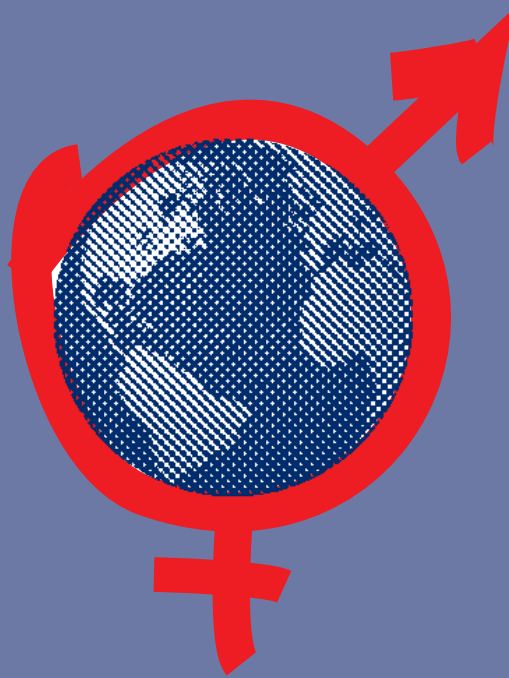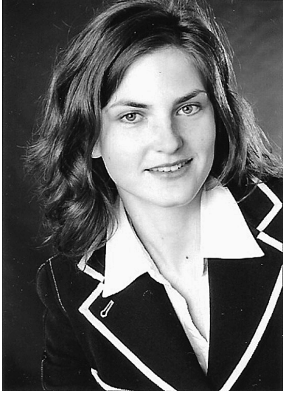Oana Varga

From Women to Gender

A Diachronic Exploration of Participant
Representation in Texts from the United Nations

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ABSTRACT

The evolving perspectives on the status of women and men in societies are mirrored in the renewed approaches of development economics: from 'Women in Development' through 'Women and Development' to 'Gender and Development'. The changing approaches bring with them new ways of talking about women, men and development. This research contributes to the understanding of the representation of women and men within the domain of development economics; of the way in which gender relations are represented in development texts throughout decades, thus pointing to changing social and economic aspects in the field; of the conceptualization of 'gender' within the field; and of the characteristics of three organizational genres. All these aspects are analyzed from a diachronic perspective.

By analyzing texts written within the field of feminist economics from the 1960s to the beginning of the 21st century, the present study documents the way in which the language of text producers within development economics constitutes and is conditioned by their approach towards development issues and towards women and men. The analysis focuses on the use of activation and passivation processes in the representation of the two main participants, women and men, the introduction of the notion of 'gender' and the evolution of development issues across approaches, time and genres. The research framework stretches over various disciplines: systemic functional grammar and critical discourse analysis, but also organizational discourse analysis and development studies. The texts selected for analysis originate in three varied sources: plans from the world conferences on women organized by the United Nations (starting with 1975 up to 2000), resolutions on women and development released by the General Assembly of the United Nations (starting with 1957 up to 2003) and Action Plans on women in development written by the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organisation (starting with 1989 up to 2002).

The method of linguistic analysis is based on the grid of roles and means of participant representation as developed by M.A.K. Halliday and Th. Van Leeuwen. For each decade and for each genre, the study scrutinizes the changes in the process types and participant roles, together with the change in the focus on issues concerning women and the conceptualization of gender. The quantitative analysis is corroborated by detailed analysis of fragments belonging to different points in time and approaches.

The results of the study are of grammatical and lexical nature and they are gender-related, genre-related and time-related results. The study shows that the activation processes are largely more numerous than the passivation processes in the representation of women.

However, there is also another result which shows that a better understanding of participant representation is achieved when the grammatical processes are re-grouped along identifying, activating and targeting processes. There are three pillars which constitute the representation of women: the pillar of the identification of women, the pillar of the activation of women and the pillar of the passivation of women. Possession joins location, profession, social status and age to form the threads which compose the portrait of the women in development economics. There is a general consensus to turn the attention of development texts towards women's identity issues, which results in less importance accorded to women's activity issues. The preference for nouns and nominalisations is conspicuous. Both to express women in action and to identify women, more nouns/nominalisations are used than finite verbs. As the sole recognised component of the working force, men are the norm of assessment of the success of development plans for women, but they also become the goal of the development plans. Gender is a social variable in development work, used in the form of quality, less as thing and never as a process. The three genres have different means of representing participants and thus ensure the existence of diversified discourses of development texts. From the diachronic perspective, the study shows that the 1990s bring a homogenisation in the use of processes and issues across genres, in contrast to a diversification at the levels of notions under discussion: the resolutions focus on equality and poverty, the world conference plans focus on human rights, health and violence, while the FAO plans focus on the issues of access and workload.

The change from focusing on women to focusing on gender is not as much a change in the processes via which participants are represented, but more a change in the rhetoric of approaches and their focus: from the integration of women to women's self-empowerment, from women's situation to gender relations, from urgent addition to social conflict and cooperation.

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Last but not least, my thanks go to FAO which gave me the possibility of starting my data collection by sending me texts by post and has allowed me to digitalise and use them for the present analysis. And yes, thanks to you, dear reader!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADF	African Development Forum
AGS	FAO Agricultural Support Systems Division
B 2000	The Plan of the Fifth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 2000
BNC	British National Corpus
BPA	Beijing Platform of Action
BROWN	Brown University Standard Corpus of Present-Day American English
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CPA	Copenhagen Programme of Action
CWGL	Center for Women's Global Leadership
DAW	Division for the Advancement of Women
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FII	FAO Fishery Industries Division
FLOB	Freiburg – Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus
FROWN	Freiburg – Brown Corpus of American English
FWCW	Fourth World Conference on Women
GA	General Assembly
GAD	Gender and Development
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
LOB	Lancaster – Oslo/Bergen Corpus
N	number (in tables)
NFLS	Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OALD	Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English
SDR	FAO Research, Extension and Training Division
UN	United Nations
WAD	Women and Development
WCW	World Conferences on Women
WED	Women, Environment and Sustainable Development
WIA	Women's Identity and Action
WID	Women in Development
WPA	World Plan of Action

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

The present project is set against the background woven by the claims that language is essentially constitutive of (Searle 1995) and conditioned by (Fairclough and Wodak 1997) social reality. Caught in the dual process of being conditioned and at the same time setting conditions for construal, language becomes a fascinating apparatus whose mechanism needs to be observed and analysed in order to point to engrained social aspects. The meaning possibilities of language are put into energetic motion through its grammar. Conceiving grammar as encompassing not only syntax, but also semantics, morphology and phonology, Halliday refers to grammar as being "the powerhouse of a language" (Halliday 1998: 2). It is this strength of grammar and its influential effects which lie at the core of the project.

The social aspects dissected within the present study arise from the field of feminist development economics, in which gender relations have been probed and improved over time. The image of women and men conveyed through texts written within this field is placed under detailed analysis. For this, attention is focused on the language of texts written over four decades of feminist economics and social development work, starting with the 1960s. The study has therefore a diachronic view. The overall goal of the research is to describe and explain the way in which the language of text producers within development economics, i.e. their linguistic representation of women and men, changes across time and genres, constituting but at the same time being conditioned by the changing theoretical approaches towards development issues and towards women and men. The specific aims of the research are to analyse in detail the use of transitivity choices, i.e. processes and roles, in the representation of women and men, the range of lexis with which the participant 'women' co-occurs (including collocations) and the use of the word *gender*. The analysis across time is corroborated with an analysis across genres. The first reveals the mingling of discourses on development issues, while the second traces the characteristics of three genres of the domain under analysis.

The sections of this first chapter outline the general background of the study given by the evolution in time of the understanding of the status of women and men within various theoretical disciplines (section 1.1), the research framework of the study with its dimensions of analysis (section 1.2.1) and research hypotheses for each of the dimensions of analysis (section 1.2.2).

1.1. General background: across three stages of evolution

The change from talking separately about women and men to talking of gender (i.e. women and men together across social, economic and political factors) finds its explanation in the evolving theories of the status of women and men in societies. There are largely three stages which can be traced in the evolution of women's movement (cf. Tong 1989). The three stages are: the *egalitarian* stage, the *difference* stage and the *postmodern* stage. The first stage of *egalitarian feminism*, traced clearly up to the mid 1980s, worked on a model of sameness in the light of liberal and Marxist ideas. That is why the intention was to make women's lives as similar to those of men as possible. One solution, famously advanced by Simone de Beauvoir (1989 [1949]), was that of transcendence, which suggested moving beyond the immanence to which women were previously resigned in order to reach a position in which one takes responsibility for oneself and the world, where one chooses one's freedom. The second stage of *difference feminism* insisted on valuing women's specificities and viewed the annihilation of sexual differences as the greatest human genocide. The solution was to redefine the values and structures of societies. The third stage of *postmodern feminism* shaped itself with the beginning of the 1990s. In the light of postmodernism, this stage praises collective and individual diversities, recognizes the perspectivity of all knowledge and considers it fruitless to believe that the use of reason is capable of achieving socially beneficial situations (such as justice, freedom or equality).

Mention must be made that these three stages are not to be seen as clear-cut in time, space or representation. They are not rigid, but flexible and overlapping. I consider them as the most prominent and decisive nuances which have mingled in the evolution of the mosaic pattern of the present-day understanding of the position of women in society in particular and of the relations between women and men in general. The evolution in thinking has reached a point in which it is acknowledged that every situation is characterised by complexity, that the solutions are multifaceted and wide-ranging, and that these can be achieved locally rather than globally.

These three stages of feminist theory have had an influence on the evolution of other scientific and cultural theories related to women. Similar stages can be traced in linguistics, in women's literature or in feminist economic development. Table 1.1 below frames the labels used for the three stages within each scientific field. In Appendix 1, there is a detailed overview of the characteristics of each stage within each field.

The feminist perspectives on language as concerns gender are largely divided into the *dominance* approach, the *difference* approach and the *postmodernist* approach (Gibbon 1999: 100). The first approach advocates that women are disadvantaged as language users because of the fact that language is impregnated with the patriarchal social order. The *difference* approach re-values women's language behaviour and looks at women and men's separate but equal language styles via their different socialization. The *postmodernist* approach sees gender as fluid and complex and as cutting across other patterns (such as age, class, race, ethnicity, purpose), thus blurring the causal effect of speech patterns.

Table 1.1. Across three stages of evolution

Stages/Discipline	Feminism	Literature	Linguistics	Economics
I / up to 1980s	Egalitarian	Feminine	Dominance	Women in Development (WID)
II / the 1980s	Difference	Feminist	Difference	Women and Development (WAD)
III / 1990s and onwards	Postmodernist	Female	Postmodernist	Gender and Development (GAD)

In the study of British women novelists' writings, three similar phases of evolution have been traced: from the *feminine* phase, which was characterised by imitation of the dominant tradition, a solution being for example the adoption of a male pseudonym, through the *feminist* phase, which valued women's autonomy and creativity, up to the *female* phase of self-awareness and self-discovery (Showalter 1977: 13).

A parallel evolution can be seen in the gendered approaches to economic development. Development is defined as "a cultural, economic and political process" which "involves direct social and economic change in a contemporary process, especially in the 'Third World'" (Grillo 1997: 2). From the broad field of development work, the present study concentrates on the area of feminist economics and, more specifically, on feminist economic development. The work within this field, a work which concentrates on bringing about change, has itself gone through a change in approaches: from *Women in Development* approach (WID), to *Women and Development* approach (WAD) and on to the *Gender and Development* approach (GAD) (cf. Parpart et al. 2000). It is these phases of feminist economics that the present study turns its focus on, in order to analyse texts from each of the phases. The first approach, the *Women in Development* approach, condemned women's exclusion from development processes and contended that women's integration was the best solution for the unsuccessful projects. The *Women and Development* approach held the view that both women and men had been included in development, but the way women had been incorporated had served to

disadvantage them even further in relation to men. That is why, the approach contended for a complete change of the development paradigm. The *Gender and Development* approach is conceived as a more holistic approach, which views unequal social relations between women and men and their naturalization as the major problem within development work. The approach contends for equitable development with both women and men as full participants in decision-making and for identification of practical and strategic gender needs to improve general conditions. The *Gender and Development* approach is one of the reflexive social theories which contribute to the understanding and analysis of occurring changes and their impact on areas of social life. This is achieved through the focus on issues of power, conflict and socially-constructed identities, through the attack on the negative effects caused by the new global economy or the "new capitalism" (Fairclough 2003: 4), through opposing the naturalization of unequal social relations. These are aspects which are also characteristic of the approach of critical discourse analysis within linguistics (see section 2.2.2).

Here again mention must be made that the three approaches described are not to be seen as strict with respect to time and definition. There have been different variants of them, overlapping in time, completing or contesting each other in theory. GAD, the latest approach for example, can be found in three variants (cf. the discussion on the gender roles framework, the gender and efficiency framework and the social relations analysis in Razavi and Miller 1995). The existence of variants points to the difficult task of searching for the best way to make women and men benefit efficiently from the development process. A difficult task has also been the introduction and the use of the word *gender* in development approaches. There have been numerous debates not only on the difference between sex and gender, on the nature of culturally-derived biology and biologically-derived culture, but also on the matters of who defines gender and how it is to be conceived (cf. El-Bushra 2000).

One can trace a progression in ideological approaches throughout the three stages. The different ways of conceiving identities of women and men, their position in society, their problems and needs are expressed in the plans and projects that development organizations write and publish for the people who form their target, for other organizations in the domain, and also for the general public. The "material form of ideology" (Fairclough 1995a: 73) is language. It is therefore in the language of the organizational plans and projects that one can observe the changes occurring throughout the decades of development theories. Section 1.2 below outlines the research framework of the study pointing to the language aspects which are placed under the analysis done on a database of texts from the field of development work.

1.2. The research framework

The method of linguistic analysis in this study is based on the framework of systemic functional grammar, whose prime figure is M.A.K. Halliday (1985). For the purposes of the present study it has been decisive to use a framework which has at its core the notion of 'social influence' and the notion of 'choice'. In systemic functional grammar the view is that society mediates between world-image and language and that the choices people make in their use of language are in an intrinsic relation with their view of society, of their position in it and of social relations in general. Thus, the analyst has the possibility of exposing conscious or unconscious intentions, purposes and attitudes of text producers. For example, the systemic functional tool of transitivity proves useful for pointing to foregrounded or backgrounded agency and marked patterns. The use of this specific grammatical model is encountered in different language analyses, e.g. Mills 1995, Thompson and Guerra 1995, Aspeslagh 1999, Martin 1999, Teo 2000 and Goatly 2002. In the present study, the set of processes and participant roles conceived by Halliday (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) is further improved by modifying it through the system network of participant representation means devised within critical discourse analysis (Van Leeuwen 1996).

As mentioned, the study focuses on approaches occurring within the economic development field and analyses the material form, the language, of the texts produced within the approaches across their evolution in time. The texts are instantiations of the practices of organizations. An organization is defined in the study as "a social collective" having "ongoing, interdependent and goal-oriented communication practices" (Mumby and Clair 1997: 181, see section 2.3.1). Through practices organizations reflect their ideologies, i.e. the shared special form of social cognition (van Dijk 2001), shaped by the identity, actions, aims, norms and values of the organization's members. Ideologies are produced and reproduced in discourse. Discourse is regarded in the present study as a communicative system, born out of and bearing forth the characteristics of a particular understanding of social reality (for the discussion of the notions of 'ideology' and 'discourse' see section 2.2.2). That is why, in the present study, the model of systemic functional grammar is integrated into the larger discourse analytical perspective of critical discourse analysis. While systemic functional grammar is concerned with the clausal level, critical discourse analysis goes beyond it, to the discourse level. This presupposes an interest in discourse structures and strategies which lead to social representation, interest in text production and text interpretation, in acute social problems which need to be looked into and solved (Wodak 2001). The position of women in

development processes represents an important social issue. Analysing the linguistic representation of women and men in texts from the development field can help highlight social interests and organizational values.

The research framework weaves its fabric from the elements of various disciplines: systemic functional grammar and critical discourse analysis, but also organizational discourse analysis and development studies. Within these disciplines there is a range of studies whose objectives and findings provide an important background for the present study and demarcate the niche which this study fills. These studies are presented and discussed in the sections of chapter 2.

The texts selected for analysis originate in three differing sources: plans written at the world conferences on women organized by the United Nations (starting with 1975 up to 2000), resolutions on women and development released by the General Assembly of the United Nations (starting with 1957 up to 2003) and Action Plans on women in development written by the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization (starting with 1989 up to 2002). The criteria for selecting the texts and the characteristics of the corpus are presented in 3.1. The backbone of the analysis is the change throughout time in language use, i.e. the diachronic aspect. The analysis is done along a number of dimensions which are introduced in the next section.

1.2.1. Dimensions of analysis

The aim of the analysis is to describe and explain the ways in which producers of texts represent the participants, 'women' and 'men', and adopt the newly-emerging concept of 'gender', but also the extent to which this representation changes from one development approach to another (from WID to GAD) and varies across genres. In doing so, the study evolves on two dimensions:

1. The representation of the two main participants: 'women' and 'men'.
First, there is a measurement of the types of processes and roles that the two participants are shown to fulfil within the field of development projects. Second, there is a registration of the worlds of issues concerning women within the field of development economics, from one development approach to the other. The latter is done through an analysis of the lexis co-

occurring with the word *women*, including its collocations. The goal is to detect the changing attitudes to the roles of women and men in development reflected at the level of texts.

2. The use of *gender*

This is an analysis of the shift from talking about women to working with the notion of 'gender' in development theories. The goal is to trace how the word *gender* is incorporated into the language of the texts: how it relates to the use of *women* and *men* as single participants, but mainly also to the use of the coordinated participants *women and men*, whether it is worded in the grammatical classes of noun (e.g., *presenting agricultural data by* ***gender***), adjective (e.g., ***gendered*** *threats of violence*) or verb (e.g., ***gender*** *the agenda of the millennium meetings*) (i.e. whether it is perceived as thing, quality or process; see further the discussion and examples in 2.1.3 and 3.2.3), and how its use changes diachronically.

The two dimensions of analysis are followed throughout the texts of the various sources, across time, but they are also brought together in a comparison across the three genres the texts represent.

1.2.2. Research hypotheses

The hypotheses for each of the dimensions of analysis are as follows:

1. The representation of women in the data:
a. Regarding the roles, women are predominantly represented in the role of Actor, i.e. they are not primarily passive presences in the role of Goal within processes.
b. Regarding the processes, the material processes do not form the main means of representing women. Processes which identify women are the default means of representing women in the texts.
c. Regarding women's issues, the focus is on issues which identify the situation of women, the tools they need for participation and self-administration in the development process.

2. The representation of men in the data:
a. Men are represented together with women, as forming a team and thus share with women similar roles and are rarely portrayed as single participants.

b. Men are predominantly represented in processes of activation, less in processes of passivation.

3. The use of *gender* in the data:

a. There is an enlarged use of the word *gender*, which is corroborated by a focus on the association of the two participants, 'women' and 'men'.

b. 'Gender' is not only seen as the union of women and men but also as a complex social norm of research and work. Therefore, *gender* is mainly used as a noun which joins and determines other nouns and adjectives in order to create new notions which indicate the clear focus on gender. In other words, *gender* is expected to be found in the data in compounds and groups which increase their presence and range of meanings across time.

The present study lies at the nexus of theories on language, gender and ideology. It contributes to the understanding of: (i) the representation of women and men within the domain of development economics; (ii) the way in which gender relations are represented in development texts throughout decades, thus pointing to changing social and economic aspects in the field; and (iii) the conceptualization of 'gender' within this field. Through the discussion of the organizational genres represented in the data, the study also sheds light upon the characteristics of the three genres from development economics field, singling out similarities and differences.

Chapter 2 discusses the two aspects of theory (approaches and elementary notions) and practice (studies and their methods and results) within the disciplines which lie at the basis of the research framework of the study: feminist development economics, systemic functional grammar and critical discourse analysis, genre and organizational theory.

CHAPTER 2: Theory and practice

The chapter on 'theory and practice' expands on the various theoretical foundations of the study. For each of the approaches, theories and findings are presented and discussed in light of the issues and questions which have initiated the present analysis and which are looked into or challenged by the study. In order to outline the realm to which the data of the study belong, I introduce the three main stages in the evolution of feminist economics' development theories (section 2.1.1) and then discuss prior research done generally on the discourse of development and particularly on the discourse of feminist economics (section 2.1.2). Development theories work with the notion of 'gender'. As one of the aims of the present study is to discuss the conceptualization of this notion within development economics, I refer to the notion of 'gender', its beginnings and uses, in section 2.1.3.

In order to present the linguistic model which has been adopted as the tool of text analysis, I introduce the approach of Critical Linguistics, expounding the systemic functional grammar model of Halliday (1985) and its theory of transitivity choices (section 2.2.1). In sections 2.2.1.1 and 2.2.1.2, I discuss research done on the representation of women and men and the results of various analyses. Going beyond the level of text analysis, there is a discussion of the notion of 'discourse' as encountered in critical discourse analysis (section 2.2.2). Halliday's toolbox of participant roles is refined through the sociological categories highlighted through the research of one critical discourse analyst, Van Leeuwen (1996). In order to be able to categorise the texts which form the data of the study and to identify their properties, criteria for text classification are presented in 2.3.1. The discourse of organizations is considered along with findings from research done on documents from United Nations and non-governmental organizations (section 2.3.2).

2.1. Approaches to women in development

To think of development is to think of improvement, of transcending to a better state of being. Within economics, the idea of development arose with the need of reconstruction work after World War II. One mission of the United Nations created in the 1950s was to help the poorer regions of the world improve their economic situation. Despite the beneficial character of this process, political interests of biased national and international networks caused not only the impossibility of letting aid trickle down to the masses, but also, most importantly, they caused

"the failure of development work in the first UN Development Decade (1961-70)"
(Visvanathan 1997a: 2). This provoked great unease concerning the principles and methods of
development aid. Critiques argued that it was less of a mutual help and more of a one-sided
interested help, through which rich countries made poor countries dependent on them (for
example, through loans for the South tied to the purchase of technology from the West).
Debates have been going on over the decades and well into the 21st century. The notion of
'development' itself has been questioned numerous times: whose development it really is,
how development projects are designed and why some participants benefit more than others
(Elson 2001: 114-115).

The union of development studies and women's studies gave birth to the field of
feminist economics. It is against the background of feminist economics' theories and
approaches that the present thesis elaborates its fabric. In section 2.1.1, in which I discuss the
evolution of development approaches within feminist economics, I point to the changes which
have occurred in this field over time. In section 2.1.2, I look into the characteristics of the
discourses of development, the importance of particular words used in different approaches
and the attention which has been given to the choice of concepts in this field.

2.1.1. Feminist economics: changing approaches

After the first decade of development programmes the optimistic views aimed at transforming
the developing countries into developed ones were attacked and replaced by more down-to-
earth views which hinted at acute economic problems and discrepancies. Within feminist
economics, it was Ester Boserup who, in her pioneer writing entitled "Women's role in
economic development" (1970), turned attention for the first time to criteria of gender and
power by focusing on the differences between the economic lives of women and men. She
condemned the confinement of women within the private sphere, remote from any educational
sources and economic resources.

Boserup's observation of women's exclusion from the world of economic
development represented the beginning of a long and deep analysis of the situation of women
at all levels of societies. The evolving approaches to women in development reflect the step-
by-step understanding of causes and solutions for the situation in which women have found
themselves at different points in time. This understanding has brought with it the deepening of
thoughts and the improvement of approaches. Largely, the evolution of approaches within

feminist economics is one from a focus on ends to a focus on means. That is, if at first the interest was to define the issues women need to fight for or against (for example, equality, subordination, etc.), lately the interest has channelled into carefully defining the ways through which these ends can be best achieved (for example, through empowerment; for a definition of 'empowerment' see 3.1.1 and for its use in the data see chapters 4 to 6).

In the 1970s, the first approach used in development theory is known as Women in Development (WID), a label which has turned into a denomination for all the work within this field, not only for the 1970s approach. The preposition *in* suggests the process which feminist economics aimed to establish through this approach: the introduction of women into the projects and politics of development economics. 'Integrating women' became the leitmotiv of the period and it was seen as the best solution to the identified problem of women's exclusion. For successful integration, the education of women was seen as indispensable, a field in which the state needed to invest to a larger degree (Elson 2001: 117-119). The WID approach was not only an equity approach, supporting the equality of women with men in development work, but also an efficiency approach, underlying the economic efficiency which could and should be attained through the full use of the existent human resources (Razavi and Miller 1995: 1, Tinker 1997: 39, Visvanathan 1997b: 17).

The view of the 1970s that individuals are catalysts for social change was carried on to the next decade, resulting in attention to the part women played in development. The transitional period of the Women and Development approach (WAD) was characterized by a change of the understanding of and perspectives on the situation of women. Considering that women had always been part of development work (part of the implementation of projects at least, if not part of their design), the approach underlined the fact that it is not exclusion which represents the cause of women's poor situation, but their subordination. The inferior position of women within development is related to their reproductive work, whose importance had been ignored and devalued, even by the pioneer of feminist economics Ester Boserup herself (Elson 2001: 119-120). A renewed focus on the contribution women make to development processes came to be seen as the solution for the deep-rooted problem of subordination and devaluation of the work women did. However, the invitation for a new focus did not manage to tackle the issue right down at its roots. This was achieved one decade later through the Gender and Development approach.

GAD was formulated during the 1990s as an approach improved through the acknowledgement of "WID failures and WAD limitations" (Visvanathan 1997b: 23). It is therefore an approach with a complex, analytical framework, which covers all possible

aspects of women's lives: not only the economical aspects, but also the political and the social aspects. Moreover, it is the first approach which, in its holistic nature, turns its spectrum of attention to the relationship between women and men, and their particular roles in societies. GAD is an approach which questions the infrastructure of complex processes and networks, such as the development process and the web of social relations. The theorists turn their detailed analysis to aspects of the distribution of power, rights and obligations, to the identification of those who lose and those who benefit from the status quo. It is also underlined that women are not passive recipients, but active agents, and that men are not all wicked and dominant, but also willing to fight for the women's cause (Young 1997: 51-52).

The concept of 'power' is analysed, dissected and explained, so that one can distance oneself from seeing power negatively as being control and domination, monolithic and impenetrable, to seeing power as something positive, which enables, as dynamic and multi-dimensional. Power is revealed in its many faces and is understood as "an individual, collective and political force that can either undermine or empower citizens and their organizations. It is a force that alternatively can facilitate, hasten or halt the process of change..." (Veneklasen and Miller 2002: 39). GAD therefore changes the focus towards women's empowerment and men's responsibility. In this respect, the state plays a vital part. If during the first approach, WID, women were urged to unite and organize in groups for the purpose of attaining economic self-efficiency, the GAD approach urges women to self-organize for the purpose of political self-reliance (Young 1997: 53). The fact that the new focus of GAD is not only perceived as better but that it also makes the past approach of WID seem inappropriate can be witnessed through the change one NGO has undertaken in its very name. In 2001, after two decades of activity, AWID, the Association for Women in Development, changed its name into the Association for Women's Rights in Development to point to the change in its thinking and practice (for example, the inclusion of men and the focus on human rights) and to avoid the negative baggage that the label WID carried with itself (Kerr 2002). This situation points to the importance of the act of naming and its influence on thinking: see the discussion in section 2.2.1 on the interplay of language and society, on the way language influences one's thoughts about the world as proclaimed by the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis (Whorf 1956).

The diversity of the approaches to the complex process of economic development and the position women take in it weaves itself both horizontally (across time: WID, WAD, GAD) and vertically (across geographical coordinates: from north to south). Indeed, in the 1970s, due to the oil crisis which highlighted the importance of natural resources, Southern women

emerged as crucial to the achievement of sustainable development through their role as users of wood and other natural assets. Women, Environment and Sustainable Development (WED) appeared as an alternative development approach, as opposed to "the dominant mode of development" (Braidotti et al. 1997: 57). Also known as 'ecofeminism', WED was based on grassroots women's experiences, focusing on the close relationship of people with nature, which the western, technical mind overlooked in its thirst for a global market. The approach aimed to exchange the images of women as poor and as victims for an image of strong, skilled women, who must be seen as the best "environmental managers" (Braidotti et al. 1997: 55).

From WID to GAD through WAD and WED there is an evident change in approach over the decades. Although there is no clear separation in time between these approaches, the change is one from a focus on aspects of economic welfare to a focus on aspects of political and social needs (Tinker 1997: 41, Visvanathan 1997b: 23-24). The renewed perspectives on the situation of women and the renewed understanding of the development process bring with them new ways of talking about women and development. By analysing texts written in the field of feminist economics from the 1960s onwards, the present study documents the way in which the evolving approaches are reflected at the level of linguistic choices of these texts. The analysis captures the representation of women and men across approaches, time and genres.

2.1.2. Discourses of development

The previous section briefly illustrated the fact that the field of feminist development economics is an intricate one, where approaches of different periods and of different geographical locations mingle, clash or overlap. The various ways of presenting and talking about participants in the development programmes outline a rich palette of statements (or discourses) within the field. The post-modern critique of the literature of development economics has traced and discussed the presence of various discourses (see the discussion below on Grillo 1997, Mohanty 1997, Kaufmann 1997, Kandiyoti 1997). As mentioned in 1.2, discourse refers to "any spoken or written language use conceived as social practice" (Fairclough 1996: 71). It is here understood as a system of communication formed of specific forms of interaction among members and characterised by a specific jargon and a particular ideological position. Further in 2.2.2 there is an expanded discussion of the term discourse/discourses. Within the field of development economics the identified discourses fall

largely into a binary system: the dominant Western discourse vs. the Southern discourse. Furthermore, one can distinguish the academic and theoretical discourse, as opposed to the grassroots and practical discourse. From an anthropological perspective, Grillo (1997) stresses the fact that there is no one discourse of development, but a sum of discourses, due to the multiplicity of voices and knowledge sources existent in the field. He gives an overview of the many different discourses discussed by theorists, such as the discourse of the developers/experts, the discourse of the developed/local people or the discourse of governments/institutions. All in all, he urges a multi-levelled analysis of every situation. The reflexivity of post-modern thinking throws light not only on the demarcation of certain categories within development but also on the choice of words.

Mainstream development thought has been characterised by reductionism, a lack of depth of analysis. Without considering the importance of aspects such as class, race, culture, Western feminism regarded women as one large category of analysis, whose common gender reflected common problems and solutions, eliminating thus from the beginning any initiatives of free, individual choice and act. Moreover, through Western eyes, third world women were envisaged as "a homogeneous 'powerless' group often located as implicit *victims* of particular socio-economic systems", primarily defined "in terms of their *object status*" (Mohanty 1997: 81, original italics and inverted commas). This colonial discourse presented third world women through negative stereotypes. Moreover, it also entailed that western women are superiorly positioned and form the norm of reference (Ong 1988). Another effect of reductionism is discussed by Kandiyoti (1997: 86): the "overly monolithic conception of male dominance", embodied in the notion of 'patriarchy'. Due to this generalization, development projects falsely assumed male-headed family models in places where they never existed (for instance, in certain Afro-Caribbean regions). As a result, such projects failed and were rejected by women, who saw their options and freedom curtailed. Storey (2000) points to another example of superficial analysis in his critique of the World Bank. Considering the case of the Rwandan society, the institution saw the state as having a neutral role, not as a powerful interest group. This way, the World Bank easily overlooked the veiled presence of inequality and corruption. Moreover, the Bank neglected differences of classes and social groups by addressing itself to the masses.

Along with the attention given to wrong methods of action or to mis-analysed contexts, theorists have also focused on the ways different institutions make use of words to define their goals. In this sense, Kaufmann (1997: 117, my italics) puts it clearly: "The different discourses are not trivial…The *choice of words* reflects different ideological

positions and different goals". Kaufmann is aware of and points to the fact that the way one writes about development projects and their participants reveals the way one perceives the situation and devises particular solutions. Concepts such as 'empowerment', 'choice' and 'sustainability' did not exist in the vocabulary of the 1960s to 1980s development work. They are notions which have been used since the 1990s and form the discourse of the dominant development paradigm of the last decade. Woost (1997) too focuses on this change towards the discourse of the 1990s development approach, characterized by the issues of empowerment and participation of the people. The author is indignant at the way in which development theorists choose to use promising notions and fine-sounding words, but continue to cultivate a solid base of inequality by preserving the hierarchy of the powerful investor over the poor workers. The shift in discourse is only meant to soften contradictions and create the illusion that people do participate and have a voice in development. This mirrors once more Whorf's linguistic relativity principle (see the discussion in 2.2.1 below): the hypothesis that language (the fine-sounding notions, in this case) has an influential role in cognition and mediates between the real world (non-participation in development) and the perception of the reality in which one finds oneself (participation in development). Woost is convinced that participation is reduced to partaking and that people's voices end up echoing what investors decide. The individual worker dissolves into the masses - the poor, the workers, who hardly function as decision-makers and remain simple resources. This dominant discourse creates a trap into which even many NGOs fall. Condemning this ideological environment, Woost (1997: 249) signals that "we are still riding in a top-down vehicle of development whose wheels are greased with a vocabulary of bottom-up discourse".

To detect whether the theoretical notions used within development are put into real practice or remain just words which sound promising but allow nothing productive to happen is an outstanding endeavour which remains outside the scope of the present study. What is important to note is that within the development field there are many voices and perspectives, some more dominant than others. Moreover, the changing approaches bring with them new vocabularies. The choice of words is not irrelevant. The present analysis extends across time, approaches and genres. An analysis across institutions is viewed as a topic for further study. The aim of this study is to investigate the way in which organizational texts portray participants of development work over time and the way in which the choice of particular notions and structures changes to reflect the evolving approaches.

2.1.3. On the notion of 'gender'

In the middle of the 20th century *gender* was a noun referring to "the grouping of words into masculine, feminine and neuter, according as they are regarded as male, female or without sex" (OALD 1961). At the beginning of the 1970s, a new sense of the word *gender* was introduced. It was different from the sense known from the theories of grammar. In that period, the sociologist Ann Oakley stated firmly for the first time that 'gender', unlike the biologically-founded 'sex', was a notion born out of a cultural and psychological perspective on society. Gender constituted "a crucial distinction necessary to make in our thinking about male and female roles" (Oakley 1972: 16). The advanced perspective was that gender is not something one is born with, but something which is created through one's social life and learning. This perspective lent weight to the type of social life and learning that individuals are born to, grow with and experience throughout the course of their lives. A definition of the notion for scholars at the beginning of the new millennium can be found in Stevens and Van Lamoen (2001: 18):

> Gender, as distinguished from sex, does not refer to the biological differences between women and men, but to the different roles and characteristics that are attributed to them in society. These roles and images are not fixed; rather they are historically and culturally determined.

Despite its straightforward dictionary entry as "the fact of being male or female" (OALD 2000), the notion of 'gender' has not had an easy, unproblematic existence. Discussions led from various perspectives have caused the notion to undergo a complex evolution through time. There have been not only competing views on what gender constitutes, on its meaning and connotations, but also on its employment, on how the word itself is to be used: in singular or plural form, as noun only or as verb as well, translated into other languages or adopted directly from English, used on its own and together with other items (see for example *gender-specific*, *gender bender*, *gender gap* which are also dictionary entries).

The editors of *Gender Across Languages* (Hellinger and Bußmann 2003: 1-27) identify four main categories of gender. The first category is that of 'grammatical gender' which differentiates between the feminine, masculine and neuter classes (for an attempt at defining a new function for the grammatical gender, see Unterbeck et al. 2000). The second category is that of 'lexical gender' which makes us see the words *woman* and *man* as gender-specific due to their extra-linguistic femaleness and maleness, while a word such as *citizen* remains gender-indefinite. The third category is 'referential gender' which points to the real-life referent of a noun, e.g. *teacher* can refer to a woman, a man or it can have no such

specification and thus be interpreted as female, male or gender-indefinite. The fourth category is that of 'social gender' which associates words such as *secretary* to women, but *lawyer* to men, due to socially stereotypical assumptions. These four categories are directly connected to language use and sustain the observation that language is highly overdetermined by social elements (Fairclough 2003: 25). The category of 'social gender' makes the connection between the language people use and the way people think or rather are determined to think. However, gender is not only manifest at the level of language in the way we use or associate certain words. Gender is also manifest in the way people dress, act or think, in their roles and attributions. I consider this to be 'sociological gender'. It lies in the focus of disciplines such as sociology, ethnography or history. Development economic studies have to deal with this sense of gender as well, as they look into the relationships between women and men on the economic level. Texts from development economics, such as the ones under analysis in the present study, consider gender issues from different perspectives. The interest of the analysis is to look at the construal of the notion of 'gender' into the grammar of the texts.

At the beginning, the most popular and simple understanding of 'gender' was that which equated it with 'sex': up to the beginning of the 1980s dictionary entries explained 'gender' first in its grammatical sense and second in its relation to 'sex', the term used to refer to the categories denoted by biological characteristics, such as 'male sex' and 'female sex' (see OALD 1980). Later, the stress was made on the distinction which must be made between 'sex' and 'gender' (cf. Lott 1997: 280 for an explanation of the difference between the two terms; cf. also the position that 'sex' itself is not an absolute category, but also a continuum in Cameron 2003). As a socio-cultural construct, 'gender' is defined in complex ways. Serene (2003) presents the conspicuously different opinions: some say gender is what one sees oneself socially, interacting in the world (*gender as identity*), some say it is what society expects you to behave like (*gender as a set of expected roles*), while others believe it is the exhibition of individual traits which either confirm or refute the social expectations (*gender as expression*). Yet another way is to see gender lying at the complex interface of various aspects: gender as the social, cultural, economic and political interactions of persons. Serene (2003) summarizes the main ways to understand the structure of the notion. Gender is considered either binary (the dual opposition between masculine and feminine), binary continuous (the flux between feminine, androgynous and masculine), or multidimensional (opposing the view that masculine and feminine fall along one single continuous line and that the two characteristics are firmly attached to opposite poles of that continuity). Opposing the binary understanding of gender, there are views which see the notion as flexible and context-

dependent, entering a complex network along with many other variables such as those of ethnicity, class, race, age or type of work (James 1997: 225-228).

The conclusion is that 'gender' is a complex and controversial young notion, whose meaning is still under construction. Its complexity and meaning-in-progress can be seen also in the notion's change of grammatical status: from an abstract thing (that which is male or female), gender has emerged as a defining quality (*gendered language*) but also as a process (*to gender the reader*). The understanding of gender as a process people are caught in during various social practices has its origin in ethnomethodology. In their article from 1987, "Doing Gender", West and Zimmermann pointed straightforwardly to the fact that gender is not something we have, but something we do. Judith Butler (1990) advanced a similar view in her theory of the performative character of gender, which envisioned gender identity as the repeated performance of specific ritualized acts. Gender is therefore not something which is already there, given, but something that is achieved, an effect of discursive practices.

Figure 2.1 records the many understandings, facets and uses of the complex sociological concept of 'gender', which have been traced above.
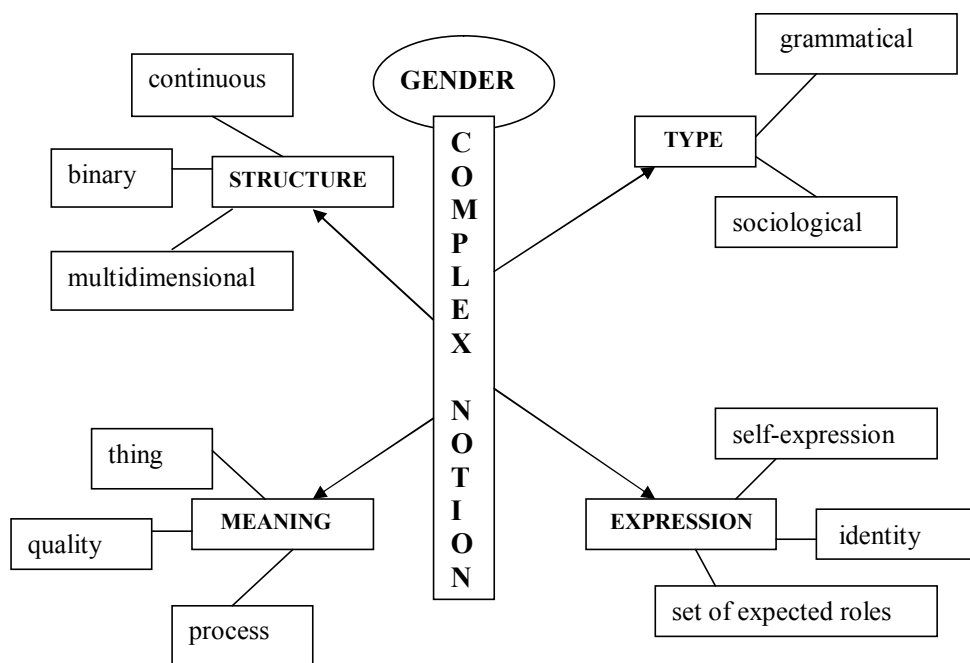
Figure 2.1. 'Gender' – a complex notion

'Gender' is women and men in various places, within various traditions, belonging to various classes or castes, of various ethnicities and of all ages, enjoying various positions in society,

enjoying access to various sources or not, having various sexual orientations, having various physical abilities, married, unmarried or widowed, more or less in/dependent, urban or rural, childless or not, etc. That is why, "gender need not be understood through dichotomous opposition" (Lott 1997: 294).

As for the understanding of 'gender' in development approaches, there have been debates not only on the real difference between sex and gender, on the nature of culturally-derived biology and biologically-derived culture, but also on the confusions caused by the Gender and Development approach (cf. El-Bushra 2000). The use and meaning of notions such as 'gender', 'abortion' or 'rights' is continuously negotiated within the UN discourse, between country delegations and NGOs (Côrrea 2000, Baden and Goetz 1997). The span of the possible definitions of gender stretches between that given by the United Nations as "relating to the social, economic and political differences between women and men" (Seaforth 1995: 3) and the definition given in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court in which "gender refers to the two sexes, male and female" (cf. Roylance 2005: 1). While the discussions around the meaning of gender are challenging (see also the notes on gender in section 3.1.1), they will not be subject to scrutiny or evaluation in this study. What is important here is that 'gender' appears to be a notion born out of a cultural and psychological perspective on society. Language, which functions as a mediator of social changes, is enriched with a new sense of the word *gender*. These social changes do not occur in every society. That is why the notion of 'gender' is rather problematic to put into practice, especially in certain developing countries where people share specific religious and cultural views. Development organizations such as FAO put a great deal of work into making this notion understood. Thus, a reverse phenomenon takes place in the field: a notion which is deemed as more appropriate is infiltrated in society via language (cf. the aspect of dominant western thinking highlighted above).

The aim of the present analysis is to gain an insight into the construal of *gender* through time in the grammar of the texts from development economics. In an article entitled "On the Grammar of Pain", Halliday (1998) describes the diverse construals of the complex area of pain experience. In the Hallidayan view, experience is construed in language, but then language heightens experience, transforming it into meaning. That is why, Halliday is convinced that in order to understand how meaning comes into existence, one needs to investigate the grammar attentively. His study shows how pain is worded in the grammatical classes of verb, adjective and noun, which can be reinterpreted in semantic terms to correspond to the categories of process, quality and thing. The conclusion is that "the construal of pain in the grammar [...]

marks it out as a uniquely complex area of human experience" (1998: 25). In the present study the interest is to see the way in which the newly-introduced notion of 'gender' is semanticized in the development organizational texts, i.e. whether *gender* is worded as noun, adjective or verb and therefore perceived as being a thing, quality or process; and whether this process of making sense of the newly emerging notion changes through time and/or across genres. Such a study can reveal the complexity of the map drawn by the new notion on its way to being understood, accepted and adapted into the vocabulary of organisational genres. It shows the way in which the many meanings of the notion come into existence or disappear and the approach the writers of different genres manifest for the notion (see further 3.2.3).

2.2. Theoretical frameworks

The present study is set within the framework of functional grammar. For functionalists language is an instrument whose possibilities are worth being put into use, i.e. the focus is placed on the instrumental aspect of language, on that which one can do or cannot do (due to its possibilities) with the language, but also on choice and diversity. This explains why Halliday, as shown above, focuses on rich palettes of construals and sets out to detect the way one notion is construed in the grammar of language and then later transformed into meaning (the aim of the present analysis, as well). The functional tradition places the focus on social interaction, contrasting what the speaker can do to what the speaker does (Davidse 1991: 41). Instead of approaching language through the forms which can be observed and placed in neat categories, the way the formalist tradition does, functionalists approach language from the diverse sets of purposes and meanings which lie beyond the dynamic manifestations of language (Givón 2001: 1-33). In this view, language is not uniform, but diversified, not fixed, but adaptable and not only virtual, but also very much actual. Thus, the mission of functional grammar is:

> to investigate what the range of relevant choices are, both in the kinds of meanings that we might want to express (or functions that we might want to perform) and in the kinds of wordings that we can use to express these meanings; and to match these two sets of choices (Thompson 1997: 8).

Choice, flexibility and dialectic are key words in the approach of functional grammar. Opposing formalism, which mostly dissects self-invented examples in order to create neat categories and proclaim rules, functionalism venerates the splendidly diversified patterns of already existing data, probing into the 'why' and 'how' of the choices made "from the

syntactic structures and vocabulary available, according to the meaning being conveyed"
(Halliday 1985: 100). The following sections discuss the model of systemic functional
grammar and highlight the reasons for choosing this model as the most suitable method of
analysis for the present study.

