwards (discussed later in this chapter) and by considering the order of and choice of words in the interview questions. The contextual link was strengthened by the collection of secondary data from the field. The lack of non-verbal information is acknowledged. The researcher coming from another culture and the interpretation of such information would have required the knowledge of an insider.

According to Wodak (2001a) some criticism that CDA has received includes taking a seemingly hermeneutic approach to text analysis with the implication of a possible biased interpretation. Moreover, the broad context that is used in the data analysis poses a challenge. There is often a vast theoretical framework applied that does not necessarily suit the data. There seems to be a problem with operationalizing theories as well as relating the linguistic to the social dimension. The linguistic theory has frequently been rather loose and not been linked with grammar theories. Interdisciplinary approaches have not yet been fully realized in text analysis. Lastly, the explicitly political stance of the researcher has been questioned (Wodak 2001a, pp. 5-12), which relates to the question whether the critical readings enabled by CDA are somehow more appropriate or legitimate. (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p. 279.)

CDA also runs the risk of being too ideological. It may be seen as biased in favour of certain ideology which may result in selective analysis according to prior judgements. (Meyer 2001 p.17.)

To take this into consideration and differentiate the approach from hermeneutics, Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 279) suggest systematic analysis with scientific tools, deconstruction of the text and resituating of it into its ideological, political and power relations. A similar approach was also adopted in this study. Critical reading means systematic methodology and an in-depth examination of the context that restrict the possible interpretations (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p. 279). The systematic nature of the methodology used has been discussed above and the contextual interpretation has been limited to the experiences of development workers in WVU. The broad context of development cooperation has been linked with the narrower context of the organization and the individual informants in this study. The importance of acquiring secondary data for contextual knowledge and interpretation was acknowledged as the researcher was unfamiliar with the cultural context. The vast theoretical stance has been avoided by taking on a more practical and specialized theoretical basis on gender and development literature that has direct relevance to the data - rather than utilizing any of the grand theories of sociology for example. Moreover, the linguistic theory is explicitly linked with systemic functional grammar in this study. A synthesis will be drawn to link the social to the linguistic and to strengthen the interdisciplinary position in the end. The overtly political nature of the research as been clearly stated in its goals as well as introduction of methodology.

According to Wodak (2001, p. 9) addressing the critical nature of CDA includes issues of having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking an explicit political stance and engaging in self-reflection. The application of the findings into reality is important. (Wodak 2001a, p. 9.) Although it is not a mainstream phenomenon to find academic research overtly stating the political nature of their work, there is evidence that it is becoming more common. However, it should be remembered that the research itself should not be seen as a form of advocacy but a means for obtaining more information. (Scheyvens and Storey 2003,

pp. 187-8.) Examining several interpretations and searching for unprecedented information have been adopted in this study to minimize bias and maximize objectivity.

There is also one additional limitation to this study in terms of the validity of CDA as a methodological framework. Graddol et al. (1994, pp. 24-25) identify the problem with the linguistic preference for the native speaker as selection criteria of analysis. Non-native speakers have largely been excluded from traditional linguistic research, which has increasingly been criticised. The fixation with native speakers assumes that monolingualism is a “normal” linguistic situation although most people in the world are in fact bi-or multilinguals. Moreover, the insistence on native speakers incorporates an idea of ethnic purity where a non-native speaker is often associated with ‘foreigner’. This view also ignores the heterogeneity among native speakers themselves. (Graddol et al. 1994, pp. 24-25.) Although some scholars may opine that carrying out discourse analysis is only valid in the case of two native speakers engaged in the interaction, this study is based on the argument that all language use involves a complex process of interpretation and meaning-making. Having said this, the language used by the informants has not been error corrected in the quotations used in the data analyses, but presented in its original form. This guarantees more room for Ugandan varieties of English. Some limitations for the use of the data came from the fact that on a few occasions the quality of the recordings was not good enough to transcribe some stretches of speech, which resulted in excluding such extracts from the data.

Validity of findings

The criteria to test validity, i.e. the truthfulness of the findings in qualitative research (D. Silverman 1993, p. 149) include assessing the impact of the researcher, the values of the researcher and the truth-status of an informant’s account (Hammersley 1990; Weber 1949 cited in D. Silverman 1993, p. 156). Two methods of validation have been especially relevant in qualitative research: comparing different kinds of data and methods, namely *triangulation*, and taking the findings back to be assessed by the informants themselves, namely “respondent validation” (D. Silverman 1993, p. 156), the former of which has been used in this study.

First, the position of the researcher has raised debate about “a crisis of legitimacy” (with respect to race, nationality, age, gender, social and economic status, sexuality) and its influence on the findings. (Scheyvens and Storey 2003, pp. 3-4.) This calls for self-reflection by the researcher as they inevitably influence the findings in the form of power relations in qualitative research. Besides issues of motivation already stated in this chapter, other factors reflecting the values and positionality of the researcher need attention. The power relations between researchers and their informants exist on two levels: the real differences and the perceived differences (Scheyvens and Storey 2003, p. 149). The existing differences in relation to this study comprise issues of the researcher being a young 26-year-old, middle-class, white, Christian woman coming from the Northern welfare state of Finland. The researcher having been educated according to the Finnish educational system in the academic fields of development studies, English philology and women’s studies is consequently embedded into Western (hegemonic) academic tradition. During the field research period the position of the researcher in the organization was largely defined by the internship placement. The lack of previous experience in carrying out independent research in a developing country also may have influenced the results. However, the familiarity with gender issues in development by the researcher has been a benefit.

As it is not possible to speculate on the perceived differences in power status from the point of view of the informants, the perceived differences from the point of view of the researcher may include issues on the relevance of tribal and clan relations, which in the researcher’s own context in Finland is minuscule but may affect the way different informants have responded. Moreover, the researcher’s gender may have influenced the data given the topic of gender and development. The position as an intern may have in some contexts created an inferior power status to the interviewees as development experts. The young age of the researcher may have also contributed to this status. On the other hand, the Western background and the awareness that after the internship the intern is to report also to the Finnish organization may have alternatively created a perceived superior power status during the interviews.

Second, the truth status of the informants has been tested by triangulation in this study. It was used in the sense that two different analyses with two different methods are made in order to

answer the overall research problem of how have men at the beneficiary level been included in GAD in Uganda. Moreover, the collection of secondary data during the fieldwork period utilized different sources ranging from focus group discussions to published literary sources. The use of secondary data in the first place better guarantees the validity of and reliability of the findings from the primary data. At a more general level, adopting multidisciplinary position may also be viewed as triangulation of the findings when seeking a synthesis. The validity of the findings was further enhanced by including the views of both men and women in accordance with a gender balance.

Although the truth status of the informants as such is not perhaps so relevant in CDA, one aspect that remains affecting the validity of the findings of this study includes the language barrier during interviews. This was more pronounced during the focus group discussions of the secondary data acquisition in the countryside where an interpreter was needed to translate from local languages to English. With the primary data gathered through the semi-structured thematic interviews there was no need for an interpreter as both parties were able to communicate in English. However, the differing levels of skills of English as a second language among the informants, strong Ugandan accent or – especially among the ladies – the quiet voice posed challenges to transcribing the data on a few occasions as English is not the mother tongue of the informants, nor is it that of the researcher. It should be noted, however, that even the status of second language speakers in Uganda may be somewhat elusive as English may well have been used at home already in childhood among some Ugandans, especially among the more educated.

Although for the most part of the interviews, the status of second language speaker by both the researcher and the informants was not a problem, it nevertheless affects the results. In the transitivity analysis, the lexical choices and specific grammatical features in terms of the Ugandan variety/ies of English may influence the resulting Processes, Participants and Circumstances used by the informants. Nevertheless, the encounter between the researcher and the informants as non-native English speakers was not an obstacle, as both parties were able to communicate and elaborate on their messages in a comprehensible manner. The process of meaning making can be viewed as complex rather than straight-forward even between two

native speakers, thus, making it ultimately impossible for the researcher to ensure that all people understand research questions in exactly the same way, although the chances of misinterpretation were nevertheless minimized as much as possible by considering the choice of words and their possible cultural implications.

5.5 Representativeness of data and transferability of findings

As already noted, the views presented by the informants do not necessarily represent those of World Vision Uganda as an organisation. The thematic semi-structured interviews concentrated on the theme of gender and development in Uganda in general, which allowed the informants also to draw on their experiences from previous work positions perhaps outside World Vision Uganda. World Vision Uganda is only one of the numerous NGOs in place in Uganda. To estimate the number of NGOs currently in Uganda, some light can be shed by looking at the number of NGO offices in the capital. According to one directory, there are at least 94 different NGOs in Kampala (See bibliography for *myUganda. Uganda's Leading Internet Source*). Out of these NGOs at least 25 to my knowledge are directly involved in development work and the rest most probably are involved with it either directly or indirectly. World Vision Uganda is in any event one of the contextual issues influencing the responses made by the informants as presented in chapter 2.

Moreover, a study that takes on the focus of men and gender is limited in its findings about gender relations between women and men as well as boys and girls. Ideally, the dynamics of such gender relations should be investigated to present a more holistic view of GAD and Uganda. It should be further noted that the respondents as workers of World Vision are all part of a Faith-Based Organisation (FBO) with strong Christian witness. Although the majority of Ugandans are currently Christians, it should be remembered that the findings of the study are not representative of the religious minorities such as the Muslim or the indigenous beliefs co-existing in Uganda.

Although this study has chosen to concentrate on gender, it is well worth noting that it is only one aspect of human identity that influences the way we as human beings relate to the world

and to other people around us. Such other social variables include age, race, ethnicity, disability, sexuality, religion, class and caste for instance. (Crewe and Harrison 1998, p. 50.) Therefore, an analysis that examines gender issues should also always be sensitive to other such variables that may well be highly relevant – if not more relevant than gender – in specific situations and contexts. As discussed in the previous chapter, the context of Uganda is particularly heterogeneous with a pronounced role of different ethnic groups as well as the division between the northern and southern parts of the country (Dolan 2002, p. 63). With identity politics receiving increasingly more attention and feminists in the global South criticising Western feminists as setting the agenda, Crewe and Harrison (1998, p. 52) note that gender subordination may, indeed, be less significant than that of race or class for instance. Therefore, gender is never to be treated as if situated in a social vacuum as the sole determinant of human behaviour.

The results are only transferable to the limited Ugandan context presented in chapter 2 and do not seek to present universal blueprints or characteristics of the GAD discourse and practice in the world. Although the informants frequently referred to an “African culture” and “here in Africa” and utilized their valuable insider knowledge, the results cannot be generalized to the broader context of East Africa – let alone the whole of Africa as a continent. Similarly, the results found from the transitivity analysis cannot be seen as somehow typical of or transferable to the Ugandan context as a whole but more typical of the topic under discussion, which is the main focus of the CDA approach. This is because the linguistic results are only representative of a group of the English speaking (urban educated) Ugandans: the WVU staff interviewed. In other words, instead of seeking to formulate an exhaustive description of Uganda as a whole, the study instead aims at increasing knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Ugandan nationality of the informants and the role of past working experiences as well as those of the private life enable the data to be representative of the contemporary situation in Uganda as seen by a small number of English speaking development workers. However, the results ideally provide a learning experience and source of innovation for other localities and actors in terms of carrying out gender work and formulating policies, which are also constructed by discourses.

5.6 Ethical considerations

For successful development research there is a need to be more eclectic, more culturally sensitive and ethically aware, and more flexible and open for re-designing the research project. This is due to the special nature of development research taking place in an unfamiliar context, often using a foreign language and staying in the field for a limited period of time. (Scheyvens and Storey 2003, pp. 18-19.) In this study, sensitivity as an outsider to gender roles and the cultural context have been kept in mind and the research process has indeed been flexible with strong directive influence of the context. The limited time for data gathering in the field was enough for the target and scope of the present study as the saturation point was reached.

There is also the ethical question of whether to do fieldwork in the developing countries in the first place as there has been criticism of the affluent Western researcher travelling to study the poor as the voices of the local are often dismissed and therefore unable to influence development policies or planning. (Scheyvens and Storey 2003, pp. 3-4.) Travelling to Uganda was essential for the realization of this study to collect and voice the expertise and knowledge of the development workers as well as authentic language used in original settings. An ethical choice of not correcting the language used by informants in the study report was also made in order to celebrate different varieties of English. As an outsider it was also necessary to gain first hand experience on the cultural context to be able to contextualize the findings of both the linguistic and social scientific analyses. Scheyvens and Storey (2003, p. 189) further point out that the researcher needs also to be wary of not to impose potentially inappropriate Western conceptual frameworks in the study. Testing this is also partly why the field trip is essential.

Ethical considerations also include avoiding any possible harm to the informants due to participation in the research. (Scheyvens and Storey 2003, p. 139). Before conducting the interviews the purpose of this study as part of a master's degree and returning the information to the organization to feed back to the procedures and planning was explained. Moreover, the fact that the interview does not concentrate on World Vision as such but on the general topic of gender and development and the experiences and knowledge of the informants was made

explicit before the interviews. A permission to refer to World Vision Uganda's internal gender reports and documents for contextual purposes was gained.

Besides the informants, care was taken that no harm occurs indirectly to the final beneficiaries of the development work. The World Vision projects in Uganda also involve working with children and other vulnerable people, which was recognized. The impact and significance of a research of this kind on the empowerment of women needs to be acknowledged. Consideration not to undermine the possible progress attained for women's status has been taken into account. Moreover, the sensitive nature of the question of men's inclusion in GAD may provoke rather radical responses and care is taken to avoid any harm to the informants participating in this research, to their current status in the organization or to the organization itself.

Anonymity was guaranteed in the interviews and data collection at all times. The informants were asked permission for tape-recording the interviews and the maintenance of anonymity was stated. Personal identification details were kept on a separate information sheet and the interviews were merely numbered. At the initial stages of writing, the informants were referred to by sex and age. However, at a later stage the age variable was excluded from quotes to ensure further anonymity among the informants themselves. Some additional information in quotations of the secondary data was equally excluded for the same reason. After completing the transcription of the data, the tape recordings were destroyed.

Besides the supervisors and the university, the thesis should stay accountable and relevant to the stakeholders, especially the staff interviewed. The report will be made accessible to the informants, which the choice of language in the study report supports on its part. The next chapter turns to the language dimension more profoundly and presents the findings from the critical discourse analysis.

6 The discourse of GAD – Results from the critical discourse analysis

Using Fairclough's terminology presented in chapter 4, the discourse of GAD is analyzed. Such a discourse is situated in this case in the *discourse practices* of NGOs in development cooperation. The *discourse type* in this study is interview and the *texts* under analysis are interview transcripts. Through the analysis the aim is to reveal *discursive practices* in terms of analytically distinguishable dimensions of the discourse of GAD. This chapter presents the findings of the CDA for the degree in Arts.

Fowler (1996, p. 9) points out that a given text can only be understood through knowledge of discourse and context. According to him, linguistic description follows at a later stage in order to validate the findings that one has heuristically brought to the text. Similarly in this study, after the initial more social science-tilted outlining of the discourse of GAD in section 6.1, a more detailed linguistic analysis of discursive practices is presented in 6.2; 6.3 and 6.4. The last section 6.5 turns back to the CDA framework and discussion on ideology and transformation.

6.1 The discourse of GAD in Uganda

As the discourse of GAD is rather broad and incorporates various dimensions, the first part of the analysis was to examine what possible sub-discourses can be identified in the discourse of GAD. In identifying the possible sub-discourses, the two phases of analysis in identifying discourses as presented by Jokinen and Juhila (1993a, p. 80) were put into practice. Firstly, the tokens of similarities between segments of the text were identified in relation to the overall context of the study. Secondly, these sections of the data were put together and categorized as belonging to the same (sub-) discourse. (See Jokinen and Juhila 1993a, p. 80.) For example, in extracts from Female 3 and Female 4 the similar feature was identified as: men need to / should be included into gender work. The two extracts were categorized as belonging to the same sub-discourse.

Men should be included because two heads are better than one (Female 3).

So, the way I realize it, you can't do it with the women alone. You have to and need to bring the men in the discussion and in the implementation. (Female 4.)

Next, the boundaries of the different preliminary discourses were further narrowed down and specified in relation to the function of the (sub-) discourses in question (See Suoninen 1993, pp. 54-55). At this stage, the question of what is the function or the purpose of the use of language in a given extract was asked from categorized extracts. In the above example of Female 3 and Female 4, the function was identified as advocating for men's inclusion in gender work. The functions that emerged out of the data are separatist and integrative. The labels were given on the basis of the function of either seeking to converge or diverge in relation to the opposite sex.

At the next phase the question what is the primary focus of the sub-discourse in relation to its function was asked in relation to the categorized extracts. The foci identified were either women or men, which are presented in the column of Table 4 as "focus of the discourse". In the examples given above on Female 3 and Female 4, the primary focus was categorized as men, although women were also mentioned by Female 4. This is based on the notion that the primary focus of the integration function is given to men in the extract. All in all, the overall GAD discourse in Uganda consists of four sub-discourses, namely: "Women alone", "Men alone", "Women/Men partnership" and "Men/Women partnership" sub-discourses, as presented in Table 4. The naming of the sub-discourses is based on combining the elements from both the function and the focus of the respective sub-discourse. In naming of both of the integrative sub-discourses the order of the focus elements signals the primary focus (the former) in relation to the latter secondary focus.

Table 4: The GAD discourses in Uganda		
Function of discourse	Focus of discourse	
	Women	Men
Separatist	"Women alone"	"Men alone"
Integrative	"Women/Men partnership"	"Men/Women partnership"

Using *separatist* and *integrative* also falls in with one type of categorization within the wider feminist movement. Koivunen and Liljeström (1996, pp. 16-17) point out that one possible

way of categorising feminist movements is the division into *separatism* and *integration*. According to the former, there is a special need to create spaces for women only as well as act on women's culture and experiences in opposition to the hegemonic discourses. Women's own action is seen as a strategy for emancipation. The latter, on the other hand, maintains that the difference of women is seen as complementing the mainstream society and culture, which is why women should be granted the same rights as men. It underlines the need to work for transformation from within the mainstream structures in the hegemonic institutions of society such as political parties, democratically elected organs and the academic world. (Koivunen and Liljeström 1996, pp. 16-17.)

It should be noted that these sub-discourses are not bound to specific informants. Rather, the same informants utilize several different sub-discourses in their use of language. Although the internally dynamic uses of sub-discourses and discursive practices by individual informants would be an interesting topic in itself, this study does not address the questions of the diverse use of discourses by individuals. Rather, the focus is on power struggles, hierarchies and interrelationships between the identified sub-discourses. First, a brief description of the four sub-discourses is presented.

6.1.1 "Women alone" sub-discourse

The male point of view dominates many development discourses (Crewe and Harrison 1998, p. 49). Just as Koivunen and Liljeström (1996) argued above, the separatist women's movement has argued against this discourse. The position of the separatist "Women alone" discourse emphasizing women's own action as separate from the mainstream male dominated reality of development was not very strong in the context of Uganda. What characterizes this discourse is the emphasis given to separate women's components or initiatives in development work, as in the following example of founding an NGO entirely focussing on girls.

You will find that girls are marginalized. [...] That if we [I and my sister] are to make an NGO, we'd make an NGO to educate the girls. [...] So that the set-up will be on the girls. (Female 3.)

Moreover, women's own action is seen as the strategy for emancipation from oppressive structures. This discourse inevitably constructs the need for an isolated space for women-only with the implication of excluding men.

So we found out that if you are to set up a women's programme you make sure that even the people who are running it are women (Female 3).

The possible subject position⁹ that can be taken by agents of this discourse is overtly opposing the male dominance. The following text demonstrates the implication that women are not sufficiently included in gender and development.

Of course, male inclusion...I think our males are sufficiently included (Male 3).

The use of the word *sufficiently* in this context takes on a negative connotation similar to the meaning 'there is no need for including men any further, nor paying any more attention to them than currently is the case'. In doing so, the subject position established is one of constructing power over other men as the oppressors. Specifically the use of *our males* implies the construction of power over the other men in the sense of the possessive nature of the expression. It implies a patronizing attitude by the speaker. On the other hand, *our males* could also refer to 'our males in Uganda' with more neutral focus on the contextual issues and shared identity of the Ugandan men.

A similar example of the separatist discourse can be detected in the following extract.

If you look at, understand, the gender issues in Uganda, you'll discover that it is actually the woman who needs to be promoted, not the man (Female 5).

Again, a distinction is made to the need of targeting women as separate from men by the informants. The use of the negation is important as it suggests that men should be excluded altogether. Men as a category do not need to be promoted. There is an implicit set-up of women versus men that characterizes the discourse with little room for middle ground. Moreover, the use of *understand discover* and *actually* are used in the above extract to establish factuality of the reality in Uganda and legitimizing the focus on women and making any other alternatives as ignorant and fictive.

⁹ 'Subject position' defines the various ways the subject is part of different discourses (Kosonen 1996, p. 188). The concept can be used to analyze the changes of position by the agent engaged in the discourses, especially when analyzing power relations (Jokinen et al. 1993b, pp. 39-40).

6.1.2 “Men only” sub-discourse

Similarly to the separatist women’s discourse, the separatist men’s discourse aims at clear separation and autonomy from incorporating issues of the opposite sex. Here the assumption is that gender issues are viewed as women’s issues. The rejection to be involved in any issues concerning women (i.e. gender) is also present in the quote below.

Women are talking things that not even attract me. And personally when I was in the university, gender is one of the course I dropped, because of the way the lecturer was acting and behaving to us. I dropped gender and I told myself: anything to do with gender, I will not be part of it. (Male 5.)

The need for separation from women’s issues can be realized through passive observation and even overt rejection of not wanting to be involved.

I’ll actually remain in my box and sit quiet and look at those [gender advocate] people, and when their project is there, get away from me! (Male 5).

This subject position seems to emphasize the need for hiding from the enemy. Alternatively, the separation can be constructed through a subject position of taking action and attacking the enemy.

And I think anything around feminist movement. If it accounts my way – I’m saying this from my own personal perspective – if it’ll account my way, I will fight it, I will sabotage it, I will frustrate it. (Male 5.)

Again the discourse constructs a bi-polar view of gender relations: men against the women. Similarly to the separatist discourse on women, the separatist discourse on men denies the need for the opposite sex in the process.

Men should be brought in into the hierarchy of gender activism – and not women (Male 5).

However, this discourse was not very pronounced in the data from Uganda. Indeed, it was the least pronounced one of the four discourses identified. The relative positions of these sub-discourses will be elaborated in the last section 6.1.5 below.

6.1.3 “Women/Men partnership” sub-discourse

The third type of discourse, namely “Women/Men partnership” discourse, serves the function of integrating women into development. Implication of the emphasized focus on women’s

inclusion admits that men need to be included as part of the other end of the relationship factor but they do not need to be further activated as the special emphasis needs to be placed on women due to their marginalized set-up in society. Thus, this discourse draws on women's marginal position and the oppression they face by men in society in general.

No, [it is not the same targeting men and women], because even the girl child in Uganda is not considered, I'm sorry to be on one side, on gender, I'm not balancing it. I'm more on the girl side. Even in schools you will find the girls, if there is not school fees, the boy goes to school, the girl stays at home. [...] So you will find that girls are marginalized. (Female 3.)

The marginalized position of women and girls in the Ugandan society is used as legitimizing the focus on women in this discourse. Interestingly, the informant admits to be more on the one side and therefore demonstrates awareness on men's role in development. The informant is also aware of the meaning gender as inclusive of both sexes and the need to present a balanced picture. However, she rejects this position of "balancing" gender by stating that she is more on the girl side and argues for the need to focus more on women. Nevertheless she includes men in the gender equation by referring to both sides.

Similarly to the above-mentioned integration approach in the wider feminist movement, this discourse draws on recognizing the complementary roles between the sexes in society.

Maybe because they've come to realize that both men and women can do a different thing and can do for development (Female 1).

This also emphasizes the overall difference between men and women, as in the integrative feminist movement. Similarly, the need for securing the same rights and opportunities for women as men enjoy is pivotal in this discourse.

I think one of the things I could say was very successful is participation of women in decision-making. I think the success comes up because of the increased awareness, which is created. For a long time women were kept, you could say, they were domesticated. Now because of that they missed so many opportunities. So when their eyes opened, when they provided them with the opportunity they had to struggle so that they also get the opportunities like the men. (Male 1.)

Similarly, women's role in the private sphere resulted in women missing out on their opportunities. The focus is inevitably on the struggle of women to be raised to the same level as men. Emancipation of women and integration into the public sphere of decision-making and

power is in the centre of the integrative discourse, which was also overtly mentioned by a female informant.

So now it was the other way round. Well, not the other way round, because the women were still cooking, but they [men] are the ones earning more money than. So, it opened their eyes that they could go further and even become a Local Council. You stand up and they vote you and, which was very amazing. Because you would fully integrate. (Female 3.)

Joining in into the power structure by becoming a local council is therefore entering into the traditional male sphere. Indeed, the need articulated by the integrative feminist movement to change the power hierarchy from within the power asymmetry – from within the institutions and organisations – is also one of the features of the integrative discourse on women.

Many organisations, even the government, they tend to allow women to enter in, even when they're advertising it for women, for responsible women, women who take advantage you know, to maybe put them at the same level with men. (Female 1.)

Again the underprivileged status of women is taken up. However, this example suggests a role for the men as the other end of the continuum that needs to be present: women are integrated into what formerly was the men's domain only.

6.1.4 “Men/Women partnership” sub-discourse

The discourse on integrating men emphasizes the need for partnership, mainstreaming and a holistic approach to gender and development.

When it comes to policies, I'm for the mainstream. Not men alone, not women alone. I don't believe in that. [...] There is no need to pull out the men. (Female 5.)

If we are talking about development, then these two people they should be worked as partners to bring about genuine development (Male 1).

The awareness that men have always been part of gender work in one way or another is accepted as well as the need to work with women in partnership.

First of all, have the men been excluded? That's where we begin from. I think as I pointed out earlier, both men and women must be in development as partners. Where they support one another, to do development. (Male 1.)

Indeed, the emphasized focus on men's inclusion into GAD relies on the assumption that women need to be included as part of the other end of the relationship factor but they do not

need to be further “activated” as the special emphasis needs to be placed on men due to their marginalized set-up in gender work.

It is good for us men to accept the ladies. Because not all of us are islands. We need one another to support one another. [...] It is good for us to work hand in hand. Sometimes it’s a bit tricky but to my view it’s good to work hand in hand. (Male 2.)

This discourse represents what may be called as the “official GAD” in which the text-book definition of a balanced gender representation and equality is in effect.

If you leave out the men you’ve not been gender and development. Then you deliver it, you’re tipping the scale in the wrong way. (Female 4.)

So for me, I feel that gender I is good. It’s good to have a balance (Male 2).

The strategies must be more accommodative of men, than just singling out women. Because I believe we have all the structure to support gender equity. Or gender issues. We have the law, we are supporting gender mainstreaming. We know we have the economic aspect. But then to make it real gender, that means men have to be included. (Male 4.)

The notion of such “real gender and development” implies that there is a gap between the “official” GAD and the GAD in reality that is more focussed on women. Therefore, the discourse argues for the inclusion of men into GAD as men have largely been under-represented. It draws on the marginal position of men in the field of gender and development, as the integrative approach on women respectively does.

Women who are leading that faculty, can men be allowed to play the role that anybody would listen (Male 5)?

Men are an endangered species (Male 3).

In the first extract, the power obtained by women in gender work is demonstrated by the expressions *can men be allowed* and *that anybody would listen*. In the second extract the informant uses a metaphor¹⁰ to describe their marginal and even decreasing importance in gender issues. As a counter-reaction, the need for emphasizing the complementing role of men in gender work features the discourse.

It’s not a question of including the men or the women, but we need to ensure that men and women, boys and girls are working as partners in development. And as equal

¹⁰ Metaphor is characterized by the “similarity and contiguity as the basis for the temporary replacement of one signifying element by another” (K. Silverman 1983, p. 109).

partners. [...] Because each of them have different roles to play. And when they come together, they can make things meet. (Male 1.)

Similarly to the integrative women’s discourse the integrative men’s discourse aims at changing from within GAD structures. It calls for the same rights for men in gender work as the women currently enjoy.

Let me say this in the context of Uganda. When they say. “oh, we are for gender meetings”, you only find women. Why? It is their thing. First and for most, let’s educate the people, the men to understand, so that when we have a gender meeting, it becomes *our* meeting. (Male 5.)

6.1.5 Power hierarchy between the GAD sub-discourses

To establish the above-quoted “hierarchy of gender activism” presented by Male 5 in “Male only” sub-discourse, the identified sub-discourses are examined and positioned in relation to each other. According to Jokinen and Juhila (1993a, p. 81) the hegemonic position of a given discourse can be detected by using two principles. Firstly, the more frequently manifestations of a given discourse appear in the data, the more hegemonic it is. Secondly, the more self-evident and “natural” – without a possibility of an alternative – a given tokens of a discourse appear in the data, the more hegemonic it is. Based on these two principles a comparison between the four discourses was carried out, the results of which can be seen in Table 5 below.

Table 5: The power hierarchy between the GAD discourses in Uganda

Function of discourse	Focus of discourse		Power
	Women	Men	
Separatist	“Women only”	“Men only”	Dominated
Integrative	“Women/Men partnership”	“Men/Women partnership”	Dominant
Power	Dominant	Dominated	

The above matrix of interdiscursive power relations was established through pair wise ranking of comparing two sub-discourses at a time within the two categorisations: the focus of discourse and the function of the discourse. Given the above indicators of hegemonic discourse the matrix was completed by categorizing one of the sub-discourses, in comparison with the other one of the pair, as *dominant*. The remaining sub-discourse under comparison

was marked as *dominated*. After completing the pair wise ranking within both the focus and function of the discourse, the overall matrix is completed with the labels. This aids the identification of the hegemonic discourse.

It can be concluded from the matrix that the “Women/Men partnership” sub-discourse is established as the hegemonic discourse as a result of two *dominant* labels. In the context of GAD discourse in Uganda, the sub-discourse of “Men only” was the most marginalized of all. However, this study does not attempt to analyze the characteristics and power hierarchy of the separatist discourses any further as the focus of the current study is to investigate the discourse of men’s inclusion in GAD in accordance with the notion of gender mainstreaming – not gender separatism or radicalism. Therefore, the rest of the study concentrates on the two discourses identified in Table 5 as integrative, namely the hegemonic discourse of “Women/Men partnership” and the discourse of “Men/Women partnership”. First, however, the general meanings and values of *gender* in the Ugandan context are examined.

6.2 Meanings and values of *gender* in Uganda

This section examines the direct answers given by the informants as a response to the question in the interview format on defining the concept of gender (see Appendix 1). The analysis here relies on examining Value by identifying Value and Token in extracts from the data. As the question in the interview directs the responses by setting *gender* as Token to be defined or described by the informants, the emphasis of analysis is on the Value part that reveals the values behind the more specific term of gender. Therefore, not all clauses are analyzed in this section if they do not present the Value/Token information. Other processes and participants will also be identified as they appear when deemed as contributing to the definition of gender. The extracts used have been selected simply by including what the informants gave as a direct answer to the interview question. However, one informant did not provide an answer to the question but chose to speak of a different topic, which could be examined by looking at the thematic structure of the response. This is, however, not done in this study as such analysis falls under the textual metafunction of language.

For the sake of analysis, the extracts of text are divided to clauses or clause complexes on the basis that they make up a single process. These are marked by running numbers 1 – n. In case of clause complexes there are two practices used. With parataxis, the clauses are categorized as separate clauses in this study. In case of hypotaxis on the other hand, the clauses will first be analyzed at the highest possible level that forms a process. In other words, sub-ordinate clauses that function as Participant, such as Verbiage or Phenomenon for example, will first be classified as such and belonging to the same clause complex. However, they are further analyzed in terms of transitivity and marked with indented paragraphs to show the different levels of analysis. Nevertheless, the study only refers to *clauses* (as in *clause 1*) for easier reading to relate to the numbering used, even if the clause is in actual fact a clause complex. This is not a problem as the sub-clauses are signalled by the indented paragraphs and are nevertheless analysed.

The logico-semantic features on conjunctions are briefly addressed when deemed as supportive of interpreting the transitivity analysis. Some comments are also made to *reference*¹¹ even though it can perhaps be better analyzed through looking at the textual metafunction as there are systematic approaches to analyze such features of text also. However, these textual elements are commented on from a point of view of lexical choice by the informants to support the interpretation of the transitivity analysis. Nevertheless, to minimize discussion on the textual metafunction, additional information on object of reference, when it is clear, is placed in square brackets at clause level to signify the relation to previous clauses.

The most prominent feature that characterizes the concept of gender in Uganda is the emphasis on differentiated gender roles between males and females. In the first example, the informant states that gender includes the roles as it appears as Value in the clause where she gives the definition.

I haven't thought about that. How do you define it [gender]? It [gender] includes the roles played by different sexes in a particular set-up (Female 3.)

¹¹ *Reference* is an act to refer to entities in texts (*anaphoric* and *cataphoric* reference) as well as world outside the text (*exophoric* reference) (Bloor and Bloor 2004, pp. 93-94).

1 [Token] It [gender] [Process: relational] includes [Value] the roles played by different sexes in a particular set-up.

[Process: material, passive] [are] played [Actor] by different sexes [Circumstance: contingency] in a particular set-up.

However, the lexical choice of using the word *include* rather than *is* implies that roles are only one value that *gender* covers leaving the other values open. Similarly, the *particular set-up* implies a certain domain where gender issues are relevant in comparison to the mainstream approach where gender is a cross-cutting issue. When Value in the above example is further analyzed for transitivity, it can be noted that the roles are not seen as static entities but rather constituted by different sexes (Actor) through playing out the roles. The substitution of *people* by *different sexes*, which implies that biological sex is the key definer of human behaviour in this context is interesting here.

In the second example, again *gender* is related to *gender roles*, which appears as the Value, and that gender is constructed by actively playing out roles by actors (Actor) as in clause 1 by Female 4.

Gender is really based on the different roles people play whether they are men or women, girls or boys, youths or aged. They have different roles according to their classification. And they [roles] change as people grow up. Plus, they [roles] 're different for different sexes. (Female 4.)

1 [Token] Gender [Process: relational] is really based on [Value] the different roles people play

[Actor] people [Process: material] play

2 whether [Identified] they [people] [Process: relational] are [Identifier] men or women, girls or boys, youths or aged.

3 [Carrier] They [people] [Process: relational] have [Attribute] different roles [Circumstance: cause] according to their classification.

4 And [Actor] they [roles] [Process: material] change [Circumstance: contingency] as people grow up.

5 Plus, [Carrier] they [roles] [Process: relational] 're [Attribute] different for different sexes.

Interestingly, in clause 3 the roles are not seen as constructed but as possession of the different categories of people identified in clause 2. Here, the different roles that people have are seen as a consequence of the social category that a person belongs to, as suggested by Circumstance: cause in clause 3. This seems to imply that there are socially agreed categorizations of such roles, and that all people are compatible with such categories. Although the definition by Female 4 takes into consideration the possibilities of more than two social categories (men, women, boys and girls), it nevertheless presents them as rather deterministic due to the causative element of being classified according to ones sex and age in clause 3. On the other hand, clause 4 again pictures gender roles as non-static Actors in a process of change. Clause 5 emphasizes the differing nature of the gender roles in its Attribute. Indeed, the lexical choice of using *different* is rather stressed in Values of both Female 3 and Female 4 above.

For one informant the roles are based on the sexual division of labour, which appears as the Value in clause 1.

The concept of gender? In my own personal view? Of course it [gender] will still boil down to the sexual contract between man and women. (Male 4.)

1 Of course [*Token*] it [gender] [*Process: relational*] will still boil down to [*Value*] the sexual contract between man and women.

Here the process is classified as relational despite the seemingly material nature of the verb *boil* on the grounds of the equative meaning between the two participants. Only two social groups (men and women) are identified leaving children and their gender roles outside of the definition. Moreover, the lexical choice of *sexual contract* implies rather formal negotiated agreements between the sexes when compared to *sexual division of labour* that is usually used as jargon in the field.

Yet another informant primarily associated gender with gender roles with an emphasis on making a distinction between the sexes, as in Value in clause 1. Interestingly, the informant speaks of *an approach* which implies the applicability of gender to the field of development cooperation.

I think gender is an approach that recognizes the different, the role of different sexes in any process [...] The role and contribution of different sexes in development. But a more active definition would be like, the other things that come to gender, role differentiation yes, but how does that [role differentiation] relate to the biological identity of an individual. Does it matter, if there's a task to do, does it matter whether male or female, from that angle. The nature of the work. Would one gender be disadvantaged in comparison to the other? But also I think gender is more of a cultural and social construct. (Male 3.)

1 [Senser] I [Process: mental] think [Phenomenon] gender is an approach that recognizes the different, the role of different sexes in any process.

[Token] gender [Process: relational] is [Value] an approach that recognizes the different, the role of different sexes in any process.

that [Process: relational] recognizes [Identifier] the different, the role of different sexes [Circumstance: contingency] in any process.

2 The role and contribution of different sexes in development. (Not a complete clause, no transitivity)

3 But [Attribute] a more active definition [Process: relational] would be like,

4 [Value] the other things that [Process: relational] come to [Token] gender,

5 role differentiation yes, (Not a complete clause, no transitivity)

6 but how does [Token] that [role differentiation] [Process: relational] relate to [Value] the biological identity of an individual.

7 [Process: mental =¹²] Does [Phenomenon] it [= Process: mental] matter [Circumstance] if there's a task to do,

if there [Process: existential] 's [Existent] a task to do,

8 [Process: mental =] does [Phenomenon] it [= Process: mental] matter [Phenomenon] whether male or female, [Circumstance: angle] from that angle.

9 The nature of the work. (Not a complete clause, no transitivity)

10 Would [Carrier] one gender [Process: relational] be disadvantaged [Circumstance: contingency] in comparison to the other?

11 But also [Senser] I [Process: mental] think [Phenomenon] gender is more of a cultural and social construct.

¹² The sign = represents that the participant is divided into more than one words. The latter part of the same participant will be marked in a similar vein signalling that it belongs to the same participant. This system will be used throughout the rest of the study.

[Token] gender [Process: relational] is [Value] more of a cultural and social construct.

After the primary identification of gender as an approach to examine gender roles, the informant presents “a more active definition” between clauses 3–10. Again clause 4 has been identified as being a relational process due to the equative meaning between the participants despite the seemingly material nature of the verb *come*. In clause 6, the informant introduces a new Token, *role differentiation* that incorporates the Value of *biological identity*. In clauses 7–8, this identity is linked with the social division of males and females carrying out work tasks with an implication in clause 10 that one sex would be disadvantaged in carrying out a particular work task due to biological identity as constructed by the circumstantial element referring to a situation of comparison. Lastly, there is a second Value of *gender as social and cultural construct* presented in clause 11. There seem to be two competing values of biological determinism and social constructionism included in the definition of gender by this informant. Although *role differentiation* is seen as Token for *biological identity*, *gender* also includes this biological identity value through including role differentiation as its Value. Moreover, by the lexical choice of *biological identity* the informant juxtaposes two seemingly incompatible words together (unless identity is seen as something of an inborn nature).

Indeed, the socially constructed nature of gender is seen as Value by another informant. Female 2 maintained that gender in the forms of traits, activities and way of life is actually learnt through socialization as in Value in clause 1.

My personal definition of gender: the social constructed traits, activities, way of life, the way people do things out of their upbringing, out of the way they’ve seen it done (Female 5).

1 [Token] My personal definition of gender: [Process: relational] [is] [Value] the social constructed traits, activities, way of life, the way people do things out of their upbringing, out of the way they’ve seen it done

[Actor] people [Process: material] do [Goal] things [Circumstance: cause] out of their up-bringing, out of the way they’ve seen it done

[Senser] they [Process: mental] ’ve seen [Phenomenon] it done

After the more detailed analysis of Value, gender is constructed by people (Actor) actively engaging in the process (Process: material). The cause (Circumstance) behind this is learning as they are brought up by their parents and being personal witnesses to different manifestations of gender.

Besides the values of *role* and *social construct* the concept of gender in the Ugandan context includes the broader value of *gender relations* and the different issues that relate to gender in development context.

[Gender is] the way men, women, boys and girls relate in development. Briefly that. When you go deeper, now it [gender] brings about the roles and responsibilities, it [gender] brings about power issues. [...] Now we come to issues: who takes decisions, who controls which resources, who is burdened by a particular development intervention. (Male 1.)

1 [Token] [Gender] [Process: relational] [is] [Value] the way men, women, boys and girls relate in development.

[Behaver] men, women, boys and girls [Process: behavioural] relate [Circumstance: location] in development.

2 Briefly that. (Not a complete clause, no transitivity)

3 When [Actor] you [Process: material] go [Scope] deeper,

4 [Circumstance: location] now [Actor] it [gender] [process: material] brings about [Goal] the roles and responsibilities,

5 [Actor] it [gender] [process: material] brings about [Goal] power issues.

6 [Circumstance: location] Now [Actor] we [Process: material] come to [Goal] issues: who takes decisions, who controls which resources, who is burdened by a particular development intervention.

[Actor] who [Process: material] takes [Scope] decisions,

[Actor] who [Process: material] controls [Goal] which resources,

[Beneficiary] who [Process: material, passive] is burdened by [Goal] a particular development intervention.

Value in clause 1 has been further analyzed as having behavioural process. This was made on the premise that the verb *relate* is in this context seen as a conscious manifestation of ‘being’ that demonstrates behaviour, although *relate* in clause 6 by Male 3 above was classified as

belonging to relational process due to its equative meaning. In addition to the gender relation value, the informant states that at a deeper level the roles and responsibilities (Goal) are again values in *gender* in clause 4, but also power issues (Goal) in clause 5 such as decision-making, controlling resources and increasing the labour burden in clause 6.

The next view takes on a more active tone emphasizing the importance of interaction and participation as well as *gender relations* in clause 2.

My definition of gender is, in the development context - I look at the relationship between male and female in the context of their participation in the development processes. (Male 5.)

1 [Token] My definition of gender [Process: relational] is, [Circumstance: contingency] in the development context –

2 [Behaver] I [Process: behavioural] look at [Behaviour] the relationship between male and female [Circumstance: contingency] in the context of their participation in the development processes.

Although the Behaviour under viewing is the relationship, the circumstantial element of participation in the development processes in clause 2 implies an active agency by men and women through the lexical choice of *participation*. Moreover, this view seems to be coherent with the “official” definition of gender as being concerned with the relationship (Behaviour) aspect rather than men and women as separate social groups, as was discussed in chapter 1 and 3.

Lastly, the informants pointed out the values of power and equality as central to *gender*. Here, again, Female 4 uses the lexical choice of *different* in connection to equality in the Value in clause 1.

It [gender] 's like men and women being different equality – of what you have responsibility. And they [people] believe that men should be equal and yet they [men] 're allowed to do different things. (Female 1.)

1 [Token] It [gender] [Process: relational] 's like [Value] men and women being different equality, of what you have responsibility.

[Carrier] men and women [Process: relational] being [Attribute] different equality – [Circumstance: matter] of what you have responsibility.

2 And [*Senser*] they [people] [*Process: mental*] believe [*Phenomenon*] that men should be equal

that [*Carrier*] men [*Process: relational*] should be [*Attribute*] equal

3 and yet [*Beneficiary*] they [men] [*Process: material, passive*] 're allowed to do [*Goal*] different things.

In analyzing Value in clause 1 the nature of equality is relational with the lexical choice of the verb *be*, which constructs a static impression of gender inequality. The processes in clauses 2 (Process: mental) and 3 (Process: material) seem to imply that there is a gap between the ideal of what people believe and how this is not put into the practice. Clause 3 was classified as material due to the existence of a Beneficiary and a separate Goal. The passive voice in clause 3 excludes Actor that legitimizes the process of allowing carrying on as usual, which serves to avoid assigning blame to anybody in particular. Again, the word *different* is used in relation to Goal of what can be done (Process, material) by men in clause 3. *Men* in clause 2, on the other hand, seems to refer to the generic men synonymous to 'human being'.

In the context of the equality value, the aim of gender work in the context of development cooperation is to achieve a point of equality.

The definition of gender in the context of development. I would think gender is equal opportunity station of both men and women to achieve the development goals in one place. That's how I would define it [gender]. (Female 2.)

1 [*Senser*] I [*Process: mental*] would think [*Phenomenon*] gender is equal opportunity station of both men and women to achieve the development goals in one place.

[*Token*] gender [*Process: relational*] is [*Value*] equal opportunity station of both men and women [*Circumstance: cause, location*] to achieve the development goals in one place.

The lexical choice of the word *station* particularly implies that there is a specific point where complete equality can be achieved in society, and a point where all men and all women are able to take equal footing in whatever activities they are engaged in development. This informant makes a direct link between gender and achieving development goals in her values

through the circumstantial element, and therefore brings issues of practical local relevance of the concept.

Examining the contextual definitions of the term *gender* reveals the local values and understandings of gender issues in the development cooperation which are largely expressed through relational processes and Values. In the context of development practitioners in Uganda, there seems to be a great deal of emphasis on gender roles that are seen as being determined by sex and age (adult/child). For some informants like Female 4 and Male 3 above there seems to be two competing values formulating gender roles: biological determinism and social constructionism. Besides gender roles, other values mentioned were responsibilities, gender relations, participation, power and inequality issues. All in all, there is a great emphasis on the value of difference between the sexes through which *gender* seems to be constructed according to this data.

In comparison to the discussion in chapter 1 on *gender* as a concept, these attributes are consistent with those assigned to gender as a concept in general: the roles, activities and responsibilities, which are formulated by a given society. However, the results from Uganda suggest that gender roles are not seen as primarily determined by society but by biology, although social construction was also present in the values of gender in the data. The strong significance of gender division of labour and religious, patriarchal regime in the structure of the Ugandan society, as already discussed, is perhaps one of the reasons for perceiving gender from a pre-set position. These factors may also contribute to the emphasis to bipolarities of male and female, through which gender as a concept is also understood in general; and the concept being constructed around difference of masculinity and femininity, which are also detectable in the context of Uganda. However, there are also signals of blurring the bipolarities of the biological and the socially constructed as was demonstrated by one informant by referring to biological identity. Therefore, the criticism that it is unclear where biology stops and social starts, which the gender/sex division has received, is also relevant in terms of the findings from Uganda.

The examination of the two integrative GAD discourses is on order to shed more light into the more covert ways of viewing gender matters and the subject positions taken. According to Wodak (2001a, p. 11), texts are sites of struggle where different discourses and ideologies compete and collide. For the purposes of this study two discourses identified from the discursive field of GAD in Uganda are the subject of transitivity analysis. As already discussed, the “Women/Men partnership” discourse possesses hegemonic position in comparison with the “Men/Women partnership” discourse. In the following section, the analysis first turns to how the focus on women is legitimized, and after that how the hegemonic position is maintained through the representations of men that this discourse constructs. In the subsequent section, the attention is turned to the counter-voices by “Men/Women partnership” discourse for resisting the hegemonic position in the power struggle. In the final section, the interrelationship is discussed. The methodological process for the remaining part of the analysis was already explained in chapter 5.

6.3 “Women/Men partnership” sub-discourse and hegemony

The general features of the “Women/Men partnership” discourse have been outlined above. The focus here turns to the specific linguistic strategies used by the discourse in maintaining its power status over the other discourses and legitimizing the need to support women more than men.

6.3.1 Legitimizing the focus on women

The legitimacy of focussing more on women than men in GAD has been established through three discursive strategies: referring to women’s oppressed status, the oppressive culture factor, and the natural qualities of women.

Women’s oppressed status

To legitimize the emphasized focus on women this discourse constructs women as a universally oppressed group of people in Uganda. As in the first example by Female 4, women are presented as victims by presenting them as Beneficiary of a process of neglecting with

passive voice in clause 1. The actor (Actor) is not included, which creates the impression that this is a normal phenomenon in society and nobody can be held responsible.

And women are neglected the position that makes them...[It] stops them to exploit their full potential. Whereas men, who are given all the opportunities, actually don't even have the capability that women have. (Female 4.)

1 And [*Beneficiary*] women [*Process: material, passive*] are neglected [*Goal*] the position that makes them...

2 [*Actor*] [*It*] [*Process: material*] stops [*Goal*] them [*Circumstance: cause*] to exploit their full potential.

3 Whereas [*Carrier =*] men, [*Beneficiary*] who [*Process: material, passive*] are given [*Goal*] all the opportunities,

4 [= *Carrier*] [men] [*Process: relational*] actually don't even have [*Attribute*] the capability that women have.

hat [*Carrier*] women [*Process: relational*] have.

In clause 2 there is an element of causation through presenting the denial of a high position (as established in clause 1) referred to by *It* as Actor in the process that stops women. Moreover, there is a negative causation in the circumstantial element as women are not able to live up to their potential due to this meaning of low position as Actor. In clause 3, the informant turns to the topic of men to create contrast through the logical metafunction and logico-semantic dimension as *whereas* according to Leech and Svartvik (1994, p. 109) expresses “contrast between two equivalent ideas”. Here men are presented as Beneficiary of the passive process where the opportunities are given to them. Again, there is no mention of Actor but these privileges are given to men by some unknown entity in society that is not mentioned. Moreover, the lexical choice of *all the opportunities* is implying that men receive the maximum number of opportunities existent leaving the women as a group with none left. In the last clause, there is a negation of men having *capability* (Attribute) in comparison with women who do. The verbal group in Process in the last clause that consists of *actually don't even have* is interesting. Using the lexical choice of *actually* signifies that the informant wishes to present the truth as seen by her. Moreover, the lexical choice of *even* implies that the men are lacking rather a basic Attribute that the women nevertheless have. As all the opportunities go to the men in society and as women possess potential or capability, the

argument that there is a need to give emphasis on including women in development is legitimized.

In the second example by Male 2 again the lower status of women as a group is highlighted as in clause 1 below where women are assigned to Attribute of *underprivileged*.

The women were underprivileged and the men looked at women as women were supposed to be in the kitchen, getting married, getting babies. And it took men some time, some time to accept it that women can also claim a role in our offices. (Male 2.)

1 [Carrier] The women [Process: relational] were [Attribute] underprivileged
2 and [Behaver] the men [Process: behavioural] looked [Circumstance: matter, manner, location, role, cause] at women as women were supposed to be in the kitchen, getting married getting babies.

as [Carrier] women [Process: relational] were supposed to be [Circumstance: location] in the kitchen,

[Carrier] [Women] [Process: relational] [were supposed to be] getting [Attribute] married,

[Actor] [Women] [Process: material] [were supposed to be] getting [Scope] babies.

3 And [Actor] it [Process: material] took [Beneficiary] men [Scope] some time, some time [Circumstance: cause] to accept it that women can also claim a role in our offices.

that [Sayer] women [Process: verbal] can also claim [Verbiage] a role in our offices.

Clause 2 links women together with a number of circumstantial elements as in the location of a kitchen, the role of getting married and for the cause of getting babies. The verbal group in all of these relational processes consists of *were supposed to be* that reveals the past norms about women's position. Clause 2 also presents men as Behaver looking at women in the above mentioned way, thus naming the actor explicitly. There is the implication that men are the ones defining how the women "were supposed to be".

In clause 2, *babies* is classified as Scope due to the connection between *get* and *babies*. In addition, the test for rephrasing the clause as *what they did to the babies was get them* implies

a literal meaning of robbing babies. Similarly in clause 3, there is a link between *take* and *time*. Men's "loss of time" was as result of the process of them accepting women as signified by the circumstantial element. When Circumstance is further analyzed here, the women are presented as active vocalizers (Sayer) of their claims. The choice by Male 2 to include *our* in *our offices* in Verbiage, as a marker to whom the offices originally belong to, is interesting. On the other hand, in Verbiage in clause 3 informant argues for emphasis for women on the grounds of the societal expectations by men of women to stay in the private sphere and adhere to her reproductive role. On the other hand, Verbiage in clause 3 may be also classified as Reported, in which case the implication would be that women, when claiming their role, have actually referred to *their* (the men's) offices. All in all, this informant argues for emphasis for women on the grounds of the societal expectations by men of women to stay in the private sphere and adhere to her reproductive role.

In a third example by Male 1 justifying the focus on women rather than the men, women are again presented as Beneficiaries of passive processes with invisible forces "keeping" them in their place as in clauses 1 and 3. Especially the lexical choice of *domesticated* in clause 3 is interesting as it can be associated with animals being domesticated to suit the purposes of humans.

For a long time women were kept, you could say...they [women] were domesticated. Now because of that [women were domesticated] they missed so many opportunities. So when their [women's] eyes opened, when they provided them [women] with the opportunity, they [women] had to struggle so that they [women] also get the opportunities like the men. (Male 1.)

1 [*Circumstance: extent*] For a long time [*Beneficiary*] women [*Process: material, passive*] were kept,

2 [*Sayer*] you [*Process: verbal*] could say...

3 [*Goal*] they [women] [*Process: material, passive*] were domesticated.

4 Now [*Circumstance: cause*] because of that [women were domesticated] [*Actor*] they [*Process: material*] missed [*Goal*] so many opportunities.

5 So [*Circumstance: location*] when [*Actor*] their [women's] eyes [*Process: material*] opened, when [*Actor*] they [*Process: material*] provided [*Beneficiary*] them [women] [*Goal*] with the opportunity,

6 [Actor] they [women] [Process: material] had to struggle [Circumstance: cause] so that they [women] also get the opportunities like the men.

that [Actor] they [Process: material] also get [Goal] the opportunities like the men.

There is a contrast between the past as in the circumstantial element in clause 1 *For a long time* on the one hand, and the new era in clauses 5 and 6 that was marked processes of opening eyes and struggling for emancipation as signalled by a circumstantial element of *when* in clause 5. Again causation is constructed in clause 4 suggesting that due to women staying in the private sphere they missed out on many opportunities. Clause 5, on the other hand, suggests that women's eyes have opened and an anonymous Actor *they* has provided women with an opportunity. Clause 6, on the other hand, establishes that women actively struggle as Actor to achieve the Goal of same opportunities with men. This depicts a picture that the process of women's emancipation is one of hardship and that external help is needed to provide them with opportunities. Therefore women need to be targeted.

In the fourth example by Male 1, there is direct reference to empowering women through education in clause 1. The informant constructs causality by the circumstantial element that describes the hypothetical circumstance leading to women remaining in the private sphere in clause 1. In clause 3, the circumstantial element of manner of leaving the private sphere through empowering is given emphasis in the front position.

Unless the woman is empowered with education, they will remain at the private, at the home. And the man will always go out. [...] Because it's through empowering that she'll leave that private arena to go into the public. And [it is] by going into the public that her issues can be heard. The matters we have talked about, all these gender issues, but the majority of the women are still at home. They [women] are still housewives. (Male 1.)

1 [Circumstance: contingency] Unless the woman is empowered with education, [Carrier] they [Process: relational] will remain [Circumstance: location] at the private, at the home.

Unless [Beneficiary] the woman [Process: material, passive] is empowered [Circumstance: manner] with education,

2 And [Actor] the man [Process: material] will always go [Circumstance: location] out.

3 Because [*Circumstance: manner*] it's through empowering that [*Actor*] she [*Process: material*] 'll leave [*Goal*] that private arena [*Circumstance: cause, location*] to go into the public.

4 And [*Identified*] [it] [*Process: relational*] [is] [*Circumstance: manner*] by going into the public that [*Identifier*] her issues can be heard.

that [*Phenomenon*] her issues [*Process: mental, passive*] can be heard.

5 [*Verbiage*] The matters [*Sayer*] we [*Process: verbal*] have talked about, [*Verbiage*] all these gender issues,

6 but [*Carrier*] the majority of the women [*Process: relational*] are [*Circumstance: location*] still at home.

7 [*Identified*] They [women] [*Process: relational*] are [*Identifier*] still housewives.

In clause 4 the emphasis is again placed on the circumstantial element of *going into the public* which precedes *women's issues* (Identifier). In clause 6 the informant legitimizes the need to improve the status of women as he makes a statement about women still being confined to the private sphere of the home (Circumstance: location). The nominal group as Carrier in this clause combines the modifier *the majority of* with *women* making it clear that most women have not yet been emancipated. Moreover, the lexical choice of *still* in clauses 6 and 7 suggest that the women are stuck in the past conditions with an implication that there needs to be a change.

The last example is given by Female 3 who justifies the focus on women by the previous excessive focus on men by the Ugandan society at large. In clause 1 the informant identifies the focus on men (Identifier) as a problem (Identified) in the Ugandan context. When breaking down the Identifier into a separate analysis, *men* as Identifier is repeated three times and Process is emphasized with the use of *always*. This suggests a very biased situation tilted towards men as well as a suggestion that the informant is somewhat frustrated with that situation. This seems to create the very basis for the argument for focussing more on women in clauses 2 and 3, through the logical metafunction. This is because *so* in the beginning of the clause 2 signals paratactic relationship to the previous clause 1. Moreover, its logico-semantic significance is to create cause or reason (Leech and Svartvik 1994, p. 107).

You see, the problem is, like in Uganda, it has always been the men, the men, the men. So the people are now starting, I think some people found out that now if you educate a woman then you are educating a nation. (Female 3.)

1 [*Circumstance: angle*] You see, [*Identified*] the problem [*Process: relational*] is, like [*Circumstance: location*] in Uganda, [*Identifier*] it has always been the men, the men, the men.

[*Identified*] it [*Process: relational*] has always been [*Identifier*] the men, the men, the men.

2 So [*Actor*] the people [*Process: material=*] are [*Circumstance: location*] now [= *Process: material*] starting,

3 [*Senser*] I [*Process: mental*] think [*Phenomenon*] some people found out that now if you educate a woman then you are educating a nation.

[*Senser*] some people [*Process: mental*] found out [*Phenomenon*] that now if you educate a woman then you are educating a nation.

that now [*Circumstance: contingency*] if you educate a woman, [*Circumstance: location*] then [*Actor*] you [*Process: material*] are educating [*Goal*] a nation.

if [*Actor*] you [*Process: material*] educate [*Goal*] a woman

Clause 2 signals a change from the previous situation through its shift into a material process with the present continuous tense. A seemingly strong basis for the argument lies in the mental process in clause 3 where *some people have found out* implying that there is concrete evidence of the benefits on concentrating more on women. However, Actor in both clause 2 and 3 are non-specific as they refer to *people* starting and finding out and the generic *you* in the context of educating women leaving it open who is, or should be, responsible for focussing more on women. Nevertheless, a powerful argument for scaling up the benefits of development work is presented as *woman* is equated with *nation* in the last section of the analysis where both are acting as Goal in the processes with an element of causality through the circumstantial element of contingency. This is to argue that the focus on educating women results in educating the whole nation.

The oppressive culture factor

The second major strategy in legitimizing the increased focus on women relies on describing culture as the oppressive force of nature that keeps women in their traditionally lower status, as was established in the previous section. Male 1 in the extract below hits the essence of this line of argumentation.

There are still cultural issues which still stop women to respond to those programmes. (Male 1.)

1 There [*Process: existential*] are still [*Existent*] cultural issues which still stop women to respond to those programmes.

[*Actor*] which [cultural issues] [*Process: material*] still stop [*Goal*] women to respond to those programmes.

[*Actor*] women [*Process: material*] to respond [*Goal*] to those programmes.

Here, the cultural issues simply exist in the society as established through the existential process. There is also an element of causality expressed through positioning *cultural issues* as Actor in the material process with Goal being *women to respond to those programmes*, therefore cultural issues being the cause of women not responding and getting access to the benefits of the interventions. The lexical choice of *still* in Process implies that there is a special need for targeting women because such cultural practices have not fully been abolished yet.

A similar trait can be seen from the extract by Male 3 below. First, the informant assigns *men* as Actor in the material processes of domination and suppression in clauses 1 and 2. However, the informant then presents clarification and further elaboration on the circumstance where such oppression takes place in clause 3. Again *culture* is placed as Subject in the clause, in this case serving the function of Sayer. The implication here is that culture (Sayer) somehow dictates the submissive (Attribute) position of women. This presents a further implication of men as simply responding to the cultural norms of their society and thus not the primary target for assigning blame for instance.

[Men] will tend to suppress them. [Men] will tend to dominate and take advantage of women. Especially where culture assert that a woman must be submissive. That's the reality at the grass-root. (Male 3.)

1 [Actor] [Men] [Process: material] will tend to suppress [Goal] them.

2 [Actor] [Men] [Process: material] will tend to dominate and take advantage of [Goal] women.

3 Especially [Circumstance: location] where [Sayer] culture [Process: verbal] assert [Verbiage] that a woman must be submissive.

that [Carrier] a woman [Process: relational] must be [Attribute] submissive.

4 [Identified] That [Process: relational] 's [Identifier] the reality [Circumstance: location] at the grass-root.

The cultural set-up (Circumstance) is causing a challenge for development work as in clause 1 below by Male 1. In clause 2, the content of the cultural set-up is specified as women (Carrier) remaining in marriage (Circumstance: location). In clause 3, women are presented as Beneficiaries of the passive process of being forced to yield to men, which is presented as a cause of the cultural set-up by referring to *that*.

So, when it comes to reproductive right, it's still a bit of a challenge because of the culture set-up: women must remain in marriage. So because of that [cultural set-up] women are still forced to yield to men. They [women] are not independent there. (Male 1.)

1 So [Circumstance: contingency] when it comes to reproductive right, [Identified] it [Process: relational] 's still [Identifier] a bit of a challenge [Circumstance: cause] because of the culture set-up:

[Circumstance: location] when [Identified] it [Process: relational] comes to [Identifier] reproductive right

2 [Carrier] women [Process: relational] must remain [Circumstance: location] in marriage.

3 So [Circumstance: cause] because of that [cultural set-up] [Beneficiary] women [Process: material, passive] are still forced to yield to men.

4 [Carrier] They [women] [Process: relational] are not [Attribute] independent [Circumstance: matter] there.

Although the informants also referred to the specific context of Uganda, as Female 3 did in the previous section on women's lower status, the informants also see themselves as being

affected by the larger cultural context of Africa in general. Below, Female 3 responds to the question why gender mainstreaming has become an issue in development cooperation (see Appendix 1).

I think it's because of the exposure you have been getting – mostly from outside. Because in the African context we were brought up to be, women to be subservient to men. (Female 3.)

1 [Senser] I [Process: mental] think [Phenomenon] it's because of the exposure you have been getting – mostly from outside.

[Circumstance: cause] because of the exposure [Beneficiary] you [Process: material] have been getting – [Circumstance: extent, location] mostly from outside.

2 Because [Circumstance: location] in the African context [Carrier] we [Process: relational] were brought up to be,

3 [Carrier] women [Process: relational] [were brought up] to be [Attribute] subservient to men.