2.2.1 Systemic functional grammar

In order to account for all the semantically relevant choices in language as a whole, systemic
grammar is concerned to establish a network of systems of relationships. For this, the
conception of grammar is a general, inclusive one: grammar subsumes phonology,
morphology, semantics as well as syntax, "traditionally regarded as separate linguistic levels"
(Crystal 2003: 208). Furthermore, in critical linguistics the notion of 'social influence' and the
notion of 'choice' have played an important part from the beginning. It was actually linguists
of this critical trend, such as Fairclough (1989), Fowler (1991), Hodge and Kress (1993) who
saw the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis (Whorf 1956) as the start for a possible deep
understanding on the use of language. The first part of the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis is a
theory of linguistic determinism that states that the language one speaks determines the way
that one will interpret the world around oneself. The second part is a weaker theory of
linguistic relativism that states that one's thoughts about the real world are influenced by and
influence one's language. Although Sapir and Whorf did not formally state the hypothesis nor
support it with empirical evidence, their writings managed to intrigue researchers in various
disciplines including linguistics, psychology, philosophy, anthropology and education.
Support for this hypothesis has been hard to gain and it is only the second part of the
hypothesis, the 'weaker' interpretation of it, which has received minimal support through the
results of various studies (cf. Brown and Lenneberg 1954, Lucy and Shweder 1979, Kay and
Kempton 1984, Wassman and Dasen 1998). Even if the hypothesis is not applicable to all
situations, the merit of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf lies in the fact that they have
formulated challenging and intuitive insights on the relationship between language, thought
and culture. It is generally valid that humans construct reality using thought and express these
thoughts through the use of language. The degree and mutuality of influence are not to be
measured, but are to be detected and analysed in detail for each particular situation.

      Critical linguistics aligned itself among the disciplines which focus on the connection
between language, thought and action and expressed its view that society mediates between

world-image and language. Furthermore, critical linguists express the view that the choices people make in their language use are in an intrinsic relation with their view of society, of their position in it and of social relations in general. This understanding is one of the reasons why the present study relies on the system of critical linguistics. As we will see below, tools such as transitivity and thematization, which point to foregrounded agency and marked patterns, allow the analyst to expose intentions, purposes and attitudes of text producers and thus better understand the representation of participants in the texts (e.g. of women and men).

The linguist whose work represents the core of systemic functional grammar is M.A.K. Halliday. His ideas for a social approach to language started to shape in the 1950s while he was working with his professor, J.R. Firth (Trask 1999: 309). Halliday developed Firth's innovative endeavours further into a detailed framework (cf. Halliday 1961 in which he proposes four grammatical categories of unit, structure, class, and system, and three scales of rank, exponence and delicacy; see also Davidse 1987). For Halliday, language and society find themselves in a dialectical relation, i.e. the social context engulfing the semiotic system of language finds direct means of fulfilment through it. The interdependency of language and context is to be seen in the representation of their relationship through the image of co-tangential circles (cf. Halliday and Martin 1993: 25). The scheme becomes more detailed and precise when both the level of language and the larger level of the social context are divided into various planes which communicate and are likewise interdependent. The level of the social context is divided into the large context of culture/genre, i.e. the sum of processes in which interactants enter as members of culture, and the zoomed-in context of situation/register, i.e. the specific, recognisable parameters of events along the variables of tenor (who/what is involved in the process and on which position), field (that which causes the process to occur as a specific activity in which language plays a part) and mode (the way in which language is made use of in the process) (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 12).

In the Hallidayan model of functional grammar, language is formed of three strata: semantic, lexicogrammatical and phonological/graphological. Semantics is the language level with the highest order of abstraction. It is placed between the extra-linguistic context of situation and language. Just as the context of situation mediates between the context of culture and language, so does lexicogrammar mediate between the other two language strata: the semantic stratum and the phonological stratum. The semantic stratum is in direct contact with the context of situation, while the phonological stratum, which is also an outward-oriented stratum, is connected with the physicality of language production.

Semantics has three levels of metafunctions which mirror the three levels of register, i.e. the tenor, field and mode. The tenor establishes the interpersonal metafunction; the field establishes the ideational metafunction; while the mode establishes the textual metafunction (Halliday 1978: 117; for another three-stratum lexicogrammar see de Beaugrande 1997). The three metafunctions are the actual reasons which motivate all language use. They are seen to have a "systematic relationship with the lexicogrammar of the language" (Bloor and Bloor 1995: 9). As a means of communication, people use language to express viewpoints, to connect with other people, to form, maintain or break relations, to influence behaviour. This is done through the interpersonal metafunction of language, which allows one to state, ask or command something (mood) and also to deny or negotiate propositions (modality). The ideational metafunction of language is used when talking about the world outside or inside oneself, when describing events or states (experiential function), but also when establishing a particular relationship between ideas and events (logical function). The relationship between people's messages and the relationship with the wider context in which a message occurs is determined through the textual metafunction of language.

The metafunctions are simultaneous and complementary. In any sentence every element does several things at the same time, across the different layers and functions. In the sentence: *a majority of women (…) suffer most from the exploitation of agricultural labour* (1982: A/RES/37/59) the elements of the sentence adopt different functions along the complementary metafunctions. Thus, along the textual metafunction the elements are divided between the Theme (formed of the first element *a majority of women*) and the Rheme (formed of the rest of the sentence). Along the interpersonal metafunction the elements are divided between the Mood (formed of the first element *a majority of women* which is the Subject) and the Residue (formed of the rest of the sentence: the Predicator *suffer* and the two Adjuncts *most* and *from the exploitation of agricultural labour*). Along the ideational metafunction the elements fulfil the following functions: *a majority of women* is the Senser of the sentence; *suffer* is the process (mental process) of the sentence; *most* forms the circumstance showing degree; while *from the exploitation of agricultural labour* forms the circumstance indicating cause. As can be seen, the system is complex, with different strata intermingling and with one and the same element being interpreted at various levels.

The system has not escaped criticism. Huddleston (1988) identified at least three problems with the multi-dimensional analysis: the difficulty of the interpretation of the Theme; the blurry boundaries of establishing the interpersonal functions of Subject, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct; and the incongruence with the grammaticalization

principle according to which all used categories must be found in the grammar of language. He states that the grounds given for the existence of grammatical functions such as Actor, Goal, Phenomenon, Senser are not grammatical but semantic. That is, the distinctive properties of functions such as Subject or Actor cannot only be that some serve the ideational function while others serve the interpersonal function, but also the fact that some are grammatical while others not. The key lies in the way one understands grammar. As mentioned above, the concept of systemic grammar includes not only syntax, but also semantics. That is why Halliday gives semantic grounds for grammatical functions. The critique of the Hallidayan model has urged Halliday and other functionalists to re-consider the weak aspects and improve them in later works (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

The present study focuses on the ideational metafunction of elements in texts. This is because it is via the ideational metafunction that the clause can reveal the way in which the authors of the texts envisage the processes taking place in reality. Focusing on the ideational metafunction the linguist can analyse the world-representational resources, such as the process-participant transitivity. This is the metafunction in which the relationship between the grammar and the lexis of the clause is an intimate one. This intimate relationship is not an unproblematic one, but it reveals key aspects of the way language is structured via the influence of social knowledge. As Lewis (1993: 89) states: "language consists of grammaticalized lexis, not lexicalised grammar". In this sense, Halliday works with lexicogrammar and differentiates between the three metafunctions which allow him to speak of functions whose distinctive patterns are grammatical (e.g., the Subject function along the interpersonal metafunction) and also of functions whose distinctive patterns are semantic (e.g., the Actor function along the ideational metafunction). Paying attention to the semantics of the functions enables the analyst to understand the image of the world created through various texts, to trace hierarchies and designed roles for participants (such as the roles for women and men in development texts). Halliday brought linguistics within the range of sociology (for the need of bringing linguistics also in the realm of cognition and for the similarities and differences between functional approaches and cognitive approaches, see Horie 2000, Langacker 1993, 1999, Tomasello 2003). The union of linguistics and sociology allows for the observation of the way in which creators of texts orient themselves to the contexts of situations, but at the same time create them. The present thesis offers an insight into the way the creators of texts from the field of development work adapt to and create the discourses on women and men, the participants of development activities.

2.2.1.1. Processes and participant roles

The plethora of experiences that a human being is either part of, or becomes aware of, is given a structured, manageable form in the grammar of language via the system of transitivity. In his work on experiential grammar, Halliday detached himself from the traditional grammar view of transitivity, which is related to whether or not verbs are followed by objects. He took a broader, semantic approach, relating transitivity to the meanings of clauses. In doing so, he added new terms to traditional terms (e.g. the understanding of the pairs active-operative or passive-receptive, as discussed below) or used traditional terms in novel ways (e.g. the meaning of Subject, see discussion above).

The system of transitivity outlines particular types of processes. It is important to stress that Halliday conceives a more important and decisive role of language than that of mirroring (by naming) human internal or external experiences. Language itself enters the process of generating conceptual structures dynamically: "...language does not simply correspond to, reflect or describe human experience; rather, it interprets it or...'construes' it" (Halliday and Martin 1993: 8).

The essential difference underlying processes, which a human being is aware of from an early age on, is that between processes which happen outside oneself (actions and events) and processes which happen inside oneself (observation and reflection). Halliday (1985: 103, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 170) calls the first type of processes *material*, while the second type of processes are called *mental processes*. Along with the material and mental processes, a third type of basic processes are the *relational processes*, through which people relate things, identify and classify them (see examples below).

The process itself is only one element of the clause as representation, though it remains the central one. Another important element, which actually brings about the process or is somehow affected by it, is the participant. The participant(s) is/are typically realised through the nominal group. The process is typically realized through the verbal group. The union of the participant and the process forms the experiential centre of the clause. Around this centre there is a periphery in which circumstantial elements augment the process temporally, causally, etc., being realized by an adverbial group or prepositional phrase. Each type of process assigns specific functions to the participants involved. The examples below are adapted from the data in order to familiarize the reader with the kind of texts the study is concerned with. In each example the roles under focus are marked in boldtype and the

document from which the example is taken is noted in parentheses (for the abbreviations see List of Abbreviations).

Material processes are the processes of doing (to), making, creating, giving and happening. The participant that does the action is the Actor: *the scenario in which **women** work in agriculture* (FAO 1989). If the material clause is transitive, there is another participant that the action is directed to, the Goal, also called a Patient because it "undergoes the process" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 181): *women market **foods** such as vegetables* (FAO 1989). The clause can represent the action either from an "operative" (active) perspective: *women tend only small animals* (FAO 1989); or from a "receptive" (passive) perspective: *small animals raised by women* (FAO 1989). The test for material processes is the formulation of a question with *do (to)*: "What did the women do (to the foods)?" which indicates that *the women* is to be interpreted as Actor, while *foods* appears as Goal.

Mental processes are the processes of feeling, thinking, perceiving and wanting. In such a process, the Senser, a conscious being, senses what is called Phenomenon. There are various types of mental processes: perceptive processes, e.g. ***women feel*** *the hardness of work* (FAO 1989); cognitive processes, e.g. ***women learn*** *management skills* (FAO 1989); desiderative processes, e.g. *the participation of **women** in **deciding** development strategies* (UN 2001: 56/188); and emotive processes, e.g. *both **women and children suffer** the consequences* (FAO 2002).

Relational processes are the processes of being and having. There are two basic modes for establishing a relationship: either by pointing to the belonging of one or more elements to a class (the attributive mode) or by identifying one entity with another (the identifying mode). In the attributive mode, an Attribute is ascribed to a Carrier: ***women*** (Carrier) *have become more **vulnerable*** (Attribute) *to poverty* (UN 2003: 58/206). In the identifying mode, an Identifier points to an Identified: ***women*** (Identified) *represent the major **force*** (Identifier) *for change* (UN 1995: 50/104). The relationship established between the participants caught either in an attributive or an identifying mode can be one of sameness, as in the examples above, but also one of possession or one of circumstance. The sameness relationship is found in intensive relational processes. The relationship of possession is found in possessive relational processes, e.g. ***rural women have*** *many roles* (FAO 1989). The relationship of circumstance makes place for the circumstantial relational processes, e.g. *a woman's normal **working day lasts** 20 hours*.

Human experience and human thoughts cannot be neatly divided into adequately labelled categories, but into myriads of blurred categories. In its turn, the functional system of

language proves to be pervaded by indistinct boundaries. That is why, along with the basic types of processes there are also borderline types of processes, and along with prototypical instances there are also peripheral instances. Between the material processes (of the outside) and the mental processes (of the inside), one can place the processes through which that existing inside is exteriorized, what Halliday (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 171) calls *behavioural processes*. These are processes of "physiological and psychological behaviour, like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming and staring" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 248). The participant is called the Behaver: ***women laugh*** *with their children* (my example). Between mental and relational processes one can place the processes of saying and meaning, i.e. the *verbal processes*. These are processes of saying, in which a Sayer sends out some sort of message, sometimes for a specific addressee, the Receiver, e.g. ***women*** (Sayer) *talk to **men*** (Receiver) (my example). The message may lack a specific addressee, but it can point to the issue being discussed, called the Verbiage, e.g. *women talk **about their needs*** (Verbiage) (my example). The Sayer can also be an inanimate participant, e.g. ***the Plan explains*** *how the objectives will be achieved* (FAO 2002). Between the relational and material processes, there are the processes of existence, named *existential processes* in the Hallidayan system. Existential processes point to the existence or occurrence of something, called an Existent, e.g. *there were **208 million women** aged 60 and above in 1985* (UN 1994: 49/162).

The complete fusion of these processes which form the spectrum of human experience is signalled through the symbol of the circle, used by Halliday to draw the system network of the grammar of experience (see the figure of the types of processes in Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 172). Assigning a process to one of the six categories is not always a straightforward, unproblematic issue. Language is a complex system, which cannot always be categorised in neat labels. There are precise limits which the linguist can draw but there are also blurry instances, trespassing limits, which the researcher needs to be open to. The available categories and labels are tools to understand the complex language system (cf. Kilpert 2003: 188). Encountering the participant 'women' in a sentence like *the difficulties women have in securing land…*(FAO 1989), the linguist might label the verbal process (*having*) as possessive relational. However, the same linguist can label it later as a mental or even material process when considering the following possibilities. One possibility is to consider the fact that the verb *to have* points to possession. The grammatical test of reversing the clause from the active to the passive perspective sustains the possibility of a relational process. Relational processes always fail this test and, indeed, the clause **difficulties are being had by women* is not valid. Another possibility is to consider the fact that *have*

difficulties refers to a distressed state of mind and agitation. In this case the example can be interpreted as representing the participant 'women' caught in a mental process, in the role of Senser. Furthermore, there is the possibility of placing the verb in the present continuous, as in *women are having difficulties in securing land*. This variant of the sentence points to a generalized process and thus makes place for the likelihood of considering the verbal process a material one. However, this possibility is negated by the grammatical test of material processes, in which a question with *do to* is formed: **what did the women do to the difficulties? They had them.* In such fuzzy cases, the linguist is not to strive for a concrete result by forcing the data within the given model of analysis, but to accept the vagueness, guide him/herself to the hints offered by the context and "take a perspective that suits the data" (Kilpert 2003: 188).

This section has outlined the grammar model which underlies the analysis in the thesis. At the same time, the toolbox of processes and participant roles which is used to interpret texts has been exemplified. A summary of the processes and participant roles which are used in the analysis is given under 3.2.1. The next section illustrates how the functional model has been used in various analyses and what findings point to. Furthermore, the section introduces another perspective besides transitivity from which actions and events can be interpreted.

2.2.1.2. Agency and causality

According to the functional perspective, the social context extends a marked influential constraint on language. That is why, the choices people make in their use of language are considered to be in an intrinsic relation with their views of society, of the relations existing within that society, in general, and especially of their own position in society. Such patterns of experience are realised at the level of language through clauses. Doing, being, happening, thinking, feeling, seeing, saying are all different kinds of actions, represented in clauses through processes, which are typically realised by the verbal group. The attention falls in this study on the class of verbs expressing doings. Trying to understand the structure of doings, interest is aroused to observe whether the process expressed by such verbs is self-contained or whether it reflects itself onto another entity, i.e. whether the object of the process is passively affected or actively taking part in the process. It is actually according to the roles of the

Subject, which is either acting or acted-on, i.e. agent or patient, that grammar separates between the two voices, active and passive.

Telltale for the way language users experience actions and things around them are the transitivity choices, i.e. the choices of processes and participants from the entire arsenal of actions, events and states. There are at least two works whose findings from the analysis of transitivity choices have prompted the analysis of the development texts in the present study. The seminal work is Halliday's (1971) analysis of William Golding's novel *The Inheritors*. In this analysis the author highlights the way a number of syntactic patterns can make a distinction between a conscious being, capable of planned action, control and direct effect on the environment (transitive material processes with Actor and Goal) and an animate/inanimate entity with no intention or control over things and actions, an entity which is placed at the receptive end of the process, not at its instigative end (intransitive and mental processes, inanimate subjects, participants as patients/goals of processes). Similarly, focusing on the distinction between active involvement and passive response which can be revealed by the choice of processes and participant types in texts, Sara Mills (1995) detects in the language of two different novels a prevailing vein of representing the female characters mostly in the roles of Senser and Goal and the male characters in the role of Actor. In this case, transitivity choices point to the pervasive diffusion of a stereotypical understanding of gender roles and characteristics: the woman as a delicate and precious thing, whom one needs to touch and caress, withdrawn from the world in which she is protected by the man. Illustrative examples from Mills's analysis (1995: 144-149) are: *she let her eyes meet his* (one of the few material processes, in which the woman is actually acting on her own body, not on the body of the man or on the outside world); *she marvelled* (mental process); *he came towards her*, *he caressed*, *he took both her hands* (material processes in which the man as participant acts not on his own body, but on the female body/parts of it). One of the aims of the present study is to examine what kind of image of women and men is rendered through the use of verbal processes in the texts of development economics: whether they transmit a similar understanding of gender roles or one that challenges this understanding.

The constellation of processes and roles through which a participant is represented in a text can reveal its position within the network of power relations formed by the authors among the participants. This position is better understood when the analysis also takes into consideration the characteristic company in which words occur (Firth 1957), the lexical units which co-occur often together (Sinclair 1991, Sinclair et al. 2004), i.e. collocations (see the discussion on collocation as used in the present study in section 3.2.2). Goatly (2002) uses a

scale of power among participant roles and also looks at collocations to point to the way nature as participant is represented on BBC radio in an anthropological vein, both as a goal of human actions and as a threat to human existence, not at all as companion and advisor. Although not working with a scale of power, the present study looks at power as an individual, collective and political force which women and men share as participants in development and it also looks at co-occurrences of lexis to see the worlds of issues in which women act as participants from one decade to another.

For a comprehensive unpacking of ideological meanings, the analysis of transitivity choices and collocations can be accompanied by an analysis of the way the information in texts is organized (thematisation) and of the way linguistic connections are established in texts (lexical cohesion). Examples of such analyses carried on these three levels are to be found, for example, in Martin (1999) and Teo (2000). The present study focuses solely on transitivity choices and the co-occurrence of lexis, as the aim is to examine what kind of processes are used to portray women and men, to analyse the distribution of processes across genres and time and to depict the world of issues which are associated with the participants from one approach to another.

Undoubtedly, transitivity choices shed light on the way people conceive of actions and events taking place inside and outside them. However, transitivity represents only one facet of these processes. There is also another perspective from which actions and events can be interpreted. For example, a clause such as *the law increased women's rights* can be regarded not only as a process of doing in which an entity (*the law* as Actor) does something to another entity (*rights* as Goal), but also as a process primarily involving the second element, the *rights*. In this sense, the core message transmitted is 'women's rights increased'. In other words, the agent of a transitive verb stands not only in the nominative, but also in what is called the ergative case. The term 'ergative' was first used to refer to morphological case marking in languages such as Dyirbal and Basque. Later, the term, coming from the Greek word *ergátēs* meaning 'doer (of an action)' (Bussmann 1996), denoted a grammatical pattern in which subjects of intransitive verbs and the direct objects of transitive verbs are treated identically, while subjects of transitive verbs are treated differently (Sinclair 1990). Attitudes to ergativity in the English language have been divergent, from those which claimed that English is not an ergative language (Dixon 1979) to those who believed in it (Halliday 1985) and took a cognitive (Langacker 1989), lexical (Levin 1993) or paradigmatic approach (Davidse 1991, 1992, Lemmens 1998) to ergativity.

Halliday (1985) brought an ergative interpretation to his transitive interpretation of processes. This way he managed to foreground not only the differences, but also the similarities existing between various processes and participants. The participants through the medium of which the processes are instantiated (like *women's rights* above) become in the ergative perspective the key participants, called Medium. The other participant, the Agent (*the law*) functions as the external cause of the process. According to Halliday, the transitive model is a linear model, while the ergative model is a nuclear model. The transitive model is based on the distinction between transitive and intransitive, along a variable of extension, i.e. whether the process extends beyond the Actor to another entity, the Goal or whether it does not extend to any other entity. The ergative model is based on the distinction between ergative and non-ergative, along a variable of causation, i.e. whether the process comes into existence from within, by itself or from the outside, caused by an external participant, the Agent. As long as the focus is on the Medium, the events can be expressed without the idea of agency: *women's rights increased*. This becomes a non-ergative process. On the other hand, events can be expressed as implying agency (in the question *who/what by?*), as in *women were excluded*. This becomes an ergative process with an external cause. Consequently, the definition of the Medium given by Halliday (1985: 165) runs as follows: "the Medium is not the doer, nor the causer, but the one that is critically involved".

A refined interpretation of ergativity is found in the work of Kristin Davidse (1991, 1992 and 2002). Davidse (1992) preserves the semantic perspective on ergativity that Halliday emphasises, but at the same time she starts by reinforcing the Hallidayan belief that lexicogrammar and semantics are naturally dependent on each other. Therefore, any change in form is justified by a change in meaning and vice versa. Thus, she re-offers to the language user a set of choices which were previously neglected. It is not for the analyst, but for the language user to choose whether to present an event or an action as being externally caused or taking place by itself, as finished in the action or extending to another item. Davidse, therefore, deems both of these systems essential to be accounted for in the analysis of "the Janus-headed grammar" of material processes (i.e. actions and events), not one as the alternative of the other. Moreover, unlike Halliday, she does not see these systems as equally possible and illustrative for one and the same process. In her view, the transitive system is linear, right-oriented and its fundamental cell is formed by the Actor and the Process, which can extend to the right, on to the inert Goal. The ergative system is conceived as a nuclear system with two orbits: the obligatory nucleus is formed by the central participant, the Medium and the Process, which is conceptually dependent on the Medium. As the Medium is

not just an affected item like the Goal but also has an active role of co-participant in the manifestation of the event, the process can be self-instigated even on this first orbit. The secondary nucleus is formed of the Instigator, the Process and the Medium. One can notice that this blending of transitive and ergative paradigms in material verbs is well rooted in our experience of the world: only entities that we perceive as having the capacity to sustain and self-instigate a process will appear in Medium role of the ergative paradigm (for types of entities capable of self-instigation, see Davidse 2002: 150). As a result of her analysis, Davidse (1992: 132) expresses her assurance that material processes are characterised by the two aspects of transitivity and ergativity and that the linguist has to analyse these aspects in order to avoid false generalisation and simplification.

The fact that ergativity is only one facet of the representation of processes is indicated by Thompson and Guerra (1995) who, while doing an analysis of business texts, gradually realized that the overt and covert characteristics of their texts would be better perceived if they paid attention not only to transitivity, but also to ergativity. In their study, ergativity is interpreted directly as a matter of causation: a process can be either ergative, i.e. caused by an expressed/not expressed Agent, or non-ergative, i.e. not having a cause, happening by itself. The rest of the instances are transitive in which the doer is at the centre. Their approach diverges from that of Halliday in that they see transitivity and ergativity not as pure opposites, but rather as representing "the extremes of a cline… not mutually exclusive but mutually occlusive (that is, if a clause expresses transitivity to a high degree, it will express ergativity to a correspondingly low degree, and vice versa)" (1995: 6).

At the beginning of the analysis of the 'about us' pages of various business companies, the hypothesis of Thompson and Guerra (1995: 7) is that "writers can present a particular view of events by exploiting or foregrounding ergativity choices in various ways". These writers of business texts would not have made these choices of expressing or not expressing agency deliberately, as a writer of a novel would. This way, Thompson and Guerra's analysis differs from Halliday's (1971) classic analysis of the language of William Golding's novel *The Inheritors* and Lee's (1992) analysis of Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*, where the writers may have used the conspicuous contrast between the non-ergative perspective of characters and the ergative interpretation of the reader consciously in order to reach their literary aims. Investigating the interconnection of ergative and non-ergative pairs in one business text, Thompson and Guerra conclude that what is an unwelcome event is usually expressed in non-ergative clauses (e.g. *inflation increases*), as happening by itself in the outside world, and what is a beneficial event is expressed in ergative clauses in which the

active causer is the company (e.g. *Valeo integrates acquisitions/reduces debt/improves competitiveness*). The impression running through the text is then one in which the company successfully directs its activities, causing desirable results to appear, exerting its agency and control in an environment of natural hostile events.

Thompson and Guerra also take account of slightly less obvious means of constructing this image: less obvious ergative verbs, e.g. distantly matched pairs such as *increase - set up*, *maintain - remain*, *limit - not grow* and nominalizations, i.e. items that have been 'transcategorized' from non-nominal structural elements into nominal elements (Heyvaert 2003: 69), e.g. *enhancement*, *implementation*, *consolidation* (see the discussion on nominalization in 3.2.1 below). In all the ergative instances the Medium is connected with the company's capacity to produce and sell goods effectively. Along with this expected portrayal of the positively agentive company vs. uncontrollable negative circumstances, an unexpected ideology takes shape at one less detectable level. Thompson and Guerra bring this to light by looking closely at the clause: *thirty thousand Valeo people are working*. The clause is intransitive, lies outside the domain of causation and engages the employees of the company in activities which do not extend to any other entity, having no controllable effect. This is in complete opposition to the image of the company. Agency is taken away from the people. Moreover, the company management (*we/Valeo*) and the workers (*they*) belong to a system which also includes the shareholders (*you*). In this system the roles are divided: the company acts and causes beneficial events, the shareholders are the final beneficiaries, while the workers toil skilfully (completely excluded from the language event of the text). Thompson and Guerra acknowledge that their interpretation is not to be thought as what the writers of the text intended, but still it is to be seen as valid. This view of the social structure and the economic status-quo is not new and its givenness is certainly reinforced. This view is not the only option of seeing the way things are in the world, but it is the dominant one, transmitted via inconspicuous means.

The use of transitive and intransitive constructions can have not only diverse effects, as Thompson and Guerra's study shows, but it can also have various causes. Stubbs (1996) compares two different texts on the issue of environment: one from a textbook and one from an environmental organization. The hypothesis is that "the environmentalist text – because of its explicit orientation to the responsibility for environmental problems and solutions – attributes both events and knowledge more frequently and more explicitly to their agents" than the other text (1996: 130). Stubbs looks at the frequencies of the transitive, passive and intransitive constructions. He relates ergativity, seen as a pattern of transitivity, to the aspects

of causation, agency and animation. In the text of the environmental organization there are more transitive constructions with ergative verbs of change: *open, change, form* or *deepen*. In contrast, the textbook includes more intransitive constructions which leave agency unexpressed, encoding events out of control. Stubbs offers an explanation to this contrast: it is important to take into account the assumptions with which the intended readers approach texts. If readers can be assumed to have prior knowledge of the issue, there is no need to point to or focus on agency and causation explicitly. Intransitive constructions are found in the objective scientific writing and can be interpreted as focusing on the event itself: *ozone levels are now dropping*. In contrast, press articles address a wider spectrum of readers and use transitive constructions to personalise events. The data of the present study are also formed of texts written by organizations in different contexts (see section 3.2). The analysis reveals the way transitive and intransitive constructions are used in the texts and the degree to which ergativity exposes patterns of agency and causation (see chapters 4 to 6).

Transitivity choices point to the way one understands and constructs the world of events. The reasons for using transitive and ergative constructions can vary and are worth being taken into consideration. Aspeslagh (1999) brings a gender perspective over the use of transitivity and ergativity. Like Halliday (1971) and Lee (1992), Aspeslagh, too, takes a novel as her source of data: *The Waves* by Virginia Woolf. Like Thompson and Guerra (1995), she uses the approach on ergativity which Halliday brought under semantic auspices and which Davidse differentiated (from the transitive) and subcategorised (into effective, middle, pseudo-effective). Unlike Thompson, Aspeslagh works with a detailed view on ergativity, similar to the one discussed by Davidse. Therefore, for her, an ergative construal is recognised through the possibility of turning an 'ergative effective' as in *she dropped the twig* into an 'ergative middle' as in *the twig dropped*, a criterion which is not valid for the transitive. Aspeslagh argues that language is not only a means of describing reality, but also a means of creating reality. The language of one character, therefore, not only points to the way that character sees herself and the outside world, but also uniquely identifies its personality. Consequently, the aim of her paper is to "prove through a detailed analysis of the ergative and transitive construals used how each female character has her own linguistic identity and how the 'individual' language reflects the character's ideology" (1999: 2). Reading through her analysis of the three characters, one perceives the way in which language shapes each character as a separate (linguistic and ideological) individual. The transitive and effective construals intersect each other, mirroring the important shifts in the characters' lives. Transitive construals express autonomous actions, control over the world or of the world over

the person; transitive middle constructions reflect a world limited to oneself, in which the character acts independently; while ergative effective constructions create a strong relationship with nature, i.e. a relationship of co-participation. The author's general conclusion of the linguistic analysis is that "the transitive model is mainly used to polarise two worlds: one of power on one hand, and one of impotence on the other hand. The ergative construal, with its co-participating medium, is used to describe a less aggressive world in which a symbiosis between participants takes place" (1999: 15). The claims Aspeslagh makes on the relation between language choices and character's personality are very strong and one should not forget that these are fictional characters which remain under the observed control of the author. However, what can be concluded is that the interplay of ergativity and transitivity and their indication of causes of action, of actors and patients can offer worthwhile and interesting insights when undertaken in an analysis.

Ergativity and transitivity appear to me as two different patterns: transitivity as the linear model with one single force of action, the Actor, projecting the process onto another entity; ergativity as the two-nuclei model with the main force of action, the Medium, in the first nucleus and the other external force, the Instigator, in the second nucleus. Having its own energy, the Medium co-participates in the process and can at the same time separate the caused process from its instigation signalling thus its independence. In the present study ergative constructions are discussed when analysing in detail samples of the texts. They are considered parallel to the transitive constructions which are studied in the quantitative analysis in order to be able to interpret more plausibly actions and events and bring to light other facets of the meaning complex of the texts. The interest of the study is to observe which of the participants ('women' and 'men', but also 'organizations') are placed at the instigative end (as autonomous, goal-directed actors) and which at the receptive end (as goals). The findings of various studies such as the ones summarized above show that the choice of nominalizations, transitive or intransitive verbs can reveal a hierarchy of power and impotence, in which participants have different degrees of agency and causality. It is necessary to point to the hidden ideology, but it is equally important to be aware of the text, its authors and intended audience. A focused interest in hierarchies of power and hidden ideologies is found in the work of critical discourse analysts. The next section introduces this theoretical model.

2.2.2. Critical discourse analysis

Systemic functional grammar is the grammatical model favoured by critical discourse analysts. Social opinions, beliefs and ideologies are produced and reproduced in discourse. That is why integrating the model of functional grammar into a larger discourse analytical perspective can bring great insights into analyses. While systemic functional grammar focuses on the clause level, critical discourse analysis goes beyond, to the discourse level. The discourse level has been taken into consideration for a long time in linguistics (see a historical overview of discourse analysis in Östman and Virtanen 1995, de Beaugrande 1996). From the beginning, the notion of 'discourse' has been approached in different ways (Titscher et al., 2000). The German and Central European tradition equated it with oral production (as opposed to texts which are written productions), while the American tradition saw in the term both written and oral texts. The study of print, television and internet media has called for attention to the visual as well. Thus, the understanding of the term discourse extended to include written and spoken language (even with music, in singing), non-verbal communication, and visual images (cf. the definition given in a social semiotics approach by Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 38; see Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001 for the existence of discourse in other modes, i.e. multi-modal discourse).

Fairclough (2003: 3) gives a broad definition of discourse: "...an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements". This definition allows him to include in the notion of 'discourse' the many aspects relating to language in use, especially the representation of world aspects via language use. As van Dijk (1998: 193-199) notes, giving a definition of the term 'discourse' is actually the very "task of the whole discipline of discourse studies", which turns out to be not only a difficult task but also a futile one as the notion is as complex and ambiguous as other general and vague notions such as 'language', 'communication' or 'society'. That is why his definition, given from a critical, socio-political perspective, spreads over pages and includes linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural aspects. Mills (2004) illustrates the fluidity of the meaning of discourse and the impossibility of pinning it down to one single meaning through a discussion of its use within a range of disciplines, such as cultural theory, linguistics, social psychology and critical discourse analysis.

In the present study, discourse is regarded as a communicative system, which can be fulfilled in written, oral or multi-modal forms, born out of and bearing forth the characteristics of a particular understanding of the surrounding social reality. The development discourse, for

example, is a broad system of communication which has a specific jargon, particular ideological positions, specific forms of interaction among members (e.g. world conferences, general assemblies, organizational meetings). Discourse as a whole has a strong influence on the perception of reality and of self identity. This influence is increased through the grouping of statements, forming discourses which "have some institutionalized force" (Mills 2004: 55). Discourses of similar provenance unite to act with a strong force to delimit the boundaries of the possible forms of knowledge (e.g. the discourse of Western economics describing the nature of the Third World as poor, ready to be helped, but also dominated). This knowledge is at best challenged by other discourses of divergent provenance (e.g. the dominant Western discourse vs. the Southern discourse which celebrates the social and cultural entities of the countries, the private needs of the people).

Drawing on the CDA model, there are further political and theoretical implications which need to be considered. These are found in the basic tenets of CDA: discourse is a form of social action; discourse is historical; discourse does ideological work; discourse constitutes society and culture; power relations are discursive (Wodak 1996: 17-20, Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 271-279). The CDA view of language is influenced by the Hallidayan concept of field, tenor and mode, as determining the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language (see the discussion in 2.2.1 above). Thus, CDA conceives language as "simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and belief" (Fairclough 1995b: 131). Discourse incorporates the three embedded levels of text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice (1995b: 98). A discourse originates in a discourse domain, i.e. in a particular social field and is structured by the set of practices and rules established within that field, such as media or economics. A discourse is identified as having a strong meaning potential (Fairclough 1989: 149; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 119). It determines particular genres that in turn give rise to particular text types characterized by (linguistic) features.

To illustrate the concept with an example, consider the meeting of a non-governmental organisation. The meeting is an event happening against an institutional background, which is determined by a particular social and economic structure (e.g. the Western capitalist market). According to the given status of the members of the meeting, discourse casts participants in particular roles in relation to each other (see the discussion of the concept of 'power' below). At the meeting, multimodal text (written and/or spoken) is produced in various forms which represent certain genres, such as presentations, discussion, reports, briefings and guides. These texts will betray particular features regarding the use of processes (material vs. mental),

the choice of transitivity (active vs. passive) or the employment of collocations to communicate central concepts (**participation** *of women*; **integration** *of women*; *women's* **contribution**).

This perception of discourse shows its direct connection with another complex notion, 'ideology'. Ideologies are expressed and reproduced through discourse in social interaction. For example, the utilitarian ideology will be expressed and reproduced through the Utilitarian discourse system dominating in business, government, academic or organizational affairs (see Scollon and Scollon 2001: 111-134). That is how the analysis of discourse exposes the plurality of this notion, as one must speak of more than one discourse: one speaks of discourses (see the titles of sections 2.1.2 and 2.3).

Along the in-depth textual analyses critical discourse analysis presupposes an interest in discourse structures and strategies which lead to social representation, an interest in text production and text interpretation, in acute social problems which need to be considered carefully (Wodak 2001). Between the processes of production and interpretation, between discourse and power, there is an interface to which critical discourse analysis gives a vital role, that of 'social cognition'. It includes "socially shared representations" as well as "mental operations" (interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning) (van Dijk 1993a: 257). This means that in order to explain the attitude found in texts for example towards ethnic groups, or towards women and men, the analyst must probe into the political economy of institutional bodies, into social psychology and into socio-political forces which shape contemporary societies (cf. Teo 2000: 39). One can thus, in the present study, find a discussion of the stages of evolution in feminist thinking in general and feminist economics in particular (see 1.1 and 2.1.1 above), but also a scrutiny of the history of women's issues at the United Nations and the background of the production of the three genres under analysis (section 3.1. below).

Critical discourse analysis turned a keen eye on the concepts of ideology and power as detected in discourse formation. Looking at the first concept, it must be said that ideologies are not something bad or something good, nor are they all dominant. They give structure to a set of social actions and thoughts to which one group of people submit themselves. This way, the persons of the group belong to the same ideological group and perhaps oppose another group's ideology. The perspective on ideology developed by van Dijk as an interface between social structure and social cognition is a workable definition for this study as well. Ideologies are "a special form of social cognition shared by social groups", forming "the basis of the social representations and practices of group members" (van Dijk 2001: 12). Relevant

properties of a group shaping the ideology are aspects such as identity, actions, aims, norms and values, positionality and resources. Even though they come from different backgrounds, the people at the United Nations' meetings form a group with common aims and actions. This observation is even more valid for the staff of Food and Agriculture Organization who work together every day, identify themselves with what they need to do, understand why they need to do it and for whom, agree on what is considered good or bad and know how they relate to other organizations. These shared principles are revealed through the discourses they create: their discussions in meetings, their actions and the texts with specific linguistic features. Another important concept for critical discourse analysis, and for the present study, is that of 'power'. Like 'discourse', this is also a complex notion. Power involves access and control. If kept on a personal level, power is something good which everyone needs. When a particular elite finds itself higher in the power hierarchy and uses its power to control others, there is always the danger of dominance and even hegemony (the term used by Gramsci 1971 to signal the acceptance of dominance). It is exactly the illegality of power abuse and the legitimization of control which lie at the centre of critical discourse analysts' interests in power relations (van Dijk 1993a, Wodak and Van Leeuwen 1999, Fairclough 2001; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2002 for accounts of power by Foucault, Habermas and Bourdieu; Blommaert 2005 on the effects of power). In the present study, power is to be seen as inherent in organizations such as the United Nations, which through its function and position is due to make decisions on social action and present such decisions as given. Opposing power, there is a counter-power, in the form of radical opinions (as regards decisions on gender relations, these are feminist or traditional views) which question UN assessments and re-formulate social actions and perspectives (see section 3.1.1). Power is also an important issue for the women in development processes. The presence or lack of access to resources is a vital aspect in gaining control and thus exercising power, which for many women has been or is still denied. In this sense, empowerment becomes a key strategy within development economics (for a definition of the term see 3.1.1 and for its use in the data see chapters 4 to 6).

The keen detection of hidden ideologies or power relations is possible through the critical stance that critical discourse analysts take. Critical discourse analysts want to make a difference: they take "an explicit socio-political stance" (van Dijk 1993a: 252), they maintain solidarity with those who are affected by social inequality and injustice, they hope to bring about change through critical understanding. Interpreted in this way, 'critical' means "not taking anything for granted, opening up alternative readings (justifiable through cues in the texts); self-reflection of the research process; making ideological positions manifested in the

respective text" (Wodak 2007: 3). When analysing organizational documents on issues of concern to women, interpreting the messages and visions of this long dominated part of societies should turn into a conscious exercise. A note on 'being critical' is in order: the critical researcher points not only to unfair situations and negative aspects, but also to positive situations. An example of this is offered by Martin (1999: 29-56), who by analysing Nelson Mandela's conclusion to his autobiography observes that the discourse created by him is full of grace, a discourse which "inspires, encourages, heartens, that cheers us along". So, criticism is not made for its own sake, but to expose both aspects which are to be proscribed and aspects which are to be praised. The present study is critical in the sense that it aims to reflect the extent to which the goals of the producers of the texts for human equality and economic improvement are reinforced or undermined by the language of their texts. The goals of economic improvement are set with each approach (see the aims of WID, WAD, GAD in 2.1.1) and are stated with the occasion of the production of texts (see the aims of the five world conferences in 3.1.1.1 and chapter 4, of the resolutions on women in 3.1.1.2 and chapter 5, and of the three FAO plans of action in 3.1.1.3 and chapter 6). Against the background of the stated goals, the detailed linguistic analysis shows the way in which the participants at the development process, women, men and non-/governmental organizations are portrayed through processes, roles and co-occurrences of lexis.

Feminist critical discourse analysis found little to praise in a social system which degraded women and kept them in a powerless position. From the beginning, feminist analysts engaged themselves in a simple and direct critique against patriarchal systems. Later models include a detailed analysis of subtle relationships established between power, ideology, nationality, class, spatial relations, discriminatory and polite behaviour (Mills 1998, 2003, 2005). Gender, understood as divided between the two sexes, turns out to be a routine way of thinking, an ideology which is so inherent in human relations that it can be considered hegemonic. It is against this taken-for-grantedness that feminist critical discourse analysts fight:

> For feminist CDA, the focus is on how gender ideology and gendered relations of power are (re)produced, negotiated and contested in representations of social practices, in social relationships between people, and in people's social and personal identities in texts and talk (Lazar 2005: 11).

This mission has taken analysts along a research journey which looks beyond the appearance of equality and emancipation in order to reveal naturalized sexist practices and perceptions and to point to reasons for the delayed or restrained emancipation (see studies such as those of Thimm et al. 2003, Talbot 2005, Rojo and Esteban 2005, Lazar 2005, but also Sunderland

2004, Litosseliti 2006). In the present study, the material is formed of texts which are aimed to favour emancipation and work towards the state of equality. These texts themselves transmit a certain image of the gender relations that they discuss and it is the aim of the detailed text analysis to detect what the representation of women and men is.

A final observation to be made is that there is no one critical discourse approach. All critical discourse analysis approaches have their own theoretical positions combined with a specific methodology, be it from discourse studies, the humanities or social sciences (see Wodak and Meyer 2001, Wodak 2004 for details). This makes CDA a rather omnipresent and dominant approach which commands the basis for being critical, as if other approaches were non-critical. This aspect was taken as a critique against critical discourse analysis, together with the accusation that it lacks any philosophical foundation or sociological theory (Hammersley 1997). For other critiques of CDA, see Widdowson 1995, Schegloff 1997 and Wetherell 1998. The theoretical foundations of CDA have been detailed and explained in numerous studies (van Dijk 1993a, Wodak 2001, Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2002, Wodak and Chilton 2005). Hammersley 1997 has also condemned researchers for losing their objectivity in the process of being critical. However, as seen in the quotation above as well (Wodak 2007: 3), critical discourse analysis insists on self-reflection, on the need to explain the choice of methods, materials and aims. Stubbs (1997), too, pointed to weak aspects of the theory of CDA; but he also mentioned ways to improve the model. One aspect was the need to strengthen the linguistic analysis which lies at the base of language observations via analysis of co-occurring linguistic features, comparisons with corpora and studies of text production and audience reception. Meanwhile, these aspects have been improved and critical discourse analysts insist on in-depth, detailed textual analyses (Wodak 2001, Fairclough 2004: 68).

Although its aim of bringing about change has been deemed as an overblown practical ambition **(**Hammersley 1997), research and findings from CDA have managed to bring to the surface less obvious and implicit meanings hidden in texts. Furthermore, CDA research has awaken consciousnesses and placed under limelight sensitive issues such as those of power, ideology, social inequality, struggle and instutionalized dominance. In the present study the agenda of CDA is considered to be particularly useful for keeping a keen eye on the way in which gender and power relations are presented in development texts, for questioning the accorded positions and roles, for highlighting tensions and positive or negative states of facts. Furthermore, the practical tool developed within CDA for the analysis of participant representation turns into an elementary part of the method of analysis. The next section

presents this tool, a ramified network of representation possibilities which helps reveal and understand various facets of the ways in which participants are represented by text producers.

2.2.2.1. The representation of participants

The repertoire of processes and roles formed by Halliday's categories (presented in 2.2.1.1 above) provides a strong tool for textual analysis. However, as shown below in the analysis of a fragment from the data, there are means of participant representation which remain unanalysed when using the Hallidayan repertoire (for example, the representation via possessivation or nominalizations in the fragment below). Therefore, the toolbox of participant representation needs to be extended to include a larger array of means of representation. This is shown through the analysis of an example from the data in which the occurrences of the participant 'women' are written in bold:

> (1) *...more than half the **women** in the developing world now use modern contraceptives and **their** fertility rate has fallen...New programmes have also sought to promote the participation of **women** in decision-making at various levels...*(FAO 1996).

In this fragment, the participant 'women' occurs three times: twice expressed through the noun *women* and once referred to through the possessive pronoun *their*. Using the Hallidayan participant roles, which are imposed by the verbal group, only one of the three occurrences is registered. It is the occurrence of *women* as the Actor in a material process (*use*), having *contraceptives* as Goal of their action. The other two instances therefore remain neglected and the analysis is utterly bereft of two thirds of the possible meaning which the producer of the text invested. One cannot simply go over the fact that the participant 'women' is also present in the possessive *their,* which attributes something to women (the fertility rate) and in the nominalization *participation* constructed with *of*, which points to activity (see the discussion on nominalization in 3.2.1). The example clearly shows that the categories of analysis are in need of improvement if the results of the study are to represent the meanings of the texts faithfully.

The scheme of processes and participants was enhanced by Van Leeuwen (1996). In his work on the representation of social actors in discourse, he devised a 'system network' of the many possible ways of representation. It should be mentioned that the term 'actor' is used by Van Leeuwen in a broader sense than that used by Halliday to label the participant that does the action in a material process. Van Leeuwen was faced with the necessity of going

beyond the barrier erected by the analysis of participant roles. Pointing to the fact that Agency, "a sociological concept…of major and classic importance in Critical Discourse Analysis" (Van Leeuwen 1996: 32), does not have a fixed and unique way of being represented, he comes to the conclusion that "[t]here is no neat fit between sociological and linguistic categories" (Van Leeuwen 1996: 33). He chooses to begin his work not at the linguistic end of the cline, but at the sociological end, stressing the importance of the specific social significance that linguistic categories carry with them. He discusses the two main reasons for his approach. The first reason is the impossibility of keeping both formal categories and semantic categories in precise and harmonious order at one and the same time ("the lack of bi-uniqueness of language"), which echoes Huddleston's (1988) criticism (see the discussion in 2.2.1 above). The second reason is that language is not the only means a culture has for expressing meanings; for example, images have their own power of representing agency or non-agency. Starting from the sociological end, Van Leeuwen endows his categories with the distinctive feature of covering the representational choices of other semiotic systems, being thus "pan-semiotic" (Van Leeuwen 1996: 34). Mention can be made here that the system of transitivity choices has also been applied to the analysis of images (cf. Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996) and in the study of media design (cf. Machin and Van Leeuwen 2007, Martinec and Van Leeuwen 2009).