In clause 2, the informant specifies the context to be *African* in the circumstantial element. In clauses 2 and 3, the processes described here are relational assigning women the Attribute of being subservient. The processes here were categorized as relational in accordance with the main verb *be* rather than the phrase *were brought up*, in which case the process would have been material with passive voice with no implication of who carried out the “bringing up” to be subservient to men. In clause 1, the informant establishes that gender mainstreaming has become an issue due to exposure (Circumstance: cause) that comes from outside of Uganda (Circumstance: location) due to the African way of raising girls to be subservient, which is established by logical metafunction of *because* in the beginning of clause 2 signalling cause and result (Leech and Svartvik 1994, p. 104). Here the need for the external assistance on addressing the cultural norms for furthering the status of women is again established.

Female 5 utilizes a strategy of specific contextualized knowledge when arguing her position to enhance the wellbeing of women. In the extract below she responds to the question of why gender mainstreaming has become an issue in development cooperation. Firstly, in clause 3 she sets the circumstance to apply to *in Africa generally*. Then, she further describes the circumstance that applies to Africa in general as including a circumstantial element of extent

of 75 per cent of the communities made up by women and children (Carrier) as marginalized (Attribute). Here, the use of numerical data, albeit with no reference to the source, gives extra force to her arguments. Furthermore, the material process of *you will find* with the generic *you* implies objectivity implying that anybody would be able to reach the same conclusions as she is presenting. In clauses 1 and 2, the processes of exclusion are presented in passive voice with no clear picture who is causing such exclusion. However, setting the scene *in Africa generally* at the beginning of the next clause implies some connection between the passive processes of exclusion and the cultural context.

Because people have eventually realised that women and children are being left out. Because certain categories of people are being left out. In Africa, generally you'll find that over 75 per cent of the communities which are women and children are marginalized. (Female 5.)

1 Because [Senser] people [Process: mental] have eventually realised [Phenomenon] that women and children are being left out.

that [Beneficiary] women and children [Process: material, passive] are being left out.

2 Because [Beneficiary] certain categories of people [Process: material, passive] are being left out.

3 [Circumstance: location, extent] In Africa, generally [Actor] you [Process: material] 'll find [Goal] that over 75 per cent of the communities which are women and children are marginalized.

that [Circumstance: extent] over 75 per cent of [Carrier] the communities which are women and children [Process: relational] are [Attribute] marginalized.

[Identified] [the communities] which [Process: relational] are [Identifier] women and children

In the last example by Male 1, legitimizing the increased focus on women is constructed by causality through the circumstantial elements in clause 3 where a hypothetical circumstance *Until the African woman is empowered fully through education* is presented in relation to the causal *then*. Here the speaker wishes to argue for focusing on empowering women through education to avoid a situation where *many many things* (Carrier) *will remain* (Process: relational) *elusive* (Attribute). Interesting in clause 3 is the naming of Beneficiary as *the African woman* implying a very general, all-inclusive meaning. Implicitly, the informant

constructs an image of the African culture being elusive and backward, which can be addressed through education and empowerment of especially the women. *Empowering* has been categorized as belonging to material processes through the contextual relevance to development work where empowerment is generally achieved through facilitators directing empowering activities to the beneficiaries.

Continually empowering women. And this [continually empowering women] is our biggest challenge in Africa. Until the African woman is empowered fully through education, then many many things will remain elusive. (Male 1.)

1 Continually empowering women. (Not a complete clause – no transitivity)

2 And [*Identified*] this [continually empowering women] [*Process: relational*] is [*Identifier*] our biggest challenge [*Circumstance: location*] in Africa.

3 [*Circumstance: contingency*] Until the African woman is empowered fully through education, [*Circumstance: cause*] then [*Carrier*] many many things [*Process: relational*] will remain [*Attribute*] elusive.

[*Beneficiary*] the African woman [*Process: material, passive*] is empowered

[*Circumstance: manner*] fully through education

Portraying the African contextual factor as crucial is also present in clause 2 in the circumstantial element *in Africa* in a clause that identifies the location of *our biggest challenge* (Identifier). Placing the *continually empowering women* as Identified assigns legitimacy for a need of increased focus on women as it is named as *the biggest challenge* and a hindrance for development in general.

Natural qualities of women

The last major strategy used in this discourse to legitimize the emphasis on women relies on assigning women with inborn positive qualities. Male 2 below links several qualities with women through Attributes of relational processes. Such qualities include *easy to target* in clause 1, *ready to learn* in clause 2, *ready to adjust* in clause 3, *always excited* in clause 4, having *the potential* in clause 5, and *willing to change* and *willing to adjust* in clause 6. Such qualities make women *easy to target* gender equality issues as concluded in clause 1.

The women are easy [to target]. Because for them [women], they are ready to learn. They [women] 're ready to adjust. [...] But for the women, they're always excited. They [women] have the potential, they [women] 're willing to change, willing to adjust. (Male 2.)

- 1 [Carrier] The women [Process: relational] are [Attribute] easy [to target].
- 2 Because [Circumstance: angle] for them [women], [Carrier] they [Process: relational] are [Attribute] ready to learn.
- 3 [Carrier] They [women] [Process: relational] 're [Attribute] ready to adjust.
- 4 But [Circumstance: angle] for the women, [Carrier] they [Process: relational] 're [Attribute] always excited.
- 5 [Carrier] They [women] [Process: relational] have [Attribute] the potential,
- 6 [Carrier] they [women] [Process: relational] 're [Attribute] willing to change, [Attribute] willing to adjust.

Similarly, Female 3 presents women in the light of their natural advantages as caring about health and family issues (Phenomenon) as in clause 2. Moreover, the circumstantial element of *on a day-to-day basis* signals commitment and continuity by women. Clause 3 introduces the Attribute of being *more perceptive* in relation to these issues. Crucial here is the addition by the informant in clause 3 on the causality in the circumstantial element *by instinct* which signals inborn natural qualities of all women. This can also be associated with biological determinism, and being guided by instinct relates women to primitive or animal-like.

Women are more, more ... they [women] care more about your body, your family on a day-to-day basis. [...] So the women – by instinct I think – they're more, more perceptive in such matters. (Female 3.)

- 1 Women are more, more ... (Not a complete clause, no transitivity)
- 2 [Senser] they [women] [Process: mental] care more about [Phenomenon] your body, your family [Circumstance: extent] on a day-to-day basis.
- 3 So [Carrier =] the women – [Circumstance: cause] by instinct [Senser] I [Process: mental] think – [= Carrier] they [Process: relational]'re [Attribute] more, more perceptive [Circumstance: matter] in such matters.

Male 3 below speaks of the community's perception of women at the grass-roots level that links women with such Attributes as *more honest* as in clause 2, *more trusted* in clause 3, and *more committed (to their cause)* in clauses 6 and 7. Moreover, there is a direct link to development work in clause 4 where in the circumstantial situation of giving women the

resources they are linked with the Attribute of *sure to keep it*. Therefore, women are again seen as possessing positive qualities that help carrying out development interventions.

What does that tell us probably about even the community's perception, or even the reality down there about women? They [women]'re more honest, they [women] are more trusted. You give them [women] the resources, they're sure to keep it. [...] Women are more committed, women are more committed to their cause. (Male 3.)

1 What [Process: verbal =] does [Sayer] that [= Process: verbal] tell [Receiver] us [= Verbiage] probably about even the community's perception, or even the reality down there about women?

2 [Carrier] They [women] [Process: relational] 're [Attribute] more honest,

3 [Carrier] they [women] [Process: relational] are [Attribute] more trusted.

4 [Circumstance: contingency] You give them [women] the resources, [Carrier] they [Process: relational] 're [Attribute] sure to keep it.

[Actor] You [Process: material] give [Beneficiary] them [Goal] the resources

5 [Carrier] Women [Process: relational] are [Attribute] more committed,

6 [Carrier] women [Process: relational] are [Attribute] more committed [Circumstance: matter] to their cause.

Male 1 also constructs the idea of women's qualities as aiding in development projects. Here the informant is legitimizing focusing more on women for targeting the community through the achievement of the Goal of *more transformation* in clause 1. On the other hand, he establishes causation to this outcome by identifying *their children* (Identifier) as the *major concern* (Identified) of women.

If you target women, more women, you're likely to get more transformation than [with] the men, because the women, their major concern is their children (Male 1).

1 [Circumstance: contingency] If you target women, more women, [Actor] you [Process: material] 're likely to get [Goal] more transformation than [Circumstance: accompaniment] [with] the men, [Circumstance: cause] because the women, their major concern is their children.

If [Actor] you [Process: material] target [Goal] women, more women

[Identified] their major concern [Process: relational] is [Identifier] their children.

The qualities of women tend to be presented in relation to those of men as demonstrated by the statement by Male 3. Women are presented as Actor in the material process of “doing” together with a circumstantial element describing the manner as *better than men*.

But yes there are certain things that women do better than men, as I have said (Male 3).

1 But [*Reported*] yes there are certain things that women do better than men, as [*Sayer*] I [*Process: verbal*] have said.

there [*Process: existential*] are [*Existent*] certain things that women do better than men,

that [*Actor*] women [*Process: material*] do [*Circumstance: manner*] better than men

The arguments supporting the increased focus on women rely on three discursive practices: the inferior status of women, the oppressive culture factor, and the positive qualities of women as a social group. The inferior status of women has been constructed by portraying women as underprivileged victims that nevertheless possess potential. The societal expectations assign women to the private sphere of reproduction where the women are somehow stuck. Indeed, the most pronounced aspect in the transitivity analysis was to present women in relation to Circumstance: location. Women also seem to be described through relational processes such as *housewife* (Identifier) and *underprivileged* (Attribute) or as Goals and Beneficiaries of passive processes affecting them negatively. Men have largely been at the centre of societal action and described as Actors, and there are arguments for external help for women especially as this would help scale up the development impact. These arguments were used in the process of legitimizing the focus on women.

The oppressive culture factor was linked to the inferior status of women. This was constructed by portraying culture as the Actor in processes that oppress women, or by simply portraying the oppressive structures as existing in society (existential process). Most significantly, culture is presented as Circumstance. This being the context, men and women were presented as simply responding to and acting out the cultural norms set in the surroundings. Such cultural norms also deny women of benefits of development work and outside assistance is needed to

overcome such barriers. This is due to the specific characteristics of the African culture where African women are subservient. Therefore, due to this backward nature of culture, there is a need for overcoming the challenge of educating and empowering women especially. These cultural factors were presented in legitimizing the focus on women.

Thirdly, the legitimacy of focussing on women relies on the natural positive qualities of women as a social group that were mostly realized by assigning positive Attributes to women in relational processes. The women are seen as easy to target, ready to learn and adjust, excited, willing to change, more honest, trustworthy and committed, and ultimately the key to greater transformation through their caring for health and family issues. There was one instance in the selected extracts where women were presented as Actor in a process of “doing”.

The first two sets of strategies for legitimacy seem to be based on arguing for the need for focussing on women. Both of them heavily rely on presenting things as if they were natural with slightly deterministic implications. As already discussed earlier in this chapter, presenting issues as if they were natural and without alternative is one feature of hegemonic discourses that helps maintaining their superior position. In terms of the debate on men’s inclusion in GAD literature discussed in chapter 3, one of the arguments used is referring to the inferior power status of women due to societal and cultural norms. The results from Uganda also seem to rely on these discursive practices. The third discursive practice, on the other hand, brings about the issue of worth. Women are seen as more worthy of being targeted than men. This presents strong value judgements. This is in no way surprising as the concept of gender in its academic sense also covers issues of assigning attributes in relation to femininity and masculinity as already mentioned in chapter 1.

The generalizing tendency of the GAD discourse as already discussed in chapter 4 can also be seen to take place in the hegemonic discourse of GAD in Uganda. Women are presented as a homogeneous group in need of and worthy of attention. This may lead to stereotypical thinking where women are assigned with certain attributes to construct boundaries between categories of men and women. One of the clearest stereotypes discussed in the wider GAD

literature, namely “the good girl” stereotype seems to be presented also in the context of Uganda. On the other hand, women are also stereotypically portrayed as victims, which was also used as a strategy to legitimize focus on women as worthy of being targeted. In addition, the picture community-minded selflessness of women discussed in chapter 4 can also be detected from the data as women are seen as more concerned about the wellbeing of the family. All in all, according to this data the general tendencies of GAD to present women as vulnerable, understanding and caring also manifests itself in the context of GAD in Uganda.

Constructing bipolarities and insisting on viewing women as a homogeneous group in relation to men as a homogeneous group is at the core of the hegemonic discourse of “Women/Men partnership”. The hegemonic discourse not only relies on constructing a positive image of women in maintaining its focus on women but also on painting a negative picture of men to maintain its hegemony. The next section examines the representations of men in more detail.

6.3.2 Negative representations of men

According to the data, the hegemonic position by the “Women/Men partnership” discourse is maintained by constructing men at the beneficiary level according to seven major types of representation: Men as power holders, men as oppressors, men as unwilling to change, men as problematic, men as promiscuous, men as materialists, and men as individualists.

Men as power holders

The representation of men as power holders in the Ugandan society can be seen from the statement given by Female 3 below.

They [men] are the kings in the homes. That’s how society takes them. (Female 3.)

1 [*Identified*] They [men] [*Process: relational*] are [*Identifier*] the kings [*Circumstance: location*] in the homes.

2 [*Identified*] That [*Process: relational*]’s [*Identifier*] how society takes them.
how [*Senser*] society [*Process: mental*] takes [*Phenomenon*] them.

In clause 1, the informant identifies men as the kings through using a relational process. In so doing the informant is constructing a metaphor of power signalling that all *men* equal *kings*.

The site where this takes place is situated in the private sphere of homes (Circumstance). In clause 2 presents extra information on who is the agent in defining men as kings and power holders: the society (Sensor). Here, the last process is classified as mental as society can be seen as consisting of animate entities of individuals. Moreover, the verb *takes* in Process could here be substituted by *views*, which belongs to mental processes.

In the next example by Male 1 the men are presented as the agents who carry out all the “wanting”. In clause 1, men (Sensor) want many children. The sub-analysis where women are presented as Actor of the material process where Goal is *many children* is interesting. The lexical choice of *produce* as Process, instead of say “give birth to”, implies that women are the ones to carry out mass production of children. Moreover, including *for them* as Beneficiary makes it clear that the men are the instigators and controllers of the action. However, the informant wanted to correct the initial general reference to *men* (Sensor) to substitute it with *some men* (Sensor) to signal that the case does not apply to a homogeneous group.

Because men still want, some men still want the women to produce for them many children. They still want to marry many women. (Male 1.)

1 Because [Sensor] men [Process: mental] still want, [Sensor] some men [Process: mental] still want [Phenomenon] the women to produce for them many children.

[Actor] the women [Process: material] to produce [Beneficiary] for them [Goal] many children

2 [Actor] They [Process: material] still want to marry [Goal] many women.

In clause 2, the informant again places men as Actor in the process of wanting to marry, with Goal being *many women* instead of one. Here, the process is classified as material according to the Main verb *marry*. The lexical choice of including *still* in the process element of both clauses 1 and 2, implies a continuum from the past up to the present.

In the last example by Female 4, men are first of all presented as having more power than women. This is constructed in clauses 1 – 3 which view power as a zero-sum entity where in the event of one party gaining the other party is losing. In clause 1 particularly, there is such traits of causation through the circumstantial element. In clause 1, the informant positions *The men* as Sensor of the above mentioned causality, whereas in clause 2 the informant states that

this is also her perception of the phenomenon by placing herself as *Senser*. In clause 3, she further specifies that the men's power will decrease by linking *comes* (*Process*) with *down* (*Circumstance*).

The men think that if we empower the woman, they would lose some power. And I think there's going to be a tip in it, in the balance, the men's place comes down. And they [men] don't like that, they're going to resist it. And you know, they [men] always want to assert themselves as the superior sex. So they [men] 'll try anything. (Female 4.)

1 [*Senser*] The men [*Process: mental*] think [*Phenomenon*] that if we empower the woman, they would lose some power.

[*Circumstance: contingency*] if we empower the woman, [*Actor*] they [*Process: material*] would lose [*Goal*] some power.

if [*Actor*] we [*Process: material*] empower [*Goal*] the woman,

2 And [*Senser*] I [*Process: mental*] think [*Phenomenon*] there's going to be a tip in it, in the balance,

there [*Process: existential*] 's going to be [*Existent*] a tip [*Circumstance: location*] in it, in the balance

3 [*Actor*] the men's place [*Process: material*] comes [*Circumstance: location*] down.

4 And [*Senser*] they [men] [*Process: mental*] don't like [*Phenomenon*] that [the men's place comes down],

5 [*Actor*] they [men] [*Process: material*] 're going to resist [*Goal*] it [that the men's place comes down].

6 And, you know, [*Sayer*] they [men] [*Circumstance: location*] always [*Process: verbal*] want to assert [*Target*] themselves [*Verbiage*] as the superior sex.

7 So [*Actor*] they [men] [*Process: material*] 'll try [*Goal*] anything.

It is interesting how men are represented in clauses 4 – 7. Men are placed as *Senser* of a negative mental process of dislike in clause 2 with the phenomenon element *that* referring to the previous clause of *the men's place comes down*. This negative reaction is further emphasized in clause 5 with the lexical choice of *resist* in *Process*. This could have also been classified as behavioural process if the negative mental process in the previous clause is seen as taking a conscious form in clause 5. However, due to the existence of *Goal* in clause 5 that

refers to the same entity as Phenomenon in clause 4, the process was categorized as material. All the same, the “doer” of the process refers to men in both clauses.

Clause 6 is particularly interesting through its lexical choices. In Circumstance the informant includes *always* with a rather totalizing effect. Moreover, the choice of *assert* is rather strong as it implies establishing or possessing a power status through declaring something. The process was therefore classified as verbal, although relational process could also perhaps been used. Verbal process, on the other hand, enables the closer break down of participants with the identification of Target. Here, Target refers to men themselves, which further strengthens the impression of them being in power as they are able to assert themselves *as the superior sex* (Verbiage). Lastly, in clause 7 the informant constructs a picture of *men* (Actor) trying *anything* (Goal), which leaves the options of possible specifications of Goal open with the implication of including both positive and negative elements.

Men as oppressors

Even a more negative picture is constructed by presenting men at the beneficiary level as universally oppressive of women. In the first example by Male 2, the informant constructs a scenario of causality through the circumstantial element in clause 1 followed by a negative outcome. In other words, in the event of involving the men in a direct manner (Circumstance), the men (Actor) will take advantage. The choice of using *take advantage* in Process is rather a strong one as it implies consciously benefiting at the expense of someone else. This can be interpreted as a warning by the informant that men should not perhaps be involved in a direct manner in gender issues to avoid the negative outcome.

If you involved the man directly, the man will take advantage (Male 2).

1 [*Circumstance: contingency*] If you involved the man directly, [*Actor*] the man [*Process: material*] will take [*Scope*] advantage.

If [*Actor*] you [*Process: material*] involved [*Goal*] the man [*Circumstance: manner*] directly

In a similar example by Male 3, the informant describes the same characteristic of men as oppressive of women. The informant identifies the challenge (Identified) of men

overshadowing the women (Identifier). This is situated especially in the location of the rural areas (Circumstance). The choice of verbs in Process at the last level analysis where the informant uses *will tend to* is interesting. This implies a general tendency by men to act in this way. By naming the Phenomenon as *challenge* at the first level of analysis the informant is implying a negative trait.

I think one challenge is that men will tend to, especially in rural setting, men will tend to overshadow the women (Male 3).

1 [Senser] I [Process: mental] think [Phenomenon] one challenge is that men will tend to, especially in rural setting, men will tend to overshadow the women.

[Identified] one challenge [Process: relational] is [Identifier] that men will tend to, especially in rural setting, men will tend to overshadow the women.

that [Actor] men [Process: material =] will tend to, especially [Circumstance: location] in rural setting, [Actor] men [Process: material] will tend to overshadow [Goal] the women.

Female 4 places *men* as Actor in processes of *subduing* and *keeping down the voices* of women. However, there is an element of hesitation by the informant when she reflects the choice of wording in *subdue* through a mental process. Nevertheless, the processes in clause 1 are classified as material because of the main verbs *subdue* and *keep down*.

In the beginning, the men want to subdue – I think we will call it ‘subdue’ – they want to keep down the voices of the women. And they [men] do that in very many ways. Like if the woman stands up to speak, the men will not pay attention, they [men] will have her pulled down, so it [if the woman stands up to speak] needs a very strong woman to stand that. (Female 4.)

1 [Circumstance: location] In the beginning, [Actor] the men [Process: material] want to subdue – [Senser] I [Process: mental] think [Phenomenon] we will call it ‘subdue’ – [Actor] they [Process: material] want to keep down [Goal] the voices of the women.

[Sayer] we [Process: verbal] will call [Target] it [Verbiage] ‘subdue’

2 And [Actor] they [men] [Process: material] do [Goal] that [Circumstance: manner] in very many ways.

3 Like [Circumstance: contingency] if the woman stands up to speak, [Actor] the men [Process: material] will not pay [Scope] attention,

if [Actor] the woman [Process: material] stands up [Circumstance: cause] to speak,

4 [Initiator] they [men] [Process: material, passive =] will have [Beneficiary] her [= Process: material, passive] pulled down,

5 so [Identified] it [if the woman stands up to speak] [Process: relational] needs [Identifier] a very strong woman [Circumstance: cause] to stand that.

In clause 3 there is also description of men's (Actor) tendencies of not paying attention to women as constructed by causality in the circumstantial element. *Attention* was here classified as Scope instead of Goal, which would imply (ungrammatical) literal meaning in this case. Men are also presented as Initiator of a passive process in clause 4, which implies that men give the order of pulling down a woman. It nevertheless leaves open who actually carries out the action. The position of Initiator signals power as well as conscious choice of pulling down the woman.

Men as unwilling to change

The third representation of men according to the data is that they are not open for change. Male 2 assigns men (Carrier) with Attributes such as *hard to target* and *rigid* in clauses 1 and 2. Then, he presents his information in the form of direct quoting, which gives the argumentation extra credibility even if the authenticity of the Quote cannot be verified. More important than that is what type of representation does this strategy create of men as beneficiaries.

But the men are hard [to target]. They [men] 're so rigid. They [men] say: "no, no, no" For us we've grown like this, we know this is supposed to be like this. So let the women be in the kitchen, let women be in the garden." (Male 2.)

1 But [Carrier] the men [Process: relational] are [Attribute] hard [to target].

2 [Carrier] They [men] [Process: relational] 're [Attribute] so rigid.

3 [Sayer] They [men] [Process: verbal] say: [Quoted] "no, no, no, for us we've grown like this, we know this is supposed to be like this. So let the women be in the kitchen, let women be in the garden."

[Circumstance: angle] for us [Actor] we [Process: material] 've grown [Circumstance: manner] like this,

[*Senser*] we [*Process: mental*] know [*Phenomenon*] this is supposed to be like this.

[*Identified*] this [*Process: relational*] is supposed to be [*Identifier*] like this

So [*Process: relational =*] let [*Carrier*] the women [= *Process: relational*] be [*Circumstance, location*] in the kitchen,

[*Process: relational =*] let [*Carrier*] women [*Process: relational*] be [*Circumstance: location*] in the garden.

The informant describes men's resistance by repeating *no* at the beginning of the Quoted. In the quoted element the men seem to be justifying their position with 've *grown* in Process, which stresses the importance of the socialization process. The results of the socialization process are not disputable as indicated by the following clause through its relational process of *is supposed to be*. On the other hand, *grown* here may also refer to non-disputable biological growth. Nevertheless, the informant wants to construct an image that men are reluctant to change the status quo that has always been there, especially in terms of gender roles, as implied in the last two sub-clauses. In these clauses the informant depicts a scene where men say that the domains to maintain for women (Carrier) are the kitchen and the garden (Circumstance). This is to say, the women are confined to the private sphere of the homes. Moreover, the choice of relational process with the verb *be* signals a rather passive role of women instead of perhaps actively being engaged in reproductive work.

In a second example, Female 4 assigns *men* (Carrier) with the Attribute of *too resistant*. The choice of using *too* signals that the degree of resistance by men is excessive. Moreover, *still* in Process again signals a continuum from the past to the present, and could even incorporate a meaning of 'despite all efforts'. In clause 2, there is an element of conscious choice by the men constructed via Process *don't want to change*. The object of change is named as *their behaviour* (Goal). This informant like the previous one also, lumps together men as a social category with *their behaviour* implying that all men act consciously in the same way.

They [men] are still too resistant. They [men] don't want to change their behaviour. (Female 4.)

1 [*Carrier*] They [men] [*Process: relational*] are still [*Attribute*] too resistant.

2 [Actor] They [men] [Process: material] don't want to change [Goal] their behaviour.

Men as problematic

Some of the informants seem to construct male beneficiaries as problematic from the point of view of development interventions. Male 2 connects *men* (Goal) with *village* (Circumstance) in clause 1. Then in clause 2 the informant connects *the most problem* (Actor) coming from *village* (Circumstance). Implicitly, then, he is making a link between *men* and *problem* through the mediation of *village*. Indeed, clause 2 is a sub-clause to clause 1 in terms of taxis, and signals a causal relationship in terms of legico-semantic features – again through the reason established by *because*.

In clause 3 it is not clear what the informant refers to by *they*; the (people in the) *village* or the *men*. Nevertheless, the men are located in the village in clause 1, thus the reference makes a link to men. Therefore, the Attribute *that mindset* in clause 3 implies reference to men. It is also not clear what *that* refers to in relation to *mindset* in Attribute. The informant may assume shared contextual knowledge by exophoric reference to real world. However, clause 3 is identified as a sub-clause to clause 2 through the conjunction of *because*. Therefore, *that mindset* in clause 3 is linked to *problem* in clause 2, as the informant signals a causal relationship where the mindset functions as the reason to the problem. The mindset of men in the village is thus constructed as problematic.

Yeah, actually, the men in the villages should be sensitized because the most problem comes from the village. Because they have that mindset. (Male 2.)

1 Yeah, actually, [Goal] the men [Circumstance: location] in the villages [Process: material, passive] should be sensitized

2 because [Actor] the most problem [Process: material] comes [Circumstance: location] from the village.

3 Because [Carrier] they [Process: relational] have [Attribute] that mindset.

In the second example by Male 2, *men* are presented as Actor in a material process the Scope of which is *mistakes*. A circumstantial element is added to emphasize the vast extent of such Scope. Men are represented here as the source and “doers” of a great number of mistakes. In contrast, clause 2 assigns *women* with the Attribute of *very careful*. Moreover, clause 4

implies that women are somehow more productive in development work as they carry out mental processes with reaching results signalled by *something* (Phenomenon). Again men are seen as problematic in terms of development work.

Men will make mistakes, a lot of mistakes. But women are very careful and they [women] take their time to analyze and then they [women] come up with something. (Male 2.)

1 [Actor] Men [Process: material] will make [Scope] mistakes, [Circumstance: extent] a lot of [Scope] mistakes.

2 But [Carrier] women [Process: relational] are [Attribute] very careful

3 and [Actor] they [women] [Process: material=] take [Scope] their time [Circumstance: cause] to analyze

4 and [Circumstance: location] then [Senser] they [women] [Process: mental] come up with [Phenomenon] something.

Men as promiscuous

Another representation of men created by the hegemonic GAD discourse in Uganda relies on constructing men as sexually problematic and promiscuous. Female 2 gives an ample example of this representation. Firstly, when Verbiage in clause 1 is further analyzed, it becomes clear that this informant uses causality to argue her case. First, the circumstantial element including Attribute of *contented* linked together with *with one woman* (Circumstance: matter). Then causality is constructed through the process of *'ll never be contented* to a new Circumstance *with any other number*. In other words, the Circumstantial element *with one woman* in the contingency part is substituted with *with any other number* in the sub clause signalling causality. Clause 2 sums this up by repeating the causality of one not being enough resulting into any number not being enough.

I always tell the men that as long as a man is not contented with one woman then he'll never be contented with any other number. If one is not enough for him, there's no reason why he'd be contented with many. But the truth is that any man – whether they've married another woman, or they're cheating on their wives – I'll say that when they're not contented with one wife, then they'll always cheat whatever they have. (Female 2.)

1 [Sayer] I [Process: verbal] always tell [Receiver] the men [Verbiage] that as long as a man is not contented with one woman then he'll never be contented with any other number.

that [Circumstance: contingency] as long as a man is not contented with one woman, [Circumstance: cause] then [Carrier] he [Process: relational] 'll never be [Attribute] contented [Circumstance: matter] with any other number.

[Carrier] a man [Process: relational] is not [Attribute] contented [Circumstance: matter] with one woman

2 [Circumstance: contingency] If one is not enough for him, there [Process: existential] 's [Existent] no reason why he'd be contented with many.

[Carrier] one [Process: relational] is not [Attribute] enough [Circumstance: cause] for him

why [Carrier] he [Process: relational] 'd be [Attribute] contented [Circumstance: matter] with many.

3 But [Identified] the truth [Process: relational] is [Identifier =] that any man – whether they've married another woman, or they're cheating on their wives – I'll say that when they're not contented with one wife, then they'll always cheat whatever they have.

that [Carrier =] any man – [Circumstance: contingency] whether they've married another woman, or they're cheating on their wives – [Sayer] I [Process: verbal] 'll say [Verbiage] that when they're not contented with one wife, then they'll always cheat whatever they have.

whether [Actor] they [Process: material] 've married [Goal] another woman, or [Actor] they [Process: material] 're cheating on [Goal] their wives

[Circumstance: contingency] when they're not contented with one wife, [Circumstance: cause] then [Actor] they [Process: material] 'll always cheat [Goal] whatever they have.

when [= Carrier] they [Process: relational] 're not [Attribute] contented [Circumstance: matter] with one wife
whatever [Carrier] they [Process: relational] have.

In clause 3 the informant sets out to identify the truth (Identified), which is a powerful strategy to argue one's case. This is further strengthened by the verbal process of *(I)'ll say*. The use of the rather generalizing *any man* as Carrier applying to circumstances of marrying women and cheating their wives is interesting. This selection of these circumstances is also interesting, as it seems to strengthen the message linking *men* with being sexually active with more than one woman. Clause 3 also presents a rather totalizing causality of not being happy with *with one wife* (Circumstance: matter) leading to a Process of always cheating, with an emphasis on *always* through repetition in clause 3. All in all, the informant uses other temporal aspects such as *always* and *never* in clause 1. Moreover, the Goal presented by this process is interestingly named as *whatever they have*, where women seem to be presented as objects of possession through the relational process.

Men as materialists

This representation of male beneficiaries is based on viewing men as primarily interested in material things, as Female 1 below maintains.

Unless it's material, when you start with material kind of, there they [men] come (Female 1).

1 [Circumstance: contingency] Unless it's material, [Circumstance: contingency] when you start with material kind of, [Circumstance: location] there [Actor] they [men] [Process: material] come.

Unless [Carrier] it [Process: relational] 's [Attribute] material,
when [Actor] you [Process: material] start [Circumstance: accompaniment] with
material kind of

Here the informant constructs causality through the circumstantial elements at the beginning of the clause to set the scene as *material* (Attribute) and *with material kind of* (Circumstance) and by linking them with men (Actor) coming.

Typically "the material" takes the form of money. Again, as presented by Male 1, the men are mobilized by material causes such as money. This is conveyed by the circumstantial element at the beginning of clause 1 followed by men (Actor) moving. The informant also specifies the

manner of such movement, which is *faster*. This seems to suggest that men take special interest in such matters which manifests itself in the men becoming mobile.

When you are giving maybe some kind of income generating project, men tend to move there faster. They [men] move faster. And if you are not very careful, why the men may, when the man gets the money, it may not necessarily benefit the woman. And in that way, if the woman is not benefiting, even the children are suffering. (Male 1.)