Leaving aside other semiotic means and going back to Halliday's grammar of experience, it should be noted that Van Leeuwen's categories are sociosemantic, but they are based on "specific linguistic and rhetorical realisations" (Van Leeuwen 1996: 34). The important factors in the representation of social actors in discourse are largely based on five main distinctions: exclusion vs. inclusion; activation vs. passivation; generic reference vs. specific reference; nomination vs. categorisation; and personalisation vs. impersonalisation. These factors intermingle in the process of depicting participants. Dissecting the selected array of choices for representing participants can be used to reveal various aspects of the representation. For the purposes of the present analysis of development plans and resolutions some of the categories are relevant in the representation of women and men. These categories are discussed below.

The exclusion of social actors from discourse can be done innocently, but also strategically (Van Leeuwen 1996: 38-42). When the mentioning of actors is irrelevant to the context, the exclusion is seen as being efficient. When the exclusion is strategic, social actors can be omitted via suppression (the omission of social actors by making no reference to them in the texts) and backgrounding (the less radical omission of social actors, which may not be

mentioned in relation to a certain activity, but are mentioned elsewhere in the text). Suppression can be achieved for example via non-finite clauses (e.g. the infinitival clause *to maintain this policy is hard* in which the social actor responsible for the 'maintenance' is excluded); by using for example nominalizations (*immigration*) and process nouns (*support*, *stopping*), as in *the level of support for stopping immigration*; or by realising processes as adjectives, as in *legitimate fears* (in which the actor of the process of legitimating is suppressed); or via passive constructions in which the agent remains deleted, e.g. *concerns are being expressed about...*. Social actors included in one text can also be omitted at some point in the text via backgrounding, i.e. being pushed in the background, by using elliptic constructions in non-finite clauses with -*ed* and –*ing* participles, in infinitival clauses with *to*, and in paratactic clauses (for examples see the analysis of exclusion means in Van Leeuwen 2008: 28-32).

Once social actors are included in discourse, they can be represented either actively or passively. Van Leeuwen (1996: 43-45) states that agency or non-agency of social participants is achieved not only via the grammatical roles of Actor or Goal which constitute the means of participation, but also through other means. There are largely two other means along the means of participation: the means of possessivation and the means of circumstantialisation. The means of possessivation do not point semantically to possessivation, but do use possessive pronouns (see examples below), while the means of circumstantialisation use prepositional phrases, as in *discrimination **against** women*. In the clauses of the example at the outset of this section the two remaining occurrences of the participant 'women' would be categorised as activation by possessivation. One is possessivation via premodification: ***their fertility rate has fallen***, while the other is a case of possessivation via postmodification: *promote the participation **of women** in decision-making*. An example of possessivation which serves to represent the participant as undergoing the process (via passivation) is: *emphasis on the training **of women***, where the participant 'women' is seen at the receiving end of the training activity. In passivation, the social actor is not only shown as the one who is somehow affected by the activity, but it can also function as a third party which benefits from the process, positively or negatively. Thus, passivation is divided between subjection and beneficialisation, an example of the latter being: *facilities traditionally reserved **for men***. A detailed and exemplified overview of the means of activation and passivation is found in section 3.2.1 in which the grid of roles and means which is used for the detection of the ways of representing participants in the data is introduced and discussed.

An important aspect in the representation of social actors in discourse is the way in which they are referred to. There are largely six ways of making reference to social actors: genericisation and specification, determination and indetermination, abstraction and objectivation (cf. Van Leeuwen 1996: 46-70). In the present study, the means of representing the social actors are not analysed in detail, but reference to them is made where it is considered to be revealing an important aspect of text creation and participant representation. That is why, in what follows, I will only point to and exemplify succinctly some of the ways of referring to participants which are used in development texts (for abbreviations see List of Abbreviations). Social actors can be generically represented, i.e. as classes, e.g. ***rural women are the majority of the world's food producers*** (Isis 1984: 63) or they can be specifically represented, as identifiable individuals, e.g. ***the landless Harijan women in a Punjabi village of India*** *told an interviewer* (Isis 1984: 73). Social actors can be nominated, i.e. represented in terms of their unique identity, e.g. *seven year-old **Baindu**, a west African schoolgirl, will find it difficult to continue her education* (Isis 1984: 178); or they can be categorized, i.e. represented in terms of identities and functions they share with others, e.g. *groups of **mothers** protesting the 'disappeared' in Argentina, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Chile in the face of overwhelming odds* (Sen and Grown 1988). Social actors can be represented personally, including the feature human, e.g. *life-long education towards the re-evaluation of **the man and woman*** (WPA 1975: para.46k), or by means of reference to their qualities or activities or products, e.g. ***the Plan*** *builds on the lessons learned* (FAO 1996).

Tracing the way text producers make use of these means of representing social actors discloses what kind of reality the texts construct. The linguist's mission is therefore to "(i)nvestigate which options are chosen in which institutional and social context, and why these choices should have been taken up, what interests are served by them and what purposes achieved" (Van Leeuwen 1996: 43). The system network outlined by Van Leeuwen is complex and full of ramifications. For the purpose of the present study, the categories of representation which are used to restructure the toolbox of processes and roles are the following: exclusion vs. inclusion, activation vs. passivation (with its means of subjection and beneficialisation) and categorisation vs. personalisation. The overview of these means of representation is given in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 in section 3.2.1. The next section reviews the study of organizational discourse and discusses characteristics of genres belonging to this discourse.

2.3. Genres and discourses of organizations

So far, I have introduced the background theories against which the study is situated and according to which the texts are analysed. In this section, I introduce theories and notions which are helpful in furnishing a theoretical framework for understanding and approaching the data: the way the texts are related to one another, the categories represented by the texts, the key characteristics one needs to be aware of when working with such data. The aspects which are introduced here are criteria for categorising texts into genres (section 2.3.1) and main characteristics of organizational communication (section 2.3.2).

2.3.1. Criteria for categorising texts into genres

Texts are not autonomous blocks of words, which can be taken into an isolated consideration. Texts occur within a social and cultural context. Considering such contexts one can make better sense of the sources, aims and messages of texts. This link between the world and the words is made via genres. Genre analysis situates texts not only within a textual, social and cultural context, but also along a historical perspective (Swales 1990). This multifaceted perspective has moved the understanding of the genre concept beyond the static notion, based on a characteristic pattern in form and content. The nature of genres is virtually dynamic and open-ended, the core of social action (Miller 1984). The use of genres inevitably occurs. The basic idea is that "virtually everything you do involves you participating in one or other genre" (Martin 1985: 25). For example, when shopping, one needs to follow the construct of a particular genre in order to be able to get what one wants (Martin 1992: 546). The nature of text production is a dynamic one and that is why even structurally unique texts can still be found to belong to one and the same genre (cf. Ventola 1987: 67; for a discussion of text-internal criteria for categorising texts and their intersection with text-external criteria see Virtanen 1992 and Virtanen forthcoming).

     There are various influential definitions given from different traditions of genre studies. The tradition of new rhetoric genre studies largely considers genre as rhetorical action based on recurrent situations (Miller 1984). In systemic functional linguistics, Martin (1985: 25) describes genre as "a staged, goal-oriented, and purposeful social activity that people engage in as members of their culture". The English for Specific Purposes perspective proposes genres as classes of communicative events having shared communicative goals. This

set of communicative purposes "shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style" (Swales 1990: 58). Apart from the shared communicative goals, there are also other key aspects related to genres: they have established shared labels and are possessed by discourse communities, they can be public, semi-public or private and, most of all, they are caught in a dynamic process of change (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1985, Bakhtin 1986, Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993; see Bauman 2006 for a general overview of approaches to genres; Halmari and Virtanen 2005 for the 'intergenre' model; Herring 2007 for genres emerging within computer-mediated communication). A wide-ranging definition of genre which evolves out of the consideration of the various traditions of genre theory is found in Bhatia (2004: 23):

> Genre essentially refers to language use in a conventionalised communicative setting in order to give expression to a specific set of communicative goals of a disciplinary or social institution, which give rise to stable structural forms by imposing constraints on the use of lexico-grammatical as well as discoursal resources.

Especially relevant to the present study is the application of the notion of 'genre' to organizational communication. Yates and Orlikowski (1992: 299) conceive genres as "socially recognized types of communicative action habitually enacted by members of a community to realize particular communicative and collaborative purposes". This suggests that genres are enacted through rules which are established via practice and that genres manifest characteristics of substance and form. The two notions of 'substance' and 'form' are reminiscent of the 'schematic structure', 'content' and 'style' in Swales' theory. Substance includes the topics, themes and arguments, along with typical discourse structures used to express the communicative purpose. Form refers to three aspects of communication: medium (e.g. paper or e-mail), structure (formatting of text) and linguistic features.

The work practices and interaction norms within organizations weave a complex and hierarchical network of genres. Simons (1978: 37) tried to express this complexity by observing that "genres exist at various levels of abstraction, from the very broad to the very specific". For example, the 'interoffice memorandum' might be recognised as a broad genre of communication within the organization, and the 'new staff announcement' as a more specific genre within the broader class. Paltridge 1995 and Lee 2001 consider that certain genre categories can be ordered into a three-tiered hierarchy: the super-genre (e.g. advertising), the genre (e.g. the advertisement) and the sub-genre (the web ad). In modern genre theories, the observation that genres exist, are defined and modified in relation to other genres which are used within a shared domain has given rise to the notion of a 'genre system'. Orlikowski and Yates (1994) studied the evolution from the formal business letter, through

informal business letter and memorandum, to electronic mail. They introduce the term 'genre repertoire': "set of genres enacted by groups, organizations, or communities to accomplish their work" (1994: 541). An example of such a repertoire which is also very appropriate for the present study is that of a conference which may start with the election of jury, establishing the agenda, a call for speakers, followed by declarations, and concluding with the production of a paper. In order to clarify the different possible uses of similar genres, Yoshioka et al. (2001) construct a prototype of a genre taxonomy in which they include both widely recognized genres (e.g. memo, report, dialogue, proposal or announcement) and specific genres (e.g. official announcement, trip report or publication notice). Such a complex taxonomy points to the importance of genres in the coordination of communication processes among people and between people and their tasks.

The view that genres are always on the move has advanced the perspective that there is no possibility of boundaries between genres: they develop in concordance with a particular generic event (Bhatia 2004). The concept of 'genre colony' is introduced by Bhatia as a collection of genres within and across disciplines with a common communicative purpose. Due to the dynamic and interrelated spheres of academic, institutional and professional life there is a certain appropriation of generic resources taking place which gives birth to hybrid or mixed types of genres. They can serve both complementary communicative purposes, e.g. the informative and promotional purposes of mixed genres such as infomercials and advertorials, but also contradictory communicative purposes, e.g. the legislative and diplomatic intentions of a joint declaration such as that made by Hong Kong/China during Hong Kong's handover (Bhatia 2004).

Identifying genres in which individual texts occur and creating a precise taxonomy of texts can be interpreted from at least two perspectives. First, it can be seen as subjective and limiting, as one forces a text to be ascribed to a certain genre and traces a boundary to meaning potentials (Derrida 1981, O'Sullivan et al. 1994: 128; see also Hodge and Kress (1988: 7) who see genres as having control over "the behaviour of producers of such texts, and the expectations of potential consumers"). Second, it can be seen as offering a certain order among the myriad of texts (Chandler 1997) and helping in detecting established trends in various domains (see the discussion on "the routine and formulaic nature of much media output" in Fairclough 1995a: 86).

The approach taken in this study is to use genres in order to identify, on the one hand, the categories which the texts of the data realize and, on the other hand, the nature of the communication practices at the level of governmental organizations. At the same time, this

study acknowledges the possibility of texts having multiple meanings and exhibiting a mixed array of characteristics. The discussion of the organizational genres under analysis in the present study is found in 3.1, below. The criteria for identifying the genres are those introduced in the above definitions: the presence of well-established genre labels, the invoking situation, the communicative purpose and the common characteristics of form. The next section describes the background of organizational discourses and their main characteristics, illustrated with results of previous analyses of organizations' texts.

2.3.2. Organizational texts and discourses

Various disciplines have manifested an interest in the way in which organizations are structured and in the part which communication plays in organizations. We can mention here some of these disciplines, such as sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, pragmatics, semiotics, literary and rhetorical language analyses, but also critical language studies (for a summary of different approaches, see Drew and Sorjonen 1997, Putnam and Fairhurst 2001). Largely, there are two main approaches in discussing the relationship between discourse and the creation of social reality via organizational texts (Mumby and Clair 1997: 182). There is a 'cultural approach' which is descriptive and tries to identify the way people who belong to one and the same organization express this via shared norms and values. Then there is a 'critical approach' which goes beyond the shared values to point to the existing competition, the struggle of interests and the exercised power.

Language itself is a form of organization, but what is a key aspect here is that language helps create and re-create organizations, through the communication between organizational members, through the output of texts in various forms, and through the communication about them in the media. Language is the barometer of change: when an organization is changing, the language is changing (Swales and Rogers 1995). Through language the members of an organization forward their aims and image as a collective. In the plans of action of this study, the organizations reflect the change in their approach from period to period via the language of the written texts.

Giddens (1989) conceived of a clear and workable definition of what constitutes an organization, which can be applied to this study: "an organization is a large association of people run on impersonal lines, set up to achieve specific goals" (1989: 276). The United Nations or the Food and Agriculture Organization are indeed large associations with well

defined and broad aims. Another definition of what constitutes an organization can be found in Mumby and Clair (1997). Their definition detaches from the impersonal lines of Giddens' definition and directs the research towards the human aspect of organizations which are formed of "a social collective" whose "ongoing, interdependent and goal-oriented communication practices" (Mumby and Clair 1997: 181) produce, reproduce and transform the organization. The definitions of an organization given above contain some of the criteria discussed by Swales (1990: 28) when defining a discourse community: it has a broadly agreed-upon set of common public goals; it has mechanisms for intercommunication among its members; it uses its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback; it utilizes and hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims; it has acquired some specific lexis; and it has a threshold number of members with suitable degrees of relevant content and discoursal expertise. Therefore, from a homogeneous point of view, an organization can be regarded as a discourse community: it strives for goals, requires expertise, survives via communication, possesses genres and addresses audiences. Of course, in the mosaic of the corporate world, there may exist groups in which members may not all recognise the same set of communicative purposes and thus do not constitute discourse communities.

This understanding of organizations invites research of the many forms of discourses which express and create structure and culture for organizational participants. As Fairhurst (1993: 344) remarks: "...chiefly through discourse, a new point of reference is created, meaning is created, and action becomes possible". Work in this field has focused on various aspects such as: the everyday conversations of participants which form certain networks (Stohl 1995, see also the concept of 'communities of practice' by Wenger 1998); the meetings taking place within organizations (Mumby 1988, Wasson 2003); the existence of gendered corporations and the key role of language in the (under-)representation of female leaders at senior levels (Baxter 2010); the communication within one group or across different specialist or non-specialist, lay groups (Gunnarsson 1997); the recurring stories and jokes members tell and retell (Helmer 1993, Collinson 1988); and the formal speeches and statements given by executives (van Dijk 1993b, Eelen 1993). This organization-internal perspective enables researchers to dive into the dynamics and complexities which take place and evolve within the discourses of their members. But one can also take an organization-external perspective and turn the attention towards the discourses which are formed around an institution through the organization's formalized genres (including various reports, press releases, white papers, codes, resolutions, plans of action and manuals) and the discourses of other institutions

(including the press or organizations with similar or opposing goals) communicating about it. The present study traces the approaches towards the participants in development work through the analysis of the reports, plans and resolutions different organizations create in order to define and solve emergent issues in the field of development.

Certain properties of organizational discourses are important to observe when working with data extracted from organizational discourses (as is the case with the present data). Some of these properties have already been touched upon in the previous and present sections: the role of language as the barometer of organizational change and the use of various organizational genres which either support each other or mix into one another. Other properties of organizational discourse which need to be taken into consideration when analysing texts which are the products of organizational communication are: 'recontextualisation' and 'formalisation', the mix of organizational voices and the complex and often conflicting nature of organizational audiences. These properties are discussed in detail below.

'Recontextualisation' is the mechanism through which the technologized uses within an organization replace the use of voice and gesture with the use of electronics (see the discussion of this term as used by Bernstein 1996 and Sarangi 1998 in Iedema and Wodak 1999: 11-13). Through the process of recontextualisation the personalised interactions are put on paper and presented via an electronic document, such as a plan of action, which can be downloaded from the organization's website. Iedema and Wodak (1999: 13) discuss the fact that via recontextualisation a process of 'depersonalisation' takes place, i.e. a detachment from ideational and interpersonal characteristics. What takes place at the same time is an endowment of power, i.e. an elimination of any extensive specification and the presentation of the product as taken-for-granted, as background assumption. In a later article, Iedema (2000) labels this process of transforming one semiotic mode into another as 'resemiotisation'. From talk to print, the original meanings established via personal interaction are "re-semiotisised as written summaries of what was said" (2000: 47). The distancing from the initial semiotic mode brings with it a rupture from "the domain of negotiability and changeability" (2000: 47), i.e. there is little place left for settling or changing the discussed issues. This danger of taking everything as given and as a rule can also occur when one is confronted with the final products of the decision-making processes of an organization – its resolutions or plans of action, genres which are included in the data of the present study. Iedema (2000) also shows how the interpersonal control occurring during the interaction is dissimulated and naturalised in the written reports via the linguistic process of "demodalisation". Demodalisation

comprises aspects such as passivising the clause, using metaphors, and de-personalising the imperative force (see also Wodak 2000: 111). Such strategies manage to hide institution-specific knowledge, such as "knowledge of whom the control applies to, how strongly, who issued it, and what exactly (in practice) the desired actions are" (Iedema 2000: 52). The strength of recontextualisation has one further effect, that of 'formalising' (Iedema 1999). Formalising takes place when the informal, interpersonal decision-making process is changed into the well-argued and formal logic of the written reports, when the "profane talk is gradually reconstituted as formal, sacred language" (Iedema 1999: 63).

Depersonalisation, endowment of power, demodalisation and formalising – all signal the fact that written texts which are the result of organizational communication bear specific marks due to the organizational processes they have undergone. It is crucial to keep these characteristics in mind in a text analysis such as the present exploration of the representation of participants. The people involved in the decision-taking meetings held at the United Nations or in the Food and Agriculture Organization have their say and confront the views which are to be included in the final report or resolution. The product of the meeting, the report or the resolution, bears no trace of the power relations negotiated during the face-to-face interaction and it leaves little place for negotiability. The analyst herself is left with the limited possibility of a relatively static contextual interpretation. The representation of participants is also likely to have been transformed through the transfer from informal decision-making to formal official paper. The analysis in chapters 4 to 6 traces the differences in the representation of participants between organizational genres, from one decade to another.

The negotiation of power relations presupposes the existence of different participants of various positions, having centrifugal opinions. This mix of heteroglossic forces is an important aspect of organizational discourse. The term 'heteroglossia' was introduced by Bakhtin in 1934 in the theory of the novel and later applied to other domains as well. It alludes not only to the existing multiplicity, but mainly also to the tensions between the languages within the apparent unity of any national language. Applying this concept to organizational communication, Lemke (1999: 27) interprets Bakhtin's observations this way: "...opposing any centralizing, homogenizing discursive forces in a community, there are always also 'centrifugal' or 'heteroglossic' forces produced by the sharply differing discursive worldviews of people with different social positioning". At a large international conference or at a general assembly of the United Nations the presence of different worldviews is to be expected. The many opposing and different views are reconciled or not. However, the final

decisions will bring to the fore a homogenized vision. Analysing the discourses created around the development of a new website for an organization, Lemke shows how the various viewpoints present in the organization can be seen to form a complex system of heteroglossic relations. This heteroglossic formation can be detected at best when analysing different texts of one and the same organization. Lemke (1999: 30) identifies major voices and adjunct voices which have different orientations and intentions. One of the voices is the administrative voice which takes the role of "guiding and coordinating the actions and discourses of others" (1999: 29). As regards agency, he observes that it is a characteristic of bureaucratic discourse to metaphorically displace agency from persons to impersonal actants (the institution, the website, etc.). Such features are to be considered when reading the texts of the United Nations where the General Assembly might also take the administrative voice or assign agency from animate to inanimate participants.

Apart from the communicative purposes of text producers which can be shared, complementary or contradicting, conscious or not, there is another aspect of genres which needs to be taken into consideration: that of the intended audience(s). Considering the relation in which the audiences find themselves with text producers, one can differentiate between receiver-oriented texts and producer-oriented texts. The question whom the text addresses and the issue of how text producers adapt their style to audience(s) has been discussed and developed in a model of 'audience design' by Bell (1997). He recognised that the impact of audience members on the speaker's style-shifting is proportional to the degree to which the speaker recognizes and ratifies the audience members. In 2.3.1.2 above it has been shown that the aspect of intended audience(s) and its/their expected prior knowledge can even bring explanations for the different degrees to which agency and causality are made explicit in written texts (see the discussion of Stubbs 1996 above). In political texts, the possibility of moulding one's message to the audience can be used for various aims. Wodak and Van Leeuwen (2002) show how one political figure changes arguments and legitimations as he markets his messages to various electorates: "at the party meeting, traditional socialist slogans are invoked; for employers, the role of the state is downplayed; when meeting the young unemployed, their equal chances and rights are stressed" (Wodak and Van Leeuwen 2002: 364).

The texts of the data are manifestations of the genres which originate in administrative organizations. These organizations have various political and strategic aims, and the audiences they address are not only from different backgrounds and hierarchical levels, but they also have diverse expectations, needs, interests and values. Different audiences have

different levels of access and more or less influence on the choices made by text producers. This aspect is particularly complicated with a global organization such as the United Nations or the Food and Agriculture Organization where the audiences are so diverse that it is hard to consider all within the same text. It is difficult to create and maintain positive relations with the various audiences, to balance their competing interests. A strategy to which organizations recur is that observed by Eisenberg (1984): sometimes organizations create messages which are general and indeterminate so as to make different interpretations by the many individual audiences possible. The analysis in chapters 4 to 6 illustrates the way the representation of participants is different or similar from one genre to another, from one period of time to the next. One further factor which influences the representation of participants is clearly the impact of audiences. A discussion of the audiences of the genres under analysis in the present study is found in section 3.1.

There are some organizational genres whose purpose is explicitly to carry ideologies and institutional cultures, for instance: mission statements, about-us pages, plans of action. The various aims of organizations are expressed sometimes through one and the same genre. Swales and Rogers show how in the organizational genre of mission statements there may be texts with "startling differences in communicative purpose" (1995: 223). Their approach is to look not only at the structural, discoursal and stylistic characteristics of the texts, but also at their context: they explore the history, press releases and the working atmosphere connected to this genre. Straehle et al. (1999) analyse another genre: European Council Presidency Conclusions on unemployment. Via discourse and cognitive-semantic analysis, they detect the real function of the texts: instead of giving instructions and directives for "actions that in and of themselves actually solve unemployment" (1999: 89), the European Council Presidency Conclusions give instructions and directives for organizational activities. The reason for this twisted function of the texts is found to be the fact that governmental, political intervention into the economic market is meant to remain minimal. The evidence takes various forms. One of the forms is the vagueness and abstraction of the texts: the actual measures, the tools to fight unemployment proposed by the Presidency Conclusions "largely consist of abstract-conceptual activities (*monitoring*, *reporting*, *examining*, *verifying*, etc), not specific political interventions like employment programmes, regulation of the tax systems or interest rates, etc" (Straehle et al. 1999: 93). The contrast which is established is that between mental processes (the activities of thinking) and material processes (the activities of doing). The contrast between these types of processes is also relevant in the analysis of the data in

chapters 4 to 6, as the analysis is aimed to disclose the degree to which the participants in the texts are represented as active or as passive members of the development process.

McHoul (1986) claims that an oppositional reading strategy is needed when dealing with policy documents, such as the Queensland Policy Statement on 'sex equality' written in 1981 by the Queensland Department of Education for the acknowledgement and promotion of women's rights. She shows how such a text manages to create a process of double appropriation: the incorporation of another (feminist) discourse and its alteration. The state department's discourse transforms the radical feminist discourse of women and education into a discourse of education and sexual equality, thus neutralizing the radical discourse's effectivities (1986: 192-197). Moreover, McHoul concludes that policy language merely describes facts instead of assuming responsibility for creating "ontological effects" (1986: 198). Here the analyst of organizational texts is confronted with the fact that some organizational texts not only alter incorporated discourses, but also, as observed by Straehle et al. (1999) above, tend to focus on abstract concepts, rather than requiring the implementation of measures which can bring effective results. The latter aspect has an influence on the expression of agency in the texts. The degree to which abstract-conceptual activities are also invoked by the producers of plans and resolutions is shown in chapters 4 to 6.

Documents produced under the auspices of political institutions should not only be approached with an oppositional reading strategy, but the very inherent objectivity of the institution should be placed under question. This aspect is highlighted in a paper by Eelen (1993). Eelen analyses documents (speeches, letters, telegrams, etc.) produced during one of the largest UN operation for the 1960 Congo Crisis. Eelen is set to define a model of authority management strategies, whose constituents are identified to be the strategic moves, their linguistic realisation and the motivations or grounds of speakers. The linguistic characteristics analysed include modality, lexical qualification, metaphor, the selective use of pronouns, and grammatical parallelism (Eelen 1993: 38). One observation is that, in the verve of the debate, the speakers/writers gradually detach themselves from the real situation at hand (the crisis) and end up talking about themselves (bringing arguments for and establishing their positions and identities). The linguistic analysis supported by knowledge of facts such as the UN sending troops in the Congo raise the issue of the UN's neutrality. Even the United Nations is an institution which needs to make choices and which may sometimes find it impossible to remain impartial. Donahue and Prosser (1997) explore the way in which speakers at the UN talk about various historical conflicts (e.g. the Middle East conflict) and issues of high interest (such as human and women's rights). For a theory of language and politics, see the practical

analyses of actual specimens of political text and talk by Chilton 2004. Rather than speeches addressed to the General Assembly, the present study examines the final public documents which have evolved after the debates and speeches took place. While not questioning the neutrality of the UN, this study points to the way in which the diachronic change of approaches within the UN or FAO is manifested in representations of women and men in their texts.

This section on genres and discourses of organizations has highlighted aspects which facilitate the understanding of the data of the present study. First, in view of approaching the essence of the texts under analysis, this section has dealt with the dynamic nature of genres. Second, considering different models of analysis of organizational texts and their results, the section has highlighted the complex of characteristics which is specific to such texts. Characteristics such as the impact of audiences, the existence of heteroglossic forces, recontextualisation and its formalising effects, are of importance in the interpretation of results when analysing the representation of participants. Ideologically-laden genres, such as resolutions and plans of action, fulfil various functions for organizations, which cannot always remain neutral and which may sometimes be restrained in their degrees of actions and interventions by given regulations. Analysing organizational texts sheds light on the means through which people interpret social reality, as "...organizations pervade every dimension of our lives, strongly shaping our identities and our experience of the world" (Mumby and Clair 1997: 202). The present study highlights the way in which the realities and identities of the women and men in developing countries have been communicated through time in texts of organizations such as the United Nations and Food and Agriculture Organization.

CHAPTER 3: Materials and methods

Chapter 3 introduces the texts which form the data of the study (section 3.1) and the methods of analysis (section 3.2). First, the selection of the texts is motivated and an introduction to the ever emerging women's issues which have been debated at the Unites Nations throughout the decades is given in section 3.1.1. Second, the three sources of texts are discussed in order to point to the characteristics of the respective texts (topic, purpose, medium and structure) and identify the genres that they represent (section 3.1.2). The second part of the chapter, which deals with the methods of analysis, is divided into three sections: the grid of roles and means of representation is presented in section 3.2.1, the methods of analysing women's identity and activity issues (the WIA issues) are introduced in 3.2.2, while section 3.2.3 lists the grammatical classes via which *gender* is expressed.

3.1. Reading the texts

The backbone of the analysis is the diachronic aspect. Along this time line, the evolution of two phenomena and their interrelation is analysed: the change of approaches within development economics, i.e. the way old approaches mould into new ones, and the representation of participants, i.e. the transitivity choices made for the representation of women and men and the adoption or creation of new concepts, such as 'gender'. The source of the selection of materials is the United Nations. The decision to focus on this organization has been influenced by certain factors: the United Nations is a point of reference for political decisions worldwide; it is the largest organization taking decisions regarding the situation and future of women within development economics; it is a good source of older materials, dating back to the 1960s, thus offering a solid base for the diachronic aspect of the study; being the organization of a number of governments throughout the world, it is the place where viewpoints are confronted and negotiated before being put down as decisions in documents; and, last but not least, such a global organization manifests its activities not only via one genre, e.g. resolutions, but via a range of genres.

In order to be able to analyse the ways in which women and men in development are represented across time and across genres of one and the same organization, different texts written under the remit of the United Nations have been included in the corpus. The texts emerge from three different situations: (i) world conferences on women, (ii) resolutions taken within an assembly and (iii) plans of action written by an organization. First, the texts of the

United Nations' conferences on women have been selected because they are the reference for ample strategic plans made within the United Nations after long discussions, analyses and debates. Their scope is wide: they encompass not only development economics, but all economic and social aspects regarding women. This way, they are a mirror of the general work done at the United Nations concerning women's issues and they are the background for the work within feminist development economics (see further the discussion in 3.1.1.1). Second, the resolutions of the General Assembly regarding women and development have been selected for two main reasons: they date back to 1960 and thus support the diachronic approach adopted in the study; and they have a strong moral aspect, as they indicate to countries of the world the right way to do things within development economics. They are not laws, but they are ethically binding and point to social opinions of specific points in time (see further the discussion in 3.1.1.2). Third, the texts of the Food and Agriculture Organization have been selected in order to investigate the texts of one United Nations' organization which has a long history within development work and which has focused its work on women from the moment the United Nations adapted its strategy so as to cover women's issues. FAO's texts are produced as the result of field work, being thus the hands-on, practical and concrete variants of the strategic texts written at higher levels of theoretical decisions (see further the discussions in 3.1.1.3 and 3.1.2.).

Figure 3.1. The cone of data: from the general plans of the UN conferences on women, through the benchmark UN resolutions, to the practice-based FAO plans

The data can be aligned along a cone which has at its base the texts of general strategy and theoretical approaches, i.e. the plans of the conferences, goes forward to include the texts which should be taken as a benchmark of development work, i.e. the UN resolutions, and reaches the praxis peak with the texts of applied economics, i.e. the FAO plans. Figure 3.1 illustrates the cone formed by the data. The analysis in the next chapters respects this gradation of the texts, starting with the texts at the base of the cone and going further to the peak of the cone. The texts are investigated one by one (in the instance of the plans) or grouped along decades (in the instance of the resolutions). Before the detailed presentation of each of these three sources of data, a brief discussion of the history of the United Nations and its work on women's issues is in order. Section 3.1.1 gives an overview of the emerging issues.

3.1.1. The United Nations and women's issues

When the First World War ravaged the nations, at the beginning of the 20th century, a strong spirit of cooperation urged a number of countries to strive for international support, peace and security. In 1919, under the Treaty of Versailles, the first intergovernmental peace organization, the League of Nations, was founded (UN homepage a). This organization ceased its existence when it proved to be unable to solve the discord between countries and impede the outbreak of the Second World War. Nevertheless, the spirit of teamwork survived. During the war, the Allied Nations, namely China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States, planned a new inter-governmental peace organization on the model of the first, but with a firmer structure and policy. In 1945, the founding conference of the United Nations took place in San Francisco, where the representatives of fifty countries wrote and signed the United Nations Charter. The name *United Nations* was coined in 1942 by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt (UN homepage a). Through the United Nations Charter the countries engaged themselves not only in political cooperation, but also in the promotion of social and economic progress and development, and in the promotion of "universal respect for and observance of human rights" (UN Charter, article 55c). Early in 1946 the first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations was held in London and it signalled the official beginning of the Organization's activity.

      Realising the importance of supra-national collaboration, women were present already in 1919 in Paris to make sure their voice had an influence on the decisions taken in the

establishment of the League of Nations. At that time, representatives of many women's international organizations arranged a meeting which took place in parallel with that of the inter-governmental meeting. This initiative proved very effective and it became a permanent feature later in the 1970s. Although their suggestions were considered too radical in certain respects (e.g. asking for minimum wages for housework), women managed to pass a number of declarations regarding the rights of women and men, the prevention of the traffic in women and children and the equal employment of women and men in the League of Nations' offices.

Women's actions in the 1920s and 1930s were breaking new ground and were settling new models of cooperation (moving from the national to the international level). However, it was only after the Second World War, with the formation of the United Nations (UN), that the proposals of women (on disarmament, human rights, etc.) captured the attention of the governments (Pietilä 2002: 5). The United Nations' Organization was seen undoubtedly by women as a vital means for bringing about social and political transformations, especially the equal relations between women and men. That is why women were present at the formulation of the UN Charter and struggled to include in the final content of the Charter articles on women and men, their rights and opportunities. Later, they were also present at the process of writing up the Declaration of Human Rights (1946-1948). In her account of women at the United Nations, Pietilä (2002: 17-18) points to the fact that women from various countries challenged the use of the word *everyone*, which in certain cultures does not refer to every individual, regardless of sex, but also the use of *man* which was culpable of referring only to men. As a result, the final form of the Declaration does not contain any occurrence of *man*, which was replaced by *human being* and *(every)one*, strengthened by the specification "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" (UN Charter, article 55c).

When intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) or women's non-governmental organizations (NGOs) proved unsuccessful at the local or national level, they turned to the international level to put their women's issues on the high political agenda. The UN was the perfect tool to achieve that. An example for such an achievement is the celebration of International Women's Day. As early as 1911 women in various parts of the world began celebrating their own independence day by organizing meetings and demonstrations. Partly successful, partly unsuccessful, women struggled to make their voice heard and to achieve a certain international standard for their celebration. In 1975 the issue of celebrating women's day reached the UN agenda and managed to enter a resolution which officially declared the 8th of March as International Women's Day. This way, many countries which had never

celebrated the 8th of March made the date a national day as well and women around the world united in the same spirit and enterprise.

Throughout the years, various women's issues took their turn on the agendas of the United Nations' agencies. Many issues went through the process of debate and only some turned into declarations, conventions, resolutions or recommendations. Once such an NGO initiative or proposal was accepted and promoted by the UN, it functioned as an international law, binding the countries which ratified the law. For the organizations fighting for peace and rights, such a law meant a strong tool for the advancement of legislation for women everywhere. The UN human rights convention which includes provisions concerning most of the women's issues is the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* – "an international bill of rights for women and a blueprint for action by countries to guarantee those rights" (UN Homepage b). The Convention went through a long preparation process, from 1973 to 1979. It was adopted by the General Assembly in 1979 and it entered into force only two years later in 1981 when the required number of twenty governments had ratified it (Pietilä 2002: 25). By 2002, the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* was ratified by 170 countries, becoming the most widely-ratified UN human rights convention (UN Homepage b).

The women-focused work of the United Nations throughout the second half of the last century, achieved side by side with the International Women's Movement, was divided in five great periods (Women Go Global 2002):

1. 1945-1962 : Securing the Legal Foundations of Equality
2. 1963-1975: Promoting Women in Socio-Economic Development
3. 1976-1985 : United Nations Decade for Women
4. 1986-1995 : Putting Gender on the Agenda
5. 1996-2000 : Moving Forward

The titles of these periods reflect the realities, problems, needs and wants that troubled and moved women and their organizations from decade to decade. At first, the urgent need was to obtain political rights for women, the right to nationality and the right to family planning. Later, as more developing countries became members of the United Nations and as the focus on political and security aspects glided towards the focus on development issues, women came to be seen as key actors in the field of food and population. Gender was the early 1990s concept which refocused attention from women alone to women and men together across economic, cultural and political levels, thus highlighting inequalities engrained in social systems. The issue of economic, social and cultural violence against women also came out high on the agenda and many conferences and resolutions dealt with this phenomenon starting

mid 1990s. A similarly important notion of the 1990s is that of 'empowerment'. The term itself is as late as the mid 17th century, when it had the legalistic meaning of authorisation. However, its modern political sense of having, taking or receiving control has been adopted within the field of development. Oakley (2001) identifies five key uses of the term empowerment in development studies: empowerment as participation, empowerment as democratisation, empowerment as capacity building, empowerment through economic improvement and empowerment and the individual. A definition of the term which is appropriate for this study of the representation of women and men in development texts is given below:

> Empowerment - is about people - both women and men - taking control over their lives: setting their own agendas, gaining skills, building self-confidence, solving problems and developing self-reliance, and expressing their voice. It is both a process and an outcome. No one can empower another: only the individual can empower herself or himself to make choices or to speak out. However, some institutions can support processes that can nurture self-empowerment of relegated individuals or groups (ADF VI 2008: v).

Having gathered experience and various working tools, the women's movement goes forward in the fifth period and beyond it, putting the issues of women on the 21st century agenda of the United Nations. The stages of talking about, working for and with women over the years also signify the maturation process of the views on and attitudes towards women within the United Nations and its Member States. At the beginning, the decision makers of UN placed themselves in the paternal positions of helping women, whom they could regard at that stage only as objects of development. Pietilä (2002: 44) finds this approach characteristic of the 1960s. In the 1970s, once the contribution of women began to be viewed as essential, the paternalistic manner weakened, but women were still not considered equals. They were new instruments and resources which could be used for the benefit of economies (cf. Razavi and Miller 1995: 1). Because women wanted to make their own perspective matter in decisions and plans, they realised that being integrated in a passive manner represented no advantage in the long run. Gradually, in the middle of the 1980s, United Nations understood that women were not only pawns to be integrated and adorned with rights, but individuals with their own value, equal agents and beneficiaries in the social and political process. A first document which pointed to this change in attitudes and thinking was the 1985 Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies, in which the right and necessity of women's equal participation was clearly stated:

> To achieve optimum development of human and material resources, women's strengths and capabilities, including their great contribution to the welfare of families and to the development of society, must be fully acknowledged and valued. The attainment of the goals and objectives of the Decade requires a sharing of this responsibility by men and women and by society as a whole and requires that *women play a central role as*

intellectuals, policy-makers, decision-makers, planners, and contributors and beneficiaries of development (NFLS 1985: para.15, my italics).

In 3.1.1.1 to 3.1.1.3 below the documents included in the corpus are introduced in detail, across the three sources: the world conferences, the resolutions and the plans of action.

3.1.1.1. Plans of the world conferences on women

In March 2005, women all over the world came together to celebrate 30 years from the First International Women's Conference held in Mexico City. Throughout the three decades, women learned and improved how to conceive and formulate objectives, to defend and negotiate them, to point to and surpass impediments, to critique failures and praise achievements. Up to 2005, there have been four world conferences on women convened by the United Nations.

The first conference was held in 1975, the International Women's Year, which was also the landmark for the United Nations Decade for Women, from 1976 to 1985. The World Plan of Action (WPA; for the abbreviations see also List of Abbreviations) adopted by the Conference identified measures to be taken by governments in view of the rights of women and of the necessity to allow women to participate and have access to resources on an equal footing with men. Present at their first international conference, women headed both governmental and non-governmental delegations, actively shaping the discussions (DAW 2000).

In the middle of the Decade for Women, in 1980, the second world conference on women took place in Copenhagen, reviewing the progress made by Member States in accomplishing the targets set out in the 1975 World Plan of Action. The participants at the conference strengthen the attack against the factors which hinder women from putting into practice the rights they claim. The revised Programme of Action (CPA) lays the focus of the guidelines on three areas: employment, health and education.

Five years later, in Nairobi, Kenya, the United Nations set up "The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace". This meeting represented a high and decisive point in the history of women and women's issues at United Nations. It was the first meeting at which the number of official country delegates was by far surpassed by the number of participants at the parallel meeting organized by non-governmental and women's organizations (DAW 2000).

They all formed a strong international voice which condemned the minimal improvements women had achieved in their status throughout the decade and required a new and wider approach to be adopted. Basically, all issues became women's issues: social and political matters, legal equality and participation of women needed to be incorporated at all levels, in every institution (DAW 2000). An extensive array of concerns and priorities were included in the recommendations made by women and their representatives in the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (NFLS).

Yet another level of the understanding of the complex realities involved in the struggle of women's organizations was reached during the last decade of the 20th century and was expressed at the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995. The key notion of the decade was 'gender' and by taking it as the working notion, the participants at the conference cast a bright light on the persisting, profound and pervasive inequality within the structure of society. The focus was placed on the need for women to empower themselves to make their own values the rule. At the same time, the entire grid of relations between women and men had to be reconsidered and reformed. The renewed perception urged a strong commitment to the cause of women's rights and power and a deepened analysis of factors. The Beijing Platform of Action (BPA) identified twelve areas of concern, representing the main keys to fully opening the way for women to advance. By adopting the Platform, Governments engaged to consider these critical areas and the important gender dimension, in order to satisfy the needs of both women and men equally.

Following the decision to evaluate progress periodically, the United Nations called for special sessions of the General Assembly and of the Commission on the Status of Women every five years after the fourth world conference. In June 2000, under the theme "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for Twenty-First Century" the governments which came together at the special session of the General Assembly reviewed the progress made, reaffirmed their commitment to the Beijing Platform of Action, examined challenges and decided on actions and initiatives to overcome the obstacles. In March 2005 United Nations' Commission on the Status of Women conducted a ten-year review of the Beijing Declaration and Platform, also known as "Beijing +10". The 49th session of the Commission on the status of Women was a regular session but it was meant to be a high level event with a renewed focus: the work programme for 2005 focused on national-level implementation through interactive dialogue and exchange of good practices. Women's non-governmental organizations saw this as a new opportunity to highlight the important space won within the

UN, integrate their views in the discussions and re-focus the attention on women's concerns in a world changed by increased military conflict (CWGL 2004).

The documents of the meetings which took place during the world conferences and the special sessions are the products of an engrained conflict and continual negotiation (Sen and Côrrea 2000). The parameters of discord are diverse: different women and different experiences, different organizations and different approaches, different states, different policies and different traditions. The conflicts arouse discussions which result in a negotiation of the terms to be used in the plans and resolutions. The two opposing camps are formed by conservative governments (including the United States and the Holy See, the central government of the Catholic Church) and the progressive feminist movement (Alpizar 2005 a, b). The conservative side has always been against issues of abortion, rights of women and women's economic advancement. Conservatives regularly send amendments to the texts of the plans and resolutions. This way, a strong tension infiltrates the meetings and there is need for conciliation over terms, their meanings and interpretations. For example, in the process of drafting the 1995 declaration the Holy See activists turned against the use of the expression 'women's human rights'. They advanced the variant 'women's dignity' as better and insisted in that being used instead. Thus, 'women's human rights' stood for some days in brackets in the draft of the 1995 declaration (Côrrea 2000).

A conference report gives an account of the 'repertoire' of genres (see the discussion in 2.3.1 about 'genre repertoire' as used by Orlikowski and Yates 1994) which are enacted through the meetings: from organizational matters such as the election of president and officers, the adoption of rules of procedure and of the agenda, to the decision matters of conceiving and adopting the measures and guidelines for future action. These measures and guidelines form the central part of the conference documents, in which the actions to be taken in specific areas of concern on national, international and regional levels are given. From period to period, these measures and strategies are reviewed and improved.

The conference plans which are included in the data of the present study can be seen in Table 3.1 below. The documents have been retrieved from the website of the United Nations' Organization. The size of the conference documents is given in Table 3.1. The abbreviations indicate the way the reference to the specific texts is made in the study. As the fifth conference, just as the fourth, was held in Beijing, the abbreviation for the fifth conference plan is B 2000 (for the abbreviations see also List of Abbreviations). The percentages based on the number of words indicate the extent to which each plan contributes to the total of the data formed by conference plans.

Table 3.1. The documents of the world conferences on women in the corpus (number of paragraphs and numbers of words per decade)

Year	Abbr.	Title	N paragraphs	N words	
1975	WPA	World Plan of Action	212	17,003	11%
1980	CPA	Copenhagen Programme of Action	287	32,151	20%
1985	NFLS	Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies	372	36,636	23%
1995	BPA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action	361	55,019	34%
2000	B	Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the 21st century	139	20,775	12%
Total				**161,584**	**100%**

The documents written after the first world conference are evidently larger as they improve and expand on the targets, strategies and approaches taken in 1975. The priority areas requiring special attention at the national level are reconsidered and diversified, and the policies and programmes for the regional and international levels are given a detailed structure: from a focus on exchange of information to a focus on research, data collection and even assistance to women in problematic places, such as Palestine and Southern Africa. The five documents are all conference plans, written with the same purpose of establishing strategies and identifying solutions, which are reviewed and improved from period to period. However, as one can notice, the authors have given the documents various titles or labels: plan, programme or platform. In section 3.1.2 below it will be made clear that despite these different labels, the five texts are considered to belong all to the same genre. A detailed presentation and an analysis of the representation of women in each of the five plans of action are found in chapter 4.

3.1.1.2. United Nations' resolutions on women

The meetings of Member States' representatives within the United Nations and its agencies discuss and evaluate issues concerning every aspect of people's lives around the world. Whether concerning agricultural development and environmental protection or education and medical research, whether deciding on family planning or workers' rights, the representatives of the 192 Member States debate and try to reach conclusions within this immense forum of nations. The main deliberative body of the United Nations is the General Assembly[1], in which each Member State has an equal vote. By a simple majority, through negotiation and accommodation, the representatives can reach agreement on the best solutions for each issue

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[1] The other principal organs are: the Trusteeship Council, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat.

and situation. The resolutions they set up make recommendations to States, they do not impose "binding decisions" (UN homepage c). Though they are not forcing the nations into adopting a law or a programme, the resolutions of the General Assembly represent pressing international matters (such as peace, democracy, human rights and development) which appear as vital at one time or another for the nations:

> Just as individuals in a democracy have equal voting rights regardless of whether they are rich or poor, powerful or weak, all countries in the General Assembly have the same voting rights. The vote of the General Assembly is therefore *an accurate barometer of world opinion*. Its decisions, though *not legally binding* on Member States, represent *the moral authority* of the community of nations (UN homepage d, my italics).

The resolutions on women therefore, which this study analyses, point not only to what constitutes a critical issue for women from decade to decade, but also to the ethical commandments thought of as appropriate by the forum and directed to the nations.