1 [*Circumstance: contingency*] When you are giving maybe some kind of income generating project, [Actor] men [*Process: material*] tend to move [*Circumstance: location, manner*] there faster.

[*Circumstance: location*] When [Actor] you [*Process: material*] are giving [Goal] maybe some kind of income generating project,

2 [Actor] They [men] [*Process: material*] move [*Circumstance: manner*] faster.

3 And [*Circumstance: contingency*=] if you are not very careful,

[Carrier] you [*Process: relational*] are not [Attribute] very careful

4 why the men may, (Not a complete clause – no transitivity)

5 [=Circumstance: contingency] when the man gets the money, [Actor] it [*Process: material*] may not necessarily benefit [Goal] the woman.

[*Circumstance: location*] when [Actor] the man [*Process: material*] gets [Goal] the money

6 And [*Circumstance: manner*] in that way, [*Circumstance: contingency*] if the woman is not benefiting, even [Behaver] the children [*Process: behavioural*] are suffering.

if [Actor] the woman [*Process: material*] is not benefiting

Clause 3 introduces a warning concerning these interests men possesses through the choice of the Attribute *careful*. This is further elaborated in clause 5 by describing the Circumstance: in the event of men receiving money, the money (Actor) may not reach women as Goal. Clause 6 presents further repercussions through introducing yet another circumstantial element of women not benefiting, in which case the children are identified as “doers” of the behavioural process of suffering. The Process was classified as behavioural on the grounds that suffering may be either mental or material showing physical signs, thus a compromise was made in between. In sum, men are presented as holding on to the money and not sharing it with the rest of the family.

The third example by Female 1 again reinforces the representation of men being preoccupied by material things. Clause 2 implies a conscious choice by men (Actor) as the Process uses the verb *involve* together with a Goal referring to the men themselves. The Circumstance in which this takes place is *when it is not big money*.

Women do it alone, men don't tend to involve them when it's not big money. So many times women have done it alone. And there'll be like two men to help and guide, they [women]'ve been successful. (Female 1.)

1 [Actor] Women [Process: material] do [Goal] it [Circumstance: manner] alone,

2 [Actor] men [Process: material] don't tend to involve [Goal] them [Circumstance: contingency] when it's not big money.

[Circumstance: location] when [Identified] it [Process: relational] 's not [Identifier] big money.

3 So [Circumstance: extent] many times [Actor] women [Process: material] have done [Goal] it [Process: manner] alone.

4 And there [Process: existential] 'll be [Existent] like two men [Circumstance: cause] to help and guide,

5 [Carrier] they [women] [Process: relational] 've been [Attribute] successful.

However, this informant also present another representation of men in clause 4 that relates back to the representation of men being in power and control. This is established by the circumstantial element signalling the reason of why the men (Existent) are present: to help and guide. Not only are men in control but also possessing qualities and/or skills that enable them to help and guide female beneficiaries. The traditional gender roles in place in Uganda, however, most probably also legitimize such behaviour.

Men as individualists

The final representation of men constructed by the hegemonic GAD discourse is viewing them as concerned about personal interests rather than communal. Male 2 below first states that *ladies* (Actor) attend to any needs at home in clause 1. The informant implicitly links women tending to *any need* (Extent) and the location of such needs *at home* (Circumstance). Here, the overall tendency of GAD tradition to view women as community-minded is also present in Ugandan context as the women tend to the needs of the whole family at home.

If there's any need at home, the ladies go and buy them. But if... because the men always drink, always drink, go to the night club, so instead of that money developing the home, it develops the clubs. (Male 2.)

1 [*Circumstance: contingency*] If there's any need at home, [*Actor*] the ladies [*Process: material*] go and buy [*Goal*] them.

If there [*Process: existential*] 's [*Existent*] any need [*Circumstance: location*] at home

2 But if...because [*Actor*] the men [*Circumstance: extent*] always [*Process: material*] drink, [*Circumstance: extent*] always [*Process: material*] drink, [*Process: material*] go [*Circumstance: location*] to the night club,

3 so [*Circumstance: contingency*] instead of that money developing the home, [*Actor*] it [*Process: material*] develops [*Goal*] the clubs.

instead of [*Actor*] that money [*Process: material*] developing [*Goal*] the home

In contrast, men (Actor) are represented as drinking (Process) and seeking entertainment (Process, Circumstance), as in clause 2. The informant has opted to include a circumstantial element describing the extent of drinking as *always*. Moreover, he repeats *always drink*, which creates a very strong representation of men as consumers of alcohol together with the location of *the night club*. In clause 3, the informant presents two parallel scenarios, the first of which does not however take place. In other words, there are two alternative Goals that men's money (Actor) has to possibility to develop: the home and the clubs, the former of which the informant wants to negate in the circumstantial element through *instead of*.

Another example by Male 1 presents a similar picture where he uses a negation of *invest* in Process together with Goal of *this money* and the cause of the investment being *to help the family or take the children to school* in clause 1. In clause 3, the informant again constructs a picture where *he* (Actor) directs the money to the same cause (Circumstance) to *drink or to marry more wives*. The essence of this representation of men becomes clear in the last sentence where the informant, first of all, selects to use *tends to divert* in Process, suggesting a tendency, as well as diversion from a "correct" direction, which is perhaps what is later placed as Goal: *the family*. The keyword in the circumstantial element in clause 3 is the *personal things*, with the implication that men are mostly interested in the self, as discussed in chapter 4.

[...] But he [a man] may not necessarily invest this money to help the family or to take the children to school. You may find that the man has...you have helped that the man has got money but he's using this money to drink or to marry more wives. [...] They [men] tend to divert their resources to other, personal things that may not necessarily help the family. (Male 1.)

1 But [Actor] he [a man] [Process: material] may not necessarily invest [Goal] this money [Circumstance: cause] to help the family or to take the children to school.

2 You may find that the man has...(Not a complete clause, no transitivity)

3 [Senser] [You] [Process: mental] [may find that] [Phenomenon] you have helped that the man has got money but he's using this money to drink or to marry more wives.

[Actor] you [Process: material] have helped [Goal] that the man has got money
that [Carrier] the man [Process: relational] has got [Attribute]
money

but [Actor] he [Process: material] 's using [Goal] this money [Circumstance:
cause] to drink or to marry more wives.

4 [Actor] They [men] [Process: material] tend to divert [Goal] their resources [Circumstance: cause] to other, personal things that may not necessarily help the family.

[Actor] that [Process: material] may not necessarily help [Goal] the family.

The most prominent features to be found in the representations of male beneficiaries in Uganda were the generalizing and homogenizing tendencies of the discourse to include all men. Not only were the informants referring to the all-inclusive plural of *men* but also frequently attached men with lexical choices such as *always*. Moreover, *men* were covertly placed in relation to words such as *challenge* and *problem*. Various causal relationships were constructed to emphasize the effect that men's actions have on other participants and/or entities in the processes.

In accordance with the general tendencies with GAD to be found in the academic literature discussed in chapter 4, men in the hegemonic GAD discourse in Uganda are also left out as the problematic "other". The focus on oppressive heterosexual relationships is perhaps understandable in Uganda given the profound influence of Christianity in the society at large. In terms of representing men as power holders and oppressors, they are frequently positioned

as the “doer” (Actor, Senser, Initiator, Sayer) in the process and therefore in control of the action. The representation of being unwilling to change was constructed by relational processes and Attributes. The problematic view of men was constructed by insinuation through causality and presenting men as Actors in making mistakes. Representing men as promiscuous, materialists and individualists men were mostly positioned as Actors in material processes of cheating, going after money and drinking.

Men are presented as simply taking their position as Actors. On the other hand, power is seen as a zero-sum game where men are inevitably going to lose some of their power in the event of empowering women, which is causing men to resist. The picture of men as universal oppressors and taking advantage is built on the claim of men acting on conscious choice. This conscious choice is also the key feature of representing men as unwilling to change. The men are seen to heavily rely on traditional gender roles assigned by socialization process. There is an element of representing men as stubborn due to having a certain mindset that causes problems for development work. Moreover, men are seen as problematic through making mistakes and cheating on wives. The primary interest of the men is said to be material. Men are described as keeping the money to themselves and not sharing it with other family members, which perhaps can be understood in the context of traditional gender roles and the role assigned to men as the kings (leaders) at home. However, there are selfish motives assigned to the men as seeking personal pleasure through seeking alcohol and entertainment.

The hegemonic position of “Women/Men partnership” discourse relies on presenting men in negative light through negative Attributes and Identifiers in the context of Uganda, which also functions as legitimizing the focus on women. This seems to fall in with the general tendency of GAD literature to represent men through negative features, as discussed in chapter 4. There was really no deviation in the Ugandan context from the general stereotypical representations that characterize the GAD approach in general. Although the stereotype of men being violent was not so explicit in the data, the other common stereotypes of men drinking, being selfish, pampered and privileged, promiscuous, unable to change as well as powerful to be found in the larger academic discourse on GAD were present. The representations within this discourse were overwhelmingly negative leaving the positive opportunities of, say, fatherhood

unmentioned – depriving men of their positive agency. Moreover, such negative aspects are frequently presented in direct opposition with the positive characteristics of women. Moreover, the overall representation of men seems to fortify the stereotypes of masculinity and strengthening the position of hegemonic masculinity in general as men are seen as somewhat enslaved by cultural and biological factors and unable to tab into new roles and masculinities. The next section looks at the counter-discourse of “Men/Women partnership” and what strategies it used to challenge and undermine the hegemony of the “Women/Men partnership” discourse.

6.4 “Men/Women partnership” sub-discourse challenging the hegemony

The bulk of the data that forms the male sympathetic discourse was provided by two male informants, although some female informants also engaged themselves in this discourse at times. According to the data, the discourse supporting male inclusion into GAD in Uganda does not challenge the fact that women possess a lower status in society and are an oppressed social group especially in the rural areas. However, it uses two main strategies to undermine the legitimacy of increased focus on women: challenging the academic and institutional forms of feminist movement in Uganda, and redefining *gender* as inclusive of both men and women. These are discussed in more detail below. In the last section of the chapter, the remaining characteristic of the discourse, namely the vague meaning of including men into GAD, is examined.

6.4.1 Challenging the academic and institutional aspects of the feminist movement

This strategy is built on tensions between academic and institutional aspects of the feminist movement on the one hand, and the local understandings of *gender* on the other. There are three strategic representations that the discourse uses for undermining the hegemony of the “Women/Men partnership” discourse: presenting Western feminist movement as useless, laws as inefficient before the face of gender relations and culture, and that the complementary gender roles need to be preserved.

Useless Western academic feminist movement

This discourse draws on the importance of gender activism that is based on personal experience and intuition instead of academic studies. Male 5 below first identifies the angle from which he views gender as *from his own perspective* in clause 1. Clause 2 is identified as a sub-clause of clause 1 providing additional information on it as he identifies this view through Attribute as *more useful* than knowing gender from this useless academic position. In other words, he presents two competing angles: personal and academic. The lexical choice of *useless* in the proximity of *academic*, implying no practical relevance to real life is interesting here.

I know gender from my own perspective which is more useful to me than knowing gender from this useless academic approach. [...] You cannot present something that I know in a very tilted way that is going to undermine my own thinking and my everything about it. So that structure must change. (Male 5.)

1 [Senser] I [Process: mental] know [Phenomenon] gender [Circumstance: angle] from my own perspective,

2 [Carrier] which [Process: relational] is [Attribute =] more useful [Circumstance: cause] to me [Attribute =] than knowing gender from this useless academic approach.

than [Process: mental] knowing [Phenomenon] gender [Circumstance: angle] from this useless academic approach.

3 [Sayer] You [Process: verbal] cannot present [Verbiage] something that I know [Circumstance: manner] in a very tilted way [Circumstance: cause] that is going to undermine my own thinking and my everything about it.

that [Senser] I [Process: mental] know

that [Process: material] is going to undermine [Goal] my own thinking and my everything about it.

4 So [Actor] that structure [Process: material] must change.

Moreover, Verbiage in clause 3 consists of mental process of knowing, which implies that the Sayer is not bringing anything new to the informant through the action. Moreover, the manner is described through the lexical choice as *a very tilted way* to further enhance the legitimacy of the informant's personal view in relation with the academic. Lastly, the informant expresses the awareness of such academic position as causing (Circumstance) people to undermine their own thinking. Again the key here is *own* that seems to reinforce the personal aspect of gender.

In the second example, the same informant makes a causal link between *gender* (Identified) being what it is (Identifier) due to the negative feminist movement (Circumstance) in clause 1. Interesting is the choice of using *negative* to characterize such movement. Moreover, the movement clearly not only exists in Uganda only but *around the world* (Circumstance) suggesting a global unified movement. Lastly in clause 1, the feminist movement is implicitly presented as Actor in the material process of bringing things not home-grown (Attribute).

And I want to say that it [gender] is what it is because of the negative feminist movement that is around the world that is bringing things that are not home-grown. And let it [movement] be, if it is in African context, let it be based on African culture, the societal norms and practices. [...] Gender in development should be differentiated from those gender movements. (Male 5.)

1 And [Sayer] I [Process: verbal] want to say [Verbiage] that it [gender] is what it is because of the negative feminist movement that is around the world that is bringing things that are not home-grown.

that [Identified] it [gender] [Process: relational] is [Identifier] what it is [Circumstance: cause] because of the negative feminist movement that is around the world that is bringing things that are not home-grown

that [Process: relational] is [Circumstance: location] around the world

that [Process: material] is bringing [Goal] things that are not home-grown.

that [Process: relational] are not [Attribute] home-grown.

2 And [Process: relational =] let [Carrier] it [movement] [= Process: relational] be, [Circumstance: contingency] if it is in African context, [Process: relational =] let [Carrier] it [= Process: relational] be [Attribute] based on African culture, the societal norms and practices.

if [Carrier] it [Process: relational] is [Circumstance: location] in African context

3 [Goal] Gender [Circumstance: matter] in development [Process: material, passive] should be differentiated from [Circumstance: matter] those gender movements.

In clause 2, the informant takes an explicit stance of presenting a similar Attribute of *based on African culture, the societal norms and practices* in the Circumstance of the movement being situated in the African context. In clause 3, the informant presents *Gender* as the Goal of a passive process where it is distinguished from the above-mentioned feminist movement. However, the informant does not specify who the Actor of such process should be.

Laws inefficient before the face of gender relations and culture

Besides giving emphasis to the usefulness of personal and local interpretation of gender, the discourse presents a negative picture of institutional aspects such as legislation to achieving gender equality in comparison to culture. First, Male 4 constructs in clause 3 which gender roles (Identified) should again be linked with personal understanding (Identifier). In clause 4 he further argues that gender roles (Identified) should not be taken as a law (Identifier).

Gender roles is all-inclusive, which is true, but it should be our understanding, not as, you know, like a law that everybody should do like. And this [being taken as law] is why it has ended up breaking so many families. (Male 4.)

1 [Carrier] Gender roles [Process: relational] is [Attribute] all-inclusive

2 which [Carrier] [gender roles is all-inclusive] [Process: relational] is [Attribute] true

3 but [Identified] it [gender roles] [Process: relational] should be [Identifier] our understanding,

4 [Identified] [gender roles] [Process: relational] [should] not [be] as, you know, [Identifier] like a law that everybody should do like.

that [Actor] everybody [Process: material] should do like

5 And [Identified] this [being taken as law] [Process: identifier] is [Identifier] why it has ended up breaking so many families.

why [Actor] it [Process: material] has ended up breaking [Circumstance: extent] so many [Goal] families.

In clause 5, the informant expresses a causal relationship through reason, in which gender relations being taken as a law (Identified) leads to a material process of breaking families (Goal). Further emphasis is given by the circumstantial element of extent *so many*.

Although some legislation at the national level is in place in Uganda, as was discussed in chapter 2, the discourse maintains that it has not been effective. Male 5 presents the reason

why The Domestic Relation Bill has not yet been enacted in clause 3. He identifies the reason to be the very confrontational (Attribute) connotation of it (Identifier).

The Domestic Relation Bill has been around for the last 13 years. It [Domestic Relation Bill] has never been enacted. The reason behind is that the connotation behind it [Domestic Relation Bill] is very confrontational: “We need equal rights with men.” (Male 5.)

1 [Existent] The Domestic Relation Bill [Process: existential] has been around [Circumstance: extent] for the last 13 years.

2 [Goal] It [Domestic Relation Bill] [Process: material, passive] has never been enacted.

3 [Identified] The reason behind [Process: relational] is [Identifier] that the connotation behind it [Domestic Relation Bill] is very confrontational: “We need equal rights with men.”

that [Carrier] the connotation behind it [Process: relational] is [Attribute] very confrontational:

[Carrier] We [Process: relational] need [Attribute] equal rights with men.

Male 4 also explains why law is inefficient in addressing gender equality issues. In clause 3, he first states that the law (Actor) has not worked (Process: material), which is then connected to the sub-clause of clause 4 by the logical metafunction element of *because* signalling reason. The reason, on the other hand, is presented through *law* being the Actor in a process of not “upstanding”. The Goal labelled as *the force of culture*, in which the lexical choice of *force* creates a strong image of culture being more powerful than the law is crucial here.

We already have the legal framework. Our law does not discriminate on gender. But it [law] has not worked so well either, because it [law] cannot upstand the force of culture. What culture has, is still in the community and cannot be done away just by the law. (Male 4.)

1 [Carrier] We [Process: relational] already have [Attribute] the legal framework.

2 [Actor] Our law [Process: material] does not discriminate [Circumstance: matter] on gender.

3 But [Actor] it [law] [Process: material] has not worked [Circumstance: manner] so well either,

4 because [Actor] it [law] [Process: material] cannot upstand [Goal] the force of culture.

5 [Carrier] What culture has, [Process: relational] is [Circumstance: location] still in the community

What [Carrier] culture [Process: relational] has

6 and [Goal] [what culture has] [Process: material, passive] cannot be done away [Actor] just by the law.

Furthermore, in clause 6, the informant also repeats his argumentation through a passive process in which *what culture has* functions as Goal in the process of negated abolishment. Here, the Actor of a passive process is mentioned as *just by the law*. Using *just* signifies an inferior power status in comparison with *culture*.

Moreover, the discourse counter-attacks the arguments used by the hegemonic discourse that claim that culture is universally oppressive of women. Male 5 below presents two Attributes to culture: *oppressive* and *supportive*. In clause 1, he admits that such an oppressive form of culture exists (Process: existential). However in clause 2, he presents an equal Attribute to *culture* via parataxis and *but*.

Much as there was a part of culture which was oppressive but there was also a part of culture which was supportive [...] [B]ecause no man will ever make a decision in the African society without consulting the wife. [...] And I think that element in the culture is not being appreciated. (Male 5.)

1 Much as there [Process: existential] was [Existent] a part of culture which was oppressive

which [Process: relational] was [Attribute] oppressive

2 but there [Process: existential] was also [Existent] a part of culture which was supportive.

which [Process: relational] was [Attribute] supportive.

3 [B]ecause [Actor] no man [Process: material] will ever make [Scope] a decision [Circumstance: location] in the African society [Circumstance: manner] without consulting the wife.

4 And [Senser] I [Process: mental] think [Phenomenon] that element in the culture is not being appreciated.

[Phenomenon] that element [Circumstance: location] in the culture [Process: mental, passive] is not being appreciated.

Clause 3 elaborates the supportive Attribute assigned to *culture*. The circumstantial element narrows the process down to African context. The Actor as *no man* is a totalizing term implying application to all men. The key here is the link between the process *will even make* and with Circumstance: means of *without consulting the wife*, which specifies the manner of how such decision-making takes place. Essentially, clause 3 explains why some part of culture is supportive, through its causal link of *because*. Similar result is reached by Maasilta (1999, p. 70) who analyses West African cinema and points out that despite the fact that women are not visible in public meetings and discussions does not mean that they are not part of the decision-making process. In fact, many decisions made by men have been done based on consultation by their wives at home.

Complementary gender roles need to be preserved

As already described in the early sections of this chapter, one of the characteristics of the “Men/Women partnership” discourse is the emphasis on complementary gender roles, which is used as a strategy to undermine the hegemony of the “Women/Men partnership” discourse. This is maintained by Male 4 below by assigning gender roles as Goal of a passive process of preservation, nevertheless without an Actor mentioned. This seems to imply that it should perhaps be done at the broad scale of society at large and by all people. At the same time, nobody can be held responsible organizing such preservation work.

I feel that the aspect of gender roles should be preserved. That there are certain things that cannot change. (Male 4.)

1 [*Senser*] I [*Process: mental*] feel [*Phenomenon*] that the aspect of gender roles should be preserved.

that [*Goal*] the aspect of gender roles [*Process: material, passive*] should be preserved.

2 That there [*Process: existential*] are [*Existent*] certain things that cannot change.

that [*Process: material*] cannot change.

In clause 2, he maintains that certain things (Existent) cannot change through existential process, which constructs a somewhat static and deterministic view of the world in relation to those “certain” things that the informant is perhaps reluctant to mention, leaving it open for interpretation.

Male 5 expresses a further reason for preserving the traditionally complementary gender roles and opposing legal norms as they are presented to be against the norms set by God. In clause 2, God is presented as *Senser* that knows the rights and things (*Identifier*) that are proper for men, and respectively for women (*Actor*) in clause 3. Here the informant is arguing for the *natural law* (*Phenomenon*) that was set by God in clause 5.

It [the Domestic Relation Bill] defects the Laws of Creation itself. I think, to me, God knew what was the rights and the things that I, as a man, cannot do. A woman...it can only be done by women. [...] When we talk of emancipation of rights, I think we need to recognize the natural law that has been created by God and we cannot go against it. [...] Even if when they push it [the Domestic Relation Bill] forward and has passed into a law into this country, I don't think the implementation of that law will leave anybody happy. (Male 5.)

1 [*Actor*] It [the Domestic Relation Bill] [*Process: material*] defects [*Goal*] the Laws of Creation itself.

2 [*Senser*] I [*Process: mental*] think, [*Circumstance: angle*] to me, [*Phenomenon*] God knew what was the rights and the things that I, as a man, cannot do.

[*Senser*] God [*Process: mental*] knew [*Phenomenon*] what was the rights and the things that I, as a man, cannot do.

what [*Process: relational*] was [*Identifier*] the rights and the things that I, as a man, cannot do.

that [*Actor*] I, [*Circumstance: role*] as a man, [*Process: material*] cannot do.

3 A woman...[*Goal*] it [*Process: material, passive*] can only be done [*Actor*] by women.

4 When [*Sayer*] we [*Process: verbal*] talk of [*Circumstance: matter*] emancipation of rights,

5 [*Senser*] I [*Process: mental*] think [*Phenomenon*] we need to recognize the natural law that has been created by God and we cannot go against it.

[*Senser*] we [*Process: mental*] need to recognize [*Phenomenon*] the natural law that has been created by God

that [*Process: material, passive*] has been created [*Actor*] by God and [*Actor*] we [*Process: material*] cannot go against [*Goal*] it.

6 Even if [*Circumstance: location*] when [*Actor*] they [*Process: material =*] push [*Goal*] it [the Domestic Relation Bill] [= *Process: material*] forward

7 and [the Domestic Relation Bill] [*Process: material*] has passed into [*Circumstance: role, location*] a law into this country,

8 [*Senser*] I [*Process: mental*] don't think [*Phenomenon*] the implementation of that law will leave anybody happy.

[*Carrier*] the implementation of that law [*Process: relational*] will leave anybody [*Attribute*] happy.

The informant makes a statement in clause 8 that the implementation of the more secular law of the Domestic Relation Bill (Carrier) is not going to result in people being happy (Attribute), thus making an implicit warning against it in the favour of preserving the traditional gender roles seen as set by God.

Lastly, Male 5 continues constructing a negative image of the law. First, he presents the concerns that it allegedly arises among men as direct quotes, although classified as Phenomenon in clause 1 due to the process type. This is done by a series of relational processes concerning the role of women becoming men (Identifier) as well as a question whether women will become *happy* (Attribute). All of these concerns are linked to the circumstance of *once this law has been passed*.

Once this law has been passed, the men will see: "Will it turn them into becoming men? Will they become men? If they know all the things that they desire to do, will they be happy?" And to me, that [law implementation] is one of the...that is a very serious failed project. It [project] has failed from its conception because the way this is conceptualized itself was wrong, the way it's been pushed forward, is wrong. (Male 5.)

1 [*Circumstance: contingency*] Once this law has been passed, [*Senser*] the men [*Process: mental*] will see: [*Phenomenon*] "Will it [law] turn them [women] into becoming men? Will they [women] become men? If they [women] know all the things that they desire to do, will they be happy?"

[*Process: material* =] Will [*Actor*] it [law] [= *Process: material*] turn [*Beneficiary*] them [women] [*Circumstance: role*] into becoming men?

[*Process: relational* =] Will [*Identified*] [they] [= *Process: relational*] become [*Identifier*] men?

[*Circumstance: contingency*] If they [women] know all the things that they desire to do, [*Process: relational* =] will [*Carrier*] they [= *Process: relational*] be [*Attribute*] happy?

If [*Senser*] they [women] [*Process: mental*] know [*Phenomenon*] all the things that they desire to do

that [*Senser*] they [*Process: mental*] desire [*Circumstance: cause*] to do

2 And [*Circumstance: angle*] to me, [*Identified*] that [law implementation] [*Process: relational*] is one of the...that is [*Identifier*] a very serious failed project.

3 [*Actor*] It [project] [*Process: material*] has failed [*Circumstance: matter*] from its conception

4 because [*Carrier*] the way this [project] is conceptualized itself [*Process: relational*] was [*Attribute*] wrong,

[*Phenomenon* =] this [*Process: mental, passive*] is conceptualized [= *Phenomenon*] itself

5 [*Carrier*] the way it's been pushed forward [*Process: relational*] is [*Attribute*] wrong.

[*Goal*] it [*Process: material*] 's been pushed forward

In clause 2, the informant states his own opinion through first setting the angle (*Circumstance*) and then by identifying the implementation of the law as *a very serious failed project* (*Identifier*). The gravity of the failure is enhanced by the choice of *very serious*. In clause 3, he provides the matter that the failure was confined to: *its conception* (*Circumstance*), thus implying a semantic nature of the process as well as the awareness by the informant of the meaning making processes and struggles. In clause 4, he adds a new *Attribute* to the project of law implementation: *wrong*, thus making a clear value judgement. This is again repeated in clause 5 where the carrier turns from the previous conceptualization process into the practice of pushing forward the law, which is again judged as *wrong* (*Attribute*). Thus, not only does the informant construct a negative picture of the law but also signals rejection of the entire project right from policy formulation and conceptualization to the implementation.

The first two representations rely on making a distinction between personal and academic/Western approaches as well as between cultural and legislative approaches to gender

work often through the Circumstantial element of angle (such as *from my own perspective*) and location (such as *African context*). In the former, the personal aspects are presented through relational processes as practical, useful, African and home-grown, which creates an image of and link to familiarity and self-identity, whereas the academic and Western aspects are presented as negative. In the latter representation, the cultural is linked to personal through local understanding. Culture is presented as forceful on the one hand, but also as including positive Attributes to challenge the negative representation built by the hegemonic discourse. Legislation is attached to Identifiers and Attributes of being confrontational through relational processes, and placed as Actor in material processes bearing negative consequences.

The third representation is resisting the need to change complementary gender roles. This is based on arguing that certain things in society need not change. The complementary gender roles are one such thing, as they are presented as set out by God, whereas secular laws, such as the Domestic Relation Bill, attempting to change the gender roles is presented as not making people happy, being wrong and resulting in failure. The frequent use of mental processes by the informants when approaching the topic, such as *I think* was interesting – again perhaps stressing the different opinion taken by the informants from other gender advocates. The context of World Vision Uganda is likely to influence such a result as their political emphasis is on furthering gender equity and not gender equality, which relies on the preservation of gender roles. Moreover the strong religious influence is likely to contribute to such findings. There is an implication that the gender activists are advocating for gender equality as it is characterized by equal opportunity and represented numerically, for example as number of women in decision-making position. However, this discourse seems to advocate more for gender equity as achieving something ‘fair’ and ‘just’.

6.4.2 Negative representations of gender activists

Besides challenging the academic and institutional aspects of the feminist movement, another strategy to undermine the power status of the “Women/Men partnership” discourse relies on constructing a negative representation of *gender activists* perhaps in response to the positive representation of women as beneficiaries. Male 5 below clarifies the essence of this strategy.

So the whole thing about gender, I don't think men are negative about it. But the people who promote it [gender] are the ones who are the problem. (Male 5.)

1 So [Circumstance: matter =] the whole thing about gender, [Senser] I [Process: mental] don't think [Phenomenon] men are negative [= Circumstance: matter] about it.

[Carrier] men [Process: relational] are [Attribute] negative

2 But [Identified] the people who promote it [gender] [Process: relational] are [Identifier] the ones who are the problem.

who [Process: material] promote [Goal] it [gender]

who [[Process: relational] are [Identifier] the problem.

In clause 1 the informant first denies *men* the Attribute of *negative* in relation to *gender* suggesting the opposite attribute of positive, or at least neutral, to be the case instead. In clause 2, on the other hand, the informant redirects the message through parataxis and *but* and identifies the problem elsewhere: the people who promote gender issues (Identified).

This negative image of gender activists is also present in the extract below where Male 5 first of all describes the activists as *disgruntled women* (Goal) in clause 2. Moreover, using *bandwagon* has a negative connotation that signals disapproval. This disapproval is further enhanced by the manner of the activism in Circumstance: manner as *negative*.

What has the ministry of gender and social development done? I think they [members of the ministry] have joined the bandwagon of women, disgruntled women, to advocate for gender in a negative form. (Male 5.)

1 [Goal] What [Process: material =] has [Actor] the ministry of gender and social development [= Process: material] done?

2 [Senser] I [Process: mental] think [Phenomenon] they [members of the ministry] have joined the bandwagon of women, disgruntled women, to advocate for gender in a negative form.

[Actor] they [Process: material] have joined [Goal] the bandwagon of women, disgruntled women, [Circumstance: cause] to advocate for gender [Circumstance: manner] in a negative form.

Male 4 opines in clause 1 below that gender activists should not be linked with the Attribute of *exemplary*. The reason for that is expressed in clause 3 with a hypotactic link to clause 1

through *because* again here signifying reason. Clause 3 first takes Actor to apply to most of the activists signalling a majority. This large number of activists have undergone a process of suffering divorce problems (Goal), with a clear link to *problem*. Process was here classified as material due to the existence of Goal, although behavioural process would otherwise have been another option.

The gender activists in our community are not exemplary. They also try to emancipate other women verbally. Because most of them have suffered divorce problems. So when they urge, they urge as single women. And this [urging as single women] is a bad example for the other women. (Male 4.)

1 [Carrier] The gender activists [Circumstance: location] in our community [Process: relational] are not [Attribute] exemplary.

2 [Actor] They [Process: material] also try to emancipate [Goal] other women [Circumstance: manner] verbally.

3 Because [Beneficiary] most of them [Process: material] have suffered [Goal] divorce problems.

4 So [Circumstance: contingency] when they urge, [Sayer] they [Process: verbal] urge [Circumstance: role] as single women.

[Circumstance: location] when [Sayer] they [Process: verbal] urge

5 And [Identified] this [urging as a single women] [Process: relational] is [Identifier] a bad example [Circumstance: cause] for the other women.

Clause 4 identifies the role of the activists as single women. Clause 5 then makes a value judgement on this and identifies such a position as *a bad example* to other women, again constructing a link to seeing gender activists as problematic.