The UN agenda of the 1960s was feebly covered with resolutions on women, which sounded as a call to encouraging women "to play an even greater and more effective part" in community development (UN 1957: 1162 (XII)). However, it was only with the 1970s that this call strengthened and turned into "a programme of *concerted international* action for the advancement of women" (UN 1974: 3342 (XXIX), my italics). There were largely three main reasons for the 1970s to become a turning point in the history of United Nations' approach to women in society: the growing number of developing countries becoming UN members; the growing pressure of the feminist movement on governments and the United Nations; and the critical situation of food and population growth in the world (Pietilä 2002: 29). That is why, from 1970 onwards, the resolutions on women in general and the resolutions on women and development in particular became a constant presence in the annual meetings of the General Assembly and reflected the gradually changing attitudes and approaches to the role of women in development.

The present study analyses the General Assembly resolutions concerning women in the field of development. The table in Appendix 2 lists all the resolutions, their titles and years of occurrence. There is a total of 39 resolutions: one from 1957, four from the 1960s, eight from the 1970s, twelve from the 1980s and the rest of 14 resolutions are from the 1990s and the beginning of 2000. The collection of data having ended in 2004, the last resolution included in the data is from 2003. For the sake of a better management of the data and of the clarity in analysis and discussion, the body of resolutions included in the data has been grouped along four decades: 1960s (including the resolution from 1957), 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (including the resolutions from 2001 and 2003). Table 3.2 presents the resolutions

according to their numbers and their word-length along the four decades under which they are grouped. The percentages based on the numbers of words are given so as to indicate the extent to which each decade contributes to the total of the data.

Table 3.2. The United Nations' resolutions in the corpus (number of resolutions and their numbers of words per decade)

Decade	N resolutions		N words	
1960s	5	13%	1,789	6%
1970s	8	20%	6,545	21%
1980s	12	31%	7,522	24%
1990s	14	36%	15,328	49%
Total	**39**	**100%**	**31,184**	**100%**

The fact that the 1970s represented a new stage in the approach to women and development is signalled also numerically, as the number of resolutions doubles once the Decade for Women (1976-1985) is prepared and launched by the United Nations as an international programme. Furthermore, the first resolutions are not only few in numbers, but also small in size, reflecting the incipient stage of the enthusiasm and concern about women's issues. Later, when the feminist movement gathered experience and control over the issues and when it started to exert a greater influence on the decision-making level, the resolutions evolved not only in their content (cf. the analysis of the resolutions in chapter 5), but also in size. As an example, the first resolution from 1957 numbers 196 words, while one from 1985 reaches a total of 620 words, culminating in a resolution from 2003 of 2,933 words. The aspect of size casts light on a peculiar characteristic of the texts: each resolution builds upon the decisions taken previously and in this way there is a reference to other resolutions and a repetition of the pronouncements (see the discussion on the notion of 'intertextuality' in 3.1.2 below). This characteristic of the texts has an important impact on the results of the analysis, as the texts contain a repetition of processes, roles and issues used for the representation of the participants. Table 3.2 shows that the period starting in 1990 produces almost 36% of all the resolutions of the decades on women and development, and half of the number of the words of all the resolutions (almost nine times more words than in the 1960s).

Theory must be supported by practice. The 1990s represented a numerical increase not only in the words of the conference plans, but also in the positions women occupy within the United Nations. In 1991 women filled 29.2 per cent of the core professional posts within the UN. In 2005, this percentage increased to 41.3 (UN homepage e). It was also in the 1990s that the UN conferred consultative status to women's non-governmental organizations, which thus could have a direct influence on the decisions reached at the international governmental level.

The NGOs came to be seen by UN as "valuable links to the world's peoples" (UN homepage d).

3.1.1.3. FAO plans of action for women

The Food and Agriculture Organization is the United Nations' specialized agency founded in 1945 to lead the international efforts to defeat hunger. It is aimed to act as a neutral forum where all nations, developing or developed, meet as equals to negotiate agreements and debate policy regarding food. The texts taken as materials for the present study are the three plans for women-in-development that the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has written up to the time the data were gathered. They were written with hindsight to the UN decade for women in development (1975-1985) as a necessary guideline for FAO "to ensure the incorporation of concerns for women into all its activities" (FAO 1989: 2). Table 3.3 gives the titles of the three plans, their years of publication and their sizes. As the titles and the time spans suggest, the three plans do not match exactly the three approaches of WID, WAD and GAD, discussed in section 2.1.1. Chronologically, they cover the end of WAD and go well into GAD, but their titles suggest that the plan of 1996 still belongs to WID and the plan of 2002 to GAD. As already pointed out in 2.1.1, the periods are to be interpreted as flexible and overlapping.

Table 3.3. The FAO plans in the corpus

Year	Title	N words	
1989	FAO Plan of Action for Women in Agricultural Development (1989-1995)	11,012	24%
1996	FAO Women in Development (WID) Plan of Action (1996-2001)	16,018	34%
2002	FAO Gender and Development Plan of Action (2002-2007)	19,517	42%
Total		46,547	100%

The structure of the plans is also an issue worth exploring, as it is capable of pointing to specific characteristics. The FAO Plan of Action for Women in Agricultural Development (1989-1995) is designed as a small publication, numbering 40 pages. It is FAO's first strategic framework for the work within feminist economics. Already in the 'Foreword' signed personally by the then-Director General of FAO Edouard Saouma, the conviction of the need to fully integrate women in development is expressed. The plan expands on four different spheres of activities for women: those of civil status, economic, social and decision-making. For each of these spheres the general conditions and situations are presented, encouraging

achievements from different countries are drawn attention to and finally the strategies and the actions needed are exposed.

Being their first plan for women-in-development, FAO includes an introductory chapter on the specific situation of women in agricultural economy. It points to the fact that women have been utterly neglected though their contribution has always been important in many ways, especially as women have always fulfilled various roles on and off the farm. It also points to the fact that the contribution women make has slowly captured the attention of policy-makers, and yet no full result in women's access to productive resources (land, credit, technology) has been felt. It is, therefore, the priority of FAO and of other organizations to make this process work efficiently by recognising that "women represent a major force for rural change" (FAO 1989: 5). The activities suggested by FAO are to be implemented on two levels: national and local.

The second plan, FAO Women in Development (WID) Plan of Action (1996-2001) is no longer conceived as a brochure divided in chapters. It takes the form of a list of paragraphs. There is a total of 138 paragraphs which are nevertheless structured according to various themes: after the introduction, the background, purpose and scope of the plan are presented, then a number of paragraphs are dedicated to the state of rural women and key issues affecting them (food security, nutrition, environment, poverty), followed by a note on the progress already achieved, culminating in the straightforward enumeration of the strategic objectives of the plan. The main bulk of the paragraphs revolve around a detailed presentation of the strategies and instruments of all of the organization's departments and divisions; finally, the organization expresses the need for internal and external support and monitoring of the progress in the implementation of the plan.

Admitting that the first plan had been too generally focused to be effectively implemented, FAO aims in this second plan only at a few attainable targets, for which the entire organization, department by department, is roused to action. At the same time, the focus on women of the last plan is expanded to encompass a focus on gender-equity, i.e. work relations between women and men in the household. Thus, the principles of GAD can be noticed to have an effect on the approach exposed by the plan. The progress achieved is esteemed as precarious. Worldwide, rural women contribute enormously. Worldwide, gender bias persists. This irony urges FAO to take measures and develop tools for promoting gender-equity, reducing women's heavy workload, enhancing women's participation in decision- and policy-making processes and thus improving rural women's productivity. As FAO's increased attention to its own departments' functions and strategies shows, there is a special focus on

the within-the-house level. However, there is also another level which gathers influence: the global level.

The third and latest plan, FAO Gender and Development (GAD) Plan of Action (2002-2007), aims primarily at realigning concepts and approaches with the GAD (Gender and Development) approach widely adopted in the UN System. The document has the same structure of paragraph-listing, numbering 131 paragraphs. However, the FAO offers the possibility of accessing the plan on their website also as a brochure, a fact-sheet and a flash presentation (in section 3.1.2 below it will be shown that these are different modes of one and the same genre). The texts are available in Arabic, Chinese, English, French and Spanish. The Plan is structured in six sections and various sub-sections. The introduction sheds light on the plan's background (the two previous plans and 1990s international conferences), the plan's purpose (four-fold), the plan's scope (organization-wide), on FAO's mission (help build a food-secure world) and FAO's vision (improvement of activities, knowledge and policies). The six sections enlarge on the different theoretical approaches of WID and GAD, on key issues affecting gender roles, on the Plan's objectives, on FAO's priority areas of intervention and the gender mainstreaming activities within those areas. Internal and external monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the Plan of Action are again deemed of importance. What is also of importance in this plan is building the skills of FAO staff for gender mainstreaming (see an explanation of this term in 4.3).

FAO is spreading its analysis and activities on all levels: the in-house level, as the training of the staff is seen as a basic requirement for starting and carrying out an efficient plan; the local level, which regains importance as the need to have local knowledge, to appreciate local diversity and local people's valuable participation in development is expressed; the national level, with which a better dialogue is established through the creation of a scheme of FAO representations; and the global level, whose challenges (especially those related to gender) are taken into consideration and of which more surveys are undertaken. The three sources of data offer an informative collection of texts from the work within women's issues in general and development economics in particular. The table in Appendix 3 offers an overview of all the texts over the decades. The total size of the corpus is 239,315 words. The next section discusses the three sources of texts and the way in which the texts are identified to represent genres.

3.1.2. Genres in the data

The texts emerge from three different situations: world conferences on women, resolutions taken within a general assembly and plans of action written by an organization. There are a number of criteria which turn the texts into good prima facie candidates for genre status. These criteria have been discussed in section 2.3.1, in which the notion of 'genre' has been defined: the genres are named and recognized by members of the community in which they are found and they exhibit common form and substance. Section 3.1.1 above has already shown the commonalities of the texts emerging from each of the three different situations as regards the important aspects of topic, purpose, medium and structure (the criteria of form and function). As regards the first criterion of given labels and recognition, it can be observed that the texts are related to conventionalized communicative settings (conference meetings, general assemblies or organizational meetings) and are labeled accordingly within the communities. Furthermore, their role is recognized and correctly used in the communication interaction: the world conference plans of action establish for nations worldwide general objectives and means of action for the improvement of the situation of women; the governmental non-binding resolutions offer moral standards of decision-making for governments worldwide; the organizational plans of action identify the strategies of the organization for a period of five years. Within the communities they belong to, the texts have an importance which entails a number of conventions for the text producers and raises predictable expectations in text receivers.

Taking these criteria into consideration, the data can be grouped into three genres: conference plans of action, governmental resolutions and organizational plans of action. The notion of 'genre' must be used here with care, as the communication is taking place within complex social settings, which not only entail a wide spectrum of producers and receivers, but are also characterized by change. Due to factors such as the emergence of new topics, maintenance of old ones, modifications of strategy and introduction of new media, the genres are under continuous evolution. Evidence for this is the observed differences in genre dimensions, such as the different titles and the different modes which are encountered from one period of time to another within one and the same genre. I refer here to the different labels given to the documents of the world conferences on women (*plan*, *programme* or *platform*) and to the different modes (plain document, brochure, fact-sheet or flash presentation) in which the 2002 FAO plan is made available.

The data of the present study are formed of official, organizational texts. In his analysis of official documents, Biber (1989) discusses some of the predominant linguistic features and general communicative characteristics: they tend to be markedly non-narrative (abound in present-tense verbs and attributive adjectives), non-persuasive (e.g. lack of prediction/necessity/possibility modals, of split auxiliaries and conditional subordination), extremely informational in production (abound in nouns, prepositions, attributive adjectives, place adverbials) and explicit in reference (abound in nominalizations, WH relative clauses in object and subject positions); plus, they are characterized by an abstract style (abound in agent-less passives, BY passives and conjuncts) (Biber 1989: 27). The data of the present study are formed of official texts taken from different sources than the texts analysed by Biber. However, the mix of features which can be found in certain official documents such as the ones discussed by Biber, is treated as background knowledge when analysing the genres of official documents such as plans and resolutions and looking into the way the representation of social actors is achieved throughout the texts and decades.

The texts give background information about the development status of countries in the world, about the situation of women and men in different places; they use accurate facts to highlight historical conditions; they expose problems and give solutions; they take a clear stance on issues, appeal to values, provide proof via statistics, make calls for action, but also give guidance for action. Note must also be made of the fact that the texts are written by organizations in which decisions are taken democratically, at an international level. Moreover, these decisions represent social values, define roles and explain how things are to be done. The organizations, especially such an institution as the UN, have an inherent authority (see Eelen 1993: 34) which is also transmitted via the texts they produce. Such characteristics indicate that the texts serve an argumentative function.

Based on the observations made above, the participants of the texts written by institutions of the UN are expected to be represented in material processes of action, less in processes of passivation, but at the same time they are expected to be represented via processes of identification. The texts define the participants and portray them as actors involved in the development process. This explains hypotheses such as those under 1.a and 1.b, in 1.2.2, above.

The text receivers belong to a wide spectrum: from text receivers of an official, public domain, to text receivers of an unofficial, private domain, i.e. from organizations to individuals. However, as Stubbs observes (1992: 206), "writing is first and foremost a medium of administrative power". The immediate receivers of the texts are those of the

decision-making institutions, while the concerned individuals remain the end-receivers, outside the discourse community formed of members with expertise (one of the criteria Swales lists, 1990: 28). The plans of the world conferences target decision bodies such as state institutions with a focus on women, other women's organizations and, last but not least, the United Nations itself. The resolutions target national governments and state institutions with a focus on development economics. The FAO plans target mainly the organization's subsidiaries, which take the plans as the benchmark for their projects and strategies. The women and men in developing countries form the subject of decisions, but are hardly expected to be able or have the chance to be reading these decisions.

The texts are the result of a collective decision-making process. They are not exactly the "written summaries of what was said" (Iedema 2000: 47), but more the consensus which has been achieved through negotiation, debates and the drafting process (see Wodak 2000). Behind the mere and clear exposition of decisions, plans, activities and aims, there exist meetings of representatives or staff, evaluations of situations and efficient steps to be taken, other international discussions, debates, research, revisions and preparations: 'a complex network of social practices' (Fairclough 2003: 25) whose characteristics and outcome are made familiar to the readers through the texts. Furthermore, the texts of each genre unite in an interconnected body through a chain of references: they build upon the decisions and recommendations of former texts or international fora and on lessons learned via practice. The knowledge of and the reference to previously encountered texts is illustrated through the concept of 'intertextuality' (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 10; cf. also Bakhtin's term 'heteroglossia' discussed in 2.3.2 above, and the distinction made by Fairclough 1992: 117 between 'manifest intertextuality', i.e. the interrelationship of elements such as parody, negation, presupposition, etc., and 'constitutive intertextuality' or 'interdiscursivity', i.e. the interrelationship of features such as structure, form, or genre).

The first part of chapter three has introduced the texts under analysis, their categorisation into three genres and the complex features which bear a trace on the language used. The interest of the present analysis is the representation of participants. The next section introduces the methods of analysis used in the study to detect the representation of women and men.

3.2. Methods of analysis

The selection of the methods of analysis is based on the aims and hypotheses of research. For each genre the analysis evolves on three dimensions. First, there is an analysis of the representation of the two main participants, 'women' and 'men': the processes and the roles via which they are represented. The theoretical framework discussed in section 2.2 lies at the base of the grid of roles and means of analysis. Second, there is an analysis of the issues which are associated with women from decade to decade, from one approach to another. Third, there is the analysis of the use of the word *gender*. The data are analysed quantitatively and hence, out of the context. However, the analysis of each genre is concluded through an investigation of a short extract from the text, in which the three dimensions of analysis are brought together. These text analyses are meant to contextualize the processes and roles in which the participants occur in the texts. The sample analyses are done on texts from different periods to illustrate the change and evolution taking place over time. Below I introduce the methods of analysis for each of the three dimensions: the grid of processes and roles (section 3.2.1), the means of identifying the co-occurences of women (section 3.2.2) and the grammatical classes in which *gender* can occur, i.e. noun, adjective or verb (section 3.2.3).

3.2.1. The roles and means of representation

One aim of the analysis is to identify and compare the roles and means of representing women and men as participants in the texts. The grid of roles and means which has been used for the detection of the ways to represent participants in the data is formed from the unification of the Hallidayan repertoire of types of processes and participant roles (see section 2.2.1.1) with the "sociosemantic inventory" introduced by Van Leeuwen (1996: 43-45). As exemplified in section 2.2.2.1 above, Van Leeuwen identifies three main means of participant representation via activation or passivation in discourse: participation, possessivation and circumstantialisation. This way, the grid evolves along the two main ways of representation, activation and passivation, and each one of these two ways of representation is realised via a range of roles and means. These roles and means have been selected to enter the grid as a result of considerations of the repertoires of Halliday and Van Leeuwen and their relevancy to the purposes of the present study and the gathered data. The roles and means are introduced below.

Through activation via participation the participants in texts can be expressed in roles such as Actor (material processes), Senser (mental processes), Possessor and Identifier (relational processes), Existent (existential processes), Sayer (verbal processes) or Behaver (behavioural processes). Through activation via possessivation the participants are shown in a certain relation of provenance, either with the help of the means of premodification or with the help of the means of postmodification. Through activation via circumstantialisation, the participants are shown to be actively caught in an action introduced by a preposition. Depending on the type of action, the instance of circumstantialisation can be realised via diverse means. These means are discussed in the sections presenting the findings of the analysis. Table 3.4 gives an overview and exemplification of the roles and means of activation of participants in texts. The examples are taken from the data. Roles which have not been detected in the data are not exemplified in the table (observe the lack of the role of Behaver in Table 3.4 below, a role which has been exemplified in the theoretical section 2.2.1.1 above).

Table 3.4. Roles and means of processes of activation

Activation	Roles & means	Examples
participation	Actor	women **play a** central **role** as intellectuals, policy-makers, decision-makers (NFLS 1985)
	Senser	only men **learned about** new opportunities and technologies (FAO 1989)
	Possessor	women who **lack access** to traditional sources of collateral (UN 1998)
	Identifier	small-scale **farmers,** who **are** more likely **to be** women than men (UN 2003)
	Existent	**there were** 208 million women aged 60 and above in 1985 (UN 1994)
	Sayer	rural women leaders **voiced** their needs (FAO 1989)
possessivation	premodification	women**'s** increased **participation** in the realization of the objectives (CPA 1980)
	postmodification	improvement of **the situation of** women in rural areas (FAO 2002)
circumstantialisation	-	encourage men **to share** equally **with** women (…) responsibilities (UN 2001)

The roles are written in capital letters (e.g. Actor, Identifier, etc.), while the means are in small letters (e.g., premodification, circumstantialisation, etc.). In the examples, the participant expressed via the role or means is underlined (e.g., women, men, their), while the process or the element indicating the role or means of representation are written in bold face (e.g., **play a role**, **situation**).

As already mentioned in 2.2.2.1, passivation has two basic types of processes: processes of beneficialisation and processes of subjection. The processes of beneficialisation are the processes in which the participant is envisioned at the receiving end of the process, benefiting from it. In Hallidayan grammar the Beneficiary can appear in material clauses (in the role of Recipient, realised by (*to +*) nominal group or in the role of Client, realised by (*for +*) nominal group, see example 1, below), in verbal clauses (in the role of Receiver, see the example in 2.2.1.1, above) and occasionally in relational attributive clauses (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 293). In the present analysis, the role of Beneficiary is considered to be the role of those participants who are represented as the ones to whom or for whom the process is said to take place, without differentiating among the roles of Recipient, Client or Receiver. However, attention is paid to the fact whether the participants benefit positively or negatively from the processes, i.e. whether the 'benefit' is beneficial (example 1) or disadvantageous, ineffective (example 2):

(1) *design specific programmes **for** <u>men</u> of all ages* (BPA 1995);
(2) ***they** **have been given** only **limited access** to resources* (CPA 1980: para.11).

The processes of subjection are the processes in which the participant appears as the target of the process. Through subjection via participation the participants in the text can be expressed in roles such as Goal (material processes), Phenomenon (mental processes), Carrier and Identified (relational processes). To these, one must add the instances of subjection via possessivation and circumstantialisation. Table 3.5 gives examples from the data for the roles and means via which participants can be expressed as passive. The table follows the same notation system as Table 3.4, above.

The examples indicate that the analysis of the representation of participants takes all forms into consideration, not only nouns (*women*, *men*), but also pronouns (*they*, *their*, *them*). A further note needs to be made concerning the instances of possessivation. Both in activation and passivation processes, possessivation can be achieved either through postmodification or premodification. In postmodification the Head word is before the Thing to which it is connected with the help of the *of*-construction, as in *the work of women* (see the discussion on Head and Thing and their dissociation in Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 332 – 334). In premodification, again, the Head word is placed right after the Thing, which is connected to the Head via the inflected genitive *' s*, as in *women's work*. The choice between the different realisations, i.e. the inflected genitive and the *of* -construction, is mainly influenced by the degree of animateness of the Thing (i.e. *women* in the above examples). Quirk et al. (1985: 322f, 324) observe that most categories of genitive nouns are animate (e.g. *women's* in

women's work). They discuss the complexities of the uses of the two constructions from several different points of view (see e.g.1985: 324, 1275-83; for further studies see Jucker 1993, Kreyer 2003, but also Rosenbach 2003 who reports on an experimental study which controls for overlapping factors affecting the choice of genitive, such as animacy, topicality and prototypicality of the possession relation).

Table 3.5. Roles and means of processes of passivation (via subjection)

Passivation	Roles & means	Examples
participation	Goal	**involve** more <u>men</u> in programmes for attitudinal change (CPA 1980)
	Phenomenon	many lending and financial institutions continue to practise discrimination against women, **considering** <u>them</u> poor credit **risks** (UN 1975)
	Carrier	<u>they</u> **have become** more **vulnerable** to poverty as a result of the HIV/AIDS crisis (UN 2003)
	Identified	<u>women</u> **are** key **contributors** to the economy (UN 1995)
possessivation	premodification	<u>their</u> **integration** in development (FAO 1996)
	postmodification	priority being given to **the employment of** <u>men</u> in economic activities (CPA 1980)
circumstantialisation	-	elimination of illiteracy **among** <u>rural women</u> (UN 1985)

The instances in which the participants determine an element in clauses which point to something they have or need are instances of activation of the participants. The instances in which the participants occur in clauses which point to something they are engaged in or subjected to are instances of passivation of the participants. Therefore, occurrences such as the ones in (3) to (6) below are instances of participant activation via possessivation (i.e. post- and premodification), in the sense that something is attributed to the participants. In these instances, the participant is not passivised, and it is certainly not omitted, through the very use of the nominal, even if the attributed notion is not always a favourable one, and may point to negative aspects (example 6):

(3) *migration affects **the** family and working **lives of** <u>women</u>* (WPA 1975: para.145);
(4) *initial aim is to increase <u>women</u>**'s potential** for leadership* (WPA 1975: para.209);
(5) *the media... portraying **an image of** <u>women</u> that is degrading and humiliating* (WPA 1975: para.175);
(6) *paying special attention to **the problems of** <u>women workers</u>* (WPA 1975: para.107).

Within the class of activation via possessivation, which associates a certain entity to the participants, one must make a further distinction between the Heads that point to something the participants have or need, see examples (7) and (8) and the Heads that portray the participant as being caught in a specific process, see examples (9) and (10). The first are

instances of 'determination', while the latter are instances of 'nominalization'. The instances of determination represent the participants through pointing to an element determined in constructions with *of* and *'s*, or through the use of the possessive *their* which refers to the participant:

> (7) *social services that are essential for the improvement of **the condition of** <u>women</u>* (WPA 1975: para.18);
>
> (8) *new measures taken to improve <u>their</u> (women's) **situation*** (WPA 1975: para.8).

Nominalization is "the process by which non-nominal structural elements are made to function as nominal elements" (Heyvaert 2003: 69). That means that the instances in which the process is replaced through an atemporal notion represent the class of 'nominalization'. In the examples below, the Head words (*contribution* and *advancement*) specify the nominalized process in which the participant is active. Focused discussions of nominalizations and its various types can be found for example in Chomsky 1970; Davidse 1992: 108; Langacker 1989, 1999: 85; Fairclough 2001: 103; Heyvaert 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004.

> (9) *attitudes and beliefs which impede <u>women</u>**'s contribution** to the development process* (WPA 1975: para.171);
>
> (10) *mutual support between programmes for **the advancement of** <u>women</u>* (WPA 1975: para.207d).

The instances of nominalizations draw attention to the fact that genitive constructions with *'s* and *of* are not used for signalling possession only. In 1957, Evans and Evans discuss this aspect in their work and identify seven genitive types. Quirk et al. (1985: 321-322) divide the genitive into eight semantic categories. Starting from and improving the existing categorisations, Kreyer (2003: 178) sorts genitive meanings into nine categories: kinship, possessive, partitive, subjective, objective, disposal, time and space, attribute and origin. Furthermore, as Halliday (2004: 333) points out, *of* is "the generalised marker of a structural relationship between nominals". Therefore, *of* has different senses and it is not only used in genitive constructions: in circumstantial expressions of reason *of* can function as a full preposition, i.e. representing a minor process, as in *die of starvation* (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 270).

The instances of determination discussed above fall under different genitive categories, depending on the semantic meaning carried by the Head: *women's children* (kinship), *women's money* (possessive), *women's courage* (attribute), etc. The instances of nominalization fall under two of the semantic categories of genitive: subjective, when the participant is represented via activation, e.g. *women's contribution* ('women contribute'); and objective, when the participant is represented via passivation, e.g. *the integration of women*

('someone integrates women'). The semantic categories to which the instances of determination or nominalization belong are not identified in the present study. The focus of the study being on the use of the means of activation and passivation of participants, identifying the range of genitive semantic categories brings little relevant information, though it would be well worth doing for further purposes. In order to adhere to the use of the three means of participant representation delineated by Van Leeuwen, i.e. participation, possessivation and circumstantialisation, the analysis includes the instances with *of* and *'s* present in the data within the means of possessivation, irrespective of the meanings they convey. As shown above, the means of possessivation are then further divided into instances of determination and those of nominalizations.

Instances of possessivation can also be found in an accumulation of notions attributed to participants. In these situations, the analyst has to single out the processes that are instances of subjection from those of activation so as to label them differently. Thus, in the invented example *the health, advancement and employment of women*, the analyst needs to distinguish the instances of possessivation which activates women via determination (*the health of women*) and via nominalization (*the advancement of women*) from the possessivation which represents women as the passive Goal of a process (*the employment of women*).

Research done on the representation of participants in texts has shown that nominalizations can play an important part in patterns of agency and control (cf. Thompson and Guerra 1995, discussed above) or in the suppression of social actors (cf. Van Leeuwen 1996, discussed above). In the examples above the nominal constructions such as *the participation of women*, *the contribution of the plan* and *the advancement of women* belong to the type of 'derived nominals' (cf. the classification made by Lees 1960). Derived nominals convey a rather ambiguous sense of activation: the process is reified into an atemporal notion and the direct participants become the modifiers of the nominalization. According to Halliday, this type of nominal group belongs to the instances in which the Head is detached from the Thing and functions as Classifier: "the Head word specifies the class to which the Thing is said to belong" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 333). In these constructions, the Head words (*participation*, *advancement* and *contribution*) specify the nominalized process in which the participant 'women' occurs. These nominal constructions can be paraphrased in the clausal agnates 'women participate in community development', 'women advance' and 'women contribute to development programmes' (the term 'agnate' was introduced by Ravelli 1988). A nominalization, therefore, realizes the meaning of Thing (*participation*), as well as that of Process (*participate*), i.e. the congruent paradigmatic variant (Halliday 1994: 353). That is

why, in systemic-functional perspective nominalization is seen as a major resource for the creation of grammatical metaphors, which have additional dimensions of meaning. In the nominalizations *participation* and *contribution* the participant 'women' is the Actor of the signified processes. In the nominalization *advancement* the role of the participant cannot be pinned down immediately, as there is a sense of ambiguity: the participant can be interpreted as both the Actor of the intransitive process and as the Goal of the transitive process. *Women* is the Medium in a sentence with an ergative process (*advance*). In other words, women are either the ones making the progress happen (*women advance*) or they are the targets of the processes of progress brought about by the United Nations assistance programmes (*programmes advance women*). The sense of ambiguity found in the texts turns the decisions on the interpretation of the roles of participants into a key factor. The researcher needs to remain open to the texts under analysis (cf. Sinclair 2004) and take both senses into account during the analysis. The findings of the present study indicate which means of participant representation are used to a greater degree or which means are totally omitted, in which genres and within which period of time. Appendix 4 includes tables of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus. The next section introduces another means of analysis, that of the issues concerning the main participant 'women'.

3.2.2. Women's Identity and Activity (WIA) issues

The texts from the field of women and development are pervaded with the various issues which the authors and the initiators of the approaches consider important to deal with, debate on and analyse at the particular moment in time. Surveying the main matters of concern present in the different texts enables the analyst to identify views and attitudes towards women and development held by the text authors and development planners. Moreover, the diachronic perspective of the study favours the observation of the way in which these views and attitudes evolve across time and approaches.

In this study women's issues are considered to be what the texts focus on regarding women: what is attributed to women, what is of concern to women, what is said about women, what they do, what is done for them and to them, how or who they are, what they have or do not have. Identifying and counting the presence of these issues in the data gives an important insight into the beliefs and views of the producers of the texts which are shaped by and shape the respective approach they are working within at a certain moment in time. In the

analysis women's issues are identified within the sentences in which the participant occurs in plural or singular form (*women*, *woman*) or in pronominal forms (*they*, *she*, *their, her*). The issues are shown in the tables which present the participant roles (see the column for 'Issue' in Appendix 4).

The issues are manifest as lexical co-occurrences of the word *women* or of the other forms used to represent the participant (i.e. *woman*, *they*, *she*, *their* or *her*). These co-occurring lexical units have the following characteristics: they occur within the boundaries of a sentence; they refer to the main issues concerning women in a particular sentence; they can be adjacent or non-adjacent in relation to the keyword (examples (16), (17) and (18), below); they are lexical words, not function words such as articles or prepositions, negation or modals. The reason for excluding function words is that the interest is not in the grammatical behaviour of the word *women*, but in the ideological world constructed around the participants in the various texts. Some of these lexical co-occurrences are collocations of the word *women* or of the other forms (*woman*, *they*, *she*, *their* or *her*). Collocation is understood in the present analysis as the characteristic company words keep (Firth 1957), the co-occurrence of lexical units (Sinclair 1991, Sinclair et al. 2004). However, in contrast to the rest of the issues which are co-occurrences of the keywords, collocations are characterised by the span of words within which they can be found away from the node and the number of times they occur together with the node. Sinclair et al. (2004: 5) consider the optimum span to be four words on either side of the node: "a shorter span would miss valuable evidence, and a longer one would overlay the relevant patterns with more distant material". Moreover, in order for a word to be considered a collocation it is to occur at least three times together with the node (Sinclair et al. 2004: 42). Words such as *participation*, *integration* and *contribution* (see examples under (11) below) occur more than three times right next to the word *women* (and the other forms) and function therefore as collocations.

The present analysis also takes into account items occurring with the word *women* or with the other forms (*woman*, *they*, *she*, *their* or *her*) only once in a text and items occurring further away than a span of four words. The reasons for doing so are the following: (i) the focus on the lexical items referring to women's issues which constitute important semantic evidence of participant representation; (ii) the grouping of different but semantically-related lexical items referring to women's issues into semantic clusters (e.g., the issue of *plan* which occurs once with the word *women* in the text of the NFLS 1985 is included in a semantic cluster with the issue of *programme* which occurs more times together with the word *women*); (iii) the small size of the data (i.e. the total of 239,315 words); (iv) the low frequency of the

participant 'women' (there are 6,068 occurrences of the participant, i.e. 2.54% of the corpus) and, consequently, the generally low number of words referring to the various women's issues, which convey important aspects worthy of analysis; and (v) the long paragraph-size sentences in which the terms referring to women's issues may find themselves within a span of more than four words. All these factors motivate taking all co-occurrences into consideration, not only collocations. It should be observed that an item that is considered a co-occurrence of the word *women* in one text can function as its collocate in another. This is due to the fact that, as explained in 3.1, the texts are investigated one by one (in the instance of the plans) or grouped along decades (in the instance of the resolutions). For example, the issue of *income* occurs five times as a collocate of *women* in the first 1989 FAO plan of action, but only once in the 2002 plan; and the issue of *needs* occurs only once in connection with *women* in the resolutions of the 1960s, but 14 times in the resolutions of the 1990s. The reasons given under (i) to (iv) also explain why the lexical co-occurrences of *women* are not tested for statistical significance in the analysis, in chapters 4 to 6.

There are three different ways in which the issues concerning women can co-occur with the word *women*. First, the Heads of the possessivation constructions with *women* refer to something that belongs to women (noun as Head) or is undertaken by women (nominalization as Head). Be it a thing or atemporal process, the Head forms the issue regarding women in the respective clause. In the following examples the reference to a women's issue is printed in bold:

(11) *the **participation** of women*; *the **integration** of women*; *women's **choice***; *the **control** of women*; *women's **contribution***; *women's **role***; *their **experience***; *her **time***; *their **actions***.

Second, women's issues can be contained in the verbs indicating various processes or the adjectives of relational processes, e.g.:

(12) *women **mobilize** themselves*; *women **participate** to the development programme*; *women **contribute** enormously*; *they are **active***.

The actions in which women participate and the qualities they possess constitute variants of the nouns or nominalizations occurring as Heads in the possessivation constructions in (11) above. One and the same issue forms the focus of the authors, but they present the issue in various ways in the text. That is why different grammatical categories are included under one and the same women's issue. For example, under the issue of *participation* the following forms are placed together: *participation, participate, take part, play a part*; under the issue of *contribution* enter: *contribution, contribute, make a contribution*; the issue of *integration* is

represented by the forms: *integration*, *integrate*; under the issue of *action* enter forms such as: *act*, *action*, *active*, *activity*, etc.

Third, there are many actions, notions and qualities which occur throughout the texts and stay in some kind of connection to the participant 'women'. They do not have more forms as 'participation' discussed above, but their presence in the texts points to the fact that they (are considered to) constitute important aspects for women. Such are the issues of *facilities*, *disadvantage* and *workload* found in the examples below:

> (13) *women (...) using existing health **facilities*** (WPA 1975: para.115);
> (14) *in many countries girls and women are at a marked **disadvantage*** (WPA 1975: para.67);
> (15) *the unreasonably heavy **workload** (...) that fall(s) upon large groups of women* (WPA 1975: para.18).

Co-occurrences can thus be found in at least four different forms: as single items (*health, job*), as doublets (*integration – integrate*), as triplets or even as groups of more than three items (*contribute – contribution – make a contribution*; *participate – participation – participant – take part – play a part)*. Moreover, the notions which are considered women's issues can have different degrees of proximity to the participant 'women': some are right next to the word (in the instance of issues expressed as verbs or in the instance of the use of possessive pronouns), others are found second to the left or to the right of this keyword (separated by a preposition, genitive marker or copula) and yet other issues lie further away within the sentence in which the participant 'women' is represented. Other examples of non-adjacent words referring to women's issues are:

> (16) *women are the first to lose their **jobs** on plantations* (CPA 1980: para.35);
> (17) *a majority of women, particularly in developing countries, live and **work** in rural areas* (1982: A/RES/37/59);
> (18) *these women must take on many additional **tasks*** (FAO 1989).

These examples are reminiscent of what Jan-Ola Östman (2005) calls 'implicit collocations'. Östman (2005: 189-190) identifies a number of principles for devising typical, explicit collocations, such as the span of five words, the categories of verb, noun and adjective or the punctuation as a barrier for collocations. In contrast to explicit collocations, implicit collocations have an important property, that of the "randomness in the co-patternings" (Östman 2005: 206). In other words, Östman is not looking for systematic occurrences; he is looking for occurrences which exactly through their arbitrariness convey a particular understanding of the text. Unearthing the less conspicuous company of words, Östman (2005: 203) searches for the implicit collocations of words in order to see how they can function as strategies for persuasive purposes. Where exactly on the scale between explicit and implicit

the collocates of women in the data can be placed remains outside the scope of this study, which does not cross the boundary of the sentence, nor does it set out to explore persuasion, coherence or involvement in the texts (as Östman's study does). In the present study the adjacent and non-adjacent collocations of the node *women* are searched for together with the other co-occurrences of the participant in order to discover the worlds of notions and concepts (whether open or furtive) created through these texts around women in development.

For the present analysis, women's issues are grouped into five classes: i) who (how, what) women are; ii) what women have, do not have or should have; iii) what women need; iv) what women do or should do; and v) what governments or organizations or development planners (should) do with, to, for women. These five large fields of concern and work within feminist development belong to two large categories of issues: 1) the issues of identity (the first three classes) and 2) the issues of activity (the remaining two classes). Women's identity and activity issues, shortened as the acronym WIA issues, are presented in Table 3.6, below.

Table 3.6. Women's Identity and Activity issues (WIA issues)

Women's issues	
Identity	Who women are
	What women have
	What women need
Activity	What women do
	What is done for women

In the analysis, the issues are identified along these two categories, paying attention to the focus of the development approaches on identity and/or activity across time. According to the results of the analyses of the three genres, the classes of issues are formed of subclasses: e.g. the class of 'Who women are' issues is formed of the subclasses of 'Location', 'Profession', 'Features', 'Age', while the class of 'What women have' issues, divided between positive and negative issues, is formed of the subclasses of 'Role and Status', 'Goods', 'Organizations', 'Proprieties', 'Private life', 'Women's issues' and 'Hardships. Furthermore, as already mentioned above, the classes and subclasses of issues contain semantic clusters formed of different but semantically related items: e.g., under the subclass of 'Location' one can find a cluster of items referring to women being in exile (*refugee, migrant, displaced women*), another cluster of items referring to the area location (*rural, urban, local women*) and still another cluster of items referring to their national or geographical location (*Palestinian, African women*). The focus of the analysis lies exactly on these semantic clusters, as they are the ones which point to the concepts developed around the participant 'women'. The analysis

of the clusters is presented in sections 4.1.2, 5.1.2 and 6.1.2. Comparing the issues throughout the years and across texts facilitates the assessment of the evolution in time of the attitude towards and understanding of women, their situation and roles. The next section introduces the means of analysis for the second dimension of the study: the use of *gender* in the three genres.

3.2.3. The use of *gender*

The progression of the ideological approaches throughout the three stages of WID, WAD and GAD culminates in the focus on the notion of 'gender'. The interest is to see how the word *gender* is used in the texts of the different sources and thus figure out the way in which the newly emerging notion is perceived in the organizational discourses of development economics. In order to study the treatment of this notion in the evolution from the focus on women to the focus on gender, the use of the word *gender* is recorded: its frequency compared to the frequencies of the participants (as participants taken separately, *women* and *men*, or together in the coordination *women and men*) and its grammatical classes (noun, adjective or verb). The focus is on the adaptation of the notion from period to period and its use across genres.

The grammatical analysis is based on five main categories:

i) gender as noun:

(19) *uphold the principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of* **gender** (BPA 1995);

ii) gender as noun modifying another noun:

(20) *United Nations system to integrate* **gender mainstreaming** *into all its programmes* (UN 1998);

iii) gender entering a compound adjective:

(21) *guide more* **gender-responsive** *policy and programme formulation* (FAO 1996);

iv) gender as an adjective: *gendered roles*;
v) gender as a verb: *gendering the reader* (Mills 1994).

These grammatical classes can be reinterpreted according to their category meaning (cf. Halliday 1998) into gender as thing (expressed via noun), gender as quality (expressed via adjective or when it joins an adjective or another noun) and gender as process (expressed via verb). Analysing whether *gender* is more often used as a noun, adjective or verb can reveal

the way in which 'gender' is perceived: as an abstract notion, as a norm of research or as something which takes place in practice. The occurrences of the word *gender* are counted in the three genres and related to the size of each text. All the instances of the word and the grammatical classes they belong to are recorded for each genre. A sample of the analysis is included in Appendix 5.

The results of the analyses for each genre are presented in detail in the next three chapters. The analysis begins with the plans of the world conferences (chapter 4), continues with the analysis of the resolutions of the UN General Assembly (chapter 5) and ends with the analysis of the FAO plans (chapter 6). The findings are discussed in chapter 7, where the main characteristics of the three genres are dealt with and compared to one another and the diachronic development of participant representation is explored in the light of the results.

CHAPTER 4: Plans of the world conferences on women

The Plans of the World Conferences on Women form the largest part of the data, encompassing 161,584 words. This chapter analyses in detail the reports emitted by the first five conferences: the World Plan of Action (1975), the Copenhagen Programme of Action (1980), the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (1985), the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the second Beijing document (2000). The focus turns first to the representation of the main participant 'women' and then goes forward to include the co-participant 'men'. The process types and roles are presented in tables and discussed through the decades. There is also an analysis of the notion of 'gender' and its use in the texts of the conference plans. The quantitative analysis is corroborated by the detailed analysis of fragments belonging to the first and the latest of the plans, so as to compare the features of the two texts written at two different points in time and at two different stages of the UN conferences.

4.1. The representation of women in the plans of world conferences on women

The analysis of the representation of women discloses the way women as participants of social, economic and political practices are depicted in the texts. The analysis of the representation is divided between the analysis of the roles which women as participants play in the texts (section 4.1.1) and the analysis of the network of issues which is created around women. The aim is to reveal the world of concepts created for, with and around the participants, the view of who women are, what they do or what they need according to the UN Member States and their delegates at the conferences (section 4.1.2).

4.1.1. The roles of women in the plans of world conferences on women

Using the grid of process types and means of participant representation (see section 3.2.1), this section introduces the evolution of representing the main participant throughout the time. The five plans are analysed separately, as they were written in the aftermath of each conference, at different points in time, with different aims and approaches. The intention is to observe the way the change of approaches throughout the time is mirrored at the level of textual representation.

4.1.1.1. The World Plan of Action (1975)

Three decades after drafting the United Nation Charter, the international community of the UN decided to take one step further towards the prosperity and happiness of nations. One basic factor in reaching this was the achievement of equality. The idea was to create one great and effective plan of action to establish the common objectives for equality and the means to achieve them as well and as fast as possible.

In 1975, the government representatives gathered in Mexico City for the first world conference on the status of women. With that occasion they reaffirmed the conviction that "the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require *the maximum participation of women as well as men* in all fields" (WPA 1975: para.4, my italics). The twofold participation of women and men is therefore introduced as an indispensable factor in the struggle towards achieving the two basic incentives for development: welfare and peace. This factor constitutes one legitimation for the 1975 plan's focus on the way and extent to which women participate in all fields of development. There is another factor which is brought as a hard-fact motivation for the full acknowledgement of women: "History has attested to the active role which women played, together with men, in accelerating the material and spiritual progress of peoples…" (WPA 1975: para.6). Thus, history itself is taken as proof for the vital part women play in the evolution of humanity. However, history testifies as well the persistent discrimination to which women are subjected and the difficulties women meet in their desire to live and be treated as full human beings.

The plan is pervaded not only by an economic vein which underlines the worth of women from which the governments of the world could profit, but also by a humanist vein which envisages women's dignity and capacity for self-realization. The last paragraph of the plan's introduction joins these two threads: "the integral development of the personality of *the woman as a human being* is directly connected with her participation in the development process *as mother, worker and citizen*" (WPA 1975: para.6, my italics).

The 212 paragraphs of the World Plan of Action (17,003 words) contain 398 occurrences of the participant 'women'. The frequencies of occurrence and the types of roles and means used in the representation of women are shown in Table 4.1, below. The processes are grouped along the two main categories of activation and passivation. The passivation processes are further divided into the processes of subjection and those of beneficialisation. Parallel to the absolute figures, the right column of the table gives the relative figures for the most often used roles and means.

Table 4.1. The representation of women in the 1975 World Plan of Action

Type of representation		Roles & means	N	%
Activation		Actor	69	17%
		Possessor	9	2%
		Senser	9	2%
		Existent	9	2%
		possessivation	158	40%
	Total		**254**	**64%**
Passivation	Subjection	Goal	52	13%
		Carrier	10	3%
		Identified	9	2%
		Phenomenon	1	-
		possessivation	20	5%
		circumstantialisation	16	4%
	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	36	9%
	Total		**144**	**36%**
Total			**398**	**100%**

The foremost way of representing women is that of activation. The means of activation are used to an almost double extent as compared to the means of passivation. Nearly two thirds of the types of women's activation processes are formed by the instances of possessivation, which represent at the same time the most employed means of representation of all, be it means of activation or passivation.

Comparing the two means of possessivation, i.e. nominalization and determination, the analysis reveals that the means of determination are by far more frequent in the text of the World Plan of Action. Nominalizations represent 26.6% of all the means of activation via possessivation, the rest being occurrences of determination (73.4%). The first three examples below are occurrences of determination, while the latter two are occurrences of nominalization:

(1) *the set targets and priorities should take fully into account **women's interests and needs*** (WPA 1975: para.31);
(2) *the establishment of national commissions, **women's bureaux** and other bodies* (WPA 1975: para.34);
(3) *enlighten the public at large on the indispensable **role of women** in the political processes* (WPA 1975: para.65);
(4) *encouragement of a greater **participation of women** in policy-making positions* (WPA 1975: para.46g);
(5) *funds for financing programmes for the **advancement of women*** (WPA 1975: para.210).

Through the instances of determination there is an agglomeration of notions which determine the main participant. Their predominance points to the fact that the authors of the official plan of action which offers guidelines to governments prefer listing issues concerning women rather than portraying women as agents of processes. In the constructions of

passivation/subjection via possessivation, one encounters nominalizations whose reified process casts the participant 'women' in the role of Goal, women being the ones who undergo the process initiated by someone else:

> (6) *discriminatory **treatment of women** in national security schemes* (WPA 1975: para.105);
> (7) *cultural variations in **the acceptance of women** in diverse roles* (WPA 1975: para.139);
> (8) *there should be equitable **representation of women** at all levels* (WPA 1975: para.31);
> (9) *industrialization…constitutes one of the main means for **the integration of women*** (WPA 1975: para.10).