Male 5 again identifies gender activists as *people who have a very bad background* (Identifier) in clause 1. When Circumstance is further analyzed, it is classified as having mental process as it has Object (Phenomenon) of looking, whereas behavioural processes do not. Moreover, *look* can here be easily substituted with *think* with little change in meaning. In the next level of analysis is the choice of verbal process of *shouting* combined with the extent *a lot* as well as the choice of material process of “pushing” laws are interesting. This all constructs a rather loud if not even aggressive picture of the activists.

If you look at people who are shouting a lot about gender in this country, and are pushing for certain policies, certain bylaws, [they] are people who have a very bad background. A very bad history. And [they are] people who have failed in marriage, failed in life. (Male 5.)

1 [*Circumstance: contingency*] If you look at people who are shouting a lot about gender in this country, and are pushing for certain policies, certain bylaws, [*Identified*] [they] [*Process: relational*] are [*Identifier*] people who have a very bad background.

If [*Senser*] you [*Process: mental*] look at [*Phenomenon*] people who are shouting a lot about gender in this country, and are pushing for certain policies, certain bylaws,

who [*Process: verbal*] are shouting [*Circumstance: extent, matter, location*] a lot about gender in this country,

and [who] [*Process: material*] are pushing for [*Goal*] certain policies, certain bylaws

2 A very bad history. (Not a complete clause – no transitivity)

3 And [*Identified*] [they] [*Process: relational*] [are] [*Identifier*] people who have failed in marriage, failed in life.

who [*Process: material*] have failed [*Circumstance: matter*] in marriage, [*Process: material*] failed [*Circumstance: matter*] in life.

Clause 3 links another characteristic to the activists as people who have failed (Identifier). The field where such failure has taken place (Circumstance) is first *marriage* which is then scaled up to the entire *life*.

Female 2 also links *problem* (Identified) to activists by referring to *some women* clause 1. These women (Sayer) are seen as overwhelmed by emotions (Circumstance) when they are advocating. In clause 2, such behaviour results in a material process where *people* (Goal) are pushed to the wall, thus constructing a negative experience by those who are the target of advocacy.

The problem we have is some women may want to, they bring out whatever they have with emotions. And when it [whatever they have] comes out with emotions, it pushes people to the wall, and they [people] just see her as a fighter, not an advocate. And those are two different things: advocating and fighting. (Female 2.)

1 [*Identified*] The problem we have [*Process: relational*] is [*Identifier*] some women may want to, they bring out whatever they have with emotions.

some women may want to, (Not a complete clause – no transitivity)

[*Sayer*] they [some women] [*Process: verbal*] bring out [*Verbiage*] whatever they have [*Circumstance: accompaniment*] with emotions.

2 And [*Circumstance: location*] when it [whatever they have] comes out with emotions [*Actor*] it [*Process: material*] pushes [*Goal*] people [*Circumstance: location*] to the wall, when [*Verbiage*] it [whatever they have] [*Process: verbal*] comes out [*Circumstance: accompaniment*] with emotions

3 and [*Senser*] they [people] [*Process: mental*] just see her [*Circumstance: role*] as a fighter, not an advocate.

4 And [*Identified =*] those [*Process: relational*] are [*Identifier*] two different things: [= *Identified =*] advocating and [= *Identified*] fighting.

Clause 3 presents another result of such behaviour as resulting into a negative mental picture (*Process: mental*) by the targeted people (*Senser*) as they assign the role of a fighter instead of an advocate (*Circumstance*) to the woman. Lastly, she wants to clarify the difference by identifying advocating and fighting as two different things (*Identifier*) implying that there are a specialist and an amateur manner of carrying out gender advocacy, the latter belonging to emotionally overwhelmed activists.

Male 5 on the other hand place gender activists as *Actor* in a process bringing more problems (*Goal*) in clause1, thus making it easy to assign blame to them. The problems are further clarified in the following clauses.

Because they [gender activists] bring more problem, I'd have to be...the police have to be solving gender violence, which I think perpetuated because of women being...women thinking that they've now got a tool to fight men. (Male 5.)

1 Because [*Actor*] they [gender activists] [*Process: material*] bring [*Goal*] more problem,

2 [*Actor*] I [*Process: material*] 'd have to be...[*Actor*] the police [*Process: material*] have to be solving [*Goal*] gender violence,

3 [*Phenomenon =*] which [*Senser*] I [*Process: mental*] think [= *Phenomenon*] perpetuated

4 because of [Carrier] women [Process: relational] being...[Senser] women [Process: mental] thinking [Phenomenon] that they've now got a tool to fight men.

that [Carrier] they [Process: relational] 've now got [Attribute] a tool [Circumstance: cause] to fight men.

In clause 2, he introduces gender violence as Goal of a process where the police (Actor) is engaged, thus drawing on associations of the underworld. Clause 3 interestingly presents a further comment through being a sub-clause to clause 2 linked by *which* referring to Goal in clause 2. The informant expresses his theory (Process: mental) that gender violence perpetuated (Phenomenon). More importantly, clause 4 as a sub-clause to clause 3 further presets the cause through *because* as resulting from a mental process of women (Senser) thinking to be able to fight men (Circumstance). Again a very aggressive image is created by the choices of *fight* with the target of fighting being *men* in general, which is thus victimizing them. This creates the image of gender activists not wanting to cooperate with men. The informant draws an association of gender activists being separatists and oppositional.

Male 4, on the other hand, identifies some strategies (Identifier) causing *more negative attitude* (Goal) in clause 2. Here the process in Identifier was classified as material due to the meaning synonymous to 'create'. The reason to this is given in the sub-clause 3 by assigning such strategies an Attribute where women have active agency. They are presented as mobilizing themselves (Beneficiary) thus giving themselves the legitimacy to act. Moreover, the cause (Circumstance) is to *take over the community*, which implies a will to achieve a status of solely being in power in society rather than a status of gender equality with men.

So by having women take up, over the ministry, take over a project, organizing women's conference, women's workshop. Those are strategies that will just cause more negative attitude, because it looks as if women are mobilizing themselves to take over the community. (Male 4.)

1 So by having women take up, over the ministry, take over a project, organizing women's conference, women's workshop. (Not a complete clause – no transitivity)

2 [Identified] Those [Process: relational] are [Identifier] strategies that will just cause more negative attitude,

that [Process: material] will just cause [Goal] more negative attitude,

3 because [*Carrier*] it [*Process: relational*] looks [*Attribute*] as if women are mobilizing themselves to take over the community.

as if [*Actor*] women [*Process: material*] are mobilizing [*Beneficiary*] themselves [*Circumstance: cause*] to take over the community.

to [*Process: material*] take over [*Goal*] the community.

Lastly, Male 5 engages himself with overtly redefining the meaning of gender activist. In clause 1 he assigns *gender activists* a new identification as *anti-gender activists* (Identifier). The choice of *actually* implies that he is presenting a more accurate picture, or even the truth, than what was previously understood as the case.

So, the people who call themselves gender activists today are actually anti-gender activists. Because they have made men reject what belongs to them [men]. (Male 5.)

1 So, [*Identified*] the people who call themselves gender activists today [*Process: relational*] are actually [*Identifier*] anti-gender activists.

who [*Process: verbal*] call [*Target*] themselves [*Verbiage*] gender activists [*Circumstance: location*] today

2 Because [*Initiator*] they [people] [*Process: material* =] have made [*Actor*] men [= *Process: material*] reject [*Goal*] what belongs to them [men].

what [*Process: relational*] belongs [*Attribute*] to them [men]

In clause 2, he argues through the hypotactic relationship via *because* that the reason for such a redefinition is that the activists (Initiator) have forced the men (Actor) to react negatively towards the issue, thus making it easy to assign blame to the activists acting as tyrants. This is constructing a picture of men as victims. Moreover, the Goal of rejecting (Process: material) is made up of *what belongs to them*, which can further be analysed as relational process signalling possession by men. Here, the informant seems to refer to the official meaning of gender as inclusive of both sexes, which however the activists have made the men reject.

This discursive practice depicts gender activists in a negative and problematic light. They are labelled as disgruntled women with a questionable background and personal history, and thus being non-exemplary to other women. In terms Attributes and Identifiers in the relative processes, they are found loud, emotive and aggressive and not seeking cooperation. Instead,

they crave to take over the society instead of achieving a status of equality with men. They are also seen as Actors in negative material processes leading to problems, violence and negative attitude as well as contributors to men rejecting gender. Furthermore, the Circumstantial element of cause, manner and role were significantly used to strengthen the negative representation. They are not seen as advocates of equality but of one sex, thus being re-labeled through a new Identifier of *anti-gender activists*. These are the representations utilized by the “Men/Women partnership” discourse to undermine the status of hegemonic discourse advocating for focus on women.

These findings are not perhaps surprising as similar findings by other research have been made. Varanka (2003 p. 14) in his study on the problematic relationship between men and feminism outlines the findings of two British discourse-analytic studies carried out by Edley and Wetherell (2001) as well as Riley (2001) on the matter, which conclude that there are two frequent ways to represent feminists: “in a gender neutral way with an objective in achieving gender equality; and as “radical “monsters” that either want more than equality or hate men” (Edley and Wetherell 2001; and Riley 2001 cited in Varanka 2003, p. 14, own translation). However, the data from Uganda does not incorporate the concept of feminist but a seemingly “euphemistic” concept *gender activist* is used instead, albeit with the negative connotation similar to that of *feminist*. Assigning the redefinition of anti-gender activist implies that there is a proper way of advocating for gender, which would include gender activists. However, using the term *anti-gender activist* implies that this is not the case at present. Instead, the present advocates, who are seen as concentrating on women only, are presented as working against the concept of gender and undermining the idea of gender as relationship. In so doing the informants are engaged in a process of renegotiating *gender*.

6.4.3 Redefining gender

The characteristic of the male inclusive discourse as referring to *real gender*, as was identified earlier in this chapter, is also used as a strategy to undermine the hegemony of the “Women/Men partnership” discourse. Female 5 acknowledges the semantic nature of the problem of addressing gender equality.

I wouldn't use the word *gender*, because automatically they would assume I'm bringing women. So I wouldn't use that kind of language. (Female 5.)

1 [Sayer] I [Process: verbal] wouldn't use [Verbiage] the word *gender*,

2 because [Circumstance: manner] automatically [Senser] they [Process: mental] would assume [Phenomenon] I'm bringing women.

[Actor] I [Process: material] 'm bringing [Goal] women.

3 So [Sayer] I [Process: verbal] wouldn't use [Verbiage] that kind of language.

The informant draws a link between *gender* (Verbiage) in clause 1 and *I'm bringing women* (Phenomenon) in clause 2 through hypotaxis. Clause 2 presents the reason (*because*) for not wanting to use *gender*: the Sensers would mentally associate the term with women (Goal). The choice of *automatically* as Circumstance is interesting as it signals that the meaning has become synonymous to women to a great extent, and it has become the expected meaning.

Male 5 expresses the reason for such a specified meaning as *a few handful of gender activists* are presented as Actor in a process of making *gender* mean 'women thing' (Identifier) in clause 1. Moreover, gender activists have used coercion to achieve this Goal as is suggested by the choice of *have made*. Thus, the informant implicitly assigns blame to gender activists.

This few handful of gender activists have made *gender* be seen like women thing. And yet *gender* is male and female. Now, that thinking must be changed. (Male 5.)

1 [Actor] This few handful of gender activists [Process: material] have made [Goal] *gender* be seen like women thing.

[Process: relational, passive] be seen like [Identifier] women thing.

2 And yet [Identified] *gender* [Process: relational] is [Identifier] male and female.

3 Now, [Goal] that thinking [Process: material, passive] must be changed.

In clause 3, the informant expresses his desire to change the present meaning of *gender* (Goal) synonymous to women through a passive process, thus not explicitly mentioning who would be in charge of running the process of change. In clause 2, he engages himself in the process himself as he redefines the concept as *male and female* (Identifier) instead of female.

Male 4 constructs a link between *gender* focussing on women (Circumstance) and a statement that *gender* (Actor) is breaking families (Goal). The use of *more* implies that this process is

already taking place, but will continue if the circumstance stays the same. In clause 2, there is also a link between *gender* and *problem* (Goal) constructed. The Beneficiary that suffers the consequences of such process is *women*. Clause 3 presents a consequence of such problematic nature: women (Carrier) do not wish to be part of gender activities (Attribute). In the last clause a further explanation is given that there is a possibility that such involvement will risk the women's marriages (Goal). The choice of *risk* here implies danger that the women wish to avoid. The informant constructs a warning of the negative consequences of the biased nature of *gender* to undermine it.

As long as gender still focuses on only women, it will just break more families and cause women more problem. That's why so many women don't want to be involved in gender sensitive activities, because they feel it will risk their marriages. (Male 4.)

1 [*Circumstance: contingency*] As long as gender still focuses on only women, [*Actor*] it [*Process: material*] will just break [*Goal*] more families

[*Senser*] gender [*Process: mental*] still focuses on [*Phenomenon*] only women
2 and [*Actor*] [it] [*Process: material*] [will just] cause [*Beneficiary*] women [*Goal*] more
problem.

3 [*Identified*] That [causing of more problem] [*Process: relational*] 's [*Identifier*] why so
many women don't want to be involved in gender sensitive activities,

[*Circumstance: extent*] so many [*Carrier*] women [*Process: relational*] don't
want to be [*Attribute*] involved in gender sensitive activities,

4 because [*Senser*] they [*Process: mental*] feel [*Phenomenon*] it [being involved] will
risk their marriages.

[*Actor*] it [*Process: material*] will risk [*Goal*] their marriages.

Male 5 below expresses his feelings towards the concept of gender as he identifies it as *a subject that hurts me so much* (Identifier) in clause 2. He redefines *gender* as *something that is for men* (Identifier) in clause 3. However, clause 4 presents an equal characteristic of *gender* through parataxis and *but*. This characteristic is that an anonymous *nobody* (Senser) wants the informant to talk about the topic (Phenomenon). The use of *nobody* is rather strong as it leaves no place for people to anybody would want him to talk about it. He is constructing an image of being silenced by other people. In the last clause, he further explains through hypotaxis and

because the reason for the Phenomenon in the previous clause. In doing so, he de-links *gender* (Carrier) from himself by assigning the Attribute of *nothing to do with me*. The explanation in clause 5 is likely to be the view of the other people rather than that of the informant as he himself stated in clause 3 that gender is for men.

I don't know what I should really add. You see, it's a subject that hurts me so much. [...] Gender is something that is for men, but nobody wants me to talk about it because it [gender] has nothing to do with me. (Male 5.)

1 [Senser] I [Process: mental] don't know [Phenomenon] what I should really add.

[Sayer] I [Process: verbal] should really add.

2 You see, [Identified] it [Process: relational] 's [Identifier] a subject that hurts me so much,

that [Process: material] hurts [Goal] me [Circumstance: extent] so much,

3 [Identified] Gender [Process: relational] is [Identifier] something that is for men, that [Process: relational] is [Circumstance: cause] for men,

4 but [Senser] nobody [Process: mental] wants [Phenomenon] me to talk about it

[Sayer] me [Process: verbal] to talk [Circumstance: matter] about it

5 because [Carrier] it [gender] [Process: relational] has [Attribute] nothing to do with me.

Male 5 below states that *gender* (Identified) means *making 30 % of the women be members of Local Councils* (Identifier) in clause 1. In clause 2, he further adds another Identifier of *gender be women*. In the next clauses, he engages himself in renegotiating the meaning of *gender* by relational process and negating the Identifier of *about favouring women* in clause 3 and then presenting another Identifier *about improving the relationship* instead in clause 4.

[...] That gender means: making 30 % of the women be members of Local Councils. So that has meant: gender be women. [...] Gender is not about favouring women, gender is about improving the relationship. [...] They [gender advocates] don't see that these reduction points leads to equal employment opportunity. They [gender advocates] don't explain this. [...] They [gender advocates] just stop and say: "1/3 belongs to women." And they [gender advocates] stop there. "Must, must, must, 1/3 must be women". And that is what gender is telling us. [...] But in terms of practical transmission of the gender issues into day to day life on men and women in the villages, I think that is a missing link. (Male 5.)

1 That [Identified] gender [Process: relational] means: [Identifier] making 30 % of the women be members of Local Councils.

2 So [Identified] that [Process: relational] has meant: [Identifier] gender be women.

3 [Identified] Gender [Process: relational] is not [Identifier] about favouring women,

4 [Identified] gender [Process: relational] is [Identifier] about improving the relationship.

5 [Senser] They [gender advocates] [Process: mental] don't see [Phenomenon] that these reduction points leads to equal employment opportunity.

that [Actor] these reduction points [Process: material] leads to [Goal] equal employment opportunity.

6 [Sayer] They [gender advocates] [Process: verbal] don't explain [Verbiage] this.

7 [Actor] They [gender advocates] [Process: material] just stop

8 and [Sayer] [gender advocates] [Process: verbal] say: [Quoted] "1/3 belongs to women."

[Carrier] 1/3 [Process: relational] belongs to [Attribute] women

9 And [Actor] they [gender advocates] [Process: material] stop [Circumstance: location] there.

10 [Process: relational =] "Must, must, must, [Identified] 1/3 [= Process: relational] must be [Identifier] women."

11 And [Identified] that [Process: relational] is [Identifier] what gender is telling us.

what [Sayer] gender [Process: verbal] is telling [Receiver] us.

12 But in terms of [Phenomenon =] practical transmission of the gender issues into day to day life on men and women in the villages, [Senser] I [Process: mental] think [= Phenomenon] that is a missing link.

[Identified] that [Process: relational] is [Identifier] a missing link.

Clause 8 implies that such a definition of *gender* meaning 'women' is done by gender advocates (Sayer) through a verbal process. In clause 11, he presents that *gender* (Sayer) is telling that 1/3 (Identified) must be women (Identifier) in clause 10 through parataxis. Lastly, the informant identifies a missing link (Identifier) in the relevance of gender in reality at the grass roots in clause 12. This informant uses these strategies to emphasise the meaning of

gender as being concerned in relationship rather than as an academic and female biased concept.

The next informant discusses the meaning of GAD in relation to *participation* (Phenomenon) in clause 1. He states that in this context (Circumstance) the approach as been successful (Attribute) in clause 1, and men have been positive (Attribute) in clause 2. In clause 3, the focus shifts to the Circumstance of WID, in which the informant assigns the men as Senser in the process of never having appreciated the approach. This creates a contrast between the implied consequences between the two approaches in favour of GAD. He strengthens the image of positive reaction by men in the Circumstance of *where it [the concept] is inclusive of all parties* in clause 4 by stating that men (Senser) own the concept of GAD (Phenomenon). *Own* in this context has been classified as mental as it signals a state of mind of acceptance of a project, rather than literally being in possession of the project.

Where we look at gender and development and vis-à-vis participation of men and women in development processes, it has been very successful. [...] Men have been very positive. When we look at women in development [laughs], that is when men have never appreciated it. So, they [men] own the concept of gender and development where it is inclusive of all parties, which is something that must be promoted. (Male 5.)

1 [*Circumstance: contingency*] Where we look at gender and development and vis-à-vis participation of men and women in development processes, [*Carrier*] it [*Process: relational*] has been [*Attribute*] very successful.

[*Circumstance: location*] Where [*Senser*] we [*Process: mental*] look at [*Phenomenon*] gender and development and vis-à-vis participation of men and women in development processes,

2 [*Carrier*] Men [*Process: relational*] have been [*Attribute*] very positive.

3 [*Circumstance: contingency*] When we look at women in development [laughs], [*Identified*] that [*Process: relational*] is [*Identifier*] when men have never appreciated it.

[*Circumstance: location*] When [*Senser*] we [*Process: mental*] look at [*Phenomenon*] women in development

[*Circumstance: location*] when [*Senser*] men [*Process: mental*] have never appreciated [*Phenomenon*] it.

4 So, [Senser] they [men] [Process: mental] own [Phenomenon] the concept of gender and development [Circumstance: contingency] where it is inclusive of all parties, [Identified] it [Process: relational] is [Identifier] inclusive of all parties, 5 [Identified] which [Process: relational] is [Identifier] something that must be promoted.

The identification of *inclusive of all parties* (Identifier) in clause 2 is the key characteristic that the informant wishes to assign to GAD in this context. He then fortifies his argument in clause 5 by stating his opinion by identifying the previous clause 4 as something to be promoted (Identifier), thus implicitly making a statement for promoting the inclusion of men.

Lastly, Male 5 again argues for redefining the meaning of gender by first presenting the meaning by others as serving the role of *a tool* (Circumstance) in clause 1. He sees people engaged in a struggle over the meaning of *gender* (Goal) in clause 2. More importantly in clause 3, he expresses his own definition as assigning *gender* (Identified) the character of being *all about coexistence between different sexes* (Identifier). The choice of *all about* is rather totalizing and implies that there is a core essence to the concept that he has now reached. Such core essence is also present in clause 4 where the *whole meaning of gender* (Verbiage) is articulated by an anonymous *we* (Sayer). Moreover, the angle that such meaning takes is based on *a coexistent perspective* (Circumstance). This overall Circumstance in clause 4 is presented as a condition to being able to transcend the dichotomy of *gender*. The informant presents the consequence of staying in a static state (Process: relational) of *a vicious circle of they and us* (Attribute). In other words, the concept of gender would be able to function as a bridge between men and women if only given the chance.

And so they want to use gender as a tool. And that completely changes the meaning of gender. [...] And yet gender is all about coexistence between different sexes. Until we bring forward the whole meaning of gender from a coexistence perspective, we will always remain in a vicious circle of they and us. (Male 5.)

1 And so [Sayer] they [Process: verbal] want to use [Verbiage] gender [Circumstance: role] as a tool.

2 And [Actor] that [Circumstance: extent] completely [Process: material] changes [Goal] the meaning of gender.

3 And yet [*Identified*] gender [*Process: relational*] is [*Identifier*] all about coexistence between different sexes.

4 [*Circumstance: contingency*] Until we bring forward the whole meaning of gender from a coexistence perspective, [*Carrier*] we [*Process: relational*] will always remain [*Attribute*] in a vicious circle of they and us.

Until [*Sayer*] we [*Process: verbal*] bring forward [*Verbiage*] the whole meaning of gender [*Circumstance: angle*] from a coexistence perspective.

As noted earlier, discourses are sites of struggle. The users of the “Men/Women partnership” discourse are actively engaging in a process redefining gender. This, again, is coherent with the overall view of gender as a process, rather than an entity as discussed in chapter 1. The discursive practice of engaging into a process of redefining and renegotiating the meaning of gender in the context of development forms a semantic battlefield in which representations collide. Here, gender is mostly used in relational processes especially in relation to Identifiers, but also in the Circumstantial elements of location and angle. The synonymic relationship between *gender* and *female*, as partially sustained by the hegemonic discourse and its claim on focussing on women, was also challenged by presenting the negative outcomes of processes where the “biased gender” understanding is the Actor in material processes. For example, it is seen as breaking families and causing problems and risks. Moreover, the representation of men is presented in a sympathetic way: either as positive about gender (relational process) or as victims of the female bias in gender (material process). The voices of men are seen as silenced and men are being de-linked from the whole concept. This is coherent with the academic discourse of GAD that tends to favour women, with dismissing the voices of men. The “Men/Women partnership” discourse seeks to undo this in Uganda. Instead of truly focussing on the relationship aspect, the bipolarities of the academic GAD discourse is one culprit in maintaining the division. Moreover, the Ugandan cultural context of or rather strong gender roles with little gender bending taking place is another factor maintaining such division.

Gender, as noted in chapter 1, ideally serves as a unifying concept in development allowing men a place to articulate their concerns. However, the vast academic literature has exposed the

meaning being reduced to women due to the historical roots to WID. Therefore, the original meaning as inclusive of both sexes through the focus on relationship is often not the case. Therefore, the argumentation relies on presenting a core meaning in respect of the “official” meaning of gender in GAD as identified in chapter 1. Such “real gender” includes a space for men alongside with women, improving the relationship, relevance to the real lives of families at the grass-roots, participation by both sexes, and coexistence instead of a division into two camps of “us” and “them”. However, it is not clear-cut how to enable men a role in gender, as presented in the last section.

6.4.4 Men’s position if included in GAD

The last characteristic of the “Men/Women partnership” discourse is the unclear nature of how men are included into GAD. Many informants overtly expressed their positive stance towards including men in gender work as did Male 3 below. First, in clause 1 the informant equals not leaving out fathers (Identifier) as an opportunity (Identified) signalling a positive stance. In clause 2, he describes a process of inclusion by bringing fathers (Beneficiary) on board (Scope). In the last clause, he uses the mental process of “understanding and owning” where fathers again act as Beneficiaries. Again, *own* in this context was classified as mental as in development context it can be seen more as a state of mind when beneficiaries own a certain project, which signals acceptance. The informant breaks the pattern of female bias by placing men as Beneficiary in his speech. However, in the last clause the Circumstantial element narrows down the situation to *even if the women are going to be specifically targeted* where are presented as Goal of the process. The use of *even if* signals awareness of the tendency to focus on women as well as acceptance to such focus. He seems to imply that both sexes can be included side by side in implementing gender work.

So the opportunity there is that let’s not leave out fathers as we do development. Bring them [fathers] on board, let them [fathers] understand and own it, even if the women are going to be specifically targeted. (Male 3.)

1 So [*Identified*] the opportunity [*Circumstance: location*] there [*Process: relational*] is [*Identifier*] that let’s not leave out fathers as we do development.

that [*Process: material =*] let [*Actor*] [u]’s [= *Process: material*] not leave out [*Goal*] fathers [*Circumstance: contingency*] as we do development.

as [Actor] we [Process: material] do [Goal] development.

2 [Process: material] Bring [Beneficiary] them [fathers] [Scope] on board,

3 [Process: mental =] let [Beneficiary] them [fathers] [= Process: mental] understand and own [Goal] it, [Circumstance: contingency] even if the women are going to be specifically targeted.

[Goal] the women [Process: material =] are going to be [Circumstance: manner] specifically [= Process: material] targeted.

One informant also manifested awareness of the “official” gender approach by the book and the practice that takes place. In clause 2, the circumstantial element of *using the guide* signals awareness of such “official” guidelines under which the development workers *have to work* (Process: material) with both sexes. This relates to the argument for men’s inclusion in the GAD debate that draws on the existence of national and international policy guidelines. The clarification in the final circumstantial element of *not with women anymore* also signals awareness, as well as change from the past through *anymore*. However in clause 1, the informant denies herself participation in interventions that target men (Goal).

Although I personally haven’t participated in anything targeting men. But using the guide, you have to work with both men and women – not [with] women anymore. (Female 5.)

1 Although [Actor] I [Circumstance: manner] personally [Process: material] haven’t participated in [Goal] anything targeting men.

2 But [Circumstance: contingency] using the guide, [Actor] you [Process: material] have to work [Circumstance: accompaniment] with both men and women – not [with] women [Circumstance: location] anymore.

According to the data, the discourse on male inclusion in GAD is characterized by a degree of vagueness. Female 5 below signals such vagueness through the circumstantial element *eventually* in clause 1 which implies an attitude of sometime in the distant future you may have to address the issue. Phenomenon in clause 1 was further analyzed as having material process as *address* in this context is somewhat synonymous with *take care of*. Moreover, the choice of *address* gives no clear picture how to approach the issue of including men.

However, the use of parataxis perhaps provides answer: targeting (Process) men (Goal) in clause 2.

So I think eventually you may have to address the issue and actually target the men (Female 5).

1 So [*Senser*] I [*Process: mental*] think [*Circumstance: location*] eventually [*Phenomenon*] you may have to address the issue

[*Actor*] you [*Process: material*] may have to address [*Goal*] the issue

2 and [*Actor*] [you] [*Process: material*] [may have to] actually target [*Goal*] the men.

In clause 2, there is an interesting choice in the process element of *may have to actually target*. The combination of *actually target* implies a somewhat reluctant attitude to the idea of targeting men in practice. It may also demonstrate awareness of the general focus on women, which this abnormality would break. Hence, *actually* may be also signalling deviation.

Another manifestation of the vagueness around men's inclusion can be found in the statement by Male 3. First, in clause 1, the informant set the Circumstance of the man being in the background. When further analyzed, the Circumstance shows men in terms of "being" (Process: relational) with no significance in terms of actions taking place. Moreover, *background* implies a rather vague role for men's involvement. Clause 1 also presents a relational process with *appear to be*, where the choice of *appear* reveals the attitude by the informant as not really wanting the men to be involved (Attribute) properly. Again, a vague picture of how men should be included is constructed.

Even if he's in the background, let them appear to be involved (Male 3).

1 [*Circumstance: contingency*] Even if he's in the background, [*Process: relational =*] let [*Carrier*] them [= *Process: relational*] appear to be [*Attribute*] involved.

[*Carrier*] he [*Process: relational*] 's [*Circumstance: location*] in the background

Lastly, such vagueness of the matter is expressed by Male 3 in identifying men (Identified) as being part of the project (Identifier) activities. The manner (Circumstance) in which such relation is realized: *in one way or another* is interesting. The informant does not present a clear picture of how such male inclusion is to be carried out in reality.

And make sure that the men are also part of it [project] in one way or another (Male 3).

1 And [*Process: material*] make [*Scope*] sure that the men are also part of it [project] in one way or another.

that [*Identified*] the men [*Process: relational*] are also [*Identifier*] part of it [*Circumstance: manner*] in one way or another.

The processes used in the above selected extracts on advocating for men's inclusion signal that men are seen as Goals or Beneficiaries of inclusion process. This view seems to signal an 'add on' stance by the informants. Men are also presented as part of a Circumstantial element of accompaniment, which seems to support the partnership view. Lastly, men are presented through a relational process of being a part (Identifier) of project, which signals a holistic view to gender and development.

Despite the overt positive reactions to male inclusion by the informants, the vagueness of how to actually operationalize men's inclusion is detectable from the data from the Circumstantial elements. This is coherent with the more general characteristic of male inclusion in GAD as there is little to build on with no general guidelines applicable to all contexts, as mentioned in chapter 1. Although there are official guidelines on the matter, as identified by one informant, such an inclusion process in practice is postponed into some distant future. In addition, some elements of possible reluctance to address the possibly problematic nature of men's inclusion can be seen from attitudes that seem to state 'we may have to target men' or 'let the men appear to be involved without really involving them'. At times, men are confined to the background as only as being there instead of doing anything. Where involvement is desired, it takes the form of being "somehow involved". Is it possible, however, that these aspects reflect a wider change taking place, albeit in a rather vague environment? The final section discusses this possibility in terms of the more social science-tilted CDA.

6.5 Ideology and transformation

At this stage the focus again turns to a more abstract level of social science-tilted CDA and the discussion of inter-relationships, ideology, and transformation. This last section discusses the usage of the above two sub-discourses to bring about social change.

One of the key characteristics of discourse in CDA, as discussed in chapter 4, is that is engaged in doing ideological work. All discourse is ideological as it entails mental frameworks and representations of the world through the dialectical relationship between language and the social reality constituting each other. Transitivity analysis is used for examining representations of the world. The ideologies can be detectable from the production or transformation of dominance. As noted earlier they are the most pronounced when appearing as neutral. In terms of ideology in the two discourses it can be noted that both discourses used discursive practices appearing to be neutral. For example, the representations of men and gender activists were both depicted as depending on innate characteristics. Various homogenizing and totalizing practices were also used.