For the passivation process of *integration* seen in example (9) above, the preference is definitely to use the nominalization, not the verb. The verb form is used only once, compared to the 12 occurrences of the nominalization. In order to express the process of integrating the participants into development activities, rather than *integrate*, other verbs are used, such as *include*, *involve*, *incorporate* (see examples (10) and (11) below). In contrast, the main activation process found in the text, the process of *participation*, is expressed both as nominalization and as verb, to an equal extent. See example (4), above, for the nominalization and examples (12) to (14), below, for the use of the verb form.

> (10) *in order to **involve** more **women** in the promotion of international cooperation* (WPA 1975: para.50);
> (11) *steps should be taken to **incorporate them** as fully informed and active participants* (WPA 1975: para.117).

Turning back to the roles of women and their percentages in the text, one can observe that the predominance of the processes of activation over those of passivation is mirrored further at the level of the main roles of the two types of processes: the role of Actor is used to a larger extent than the role of Goal. There is a wide range of activities in which women are depicted as Actor: they struggle, fight, work, explore, study, provide services, exercise rights and functions, support one another, etc. One fourth of the processes in which women are represented is formed by the process of participation (17 occurrences). The verb *to participate*, used both in finite and non-finite forms, is intransitive and thus the action women are doing does not have a direct outcome, or goal. However, the process of participation is desired to be one which takes place *actively*, *fully*, *effectively* and *productively* for women. See for example:

> (12) *the objective of International Women's Year is to define a society in which **women participate** in a real and full sense in economic, social and political life* (WPA 1975: para.14);
> (13) *efforts should be made to encourage **women to participate actively** in community efforts* (WPA 1975: para.117);
> (14) ***women should participate fully*** *in planning and implementing UNDP country*

programmes (WPA 1975: para.196).

The reality which women face (i.e. the fact that they do not participate) explains the hypothetical future used by the creators of the Plan of Action to express a desired course of action (see the use of *should* in examples (13) and (14) above). That is why the process of participation is also negated:

> (15) *as the majority of **women do not participate** in the formulation of development plans and programmes…* (WPA 1975: para.57).

Women are not only caught in different forms of physical activities, but they also experience the effects of the economic crisis, the discrimination, the terror of repression, the hardships of malnutrition and pregnancies. Such instances activate women as beings who have an emotional and rational life (the role of Senser), an aspect which also needs to be taken into consideration when evaluating the economic situation. However, it is to be observed that the role of Senser has a low frequency (2% of the total number of roles and means of representation):

> (16) *when food is scarce **women** often **experience** a greater degree of malnutrition than men* (WPA 1975: para.109);
> (17) *many **women…experience** daily the terror of repression* (WPA 1975: para.13);
> (18) *the right of **women to decide** freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children* (WPA 1975: para.136).

As an important participant in development processes, women are also regarded from a statistical view: the role of Existent in examples (19) and (20), in which the participant is said to exist/be found in certain categories (circumstantial elements) which are statistically recorded, i.e. *in the labour force* and *in the age group of 50 years and over*; and the role of Identified in example (21) below, in which women are identified by assigning them to a Value (cf. the Token-Value relation in Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 230-235). Moreover, the plans take into consideration that which women have or do not have and should have (the role of Possessor in examples (22) and (23) below):

> (19) *approximately 46 per cent of **women** of working age (15 to 64 years) **are** in the labour force* (WPA 1975: para.89);
> (20) ***they predominate** numerically in the age group of 50 years and over* (WPA 1975: para.157);
> (21) ***women constitute** more than a third of the world's economically active population* (WPA 1975: para.89);
> (22) ***women** also **need** special care during pregnancy, delivery and lactation* (WPA 1975: para.108); ***women have** a vital role* (WPA 1975: para.109);
> (23) *many **women** also **lack** the education, training, civic awareness and self-confidence* (WPA 1975: para.57).

Placed at the other end of the action chain, in the position of Goal, women form the aim of processes undertaken by governments (see examples (24) and (25), below) or of processes caused by social phenomena (see examples (26) and (27) below). However, being at the receiving end of the many external initiatives women are not only affected by the processes, but they also profit from them (the role of Beneficiary forms 9% of all the roles). There is a multitude of aspects created for and directed to women of every age, everywhere. Among such aspects dedicated to women one can mention: work, opportunities, training, programmes, rights, etc. (see example (28) below):

(24) *appropriate measures should be taken to **inform and advise women*** (WPA 1975: para.40);
(25) *efforts should be made to **encourage women*** (WPA 1975: para.117);
(26) ***women are** usually **affected** by these social problems to a greater extent than men* (WPA 1975: para.154);
(27) *taboos and superstition that **prevent women** from using existing health facilities* (WPA 1975: para.115);
(28) *attention to **programmes, projects and activities** that give **women** the **skills, training** and **opportunities** necessary...* (WPA 1975: para.191).

Other roles and means of passivation, though not as frequent, are those of circumstantialisation (example (29) below), Carrier (example (30) below) and Phenomenon (example (31) below):

(29) *measures to eliminate **discrimination against women*** (WPA 1975: para.201);
(30) ***they are** frequently **unaware** of their implications and less inclined to support their implementation* (WPA 1975: para.57);
(31) ***women** who **are not recognized** as part of the economically active population* (WPA 1975: para.163).

Learning from the lessons of history and united by the urge to achieve a "maximum participation of women" (WPA 1975: para.4, quoted above) in development processes, the creators of the World Plan of Action put down their objectives and strategies in a text in which the participant 'women' is largely found in activation processes. The analysis goes on to observe the representation of women in the text written five years later, on the occasion of the next world conference.

4.1.1.2. The Copenhagen Programme of Action (1980)

The Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women (32,151 words) is twice the size of the first Plan of Action. Its creators zoom in on every aspect to be taken into consideration in the work towards the development of nations via the

participation of women and men in all fields. The Programme offers a more thorough perspective: not only on the targets and strategies to be followed by States, but also on the historical background which brought the unfair social structure into existence.

In the section on "Roots of inequality", the authors discuss two main factors which contributed into the classification of women as subordinate citizens of the world: the division of labour between the sexes and the general poverty and backwardness existing in many societies. The division of labour occurred through the special position women were seen to occupy, due to the childbearing function they possess. The factors of poverty and backwardness have been caused by unfair social aspects such as colonialism, imperialism and inequitable economic relations (CPA 1980: para.11, 12). The double chain of historical and biological facts and their nocuous consequences which placed a twofold anathema on women can be illustrated as in Figure 4.1, below:
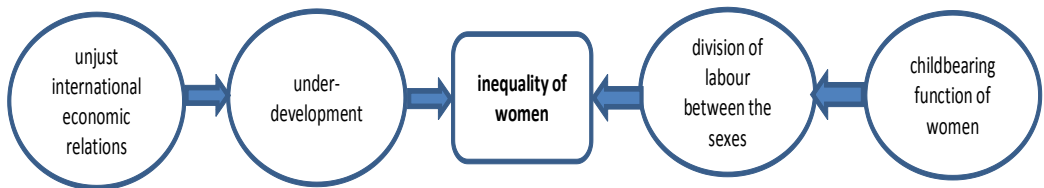
Figure 4.1. Sources of inequality

The situation is therefore a complex one. Although the plans of development view the case of women from an economic perspective, the social factors are of vital importance and that is why they need to be placed side by side with the economic ones. The sad reality is that women are the victims of a double discrimination: "Women are not simply discriminated against by the productive systems, but subject to the discrimination that arises by virtue of being the reproductive force" (CPA 1980: para.13). One is confronted here with the existence of two dimensions which men tried to keep separate, while women tried to unite them: the public world of economic enterprise, of work and the private world of domestic enterprise, of housework. In order to change the state of facts and oppose the unfair treatment women experience, the creators of the Programme present a solution via a number of initiatives for women and on the part of women: "equality of access to resources", "power to participate equally", "joint (family) responsibility of women and men" and "a change in attitudes and roles of both men and women" (CPA 1980: para.3, 4).

This second, detailed Programme of Action establishes from the beginning what the participants at the world conference understand through the three notions singled out as the

key focus of the decade: equality, development and peace. The definition of equality points again to the double discrimination of women (de jure discrimination and de facto discrimination) and delineates the dual position they envisage for women in development, that of agents, on the one hand, and of beneficiaries, on the other:

> Equality is here interpreted as meaning not only legal equality, the elimination of de jure discrimination, but also equality of rights, responsibilities and opportunities for the participation of women in development, both as beneficiaries and as active agents (CPA 1980: para.3).

On the country level, the Programme identifies objectives and priority areas of action around the three main issues of employment, health and education. Furthermore, the Programme delineates seven "priority areas requiring special attention". These are: food; rural women; child care; migrant women; unemployed women; women who alone are responsible for their families; and young women (CPA 1980: para.195-211). For each of them the authors of the Programme discuss goals and measures to be taken. Many of the issues mentioned here will be listed among the women's issues identified in the next section (see 4.1.2).

The Programme of Action has a great size (32,151 words) and presents a detailed examination of the development stage. The number of occurrences of the participant 'women' (831 occurrences) is double the number of occurrences found in the first plan. However, per number of words, the occurrences are not far from each other (2.34% in the first plan vs. 2.58% in the second plan). At the level of the use of the representation means, there is a difference: the use of the activation means is slightly reduced in the second plan compared to the first world plan. There is an increase in the use of the means of passivation. Far from being similarly employed, the two means of representation of the participant 'women' both amount to an important level: activation processes reach 57%, while passivation processes reach 43% of all the processes through which women are represented. Table 4.2 below gives the exact figures and percentages of the main means of representation.

The processes of activation via possessivation form a considerable percentage not only of the entire group of activation processes (71%), but also of the total means of representation (41%). Within this class of activation processes via possessivation a further distinction needs to be made: between the occurrences of nominalization and those of determination. The first represent 34%, while the latter represent 66% of all the means of activation via possessivation. The relative proportion of nominalizations is thus somewhat higher than in the previous plan. The preference for the enumeration of issues concerning women remains therefore valid for the second plan as well. Examples (1) to (3) offer a glimpse of the chains of determinations which can be found in the text:

(1) *the portrayal of women and **women's issues** reflects **women' s rights, needs and interests*** (CPA 1980: para.85);
(2) *(women) to present to as wide a public as possible their own perceptions of **their needs, ideas and aspirations*** (CPA 1980: para.86);
(3) *to formulate and implement relevant programmes to meet **their needs** and to develop **resources and potentialities of women*** (CPA 1980: para.244a).

Table 4.2. The representation of women in the 1980 Copenhagen Programme of Action

Type of representation		Roles & means	N	%
Activation		Actor	99	12%
		Possessor	13	2%
		Senser	12	1%
		Existent	7	1%
		Identifier	3	-
		accompaniment	3	-
		possessivation	340	41%
	Total		477	57%
Passivation	Subjection	Goal	96	12%
		Carrier	2	-
		Identified	17	2%
		Phenomenon	3	-
		possessivation	51	6%
		circumstantialisation	41	5%
	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	144	17%
	Total		354	43%
Total			831	100%

Through nominalizations women are represented as actors caught in various activities. Except for the situation encountered in example (2) above (*their* [women's] *perceptions*) which points to a mental process, the other nominalizations activate women in material processes of doing:

(4) *in many countries there has been little recognition of **women's** actual or potential **contribution** to economic activity* (CPA 1980: para.14);
(5) *alleviate the workload traditionally imposed on women in **their performance** of tasks* (CPA 1980: para.129);
(6) *ensuring that **women's entry** into certain sectors of the labour market does not result in lowering the working conditions* (CPA 1980: para.117);
(7) ***the attainment** of equality **by women** long disadvantaged may demand compensatory activities* (CPA 1980: para.3).

Tracing the occurrences of nominalization is valuable not only for a comparison with the occurrences of determination, but also, equally important, for a comparison with the occurrences of processes expressed by means of a verb. A large part of the array of processes expressed via nominalization is mirrored by some of the processes expressed via a verb: *access, contribute, improve, participate, perform, play a role, struggle, utilize* and *work*. The

decision whether to use a nominalized process or the process itself befalls the authors of the text. Factors which influence this decision can be those of avoiding repetition or keeping to the chosen genre and writing style. The variation between verb and nominalization results in tandems such as:

▪ **development – develop:**

(8) *implement measures for promoting **the development of women** in rural areas* (CPA 1980: para.51e);
vs.
(9) *enabling **them (women)** fully to **develop** their personalities* (CPA 1980: para.165);
(10) *a given society offers **women** the possibility **to develop** their full potential* (CPA 1980: para.46);
(11) *guarantee **them (women)**…equal opportunities **to develop** their skills* (CPA 1980: para.229f);

▪ **struggle – struggle/strive:**

(12) *cooperation with the southern African **women's struggle*** (CPA 1980: para.242d);
vs.
(13) *solidarity campaigns with **women struggling** against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism* (CPA 1980: para.77);
(14) ***women**… **to strive** for détente and to make it a continuing and universal process…*(CPA 1980: para.23);

▪ **performance – perform:**

(15) ***their performance** of household duties* (CPA 1980: para.198);
(16) *sexually-oriented practice… that undermines **her** job **performance** and thus threatens her economic livelihood* (CPA 1980: para.124);
vs.
(17) *these are **women** who … have always **had to perform** multiple roles* (CPA 1980: para.94);
(18) ***they perform** nearly two thirds of all working hours* (CPA 1980: para.16);

▪ **utilization – utilize:**

(19) ***their** access to and **utilization** of health services* (CPA 1980: para.151);
vs.
(20) *involve refugee **women** in self-help programmes in an effort **to utilize** their skills and talents fully* (CPA 1980: para.250).

However, there are many other processes expressed via a verb which do not have a correspondence among the instances of nominalizations. Women are also caught in processes such as: *act, control, challenge, conduct, exercise (a function, a right), improve, organize, strengthen, support*, etc. On the one hand, there are the occurrences of nominalizations found among the processes of activation by possessivation. Their total number is 119 occurrences.

On the other hand, there are the occurrences of processes found in the roles of Actor and Senser (in material and mental processes)[2] expressed via a verb. Their total number is 111 occurrences. In this situation, the conclusion is that the choice between the two alternatives of representation is a balanced one, the authors making use of both to a similar extent.

The preference for the means of determination is also reflected by the low number of Possessor role (13 occurrences), compared to the means of activation via determination which reach a total of 223 occurrences. Through the role of Possessor, something is attributed to women with the help of the verb *have*, but also of the verb *own*. The entities attributed to women are those encountered in the occurrences of determination, resulting in tandems similar to those discussed above under the means of nominalization and determination. The tandems with Possessor role are not as often encountered as those with nominalizations. Examples of the tandems of determination and Possessor role are:

▪ **their opportunities – have opportunities:**

(21) *informal training programmes should be designed…in order to widen **their** employment **opportunities*** (CPA 1980: para.130),
vs.
(22) *trained **women can have** equal **opportunities** to be recruited* (CPA 1980: para.286e);

▪ **the access of ... – have access:**

(23) ***the access of women** to special technical training programmes should be increased* (CPA 1980: para.131),
vs.
(24) ***they should** also **have** assured **access** to technology at all levels* (CPA 1980: para.199c);

▪ **the needs of ... – have needs:**

(25) *responsibility for the special **needs of** refugee **women*** (CPA 1980: para.247),
vs.
(26) ***women** and children form the bulk of the refugees and **have** particular **needs*** (CPA 1980: para.248).

The balance between the use of nominalizations and the use of verbs does not remain stable when we turn to the processes of passivation. When women are portrayed as targets of various processes, the use of verbs represents the norm. The role of Goal (96 occurrences) doubles the occurrences of possessivation (51 occurrences). In these means of passivation, as well as in

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[2] The role of Possessor is not counted here as it points to something women have and corresponds therefore to the instances of determination. The role of Existent reflects a position in which women are at a certain stage, not something women do or experience.

the means of activation, most of the processes reified into nominalizations appear as verbs, confronting the reader with pairs such as:

▪ **education – educate**

  (27) *give special attention to* **the education of** *young* **women** (CPA 1980: para.211a);
  vs.
  (28) *trade unions should play an active role in the process of* **educating women** *politically* (CPA 1980: para.86);

▪ **training – train**

  (29) *improve…the wages, conditions of employment and* **training of women**, *as well as their access to credit* (CPA 1980: para.44);
  vs.
  (30) **train** *Palestinian* **women** *in the various medical and paramedical professions* (CPA 1980: para.244g);

▪ **involvement – involve**

  (31) *maximize and evaluate…* **the involvement of women** *as equal participants in social life and economic development* (CPA 1980: para.45);
  vs.
  (32) *formulate official policies to* **involve women** *in the planning and execution of health programmes* (CPA 1980: para.144);

▪ **portrayal – portray**

  (33) *that* **the portrayal of women** *and women's issues reflects women' s rights, needs and interests* (CPA 1980: para.85);
  vs.
  (34) *ensure that* **women are portrayed** *as persons in their own right* (CPA 1980: para.85);

▪ **representation – represent**

  (35) *publicizing posts more widely, increasing upward mobility and so on, until equitable* **representation of women** *is achieved* (CPA 1980: para.72);
  vs.
  (36) **women should be represented** *on the basis of equality in all bodies and institutions* (CPA 1980: para.54).

Other verbs which represent women as the goal of actions done by instigators (such as the United Nations system, the Governments and their programmes, and men) are: *affect, assist, help, support, burden, enable, encourage, exclude, include, inform, instruct, force, treat, subject, recruit, restrict*, etc. The increased percentage of the means of passivation observed at the beginning of the section is strengthened by the increase in the number of the role of Goal. In the 1980 Programme of Action, the role of Actor is not employed to as large an extent as it

was in the first Plan. These roles reach a percentage (12%) which places them side by side with the role of Goal (12%). Furthermore, one needs to point out that women are represented as targets of the actions of others also in clauses in which they play the role of Possessor or the role of Carrier. In examples (37) and (38) the word *disadvantaged* is used prima facie as an attribute of women and of the various groups they form. In this sense, the participant 'women' can be seen as receiving the role of Carrier:

(37) *this programme gives high priority to improving the conditions of the most **disadvantaged** groups of **women**, particularly **those disadvantaged** because of socio-economic and historic conditions* (CPA 1980: para.8);
(38) *the attainment of equality by **women long disadvantaged** may demand compensatory activities* (CPA 1980: para.3).

However, the clauses can also be read as representing women in the role of Goal of the action of someone disadvantaging the participant 'women'. The instigators of this action are left unmentioned and only the abstract causes are brought to the surface at this point. In a later paragraph the authors of the Programme, in fact, name the actors whose unfair processes have been discharged as unnecessary to keep record of throughout the course of history: "nor is the subjection, exploitation, oppression and domination of women *by men*, sufficiently explained in history" (CPA 1980 para.13, my italics).

As shown at the beginning of this section, women are to participate in the development process "both as beneficiaries and as active agents" (CPA 1980 para.3). Indeed, placed at the receiving end of actions, women perform not only the role of Goal, but also the role of Beneficiary. The percentage of the role of Beneficiary is the highest among the means of passivation (17%). Even the role of Actor does not amount to such a high percentage. This remains in contrast to the fact that the development planners consider that "women should be included *as active participants* in the design, planning and implementation of projects in all sectors and *not simply as beneficiaries* of services" (CPA 1980 para.233e, my italics). Being the target of the Programme of Action, the many strategies offered in the text have women as their recipient:

(39) *the establishment of organizations **for women** workers in non-trade-union occupations* (CPA 1980: para.102c);
(40) *to promote full and equal opportunities and treatment **for women** in employment* (CPA 1980: para.109);
(41) *to extend labour and social security legislation **to women** working in agriculture* (CPA 1980: para.112);
(42) ***provide women** with the necessary skills and appropriate technology* (CPA 1980: para.197b).

Giving a detailed perspective on the situation of women and men in development, the authors of the text present not only what women receive positively, but also what they experience as negative beneficiaries. But among the 144 instances of Beneficiary, the examples of negative effect are rare (7 occurrences):

(43) *such effects of migration as are **adverse to women** should be diminished* (CPA 1980: para.44);
(44) *the expansion of industries operated by transnational corporations… has nevertheless also brought new **problems** both **for women** and for overall development* (CPA 1980: para.38);
(45) ***they have been given** only **limited access** to resources* (CPA 1980: para.11).

As will be seen in section 4.2, women and men share the roles of Actor, Goal and Beneficiary. They are also attributed common matters, such as *their needs, status, responsibilities, attitudes* and *roles*. With the help of the programmes, they need to work towards these matters. One realm which remains specific to women is the realm of feelings (the role of Senser). Women go through a wide range of emotions, from suffering, through enjoying, to loving. In examples (46) and (47) below, the antithesis established between *peace* and *war* and the choice of the verb *love*, which strikes the reader as a gendered choice for the participant 'women', amplify the dramatic existence led by women. In example (48) women have the role of Senser through the process of *enjoying*, but it is actually an action they cannot fulfil due to obstacles in the educational system:

(46) ***women** in all countries **love peace*** (CPA 1980: para.23);
(47) ***women** in some countries **are** still **suffering** from **wars** of aggression* (CPA 1980: para.31);
(48) *obstacles that **women** face in gaining access to and **enjoying** primary, secondary and post-secondary educational opportunities* (CPA 1980: para.224).

The five years difference between the first world plan of action of the Mexico conference and the second plan of the Copenhagen conference put a mark on the use of the two main types of representation (64% vs. 57% for activation processes and 36% vs. 43% for passivation processes, in the Mexico and Copenhagen plans, respectively). The next section presents the situation found in the texts of the third conference plan written five years later.

4.1.1.3. The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (1985)

In 1985, when the third international conference on women took place, the UN decade for women came to a close and a renewed effort and approach was launched for the years to come. The forward-looking strategies take into serious consideration the deteriorating

economic conditions and the changing social aspects which have various effects on the situation of women. However, the trust in the rightness and power of the development process for women remains strong:

> Women's advancement has achieved *a certain momentum* that will be affected by the social and economic changes of the next 15 years, but it will also continue to exist as *a force to be reckoned with* (NFLS 1985: para.22, my italics).

The text evolving from the 1985 conference in Nairobi is of considerable length (36,636 words) and goes into details concerning the three factors of equality, development and peace. Correspondingly, the number of the occurrences of the participant 'women' is the largest so far (1,195). Compared to the previous plan of the 1980 conference, the participant representation turns the balance slightly on the side of activation processes. The processes of activation predominate and reach a total of 59%, while the processes of passivation constitute 41% of the means of representation of the participant 'women'. The difference occurs on a lower level of categorisation as well: the role of Actor increases by one percent (from 12% in CPA 1980 to 13% in the NFLS 1985), while the role of Goal decreases by one percent (from 12% in CPA 1980 to 11% in the NFLS 1985). This way, the gap between their occurrences is slightly enlarged compared to the previous plan in which the two roles were used to a similar extent. The situation thus resembles more the situation found in the first plan of 1975, where the gap between the two roles was clearly identifiable (17% for the role for Actor vs. 13% for the role of Goal). For a detailed presentation of the means and roles of representation in the 1985 text see Table 4.3 below. The absolute occurrences are placed side by side with the relative occurrences of each of the means and roles (the calculation is done against the total number of 1,195 occurrences).

The means of activation via possessivation are very frequent in the 1985 NFLS: they reach a greater percentage (43%) than the total means of passivation (41%). Within the processes of possessivation, as in the previous plan, the means of determination predominate (66%) over the means of nominalization (34%). The characteristics attributed to women through determination are the ones registered under the categories of 'What women have' or 'What women need' in the section on women's issues (see 4.1.2). The means of nominalization represent women as the instigators of reified processes which have either a mental feature (see examples (1) and (2) below) or an action feature (see examples (3) and (4) below):

> (1) *increase **women's understanding** and awareness of constructive negotiations* (NFLS 1985: para.238);
> (2) *alleviate the **suffering of** starving and dying **women** and children* (NFLS 1985: para.177);

(3) *the growing **opposition of women** to the danger of war* (NFLS 1985: para.254);
(4) ***use** and **management by women** (of biogas)* (NFLS 1985: para.222).

Table 4.3. The representation of women in the 1985 Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies

Type of representation		Roles & means	N	%
Activation		Actor	152	13%
		Possessor	22	2%
		Senser	17	1%
		Sayer	1	-
		Existent	4	-
		Identifier	2	-
		accompaniment	3	-
		possessivation	508	43%
	Total		**709**	**59%**
Passivation	Subjection	Goal	134	11%
		Carrier	11	1%
		Identified	32	3%
		Phenomenon	3	-
		possessivation	79	7%
		circumstantialisation	73	6%
	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	154	13%
	Total		**486**	**41%**
Total			**1,195**	**100%**

The mental and action/material processes appear in a reified state, but also in their basic state as verbs. The use of a process either in a reified way as nominalization or in a standard way as verb can be due to various reasons, be it the avoidance of repetition or the need to keep to the genre and writing style. In the previous plan the use of the two means of activation proved to be a balanced one. The roles via which women accomplish action processes either of mental, verbal or material nature are the role of Actor together with the role of Senser and Sayer. In the 1985 NFLS these roles amount to 170 occurrences. They are mirrored by 173 occurrences of nominalizations within the processes of activation via possessivation. Such an even employment of the two alternatives offers proof of an unbiased preference of the authors who choose between the verb and the reified process according to textual circumstances. Thus, the nominalizations form pairs with their verbal equivalent, as the ones encountered in the previous plan: *choice – choose, production – produce, suffering – suffer, work – work, use – use, participation – participate, management – manage, achievement – achieve,* etc. Only some of the nominalizations lack a correspondent among the processes embodied as verbs. For example, the derived nominal *opposition* in example (3) above does not find as equivalent the verb *oppose* with *women* as Actor. Other instances of processes which are to be found only in a nominalized form are given in the following examples:

(5) *it is in the interest of human enrichment and progress to introduce and weave into the social fabric ...* ***their approach*** *to peace* (NFLS 1985: para.16);
(6) ***their commitment*** *to the eradication of apartheid* (NFLS 1985: para.259);
(7) ***their support*** *for disarmament must be respected* (NFLS 1985: para.254).

Nominalizations represent the only means for creating occurrences of possessivation within the class of passivation processes. Compared to the cases of possessivation within the class of activation processes, their percentage is very small among the means of representation (7%). Their occurrences are also reduced as concerns the use of their verbal equivalents. The processes in which women are the Goal of processes are either presented in a reified form (79 occurrences of subjection via possessivation) or in a verbal form (134 occurrences of subjection via Goal). This stands proof to the fact that the use of the verbal forms is preferred in the instances of passivation. Verbal equivalents are present for almost all of the derived nominals which represent women as the participants who undergo the process: *appointment – appoint, election – elect, mobilization – mobilize, oppression – oppress, protection – protect, representation – represent.* A small number of nominalizations lack verbal equivalents. These are: *degradation, enrolment, exploitation, marginalization, liberation, nomination* and *treatment.*

Ten years after the meeting in Nairobi, the fourth world conference on women took place in Beijing. Section 4.1.1.4 is an analysis of the representation of women within the text written on that occasion.

4.1.1.4. The Beijing Platform for Action (1995)

The report of the conference containing the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action constitutes the largest text in the data, numbering over 50,000 words, as can be seen in Table 1, section 3.1.1 above. The approach within feminist development had undergone changes throughout the decade of the 1990s and the new lines of thought and action are encountered throughout the text:

> …it is indispensable to search for *new alternatives* that ensure that *all* members of society benefit from economic growth based on *a holistic approach* to *all* aspects of development: growth, equality between women and men, social justice, conservation and protection of the environment, sustainability, solidarity, participation, peace and respect for human rights (BPA 1995: para.14, my italics).

The large scale of theory and application is meant to take into consideration the many aspects of economic development and of social, legal and political structure. The phenomenon of

globalisation itself falls within the cone of attention, as its impact and influence need to be estimated clearly. Another holistic notion is that of 'gender', which is used in order to refer to the unity formed by women and men across all aspects of life and also to refer to the human being beyond sex, the human person whose dignity and worth must be respected (cf. BPA 1995: para.33). Within the new approach, the NGO sector is re-evaluated as well, being seen as one of the motors necessary for a positive transformation of the economic process : "The growing strength of the non-governmental sector, particularly women's organizations and feminist groups, has become *a driving force for change*" (BPA 1995: para.26, my italics).

Despite the renewed dimension of thinking and envisaging the development for women, at the level of textual representation the processes of activation and passivation remain unchanged in their development. The change is minimal: they each grow by one percent (see Table 4.4, below).

Table 4.4. The representation of women in the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action

Type of representation		Roles & means	N	%
Activation		Actor	186	13%
		Possessor	33	2%
		Senser	16	1%
		Existent	31	2%
		Identifier	6	-
		accompaniment	5	-
		possessivation	533	38%
	Total		**810**	**58%**
Passivation	Subjection	Goal	157	11%
		Carrier	33	2%
		Identified	28	2%
		Phenomenon	7	1%
		possessivation	85	6%
		circumstantialisation	130	9%
	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	135	10%
	Total		**575**	**42%**
Total			**1,385**	**100%**

Within the processes of activation, the role of Actor for women is employed to the same extent (13%) as in the previous plan. It is the use of the means of activation via possessivation which diminishes slightly (from 43% in the NFLS 1985 to 38% in the BPA 1995). Within the class of activation processes via possessivation there is a change worth taking into consideration: the means of determination form almost 70% of the means of possessivation, while the means of nominalization constitute the other 30%. The predilection towards aspects

which women possess or acquire as characteristics in their lives is therefore conspicuous. Example (1) below is evidence of this aspect:

(1) *women face barriers to full equality and advancement because of such factors as **their race, age, language, ethnicity, culture, religion or disability*** (BPA 1995: para.46).

Due to the reduction in the frequencies of occurrence of nominalization, another feature of the grammatical constructions used in the text appears different from the grammatical constructions of the previous plans. For the first time, the balance between verbal forms and nominal forms does not remain stable, but it inclines towards the first alternative, i.e. towards the verbs. Indeed, the Actor role together with the role of Senser amount to 202 occurrences, while the occurrences of nominalization within the class of activation via possessivation amount to 164 occurrences. Some of the processes which are not present in a reified way are:

(2) ***women have gained access*** *to power through alternative structures, particularly in the non-governmental organization sector* (BPA 1995: para.184);
(3) *the power relations that prevent **women** from **leading** fulfilling **lives** operate at many levels of society* (BPA 1995: para.181).

The preference for verbs is also manifested among the processes of passivation, as the situation was in the previous plans as well. There are 157 instances of Goal in which women are represented and 85 occurrences of subjection via possessivation. The role of Goal has a similar percentage as in the 1985 plan. Characteristic of the approach of the decade (the 1990s), the reader finds the notion of 'empowerment' (see the definition of the term in 3.1.1). The construction *the empowerment of women* is ambiguous and causes difficulties when one needs to classify it, either as activating the participant 'women' (i.e., 'women empower themselves') or as a means of passivation of the participant (as in 'the programme empowers women'). The solution is to realize that the particularity of this construction is exactly to be able to merge the two types of processes into one: women are the goal of the process of receiving power, but by being empowered they become also actors of different processes through the use of the power, empowering thus themselves. It is a movement "from insight to action" (Rowlands 1997: 15). This movement presupposes first a reflection stage in which women "understand their reality and the causes creating structural poverty" (Sirivardana 2001: 6), which is then continued into a stage of action, as women "transform and reconstruct their reality in conditions of autonomy" (Sirivardana 2001: 6). For other understandings of and perspectives over the notion of 'empowerment' in development studies, see Batliwala 1994, Stromquist 1995, Kabeer 1994, Agarwal 2001, Oakley 2001.

In the text of the 1995 BPA there is one important clue to the interpretation of the construction *the empowerment of women*. The verbal alternative is clearly present in the text

and this diminishes the ambiguity of the construction (see the discussion in section 5.1.1.4 on the text of the resolutions of the 1990s, which contain no verbal alternative). The verbal alternative assures the linguist that the interpretation of the construction as subjection of the participant 'women' is the one the authors of the plan consider first:

(4) ***they must be empowered*** *politically and economically and represented adequately at all levels of decision-making* (BPA 1995: para.134);

(5) *experience in many countries has shown that **women can be empowered** and motivated to assert their rights, regardless of their level of education or socio-economic status* (BPA 1995: para.227);

(6) ***women should be empowered*** *by enhancing **their** skills, knowledge and access to information technology* (BPA 1995: para.237);

(7) *take measures to **empower women** as producers and consumers so that **they can take effective environmental actions**, along with men…* (BPA 1995: para.253f).

In example (6) above, the possessive *their* attached to various abilities points to the fact that women themselves hold the tools for employing the power invested in them. The economy can profit from these tools which women will possess. However, the action in example (6), that of *enhancing*, casts the identification of the actors of the process once more into ambiguity: the issue remains whether it is the educational/development programmes that are to enhance the skills or the women who are the instigators of the enhancing process. Example (7), on the other hand, is a proof of the effect that the action of empowering has on women: they turn into agents of change.

The processes of passivation via circumstantialisation constitute an important part of the means of passivation in the 1995 BPA. The increased use of prepositional phrases is caused by the frequent use of *violence against women* and *discrimination against women* (see examples (8) and (9) below). The issue of *poverty* is presented as something that exists and spreads as a disease within the class of the female population, the construction uniting the words *poverty* and *women* with the help of the preposition *among* (example (10) below). However, the same preposition helps to spread a positive and workable network within the class of population under focus (example (11) below). Other processes of circumstantialisation employ prepositions such as *on, to, in* (see example (12) and (13) below):

(8) ***violence against women*** *is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men* (BPA 1995: para.117);

(9) *review and amend criminal laws and procedures, as necessary, to eliminate any **discrimination against women*** (BPA 1995: para.232l);

(10) *the **prevalence among women of poverty** and economic dependence, their experience of violence, **negative attitudes towards women** and girls…are social realities which have an adverse impact on their health* (BPA 1995: para.92);

(11) *build and strengthen **solidarity among women** through information, education and sensitization activities* (BPA 1995: para.194a);
(12) *migration and consequent changes in family structures have placed additional **burdens on women*** (BPA 1995: para.47);
(13) *the effective suppression of **trafficking in women** and girls for the sex trade is a matter of pressing international concern* (BPA 1995: para.122).

These examples offer a glimpse into some of the important issues of the text. A discussion of the array of issues found in the 1995 BPA is to be found in section 4.1.2. Up to that point, this analysis goes on to show how the main participant is represented in the last conference plan of the data.

4.1.1.5. Beijing 2000

The twenty-third special session of the General Assembly, entitled "Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century", released a small document through which additional actions and proposals were suggested in order to better implement the objectives of the previous document, the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

The text from Beijing 2000 is not even half the length of the previously analysed document (20,775 words). However, the use of the activation and passivation processes is similar within the two texts. The rapport is the following: 59% of activation processes and 41% of passivation processes (see Table 4.5). This situation resembles exactly that of the 1985 plan and is close to the situation of the figures found in the 1980 and 1995 plans. Some of the changes which are still to be observed are discussed below.

Despite the surface similarity, there is, at a lower level of categorisation, a situation which presents itself as unique among the plans analysed so far: the Actor role decreases for the first time, reaching 10% of the total number of roles and means. This decrease is paralleled by a decrease in the number of the main type of role among the processes of passivation, the role of Goal. Both of these main roles undergo a fall of 3%, compared to the Beijing declaration five years earlier.

The parallelism in the use of the roles of Actor and Goal comes to an end when their use is compared to the use of their equivalent nominalizations. If in the 1995 BPA, for the first time, the use of verbs for activation processes surpassed the use of nominalizations, in the Beijing 2000, for the first time, the use of nominalizations predominates. The roles of Actor and Senser add together to 56 occurrences, while the nominalizations among the means of

activation via possessivation add up to 69 occurrences. The role of Goal, on the other hand, remains, as always, more predominant than the means of passivation via possessivation, which are all instances of nominalization.

Table 4.5. The representation of women in Beijing 2000

Type of representation		Roles & means	N	%
Activation		Actor	51	10%
		Possessor	13	3%
		Senser	5	1%
		Existent	7	1%
		Identifier	2	-
		accompaniment	1	-
		possessivation	220	44%
	Total		**299**	**59%**
Passivation	Subjection	Goal	42	8%
		Carrier	6	1%
		Identified	10	2%
		possessivation	33	7%
		circumstantialisation	64	13%
	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	49	10%
	Total		**204**	**41%**
Total			**503**	**100%**

The decrease in the roles of Actor and Goal is counterbalanced by the increase in other means of representation. The means of possessivation among the activation processes undergo a consistent increase and reach a considerable level among the means of representation (44%), surpassing even the size of the entire class of passivation means. Keeping in line with the previous text, determination represents 70% of the possessivation means, while nominalizations form the rest. The majority of the features characterising women are features which are brought to the foreground in the plan because they still need to be improved or strengthened:

> (1) *stress* ***the independence, equality, participation, and security of*** *older women* (B 2000: para.138a).

The need to fight for such basic states which women should possess is explained in the many examples which underline the persistence of unfair procedures that bereave women of these features:

> (2) *the need for changing those stereotypical and traditional roles that* ***limit women's full potential*** (B 2000: para.41);
> (3) *policy* ***fails to take into account women's roles and contributions*** *to environmental sustainability* (B 2000: para.25);
> (4) *customary practices* ***violate women's human rights*** (B 2000: para. 103d);
> (5) *the avoidance of any measure that* ***hinders their well-being*** (B 2000: para. 125 E).

A novel aspect is the continual increase in the use of circumstantialisation processes. In Beijing 2000 these processes go up the scale of representation means and amount to 13% of all the means, being the second most frequent processes of all the other roles and resources of representation. Fifty percent of the circumstantialisation cases are built with the preposition *against*. As in the previous plan, the issue of violence is high on the agenda. Its causes, forms and means to combat are described and discussed throughout the plan:

> (6) *inadequate understanding of **the root causes of all forms of violence against women and girls** hinders efforts to **eliminate violence against women** and girls* (B 2000: para. 11);
> (7) *adopt and promote a holistic approach to **respond to all forms of violence and abuse against girls and women of all ages**, including girls and women with disabilities, as well as vulnerable and marginalized women and girls* (B 2000: para. 103i).

The analysis up to now has pointed to a number of main issues which are considered and discussed by economic analysts when evaluating the situation of the development process in which women are to play an important part. A close-up view on women's issues in development and their change throughout time is given in the next sections.

4.1.2. WIA issues in the plans of world conferences on women

In the discussion of the roles and means of representing women numerous characteristics attributed to women through determination, but also numerous activities in the instances of nominalization have been encountered. In this section, all the issues are brought together in groups under the five classes discussed in section 3.2.2: 'Who women are', 'What women have', 'What women need', 'What women do' and 'What is done for women'. The figures to which the five large classes of issues amount in each of the five plans are shown in Table 4.6, in which bold type is used to highlight the largest occurrences within a group.

Table 4.6. WIA issues in the WCW plans

Issues		WPA 1975	CPA 1980	NFLS 1985	BPA 1995	B 2000
Identity	Who women are	31	166	174	268	122
	What women have	**137**	**294**	**425**	**539**	**227**
	What women need	64	155	228	372	134
Activity	What women do	70	143	206	222	97
	What is done for women	56	160	194	177	55
Total		**358**	**918**	**1,227**	**1,578**	**635**

The overview enables one to observe that irrespective of the time and size of the texts, it is one class of issues which dominates throughout them. The largest category of issues is by far

that of identity issues and within it the class of 'What women have' issues. In most of the plans the class of 'What women have' issues is larger than the sum of the two classes of activity issues. The second largest class of issues is not the same in every plan: the class of 'What women do' issues is second in the first world plan, the class of 'Who women are' is the second largest in the 1980 plan, while in the latter three plans the class of 'What women need' issues follows closely the class of 'What women have' issues, marking out a rich mass of things and issues women still need to fight for.

The groups of issues of each class are formed of issues which bear a similarity in meaning, forming thus a semantic cluster. For three of the five classes, i.e. for 'Who women are', 'What women have' and 'What is done for women', the semantic clusters have been found to point to major aspects and that is why the analysis is done along these major aspects. For example, co-occurrences such as *migrant* or *rural* have been considered to point to the aspect of 'Location', while co-occurrences such as *girls* and *elderly* point to the aspect of 'Age'. In the classes of 'What women need' and 'What women do' the issues are taken all together not along major aspects, though even here issues are grouped according to their semantics (in the tables introducing the issues, Table 4.7 to Table 4.13 in this chapter, the semicolon is used to signal the separation of semantic clusters). In 3.2.2 it was pointed out that issues co-occurring only once with the node *women* have been included in the analysis. As some issues occur once, while others may even occur over 30 times, it has been deemed reasonable to introduce the issues in the tables in the order of their frequency (i.e. the list of issues in a class begins with the most frequent item and go to the least frequent issue) and to write in bold type the issues occurring at least five times.

The analysis begins with the class of 'Who women are' issues. Table 4.7 presents the groups of women delineated in the first three plans, up to the beginning of the 1990s. The groups of issues point to four major aspects regarding women: 'Location', 'Profession', 'Features' that can be attributed to women and the 'Age' of the women under focus. The World Plan of Action, the first of its kind, has an international scope and wide-reaching aims. That is why the women to whom the strategies are addressed are women everywhere, of every social class, of every age, involved in all kinds of activities, whether domestic, agricultural or industrial:

(1) *depict the roles and achievements of **women from all walks of life*** (WPA 1975: para.180);
(2) *the Commission on the Status of Women, utilized to afford **women in all regions of the world** the opportunity to support one another* (WPA 1975: para.202);
(3) *special attention should also be given to the needs of **elderly women*** (WPA 1975: para.157);

(4) *adequate emphasis on the participation of **young women*** (WPA 1975: para.194d).

Table 4.7. 'Who women are' issues in the first three conference plans (WPA 1975, CPA 1980, NFLS 1985)

Plan		WPA 1975		CPA 1980		NFLS 1985	
Identity Issue / N		Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHO WOMEN ARE	Location	**rural women**, migrant women, women from various countries	9	**refugee**, **migrant**, displaced women; **rural**, urban, local women; **Palestinian**, African women	90	**minority women**, **migrant**, refugee, displaced, returnee women; **rural**, **urban** women; **Palestinian**, Arab, African, Lebanese women	70
	Profession	**women workers**	10	**women workers**, producers, candidates	23	**women workers**, women farmers; women employees, women personnel, women staff, self-employed, sole supporters; consumers, producers; leaders, researchers, traders, parliamentarians, qualified women, women artists, journalists, writers, educators and civic leaders, intellectuals, managers	30
	Features	a force, a resource; eligible for promotion, qualified women	4	**alone;** disabled; uneducated women; in need, poor, unemployed women, with limited income; a force, a resource; trained, qualified women; victims	26	**poor**, destitute, homeless, unemployed; starving, dying women, vulnerable, disadvantaged, underprivileged, disabled women; victims, beaten, mutilated, burned, raped women; a force	43
	Age	**girls**, young women, elderly	8	**young women**, **girls**, adolescent, elderly; unmarried, pregnant, lactating women, mothers	27	**young women**, **elderly**, girls; pregnant, (un)married, lactating women, widows	31
Total			31		166		174

As seen in the analysis of roles (section 4.1.1.1), in the World Plan of Action a central category of women addressed by the development planners was formed by rural women. The analysis of WIA issues points to the fact that as regards location there is also a reference made to women who have migrated to another place (*migrant women*). Under the groups of issues identifying women by profession, the word *women* is associated with the word *workers* (10 occurrences). Therefore, women are not only referred to according to their locality, *rural women* (6 occurrences) or achievements (*qualified women*), but also according to the function they have in society. However, it can be considered that the joining of *women* and *workers* in *women workers* is used to combat the perception that the word *workers*, as a rule, only refers to men.

(5) *the Plan seeks to achieve equality of opportunity and treatment for **women workers*** (WPA 1975: para.88),
(6) s*pecial attention must be paid to the situation of the **woman worker** in industry* (WPA 1975: para.10).

The above examples delineate a number of groups of women that the Plan calls upon: young, old, rural, qualified, migrant, workers. A further understanding of what women represent for development is given by the definition found in the text of the World Plan of Action: "In many countries women form a large part of the agricultural work *force* (…) they constitute a substantial economic *resource*" (WPA 1975: para.9, my italics). Here, we find the representation of women as a resource which the governments of the Member States cannot afford to neglect or minimize.

The authors of the 1980 Copenhagen Programme direct their attention to a larger array of women than the previous plan does. Their age and status expand to include: *girls, young, adolescent, elderly women, mothers,* even *pregnant and lactating women* (27 occurrences altogether). As in the first Plan, the general intention is to address women everywhere and of every kind:

> (7) **women of the entire world** *should participate in the broadest way in the struggle to strengthen international peace and security* (CPA 1980: para.76);
> (8) *the protection of* **women of all ages** *from the physical and mental abuse resulting from domestic violence* (CPA 1980: para.141f);
> (9) *to provide equal access to educational and training opportunities at* **all** *levels of* **all** *types for* **girls and women in all sectors of society** (CPA 1980: para.165).

This general address is carefully zoomed in when the authors discuss the "areas requiring special attention". *Women workers* remains a frequent way of referring to the workers who are women, as compared to the men workers. However, the group of *women workers* (21 occurrences) is not the one which is most employed. There are two other groups which come to the fore in the Copenhagen Programme: the group of *refugee* and *migrant women* (45 occurrences together) and the group of *rural* and *urban women* (28 occurrences together):

> (10) *special relief efforts directed to* **refugee women** *and children* (CPA 1980: para.248b);
> (11) *these programmes should also apply to* **displaced women**, *wherever appropriate* (CPA 1980: para.247);
> (12) *the use of mass media as supportive channels of information for* **migrant women** (CPA 1980: para.258);
> (13) *remove the gap between the attainments of men and women, between* **rural and urban women** *and between all women in underprivileged population groups* (CPA 1980: para.50a);
> (14) *developing programmes at the village level for involving* **local women** *in their planning* (CPA 1980: para.199f).

If in the first Plan one category of women is formed by the *qualified women*, in the Copenhagen Programme of Action the cone of attention enlarges to embrace the women found in an opposite situation: the *unemployed and poor, women with limited income*.

Furthermore, women are not only *a force* and *a resource* for development, but they are also acknowledged to be the *victims* of unfair treatment:

> (15) *provide effective help for* **women** *and children who* **are victims** *of violence* (CPA 1980: para.63).

On the level of international policies and programmes, the authors of the 1980 Copenhagen Programme direct their special attention to offering assistance to women in Southern Africa and Palestine (CPA 1980 V.2, V.3). As in these areas the situation of apartheid and human rights' violation reached an inadmissible level at that time, the Programme calls to action all Governments and specialized agencies:

> (16) *to undertake studies and research pertinent to the social and economic conditions of the* **Palestinian women** (CPA 1980: para.244a);
> (17) *social measures that hinder* **Palestinian women** *from having access to available employment opportunities and equal pay for equal work* (CPA 1980: para.244e);
> (18) *legal, humanitarian, moral and political assistance to* **women inside South Africa and Namibia** *persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation* (CPA 1980: para.242a).

In the 1985 Forward-Looking Strategies, the issues of 'Who women are' form the least represented class. However, most of the changes in the WIA issues which can be noted between the previous plan and the 1985 NFLS take place within this class of issues. The attention of the plan's authors is directed towards minority women and less towards refugee or migrant women:

> (19) w*omen belonging to* **minority groups** *or indigenous populations should be fully consulted* (NFLS 1985: para.304).

Rural women and young women remain among the key targets of the strategies taken. A novel category of women in the text of the 1985 NFLS is formed by the *vulnerable and underprivileged groups of women*, whose particular needs should be addressed in all programs. The group of unfortunate women is further enriched by the reference to *destitute, homeless, starving and dying women*, a reference which was not encountered in the previous plans. Moreover, the image of women as victims, subjected to various forms of violence, is given a detailed description through the following example:

> (20) *women are* **beaten, mutilated, burned, sexually abused** *and* **raped** (NFLS 1985: para.258).

As can be seen in Table 4.7 above, another reference to women in the 1985 NFLS which was not present in the CPA 1980 is the one to women of various educational backgrounds, fulfilling various activities: *artists, journalists, writers, educators*, *managers,* even *self-*

employed women, etc. A richer palette of women is also found within the strategies targeting areas of the world in which special work is to be done:

> (21) *The **Palestinian woman** as part of her nation suffers from discrimination in employment, health care and education. The situation of violence and destabilization which exists in southern Lebanon and the Golan Heights put **Arab women** and children who are living under Israeli occupation in severe situations. **Lebanese women** are also suffering from discrimination and detention* (NFLS 1985: para.260).

The texts of the mid and late 1990s bring a renewed change of focus. The main class of women which the two texts are concerned with is that of the young woman, the *girl*. Table 4.8 introduces the groups of women found in these two texts.

Table 4.8. 'Who women are' issues in the 1995 BPA and B 2000

Plan		BPA 1995		B 2000	
Identity Issue / N		Issue	N	Issue	N
WHO WOMEN ARE	Location	**refugee**, **indigenous**, **displaced**, **migrant**, local, immigrant, minority women; rural, urban women	80	**indigenous**, **refugee**, displaced, migrant; local, rural women	25
	Profession	**women workers**, **entrepreneurs**; producers, consumers, beneficiaries; caregivers; women agriculturists, managers, (self-)employed, candidates, decision makers, executives, leaders, media experts, officials, professional, skilled women, researchers, scientists	46	women workers, farmers, entrepreneurs; producers, consumers; candidates, politicians, parliamentarians, activists	10
	Features	**vulnerable**, **disadvantaged**, **disabled**, marginalized; substance abuser women; victims; inexperienced, poor, low-income, unemployed; force, central actors	45	vulnerable, marginalized, disadvantaged; women with HIV; victims; poor	14
	Age	**girls**, **young**, adolescent, older women; pregnant, lactating women, mothers	97	**girls**, **older women**, young, adolescent; single women, widows	73
Total			268		122

There is an observation in the 1995 text which points to the foresighted approach of the authors during the period: "*The girl child of today is the woman of tomorrow. The skills, ideas and energy of the girl child are vital for full attainment of the goals of equality, development and peace*" (BPA 1995: para.39, my italics). Women and girls thus appear together, united in the nominal group complex by the additive extending conjunction *and*:

> (22) *enrolment of **girls and women** in tertiary education has increased considerably ... approximately 100 million children, including at least 60 million **girls**, are without access to primary schooling* (BPA 1995: para.70);
> (23) ***girls** undertake heavy domestic work at a very early age. **Girls and young women** are expected to manage both educational and domestic responsibilities...*(BPA 1995: para.71).

The next most frequent category of women is that of the *refugee* and *indigenous* women. As opposed to what the situation was in the 1985 NFLS, the category of *minority* women turns from the most frequent to the least frequent category in the 1995 BPA. The adjective *indigenous* proves to be a favourite one within the 1995 and 2000 plans and its use conveys a sense of the perpetual heritage women carry with them:

> (24) *women, especially **indigenous women**, have particular knowledge of ecological linkages and fragile ecosystem management* (BPA 1995: para.250).

Women are the focal point of the Plans of Action. The texts highlight a number of economical, social and personal aspects closely relating to women. First of all, women have a certain status and situation which need to be investigated, understood, analysed, reported upon and improved. They also have diverse roles in society, family, economy and agriculture, etc. This palette of issues has been grouped into six large aspects of 'What women have' issues: 'Role and Status', 'Goods', 'Organizations', 'Proprieties', 'Private life' and the group of general 'Women's issues'. They can be seen in Table 4.9 below. However, women also have numerous problems and hardships, and they are in many ways disadvantaged at every level of society. That is why a division of the class of 'What women have' is made between what women have in a positive sense (the six groups listed above) and what women have in a negative sense (the 'Hardships'). This distinction is necessary in order to separate the aspects which are favourable to women from the aspects which are less favourable or even unfavourable to women, such as obstacles, difficulties, and unfairness (see examples of negative 'What women have' issues in Table 4.9). From the first to the second plan, the class of 'What women have' issues undergoes changes not only at the level of frequencies (some issues become more frequent than in the plan written five years before), but also at the level of contents (new issues occur).

At the beginning of the 1980s, as the authors of the Copenhagen Programme note that the situation of women has not improved and that there are many aspects harmful to women, the attention to issues relating to women in a negative sense increases. The main damaging aspects of women's lives remain the *needs* and *problems* they still have and the *discrimination* and *disadvantage* they still experience. Two new negative issues occur, that of *inequality* (9 occurrences) and of *violence* (2 occurrences):

> (25) *the issue of **inequality** as it **affects** the vast majority of **women** of the world* (CPA 1980: para.3);
> (26) *legislation should also be enacted and implemented in order to prevent domestic and sexual **violence against women*** (CPA 1980: para.65).

Table 4.9. 'What women have' issues in the first three conference plans (WPA 1975, CPA 1980, NFLS 1985)

Plan			WPA 1975		CPA 1980		NFLS 1985	
Identity Issue / N			Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT WOMEN HAVE	positive	Role & Status	**role; situation**, **status**, **position**, condition	62	**role**, childrearing function, economic function, tasks; **status**, **condition**, **situation**, position	104	**role; status**, **condition situation**, **position**	120
		Goods	-	-	**jobs**, income	8	**income**, **jobs**, wage	19
		Organisations	organisations, movements, bureaux (bodies), cooperatives; countries	8	**organisations**, community, sections, society, groups, industry, movements, forums, countries, governments	32	**organisations**, **groups**, **studies**, projects, movements, sections, associations, cooperatives, societies, countries, governments	44
		Proprieties	responsibility, importance, value, personality, ability, potential, skills; views, interest	15	**responsibility**, **skills**, occupation, career, capacity, potential, personality, self-determination, self-reliance, attitudes, interest, ideas, aspirations, perception, experience	40	**responsibility**, **capacity**, **self-reliance**, potential, skills, talents, ability, aptitudes, integrity, dignity; **perspective,** experience, interest, aspirations, preferences, views, approach, initiative, concept, expectation	64
		Private life	**life**, children, family, social category	9	**children**, life, family; language, culture, tradition	13	**children**, **life**, family, home/household; tradition, heritage, identity, future	34
		Women's issues	-	-	**issues**	13	**issues**	16
	negative	Hardships	**needs**, **problems**, concerns; **discrimination**, **disadvantage**, exclusion; prostitution, traffic; illiteracy, handicap; workload, burden	43	**needs**, **problems**, concerns; **discrimination**, **disadvantage**, exploitation, oppression, subjection, exclusion, inequality, obstacles, prejudice; **workload**, burden; effect, impact; violence, abuse, attack	84	**needs**, **problems**, concerns; **discrimination**, **exploitation**, oppression, disadvantage, marginalization, exclusion, inequality, stereotype; degradation, trafficking; **a/(e)ffect**, **impact;** suffering, **violence**, abuse, attack; attitudes (towards); poverty; **burden**, workload, difficulties; illiteracy	128
Total				137		294		425

A further novelty of the Copenhagen Programme is the interest of the authors for the effect which all the negative aspects have on women. The seven occurrences of the issue of *effect* point to the pensive attitude of the development planners, who do not only propose strategies, but also weigh their results. The same interest in results is expressed through the use of the verb *affect* which has *women* as its Goal (example (25) above and (29) below):

(27) *the lack of progress in the establishment of the New International Economic Order has had **a direct effect on the socio-economic situation of women*** (CPA 1980: para.35);

(28) *such **effects** of migration as are **adverse to women** should be diminished* (CPA 1980: para.44);

(29) *avoid any labour force **disruptions**, which usually **affect women** more severely* (CPA 1980: para.134);

(30) *in developing countries the **negative impact on women** is even greater than in developed countries* (CPA 1980: para.27).

Turning to what is represented as being characteristic of women, one observes that the Copenhagen Programme brings a larger array of issues within the groups. As mentioned before, the category of 'What women have' issues registers the largest number of occurrences. What the development planners are mainly interested in is still the *situation* and social, health or employment *status* women have. As these are mostly unfavourable, they need to be assessed and improved. Second, the interest turns to the *roles* women already play and still could play in the development and larger social process. As in the previous Plan, the other issues of this class point to something women have as wives, mothers and bearers of the social heritage (*children, family, language, culture, tradition*, etc.), as citizens (*community, society, country, government*), as persons (*attitudes, ideas, aspirations,* etc., but also *capacity, potential, skills*, etc.) and as women organizing themselves (*groups, organizations, sections, forums*, etc.). *Importance* and *value* are not mentioned, as in the first Plan, but as a compensation their many characteristics are praised, e.g. *self-determination, self-reliance, personality*, etc. Furthermore, the authors of the Copenhagen Programme appreciate and bring to the fore, more than before, the high level of *responsibility* women have in their lives:

 (31) *such grass-roots **organizations of women** will serve as **forums for women** to develop **self -reliance** and will eventually enable women… to shoulder greater socio-economic and political **responsibilities** within **their communities** and **their societies*** (CPA 1980: para.105).

Another issue that is attributed to women and that needs to be considered and discussed by Governments and organizations is that of *issues* and *topics* of concern and interest to women (13 occurrences). These need to be included not only on the agendas of plans and conferences, but also in the curriculum of universities:

(32) *ensure that the contents reflect government commitment to status of **women's issues** and concerns* (CPA 1980: para.91);
(33) *international conferences should also take into account **issues** of particular interest to **women*** (CPA 1980: para.228).

In the 1985 text, the positive issues of 'What women have' present new occurrences such as *women studies*, *integrity*, *dignity* and *perspective*. Within the class of negative issues, one can encounter new occurrences like *trafficking*, *suffering* or *poverty*:

(34) *urgent consideration should also be given to the improvement of international measures to combat **trafficking in women** for the purposes of prostitution* (NFLS 1985: para.291);
(35) *eradicate absolute **poverty experienced disproportionately by women** and children* (NFLS 1985: para.109).

Considering Table 4.10 which introduces the groups of 'What women have' issues of the last two plans an aspect worth taking into consideration is the increase in frequency of the issues constituting a loss for women and their advancement. In the text of the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action the negative issues are almost half of all the issues pointing to 'What women have', on a par with the positive ones. As shown under the discussion of the instances of circumstantialisation (see section 4.1.1.4), the negative issue which is predominant is that of *violence*, followed by the issue of negative *effect* on women:

(36) *develop and disseminate research on **the physical, psychological, economic and social effects of armed conflicts on women**, particularly young women and girls* (BPA 1995: para.146c).

If in the 1995 plan the growth in the use of negative issues is worthy of attention and investigation, five years later, for the first time, the number of negative issues surpasses the number of positive issues. The fact that the Beijing 2000 document abounds in notions which are harmful to women points, on the one hand, to the authors' dissatisfaction with the situation in which the work for women and development finds itself, and on the other hand, to the cruel reality women live with every day. The most worrying issue is that of *violence*. Either domestic or political, violence of all sorts stifles women's existence. All the negative issues connect and form a vicious circle which needs to be fought with and finally neutralized.

Among the positive issues, the most frequent issue is that of women's organizations which are to be supported through the Platform for Action. Uniting themselves and working together against the negative aspects of the social and political life is seen by women as a key to breaking the negative chain:

(37) *the active support of civil society in particular **women's organizations and NGOs** has had an important role, inter-alia in promoting awareness-raising campaigns and in the provision of support services to women victims of violence* (Beijing 2000: para.10).

Table 4.10. 'What women have' issues in the 1995 BPA and B 2000

Plan			BPA 1995		B 2000	
Identity Issue / N			Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT WOMEN HAVE	positive	Role & Status	**role**; **status**, **position**, **situation**, **condition**	77	**role;** status, position, situation, condition	20
		Goods	**income**, jobs	7	income	1
		Organisations	**groups**, **organizations**, **enterprises**, **countries**, ngos, studies, entrepreneurship, networks, cooperatives, businesses	36	**organizations**, **ngos**, networks, groups, entrepreneurship, banks, cooperatives	28
		Proprieties	**responsibility**, **knowledge**, **potential**, **skills**, **ability**, **capacity**, leadership, fertility, self-reliance, self-determination, self esteem, self employment, self help, talents, integrity; **experiences**, **interests**, perspective, initiative, practices, aspirations, values, priorities, attitudes, innovation, voices	108	**knowledge**, **responsibility**, capacity, leadership; experience, perspective, interests, priorities, practices, innovation, potential, ability	26
		Private life	**life**, **children**, well-being, sexuality, family, language, ethnicity, tradition, culture, identity, race	46	**children**, **life**, well-being, family, culture, history, sexuality	22
		Women's issues	**issues**	8	issues	1
	negative	Hardships	**violence**, abuse, rape; **a/(e)ffect**, **impact**, suffer; **poverty**, **inequality**, **barrier**, **obstacles**, stereotype, risks, attitudes (towards), bias, difficulties; **needs**, **concerns**, problems; **discrimination**, **trafficking**, **underrepresentation**, **unemployment**, displacement, exploitation, subordination, persecution, marginalization, isolation; **burden**, illiteracy	257	**violence**, abuse; **a/(e)ffect**, **impact**, suffer; **barriers**, **poverty**, **inequality**, attitudes (towards), risks, stereotype, bias, difficulties, obstacles; **needs**, concerns, problems; **trafficking**, discrimination, under-representation, exclusion, marginalization; **burden**	129
Total				539		227

In order to fight against the hardships and to be able to achieve a better living standard, women need to have rights accredited to them; they need attention and a positive representation in the media. The class of 'What women need' issues is a large one, covering with each plan a well-represented spectrum of issues. Within the class of 'What women need', in Table 4.11, one issue, that of *access*, encountered already in the first Plan undergoes an evident increase in use, placing the central issue of the previous document, that of *rights*, on a lower position. The issue with most occurrences in this class is the issue of *access*.

Table 4.11. 'What women need' issues in WCW plans

Identity issue / N	WHAT WOMEN NEED	
Plan	Issue	N
WPA 1975	**training**, education, facilities, jobs; **opportunities**, benefits; **rights**, legislation; access; awareness, attention; equality; image, representation; care, health	64
CPA 1980	**access; awareness; opportunities**, option, possibility, mobility, choice; **rights; education, training**, instruction, facilities, resources; **benefits; representation**, portray, image; **equality;** care, health, safety	155
NFLS 1985	**rights; access; attention,** awareness, consciousness; **equality**, autonomy, liberation; **opportunities**, prospects, option, choice, possibility, mobility; **benefits; (equal/fair) representation, image**, portray; **health**, care; **education, training**, technology, resources	228
BPA 1995	**rights; access; awareness**, attention; **health**, care; **equality, power**, autonomy, independence; **opportunities**, choice, mobility; **training, education**, credit, facilities, resources, technology; **(equal/fair) representation, portray, image; benefits**, literacy	372
B 2000	**(human) rights,** legislation, security; **access;** awareness; **health; freedom,** control, power, equality, property, independence; **benefits, opportunities**, choice, training, education; portray, image, (equal/fair) representation; literacy	134

In order to activate as equal participants in the development process women need the possibility of direct access to services which facilitate their participation. Women need access to such services as scientific and technical education, training programmes and financing schemes. They need access to gainful employment, to recreation and health care, and also to power. This wide-ranging access is made possible through the many *opportunities* and *rights* which the Programme requires for women:

> (38) *ensure **women's** active participation in and **access** to primary health care* (CPA 1980: para.229h);
> (39) *special emphasis on the disparities in **the access of women** to scientific and technical education and training* (CPA 1980: para.240);
> (40) *it appears that, in many countries, only in the higher and middle socio-economic strata did **women gain** some significant increases in educational **opportunities*** (CPA 1980: para.24).

The aim of the strategies giving women choices and possibilities to act unencumbered by stereotypes and inadequate laws is to achieve an *equitable* and *equal representation* of women at all levels and in all types of activities. *Equitable* relates to the conformation to the rights women enjoy, while *equal* activates the other half of the development process with whom women associate, the man. The fair representation at the economic level is to be sustained by a fair presentation and image of women in the media:

(41) *in all fields of activity, the mass media should become one of the basic means in society of overcoming the contradiction in, on the one hand, **the presentation of women** as **passive, inferior beings having no social significance** and, on the other hand, **an accurate picture of their increasing role and contribution** to society at large* (CPA 1980: para.91)

The focus of late 80s on equality is seen in the increased use of this issue among the 'What women need' issues of NFLS 1985. The issue of *equality* undergoes an increase in usage and its percentage grows from almost 4% of all the 'What women need' issues in the previous plan to 13% of the issues in the 1985 plan. Two other notions strengthen the aspect of fighting for independence and equality: *autonomy* and *liberation*. In the 1995 BPA the axis of women's requirements is still formed by their rights. Most of the time, many rights do not even exist or, if present, are disregarded:

(42) *violations of **the human rights of women** in situations of armed conflict are violations of the fundamental principles of international human rights and humanitarian law* (BPA 1995: para.131).

An issue which increases its occurrences in the BPA 1995 text is that of *health*, to which a section of the plan is dedicated. Women have particular health needs, require special health care and, most of all, women are the ones whose health is in a precarious condition:

(43) ***women's health*** *involves their emotional, social and physical well-being and is determined by the social, political and economic context of their lives, as well as by biology. However, **health** and well-being elude the majority of women...* (BPA 1995: para.89).

The rest of the issues which women need to enjoy throughout their lives were met in the other texts as well: *opportunities*, *power*, a fair *representation* and *image*, *access* and *benefits*. The many issues relating to what women need and ought to have the benefit of come as compensation to the many issues which point to something women have in a negative way, as observed above under 'What women have' issues.

Inequality, *poverty*, *barriers* and *burdens* ought to be replaced by *equality*, *prosperity* and *freedom*. The last issue is actually part of a stock phrase which is encountered starting with the text of the 1995 plan, but continuing to be present in the Beijing 2000 text. It is the stock phrase: *human rights and fundamental freedoms*, used in contexts such as:

(44) *gender discrimination and all other forms of discrimination, in particular racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance continue to cause threat to **the enjoyment of women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms*** (Beijing 2000: para.21).

In the first world plan of action, reflecting the situation presented by women's roles in the Plan (see section 4.1.1.1 for the large number of activation processes), the class of 'What women do' issues proves to be the second largest of the classes. A succinct array of issues

indicates the activities women do and the processes they undertake. Table 4.12 introduces these issues as they are used from one plan to the next, across decades.

Table 4.12. 'What women do' issues in WCW plans

Activity issue / N	WHAT WOMEN DO	
Plan	Issue	N
WPA 1975	**participation**, **contribution**, **activities**, **work**, support, advancement, efforts, productivity, achievement, fulfillment	70
CPA 1980	**participation**, **contribution**, **work**, **activities**, **performance**, **productivity**, **advancement**, **development**, attainments, labour, struggle	143
NFLS 1985	**participation**, **contribution**, **work**, **activities**, **labour**, advancement, development, productivity, performance, progress, gains, efforts, struggle	206
BPA 1995	**participation**, **advancement**, **empowerment**, **contribution**, **work**, **activities**, development, labour, progress, efforts	222
B 2000	**participation**, **empowerment**, **advancement**, **enjoyment**, **contribution**, **work**, activities, labour	97

Example (41) above taken from the 1980 plan indicates that women do have a great social significance and their role undergoes a steady acknowledgment. Caught in the development process, women undertake many activities: they *participate*, they *contribute*, they *work*, *perform* tasks and *attain* goals, and they *struggle* for their rights, their *advancement* and *development*:

> (45) **women** in those countries **actively participated** in social and economic development and in all other fields of public life of **their countries**, including **the active struggle for peace**, disarmament, détente and international cooperation (CPA 1980: para.22);
> (46) *identifying ways in which* **women can participate in** *and* **contribute to** *the effectiveness of development projects and improve their own economic and social condition* (CPA 1980: para.233b);
> (47) *particular attention should be give to* **the advancement of women** *and the protection of mother and child* (CPA 1980: para.34);
> (48) **women's development** *should not only be viewed as an issue in social development but should be seen as an essential component in every dimension of development* (CPA 1980: para.4).

In the 1985 plan, within the class of 'What women do' issues a change on the scale of frequency is affected by the increase in the occurrences of the issue of *advancement*. This issue substitutes the issue of *contribution* and is thus used slightly less often than the issue of *participation*. The advancement of women is a proof of the effective realization of the plans' strategies. That is why the factors which impede, maintain or promote the advancement are taken into consideration. The activity women undertake themselves is also sustained by the

notion of 'empowerment', which is more frequently used in Beijing 2000 (14% in BPA 1995 vs. 29% in B 2000). Its occurrences are so numerous that the issue turns to be the second in importance among the issues of 'What women do', close to the issue of 'participation', surpassing thus by far the issue of 'advancement'.

Parallel to the activity issues pointing to what women do, run the processes and activities undertaken by governments or organizations with the aim of improving women's situation. These issues are collected under the class of 'What is done for women' issues, which is grouped along three main aspects: the approach development planners conceive of in their work towards general welfare, the support they guarantee and the plans they devise. With the exception of the situation found in the 1980 plan, 'What is done for women' issues are less frequent than 'What women do' issues. Table 4.13 groups all the issues along the three categories of 'Approach', 'Support' and 'Plans' throughout the time.

The role of the development planners and of the authors of the 1980 Programme of Action is delineated clearly by the multitude of issues concerning the *assistance*, *help* and *support* they bring to the process of women's development. The role is one of facilitator: development planners, their policies and programmes enable women to get the access and space necessary for participation. However, development planners are also the instigators of the actions of *integration*, *inclusion* and *involvement* of women. The issues of *programmes*, *research* and *services* illustrate the way the work in the development field is done. Placed on the seat of beneficiaries, women are the target of the processes of *protection* and *encouragement*, but also of the processes of *information*, whether they are the ones being informed (example (53) below) or the ones about whom someone else gathers information (example (54) below). The workings of the development system are as follows: governments/organizations integrate women into their projects and in their turn, women participate in the projects devised and initiated by others.

(49) *such* **women** *should* **receive** *all possible* **assistance***, including* **support** *from agencies of the United Nations system as well as other organizations* (CPA 1980: para.77);
(50) *promote* **the incorporation of women** *in all phases of the agricultural productive process* (CPA 1980: para.197a);
(51) *special* **attention** *and additional* **services** *should be given* **to women** *in the area of health* (CPA 1980: para.51d);
(52) *legislative and/or other measures should be adopted and implemented which* **guarantee women protection** *against any sexually-oriented practice* (CPA 1980: para.124);
(53) *governments should develop* **programmes to inform women** *of their legal rights* (CPA 1980: para.60);
(54) *disseminate* **information on women** *more actively, especially in developing countries* (CPA 1980: para.270).

Table 4.13. 'What is done for women' issues in WCW plans

Plan		WPA 1975		CPA 1980		NFLS 1985		BPA 1995		B 2000	
Activity issue / N		Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT IS DONE FOR WOMEN	Approach	**integration**, inclusion, involvement, incorporation; **employment**, promotion, recruitment, nomination	34	**integration**, **involvement**, inclusion, introduction, incorporation; **employment**, recruitment, nomination, promotion, appointment	67	**integration**, **involvement**, **inclusion**; **employment**, **recruitment**, nomination, promotion, election, appointment, enrolment, mobilization	99	**involvement**, **inclusion**, **integration**; **employment**, promotion, appointment, recruitment, nomination, hiring, election, mobilization	54	**involvement**, integration , inclusion; employment, nomination, promotion, appointment, enrolment	14
	Support	**encouragement**, **enable**, assistance, inform	18	**assistance**, **enable, help,** **support, inform,** **protection**, encouragement, allow	59	**assistance**, **enable, inform,** **help,** **encouragement**, support, protection, allow	71	**protection**, **encouragement**, **information**, **enable, support,** **assistance**, help, allow, mentor	72	**support**, **enable**, **protection**, information, assistance, help, allow, encouragement	27
	Plans	programmes, services	4	**programmes**, research, services, efforts	34	**programmes**, **policies**, plans, research, services, efforts	24	**services**, **programmes**, **data**, research, efforts	51	**services**, programmes, research, focus	14
Total			56		160		194		177		55

The plans of 1995 and 2000 include the same array of issues of 'Approach', 'Support' and 'Plans'. A difference from the other plans written before the 1990s is that the focus on 'Approach' issues changes to that on 'Support' issues. In other words, the development planners relegate the importance of integrating and nominating women, which has been stressed along the way to second place and concentrate on activities which can help women advance and profit from their integration.

In order to create efficient plans and to give birth to a self-sustainable system, the development programmes were bound to take into consideration the other participant in the processes, i.e. men. This understanding evolved over time and was fed by the experience in how to define the factors which render a development plan effective and what makes it fall through. The next section introduces the way the participant 'men' is represented in the texts of the conferences.

4.2. The representation of men in the plans of the world conferences on women

The gender and development approach (GAD) of the 1990s is the approach which clearly oriented itself towards the nature of the relationships between women and men in different societies. This was done with the prospect of being able to deal with the existing economic, political and social realities which mostly place women on a secondary level. That is why the

hypothesis of the research was that the texts of the data will contain increasingly more numerous occurrences of the participant 'men', side by side with the participant 'women' (see the second hypothesis in section 1.2.2). Moreover, the hypothesis stated that the union of women and men is gradually consolidated by the use of the notion of 'gender' (see the third hypothesis in section 1.2.2). The latter phenomenon is observed and presented in section. 4.3. At this point, the results of the analysis of the representation of men are introduced.

Since the texts under analysis have women as the main target, instrument and agent, it was expected that the occurrences of the participant 'men' would be considerably less numerous than those of the participant 'women'. That is why the interest was not to see the degree to which the texts represent women more than men, but to observe, on the one hand, whether the association of women and men increases over time and whether this association surpasses the representation of men as single participants and, on the other hand, what kind of representation is the representation of men alone, as single participants, compared to the representation of women.

Already in the 1975 World Plan of Action the twofold participation of women and men is introduced as an indispensable factor in the struggle towards achieving the two basic incentives for development: welfare and peace (see quote from WPA 1975: para.4 in 4.1.1.1). Women and men appear together as participants to be equally addressed and treated. Connected by the additive extending conjunction *and*, the two separate participants form a group and receive the same grammatical roles:

(1) *life-long education towards the re-evaluation of **the man and woman*** (WPA 1975: para.46k),
(2) *the necessity of a change in the traditional role of **men as well as** of **women** must be recognized* (WPA 1975: para.16),
(3) *ensure that **women and men** shall have the same right to free choice of a spouse* (WPA 1975: para.128).

The two participants change their places around the additive extending conjunction, the association of the two being done in both directions (*men and women*, *women and men*) and in both numbers (plural: *men and women,* or singular: *man and woman*). The fact that the focus falls on women is also conveyed by the preference for the coordination *women and men*, which appears in all of the plans to a larger extent than does the coordination *men and women*. The absolute occurrences of *women and men* are as follows: 20 occurrences (WPA 1975), 34 occurrences (CPA 1980), 57 occurrences (NFLS 1985), 126 occurrences (BPA 1995), 47 occurrences (B 2000). The absolute occurrences of *men and women* are: 16 occurrences (WPA 1975), 17 occurrences (CPA 1980), 11 occurrences (NFLS 1985), 9 occurrences (BPA 1995) and 5 occurrences (B 2000). The figures allow the observation that the difference

between the occurrences of the two variants increases with each decade: while in the 1970s the two associations have almost equal occurrences (20 occurrences vs. 16 occurrences), in the 1990s/2000 the coordination *women and men* takes the lead with its 173 occurrences vs. the 14 occurrences of the coordination *men and women*. An example of the coordination *men and women* is found above, in example (2), where not only is the news value bestowed on the participant 'men', but also the addition with the help of *as well as* represents the item *role* as having two different instances: women's traditional role is different from men's traditional role and women's traditional role ought to be changed; however, this cannot have a full effect if men's traditional role is not first altered.

In the other plans of action of the decades men are found again as the partners of women, whom they join in different activities, being thus together the target of development programmes. The noun group created through coordination casts its two members into one and the same grammatical function, as in the four examples below in which the roles of Actor, Goal, Senser, Beneficiary and the means of circumstantialisation have been placed in between square parentheses:

> (4) *acknowledgement of the double burden has **enabled women and men** [Goal] **to move forward** [Actor] **to challenge** [Actor] existing stereotypes* (CPA 1980: para.20);
> (5) *special measures…should be promoted to accelerate de facto **equality between men and women** [circumstantialisation: Location]* (NFLS 1985: para.84);
> (6) *safeguard and promote…equal remuneration **for men and women** [Beneficiary] for work of equal value* (BPA 1995: para.166l);
> (7) ***women and men experience** [Senser] humanitarian emergencies differently* (B 2000: para.12).

Apart from the association of women with men, there is still another grouping which attracts attention. The plans take into consideration the younger generation as well, so that girls and boys appear intermittently as beneficiaries or to-be actors of programmes. When both generations are set side by side for comparison, girls fall into the same category as women as underprivileged, and boys fall into the same category as men, as the ones who benefit from certain services which should be open to all:

> (8) *make opportunities to participate in sport, physical activity and recreation available to **girls and women** of all ages on the same basis as they are made available to **men and boys*** (BPA 1995: para.107f);
> (9) *enable **girls and women**, as well as **boys and men** on an equal basis, to complete their education* (BPA 1995: para.85a).

The two most frequent roles in which the two participants are represented together are formed by the instances of possessivation and circumstantialisation. The means of possessivation unite women and men according to issues which are or ought to be common to the two.

Whether referring to their status, responsibilities, roles, equality, rights, access or opportunities, the instances of possessivation attribute these issues to women and men together and point to their similarity or difference:

> (10) *international research to determine* **the image of women and men** *portrayed by the media* (WPA 1975: para.177);
> (11) *it also requires a change of* **men's and women's attitudes** *towards* **their roles and responsibilities** *in society* (CPA 1980: para.47);
> (12) *differences in* **the legal conditions of work of women and men** *should also be eliminated* (NFLS 1985: para.137).

The means of circumstantialisation associate the two participants with a group within which there is a gap which needs to be filled (example (13) below) or within which there is a space which needs to be monitored (example (16) below). The construction is introduced with the help of the prepositions *between* and *among*, while the issues analysed within the group are generally those of equality and inequality:

> (13) *in order to promote* **equality between women and men**… (WPA 1975: para.17);
> (14) *a need for balanced* **participation between women and men** (B 2000: para.17);
> (15) *eliminating all forms of employment discrimination, especially* **wage differentials between women and men** *carrying out work of equal value* (NFLS 1985: para.137);
> (16) *the measurement of* **poverty among women and men** (BPA 1995: para.206h).

The second most frequent preposition of the circumstantialisation process in 1995 BPA is *between*, which connects women and men to the issue of *equality*, but also to issues such as *work, responsibility, inequality, relations*, etc (see examples (17) and (18) below):

> (17) *a social, economic, political and intellectual climate based on* **equality between women and men** (BPA 1995: para.289);
> (18) *in several countries, there have been important changes in* **the relationships between women and men** (BPA 1995: para.27).

Another illustration of circumstantialisation is given by the introduction of the nominal group complex *women and men* through the preposition *on*, which places the group of two participants at the observation end of the actions suggested by the plans or the actions of the political and economic world:

> (19) *address…the differences in* **the impact of armed conflict on women and men** (B 2000: para.133d);
> (20) *the regular collection, analysis and dissemination of* **quantitative and qualitative data on women and men** *at all levels in various decision-making positions* (BPA 1995: 190e).

As participants on their own, men are generally portrayed as forming one large group of people, introduced through the common noun *men*. It is very seldom that qualifiers determine the noun. Side by side with women, on a small number of occasions, men are also represented as young, old or poor or as occupying the dual market positions (example (24) below):

(21) *urbanization involves mainly a migration of **young men*** (WPA 1975: para.139);
(22) ***older women and men** have distinct reproductive and sexual health issues which are often inadequately addressed* (B 2000: para.107);
(23) *millions of **the world's poorest women and men** still do not have access to and benefits from science and technologies* (B 2000: para.31);
(24) *promote equal access for **women and men as producers and consumers**, particularly in the area of information and communications technologies* (B 2000: para.134a).

Possessivation and circumstantialisation are the most frequent means of representing women and men throughout the different plans, but, as shown in examples (4) to (7) above, the nominal group complex *women and men* does take other roles as well: Beneficiary, Actor, Goal or even Senser. As mentioned at the beginning of the section, one interest is to compare the occurrences of women and men as one single group made of two members to the occurrences of the participant 'men' in separate grammatical roles.

The total number of the occurrences of the participant 'men' in the five plans of action has been divided between the occurrences of the participant 'men' alone and the occurrences of the two participants together. The results are shown in Table 4.14, which contains both the absolute and the relative frequencies of occurrence, together with the ratio between the relative occurrences of *men and women*/*women and men* and the relative occurrences of *men*.

Table 4.14. The ratio between *men and women/women and men* and *men* throughout the five plans of the World Conferences on Women

Plan	Participants	Men&Women vs. Men	Total	%	Ratio
WPA 1975	Men&Women	36	65	55%	1.24
	Men	29		45%	
CPA 1980	Men&Women	51	74	69%	2.21
	Men	23		31%	
NFLS 1985	Men&Women	68	108	63%	1.7
	Men	40		37%	
BPA 1995	Men&Women	135	189	71%	**2.5**
	Men	54		29%	
B 2000	Men&Women	52	78	67%	2
	Men	26		33%	

The ratio between the two different groups (*women and men/men and women* and *men*) is doubled throughout the decades: from 1.24 in the first plan, reaching the peak of 2.5 in the Beijing Platform of Action and stabilizing itself at a ratio of 2 in the last plan. It is therefore evident that the use of the nominal group complex *men and women/women and men* increases over time as compared to the use of the noun *men*. The hypothesis that due to the holistic approach of the last decade the association of women and men would become the norm is thus sustained by the frequencies of their occurrences in the texts of the world conferences: not

only do the occurrences of *women and men* increase over time, but they also remain constantly higher than the number of occurrences of *men*.

The interest turns second to the specific means of representing men, as single participants of the development plans for women. The representation of men in the plans of action is minimal as compared to the representation of women. The 172 roles of the participant 'men' are given in Table 4.15 along the two main classes of activation and passivation and across the five different plans. For those occurrences which reach a percentage higher than 10% of all the processes, the relative figures are given next to the absolute ones. The highest percentage for each plan is written in bold.

In the first three plans the main means of representing *men* is formed by the means of accompaniment. Accompaniment is a form of extension through which two or more participants are drawn into collaboration, into "a joint participation in the process" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 272).

Table 4.15. The representation of men in the five plans of the World Conferences on Women

Representation	Roles & means	WPA 1975		CPA 1980		NFLS 1985		BPA 1995		B 2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Activation	Actor	1	-	3	13%	4	10%	11	20%	5	19%
	Senser	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Existent	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
	accompaniment	13	**45%**	7	**30%**	16	**40%**	11	20%	4	15%
	comparison	5	17%	2	-	4	10%	6	11%	2	-
	possessivation	5	17%	5	22%	6	15%	10	19%	6	23%
	Total	25	**86%**	18	**78%**	30	**75%**	40	**74%**	17	**65%**
Passivation	Goal	1	-	1	-	3	-	8	15%	5	19%
	Carrier	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	possessivation	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	circumstantialisation	2	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	2	-
	Beneficiary	1	-	3	13%	5	13%	3	-	2	-
	Total	4	14%	5	22%	10	25%	14	26%	9	35%
Total		29	100%	23	100%	40	100%	54	100%	26	100%

The examples of addition constructed with the help of the additive extending conjunction *and* (see examples (4) to (9) above) are also a form of accompaniment and extension, but while *and* casts the different members in the same grammatical roles, the preposition *with* casts one of the participants as the supplement to one and the same action, or as the norm against which the action should be carried out. For women, it is men who are the norm of equality. That is why the prepositional phrases for comitative accompaniment include also the adjective *equal*: *on equal terms with*, *on an equal footing/basis with*, *equally with,* but also simply *with* or *along with*:

(25) *true peace cannot be achieved unless women share **with men** the responsibility* (WPA 1975: para.23);
(26) *so that they can take effective environmental actions, **along with men*** (BPA 1995: para.253f);
(27) *integrating women…by promoting economic activities and employment opportunities **on an equal footing with men*** (CPA 1980: para.1c).
(28) *women…to participate in the political process at all levels **on equal terms with men*** (NFLS 1985: para.90).

In the only domain where women reign, the domain of domestic activities, it is men who need to regard women as the norm of conduct and involvement:

(29) *the need for **men** and society as a whole to share **with women** the responsibilities of producing and rearing children* (NFLS 1985: para.228)

Apart from being the partners of women, men are also the enterprisers of successful actions. While the means of accompaniment decrease throughout the decades, the role of Actor increases, reaching the peak in the Beijing Platform of Action (20% of all the roles, on a par with the roles of accompaniment, see Table 4.15). The activities in which men are caught up in have largely to do with taking part in household duties, family responsibilities, general economical endeavours, but also in abhorrant deeds (example (33) below):

(30) *it is therefore essential that household chores and family care should be **shared by men*** (CPA 1980: para.136);
(31) ***men** often **pursue work** in distant locations, **leaving** women to safeguard the natural environment* (BPA 1995: para.250);
(32) *enable **men to assume** their responsibilities **to prevent** HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases* (BPA 1995: para.108e);
(33) *as well as the people, often **men**, who **maltreat** them [women]*(NFLS 1985: para.231).

As the instigators of actions against women, men are also portrayed through the means of possessivation, which achieve the greatest percentage in the last plan. These are instances of postmodification, in which the action is reified in the form of a derived nominal, while the participant 'men' is cast as a circumstantial element, being introduced with the help of the preposition *by*:

(34) *nor is **the subjection, exploitation, oppression and domination of women by men**, sufficiently explained in history* (CPA 1980: para.13);
(35) *violence against women is a manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and **discrimination against women by men*** (BPA 1995: para.118).

Nominalizations, however, are rare among the means of possessivation. The means of determination predominate and it is important to observe that over the time the issues which are attributed to men extend to include the domestic sphere. That is, the issues associated with men do not only create the image of men as workers, in a professional background (examples

(36) and (37) below), but also as social beings, part of a family and society (examples (38),
(39) and (40) below):

> (36) *men…increased **their** relative **wages*** (CPA 1980: para.42);
> (37) *women's **total input of labour** in the formal and informal sector will surpass that **of men** by the year 2000* (NFLS 1985: para.27);
> (38) ***men's groups** mobilizing against gender violence are necessary allies for change* (BPA 1995: para.120);
> (39) *encourage men to provide **their share** of financial support for **their families*** (BPA 1995: para.107c);
> (40) *increased awareness among men of **their responsibility** in family planning and contraceptive methods* (B 2000: para.8).

So far, two approaches have been delineated: the approach of bringing women and men together as a group functioning in the same position, enjoying equal rights and the approach of bringing men into the domestic sphere. Hand in hand with these two, there is also another approach which needs to be mentioned: that of regarding men as the targets of the programmes. Table 4.15 points to the fact that the role of Goal for *men* increases over time and reaches even the same percentage as the role of Actor conferred to *men*. Men are the targets of a small number of the processes which were encountered in the analysis of the representation of women as well: processes of involvement, encouragement and education. The aim is to reduce the weight of tasks and responsibility women have and that is why men are drawn into a mutually supportive partnership:

> (41) ***men** should **be involved** in health programmes…* (CPA 1980: para.236);
> (42) *educational programmes to **enable men** to assume **as much** responsibility **as women** in the upbringing of children* (NFLS 1985: para.173);
> (43) ***educate men** regarding the importance of women's health and well-being* (BPA 1995: para.107a);
> (44) ***men and boys should** also **be** actively **involved and encouraged** in all efforts to achieve the goals* (B 2000: para.49).

There is still one more means of representing men which has not been discussed so far. It is the means of comparison, which together with the means of accompaniment present women side by side with men: men are not only the partners with whom women associate, but are also the partners with whom women compare themselves or to whom women ought to be compared by development planners. Women accompany men in difficult situations (example (46) below). They only need to be allowed to accompany men in good situations as well (example (47) below). The prepositions used to express comparison are: *than, as, compared to/with, in comparison to, like*:

> (45) *measure…the relative time spent on economic and household activities and on leisure by **girls and women compared to boys and men*** (WPA 1975: para.167e);

(46) *in those (tertiary and informal) sectors **women workers, like men workers**, are often underpaid and receive for the most part extremely low wages* (CPA 1980: para.42);
(47) *measures should be taken to ensure that **women are introduced, on the same footing as men**, to new types of training in the advanced technologies* (CPA 1980: para.131).

As observed in the means of accompaniment (example (23) above), there is a domain in which it is women who form the norm against which men are considered in the development plans. In example (42) above it is stressed that women are the ones who work and take more responsibility in bringing up children and it is in this respect that men need to compare themselves with and follow the example of women.

Apart from the role of Beneficiary which represents 13% of all the processes in the plans of 1980 and 1985, the other roles and means listed in Table 4.15 (Senser, Existent, Carrier, subjection via circumstantialisation and possessivation) have a small number of occurrences and are not discussed in detail. However, they play a part in the total number of the representation means for the participant 'men' which can be divided along the two main processes of activation and passivation. The way the two processes progress throughout the time can be seen in Figure 4.3 in section 4.5 below. Up to that point, the next section analyses the use of the word *gender* in the plans of the conferences.

4.3. Gender in the plans of the world conferences on women

Section 2.1.3 on the notion of 'gender' highlighted the fact that the sense of 'gender' born out of a cultural and psychological perspective on society was used at the beginning of the 1970s (Oakley 1972). Among the plans of the world conferences on women at the United Nations it is the 1985 Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (NFLS) that first contains the word *gender* in its sense of the union between women and men. The 1975 World Plan of Action and the 1980 Copenhagen Programme of Action do not contain any occurrence of the word.

Being used for the first time, the word does not number many occurrences. Nor is there any definition of the notion. Advancing in time and taking into consideration the use of the word in the other two conference plans of the data it can be observed that the word is employed more often and in more patterns, its occurrences increasing steadily from plan to plan. Table 4.16 compares the use of the word *gender* to the use of the words *women*, *men* and of the nominal group complex *women and men* throughout the three plans. In order to see which of the words or structure is most used in the body of the texts, the percentages of the

four items to be compared are calculated against the total number of words of each of the plans (for the number of words, see Table 3.1 in section 3.1.1).

In Table 4.16 one can observe that the 1980s, the decade in which the notion of 'gender' grows in familiarity, represents a turning point not only in the use of the word *gender*, but also in the use of the other words: the occurrences of the word *women* undergo the incremental change from 2.34% in WPA 1975 to 3.26% in NFLS 1985 and then go back to a percentage of 2.42% in B 2000; while the occurrences of the word *men* and those of the coordination *women and men* decrease until the 1980s (from 0.17% to 0.1% and from 0.21% to 0.18%, respectively) and then increase in B 2000 (to 0.12% and 0.25%, respectively). Although the fluctuation constitutes a minimal change, this situation supports the hypothesis that the change to the wider approach of gender and development would entail a decrease in the reference to women and an increase in the reference to the coming together of women and men whose association is analysed from an economic, political and social angle.

Table 4.16. The occurrences of *women*, *men* and *gender* in the five plans of the World Conferences on Women (the percentages of the four items are calculated against the total number of words of each of the plans)

Participant / WCW	WPA 1975		CPA 1980		NFLS 1985		BPA 1995		B 2000	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
women	398	2.34%	831	2.51%	1,195	3.26%	1,385	2.52%	503	2.42%
men	29	0.17%	23	0.07%	40	0.1%	54	0.1%	26	0.12%
women and men	36	0.21%	51	0.16%	68	0.18%	135	0.25%	52	0.25%
gender	-	-	-	-	16	0.04%	216	0.4%	189	0.91%

The increase in the use of *gender* from 1985 onwards represents more a growing familiarity with the notion and its flourishing application in different patterns, not so much a variation of grammatical classes. *Gender* is only used as a noun: as simple noun, as noun entering a compound adjective and as noun modifying another noun. The relative numbers of these categories can be seen in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17. The grammatical classes of *gender* in the five plans of the World Conferences on Women

Grammatical category / WCW plan	WPA 1975	CPA 1980	NFLS 1985	BPA 1995	B 2000
noun	-	-	1	7	-
compound adjective	-	-	9	60	42
modifying noun	-	-	6	149	147
Total	-	-	16	216	189

Gender is never used as an adjective, let alone as a verb in the text of the conference plans and its uses as an individual noun are minimal, disappearing completely by the latest plan. If

in the plan of 1985 the occurrence in compound adjectives is slightly more numerous than the occurrence as noun modifying another noun, the latter gains ground visibly within the last two conference plans. The first occurrence of *gender* as noun in the 1985 NFLS signals the key importance of this notion, which can decide on the living and working conditions of an individual. By and large, it is women who suffer inequalities and this is only *by virtue of their gender*, an expression which ironically underlines the force of this social aspect:

> (1) *women, **by virtue of their gender**, experience discrimination in terms of denial of equal access* (NFLS 1985: para.46).