More importantly, the relationship to the idea of men's inclusion by the two discourses reveals some traits of ideology. Both discourses want partnership with the opposite sex. However, the "Women/Men partnership" discourse approaches from the position where women are seen as oppressed victims and men as something women struggle with. These are also evident in the academic GAD discourse in chapter 4, from which the discourse in Uganda makes no deviation. Perhaps the Western tradition of feminism which has been the basis in the development of GAD provides the key ideological link to this result. Interestingly, it is the male sensitive discourse that takes the position often taken by post-colonial feminists as challenging this ideology.

When considering the GAD debate and the critique on men's inclusion in relation to the argument that GAD is based on the Western feminism and critical male studies as presented in chapter 3, it can be seen as explicit at the discourse level also in Uganda. There is evidence of Fairclough's (1992, p. 7) notion of "new global order of discourse" that is characterized by

tensions between practices spreading at the global level and the local traditions, as discussed earlier. In both of the above discursive practices to undermine the hegemonic position of the “Women/Men partnership”, in other words the order of discourse of GAD, the global and local understandings and practices around gender are placed in a collision course. Interestingly, the criticism against men’s inclusion and the stance of GAD as based on Western critical men’s studies is reflected here to some degree through the criticism of Western feminism. However, here the argument is used not against but for the inclusion of men in GAD. Although the “Men/Women partnership” discourse rejects the Western feminist tradition as the basis for gender work, it nevertheless accepts the Western concept of gender.

Gender incorporates ideologies of partnership, cooperation and coexistence. The definitions given by informants were to some degree consistent with the official definitions of gender inclusive of both sexes and focussing on the relationship aspect. However, the hidden ideologies were detectable elsewhere in the data. The hegemonic discourse still equates gender with women, which it seeks to promote leaving male inclusion not a relevant issue. At the same time, the “Men/Women partnership” discourse is not very clear in its ideology towards male inclusion. It is promoted, however with little input into clarifying the actual role of men and the means of implementation, thus leaving it at advocacy level.

In terms of power and the interrelationship between the two discourses of “Women/Men partnership” and “Men/Women partnership”, there is a clear process of discursive struggle and renegotiation taking place according to the data gathered. As noted in chapter 4, power relations are discursive when CDA is concerned. The hegemonic position of one discourse is unstable and engaged in a process of negotiating discursive allies as well as subordinating the marginal discourses in place in a given context. Both of these were realized by the hegemonic discourse through its legitimating the increased focus on women as well as the negative representation of men. On the other hand, the “Men/Women partnership” discourse was clearly aware of such hegemonic aspects of the “Women/Men partnership discourse” and is therefore able to react and challenge the status quo by discursive practices in attempt to construct a new reality more appreciative of men in GAD.

The “Women/Men partnership” discourse on integrating women seems to refer to different power asymmetry than the “Men/Women partnership” discourse on integrating men. Where the former seeks to topple the power hegemony of development cooperation in the male dominated society at large, the latter seeks to topple the power hegemony exercised by women within the sector of gender and development in society at large. Respectively, the two discourses draw on these power positions in their interdiscursive dialogue. In so doing however, these two discourses dismiss each other as participants in the discursive negotiation and end up speaking to rather than having a genuine dialogue with each other. Where the discourse on integrating women into development argues for equal rights for women in society’s wellbeing and decision-making (i.e. development), the male integrative discourse on the other hand argues for equal rights for men in the designing and implementation of gender issues in society. Although both are seeking partnership between sexes, the two discourses are nevertheless interested in power at different levels, which largely results in the lack of acknowledgement by the opposing discourse.

Is there, then, a possibility for a change in the order of discourse in the future? As pointed out earlier, another one of the key characteristics of discourse in terms of CDA is its role in social change. Clearly through the mere existence of a counter-discourse to the “Women/Men partnership” discourse is already an implication that its hegemonic status is by far not stable. It is in constant process to re-establish its legitimacy. Through the existence of the counter-discourse, there is a possibility of social change. As the door is nevertheless open for men in the hegemonic discourse, albeit in a form of promoting women, there is greater sensitivity towards male inclusion. Similarly, the “Men/Women partnership” discourse seeks to act alongside of women. Thus, there is a potential for real transformation if both discourses genuinely welcome and engage with each other. However, there is a clear need to establish a neutral ground for the two discourses to meet outside the present women-centred GAD discourse. Moreover, the forum of such dialogue would also need to be neutral as much of the gender institutions are occupied with women. What would such post-transformation situation be like in the context of development work? One male informant suggests an answer.

People will get to understand that after all being a male or a female doesn’t matter. What is important is what I do for myself and for my family. (Male 3.)

As noted earlier, the whole significance of the dualistic *gender* as a determinant of development outcomes may not be as significant. After all there are a number of other social variables that are relevant in day-to-day life. Transcending gender to a situation where it no longer matters is close to a point of equality. If the beneficiaries are approached in the light of the household unit, not in the light of gender, to even out inequalities is the outcome likely to be more efficient? Could this notion by the informant be a signal of a process of transformation? These questions remain unanswered, but ideally provide a spark for a mental process, and perhaps later, for a material process.

The critical discourse analysis carried out in this chapter pointed out among others the vagueness of how the men are included in GAD at the linguistic level. There is a need to explore the practice of development cooperation to shed further light into the matter.

7 The practice of GAD – Results from the social scientific analysis

Given the lack of previous concrete examples and strategies of men's inclusion into gender and development work, it is vital to examine the experiences of individual development workers from a practical point of view. This chapter concentrates on giving voice to the expertise of development agents in a Southern NGO and presents the findings of the social scientific analysis for the degree in Social Science. First, an overview to the practice of men in gender interventions in Uganda is given and the reasons as presented by the informants for including men into GAD are examined. Examples of success stories are also given. Secondly, facing vulnerabilities and challenges such as resistance in men's inclusion are discussed with a concluding summary of lessons learnt. Lastly, the strategies used for mobilizing men in the grass-roots level are analyzed and the best practices reported.

7.1 Men's inclusion as beneficiaries in gender work in Uganda

7.1.1 Men's fractured domain in GAD

Some of the informants have worked directly targeting men as beneficiaries in gender issues, others have not. However, all informants were able to give their perceptions on the status of gender work in general in Uganda.

According to the perceptions of the informants, there is a tendency that gender work in Uganda concentrates more on women than men as beneficiaries. Several informants openly admitted that women's lot has been given more attention in comparison to that of men.

So, you'll find that somebody who have found out that it was better to start with the woman instead of starting with the man. So they have tried to improve the condition of the women more than the men. (Female 3.)

The informant above states that it has generally been found that it is better to focus on women in gender work. This is partially understandable due to the inferior status of women and the need for empowerment in Uganda. Women in general constitute a vulnerable group that therefore are in great need of support, as stated by Male 3 below.

There's been deliberate efforts towards the involving of the women. [...] They are being targeted basically because they are a vulnerable group or because of their central role in societies, or for the purpose of empowerment. (Male 3.)

The central role of women in societies is also the basis for the following view in which development work cannot be carried out without improving the status of women. In this view, the emphasis is on the sexual division of labour in society, which defines taking care of the children as a task primarily for the women. This has influenced the importance of targeting women. Moreover, one informant reported that the focus on children by World Vision results in improving the lives of women in order to improve the lives of children. Another explanation for targeting women more is the earlier tendency of WID to single out women which has also affected development cooperation initiatives in Africa. According to the informants, this was also the case in Uganda. Based on this data, the case of Uganda falls in with the general tendency that gender work is indeed more concentrated on targeting women.

One of the male informants expressed his concern over this tilted focus of intervention towards women. He states that such a focus has become an expected norm on the expense of possible vulnerable men.

You know sometimes people take for granted that let's promote women and yet the men would also be at a very big risk at certain circumstances. (Male 3.)

When men are indeed included as beneficiaries to gender work, the contexts are rather limited. According to Chant and Gutmann (2000, p. 31), the sectors where men have most frequently been linked to by development workers world wide are issues around "health and sexuality, violence, education, employment, fathering and issues affecting young men". Similar traits can be seen in the data from Uganda. The informants mentioned agricultural work, health and HIV/AIDS.

Mainly men we target them in all the training, for example, when you are training like farmers, we also target men. [...] Let me not just say AIDS, if it comes to health issues men have to be targeted as the primary beneficiaries of that programme. [...] When you are talking about family planning, we have also targeted men, bringing about complete transformation. (Male 1.)

Surprisingly, most of the informants did not associate gender work that targets men with issues of violence despite the vast existence of violence against women and girls in rural

Uganda (see chapter 2). Only one informant mentioned sensitizing men on violence. Besides agriculture and farming as well as health and reproductive issues, other prominent areas where men have been included in Uganda are education and employment. Especially business and formal sector training were mentioned. The men have also been sensitized on issues such as food security, the work load of women, the education of girls and women's rights in trainings in the villages.

The informants presented examples of successful cases of men's inclusion in gender and development in Uganda. Expanding men's traditional gender roles was one such area where the informants had positive experiences of, as in the example of targeting men to ease the workload of women in agricultural work by Male 5.

Let me go back to the food security [example]. [...] Men can weed using hand hoes because it's already in straight line and there's space for you to weed. So what seem to have been what women should have done, is now being done by men, because they appreciate that women's time that is freed from weeding, they would be doing something more constructive for the family. [...] What seemingly was women's domain, has shifted and men are now beginning to participate in it in the project villages. (Male 5.)

The involvement of men in sharing the agricultural work load of women resulted in changing some of the traditional gender roles in these communities. The informant is speaking of men entering the women's domain. Despite the deep-rooted nature of traditional gender roles and the centrality of the division of labour in rural Uganda, the men should nevertheless be seen as possible actors in contributing to broadening these roles.

Besides the above-mentioned "popular" domains of men's inclusion, there is one domain that seems to have begun to expand its activities also to include men. As discussed in chapter 2, taking care of children has traditionally been the role of women, which was also mentioned several times by the informants. Chant and Gutmann (2000, p. 31) state that many of the development workers in different NGOs have expressed their hope that gender work should start with issues such as fathering rather than the most popular sectoral issues presented above. World Vision with its expertise on child rights has the potential for acting as a pioneer in this respect. Some traits of taking fatherhood seriously are already existent. One informant

reported of a specific component of a programme to sensitize men on food security issues as fathers and parents.

[In] a nutrition programme [...] we had what is called a father's day [...] World Vision was supporting a therapeutic feeding centre in one of the missionary hospitals in northern Uganda. And these are children who are severely malnourished. We were organising fathers and we'd take there like once in a month [...] a group of about thirty fathers. [...] We tended to train the mothers on nutrition [...] leaving out the parent, the fathers. We gave them one to two-day training, and then we take a visit to the centre. [...] Now, the fathers who had a chance to go and look at the children, they have understood what causes that sort of thing and how it can be solved. (Male 3.)

This informant clearly acknowledges that men have been left out of initiatives targeting what have been traditionally women's domains. The success of bringing fathers in has strengthened the positive role that men have to play in the lives of their children. Naming the day as "fathers' day" creates a new space for men to participate in development issues. Moreover, providing access to education and health services for children has been connected with men's inclusion as parents, as pointed out by Male 1 below.

We ensure that if we are sensitizing parents about education of their children, make sure you bring both mother and father together. If there are issues of immunization of children, we must talk to both the mother and the father. (Male 1.)

This change in attitudes and practices has resulted in positive outcomes for the children in the families through increasing their access to food security and health services. The evidence from the data supports the existing notion stated in chapter 3 that there are men who do care about the welfare of their family and the community. Besides the issues of what men are being included into in Uganda, the reasons for why the men are being included are also of importance when aiming at understanding men's inclusion as beneficiaries in gender work.

7.1.2 Rationale for men's inclusion

Seven different categories of argumentation for including men into gender work can be identified in the data: Men are already there, changing prevailing attitudes, empowering women, enhancing the development impact, controlling and harnessing men's power, aiding masculinity in crisis, and increasing men's representation in guidelines and policies.

Men are already there

There are some unifying characteristics of the context where men as beneficiaries have been included into gender work which can be traced from the following extracts.

[When working with men] we also work through committee representatives, committees, and sometimes if you go to facilitate election processes for community. We say now we want nine members of the community to represent you in a project committee. And you'll find that if you leave it to them, you'll end up with all the nine being male. (Male 3.)

I've worked with men as extension workers, because in Uganda you'll find that ninety per cent of the extension workers are men (Female 5).

I think this [men's inclusion] is cross-cutting, because they're men in the corporate sector, and maybe in the formal sector (Male 4).

From the extracts above it can be noticed that men are included as part of their social domain already in place in Uganda including political representation and decision-making in committees, extension workers as well as business and the formal sector. This male domain is highly defined by the sexual division of labour and the corresponding gender roles and positions of power for men. The rationale seems to be one of "the men are already there and therefore have to be included". Interestingly, when comparing to the debate outlined in chapter 3, the argument that men are already included is usually taken as an argument against men's inclusion. Here on the other hand, it is used as a justification for targeting men. On the one hand, it creates an impression of a rather passive position with respect to including men: "men can't be avoided and therefore they must be included". Alternatively, the situation may be interpreted as a need to establish gender partnerships. As already discussed in chapter 3, partnership is a strong argument in the context of men's inclusion in gender work.

Changing prevailing attitudes

The second set of arguments relates to changing men's attitudes about gender issues in order to promote a more gender sensitive approach to development. In other words, according to the informants, men need to be included to make an impact on the traditional community attitudes.

As so that it [gender] doesn't look like it's a men's issue or a woman's issue, but it's our issue. It will help everybody appreciate and you have some of those attitudes in our communities erased. (Female 2.)

Changing people's attitudes relates to the goal of gender mainstreaming. Female 2 above clearly establishes that gender is a concept inclusive of both sexes. This way gender issues are to be comprehended not only at the organisational level but also at the grass-roots level. A concrete example of a successful initiative targeting men's attitudes was given from an environmental project for women.

[...] It was an environmental project, and the men were not allowing the women to even come to the meeting. And we had to go from house to house [...] trying to convince the men to let the women to come in the meetings. And eventually by the time the project ended, there would be more women in those meetings than men. (Female 4.)

The time-consuming nature of such an attitudinal change is clear in the extract above where the field workers approached men on an individual basis. Although the result of the intervention was not gender balanced, it proves that men's attitudes are not static but capable of change in practice. As stated in chapter 3, changing attitudes and overcoming resistance should not be seen as an obstacle for including the men.

Empowering women

Another aim seems to be empowering women and enhancing men's appreciation of their role in the communities through increasing male participation. In this rationale, men are included as an instrument for women's empowerment. Informants stated that men are targeted to make them realize how women can contribute to development. The direct benefit for women is also expressed as a reason why men should be included, namely reducing women's workload and giving them more free time.

The more you get the men into it, the women will be freer (Male 3).

We target men specifically to, to help the woman with marginalized come-up (Female 5).

The informants are expressing the importance of the role of men in the emancipatory process of women. Interestingly, the question of women's empowerment does not only include the idea of reducing women's workload but also reducing that of men as breadwinners.

So if a woman is empowered, it makes work easier for men as well (Male 3).

Men as beneficiaries, yes. I've just been talking about one that may get relieve of the burden when a woman also becomes a breadwinner in the family. (Male 4.)

Although men may be relieved in their role as the breadwinner, the challenge remains whether this will actually increase the work burden of women if men on their part do not engage themselves in relieving the work carried out by women at home. This rationale seems to be based on polar oppositions and viewing women and men as isolated actors. Although this reasoning on empowering the women furthers women's strategic gender needs in Uganda, it seems to fall in with the mainstream masculine development perspective in its somewhat unbalanced focus on relieving men's burden. In other words, the empowerment of women is seen necessary in terms of the incurring benefit to men – not as mobilizing the men to further the rights of women.

Enhancing development impact

Reaching the maximum positive impact of a development intervention is stated as one argument for men's inclusion into GAD work. Moreover, Female 2 states that targeting men is necessary for successful implementation of gender work.

Because, if you want an impact, then it's best to train both [sexes]. [...] Both sexes should be targeted for successful implementation of gender issues. (Female 2.)

As the overall goal of enhancing gender equality can be seen as developing the target community at large, the informants related gender with the concept of transformation, as well as “meaningful”, “sustainable” and “effective” development. The academic argument for men's inclusion in GAD for more sustainable and effective development can be found in the data.

Without including both gender, we can't have much transformation [or] meaningful development taking place (Male 1).

But the opportunities [of male inclusion], there is, you know, for this development to be sustainable, even when you target the women (Male 3).

The underlying idea seems to be that men need to be included because both sexes need to be included. In other words, men's inclusion make up the possibly missing other half in this context. This seems to use the argument of the limits of women only project found in the GAD debate.

And therefore, everybody misses out on if the man is not targeted, [...] then that household misses on that (Male 3).

This falls in with the argument of men's inclusion in GAD because of its focus on gender relations. Moreover, it is coherent with the gender mainstreaming strategy. The informants point out an important factor that gender is not the only lens through which development should be viewed but improving the status of the household unit is crucial.

But if you work with both of them, and they know it's for the benefit of both of them. For the betterment of their health, their lives, their wellbeing, as a family, as a unit, as whatever. The benefits are great. (Female 5.)

Seeing the benefits of including men in direct relation to women is also coherent with the GAD approach of gender relations. The data supports the notion presented in chapter 3 that men have an important role to play in women's groups also in Uganda. In the following example of a success story, the approach to gender of a working group seems to have experienced a shift of WID to GAD through including men in the work.

We were mainly dealing with women. We would like meet in the afternoon and discuss our problems [...]. And eventually we started getting stigmatized, the others would say the women's not supposed to group. [...] But then we started involving the men in these discussions and I realize that oh, so they started appreciating our projects, and said oh, actually there's our problem. (Female 4.)

Here the inclusion of men was crucial for the functioning of the discussion group, and through including them, the development impact of the project as there is greater ownership of the cause by men.

Controlling and harnessing men's power

One set of arguments for men's inclusion overtly involves men themselves as it revolves around the idea that men's superior power position needs to be harnessed by "affirmative action".

There are also issues where men, where we need to do some kind of affirmative action because there are things where men will take an upper hand (Male 1).

This reflects the fear that men may somehow take over if they are not paid due attention at various phases of the project cycle. Interestingly, this logic is reversed when compared to the one presented in the debate earlier on: instead of fearing that men may take over if included, the concern is on men taking over if they are not included. In both arguments there is an idea that men's power needs to be controlled. However, according to this data the male

beneficiaries in Uganda need to be involved in order not to let them hinder or sabotage the intervention in question, which differs from the logic presented in the academic debate. Given the higher social status assigned to men as compared with that of the women especially in the rural parts of Uganda, this seems somewhat comprehensible. Moreover, considering what the difference in terms of the scope of impact between men taking over if included in a project and men taking over if not included in the project, the latter by far bears more severe consequences to the community in question. Therefore, the risk of men taking over (only) the project activities can be seen as the lesser of two “evils”.

Besides preventing men from becoming dominant in the projects, there is simultaneously another rationale for harnessing men’s power, namely to tap into their key position in the communities. In the following example men’s power position was successfully harnessed for furthering women’s access to the use of land.

We have what was called a farmer’s field day, where people would come and put some small stalls, do exhibitions, what has your group produced this season. There’s one of the groups that are open over 22 acres of land and there were eleven women. [...] One of the elders of the village gave them the land so they opened. [...] Although the men were responsible for giving them land. [...] So it became a very big success story and people looked at it. [...] And you know, support the woman and you have supported the entire household. (Male 3.)

By giving the women land, the men made a statement that they were willing to share a proportion of their power with women, because women do not own land as a norm in the rural Uganda as already discussed. This supports the argument in the GAD debate that there is a need to work with rather than against men who are in power.

Another reason for targeting men is their key position in the context of HIV/AIDS prevention. The power that men enjoy at the community level can be harnessed for transformation. Here, the informant states the men to have a leading role in the matter.

When we are talking of HIV/AIDS, we sensitize men, because we know they have a leading role to play either in prevention or the spread of the HIV/AIDS (Male 1).

Indeed, men are in what Foreman (1999, p. 4) calls the “core group” that drives the epidemic because no such group can exist without men, and men are greater in numbers than women in

the core group. The focus of preventing the transmission of the epidemic should be placed on the core group rather than the general population in order to gain more effective results. (Foreman 1999, pp. 4-12.) The argument of women possibly winding up suffering is especially common in relation to HIV/AIDS as the informants confirmed the lack of women's power in determining when the man should wear a condom. Therefore, the argument that by including men women may stand a better chance in renegotiating their roles seems relevant but somewhat unrealistic in the context of HIV/AIDS as the bargaining power of rural women in Uganda is currently rather low. There seems to be more use for the argument that men are to be included because of the power they may use to make a difference.

Aiding masculinity in crisis

As pointed out in chapter 3, not all men enjoy power universally and there are men who are vulnerable. One informant stated that there is increased awareness that some men are facing challenges in the areas of employment and the changing social roles traditionally ascribed for men in Uganda. Perhaps more in the urban areas issues of unemployment place some men in vulnerable positions, and the social roles are changing both in the rural and urban areas. Female 5 draws attention to the gradual process of finding out that men may also be losing out, which has only just begun.

Although, progressively we are discovering that especially in the area of unemployment men are losing out. And even in the north where people have been in displaced camps for long, there the men, the social roles are changing. (Female 5.)

Based on the evidence of the data there seems to be increasing awareness of the different manifestations of masculinity in crisis in Uganda. The following example is a success story of reducing men's vulnerability by increasing their access to extension services. After having talked with the families in the villages, the extension workers found out that men were being ignored in that particular intervention.

One [success story] was a training of extension workers. [...] We went out to the, in eight districts, and intentionally trained the extension workers. We talked with village people, we went and talked to the families. [...] [M]en who own the food crops were being ignored, because they were not getting the extension services. [...] But as an intervention, we found that there was a big improvement. (Female 5.)

The specific context of the civil war in Uganda has inevitably had a profound impact on gender relations in the families residing in the northern parts of the country. The men and boys are being abducted at a very young age and leaving the women take up the roles of the missing men.

Perhaps more frequently, the success of targeting men in order to reduce their – and women’s – vulnerability relate to the issue of HIV/AIDS. Uganda experienced a climate of lack of open discussion for sexual issues for many generations (Aliro et al. 1999, p. 99), which is also supported by one informant.

HIV/AIDS, yes it was sensitive. But in Uganda now in most places, it’s like everybody has felt it. One way or another. And people talk about it, people are free to talk about it openly just like any other issue. (Male 3.)

In Uganda the static or decreasing HIV transmission rates have been influenced by large numbers of men having changed their behaviour. Uganda has also formed a union for men with HIV/AIDS, namely the Positive Men’s Union (POMU). (Foreman 1999, pp. xii, 22.) Using the rationale of reducing vulnerabilities, arguing for men’s inclusion has already resulted in a nation-wide positive development transformation in Uganda.

Increasing men’s representation in guidelines and policies

The issue of the national and organisational representation of Ugandan men was raised. The informants stated the need for including men at the grass-roots in order to receive their valuable input and to achieve a balanced representation of both sexes in policy formulation. Female 2 below links such a procedure with a successful outcome of gender work.

All sexes should be targeted in all these policies, [...] when they formulate guidelines. Then shall we be successful with gender issues. (Female 2.)

When men have been consulted for their views and input, the premise for cooperation is better as the men are able to relate to the policies and “synchronize” with women, as presented by Male 2. He states that understanding the “other side of gender” is needed. He also notes that unless men are included, their ownership of the political guidelines remains weak.

The men should be included also, because it’s good to understand the other side of it also. So that when policies and guidelines are laid down, the man will be able to synchronize with women smoothly. But if the man is left out,

it will become a big struggle for him to accept any policy or guideline. (Male 2.)

The informants also identified the need for addressing men in the legislation because they have been left out of the gender equation, which seems to create some degree of frustration in the informant below.

Because the law will say that this number of women we want in Parliament. And these are the kinds of things you don't do to a woman. Bla, bla, bla. How about the men's responsibility, you know, in these issues? It's not talked about. The law is silent about it. (Male 4.)

Interestingly however, the informant speaks of responsibilities rather than rights. The implication of this is a view that men need law to guide them in taking responsibility. On the other hand, this is not surprising as any society has some regulations or at least social norms what people are expected to do their fellow community members and citizens.

The rationale of men's inclusion in GAD in Uganda as presented by the informants is mostly coherent with the general arguments for men's inclusion presented in chapter 3. The following rationales were used when arguing for the inclusion of men: Men need to be included because they can help change the attitudes to more gender sensitive ones in the communities, because they can serve as an instrument for women's empowerment, because controlling and re-channelling their power into influence the community is needed, because the resulting greater development impact, because the crisis of masculinity may lead to marginalisation of men, and because there is need for greater sensitivity to men in local policy formulation and legislation. Some of the reasoning nevertheless diverted from those of the academic debate. Such were the argument for men's inclusion to prevent male beneficiaries from taking over in relation to the development activities if they are excluded. The fact that men are already there is used as an argument for men's inclusion, not against. Furthermore, besides relieving the labour burden for women, the inclusion of men will also aims to reducing their own workload when women are empowered.

None of the informants mention the possibility of increased funding for gender issues if men's concerns are more on the agenda. There seems to be a somewhat instrumentalist stance to including men which views men as means for achieving other development goals. There

seems to be more emphasis on the needs-based approach than the rights-based approach to including men. Men's inclusion is not seen as an end itself that men would be entitled to. Given the strong preference on improving the lower status of women in Uganda, it is perhaps understandable that promoting men's inclusion as a fundamental right of men has not been so vocal. In such a context, the advocates for men's rights would perhaps be seen as going against the proponents of women's rights. Despite the possible lack of space for taking up men's rights, the informants showed vast openness to the idea of including men as part of the GAD framework and working towards gender equality.

In the context of Uganda, the success stories have come about in relation to changing men's traditional roles, involving them in project working groups and reducing men's vulnerability, especially in relation to HIV/AIDS. The scope for men's inclusion is still rather limited in Uganda. According to gender mainstreaming there is no need to separate different sectors for considering men's role in gender work. However, taking men on board is not, by far, straight-forward. The next section probes into the specific contexts where the informants reported to have experienced challenges in relation to including men.

7.2 Facing challenges and vulnerabilities

There is evidence that in a case where there has not been a realisation of the role of men in gender work, the initiative has witnessed limited success or even failure.

When you begin somewhere a vegetable growing project in one country in West Africa where it was targeted, empowering these women to grow vegetables for the abundant market. Now because the men were not targeted [...] the project failed. (Male 1.)

However, including men into gender work in practice is not as straight-forward as simply including men and it has faced various challenges which is examined in more detail below. The challenges that were reported by the informants range from issues concerning power and resistance to issues of male vulnerability.

7.2.1 Reservations at individual, community, institutional and national levels

The fact that men are already involved in gender and development work at various levels of society is also reflected in that the challenges to increasing men's inclusion as beneficiaries exist at multiple levels. As discussed in chapter 3, some scholars and development practitioners have expressed their concerns on that including men may result when the men may "take over", which could also be detected in the data.

If you go with them [men] alone, they will pull down the women (Female 5).

Interestingly, there seem to be two co-existent arguments, the other one having been identified in the previous section. There is simultaneous fear that men may take over if they are not included and if they are indeed included. Such concerns by gender workers seem to undermine the trust that is needed for the strategic gender partnerships to take place. However, there is not only lack of trust on the part of individual development workers but also reservations on the part of individual men as beneficiaries.

There are also those who don't attend [to meetings]. And either because they don't know what is taking place, or maybe some had false expectations and they are not being met, [...] or some people are still waiting to see. (Female 2.)

Still waiting to see from a distance implies a response that is rather reserved. At a community level, there is evidence of similar lack of trust that poses a challenge to men's inclusion through a climate of suspicion.

If you just go and get to a village like mine and you start: "I want to have a meeting, I want this", most people would not welcome it so openly. They'd be suspicious. (Female 3.)

One of the informants pointed out that development workers need to realize that including men may require an understanding that men's priorities as a social group may be different from those of women. This relates to the academic criticism of GAD as not necessarily being compatible with men's inclusion as it was originally designed to especially further the lot of women. In other words, for including men there are direct implications for NGOs planning and designing gender work to address the challenges at an organisational level.

Now for that [targeting men] to happen, you have to design things differently (Female 5).

The implications of the gender division of labour needs to be taken into account also on the part of men in planning interventions. At a more abstract level this also implies that men are fundamentally different from women.

Another institutional factor is the church. Given the prominent role of Christianity in Uganda, the church as an institution may object to some issues such as reproductive health matters, the church may become a limiting factor when addressing men and gender work.

And of course, the other reasons you also get from the religious institutions, which again are dominated by men (Male 1).

Men are already involved in these organisations. The other side of the phenomenon is also present where men are not only in power but are also losing power in other institutions. According to the data, the university is one such institution as the leadership both as lecturers and heads of faculty lie firmly on the shoulders of women. Here, the crisis of masculinity also manifests itself in this area of institutional level where men's domain is narrowing down as gender issues are perceived to be mainly concerned with women.

One of the highest institutions in the name of Makerere has a whole faculty of gender and women's studies. But in that faculty, the employees are mostly women. (Male 4.)

The marginalized position of men in gender issues at the organisational and institutional levels in Uganda has lead to the crisis of masculinity also leaving men feeling that there is no space for them that attracts them to participate in it as it is viewed as women's domain.

I'm talking about equal opportunity for us to work together. [...] As long as we think gender remains as a women's domain, and we allow women to go and talk about gender...It starts with the education process. (Male 5.)

In addition to the individual, community and organisational levels, men's inclusion into GAD as beneficiaries also faces challenges at the national level in the form of enforcing legislation on gender relations. Again the fact that GAD addresses issues in the private arena is seen as problematic.

The biggest challenge we have is that there are things which happen in the private arena, which are very hard to penetrate using public policy or legislation. There are some silent issues which are still very hard to address, especially in Africa. Like [...] issues of reproduction, of culture, which are

still silent and which are very hard even if you have legislation, which are very hard to enforce. (Male 1.)

The difficulty of being able to enforce legislation is linked with “African culture”. A concrete example was given by one male informant on the deep-rooted nature of cultural practice and the difficulty of enforcing national laws.

There’s Domestic Relations Bill and one of the clauses in that bill states that before a man takes on another wife, a second wife, the first wife must consent that it’s ok, you have the money to take care of both of us. And this is something the men cannot accept. (Male 4.)

The culturally inferior status of women only being consultants to men – not independent decision-makers – as presented by the data is not easy to overthrow by law. The above-mentioned lack of willingness to accept changes by male beneficiaries may at times escalate into overt opposition and resistance.

7.2.2 Resistance to gender equality activities from men

Resistance demonstrated by men is one of the challenges discussed by gender scholars and practitioners when addressing the issue of including men. When asking whether the informants had encountered any type of resistance by men as beneficiaries when working with gender equality, two of the informants did not refer to resistance *per se* but preferred milder expressions referring to lack of encouragement and non-response. Others accepted the term *resistance* used in the interview and presented examples of the forms of the resistance they have experience of. Based on this data, most frequently the resistance by men to gender work takes on the form of denying women mobility and access to participation into project activities.

I think sometimes some men would not allow their women to go out and participate in certain activities, especially if it’s of group nature. (Male 3.)

The group nature of the meetings is perhaps challenging the role of women in the private sphere as women’s public participation has traditionally been denied. The resistance may even take on such a severe nature that it escalates into physical violence as reported by one informant.

The men will refuse the ladies to go. And if they go, when the lady comes back sometimes the man beats the woman: “But I told you not to go there

but you have gone there!” So, in the village there is a lot of resistance. (Male 2.)

This corresponds with the argument that unless men are included, it may result in women ending up suffering the consequences. The challenge of limited bargaining power of women and inability to renegotiate the gender roles can also be present in the above situation.