Out of the nine occurrences of *gender* in a compound adjective, eight of them attach the word to the adjective *specific*. The understanding that decisions taken within development programmes affect the participants differently urges the need to analyse every aspect according to the particularities of women and men. Data, statistics and other development indicators are to be considered alongside with the variable of gender (examples (2) and (3) below). However, it is along with the variable of gender as well that unfair treatment takes place within the present social order (example (4) below):

> (2) *develop **gender-specific statistics and information** that reflect accurately women's contribution* (NFLS 1985: para.179);
> (3) *the gathering of **gender-specific data and economic indicators*** (NFLS 1985: para.282);
> (4) *action to remove **gender-specific discriminatory perceptions, attitudes and behaviour*** (NFLS 1985: para.347).

When modifying other nouns, *gender* is used side by side with nouns, such as *bias*, *roles*, *norms*, but also with the gerundive nominalization *stereotyping*. The two notions of 'bias' and 'stereotyping' with which gender is associated again point to the unfair discrimination existing on many levels, while the other nouns underline the strict demarcation of roles for women and men which needs to be changed:

> (5) ***the gender bias** evident in most development programmes should be eliminated* (NFLS 1985: para.115);
> (6) ***gender stereotyping** in all areas should be avoided* (NFLS 1985: para.138);
> (7) *society…to bring about changes in social attitudes so that new or modified **gender roles** will be accepted, promoted…*(NFLS 1985: para.121).

In the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, the largest document among the conference plans, the derivational patterns enrich their occurrences as well. The attention accorded to the notion of 'gender' by this time is revealed by the fact that the outcome documents of the 1995 World Conference on Women contain a statement by the president of the conference "on the commonly understood meaning of the term gender". However, this

statement is evasive and it brings little insight into the way the authors of the texts and the development planners mean to use and understand gender:

> the word "gender" as used in the Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women was intended to be interpreted and understood as it was in *ordinary, generally accepted usage* (FWCW 1995, my italics).

The compound adjective of the previous plan - *gender-specific* - is hardly used in the Platform of Action (there are only two occurrences), its place being taken by more compound adjectives, of which the most frequent is *gender-sensitive* (28 occurrences). This combination conveys the delicate process of being receptive to and aware of minute differences when it comes to women and men in development programmes. As a compound adjective, *gender-sensitive* determines various nouns, such as *programmes* and *policies*, *teaching* and *training*, denoting documents and techniques from the development field:

> (8) *provide* **gender-sensitive training** *for women and men* (BPA 1995: para.195d);
> (9) *strengthen* **gender-sensitive programmes** *for girls and women* (BPA 1995: para.83m);
> (10) *use appropriate* **gender-sensitive** *traditional and innovative* **methods** (BPA 1995: para.125e).

The next most frequent compound adjective is *gender-based* (14 occurrences). Triggered by the variable of gender is a series of other unfair processes and situations, see examples (11), (12) and (13). The basic element which offers people independence and reliability, education itself relies on unfair means (example (14) below):

> (11) *sensitize such personnel to the nature of* **gender-based acts and threats of violence** (BPA 1995: para.124n);
> (12) *eradicating poverty and reducing* **gender-based inequality** (BPA 1995: para.58c);
> (13) *teaching aids free of* **gender-based stereotypes** *for all levels* (BPA 1995: para.83a);
> (14) *discrimination...owing to...inadequate and* **gender-biased teaching and educational materials** (BPA 1995: para.71).

As a variable along which development planners need to devise their programmes, *gender* occurs in a new construction, side by side with the adjective *disaggregated*. It is the data on participants of development programmes which need to be separated along various variables, including gender (example (15) below). Actually, all issues of concern need to be analysed and reviewed from a *gender perspective*. Joining another noun, *gender* occurs most frequently alongside the noun *perspective* (50 occurrences). This perspective is to be mainstreamed or integrated in all activities and programmes (example (16) below):

> (15) *collect* **gender and age-disaggregated data** *on poverty* (BPA 1995: para.68a)
> (16) *methodologies for incorporating* **gender perspectives** *into all aspects of economic policy-making* (BPA 1995: para.67a).

One of the goals of the development plans for women is that of equality. This is one explanation for the frequent use of *gender* together with the noun *equality* (12 occurrences). Gender equality is the key for economic success, just as the acceptance of ethnical and religious diversity is a key towards freedom and peace:

> (17) promote **gender equality** *through the promotion of women's studies* (BPA 1995: para.175e).

Apart from joining the noun *equality*, *gender* appears next to many other nouns, certifying the richness of the 1995 plan, both as document and as project. Other examples of *gender* joining other nouns are: *gender analysis* (9 occurrences), *gender issues* (9 occurrences), *gender impact assessment/analysis* (7 occurrences), *gender balance* (7 occurrences), *gender roles* (5 occurrences), *gender inequality* (5 occurrences), *gender gap* (4 occurrences), *gender sensitivity* (4 occurrences), *gender relations* (4 occurrences), *gender stereotypes* (3 occurrences) and *gender research* (3 occurrences), etc. These notions indicate either unjustness related to gender or working methods for the field of gender and development. An important and independent dimension of analysis, gender is also expressed in the form of a noun in the text of the 1995 BPA:

> (18) *uphold the principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of* **gender** (BPA 1995: para.216).

In the last plan of 2000, although the occurrences of *gender* increase as compared to the previous plan (see Table 4.16 above), the word is not used as a noun anymore and it does not enter as many combinations as before. That is, the list of adjectives with which *gender* is combined and the list of nouns which gender joins shrink compared to the previous plan. There are only three main compound adjectives with *gender*, of which the most frequent is again *gender-sensitive* (22 occurrences). *Gender-specific*, the compound adjective of the 1985 plan, appears again, as frequent as the combination *gender-based* (8 occurrences). The first is associated with development programmes and strategies, the second with research, while the third, as before, with negative treatment:

> (19) **professional and gender-sensitive standards** *in the delivery of women's health services* (B 2000: para.107g);
> (20) **gender-specific information** *about dosage, side-effects and effectiveness of drugs* (B 2000: para.125i);
> (21) **gender-based persecution** *has been accepted as a basis for refugee status in some countries* (B 2000: para.12).

Another change is encountered on the list of nouns which *gender* joins, at the top of which one finds the aim of *gender equality* (54 occurrences). A substitution takes place here in fact, as *gender perspective*, the most frequent construction of the previous plan, comes second on

the list with 35 occurrences. One explanation for this reversal of uses is also the fact that the construction *mainstreaming a gender perspective* of the 1995 plan turns into *gender mainstreaming* in the Beijing 2000 plan (7 occurrences, see example (22) below). Seen as an efficient method towards the aim of the economic policies, gender mainstreaming has the aim of incorporating equal opportunities for women and men into all policies and activities (cf. the definition given in 1996 by the European Commission). In 1997, the UN gives a definition of the term blending the political view with the economic and social view:

> Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (ECOSOC 1997).

Other nouns used together with *gender* are similar to some of the nouns found in the previous plan: *gender stereotypes* (6 occurrences), *gender balance* (5 occurrences), *gender bias* (4 occurrences), *gender discrimination* (4 occurrences), *gender impact assessment/analysis* (4 occurrences), *gender roles* (4 occurrences) and *gender inequality* (3 occurrences), etc.

> (22) **gender mainstreaming** *has been widely acknowledged as a strategy to enhance the impact of policies to promote* **gender equality** (B 2000: para.18).

As a summary, one can say that introduction of the word *gender* within the texts of the conference plans brings with it a decrease in the reference to women alone, paralleled by an increase in the reference to the union of women and men. Gender remains a variable along which policies and programmes need to be devised and statistics need to be organized and research needs to be conducted because gender is the dimension along which social individuals suffer remarkably.

4.4. Sample text analysis

For the qualitative analysis of part of the first conference's plan of action the intention is to cast light onto the reasons which have made such a conference and plan necessary in the first place. In the introduction of the document the authors highlight the factors which have been taken into consideration in order to devise the launch of the first world conference on women and the draft of a first world plan of action. The United Nations proclaimed 1975 as International Women's Year largely due to two main upsetting realities: the impossibility of

women to participate in the economic, social and political activities of their countries and "the loss represented by the under-utilization of the potentialities of approximately 50 per cent of world's adult population" (WPA 1975: para.4). It is therefore not only women who suffer from unfair treatment, but it is also the whole nation's balance which is distorted because of the lack of equality. The utilitarian view identifies women with the economic potential they have. The efficient use of this great potential (50% of the population) bears the promise of a better economic situation. At the beginning of the 1970s the existence of societies in which women are equal actors of the economic, social and political life is a vision of the future. It is the objective of the International Women's Year to define the features of such a society and think of the best strategies whereby it can develop. All nations which have signed the United Nations' Charter have pledged to fight for high commitments such as the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms or the elimination of all forms of discrimination.

The Plan of Action is written in an optimist vein: the authors point both to what has been achieved and to what has not been achieved or is to be achieved, both to disadvantages of the situation and to advantages which can have a good outcome. The introduction highlights the fact that even though many peoples have been liberated from alien colonial domination and even though technological progress has been achieved in economy there are still many obstacles to progress and equitable sharing. As regards the work in the field of women's development, the transfer of the theory into practice has proven to be "slow and uneven" (WPA 1975: para.5). This has revealed noteworthy differences in the status of women in various countries. However, the optimist vein continues to assure that "basic similarities unite women to fight differences wherever they exist in the legal, economic, social, political and cultural status of women and men"(WPA 1975: para.7). This quotation is part of the paragraph preceding the text selected for detailed analysis below. The quotation contains an example of an action which women do. The strong semantics of the verb *to fight* remains proof of the enthusiastic and optimistic vein of the first world plan of action, in which the activation processes of the participant 'women' amount to a noteworthy percentage (64% of the processes, see section 4.1.1.1). Moreover, the text portrays women not only as strong enough to surpass difficulties and profit from the little they have in order to unite and fight, but also as engaged in an action for the good of all human beings, regardless of their gender.

Six paragraphs of the introduction of the WPA are given below in order to illustrate how the text of 1975 is written and to delve into a detailed analysis of the representation of women. The occurrences of the participant 'women' and of the forms referring to 'women'

(*them*, *their*) are written in bold type, so that the roles women acquire can be immediately identified. The words in italics are the key words on which the analysis of the sample focuses.

Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975

Introduction

…

1 8. As a result of the uneven development that prevails in the international economic
2 relations, three quarters of humanity is faced with urgent and pressing social and economic
3 problems. **The women** among them **are even more affected** by such problems and new
4 measures taken to improve **their situation** as well as **their role** in the process of
5 development *must* be an integral part of the global project for the establishment of a new
6 economic order.

7 9. In many countries **women form a large part of the agricultural work force**. Because
8 of this and because of **their important role** in agricultural production and in the
9 *preparation, processing and marketing* of food, **they constitute a substantial economic**
10 **resource**. Nevertheless, if the rural worker's lack of technical equipment, education and
11 training is taken into account, it will be seen that in many countries **the status of women**
12 in this sector is *doubly* disadvantaged.

13 10. While industrialization provides jobs **for women** and constitutes one of the main
14 means for **the integration of women** in the process of development, **women workers are**
15 **disadvantaged** in many respects because of the fact that the technological structure of
16 production in general has been oriented towards *man and his requirements*. Therefore
17 special attention *must* be paid to **the situation of the woman worker** in industry and in
18 services. **Women workers feel** *painfully* the effects of the present economic crisis, the
19 growth of unemployment, inflation, mass poverty, lack of resources for education and
20 medical care, unexpected and unwanted side-effects of urbanization and other migration,
21 etc.

22 11. Scientific and technological developments have had both positive and negative
23 repercussions on **the situation of women** in many countries. Political, economic and
24 social factors are important in overcoming any adverse effects of such developments.

25 12. During the last decades **women's movements** and **millions of women** together with
26 other progressive forces acting in many countries have focused public opinion at the
27 national and international levels on all these problems.

28 13. However, that public opinion often **overlooks the many women** of regions under alien
29 domination, particularly **those subjected** to apartheid **who experience** daily **the terror** of
30 repression and **who struggle** *tirelessly* for the recovery of the most elementary rights of
31 the human person.
…

The six paragraphs reflect the combination of positive and negative aspects, of despair and hope which has been discussed above. Women are in a disadvantaged situation but the new economic order will ensure that this situation changes. The strong modal *must* announces from the beginning of the text the finality of the decision and the urgency of the case. There is no place for contestations. The second paragraph reverses the order of the two poles. At first, the positive aspects are highlighted: in the vein of the utilitarian view of give-and-take, women are identified as forces and resources within the economic process, indicating that when women work economy profits. Then, the paragraph strikes a sombre note by pointing to the negative aspect of the double disadvantage which weighs on women's shoulders.

An equilibrated combination is also found in the use of the two main types of processes of activation and passivation in the excerpt: there are eleven instances of activation versus eight instances of passivation. Section 4.1.1.1 has shown that the activation processes via possessivation represent 40% of all the processes delineated in the plan. In the selected paragraphs it is also these processes which predominate in the representation of the main participant 'women'. Out of the eleven instances of activation, there are seven occurrences of women in activation processes via possessivation (in lines 4, 8, 11, 17, 23 and 25). The rest of the activation processes is equally divided between the role of Actor (two occurrences in lines 26 and 30) and the role of Senser (two occurrences in lines 18 and 29). Half of the eight instances of passivation are achieved through the role of Goal (in lines 3, 15, 28 and 29). The other instances of passivation are achieved through identification (lines 7 and 9), through the role of Beneficiary (line 13) and through possessivation (line 14).

The fact that the activation processes surpass the passivation processes in the representation of women is due to the fact that the plan takes into consideration and discusses aspects of the social and economic lives of women (situation, role and status), not because women are envisioned as the agents of change. There is only one instance among the eleven instances of activation in which women do act and manage to change something. This is the role of Actor in lines 25 to 27. Here, women unite in a strong, "progressive force" whose determination can re-channel public opinion. The event is expressed via a transitive construction, in which the millions of women are the Actor, whose doing extends to and affects another entity, public opinion. Moreover, from the ergative perspective, the event is also expressed via an effective ergative construction. Women are the Agent (in Halliday's terms) or the Instigator (in Davidse's terms) who causes and instigates the change in the public opinion, the Medium of the process (see section 2.2.1.2 on ergativity). The Medium has itself an active role and participates in the manifestation of the event, as it can continue by

itself in *the public opinion focuses on problems*. However, the second role as Actor that women play casts them outside the domain of having influence and causing beneficial effects: the act of struggling (lines 30 and 31) is an intransitive construction which limits women to their own world. The role of Senser, another means of activation, has also little to do with causality, as it has the same effect of portraying women isolated in the world of their feelings (lines 18 to 21, 29 and 30). Moreover, the text neglects the possibility of representing the participant in the role of Actor. Line 9 introduces the nominalized forms of processes which clearly women do: women prepare, process and market food. Nominalizations are preferred to verbs and the possible role of Actor for women is replaced by an instance of possessivation (*their role* in line 8).

The position of sufferer is strengthened by the position of women as Goal of the actions of others. All the actions in the excerpt which have women as Goal are negative and destructive. The verbs are all transitive effective goal-achieving. None of the verbs is ergative and thus the direction of the affecting process remains unilateral, with women at the affected end: women are affected by problems (line 3), women are disadvantaged by the system of industrialization (lines 14 and 15), women are overlooked by public opinion or they are subjected to apartheid (lines 28 and 29). In line 16 there is an explanation for the fact that women occupy this position of victim: the entire economic system, even technological inventions, has been constructed to suit only men, as if women's existence were immaterial.

There is a text characteristic which tries to show that women's existence is not at all immaterial, but it belongs to a larger social order. There are in the texts general references such as *humanity* (line 2), *the rural worker* (line 10) or *the human person* (line 31). These references point, on the one hand, to the fact that the attention of the development planners must always be as wide as possible so as to include all humanity regardless of gender, ethnicity, colour etc., and on the other hand, the general references point to the fact that women are one indispensable part of this whole. Moreover, women are not a homogenous class and one can differentiate between groups of women, one group being the *women workers* (lines 14 and 17). Through the use of modals (*must* in lines 5 and 17) and the use of evaluative lexis (*important* in line 8, *substantial* in line 9, *painfully* in line 18 or *tirelessly* in line 30) the text proves to be to a large extent argumentative.

Twenty-five years later, in the summer of 2000, the authors of the second Beijing document were writing in the same balanced vein. The document "Further actions and initiatives to implement the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action" placed side by side the achievements of the work undertaken until then within development and the obstacles

which still needed to be surpassed. This overview of successes and difficulties is meant to function as a framework to devise the best solutions for efficient future action. The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action delineated 12 critical areas within development work: women and poverty; education and training of women; women and health; violence against women; women and armed conflict; women and the economy; women in power and decision-making; institutional mechanism for the advancement of women; human rights of women; women and the media; women and the environment; and the girl-child. The document written five years later assesses the achievements and obstacles for each critical area. For the section on qualitative analysis the critical area of 'women in power and decision-making' has been chosen out of all the other areas, due to the fact that the title of this critical area associates women with strong and noteworthy action. The names of the other areas associate women with different issues they must face (poverty, violence, health or armed conflict) and processes in which they are placed at the receiving end (education, training or advancement). The text for the seventh critical area of the platform is given below.

G. Women in power and decision-making

1 16. *Achievements*: There has been growing acceptance of the importance to society of **the**
2 *full* **participation of women** in decision-making and power at all levels and in all fora,
3 including inter-governmental, governmental, and non-governmental sectors. In some
4 countries, **women have** also **attained higher positions** in these spheres. An increasing
5 number of countries applied affirmative and positive action policies, including quota
6 systems or voluntary agreements in some countries, measurable goals and targets,
7 developed training programmes for **women's leadership** and introduced measures to
8 reconcile **family and work responsibilities of both women and men**. National
9 mechanisms and machineries for **the advancement of women** as well as national and
10 international **networks of women politicians**, **parliamentarians, activists and**
11 **professionals** in various fields have been established or upgraded and strengthened.

12 17. *Obstacles*: Despite general acceptance of the need for a *gender balance* in decision-
13 making bodies at all levels, a gap between *de jure* and *de facto* equality has persisted.
14 Notwithstanding substantial improvements of *de jure* **equality between women and men**,
15 the *actual* **participation of women** at the highest levels of national and international
16 decision-making has not significantly changed since Beijing 1995 and *gross* **under-**
17 **representation of women in decision-making bodies** in *all* areas, including *inter alia*
18 politics, conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms, the economy, the environment
19 and the media hinders the inclusion of a *gender perspective* in these critical spheres of
20 influence. **Women continue to be underrepresented** at the legislative, ministerial and
21 sub-ministerial levels, as well as at the highest levels of the corporate sector and other
22 social and economic institutions. Traditionally assigned *gender roles* limit **women's**
23 **choices** in education and careers and **compel women to assume** the burden for household
24 responsibilities. Initiatives and programmes aimed at **women's** increased **participation** in
25 decision-making were hindered by a lack of human and financial resources for training

26 and advocacy for political careers; *gender-sensitive* **attitudes towards women** in society,
27 **awareness of women to engage in decision-making** in some cases; accountability of
28 elected officials and political parties for promoting *gender equality* and **women's**
29 **participation** in public life; social awareness of the importance of *balanced* **participation**
30 **of women and men** in decision-making; willingness on the part of **men to share power**;
31 sufficient dialogue and cooperation with **women's non-governmental organizations**,
32 along with organizational and political structures, which **enable all women to participate**
33 in *all* spheres of political decision-making.

The assumption that this critical area associates women with firm action is proved when the use of representation processes is observed. The activation processes dominate the excerpt. They amount to 14 occurrences, almost three times the number of passivation processes (5 occurrences). The occurrence of the participant 'men' (line 30) and the occurrences of the two participants together, *women and men* (in lines 8, 14, 29 and 30) are not considered here together with the occurrences of the participant 'women' alone.

The processes of activation via possessivation are again the main means of representing women (10 occurrences). However, there is a difference which can be observed when comparing the instances of possessivation in the two excerpts. In the excerpt from 1975, all of the possessivation occurrences were instances of determination, via which certain entities pointed to something women have (their situation, their status or their role). In the excerpt from 2000, at least half of the possessivation occurrences are instances of nominalization. The activities women do are introduced in a nominalized form: *participation* (4 occurrences in lines 2, 15, 24 and 29), *advancement* (line 9) and *choice* (line 23). As a matter of fact, even the entities attributed to women via determination point also to a state of doing something (*leadership*, *awareness*, *networks* and *NGOs*). The domain of feelings explored in the previous excerpt is not found in the 2000 excerpt (see the role of Senser above). The only other means of activation in the second excerpt is formed by the role of Actor (4 occurrences). Though the activation of women is intense, there is no single instance of women in the position of instigators of action (a position which was delineated, even though only once, in the previous excerpt). Furthermore, the material processes via which women do play the role of Actor do not manage to create an image of women as agents of change, as acting outside their world: the two instances of transitive construction (*attain position* in line 4 and *assume burden* in line 23) cast their deed on abstract entities, while the other two instances of Actor role are achieved via intransitive verbs (*engage in* in line 27 and *participate in* in line 32, which are actually not due to happen because of *the lack of … awareness* or *dialogue and cooperation*). Nor are women represented as active partners in their role of Goal: none of the verbs which place women at the receiving end are ergative

verbs. Women find themselves at the affected end (of the verbs *compel* in line 23 and *enable* in line 32) and have little chance of co-participating.

In fact, the chances of co-participating are low, not only because men are unwilling to share power (line 30), but also because the rest of the participants in the excerpt are abstract ones: *countries* (which apply policies, develop programmes and introduce measures in lines 5 and 7), *a gap* (which persists between equalities, line 13), *participation* (which does not change, line 16), *under-representation* (which hinders inclusion, lines 16 to 20), *assigned gender roles* (which limit choices and compel women, lines 22 to 24), *a lack of* factors (which hinder the programmes and the initiatives, lines 24 to 33). The abstract layer is doubled by a layer of indefiniteness, as the participants of many processes are omitted via suppression (see Van Leeuwen 1996: 38-42 introduced in 2.2.2.1). I am thinking here of the nominalization which leaves the actors unmentioned and the answer to the question 'by whom?' open: *the acceptance of* importance (lines 1 and 12), *the inclusion of* a gender perspective (line 19); and of the passive construction in which the agent is deleted (*mechanisms and machineries ... have been deleted or upgraded or strengthened*, lines 9 to 11).

On the side of achievements the authors celebrate the improvement both on the psychological level (the acceptance of the important part women play) and on the physical level (women have occupied higher positions). At the level of practice, women have conquered territories they have never reached before and have united in networks in order to be stronger and show that they do form a noteworthy group of "politicians, parliamentarians, activists and professionals". At the level of theory, various countries have changed policies and have created new mechanisms to support the effort women make for an equal society.

On the side of obstacles the authors condemn the fact that despite these achievements there are still many serious drawbacks which need to be surpassed. Acceptance and new policies are not enough if they are not supported by an actual fulfillment of aims. The fact remains that women still need to fight for key positions and that traditional mentalities still have a strong influence. Due to innate traditional gender roles, women themselves are unaware that they can ask for and expect more (line 27), while men are reluctant to give up some of their positions in decision-making (line 30). Even state organizations prove sometimes a lack of involvement (line 28), while women's NGOs are relegated to a secondary place (line 31).

The detailed analysis has offered the possibility of seeing what exactly hides behind the large numbers of activation processes. Characteristic of the texts is the large use of possessivation means which allow both for a description of issues concerning women (the

instances of determination), but also for an abstractization of the activities they are caught in (the instances of nominalization). The image of women is that of actors of a limited world which they do not surpass (the use of intransitive verbs) and of directly and negatively affected beings (the role of Goal).

The next section is meant to bring the attention back to a general level, considering the results obtained via the quantitative analysis across the decades. The evolution in time of the two kinds of representation and of the main roles and means is observed with the help of a number of charts.

4.5. Concluding remarks

The above analysis has focused on the processes of the representation of the two participants, in detail, for each of the plans. In this summarizing section a general perspective over the participant representation offers a better view of the characteristics of the texts. A first interest is to observe the way the two main processes of representation, activation and passivation, progress throughout the time period.

Figures 4.2 and 4.3 show the total number of roles divided along the two processes of activation and passivation. The evolution of the two kinds of processes is rendered through the columns of the Figures. Figure 4.2 reflects the situation of the processes used in the representation of the participant 'women', while Figure 4.3 reflects the evolution of the processes used in the representation of the participant 'men'.

The figure on the evolution of the processes used in the representation of *men* strikes through the uniformity with which the passivation processes ascend and the activation processes descend. Although not as uniformly, the same situation is reflected by the evolution of the representation means of *women* in the five plans of the world conferences; the passivation processes ascend throughout the time, while the activation processes descend. However, it is the processes of activation which remain predominant to the end.

There are the three main features which can be observed regarding the evolution of the two great processes of representation throughout the plans, for both participants similar:

- a decrease in the use of activation processes
- an increase in the use of passivation processes and
- the constant predominance of activation processes over those of passivation.
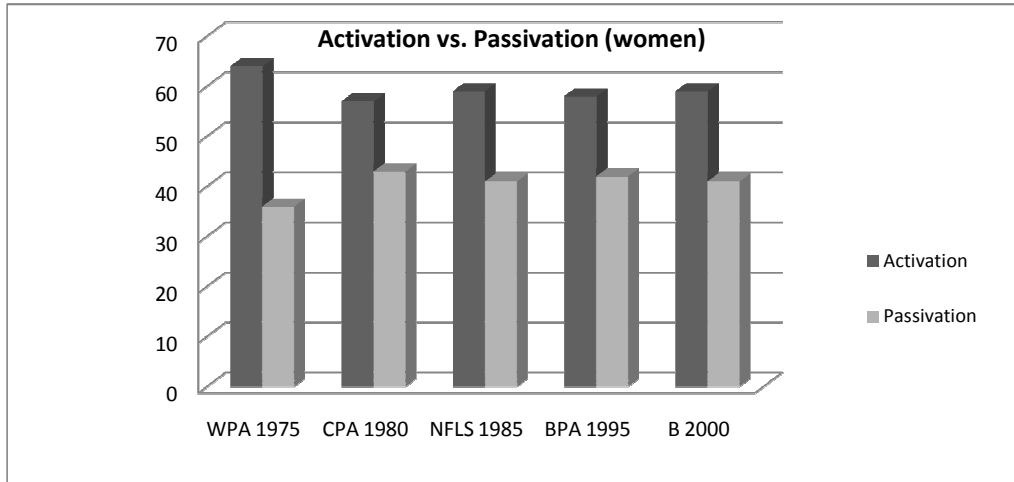
Figure 4.2. Activation and passivation of the participant 'women' throughout the five plans of the World Conferences on Women (in percentages)
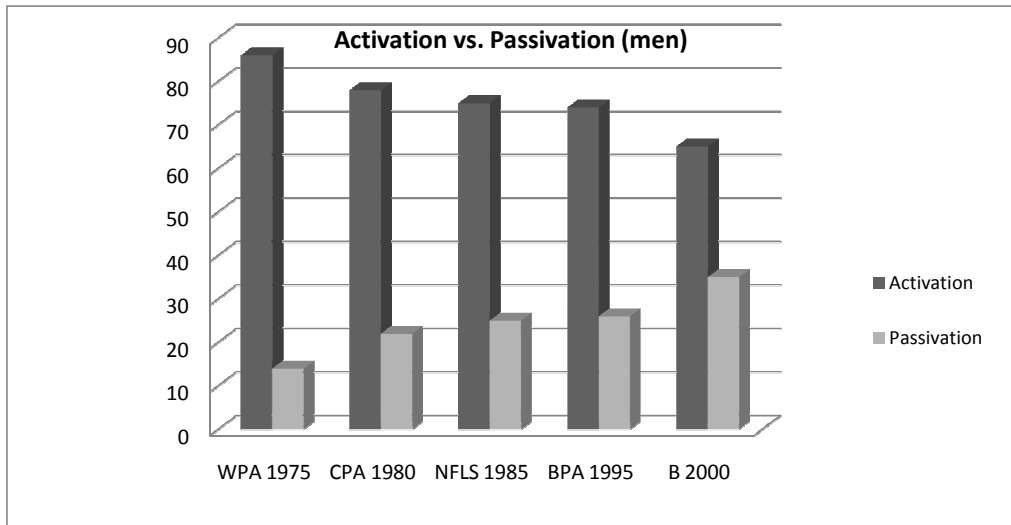
Figure 4.3. Activation and passivation of the participant 'men' throughout the five plans of the World Conferences on Women (in percentages)

The main means of representing women are two instances of activation (Actor role and possessivation) and two instances of passivation (Goal and Beneficiary). The evolution of these four instances across the five plans of the World Conferences on Women is shown in Figure 4.4.
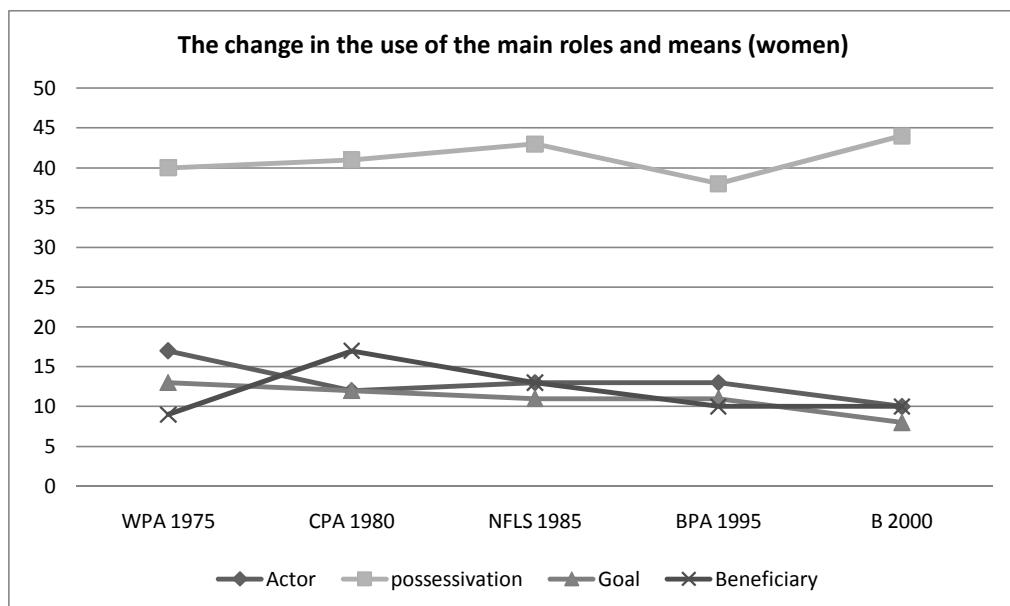
Figure 4.4. The change in the main roles and means of activation processes (Actor and possessivation) and passivation processes (Goal and Beneficiary) in the representation of women throughout the five plans of the World Conferences on Women (in percentages)

The means of activation via possessivation have a special evolution throughout time: they undergo an increase; plus, they remain far above the other three means. The roles of Actor, Goal and Beneficiary intersect throughout the time to reach a similar position in the last plan.

In Figure 4.5 the four main roles and means of representing the participant 'men' in the plans of the world conferences can be better observed in their evolution of ascending and descending over time. The general tendency is to bring the roles on levels closer to one another, bridging thus the discrepancy found at the beginning (for example between the occurrences of the role of Actor and of accompaniment). The roles of Actor and Goal have a parallel evolution: they start from the same level in the first plan, then detach from one another to reach in the end the same level again. The only difference is that the increase is constant in the instances of Goal and fluctuating in the instances of Actor. The occurrences of activation via possessivation undergo an increase as well, being the most frequent means of representation by the plan of 2000. It is only the instances of comparison and accompaniment which decrease throughout the time. The means of accompaniment go through a tremendous change, decreasing meanderingly to almost a third of their initial level.
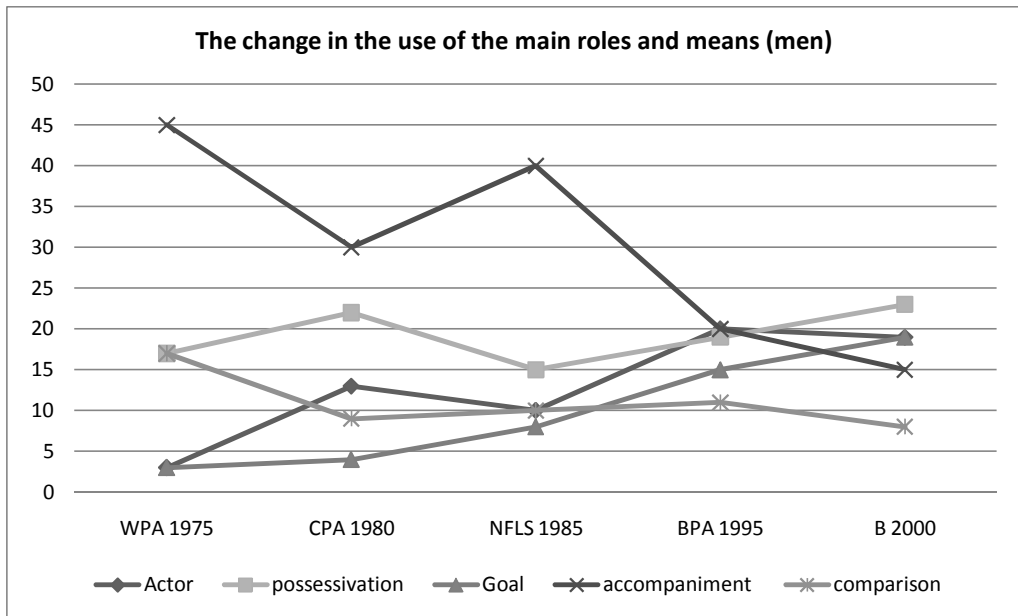
Figure 4.5. The change in the main roles and means of activation processes (Actor, accompaniment, comparison and possessivation) and passivation processes (Goal) in the representation of men throughout the five plans of the World Conferences on Women (in percentages)

The change of approaches within development has also been marked at the level of referring to the main participants. The 1995 Beijing Platform of Action represents a turning point in addressing the union of women and men in the work done within development. The analysis has shown that the ratio of references to the association of women and men to references of men only definitely is in favour of the first type of reference.

Whether addressing only women or women and men, there is a sense of urgency and compulsion which permeates the texts. This sense of urgency is combined with a sense of desperation at the unaccomplished targets. It is rendered by the presence of strong modals, such as *should* and *must*:

(1) *special attention **must** be paid to the situation of the woman worker in industry* (WPA 1975: para.10), *women of all countries of the world **should** proclaim their solidarity* (WPA 1975: para.51);
(2) *governments **must** affirm the dignity of women* (NFLS 1985: para.288); *degrading images of women **must** be eliminated in the media* (NFLS 1985: para.314);
(3) *both women and men **must** be enabled to reconcile and share equally work responsibilities and family responsibilities* (B 2000: para.51).

The unaccomplished targets bring the need of finding ever better solutions for tackling the problems within the development field, one being the inequality between women and men. The approaches change from decade to decade, enlarging their scope and covering more and

more issues. However, at the level of grammatical representation the change is not felt. The characteristics of the texts remain unchanged throughout approaches: activation is the norm of representation, being used to a larger extent than passivation; possessivation remains the main activation means of representation; and women remain the participant for whom programmes are being planned so as to participate fully to the development process.

CHAPTER 5: United Nations' resolutions on women

Chapter 5 is an analysis of the roles of women and men as participants in the texts of the resolutions throughout the four great decades of gender and development. The analysis begins with the five resolutions of the first decade (1960s, including the resolution from 1957) and proceeds with the resolutions of the other three decades (1970s, 1980s and 1990s). The participant roles and processes in which women and men as participants are represented in the resolutions have been delineated in the manner exposed in the sections on theoretical frameworks and method. The focus turns as well to the notion of 'gender' and its use in the texts of the resolutions. Moreover, the quantitative analysis is continued and illustrated with a detailed analysis of two resolutions, one from the beginning of the 1960s and one written forty years later, at the beginning of the new century. This analysis is aimed at casting a glimpse into the diachronic change of the features of text and at revealing aspects of the means of representation which can be detected only at a closer look.

5.1. The representation of women in the resolutions

The aim of the analysis of the means of representation is to show the way women as participants of the development process are portrayed in the texts of the resolutions throughout time. The representation is analysed along two main aspects: section 5.1.1 analyses the roles which women as participants play in the texts, while section 5.1.2 traces the network of issues which is built around the participant. Thus, it will be revealed who the women of the texts are, what they do or what they need according to the General Assembly and the country delegates at the assembly.

5.1.1. The roles of women in the resolutions

This section introduces the representation of the main participant throughout the time. The resolutions are grouped into four main decades and analysed separately, one decade after the other, tracing the different aims and approaches. The process types and the means of participant representation are the ones discussed in section 3.1. For each decade the processes and their frequencies are presented in tables and then exemplified.

5.1.1.1. The resolutions of the 1960s

The 1960s was the time in which feminist development was taking shape: "The independence movements of the 1950s and 1960s allowed the roots of the women and development concept and movement to take hold" (Snyder and Tadesse 1997: 78). The resolutions are part of the large literature of the decade which formed the theoretical basis of the women's movement. The search for notions to define and rights to fight for was in its incipiency and this can be seen in the modest size and commitment of the resolutions conceived by the General Assembly. In the five resolutions of the 1960s which contain a total of 1789 words, there are 50 roles in which women are portrayed. Their distribution across types of representation can be seen in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. The representation of women in the 1960s resolutions

Type of representation		Roles & means	N	%
Activation		Actor	7	14%
		possessivation	35	70%
	Total		**42**	**84%**
Passivation	Subjection	Goal	7	14%
	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	1	-
	Total		**8**	**16%**
Total			**50**	**100%**

The activation of women represents outstandingly the large majority of process types. Almost 85% of all the processes in which women are represented are formed by the activation by Actor and by possessivation. Of these two means, the cases of possessivation via nominalizations appear as the most frequent way of introducing women as participants in the texts. Out of the 35 cases of possessivation, there are 25 cases of nominalizations:

(1) *the progress made as regards **the participation of women** in community development* (1957: 1162(XII));
(2) *a unified, long-term United Nations programme for **the advancement of women*** (1962: 1777 (XVII));
(3) *recognizing **the contribution of women** to national social development programmes* (1963: 1920 (XVIII)).

The verbs lying beyond the nominalizations *participation*, *advancement* and *contribution* are all used in their intransitive form: *women participate in; women advance (through); women contribute to development programmes*. Intransitivity is found also in the finite and non-finite verbs of the material processes in which women are given Actor role:

(4) *to what extent **women are participating in** community development programmes* (1957: 1162(XII)),
(5) *in order to enable **women to participate fully in** the economic, social, cultural and political life of their respective countries* (1965: 2059 (XX)).

As can be seen, the verb used here is *to participate*, which has been previously encountered in the nominalized form (*participation*). The intransitivity of the verbs engulfs women in a limited world of ineffective action, in which they do function as Actor but their activities have no direct outcomes. Furthermore, the action with reduced effects is expressed in a diversified manner. Here, I have in mind the coming together of expressions with similar meanings: *to participate fully* and *full participation* pair together with *to play a full part,* while *to contribute* and *contribution* pair with *to make a contribution:*

(6) *women should be encouraged to **play** an even greater and more effective **part** in it* (1957: 1162(XII)),
(7) *the necessity of women **playing** their full **part**, on equal terms with men* (1963: 1920 (XVIII)),
(8) *the **contribution** which women can **make** to national development* (1965: 2059 (XX)).

In these examples the verbs are emptied lexically and it is their Scope which indicates the way the process is accomplished (Halliday 2004: 192-194). The verbs *to play* and *to make* do not carry the meaning by themselves because the process being expressed is construed through the words that follow: *part* and *contribution*, respectively. Halliday labels this participant "Scope: process" and distinguishes it from the participant which has the role of Goal in a material clause through the observation that it is not a 'doing' relationship which is being established between the verb and the noun (i.e., one cannot say 'what women will do to the part is play it'). However, the subject of the clause carries further the label of Actor. One could therefore conclude that the transitivity of the verbs whose Actor role is played by *women* is maximally reduced in the resolutions of the 1960s. When women have the role of Goal via subjection it is the Governments which lie at the cause-end of the action:

(9) *the **Governments** of such States (...) **training women** so as to **enable them** to participate fully* (1963: 1920 (XVIII)).

5.1.1.2. The resolutions of the 1970s

The turning point represented by the decade starting in 1970 is signalled not only by the increasing number of resolutions on women in general and on women and development in particular, but also by the multiplication of the roles women are portrayed in. Table 5.2 lists

the roles of the participant 'women' and their frequencies of occurrence (percentages are given in the right-hand column). According to percentages, the instances of activation and passivation reach this time an almost equal balance, with activation lower than passivation.

Table 5.2. The representation of women in the 1970s resolutions

Type of representation		Roles & means	N	%
Activation		Actor	12	8%
		Possessor	2	1%
		Senser	1	1%
		possessivation	52	36%
	Total		**67**	**46%**
Passivation	Subjection	Goal	9	6%
		Carrier	2	1%
		Identified	1	1%
		Phenomenon	1	1%
		possessivation	52	36%
		circumstantialisation	8	6%
	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	5	3%
	Total		**78**	**54%**
Total			**145**	**100%**

The frequency of the means of subjection is brought to the front line by the motto of the 1970s development decade, the goal of the Women in Development approach: *the integration of women in development*. At the end of the first decade of development, expansion planners in women's organizations and international agencies comprehended that the methods undertaken until 1970 had not brought too many good results for women: "By the 1970s it was realized that benefits of modernization had somehow not reached women, and in some sectors undermined their existing position" (Visvanathan 1997b: 18). That is why involving increasingly more women in the development process appeared a necessary and good solution. In what way and at what stage should women exactly have entered the development process was left free to the evaluation of organizations and agencies. Some understood this as a necessary step if the growth progression was to be accelerated through the introduction of new instruments in the agricultural and industrial sectors. Others, feminist economists especially, understood it as a step forward to the control on development planning, where more women were needed in order to make the process fit their needs and requirements (Roodkowsky 1984: 20).

The phrase *the integration of women in development* casts the participant 'women' into the role of Goal of the action-verb *to integrate*. The sense of ambiguity which might be emanated by the presence of the nominalization is dissipated from the beginning of the decade

by the presence in the first resolution of the sentence seen in example (1). This sentence unpacks the construction with the nominalization and points to the role of Goal conferred to *women*. The role of Actor is accorded to an entity (*programmes)*, behind which however lies the institution which creates it (*Governments)*:

> (1) *plans of action addressed to all Governments (...) requesting the establishment of region-wide programmes **to integrate women** fully into all phases of development* (1974: 3342 (XXIX)).

The attitude towards women here is distinctly one which sees them as passive objects which need to be brought by development planners into the unit made by male agricultural and industrial workers. In the resolutions of the end of the decade another frequent instance of subjection by possessivation corroborates this view on women: *the effective mobilization of women in development* (1979: 33/200). The notion of 'mobilization' adds to the notion of 'integration' the sense of seeing women as a resource to be aligned and introduced in the course of action. As can be observed in the titles of the resolutions in the table Appendix 2, these two notions of 'integration' and 'mobilization' are often brought together at the end of the decade, thus reinforcing the view of women as both objects and resources. As a matter of fact, the image of people as key resources for development which was found in the 1963 resolution (section 5.1.1.1) is reiterated in the 1974 resolution. This time the resources are not to be developed, but fully used, i.e. fully use women by integrating them side by side with men:

> (2) *the full and productive **use of human resources** is a key factor in the promotion of economic and social development* (1974: 3342 (XXIX)).

The roles through possessivation activate women only to the degree that they point to a certain entity associated with women: something women have (*the status, needs, skills, concerns, situation, position of women, their role*, etc.) or something women do (*the activities of women, women's work, participation, contribution*, etc.). Such constructions do not portray women as agents of actions, but as holders of certain elements which fall into the cone of attention of development planners. That is why the accumulation of expressions such as the ones below conveys a sense of women as passive, not as active; of women having something which needs to be evaluated by others, not of women working for something which can be evaluated by themselves:

> (3) *ameliorating **the present situation of women** in development* (1979: 34/204),
> (4) *the need for both quantitative and qualitative data on **the position of women*** (1975: 3523 (XXX)),
> (5) *matters relating to **the status of women*** (1975: 3520 (XXX)).

The state of diminished activation is carried on at the level of the Actor role. In eight of the 12 instances, the verbs of the actions are intransitive:

(6) *the extent to which women **participate in** programmes* (1974: 3342 (XXIX)),
(7) *[women] to **participate in** policy-making* (1976: 31/175),
(8) *women and men should **participate** and **contribute** on a basis of equality* (1979: 34/204).

The same verbs as those of the 1960s resolutions are found here: *to participate* and *to contribute*. Due to their intransitive use, these verbs lack any force of producing effects. Moreover, the verbs in the texts which do have a goal for their action (i.e. transitive verbs) have a restricted effect. More precisely, when women's activities do have effects, these effects are made on their own person, not on others. Women can act, but not outside a certain sphere of their own. This situation is similar to the one discussed in the texts of the world conferences on women:

(9) *rural **women to use fully their capabilities*** (1975: 3523 (XXX)),
(10) *women (...) to **improve their economic activities*** (1975: 3522 (XXX)),
(11) *women must **play** an important **role*** (1975: 3520 (XXX)).

However, as regards example (11), one can observe that, unlike the expression used in the 1960s (*play a part*), the one encountered here (*play a role)* does not equate the verb *to participate* anymore and triggers a distinction between having a part in something, which carries mostly a sense of possession and having a role in something, which carries not only a sense of part-possession, but also a sense of influential activity.