On the context where men’s resistance is most likely to occur, the informants reported issues relating to women’s empowerment as well as private and sensitive issues such as reproductive health matters.

Where you are likely to get resistance if you are going to talk about [...] family planning. Anything to do with reproductive rights of women, that’s when there’s likely to be resistance there. (Male 1.)

When you are talking about gender in aspect of women’s rights there is a lot of resistance (Male 4).

The challenge of GAD intruding into the private sphere of gender relations can again be detected in the data from Uganda. Moreover, the challenge that GAD is perceived as too confrontational with its focus on the strategic gender needs and holistic transformations may be a cause to the resistance.

Another informant reported on his experience on initiatives of income generation that most frequently target women to increase their access to financial resources. The reasons for men’s resistance in this case may relate to the phenomenon of masculinity in crisis as the men lose their traditional roles as the breadwinners of the household. Similarly, resistance may rise when women “encroach” into other traditional men’s domains such as cash crops in agriculture or owning property or livestock as in the following examples.

Now, the food security programme had component that was looking at promotion of non-traditional cash crops to become cash crops. And so the male thought it was something which was not meant for women. (Male 5.)

Now, one component of that programme was livestock empowerment: giving livestock to women. [...] But the project did not involve the husbands of the women. Now, when these women received the animals – traditionally here animals etc. etc. are the domain of men – some of the men says: “If you think you’re becoming a man in home by owning animals and calling it

yours, go own it from your home. You will not own it from my home.”
(Male 5.)

Besides the above reasons for men’s resistance, men may not participate in the gender work because they may feel that the facilitators of the intervention pose a threat to their position in the society. Again the confrontational nature of GAD is seen as an obstacle.

It was the men who were the people who used to go and check on how the [women’s poultry raising] project was running. And it became a failure, because the men, the husbands, were threatened by these men. (Female 3.)

Although not articulated explicitly by the informants, the challenges of resistance may also relate to the lack of guidelines and information on practical implementation procedures on including men as beneficiaries. One informant stressed the importance of culturally sensitive facilitation skills of the development worker in including men into the work and preventing possible resistance.

To me the resistance will be because either the person who will be taking this gender doesn’t know how to do community work. Doesn’t know how to talk to these people, doesn’t respect their social and cultural values. (Female 5.)

The challenges faced when working to include men as beneficiaries to gender work may result in some men being deliberately excluded by development workers. This, in turn, has a detrimental effect of resulting in vulnerable and marginalised men in the target communities. Reaching out to these vulnerable men becomes the next step in the process of combating the challenges to men’s inclusion.

7.2.3 Vulnerable men in the margin

One of the challenges to including men as beneficiaries to gender work relates to confronting male vulnerabilities. Given the biased focus on supporting women in development initiatives, there may be some groups of men that remain outside attention. It is important to identify such groups. In Uganda one such group is single fathers.

So I think if you have a single mother and a single father, you’ll see the single mother doing better than the single father. The single father would really struggle to keep the home. (Male 3.)

Although this is a breach in the traditional gender roles, the man's position is vulnerable as there is no corresponding social support net around him as there is with women, who are traditionally responsible for taking care of the children in Uganda (see chapter 2). Another vulnerable group of men (and also women) in the specific context of Uganda are the men that become the victims of the ongoing civil war in the northern parts of the country.

They're [the guerrillas are] abducting fathers who are leaving the mother with children and no father to support (Male 4).

There are naturally also adolescent men and boys that are subject to various vulnerabilities but these are not discussed there further due to the focus on adult men.

Despite the successes gained in HIV/AIDS prevention in Uganda, there are still many challenges to be faced and vulnerabilities to be addressed. Female 1 stated that

AIDS is the problem here and the culture norms of Africa (Female 1).

Special cultural factors are seen as partial cause to the problem with the implication that both women and men are affected by the plight caused by AIDS. On many occasions men are forced to face the expansion of traditional gender roles due to the severe effects the disease is bringing to society. It is important to note that taking care of orphans is equally affecting men as well as women.

Now, the thing that is touching about HIV/AIDS is the issue of orphans. Because that is direct burden to households. [...] You may find a man who has lost his wife. Who has to remain with orphans. Or, the man has lost his brother and the brother's wife, so the children of his brother are with them in the household. (Male 3.)

Even though Uganda as a country has experienced positive developments in reducing the prevalence rates, the benefits may not necessarily be seen at the level of individual men and women straightforwardly. Many cultural practices are a challenge to the health of both sexes leaving them at risk.

A challenge [is the] reproductive culture. Because women still cannot with authority determine when to conceive, whether it should lead to children or not. Or even when the man is HIV positive. (Male 1.)

The challenge of transforming cultural practices is by far linked to challenge of the limited bargaining power of women who are engaged in the patriarchal bargain. Moreover, the

argument that GAD is too complicated to implement may bear significance in the context of complex cultural dynamics in place in any given country. Among men the issues of stigma are particularly challenging as they position many men as vulnerable.

There is one man who confessed that how can I go and line up with the women to be tested. It says that by even sitting with the bench to be tested is already telling the community that it's HIV/AIDS to those people. (Female 4.)

Moreover, men perhaps do not wish to line up with women as their masculinity might be undermined by such actions. This also applies to other sicknesses besides HIV/AIDS. Female 3 below states that men sometimes hide their sickness from their wives for the fear of being labelled.

Some of them [men] wouldn't even tell their wives that they were taking drugs. You see how that phobia, you can't tell somebody you're sick or going to the hospital. And we find it very strange, if you are taking the pills why don't you want your partner to take it? But it's because you don't want your partner to know you're sick. So I think if you sensitize the husbands that you tell your wives. (Female 3.)

The lack of openness between the spouses acts as a challenge to formulating strategic gender partnerships at the household level. Women may also conceal information from their husbands because of fear of the man taking a second wife.

[...] Many women would like, for example to have very few children. But if the man has not consented, there's no way. Even if you try to sensitize, because they're so much fearful of the man bringing in another wife. (Male 1.)

Again the women are confined to bargaining their positions in relation to their practical and strategic gender needs. As a result, the men as well as women are subject to vulnerabilities.

Relating to the challenge of defining which men are to be included to gender and development, the context-bound answer may be found by examining the heterogeneous positions among men as a social category. The men that are identified as vulnerable are the one who are in the greatest need for inclusion into development initiatives as beneficiaries. However, the mainstreaming principle needs to be taken into account in ensuring that other groups of male beneficiaries are also included in the project cycle.

7.2.4 Lessons learnt – The contextualization of men’s inclusion

Based on this data it appears that several lessons can be learnt from the experiences of working with men and gender in Uganda (see Table 6 below). All of them can be linked to what the writer would like to name as the contextualization of men’s inclusion. This contextualization seeks to understand the local dynamics of the phenomenon of men’s inclusion which are not necessarily present in the academic debate as such. However, it should be remembered that such lessons learnt are based on the subjective experiences of a limited number of people and as such are also limited in their scope of application elsewhere.

Table 6: Lessons learnt – The contextualization of men’s inclusion

- ▶ The local sectoral domains of men’s involvement should be seen as dynamic
- ▶ Men’s subject positions are multiple ranging from resistance to caring
- ▶ The arguments for men’s inclusion presented by the Southern practitioners and scholars do not necessarily follow the same logic as those of their Northern counterparts
- ▶ Identifying the groups of vulnerable men in a given context shed light into which men are specifically to be included
- ▶ Men’s inclusion more reflective of needs-based than rights-based approach that stems from the local context and practical needs
- ▶ There is a need to understand local resistance and men’s priorities
- ▶ Possible need to redesign GAD interventions for men’s inclusion to suit the local culture and context

Firstly, although the domain for men’s inclusion in GAD in Uganda is rather limited, it should nevertheless be seen as dynamic and gradually expanding towards new masculine roles such as more supportive fatherhood. Men should be viewed as possible agents in broadening the existing gender roles. Secondly, the arguments used in the debate about men’s resistance on the one hand, and men’s caring for their family’s welfare on the other hand, only represent two stances along the continuum of different subject positions for men. Therefore, such arguments should always be contextualized to avoid over-simplifications. In the context of Uganda, for example, some of the informants maintained that they had not encountered resistance but non-response or suspicion by male beneficiaries.

Thirdly, the debate on men’s inclusion is mainly carried out by Northern gender scholars and practitioners. This may not necessarily reflect the contextual realities in the Southern developing countries. For example, diluting the (Western) feminist agenda may not be seen as

relevant in the South as by the Northern scholars. It may be seen more from the practical implementation side and attending to the practical gender needs of men such as securing access to health, employment and income. The strategic global aspect of men's inclusion may not be as relevant as furthering strategic gender needs for men at the national and local levels. The concerns and applicability of men's inclusion may take on more locally relevant forms such as adjusting organisational and national guidelines and legislation. Moreover, the reasoning for men's inclusion may take different forms such as the two co-existent seemingly opposing arguments: 'men may take over if included' and 'men may take over if not included'.

To maximize local relevance, a contextualized analysis to identify which men are marginalized and vulnerable needs to be carried out to overcome the problem of trivialization of the question of men's inclusion and to provide an entry point for further mainstreaming of men into GAD. In the context of Uganda some of the groups of vulnerable men are single fathers, victims of the civil war and victims of HIV/AIDS.

Perhaps due to the nature of concentrating more on the local needs of vulnerable men, the rights-based approach seems not to be as prominent as the needs-based approach to development initiatives. The fact that resistance by men is also greatest towards initiatives using the rights-based approach (such as women's rights) reflects this tendency. Men's priorities also vary according to context. Moreover, the local context reflects the different forms that resistance may take on. The resistance to the confrontational nature of GAD also reflects the deep-rooted nature of traditional culture-bound gender roles. Therefore, there may be need to redesign gender interventions to suit not only the local context but also men as a social group.

Given the multiple challenges of men's inclusion in GAD in practice, the next section turns to the question how these can be overcome to increase men's ownership of development interventions by presenting useful strategies and best practices.

7.3 Mobilizing men – Learning from best practices

7.3.1 *Female or male facilitator?*

When examining whether it is best for development workers to be men or women when targeting male beneficiaries, the majority of the informants seem to think its best if the informants are men. The reasons mostly seem to stem from the inferior status of women in society, which causes their work to be undermined.

It would be good to a male-male. A male to facilitate the male. It is more effective. And the female to male, it becomes very difficult the man to accept what the woman is saying. With that in mind, that all women are looked down, it will be a struggle. But if it's man-to-man, it becomes easier for them because the man will be able to ask questions. (Male 2.)

In many cultures men are more likely to listen to other men, which has been increasingly popular as a strategy (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 30). Moreover, according to the data female beneficiaries will be likely to respond to gender sensitization better when a male facilitator is used.

When you are doing gender advocacy out there, it's even more convincing when it's the man doing, advocating for it. (Interviewer: Advocating for the men?) Yes. And even for the women. [...] The men listen to him better. But when it's a woman, the men are saying: "Ah, women's talk again!" (Female 4.)

Thus, utilizing the men's superior power status in society, gender issues according to the informants are received more easily by both men and women through a male facilitator. However, one of the informants pointed out that the attitudes in the communities are not necessarily receptive towards a male facilitator.

If I go now and begin talking about gender in the villages, they say: "what is wrong with this man?" They think something is wrong with me. (Male 5.)

This most likely reflects the prevailing practice, and therefore expectation, that gender work concentrates on women's issues. Moreover, one of the informants was of the opinion that instead of men sensitizing women, it is better if the development worker is of the same sex as the beneficiaries.

If it's a man to target the men, it will be easier. If it's a woman targeting the women, it will be easier than the man, because the men [in the village]

would feel insecure. Because they [male advocates] would be a threat. Because most of the time they [men in the village] think if this man is targeting women then the next he's going to be targeting our wives. (Female 3.)

Again the men facilitators and project workers are seen as a possible threat by male beneficiaries as was the case with fighting the challenge of resistance. In such circumstances there seems to be a possibility of a conflict of power over the women, which according to Female 3 can be overcome by choosing a female facilitator. Curiously, one of the informants seem to challenge the prevailing rationale of women having less power and therefore being less convincing in advocating for gender equality. Instead, he draws on the women's experience of being oppressed as a source of advocacy.

[...] I think women can do a better job [in sensitizing men]. Because, first of all, we have a few women who are empowered. Who understand, who are probably gone through this and seen. Who have experienced this. And when they talk to a group of men who are conservatives, it's like hearing from the horse's own mouth. But if you take me to go and talk to some men [...] well, it'll be like telling a story, not a touching testimony. When it comes from a woman it's more touching, it's more real. It's talking out of experience. [...] You see, the advantages of using women, is a woman's tone is an advocate's tone. But a man's tone is probably comparing notes. Simply comparing notes. (Male 3.)

To him, women stand more close to the truth due to their experiences from real life. Interestingly, this male informant seems to refer to what is generally known as *standpoint feminism*, which is based on the argument that women are able to produce more "real" and "correct" information on reality due to their marginalized position and experience (Koivunen and Liljeström 1996, p. 28). It can be concluded that there is need for both male and female advocates and gender practitioners in the field of development cooperation. Given that most of the gender advocates are women (Chant and Gutmann 2000, p. 3) there is considerable need for engaging men more to the task. The next section examines some of the strategies that can be used in practice.

7.3.2 The most common strategies used in targeting men

Top-down: Educating and sensitizing men

The informants seemed to stress the importance of sensitization and education as a strategy for mobilizing men for gender equality.

I think best strategies of motivating people is still through giving people knowledge and sensitizing them (Male 1).

The nature of such sensitization needs to be systematic and result in awareness creation in the community at large as noted by Male 5.

So in terms of a strategy I would really...and also awareness creation. I would call it education. Community education. Not just going and holding a little bit of workshops and rallies [laughs] but deliberate education of the masses. (Male 5.)

Interestingly he mentions “workshops and rallies” as not the proper means for such education, and he presents them as somewhat small scale events and as less determined to reach transformation.

Educating men seems to be closely connected with the topic of women’s rights and women’s input and role in the communities.

The men should be talked to. To tell them the advantages, why the women should be not always kept at home. (Male 2.)

Maybe if these men can be targeted first, better than women. [It would be more effective] because men have to first understand that women have to be involved. (Female 1.)

On the other hand, two informants pointed out that the perception that gender issues concentrate solely on women is pivotal to men’s inclusion and needs to be changed when sensitizing men, as presented by Male 5 below. He underlines the need for this understanding as the cornerstone of all gender work.

Men as a group needs to be helped to learn that when we talk about gender, we are not talking about women. That is the foundation of all things. [...] If ever we are to succeed. (Male 5.)

One informant suggested as the strategy for mobilizing men to utilize the venues of the churches as the best place to reach people. This way, the sensitization message can reach more people more effectively.

In a Christian organisation we start with the churches. Because most people go to the churches in the village, that's the meeting place. So, you introduce it with the church goers. That's the best way to introduce it. (Female 3.)

The above strategies seem to reflect a very top-down strategy, in which the men are educated and sensitized by development workers with a one-way interactive dimension. Thus, men are included as passive recipients of development interventions. However, mere sensitization is not enough by itself according to several informants who stress the importance of concrete results and seeing the advantages as the motivating factor for the men.

If they [men] are sensitized and they understand and they see some benefits out of it, the chances are that they will be supportive (Male 3).

One informant suggested as a strategy to create a forum for increasing the visibility of positive outcomes of gender initiatives to further mobilize men. In the example, the benefits reached by women are to be made visible to the men also.

Some kind of open forum where women, whatever the women have done, let it be highlighted for everybody to see. So, that they [men] can appreciate the success. Even the challenges that these women have gone through. (Male 3.)

Being witnesses to positive change may help in joining action towards gender equality, and being concrete about the outcomes and benefits of the intervention may help the men to respond in a positive and open manner. Moreover, in order for the men to appreciate the future benefits, the reasons of engaging people in the intervention should be explicitly given to men. This was underlined by several informants, such as Male 5 below.

Now, explaining the reason why we want to work with women, to the men, has helped some of the men to recognize the gender roles that women have to play. And the success of some of these programmes that were implemented was basis of that. (Male 5.)

This strategy of explaining the reasons for the intervention and the occurring positive impact to the whole community seems to be an important factor in overcoming possible resistance. Another strategy to overcome possible resistance relates to the fact that the men need to be assured that they will also gain from letting the women participate and from taking part in the action themselves.

But I think what I bring in my case is to show the men that actually they are going to gain (Female 4).

One of the crucial determiners of the success in sensitization and convincing men on the facts and benefits of engaging the community in gender work is the skills of the facilitator. Sensitivity and respect to cultural values is important.

We should have things like respect in mind, understanding of socio-cultural values. We should not tell them “this is wrong, this is right”. We don’t know how long these opinions, these cultures of where these things were set up, so we should go with that kind of backing. [...] To me, the strategy is your rural participatory skills, your respect for the people you’re going to. [...] The strategies to understand the community you’re going to: meet them half way and they’ll, meet you half way. (Female 5.)

Such respective strategies in top-down sensitization help convince men also to “meet half way” and take part in the action themselves.

Bottom-up: Engaging men into participation

At the same time, the informants seemed to advocate for a bottom-up approach with increased grass-roots participation by male beneficiaries. Male 5 maintains that participation should cover both planning and implementation of activities.

I think the whole area around participation, inclusiveness and joint, what do I call it, and joint implementation of activities. [...] And that has been positively taken and accepted by men. Because they participated in the thinking process. [...] Inclusiveness of men in the work itself. (Male 5.)

Besides being part of the project cycle in planning and implementation, acting as positive role models was seen very important by the informants. This seems to emphasize the active role of men as actors in development in making a transformation locally by targeting their peers.

Those who are positive you can use them to reach other men. To influence more of their peers about the issues of women. If you get men who have worked with women [...] they can reach out to their peers and sensitize them. (Male 1.)

Besides providing an example as role a model, several facilitators seem to use a strategy of giving concrete examples of their personal lives on gender to influence men’s attitudes.

And once you go through examples with them, they’ll start to understand. Because I told them an example from my life. (Female 4.)

This seems to act as strengthening the local relevance and understanding of the issue at hand, which results in the men better being able to relate to the matter. It also gives concreteness to the often abstract topics given that gender is largely an issue for the educated people as noted in chapter 2. Besides that, receiving positive concrete feedback was also seen important as it may work as a motivating factor for many men.

I always tell my colleagues that there are many ways to reward good behaviour. [...] If there are men who responded positively, it's good for them to know that and out can use them also as a tool to reach others. I think the best way to reward them is to help them to reach others. (Female 2.)

This informant maintains that it is important to reward the successful responses by feedback and increasing the visibility and appreciation of the person in the community. Another informant, on the other hand, explained the need for support and encouragement by the possibility that men will relapse into resisting the intervention if not encouraged.

When they're [men] not encouraged they begin, they take the position of opponents. And when they're opponents they'll have to fight for their position of resisting gender issues. (Male 4.)

However, not everybody was supportive of this strategy of rewarding men. Some of the informants expressed their reservations towards actively supporting or highlighting the positive reaction of male beneficiaries. They seem to argue that the benefits and developments incurring from changing the community itself is, and should be, enough.

No, no. They should get the benefit from within their communities, not from an outside system. So, they don't get extra benefit, extra attention just because they are positive. [...] We wanted them [men] to see that they're also going to benefit. The system itself is an improved system that benefits both sexes. (Female 4.)

Moreover, actively promoting alternative models for masculinities may in fact, result in a counter-effect as it may raise suspicion among community members, as was pointed out by Female 2.

And you may not have to reward them by shouting it from the mountain tops, because you'll cause others to feel there's something behind it. (Female 2.)

Therefore, the overall strategies that are based on the bottom-up, participatory methods in including the men as actors seem to be somewhat reserved and not too confrontational in

presenting alternative models of masculinity. In such a context of being indirect, it is pivotal to identify the people who are strategically important for mobilizing the men.

One of us, who went and stayed with the community for some time. And men of course were traditionally moving around with the leaders, but what he was doing was looking for the opinion leaders. In that community. And it'll be very interesting to know that most of the important opinion leaders were drunkards. [...] And so, then those were our target group for change. Then you would sit with them and drink with them, and discuss informally. (Female 4.)

Starting with a few men who are in key position in the communities, and indirectly but consistently targeting them for change may provide best results, even if it means facing them in their own playfield. Avoiding too confrontational an approach and drawing on the sense of importance as contributors is effective in mobilizing men in Uganda for gender work as was also supported by the secondary data.

Indirect communication is huge here in Uganda. You know, not telling them: "you're wrong, you're bad". You know: "some men do this, and it's very bad because of A, B and C, and we need *you* to help us". (Interview with a Western Community Health Worker, Nabuyoga, November 2005.)

In sum, there seems to be two simultaneous approaches to mobilizing men: a top-down approach of educating men as masses, as well as a bottom-up approach of actively – albeit not too confrontationally – engaging men as individual members of the community to act as role models. Based on the data, the top-down approach seems to be slightly more favoured as a practice. This may also relate to the fact that sensitization is perhaps needed first in order for men to participate. Nevertheless, there seem to be some reservations towards advocating for new masculine models in a direct way. Needless to say, both approaches are needed in order to have a holistic impact. The next section examines the strategies of mobilizing men in the context of sensitive issues such as HIV/AIDS.

7.3.3 Strategies used for HIV/AIDS and other sensitive issues

In the case of sensitive issues such as HIV/AIDS the preference seems to be on education and presenting the facts. In Uganda, discussing sexual behaviour and responsibilities have more recently been seen as a priority for society at large (Foreman 1999, p. 46). This change was also noted by Male 1.

The most powerful tool first of all is information. Once you bring both men and women together and you try to give them facts. See, initially Uganda we had a very high prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS. But the problem was, there was a lot of ignorance. The best way was people are given facts. Then they can make objective decision about their lives. At the moment people start getting facts through constant sensitization, then the attitudes change. (Male 1.)

The importance of education is pivotal to people in terms of being able to make informed decisions in their lives. When implementing the education of men on HIV/AIDS, the informants gave suggestions how to ensure that everybody's voice is heard given the sensitive nature of the topic. The most common seems to be separating the men and women for sensitization.

Initially when you are working with the people who are not sensitized, it is better to separate them. But eventually you should work with them as a group. But I find that when you work with the community, for example, and you are having the men and women in the same group for the first time, the women will not talk. It'll only be the men to talk. [...] If you start with the men alone and sensitize them. And then when these women stand up to speak to, they're confident what they're saying, they will be listened to. (Female 4.)

Initially the men need to be sensitized on giving women the opportunity to contribute to discussion. This way the women, who are often not empowered enough to speak up in joint discussions, receive a chance of their voices to be heard. Similarly, other possible vulnerable groups such as the youth of a given community are better able to voice their concerns. However, one informant pointed out that the community at large is the target, including both women and men to reach effective results.

[...] It would be better if both of you went and found out what that this is about. Because telling somebody third hand, or second hand or something, the message is sometimes distorted. [...] If you invite both, I think it'll be much better. So there would be no secret about it. (Female 3.)

Minimizing the raise of counter-effective suspicion and the danger or misinformation the strategy of including both men and women in the sensitization is crucial. The tools such as drama, radio programmes and presentations are also set to target the masses of the community to guarantee the openness and transparency of disseminating the information.

But if we are talking about education, awareness point of view, I think gender would not be a very big issue. We have males, we have females, we

are doing the overall change things in form of drama. In terms of even radio programmes, presentations. (Male 3.)

These informants taking a more holistic approach seem to take a similar view as Foreman (1999). He identifies three different strategies in achieving transformation in terms of HIV prevention. The first, “informative” approach as targeting men and women for information and fear has been found ineffective. The second, “supportive” approach that targets men’s self-images has witnessed some degree of success in behaviour change. The last, “social” approach is set towards fundamental social change and is the most strenuous to achieve. (Foreman 1999, p. 36.) However, it is the most effective in fighting the pandemic. The prerequisite is to know

[...] the context of men’s lives, addressing their fears and desires and encouraging responsibility, communication with partners and respect others and oneself. This is a time-consuming, uncertain process that relies not only to HIV/AIDS but to the many broader issues surrounding gender relations that have come to the fore in recent years. (Foreman 1999, p. 43.)

As Foreman (1999) notes, the changes to men’s behaviour are more likely to occur out of wider social forces than HIV/AIDS prevention as such despite the important role of awareness creation in contributing to these social forces. The attitudes of individual men in the prevention of HIV/AIDS are not so much the problem but those of societies at large (Foreman 1999, pp. 15, 47.)

In the context of Uganda, certain societal issues such as men possibly having multiple partners should be taken into account when planning the strategies for intervention. Such issues include the expectation of women to be faithful, and men to be more sexually active and possibly marrying several wives.

A woman, when you are married it’s expected that you must be faithful. In the culture. And yet for the men, nobody says anything that you should be faithful. [...] You get a small percentage of women cheating on the men. But you get a very great percentage of men cheating on the women. So, when you are dealing with men, you overemphasize the issues of faithfulness. [...] And I’ve never heard of a woman marrying two men. [...] So, there are issues of polygamy. So we need to emphasize these issues: faithfulness and even to be faithful to more than one wife. (Female 2.)

Indeed, boys in Uganda are often even expected to spend time with many girls by their male relatives. Moreover, polygyny is often equally supported by women also. (Foreman 1999, pp. 102, 19.)

Interestingly, one of the informants expressed her frustration with the current strategy of educating men and shifted the focus in to putting this knowledge into practice.

[A colleague of mine] said that even though I'm running these clinics, the men don't come. It is only the women who come. The men have all the knowledge. So it has nothing to do with knowledge. You cannot pump any more knowledge into them for change. There must be something else we have to do. [...] They [men] have the knowledge, they have the attitude. They have changed their attitude, but they are not practising what they know. (Female 4.)

In other words, there is awareness among men but this is not realizing into action or changed behaviour. Foreman (1999) provides one possible solution to this dilemma as he notes that the most effective way to changing men's behaviour is to "associate self-protection with attitudes they already hold" (Foreman 1999, p. 37). Related to the challenge of achieving behaviour change according to the informants is also the challenge of how to measure such change among the target community.

The interesting thing about awareness is that it is not easy to measure the impact of the behaviour change within a very short time. [...] But after sensitization we get promises, like during HIV/AIDS awareness, I will have some people say: "I'm going to change". [...] Maybe the other thing we regard is [...] the fact that they've committed to come to awareness sessions. [...] And I remember that the first time I talked about business enterprises and how they can improve their business [...] I got these men, they kept telling me that when are you coming back? (Female 2.)

Finding local indicators for measuring the success is an important strategy. In this case such indicators were promises given by male beneficiaries to change, which implies a successful increase in level of awareness. Another challenge of sensitizing men on HIV/AIDS is the social stigma associated with it as well as the masculine pride undermined by seeking treatment. This can perhaps be overcome in part with the following strategy as presented by one male informant.

I think one of the key things is the whole range of management of stigma and the management of trauma that comes along HIV/AIDS. [...] Isolate the person from the problem. [...] Look at the problem that is around gender and

approach it and say, if we can work together, coexists and work together on negative issues around gender, then we can move that positive part of gender and pull it into development. (Male 5.)

In this strategy everybody in society is not only targeted to reduce the stigma but also function as active participants in the process. This strategy seems to utilize the essence of GAD in concentrating in gender relationships inclusive of both men and women to obtain more transformative results.

7.3.4 Best practices according to Uganda

One male informant expressed the need for a more harmonized approach to gender in development cooperation. The creation of a specific tool for community-level implementation might help in such an endeavour.

And so their [the people who promote gender] approach needs to be harmonized. [...] The world needs to think of developing a tool that can be used – that should be followed – that must be used in gender implementation at community level. (Male 5.)

This seems to echo the global discussion on a more harmonized approach that can incorporate elements of various international guidelines and treaties. It seems that there is a similar need at the local level. Reporting the best practices may be considered as one such tool to be used locally. Indeed, a female informant gave an example of a project component that later influenced the policies at the national level.

And we documented best practices, gave them back to the government and we hope they are using them now. And actually, the work we targeted, what is called now is actually incorporating gender component in their work, and actually trying to roll it to other places where they are. Because they saw a difference. (Female 5.)

It should be noted, however, that the strategies presented in this study should not be viewed as a blueprint for men's inclusion adoptable in all contexts. A summary of best practices from the above examination of the strategies used for mobilizing men in Uganda can be drawn. They are presented in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Best practices of men's inclusion in GAD in Uganda

- ▶ Approach beneficiaries in their own context and localities
- ▶ An indirect approach to men may be more effective
- ▶ Use society-wide means such as drama, presentations and radio programmes for indirect approach for better coverage
- ▶ Identify the local opinion leaders among the men and target them first
- ▶ Let positive role models voice out the need for behaviour change
- ▶ Ensure all stakeholder groups have a chance of voicing out their concerns to reduce suspicion and resistance – separate groups if needed
- ▶ Find local indicators of measuring success of behaviour change
- ▶ Provide the men with positive feedback and support
- ▶ Educate men to comprehend the male inclusive meaning of gender
- ▶ Educate men to understand the labour contribution by women and women's rights
- ▶ Utilize venues where masses of people naturally come together
- ▶ Give concrete examples, if possible from your personal life
- ▶ Report on concrete society-wide outcomes and benefits to the men, create an open forum
- ▶ Guarantee men's participation at all levels of project cycle also in terms of gender issues
- ▶ Give the facts on HIV/AIDS to the men
- ▶ After providing the men with information, find a way to commit them to turn it into action
- ▶ Consider which of the sexes as gender facilitators is likely to obtain more transformative impact in a given situation and context. Encourage participation by male facilitators.
- ▶ Give specific cultural features, such as polygamy, special emphasis
- ▶ Teach to isolate the person from the problem to fight stigma and stereotypes
- ▶ Articulate clearly to the men why the community (the women especially) are being targeted.

Despite the limited applicability of the best practices of Uganda, there are nevertheless traits of similar findings elsewhere in terms of men's inclusion. Some international development organizations and NGOs have already engaged themselves in reporting on best practices and lessons learnt, albeit they are not very numerous. The most vocal of them is perhaps Oxfam. Based on an Oxfam case study of Yemen, similar best practices by Elsanousi (2004, p. 168) include establishing shared goal, which relates to explaining the societal benefits to men in Table 7; showing commitment; and gaining trust that relates to explaining the reason for intervention respectively. Kaufman (2004, pp. 24-26) also presents best practices for Oxfam, out of which mobilizing males to act as role models, and finding ways to measure men's behavioural change were consistent with the findings of the present study. Lang (2002, pp. 17-18) in Oxfam workshop report identifies the need for grounding action in the men's own experiences and concerns, which relates to the ability to find concrete and personal examples by facilitator identified in this study. Similarly to this study, Lang also concludes that it is

more effective to use men as facilitators in gender advocacy. Lastly, he states that culturally appropriate strategies and nurturing of ownership are crucial, which are coherent with this study. Lang and Prewitt (2001, online) note on the case of the UN and men's involvement that safe, comfortable and perhaps separate spaces are needed to be able to discuss gender issues and men. Moreover, informal strategies are most effective in raising such sensitive topics. These are also supported by the findings of the current study.

Educating the masses with a top-down approach is perhaps easier to implement but there is also need for a more confrontational approach that challenges the hegemonic masculinity – especially in relation to HIV/AIDS. Although both approaches are needed, more attention should be given to overtly challenging hegemonic masculinity and the traditional roles at a societal level. Men are not promoting gender equality as advocates as actively as they perhaps would be able to. There is a need for more support and encouragement for men to fortify their commitment to action towards the goal of gender equality. The overall policy implications of this include opening up space for men in GAD policies and implementation work. Here, the contextualized approach that seeks to understand the local dynamics of a global debate may prove to be most effective.

8 Men's inclusion in GAD in Uganda - Discussion

This chapter first presents discussion on the findings from the critical discourse analysis (Degree in Arts) and social scientific analysis (Degree in Social Science) separately. Then, a shared discussion on synthesis is given as well as reflections on the research process.

8.1 Discussing discourse

The analysis carried out through more social scientific-titled CDA as well as linguistic means forms a system of categories, representations and relations that constitute the ideological position that the two discourses, “Women/Men partnership” and “Men/Women partnership” discourses, take in relation to men's inclusion in GAD in Uganda. In coherence with the general aspects of the CDA framework, such ideological positions are in direct link with power, history, social problems, and social change through the interrelationship between language and society. The two discourses can also be seen as a way of social action in terms of both attempting to reach gender equality. At a more abstract level, the characteristic of CDA as interpretative and explanatory is realized in this study as it also aims at social change to some degree.

Using transitivity analysis as a practical tool for the CDA framework better ensures the transparency in the analytical process. Transitivity analysis with its focus on Processes, Participants and Circumstances reveals representations of the world as seen by language users and was therefore well suited for the purposes of the study. Transitivity analysis made it possible to identify the discursive practices and value judgements by informants on *gender*, *women*, *men* and *gender activist*, and reveal some of the stereotypes through Values and Attributes. It enabled answering the research questions on meanings and values of gender, characteristics of the GAD discourse as well as the representations of men. The method also served to clarify who does what to whom in terms of legitimizing certain actions and assigning blame.

The most prominent actors in the “Women/Men partnership” discourse were men whereas women were pictured as Objects of action as well as presented in relation to the location (Circumstance) of the private sphere. In the “Men/Women partnership” sub-discourse, men were seen less as active “doers” and more as Goals and Beneficiaries in material and relational processes, whereas gender activists were frequently the Actors in material processes. Culture was seen as an element of Circumstance affecting women’s position. The Circumstantial element of angle as well as mental processes were used when arguing against the Western stance of gender activism. Similarly, the Circumstantial elements of cause and contingency as well as causality through hypotaxis were strong as discursive practices in arguing for one’s cause both sub-discourses. Besides a Circumstantial element, *gender* and *gender activist* were conceptualized through relational processes and assigning new Identifiers to them. Lastly, in the context of men’s inclusion men were placed as Goals/Beneficiaries of material processes and as Circumstantial elements, which created a rather vague and passive representation of men in gender work. On the other hand, one representation of men signalled the holistic approach and identified men as part (Identifier) of the gender work. The broader CDA framework, on the other hand, enabled finding answers to the research questions on ideology and power relations between discourses.

Despite being non-native English speakers, the informants are capable of using language and making distinctions between different processes, participants and circumstances, albeit not necessarily consciously. Moreover, the second-language status of the researcher was not a hindrance to being able to distinguish between different transitivity elements in the data. Although frequencies were not calculated in the study because of the selection of extracts of text, relational processes seem frequent in the overall discourse of GAD. The issue of gender in development can be seen as being approached from a stance that discusses its relation to other issues: its relation to the opposite sex, to contextual and cultural issues, to academia, and to language and meaning. However, due to the focus of CDA on the social problem rather than language *per se*, the discussion is concentrating on the phenomenon from henceforth.

In answer to the first research question, it can be concluded that the meanings and values the concept of gender has in the GAD discourse are built around the notions of gender roles and

difference, in which the biology plays a primary role, although there is also some awareness of the socially constructed nature of the concept. Although gender relations, which is seen to be the essence of gender in its original meaning in GAD, was mentioned, the values assigned to gender indicate that the meaning of the concept relies more on making comparisons and constructing bipolarities between two sexes instead of being focussed on the interrelations aspect. The concept thus frequently strengthens difference in terms of dividing people into “us” and “them”. This view is not coherent with the relationship aspect that gender is supposed to cover. This supports Välimaa’s (2004) findings where she noted that references to either women or men are a challenge to real gender equality.

This division can also be seen when the question is addressed from an indirect approach: The meanings of *gender* according to the two sub-discourses of GAD are highly synonymous with ‘women’ or ‘female’. However, there are attempts by the “Men/Women partnership” discourse to redefine such biased meaning that has become the cornerstone of the hegemonic discourse. In so doing, the discourse is drawing on the original meaning inclusive of both sexes and trying to negotiate the return to the core of the “real meaning”. Therefore it can be said that the discourse of GAD acts as a battle ground for (at least) two competing discourses engaged in a process of defining the meaning of gender in the Ugandan context.

The characteristics of the GAD discourse in contemporary Uganda entail four distinct sub-discourses that are influenced by either the integrative or separatist motives in relation to work with the opposite sex. For the purposes of the study the focus was placed on the two integrative discourses. The more powerful of the two, the “Women/Men partnership” discourse, obtains the hegemonic position and is largely coherent with the overall academic discourse on GAD that has tended to focus more on women. The “Men/Women partnership” discourse, on the other hand, is characterized by criticism towards the Western-originated academic-based gender activism. These results are similar to Datta’s (2004) from Botswana as she finds contradictory discursive stances in the development discourse in Botswana: the potential marginalization of women’s rights, as well as the need to include men.

To challenge the hegemonic position, the “Men/Women partnership” discourse found in this study draws on the negative representation of gender activists, which falls in with earlier studies on the negative representation of feminists (Edley and Wetherell 2001; Riley 2001 cited in Varanka 2003, p. 14). However, Varanka’s discursive dilemma of whether men can act as feminists was not explicitly present in the data from Uganda. This is perhaps due to the usage of a “euphemism” of *gender activist* and *gender advocate* that theoretically more explicitly allow the inclusion of men through *gender*. Therefore, the inclusion of men could be seen as a joint project by both sexes that advocates for the inclusion of the missing half of gender, which is currently, if not excluded, in the margin to say the least. Moreover, the specific context of development cooperation may have influenced such an outcome through the practical relevance of gender in the lives of real men and women at the grass-roots.

The discourse of GAD in terms of the two integrative sub-discourses has two competing representations of men. The hegemonic discourse constructs men in a negative light strengthening the stereotypes that are frequently found in the broader GAD discourse in development cooperation. In return, the “Men/Women partnership” discourse constructs a sympathetic picture of men as responding positively to gender and as victims of the female bias of the concept. In general, the informants speak of men and women when constructing the representations that are based on the comparative interrelationship between these two. However, in so doing the informants are actually constructing images of masculinity and femininity in the context of development cooperation in Uganda. At present, men at the beneficiary level seem to be included in the GAD discourse through images of masculinity of questionable characteristics and as sources of problem through the hegemonic discourse. Their voices are not heard in the planning and implementation of gender projects as established by the “Men/Women partnership” discourse.

The ideologies presented by both discourses are positive about the possibility of cooperation, however reserved about how such cooperation would be realized in practice. Similar results were achieved by Färnsveden and Rönquist (1999) on SIDA where men’s participation was seen as important by the organization’s staff and there was a consensus on the importance of gender equality although the form of the involvement was not as clear. Moreover, Kessey

(2004, p. 218) finds that men's opportunities should be expanded and cooperation is to be solicited, "even if it is symbolic". The discourse arguing for men's inclusion in Uganda also manifested such vague characteristics.

In this study, both integrative sub-discourses are pro-gender equality, but nevertheless engaged in a power struggle over the very concept: *gender*. In other words, both of the discourses are addressing power, albeit from a different angle. The hegemonic discourse is using the unequal position of women in society at large as the starting point, whilst the "Men/Women partnership" discourse is using the marginal position of men in gender issues only. In other words, the discourses are addressing issues at different levels of society and thus end up missing each others contribution to the dialogue with the further implication of both ending up more in monologue. Moreover, this discursive battle field of relying on negative representations is hardly a fertile ground to build partnership although that is the objective set by both discourses.

From the point of view of men's inclusion into gender work in development cooperation, it would be important to strengthen the conceptions of gender that are based on the relationship aspect as well as the original meaning inclusive of both sexes. Such aspect may perhaps be best comprehended through the example of the household unit at the grass-roots. There is also a need to strengthen alternative representations of both men as beneficiaries through creating alternative models of masculinity, as well as alternative representations of gender advocacy in general, in which men could be represented as having an equally important role. Like this study, Datta (2004) also concludes on the case of Botswana that there is a need to begin to consider how new alternative male identities can be encouraged and how men can be included in GAD in a useful manner. In the Ugandan context, rooting such advocacy on the role of men in gender is needed to create higher ownership of the GAD discourse and increase participation in dialogue on men's role in development as beneficiaries.

At present, such role is rather vague at the discourse level even among the keenest advocates themselves. In this study, integrative discourses have the potential of truly enhancing the quality of development cooperation in policy formulation and implementation by acting as an

entry point for cooperation between the sexes. However, the prerequisite would be to open up space for new representations of the reality as well as masculinity and femininity in both of the integrative discourses.

8.2 Discussing practice

The expertise of Southern development workers in gender work is evident as they demonstrate awareness of the complex choices they have to make in relation to gender work. The implementation of gender policies in relation to development goals is not always straightforward. Åberg (1995), in her study, found that the implementation of international and national goals on women in practice was lagging behind at the time of the study. In the Ugandan context, this is somewhat the case on male inclusion in GAD in practice as the focus is still mainly on women. Although gender initiatives usually target more women than men in Uganda, men have been targeted for gender issues specifically in relation to the limited domains of agriculture, health and education in relation to the rationale that men are already there. The specific context of Uganda where HIV/AIDS takes its toll especially on women as well as the long-lasting political crisis in the north has by far influenced the crisis of masculinity and male vulnerabilities, thus increasing the need for men to take on a more active role as a parent for example.

Indeed, some success stories of men's inclusion have arisen out of expanding traditional gender roles where men as beneficiaries have played a crucial role according to the examples given by informants. Such included more active roles by men as fathers and in sharing the work load of women, for example. Other cases of success included for example changing men's attitudes, enhancing the development impact of a working group and reducing men's vulnerability, especially in HIV/AIDS. Male inclusion is seen as more effective if more male facilitators are used than currently is the case. However, there is a need for both sexes to work in cooperation. The challenges, on the other hand, are partly based on mutual reservations and/or lack of trust on the part of individual male beneficiaries, the community and development workers in relation to including men. Other challenges reported by the informants are the compatibility of men with GAD as a framework, religious institutions,

institutionalized focus on women in practice, addressing resistance and reaching to vulnerable men. The resulting lessons learnt have a strong emphasis on the need for contextualized approach to men's inclusion in practice that draws on the local responses and manifestations of a global debate. The policy implications of such a contextualized approach include opening up GAD as a framework to men, however not only at an academic level but also at the implementation level in relation to the contextualized features of such a debate.

Men are included into gender work as beneficiaries mostly as instruments to achieve other development goals on the basis of the needs of beneficiaries. The results are similar to those of Pulli's (1997) textual analysis on Finnish development cooperation and *equality* and her findings that gender equality is viewed as important but it is mainly used as a means for reaching other development targets. In this study, such need-based, other development goals are targeting attitudes, women's empowerment, community, policies and guidelines as well as scaling up the development impact. Even crisis of masculinity is seen from the point of needy vulnerable men, not as men deserving to be involved. Perhaps rights-based arguments, such as say male empowerment in gender, are seen as too contradictory to empowering women. The win-lose scenario on power relations constructed by GAD in Uganda implies that only one party can be empowered with the other one losing power. Similar results was reached by Kessey (2004) who notes that the "win-lose" scenario created by WID lead to men's frustration and resistance towards gender activities in Ghana. In my view, a form of "global brotherhood" is not a resource that men can draw on to advocate for men's inclusion into gender, whilst such strategy has been and/or is being used by feminism.

All in all, most of the rationales behind male inclusion are coherent with the arguments of the wider GAD debate. The argument that men are already there is used for, not against, men's inclusion. Moreover, the issues of men taking over project activities if not included as well as reducing men's workload as breadwinners beside women's workload are new arguments found in the Ugandan context. The former may well relate the experience by the informants that women-only initiatives may create suspicion among men and therefore facilitating men's resistance. As found in this study, one of the best practices is to articulate clearly why women are being targeted. Similarly, Kessey (2004) finds that men should be assured that projects do

not necessarily undermine their social status. The latter reason, on the other hand, may relate to the strategy of explaining the benefits of an intervention to the men. It is important to note that also men have practical gender needs such as being able to negotiate what their role in domestic work is just as women should be able to.

The strategic gender needs of men in this case are more related to the goal of gradually including men into gender work at large – not as power-holders but as equal partners in relationship. Currently, men are mostly included as passive recipients of sensitization processes, but also as actors in participatory approaches to challenge the traditional (hegemonic) masculinity, albeit not very confrontationally. As noted in the case of HIV/AIDS the emphasis on informative approaches is not as effective as the supportive and social approaches. Crucial here is providing new forms of masculinity in the form of role models. Färnsweden and Rönquist (1999) also found in the case of SIDA that increasing men's involvement in the organization would inspire other men to take part in gender equality advocacy to a greater extent. The rationale found in this study that male beneficiaries are included merely because they are already there and that their power needs to be harnessed and controlled reflects a wider attitude towards the whole idea of including men: including men may be an unavoidable aspect of reality but it is not worthy of greater attention *per se*.

As already discussed, the some of the best practices and lessons learnt found by this study in the Ugandan context have been found elsewhere by development organisations engaged in researching into men's inclusion in GAD. Ideally the field of development cooperation is open to new sources of genuine discussion on the practice how to implement gender work in a manner that is best able to support the lives of both male and female beneficiaries at the grass-roots from a relationship point of view.

8.3 Men's inclusion in GAD – Discussing synthesis

In an answer to the overall research problem how have men at the beneficiary level been included in GAD and development cooperation in the discourse and in practice in Uganda, it can be noted that the case is not clear-cut. However, approaching the issue from different perspectives may shed light to the dynamics related to the discourse and practice in Uganda.

What the discourse and practice in Uganda have in common is aim at constructing partnership between the sexes. The role of religion was considerable in influencing the findings of both analyses. Changing men's attitudes is seen important both in discourse and in practice, as well as overcoming local culture as a challenge. Although violence against women and children is reality in many localities in Uganda, it did not receive much attention by the informants in terms of either discourse or practice. The reason is not entirely clear. On the one hand, none of the research questions directly addressed this issue, and on the other hand, the responses of informants may partly have been influenced by the gradual shift of focus on men and their expectations on what the researcher wants to find out.

Other similarities at discursive and practical levels include the general view of GAD as a framework seems as rather confrontational. Including men is seen as somewhat unavoidable. Nevertheless, both the discourse and practice seem to be open to the idea of including men and they are seen as the other half of *gender*. Enforcing legislation and guidelines is seen as a challenge. The new global order of discourse that causes tensions between the global levels and local levels is also detectable in this study as both feminism and critical men's studies originate from the Western academia. There is not so much a gap between the discourse and practice of GAD within Uganda as there is a gap between the academic discourse on GAD and the local manifestations of it. The "official" perceptions on gender and GAD are not always fully supported locally. Moreover, the forum for learning about gender is academic in Uganda. These findings are coherent with those of Välimaa's (2004) who noted that new approaches are first adopted at the international level with the consecutive application at the national level whereas the adoption at the project level faces most challenges. This is perhaps no wonder in contexts where no local word for *gender* exists.

The GAD approach has been the premise of the study. This approach is based on gender mainstreaming and viewing gender as a cross-cutting issue. The assumptions set out in the beginning were also supported in the primary data. GAD is the major paradigm of contemporary gender work at least at the official policy level to which the discourse and practice seem to refer. The assumption that GAD is biased towards women is also the case in Uganda both at the discourse level as well as at the practice level. When examining the

cultural context, women are on average inferior to men in terms of the GAD discourse where both of the integrative discourses on partnership agreed on the need to improve the marginal position of women. Moreover, the practice of carrying out gender work was consistent with this assumption. Thus, the assumption that men are already included in gender work was also supported by the findings through the superior position by male beneficiaries in local communities. However, the role of women influencing the decision-making process in the background should not entirely be dismissed. The assumption that men are somewhat marginalized in GAD in Uganda, was also supported by the evidence from the two integrative discourses as well as by the practice of implementing gender work to aid women. The last assumption that the researcher and the informants as second language users of English are able to comprehend each other in a sufficient degree was correct.

The view of men in the margin of GAD can easily be seen as in conflict with the overall power status that men possess in the Ugandan society. However, the crisis of masculinity is as much taking place in Uganda as elsewhere on the globe. Suspicion and fear of being labelled in the face of changing social environment further undermine the possibility of men wanting to be included in gender work. According to the informants, the marginalization of men in GAD does not only apply to the beneficiary level, but also to the organizational and institutional levels as well as the national level. There is a need to consider why including men is automatically seen as in conflict with gender equality goals, especially given the dynamic nature of gender roles. Crisis of masculinity as a term does introduce an alternative view where men can also be seen, if not victims, then at least the group undergoing the effects of such crisis. Clearly there is need for GAD to increase its role in such crisis prevention.

In comparison to the official GAD approach it can be noted that GAD in Uganda is not fully consistent with it. Officially GAD is supposed to view men as potential allies in achieving gender equality. The evidence from Uganda does not entirely support this, as men are at times seen as sources of dominance and challenge in gender and development work. Gender stereotypes are strong at the discourse level as well as in the rationale for including men in practice. Such stereotypes by far do not assist the project of gender equality in any context. Moreover, the holistic picture that GAD is supposed to be constructing is not fully achieved as

men and women are mostly seen as isolated social groups and the relationship aspect remains more at the background both in the discourse as well as the practice. Therefore, the mainstreaming principle to assure that the voices of men and women are heard in the project cycle is also not fully adopted. Currently the voices of male beneficiaries are rather miniscule as the voices of women tend to direct gender implementation according to their needs as beneficiaries. As global imbalances are said to direct the feminist agenda today, there is need to consider whether the imbalance in GAD discourse and practice can be a source of new male sensitive agenda.

In terms of *gender*, the concept in the context of Uganda seems to be somewhat sex dressed as it perceived through gender roles that are based on being female or male with an association to sexed bodies. This replicates the criticism received by the concept of gender in the academic GAD discussion in general. The distinction from *sex* that is the cornerstone of the whole concept is indeed not clear-cut in practice. Gender is not seen as a cross-cutting issue in terms of men's inclusion in GAD. Men are dealt with only in limited circumstances and sectors, not as an integrated part of all gender planning. Therefore, gender equality that calls for equal rights and opportunities for both sexes is not followed through in terms of men's role as active beneficiaries in gender work. This diminishes men's strategic gender need that aims to long-term changes at a wider societal level to viewing gender as synonymous to women.

The approach also views men and women as fundamentally different, thus not allowing any further discussion on masculinity and femininity that can be found in both sexes. The emphasis on difference is very pronounced in the context of Uganda. The informants largely refer to men/women and male/female as binary oppositions. Although the formulation of the research questions may have influenced the outcome to some extent, there seems to be a tendency to view men and women as opposite and homogeneous social groups. As was noted, bending the traditional gender roles is not very common in Uganda. On the other hand, even though gender roles are seen as worth preserving, the concepts of masculinity and femininity – the features of which may coexist in the same individual – may provide an entry point to broadening the roles and challenging hegemonic masculinity. Such an entry point could make use of new forms of masculinities more engaged in the reproductive work as fathers, care-

takers and sharers of household work together with other forms of masculinities. This need not be seen solely as stemming from needs but also as a right reserved by men to open up their opportunities in terms of restrictive and hegemonic gender roles sustained by both men and women in society.

As discussed earlier, Connell (1987, pp. 183-188) argues that there is no corresponding hegemonic form for femininity similar to that of hegemonic masculinity. This is not entirely true in terms of the academic field of GAD which is publicly perceived as the domain of women, and power structures exist to sustain this hegemony as was demonstrated by CDA in this study. If indeed the process is moving towards more heterogeneous masculine roles, it is perhaps too early to say. However if this is not the case – with a limited habitat – there is a danger that men might indeed go extinct in GAD. The opportunities according to success stories as well as the challenges in implementation of men's inclusion to gender initiatives may shed light to understanding the phenomenon. The atmosphere nevertheless seems to be open for the possibility of increasing men's inclusion in Uganda.

Although there is evidence that the male inclusive approach to gender and GAD has been acknowledged in Uganda, the features discussed above nevertheless pose a challenge to fully achieving the intended meanings of the two concepts. Therefore a clear-cut answer to the research problem cannot be provided. *Inclusion* in this study was used to refer to the extent and manner of how men are included into GAD. In the context of Uganda the extent seems to suggest a rather limited one, whereas the manner seems to be not coherent with mainstreaming but rather as an add-on where certain circumstantial features determine the need to include men in gender work. Moreover, inclusion is not so much seen from the point of view of a fundamental right by men as a natural part of the other end in gender relations. Given that the basis for men's inclusion in GAD relies on the mainstreaming and equality approaches discussed earlier, the features found in the data suggest that GAD in Uganda seems currently to be positioned closer to WID and *gender* seems to be closer to *sex*. Moreover, the view of power as a win-lose scenario falls closer to WID rather than the most recent male sensitive GAD that is based on the equality approach.

8.4 Reflecting on the research project

This study aimed at examining the matter of men's inclusion in GAD and drawing on the experiences from Uganda. In so doing it aimed at looking at how the concept of gender relates to discourse and practice as reported by development workers. Thus, the study incorporates added value both in the applicability of findings in development work in practice through the best practices and lessons learnt, as well as a source of discussion in academic discourse and policy formulation on gender work through the analysis of the GAD discourse. Including both the discursive and practical levels the study is better able to understand the matter in question in depth. Through understanding the contextual manifestations of the academic debate, the practical adaptations for overcoming resistance and reaching to vulnerable men can be taken into account in Uganda. The study also accomplished its goal as a learning process of two non-native English speakers interacting in meaning-making. The multidisciplinary approach provided a fruitful starting point for such a study. All in all, the study was able to respond to the aims and research questions set in the beginning of the process and fill some of the gap currently existing in understanding men's inclusion in GAD. Moreover, it was able to provide a possible source for advocacy for a more male sensitive gender agenda in development cooperation.

The overtly political stance taken did not hinder the realization of the research project nor prove out to be any more problematic than other qualitative studies taking a more neutral stance, albeit equally directed by a certain key argument. Often the case with such research is that the results will not significantly feed back to the overall process of improving understanding and/or practice of a given phenomenon with the effect of possible trivialization of findings. Taking on a more political view may serve a better basis for advocacy work. Although the overtly critical and reformist stance was adopted in the study, it will nevertheless be problematic to assess what the real impact of the study in changing the gender agendas will be due to the absence of a systematic follow-up, especially in terms of Uganda.

Other shortcomings of the study include the possibility of the informants giving answers they think the researcher wishes to hear once the topic of men's inclusion became evident, although

this was minimized by stating that the study concentrates on the general theme of gender and development at the beginning of each interview. In retrospect, it would have also been fruitful to use a sample of informants from different NGOs for a greater diversity of views. Currently the data only relates to one NGO, albeit it does not represent the view of the organization. Thus, the results are limited in their ability to cover the experiences of a variety of different development workers in different organizations. Non-English speakers, Muslim and traditional religious groups, views of different tribes, and minority groups such as the disabled are not represented in this data, nor are boys and adolescent men as beneficiaries. Nevertheless, the informants being of Ugandan nationality and drawing on their personal insider knowledge does present some of the existing issues relevant to the topic in Uganda. More attention could also have been given to collecting success stories of men's inclusion *per se* in the formulation of research questions as well as examining the men's inclusion discourse for how men are presented in the rationale for men's inclusion by counting frequencies and examining the processes by transitivity analysis. A survey on the attitudes of a more diverse group of development workers from different NGOs could have also been interesting, or carrying out linguistic mood and modality analysis on attitudes. In addition, sections not possible to analyze through transitivity analysis, such as incomplete clauses, could have been analyzed using other means beyond the current scope of the study. As the study is carried out as part of two Master's Degrees, the research questions could also have been reduced for a more concise content. Possible cases for further research include the perceptions of Finnish NGOs towards the idea of men's inclusion in GAD, the perceptions by male beneficiaries on their role in achieving gender equality at community level, the relationship between religion and men's inclusion in GAD and development cooperation, and the discursive use of the concept of African culture in relation to gender equality work.

9 Conclusion

It can be concluded that men's space in GAD is rather limited, and that the holistic relationship aspect is fully covered in neither discourse nor practice. In the context of Uganda, the openness to the idea of partnership provides an entry point for broadening the scope of gender and increasing cooperation at discursive and practical levels. This reflects the view of gender as a discursive and social process. The inclusion of men is relevant in development co-operation, because no policies or practices can escape the fact that gender influences development at all sectors and spheres. Therefore, men are just as much affected by development co-operation as women are and thus should be included as actors in the process. In addition to the practical side of co-operation, it is also a question of ethics and principles, which are often reflected at the discourse level. Men should be viewed as valuable resource in gender initiatives and should be encouraged to participate in all gender work at all phases of the project cycle in accordance with strategic gender partnerships and the principle of mainstreaming.

Recommendations and policy implications include:

- I. At the discourse level, men need to be better represented especially in guidelines and policies on gender. There is a need for more coherent policy in relation to gender at the international level so that a patch-work approach is not encouraged, but gender is seen as a cross-cutting issue. Both the discourse and the practice in Uganda also seem to advocate for this. Men's inclusion also needs to be done in a sincere way of truly seeking to include men instead of shallow rhetoric. The view of including men in a vague, superficial or inevitable manner needs to be changed in order to truly seek gender partnerships. Acknowledging and encouraging men's right to be equal partners in GAD and working towards gender equality is important.
- II. There is no need for a separate approach on men, although female and male specific components for gender work may still be required. These however need to be part of a bigger mainstreaming approach. More so, there is a need to move away from the bipolar thinking and the conflict premise of win-lose scenario of power.

- III. GAD is not necessarily incompatible with men. However, the academic debate needs to be contextualized to suit local priorities, concerns and relations of women and men. This approach ensures giving voice to grass-roots concerns on GAD and men and learning from local responses. Moreover, learning which local arguments and discursive practices carry the most weight may be effective. In the context of Uganda, one such practice might be to use causality and explaining the consequences as suggested by both discourse and practice. There is a need for more field research on different localities and their reactions to the global debate.
- IV. Sharing experiences and best practices can be furthered by promoting joint discussion on gender from a holistic perspective and engaging different discourses in different open forums. There is a need for establishing a genuine discussion between different actors unifying the discourses focusing on gender at different levels of society and making room for men's voices in the debate. Such actors range from the grass-roots to organization, national and international levels.
- V. More peer education and alternative roles for men through increasing the involvement of men in gender work is essential. Taking an informal and indirect approach may be effective. A holistic view on gender may incorporate an idea of scaling up the unit of analysis to household relations and wellbeing, as suggested by both the discourse and practice in Uganda, yet including the notion of gender relations and power. This way the essence of gender as focusing on the power aspect of relationships of various contextualized actors in order to achieve gender equality can be furthered without leaving out women, men, girls and boys.

The assumptions set at the beginning are proved as more or less to hold true in Uganda. Thus, most of the critical notions on the GAD approach in general, such as being a relict of WID and concentrating on bipolar sexed bodies and a zero-sum game of either having power or not, are supported by this study. The case of Uganda shows that such general tendency of GAD as a no-man's land needs to be revisited. Moreover, the academic criticism of GAD is largely Western. Therefore, it is crucial to understand what the locally relevant discourses, rationales and experiences in including men are in order to achieve gender equality and changing the

gender agenda to one more accepting of men. Cooperation is, after all, a prerequisite for equality.

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Appendix 1: Semi-structured thematic interview format

This interview focuses on the general theme of gender and development and your experiences, not necessarily on World Vision as an organisation *per se*.

1. Would you please state your age for the record?
2. How was your knowledge and awareness of gender issues raised in your personal life?
3. How is gender as a cross-cutting issue present in your current work position?
4. Why do you think gender mainstreaming has become an issue in development cooperation?
5. What is your personal definition of “gender” in the context of development cooperation? What does the concept entail?
6. Now, thinking about development projects and gender at the grass-roots level in the target communities, would you give a brief example of a gender project/initiative that was successful? Why was it successful?
7. Would you give a brief example of a gender project/initiative that has been the least successful or even failed to meet its goals? What was the key to the lack of success?
8. In your work with gender and development, have you ever approached men as beneficiaries to further gender equality? If so, why and in what contexts?
9. In your understanding, is there any difference in men and women as groups to be targeted? If so, how are they different?
10. How do men in the villages respond in general to the gender issues promoted by the projects?
11. Has there been any resistance by the men as beneficiaries? If so, what has been done to address the men’s resistance?
12. In general, what would you say are the opportunities and challenges of including men as beneficiaries in gender work?
13. Do you think that you as a woman/man have been able to reach men in the villages for a real change? Why?
14. In your experience, what concrete strategies have been most effective in motivating men for gender equality at the grass-roots level?

15. How would sensitive questions like HIV/AIDS be best dealt with when approaching the men also?
16. Have men that have responded positively to gender initiatives in the villages been supported or encouraged? If so, how?
17. The last question is a more general one: there has recently been a lot of debate about the male inclusion into gender and development. In your view, what kinds of politics, projects and practices could/should this male inclusion entail?
18. Is there anything you would like to add or comment about this topic before we stop?

Appendix 2: Differences between WID and GAD

Table 9: Differences between WID and GAD		
	WID	GAD
Roots	Early 1970s; Ester Boserup's publication; WID term into use by American liberal feminists	In the 1980s; Came into existence as an alternative for WID
Theoretical premise	Modernization theory; Women left out from the benefits of modernization	Drew on socialist feminist approach
Area of attention	Integrating women into economic sphere; Women's productive role; Barriers to participation in production activities	Holistic approach; Multiplicity of women's lives; Challenging rigid gender roles; Gender relations
Results	Women's issues established foothold in development cooperation	Welcomes also men to participate; Attention to women's role in the society at large
Characteristics	Did not challenge existing social structures; Did not question roots of oppression; Women as monolithic category; Focus on productive not reproductive role of women	Abolishes the private/public division; Women's reproductive role; Addressing oppression within family; Role of the state in providing social services; Women as active agents; Promoting women to organize themselves; Women's legal rights; Women as heterogeneous; Complex power relations; Confronting the power relations and structures
Source: Modified from Visvanathan (1997, pp. 18-19.)		

Appendix 3: Harvard analytical framework

Table 8: Harvard analytical framework for gender analysis		
Tool 1: Activity profile		
Activities	Women/girls	Men/boys
<u>Productive Activities</u> Agriculture: activity 1 activity 2, etc. Income Generating: activity 1 activity 2, etc. Employment: activity 1 activity 2, etc. Other:		
<u>Reproductive Activities</u> Water related: activity 1 activity 2, etc. Fuel related: activity 1 activity 2, etc. Food preparation: activity 1 activity 2, etc. Childcare: activity 1 activity 2, etc. Health related: activity 1 activity 2, etc. Cleaning and repair:		

activity 1 activity 2, etc.		
Market related: activity 1 activity 2, etc.		
Other:		

Tool 2: Access and Control

	Access		Control	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>Resources</u> Land Equipment Labour Cash Education/training, etc. Other				
<u>Benefits</u> Outside income Asset ownership Basic needs (food, shelter, clothing, etc.) Education Political power/prestige Other				

Tool 3: Influencing Factors

Influencing factors	Constraints	Opportunities
Community norms and social hierarchy Demographic factors Institutional structures Economic factors Political factors Legal parameters Training Attitude of community to development workers		

Source: March et al. (1999, pp. 33-35.)