The 1970s was the period of the Women in Development approach, within which the first world conference on women was organized and held in 1975 and the first international women's year and decade was declared. The texts of the resolutions of the 1970s put women on the development political agenda as a reality, a fact to which more attention is given than ever. This way, a number of processes of subjection by circumstantialisation appear for the first time in the texts of the 1970s, in which the participant 'women' is introduced by preposition and is seen as the target of observation:

(12) *programmes relating **to women** and development* (1975: 3520 (XXX)),
(13) *the machinery designed to deal with questions relating **to women** should be strengthened* (id.),
(14) *the activities relating **to rural women** undertaken to date by the United Nations bodies* (id.),
(15) *noting with satisfaction the resolution **on women** and industrialization* (1980: 35/78).

The 1970s was a decade transformed by a revolutionising wave of democratisation and technologisation. For women, it ended triumphantly with the adoption in 1979 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. With this

convention, the work of women in organizations was acquiring new important dimensions. The next section analyses the representation of women in the resolutions of the emerging decade.

5.1.1.3. The resolutions of the 1980s

The twelve General Assembly resolutions of the 1980s on women and development reveal a new approach undertaken by the decision makers of the United Nations. The analysis of the grammatical roles women acquire at the level of texts and of the frequent women's issues on the agenda presents a different situation than that found in the previous decades' resolutions. Table 5.3 introduces the types of the 168 roles in which the participant 'women' can be found.

Table 5.3. The representation of women in the 1980s resolutions

Type of representation		Roles & means	N	%
Activation		Actor	4	2%
		Senser	1	1%
		possessivation	103	61%
	Total		**108**	**64%**
Passivation	Subjection	Goal	16	10%
		Identified	3	2%
		possessivation	25	15%
		circumstantialisation	8	5%
	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	8	5%
	Total		**60**	**36%**
Total			**168**	**100%**

Similar to the situation of the first decade, the balance is again in favour of activation. However, the focus on activation processes is not due to an increase in the instances of Actor. On the contrary, the percentage of the role of Actor is the smallest so far (2% as compared to 14% in the 60s and 8% in the 70s). It is the processes of activation through possessivation which record the most occurrences (61%). Apart from the cases with nominalizations, most of the processes of possessivation express something that women have or that is related to them, rather than something that women do. Numerous as they are, the instances of possessivation found in the resolutions of this decade point clearly to their function of attributing something to women:

> (1) *the need for a multisectoral and interdisciplinary survey on* **the role of women** *in development* (1981: A/RES/36/74),

(2) *the improvement of **the situation of women** in rural areas* (1982: A/RES/37/59), (1984: A/RES/39/126),
(3) ***the economic role and potential of women** should be taken into account fully* (1989: A/RES/44/171).

A complete examination of various factors related to women is required through these resolutions. The two main factors to be evaluated and improved are the *role* of women and the *situation* of women. Other factors encountered are: the *position, problems, concerns, needs, education* and *conditions* of women. Women's economic lives have become the target of research and as many dimensions as possible are detected and looked into. Almost 90% of all the instances of activation by possessivation are represented by such factors and dimensions related to women and development. These can be found in the analysis of women's identity and activity issues in section 5.1.2. The remaining 10% are instances which point to something women do:

(4) *with a view to securing **women's equal participation*** (1981: A/RES/36/74),
(5) *facilitate **their participation** in all areas of the economy* (1989: A/RES/44/171).

Once again, the action that women do is expressed by the intransitive verb, *to participate* (encountered already in the previous decades), which appears also in processes of activation by postmodification: ***participation of rural women** in socio-economic and political life* (1985: A/RES/40/106). The intransitive verb *to advance* occurs in the texts of 1980s as well, in its nominalized form in the processes of activation by postmodification:

(6) *provide a policy framework for **the advancement of women*** (1985: A/RES/40/204),
(7) *national machineries for **the advancement of women*** (1989: A/RES/44/171).

If we take into consideration that the few instances in which the participant 'women' functions as Actor are also expressed with the help of intransitive verbs, the conclusion that the women are perceived as agents in a secluded world of their own, having no effects on an outside world, turns out to be valid for this decade as well:

(8) *a majority of **women**, particularly in developing countries, **live and work in** rural areas* (1982: A/RES/37/59),
(9) ***women contribute** significantly **to** the overall economy* (1987: A/RES/42/178).

Dealing with instances of activation of the participant 'women', there is a type of construction which can be discussed. In this construction the participant is given "the lower status of Adjunct" (Halliday 2004: 179), just as if it was part of a passive clause. However, the process is actually not expressed through a verb, but with the help of a nominalization or with the help of a noun to which the prepositional phrase formed of the preposition *by* and the noun *women* is attached:

(10) *ensuring equal **participation by women** as agents* (1981: A/RES/36/126),
(11) *questions of the **exercise by rural women** of their rights* (1985: A/RES/40/106),
(12) *improving **access by women** to development co-operation resources* (1987: A/RES/42/178).

It is exactly among instantiations of this construction that the only transitive actions in which women are portrayed as agents can be detected: note the reinterpretation of examples (11) and (12) into the transitive actions 'women exercise their rights' and 'women access resources'.

Even though the processes of activation again outnumber the processes of passivation during this decade, it should be noted that for the first time the role of Goal (9%) surpasses the role of Actor (2%). As the aim of integration still forms the main women's issue of the decade, though less so than it had been in the previous decade (32 occurrences), women are still seen as the targets to be included in the development process:

(13) *develop new and innovative projects to **include women*** (1982: A/RES/37/57),
(14) *increase their efforts to **integrate women** in the development process* (1987: A/RES/42/178),
(15) *United Nations efforts to **integrate women** in development* (1989: A/RES/44/171).

The same subjection is realised through possessivation:

(16) *documents concerning **the integration of women** in development should be made available* (1981: A/RES/36/127),
(17) *mandates governing **the integration of women** in economic development* (1987: A/RES/42/178).

In spite of this linguistic subjection of the participant 'women', what development planners envisage for women is a role as active agents and full beneficiaries:

(18) *the survey should cover ... the present role of women as **active agents of development** in each sector* (1981: A/RES/36/74).

The General Assembly's address is again one which suggests and indicates, not one that commands. The presences of *should* and the absence of *must* stand as evidence:

(19) *the economic role and potential of women **should** be taken into account fully in the international development strategy* (1989: A/RES/44/171).

The 1980s was the decade in which "the efficacy of central planning came under question and the ideological discrediting of the state gained momentum" (Razavi and Miller 1995: 38). The criticism caused a reconceptualisation of the development framework. Thus, with the 1990s, the shift to GAD takes place and with it "political rather than economic aspects of development become the main issues of concern" (Pietilä 2002: 68). The next section explores the way women are represented in the texts of the 1990s decade.

5.1.1.4. The resolutions of the 1990s

The last decade brings with it more resolutions and more new dimensions of the field of women and development (mention must be made that the resolutions of the last decade in the data include also the resolutions of the first three years of the 21st century). Not only are the texts of the resolutions longer and the number of the occurrences of the participant 'women' greater, but the array of roles is also larger.

According to Table 5.4, where the frequencies of the roles are listed, the situation is similar to that of the previous decade: the processes of activation reach 64% and, within them, the processes via possessivation predominate.

Table 5.4. The representation of women in the 1990s resolutions

Type of representation		Roles & means	N	%
Activation		Actor	38	8%
		Possessor	23	5%
		Senser	2	-
		Existent	14	3%
		Identifier	4	1%
		accompaniment	2	-
		possessivation	209	46%
	Total		**292**	**64%**
Passivation	Subjection	Goal	19	4%
		Carrier	1	-
		Identified	14	3%
		Phenomenon	1	-
		possessivation	53	12%
		circumstantialisation	23	5%
	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	55	12%
	Total		**166**	**36%**
Total			**458**	**100%**

Instances such as those in the first examples could also be interpreted as pointing to an activity women do - they access land, credits, jobs, contracts, bank loans, health care, etc:

(1) *ensuring **the access of rural women** to credit* (1999: 54/210),
(2) *to support **women's access** to legal assistance* (2003: 58/206).

It is, however, most likely that the instances of possessivation with *access* are to be seen as pointing to something women have or do not have, not as something women do, due to the presence of processes of activation by Possessor:

(3) *ensure that **women have equal access** to and control over land, unmediated by male relatives* (1998: A/RES/52/93),
(4) ***women who lack access** to traditional sources of collateral* (1998: A/RES/52/195).

Moreover, accessibility is something women (ought to) have been given by the state: *measures to **give rural women full and equal access** to productive resources* (1995: A/RES/50/165). If the act of women accessing something had been taken into consideration as an activity, it would have been the only transitive action among the processes of activation by possessivation, as the others are intransitive, represented by the verbs *to participate (in)*, *to contribute (to)*, *to engage (in)*:

> (5) ***women's** wider **participation in** decision-making* (1995: A/RES/50/104),
> (6) ***women's** unpaid work and **contributions to** on-farm and off-farm production are visible* (1998: A/RES/52/93),
> (7) *increase **women's full and equal participation in** economic decision-making through, inter alia, **their engagement in** the budgetary process* (2003: 58/206).

The construction *the empowerment of women* brings with it a renewed sense of ambiguity. As with the other examples encountered so far (*the advancement of women* in the 60s, *the integration of women* and *the mobilization of women* in the 70s, *the involvement of women* in the 80s), the interpretation is two-fold: either women are represented as undergoing the activity of being empowered through United Nations'/Governments' activities or women are the ones who empower themselves and by so doing can control issues such as expressing their views and needs, participating and contributing to the development of their communities, accessing land and properties. As pointed out in section 4.1.1.4, in the analysis of this construction found in the text of the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action, the text of the resolutions does not offer a solution for the interpretation. One finds neither a sentence like *our programmes empower women*, which would point to the objectivation of the participant, nor a sentence like *women empower themselves through programmes*, which would place *women* in the position of actors doing the process. 'Empowerment' is a notion which has the special effect of uniting both directions of processes: that of objectifying and that of activation. The first direction, nonetheless, is that of objectifying the receiver of power, which was proven by the presence of the verbal alternative in the text of the conference plans. That is why, the construction *the empowerment of women* has been analysed as an instance of subjection of the participant 'women', not as an instance of activation.

The effect of activation brought through the process of empowerment is the focus of the 1990s Gender and Development approach. GAD supports the view that women are to generate and conduct the process of empowerment themselves:

> "*Empowerment cannot be given*, it must be self-generated. All that a gender-transformative policy can hope to do is to provide women with the enabling resources which will allow them *to take greater control* of their own lives, *to determine* what kinds of gender relations they would want to live within, and *to devise* the strategies and alliances to help them get there." (Kabeer 1994: 97, my italics)

This view is found also in the resolutions of the beginning of the century:

(8) ***women*** *who are small-scale farmers* ***need special support and empowerment*** *so as to* ***be able to meet the challenges and take advantage*** *of the opportunities of agricultural market liberalization* (2001: 56/188).

Empowerment is therefore a process which women undergo in order to be able to act strongly and freely as human beings and economic producers.

In the resolutions of the 1990s the processes of activation are by far more frequent, in absolute and relative terms, than those of passivation, which number 36% of all the processes. Moreover, unlike the previous decade, the Actor role again reaches a higher frequency than that of Goal. This is so even though the discrepancy between their percentages is not as large as it was in the 1960s.

Speaking of the Actor role, a further novel aspect which needs to be observed and paid tribute to in the resolutions of the decade is the increase in the number of transitive verbs whose Actor is represented by the participant 'women'. Almost 65% of the instances of Actor role show women caught in a process which extends to entities outside their own world:

(9) ***women*** *are key contributors to the economy and to* ***combating poverty*** *through both remunerated and unremunerated work at home, in the community and in the workplace* (1995: A/RES/50/104),
(10) *strategies that would meet the manifold* ***challenges faced by rural women*** (2001: 56/129),
(11) *effective participation of* ***women*** *in deciding and* ***implementing development strategies*** (1999: 54/210),
(12) *recognizing the critical role and contribution of* ***rural women*** *in* ***enhancing agricultural and rural development***, ***improving food security*** *and* ***eradicating rural poverty*** (2003: 58/146).

Representing women as engaged in such key activities goes hand in hand with the politics of empowering women, especially as gender equality and the empowerment of women are deemed "effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable" (2001: 56/129). However, there are in the texts also material processes in which the verbs are emptied lexically (where the entity to which the transitive verb extends is not a direct Goal, but a Scope):

(13) *the significant* ***contribution that women make*** *to economic activities* (1998: A/RES/52/195),
(14) ***they*** *[women and girls]* ***play a key role*** *in care* (2003: 58/206).

At this point, one could also make the observation that the role of women as Actor (8%) is, in fact, less present than that of women as Beneficiary (12%). Evidently, women form the target of actions and programmes directed by governments and organizations in examples such as:

(15) ***provide*** *flexible credit facilities* ***to women*** (1995: A/RES/50/104),

(16) ***women are accorded*** *secure use rights* (1998: A/RES/52/195),

(17) *a higher proportion of **resources reach women*** (1999: 54/210),

(18) ***opportunities*** *for wage employment **for rural women*** *in new sectors* (2003: 58/146).

Women also form the Goal of various activities and programmes:

(19) *assistance to **enable women** in developing countries* (2001: 56/188),

(20) *provide outreach programmes to **inform low-income and poor women*** (1998: A/RES/52/195).

In the previous resolutions, it has been seen that the causes of the activities whose targets are women have a human component, being formed or created by people (organizations, governments and programmes). In the late 90s, two new actors affecting women in the role of Goal appear: globalization and liberalization. They are seen as social processes which occur together and bring a paradoxical complex of both positive and negative impacts on women through their combination and strength:

(21) *although **globalization and liberalization processes have created employment opportunities for women** in many countries, **they have made women**, especially in developing countries and in particular in the least developed countries, **more vulnerable** to problems caused by increased economic volatility* (2001: 56/188).

The evaluation of the stages through which the development process progresses outlines a series of shifting main issues regarding the world of women and the course of action in which they are to play a noteworthy part. A focused view of the women's issues delineated from approach to approach is presented in the next section.

5.1.2. WIA issues in the resolutions

Exploring the roles through which women are represented in the texts of the resolutions offers a very good view of the position of women within the development process. This view is further improved through the parallel exploration of the notions associated with women from decade to decade, bringing an understanding of the general approach towards women taken within each period of development.

Table 5.5 presents the figures to which the five large classes of issues (i.e. who women are, what women have, what women need, what women do and what is done for women) amount in each of the four decades. The situation reflected by the table is different from the one encountered in the texts of the world conferences.

Table 5.5. WIA issues in the UN resolutions

Issue		1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Identity	**Who women are**	14	19	42	**233**
	What women have	8	34	**82**	185
	What women need	5	17	8	194
Activity	**What women do**	**32**	43	32	90
	What is done for women	7	**71**	63	101
Total		**66**	**184**	**227**	**803**

In the plans of the conferences the dominant class of issues throughout the time was that of identity issues and, within it, the class of 'What women have' issues. The resolutions are divided between those of the period until the 1980s and the resolutions written during the 1980s and 1990s. In other words, the 1980s is a turning point in the representation of activity issues and identity issues. Up to the 1980s it is the activity issues which dominate the spectrum of women's issues, while after that period the identity issues double and triple compared to the number of the activity issues. Moreover, there is no one single class of issues which remains the largest throughout the time, as the case was in the plans of the conferences. In the resolutions, the five main classes rotate in their importance: from the first decades where 'What women do' and 'What is done for women' issues are the largest classes to the subsequent decades where 'What women have' and 'Who women are' issues occupy the top positions.

The analysis begins with the class of 'Who women are' issues. Table 5.6 presents the groups of women delineated throughout the decades. Generally, women as participants are referred to through the method of personalisation (cf. Van Leeuwen 1996): they are seen together as a class of people, *women*. However, the origin and location of women is signalled 12 times by the qualifier *in developing countries*. When the employment of women at the decision level is considered, the participant is accompanied by the epithet *qualified* (example (3) below). Though many organizations target their actions towards *women everywhere*, one particular class of women is targeted throughout the resolutions of the 1960s; see examples (1), (2) and Table 5.6:

(1) *United Nations assistance for **the advancement of women in developing countries*** (1960: 1509 (XV));
(2) *the assistance which can be rendered for **the advancement of women in developing countries*** (1965: 2059 (XX));
(3) *the desirability of **appointing qualified women** to bodies responsible for the preparation of national development plans* (1963: 1920 (XVIII)).

Table 5.6. 'Who women are' issues in the UN resolutions

Plan		1960s		1970s		1980s		1990s	
Identity Issue / N		Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHO WOMEN ARE	Location	**women in developing countries**, women everywhere	13	**rural women**, women in low-income countries /areas /groups /levels, women of developing countries	18	**rural women**, women in developing countries, women world-wide	41	**rural women, women in developing countries**	145
	Profession	-	-	-	-	-	-	**farmers, women workers**, entrepreneurs; **beneficiaries**, clients	30
	Features	qualified women	1	disadvantaged	1	a force	1	**women living in poverty, poor**, low-income; **a force**; **disadvantaged**, vulnerable, uneducated	28
	Age	-	-	-	-	-	-	**girls, elderly**, young, mother	30
Total			14		19		42		233

Beginning with 1975, the reference to women narrows its focus from *women everywhere* to *rural women*. Country areas are among the most poor; that is why the attention is turned first and foremost to them. However, the general interest in women of developing or low-income countries can still be found in the resolutions of the decade:

> (4) *the integration of women in the development process, in particular **women in the rural areas*** (1975: 3520 (XXX));
> (5) *the vital role **rural women** play* (1975: 3523 (XXX));
> (6) *special consideration to the needs of **women of developing countries*** (1975: 3520 (XXX)).

The resolutions of the 1980s are all targeted towards women and development. The increasing occurrence of the reference to *rural* women (39 occurrences) is a proof of the ever delimited focus on an exact target. The other references to women (*women world-wide*, *women in developing countries*) are diminished to a single occurrence.

A change of the agenda offers the reader of the 1990s resolutions a confrontation with new aspects of the work in the field of women and development. Table 5.6 testifies not only to the multiplication of the issues within the different classes, but also to the occurrence of

new issues. The scale of frequency of the five classes also offers a new picture, not only compared to the previous decade, but most of all compared to the first decades. Due to an increase in the reference to the location of the targeted women – *rural* women (138 occurrences), and due to the frequent use of other new items referring to women (*girls*, *elderly* women, *farmers*, etc., see Table 5.6), the class of 'Who women are' issues is the most numerous class of the 1990s:

> (7) *by the year 2025 this number had been projected to increase to* **604 million elderly women** *for the world as a whole, of which nearly 70 per cent would be* **living in the developing countries** (1994: A/RES/49/162);
> (8) **women who are small-scale farmers** *need special support and empowerment so as to be able to meet the challenges and take advantage of the opportunities of agricultural market liberalization* (2001: 56/188);
> (9) *promote the greater involvement of* **women beneficiaries** *at the project planning and implementation stages* (1999: 54/210).

Within the class of 'What women have' issues of the 1960s decade, the positive issues abound and the main issue (*status*) is related to the position in which women find themselves/are found by development planners:

> (10) *programmes concerning* **the status of women**; *efforts for the improvement of* **the status of women**; *need to solve the problem of* **the status of women** (1965: 2059 (XX));
> (11) *the Commission is showing a special interest in* **the condition of women in developing countries** (1960: 1509 (XV)).

In the next decade, there are clearly more types of 'What women have' issues. Among the positive issues which are attributed to women the interest in the *role* women play in development programmes appears as a novelty, as well as the interest in some women's features (*capability*, *efficiency*) and social assemblage (*countries*, *organizations*). *Needs* and *problems* are still the issues which women have in a negative sense, but the novelty is the attention given to the *impact* certain actions have on women:

> (12) *the* **impact** *of agro-business* **on women's traditional work** *in rural areas* (1979: 34/204).

Two issues of the positive 'What women have' class gather importance in the resolutions of the 1980s: the issue of the *situation* of women and the issue of the *role* of women in development. They were representative for the class of 'What women have' issues already during the previous decade, but in the texts of the 1980s resolutions they form a larger part of the whole class. Together with the other issues of the class (*status*, *condition*, *issues*, *associations*, see Table 5.7) they turn 'What women have' issues into the most numerous class of issues of the decade.

Table 5.7. 'What women have' issues in the UN resolutions

Plan			1960s		1970s		1980s		1990s	
Identity Issue / N			Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT WOMEN HAVE	positive	Role & Status	**status**, condition	6	**role; situation**, status, position	17	**situation, status**, condition, position; **role**	62	**situation, condition, status; role**	58
		Organisations	countries	1	countries, organisations	4	associations, cooperative	2	groups	3
		Proprieties	-	-	capability, efficiency, skills	3	-	-	**responsibility, priorities, potential, skills**, human resources; perspective, interests	28
		Private life	-	-	life	1	life	1	**households**, children	7
		Women's issues	-	-	questions	2	issues, questions, matters	6	issues	4
	negative	Hardships	needs	1	needs, problems, discrimination, impact	7	concerns, problems, needs, disadvantage, impact, illiteracy	11	**poverty, needs, problems, concerns; discrimination**, underrepresentation; **impact; challenges**, burden, HIV	85
Total				8		34		82		185

Looking back to what has been done and achieved throughout the years of development work, the UN Security Council is interested in the progress made and at the same time in the progress that still can and must be made:

(13) *report … on the evolution of **the situation of women** in all the sectors of their development programmes* (1981: A/RES/36/126);
(14) *Member States to take additional appropriate measures for further improving **the economic and social conditions of women in rural areas*** (1981: A/RES/37/59);
(15) *international action to enhance **the role of women** as development agents and beneficiaries* (1989: A/RES/44/171).

In the 1990s resolutions the negative issues of the class of 'What women have' amount for the first time to a noteworthy figure (85 occurrences), approaching closely the number of the positive issues (100 occurrences). A new and frequent issue affecting the world of women is represented by poverty:

(16) *they have become more **vulnerable to poverty** as a result of the HIV/AIDS crisis* (2003: 58/206);
(17) *continued **discrimination against women**, their **continued lack of equal access** to education and training…impede their full contribution to, and opportunity to benefit from, development* (1995: A/RES/50/104).

The least frequent class of issues during the 1960s is that of 'What women need' issues, which points to the main areas of work for the decade, i.e. the *training* of women, so as to provide them with means to act, their *rights* and *welfare*:

(18) *the importance of **training women** so as to **enable them** to participate fully* (1963: 1920 (XVIII));

(19) *the progress achieved in the field of **women's rights*** (1960: 1509 (XV)),
(20) *non-governmental organizations whose aims are to advance **the welfare of women everywhere*** (1962: 1777 (XVII)).

During the 1970s there is a new issue within the category of 'What women need'. It is the issue of *equality*, which indicates the manner in which women ought to participate and be integrated within the development process. The issue of *equality* is by far the main issue of the class (10 occurrences), as the other issues found in Table 5.8 all occur only once.

Table 5.8. 'What women need' issues in UN resolutions

Plan	1960s		1970s		1980s		1990s	
Identity issue / N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT WOMEN NEED	training; rights; welfare	5	**equality;** access; opportunities; credit, loan, education, training, facilities	17	access; benefits; rights; equality; education	8	**equality/equal**, power; **access(ibility); rights; credit, opportunities, training, income, resources**, facilities, information, food security, control, attention, (poor/ better) representation	194

If in the texts of the 1960s and 1970s resolutions the class of 'What women need' issues is poorly represented and occupies the last place on the scale of frequency, in the resolutions of the 1990s the class of 'What women need' issues increases abruptly and occupies the second place in terms of frequency, immediately after the class of 'Who women are' issues. This sudden increase is due to the frequent reference to the notion of 'equality' for women, mostly in the form of the adjective *equal*, but also in the form of the noun *equality*. Already in the 1970s resolutions 'equality' was a notion which occupied the first place among the 'What women need' issues, but in the 1990s resolutions it amounts to 52 occurrences and is accompanied by other frequent issues: *access* (43 occurrences), *rights* (31 occurrences), *credit* (20 occurrences), etc., see Table 5.8:

(21) *working towards **equal treatment for women clients** through comprehensive gender-awareness training for staff* (2003: 58/206);
(22) *improving **accessibility of rural women** to productive resources* (193: A/RES/48/109);
(23) *urges all Governments to ensure **women's equal rights and access** to economic resources, and to increase **women's access** to **credit*** (1995: A/RES/50/104).

The number of issues that women need is related to the number of issues that women have in a negative sense: what women lack or what affects them considerably (*poverty*, *discrimination*, *burden*, etc.) ought to be compensated for by what is directed towards women, to their benefit (*rights*, *opportunities*, *food security*, etc.). The focus is on what women need

not only physically (food, clothes, water, shelter, etc.), but also socially (education, properties, privileges, etc.), considered by the United Nations as basic human needs and rights:

(24) *strengthening efforts to meet* **the basic needs of rural women** *through capacity-building and human resources development measures* (2003: 58/146);
(25) *protect the enjoyment by women of* **all human rights and fundamental freedoms** (id.).

The central women's issue of the 1960s is that of their *advancement*. In section 5.1.1.1 it was pointed out that the issue of *advancement* appears in instances of postmodification (17 occurrences). It is used only in the form of a derived nominal, never as a verb. The next important women's issue discussed in the 1960s resolutions is that of women's *participation*, which appears 12 times. Six times it is a nominalization and six times it is expressed as verb:

(26) *to promote the* **full participation of women in** *the planning and execution of national development programmes* (1963: 1920 (XVIII));
(27) *to what extent* **women are participating in** *community development programmes* (1957: 1162(XII));
(28) *centres where women can receive the requisite training to enable them* **to participate** *effectively* (1963: 1920 (XVIII)).

The two most frequent issues above (*advancement* and *participation*) are both members of the class of 'What women do' issues (see Table 5.9). That is how this class of issues turns out to be the largest (32 issues) in the first decade of resolutions. In the texts of the 1970s resolutions the class of 'What women do' issues ranks second among the five classes. Within it there is a change which can be noticed: the issue of *advancement* undergoes such a decrease in frequency (4 occurrences) that it not only leaves the issue of *participation* with its 21 occurrences as the main issue of the class, but it also gives way to the issue of *contribution* higher on the scale, with 8 occurrences. The resolutions push advancement to the background, as what is more important at this stage (of the 1970s) is to ensure basic requirements for progression: the integration of women, their participation and contribution.

Table 5.9. 'What women do' issues in the UN resolutions

Plan	1960s		1970s		1980s		1990s	
Activity issue / N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT WOMEN DO	**advancement**, **participation**, contribution, emancipation	32	**participation**, **contribution**, **activities**, advancement, engage themselves, work	43	**participation**, **advancement**, contribution, activities, work, efforts, production	32	**contribution**, **participation**, **advancement**, **own**, **activities**, development, work, engage themselves	90

The decrease in the size of the class of 'What women do' issues undergoes a high point in the 1980s. The issues of which this class is formed are poorly represented in the texts of the 1980s resolutions, its main issue of *participation* numbering only 17 occurrences. Though not as frequent as the issue of *participation* or as frequent as it was during the first decade of resolutions, the issue of *advancement* (6 occurrences) is found again side by side with the issue of *contribution* (4 occurrences). Women participate in existing activities, but also launch *activities* of their own (2 occurrences):

(29) *develop a strategy to ensure that **women** are **an integral part of these activities*** (**1982: A/37/57);
(30) *including the informal sector…to reflect adequately **women's activities*** (1989: A/RES/44/171).

Starting from the first place among the classes of the 1960s issues, the class of 'What women do' issues occupies the last place in terms of frequency (90 occurrences) in the resolutions of the 1990s. The issue of *contribution* increases its occurrences (28 occurrences) and reaches a place next to the most recurrent issue of the class so far, that of *participation* (27 occurrences):

(31) *ensuring the full and equal **participation of women** in economic activities* (1995: A/RES/50/104).

Under the class of 'What is done for women' issues, one encounters during the 1960s the issues of *encouragement*, *enabling* and *appointment*, signalling actions which have women as their targets in order to turn them into active members of the development process:

(32) *women should be **encouraged*** (1957: 1162(XII)).

Given the fact that the processes of passivation predominate the resolutions of the 1970s and that among them the most frequent is the motto of the decade – *the integration of women in development*, the results of the analysis of women's identity and activity issues strengthen this observation by revealing the issue of *integration* as the most frequent issue of the decade (43 occurrences). As shown in the representation of women, the issue of *integration* is frequently associated with the issue of *mobilization* which thus has a presence worthy of consideration (17 occurrences). This way the whole class of 'What is done for women' issues is brought to the fore, surpassing with its occurrences (71 occurrences) the other four classes of issues delineated in the analysis. Table 5.10 shows other issues included in this class, such as the new occurrence of *programmes* and *projects* which are to be developed and implemented for women:

(33) *special emphasis on technical co-operation in **programmes relating to women** and development* (1975: 3520 (XXX)).

As in the previous decade, in the texts of the 1980s the issue of 'integration' is very frequent on the agenda of women and development. The occurrences of the nominalization *integration* and of the verb *integrate* amount to 34 occurrences. *Mobilization*, on the other hand, the issue with which *integration* is frequently co-ordinated in the texts of the 1970s decade, does not occur as often anymore (7 occurrences). However, the class of 'What is done for women' issues, to which the two issues belong, ranks second among the five classes of issues.

In the resolutions of the 1990s the class of 'What is done for women' issues transits from the second place it held in the previous decade to the fourth place. Though it is to be found lower at the top of the five classes, there is an aspect which brings a renewed focus on this class: there is a new concept to be found among the 'What is done for women' issues, surpassing in frequency (29 occurrences) the issue of *integration* (16 occurrences), which had been the first of this class starting with the 1970s resolutions. The new notion is that of 'empowerment'. It appears only in its nominal form, accompanied by the postmodifier *of women*:

> (34) ***the empowerment of women*** *is a critical factor in the eradication of poverty* (1995: A/RES/50/104),
> (35) *the impact of globalization on* ***the empowerment of women*** (2003: 58/206).

Table 5.10. 'What is done for women' issues in the UN resolutions

Plan		1960s		1970s		1980s		1990s	
Activity issue / N		Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT IS DONE FOR WOMEN	Approach	appointment	1	**integration**, **mobilization**, employment	61	**integration**, **mobilization**, involvement, inclusion	47	**empowerment**, **integration**, **employment**, mobilization, inclusion, involvement	63
	Support	encouragement, enable	6	enable	4	assistance	1	**facilitate**, **enable**, **investment**, assistance	23
	Plans	-	-	programmes, projects, resolution	6	**programmes**, plan, conference, reform, statistics, survey	15	**programmes**, strategies, resolution, services	15
Total			7		71		63		101

The difficult work within feminist development and the conflicting situation in which women find themselves can be surmised from the texts of the resolutions by looking at the dual oppositions formed between a number of the issues: employment - poverty, opportunities - challenges, problems - assistance, equality - discrimination, needs - priorities, etc.

Having shown the way women are represented in the texts of the resolutions from decade to decade, the study turns to the analysis of the representation of the other participant, 'men'. The next section depicts the way in which the representation of men is achieved by the authors of these texts throughout time.

5.2. The representation of men in the resolutions

The participant 'men' has a minimal presence in the texts of the resolutions. Many of the occurrences of the participant 'men' are placed side by side with the participant 'women'. There are 50 roles in which men are represented throughout the decades of resolutions and in 30 of the roles the participant 'men' has the same role as the participant 'women' with which it is co-ordinated. The occurrences are few, that is why Table 5.11 does not contain percentages or ratios, as Table 4. 14 in the previous chapter on the results of the analysis of the plans of the world conferences. The numbers commented on in the analysis below give an idea of the way the participant is represented.

Table 5.11. The occurrences of the participant 'men' vs. the occurrences of the two participants together (*women and men*, but also *men and women*) in the resolutions

Resolutions	Participants	N	
		Men&Women vs. Men	Total
1960s	Men&Women	-	1
	Men	1	
1970s	Men&Women	9	11
	Men	2	
1980s	Men&Women	-	-
	Men	-	
1990s	Men&Women	20	38
	Men	18	

In the first decade of the 1960s there is only one occurrence of the participant 'men', while in the third decade, of the 1980s, there is actually no occurrence of the word *men* throughout the different resolutions. In the resolutions of the 1970s the coordination of the two participants in one nominal group complex *women and men* or *men and women* appears for the first time and has prevalence. Equality between women and men is actually one of the three objectives of

the International Women's Year: *to promote equality between men and women* (1975: 3520 (XXX)). This is an explanation for the frequent occurrences of the two words conjoined in a single element:

> (1) *the realization of **the full and equal partnership of men and women** in the development of society, both in law and in fact* (1975: 3523 (XXX)).

The use of the participant 'men', alone, not side by side with the participant 'women', is low in the resolutions of the 1960s and 1970s. Later, in the 1990s the roles that the participant 'men' achieves when used alone (18 occurrences) amount to an almost equal number as the roles of the group of *women and men* (20 occurrences). With the introduction of the concept of 'gender' the relation between women and men, their common and individual rights and roles are found high on the agenda. The lack of any discussion about men in the previous decade of the 1980s is compensated for by the number of occurrences of the participant 'men' in various roles.

As a group, women and men are attributed common issues through the means of possessivation (examples (1) above, (2) and (5) below). Through the means of circumstantialisation, the equality and responsibility network cast among the members of the group is evaluated (example (3) below). Furthermore, women and men are also seen together as Actor (example (4) and (5) below), as Goal of the activities suggested in the resolutions (example (5) below) or as Beneficiary of the activities (example (6) below):

> (2) *implementation of the Plan to **the daily lives of men and women** throughout the world* (1975: 3520 (XXX));
> (3) *the principle of **shared responsibility between women and men** for the achievement of gender equality* (1999: 54/210);
> (4) ***women and men should participate and contribute** on a basis of equality in the social, economic and political processes of development* (1979: 34/204);
> (5) *promoting programmes to **enable rural women and men** [Goal] **to reconcile** [Actor] **their work** [possessivation]* (2001: 56/129);
> (6) *measures are taken to increase land availability **to poor women and men*** (1998: A/RES/52/195).

Table 5.12 gives an overview of the way the roles of men are present in the texts of the resolutions of the 1970s and 1990s. With the first occurrence of the participant 'men' alone (the only occurrence of the 1960s resolutions), the position in which men are envisaged becomes clear to the reader of the texts. They represent the standard of equality which women need to reach and the ideal partners with whom women need to associate in order to gain a fair share of the development processes and of social existence.

Table 5.12. The representation of men in the resolutions

Representation	Roles & means	1970s	1990s
		N	N
Activation	Actor	-	2
	accompaniment	1	4
	comparison	-	10
Passivation	Goal	-	2
	Beneficiary	1	-
Total		2	18

The role of accompaniment that the participant 'men' fulfils appears in the 1960s resolutions (example (7), below), in the 1970s resolutions (example (8), below) and also in the 1990s resolutions (example (9), below):

> (7) *the necessity of women playing their full part, **on equal terms with men*** (1963: 1920 (XVIII));
> (8) *the promotion of **the full equality of women with men** in all spheres of life in accordance with international standards* (1975: 3520 (XXX));
> (9) *Urges all Governments to ensure **women's equal rights with men*** (1998: A/RES/52/195).

The last decade of resolutions brings with it an understanding of the fact that there is also a domain in which only women can be the model for men. In this area of family business, men are the ones who need to follow and catch up with women:

> (10) *encourage **men to share equally with women** household and childcare responsibilities* (2001: 56/129, 2003: 58/146).

In the 1990s resolutions one means of representation is employed to a larger degree than the means of accompaniment: this is the means of comparison which occur twice as often as the means of accompaniment (10 occurrences vs. 4 occurrences). The instances of comparison portray men once more as the criterion according to which all the activities for women must be implemented and all the estimations must be made:

> (11) *measures to give women **the same right as men** to credit* (1999: 54/210);
> (12) *ensure that women are accorded full and equal rights **as men** to own land and other property* (1999: 54/210);
> (13) *small-scale farmers, who are more likely to be women **than men*** (2003: 58/206).

The resolutions of the 1990s carry yet another novel feature in their treasury of roles and means of representation: the roles for the participant 'men' diversify and one can find men not only as the instigators of personal actions, but also as forming themselves a specific target of programmes. Example (10) above points to the fact that development programmes need to turn their attention to men as well and to have an understanding of their situation in order to be able to support them in their steps towards an equal partnership with women in all aspects of life. The times in which men were considered the only necessary beneficiaries of services

must be brought to an end and inequality needs to be amended through various efforts, such as:

(14) *efforts to extend to women the facilities now being offered **only to men** by financial and lending institutions* (1975: 3522 (XXX)).

With the introduction of the concept of 'gender' the relation between women and men, their common and individual rights and roles come high on the agenda. The next section analyses the use of *gender* in the texts of the resolutions.

5.3. Gender in the resolutions

The writers of the UN resolutions on women and development begin to employ the newly-emerging notion of 'gender' at the very end of the 1980s. The first occurrence of the word *gender* in the texts of the resolutions on women and development is found in the resolution entitled "Integration of women in development" emitted in the plenary session of December 1989.

The titles of the resolutions themselves (see Appendix 2) remain unchanged throughout the 1990s: they continue to make reference to women and to their situation in rural areas and development, not to gender and its relation to development. The focus of the resolutions therefore is kept unwaveringly on women. This explains the slow increase in the frequency of the word *gender* and the slow decrease in the reference to the participant 'women'. Due to the fact that almost all occurrences of the word *gender* are encountered in the resolutions of the 1990s decade, Table 5.13 introduces the few occurrences according to the year of the resolutions, not according to the decade of the resolutions. In order to see which of the words or construction is most used in the body of each resolution, the percentages are calculated according to the total number of words of the respective year's resolutions.

Table 5.13. The occurrences of *women*, *men* and *gender* in UN resolutions (the percentages of the four items are calculated against the total number of words of the given resolutions: 1989 – 1,435 words; 1995 - 1,408 words; 1998 - 2,313 words; 1999 - 2,405 words; 2001- 3,320 words; 2003 - 4,375 words)

Participant / Res.	1989		1995		1998		1999		2001		2003	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
women	40	2.8%	44	3.1%	74	**3.2%**	77	**3.2%**	104	3.1%	108	2.5%
men	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	6	-	6	-
women and men	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	6	-	10	-
Gender	2	-	4	-	10	0.4%	12	0.5%	22	0.7%	33	**0.8%**

It has been seen in the previous sections that the reference to the participant 'men' remains minimal throughout the resolutions. Furthermore, the reference to the coordinated construction *women and men* is not a constant or marked presence in the texts. The occurrences and roles of the participant 'women' remain predominant, undergoing an increase throughout the resolutions of the 1990s and a slight decrease in the last resolution of the data. The notion of 'gender' grows in familiarity and undergoes a constant and slow increase from resolution to resolution.

The infrequent occurrence of the word *gender* in the UN resolutions is manifested on the level of grammatical categories the word is accorded and on the level of word combinations it enters. *Gender* is not an adjective, nor a verb, nor a noun used on its own in the texts of the respective resolutions. It functions only as part of compound adjectives and nominal groups. Moreover, the notions with which it is associated form a class of few members. Table 5.14 indicates the relative numbers of *gender* as part of a compound adjective or a nominal groups in all the resolutions it occurs. If at first *gender* occurred in a compound adjective, later the preference proves to be clearly that of using *gender* to join other nouns.

Table 5.14. The grammatical classes of *gender* in UN resolutions

Grammatical category / UN res.	1989	1995	1998	1999	2001	2003
compound adjective	2	1	2	1	2	4
modifying noun	-	3	8	11	20	29
Total	**2**	**4**	**10**	**12**	**22**	**33**

The compound adjective of the 1989 resolution is *gender-disaggregated*. In order to better identify and address the key areas of the work on women and development data need to be structured according to the gender of the participants. There are two occurrences of this compound. The GAD approach of the next decade is thus slowly integrated in the work methods of the General Assembly:

   (1) *continue to develop **gender disaggregated data and indicators** concerning the role of women in development* (1989: A/RES/44/171).

Starting with the 1995 resolution this form of the previous decade *gender disaggregated data* disappears completely. The compound adjective used in the texts is *gender-sensitive*. The frequent reference is made to the environments in which people work and to the environments in which important decisions are taken. These need to be free of any bias and receptive to the needs of all persons, women, men and children. The novel expressions with *gender* suggest its turning into more than a factor of statistics; it is a principle of social perception:

   (2) *create and maintain **a non-discriminatory and gender-sensitive legal environment** by reviewing legislation* (2003: 58/206);

(3) *promote...**family-friendly and gender-sensitive work environments*** (1998: A/RES/52/195);
(4) *working towards equal treatment for women clients through comprehensive **gender-awareness training** for staff at all levels* (2001: 56/188).

In the resolutions of the 1990s there are three main notions which *gender* joins. Apart from the general aim of economic-social plans, that of *gender equality* (i.e. equality between women and men), one encounters an indication of the focal strategy of the plans: that of integrating or mainstreaming a gender perspective into all development processes - formulation of policies, creation of plans, preparation of programmes, etc.

(5) *integrating a **gender perspective** into the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development policies and programmes, including budget policies* (2003: 58/146)

Gender perspective is the most frequent nominal group with *gender* in the resolutions of the 1990s (29 occurrences), followed by *gender equality* (19 occurrences). The process of mainstreaming a gender perspective turns itself into a tactic of the whole work on development which needs to be integrated by all Governments and by the United Nations' Organization itself into all their programmes (see the discussion on and the definition of the term in 4.3). The 10 occurrences of this nominal group place it third on the list, after the ones mentioned above:

(6) *United Nations system to **integrate gender mainstreaming** into all its programmes and policies* (1998: A/RES/52/195, 2001: 56/188).

Other items which are joined by *gender* in the texts of the resolutions, though not as frequent as those already discussed, entail a vigilant approach to everything that can be determined by the variable of gender: *gender concerns* refers to the interests related to gender which need to be integrated into the programmes; *gender implications* underlines the effects of processes such as globalization and rural change on women and men; *gender awareness training* is meant to guarantee equality of treatment by educating staff at every level as long as *gender inequality* still exists.

The quantitative analysis of *women*, *men* and *gender* and the exemplification of their grammatical behaviour give a view of the way in which the authors of the texts envisage the positions of women and men in the development process, of the way in which they use the word *gender*, or introduce new notions such as 'empowerment' or 'gender mainstreaming'. Placing these characteristics into a larger and detailed context is the aim of the following section, in which samples of text are analysed more closely.

5.4. Sample text analysis

The titles of the five resolutions of the first decade of development can be seen in Appendix 2. Three of the resolutions are entitled "United Nations assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries". Their title suggests that they deal mainly with the official expression of the General Assembly's opinions and intents as regards the organization's activities and programmes for women in development. The other two resolutions focus on "the participation of women" in the development process. They focus mainly on what women do/should do in the development process.

The interest of the analysis was to perceive the General Assembly's (and implicitly United Nations') attitudes and convictions related to the roles of women in development in the 1960s. That is why the two resolutions on women's participation emerged as key texts of the decade worth analysing in detail. What follows is an analysis of the 1963 resolution which was deemed more illustrative for the decade due to its evolving in the aftermath of a number of other debates and conclusions on women and development. While the 1957 resolution preoccupied itself with the participation of women at the level of "community development", the 1963 resolution expands its perspective on women's participation to the "national" level.

The text of the 1963 resolution is given below. The occurrences of the participant 'women' and of the items referring to women (*them*, *their*) have been written in bold type, so that the roles women have can be immediately identified.

1963: 1920 (XVIII) (my italics and highlights)
Participation of women in national social and economic development

  1 The General Assembly,
  2 Bearing in mind the importance of developing human resources in order to accelerate
  3 social and economic progress,
  4 Noting Economic and Social Council resolutions 961 E (section II), F and G (XXXVI) of
  5 12 July 1963 and 975 B and C (XXXVI) of 1 August 1963,
  6 Considering General Assembly resolution 1777 (XVII) of 7 December 1962 concerning
  7 United Nations assistance for **the advancement of women** in developing countries,
  8 Believing in the necessity of **women playing their *full* part**, on equal terms with men, in
  9 planning for balanced and co-ordinated economic and social development, and in the
 10 execution of such plans,
 11 Recognizing **the contribution of women** to national social development programmes,
 12 particularly those relating to community development and social welfare, and the
 13 importance of such programmes to **the advancement of women** in general,
 14 Affirming the importance of **training women** for such participation at *all* levels of social
 15 and economic development by means of appropriate programmes in the economic and
 16 social fields, including the fields of education, vocational training, eradication of
 17 illiteracy, nutrition, public health, public administration, housing, social welfare, and

18 urban and rural development,

19   1. Calls the attention of Governments of States Members of the United Nations and
20 members of the specialized agencies to the desirability of **appointing qualified women** to
21 bodies responsible for the preparation of national development plans;
22   2.   Further calls the attention of the Governments of such States to the importance of
23 **training women** so as to enable **them to participate** *fully* in *all* phases of the planning
24 and execution of national development programmes and to the contribution which non-
25 governmental organizations can make in this respect;
26   3.   Invites Governments of States Members of the United Nations and members of the
27 specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations within those States to
28 collaborate in making full use of the services available under the various technical
29 assistance and advisory services programmes in order to promote **the *full* participation
30 of women** in the planning and execution of national development programmes;
31   4.   Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Executive Chairman of the
32 Technical Assistance Board, the Managing Director of the Special Fund, the directors-
33 general of the specialized agencies concerned and the Executive Director of the United
34 Nations Children's Fund, to study the possibilities, under the United Nations technical co-
35 operation programmes, of making available to the developing countries the assistance
36 required for the establishment and development of social or other centres where **women
37 can receive the requisite training** to enable **them to participate** *effectively* in the
38 economic and social development of **their** countries.

39 1274th plenary meeting, 5 December 1963

The text of the resolution is one example of the focus set by the authors of the resolutions on

the position of women as receivers of support, in need of being promoted via development

programmes. Leaving aside the occurrences of the participant 'women' via instances of

possessivation, it can be observed that there are largely two main roles that women are

portrayed in: as Goal (five times) and as Actor (three times). The three instances of the role of

Actor can be seen in lines 8, 23 and 37. The verbs are all in non-finite form and refer to the

intransitive action of participating in the development process; far from the change-causing

and connecting nature of ergative verbs. However, it is not a simple and insignificant

participation which is aimed at for women, but one of complete and far-reaching nature. The

words *full* and *fully* which ubiquitously accompany the notion of 'participation' (in other

resolutions as well) attest this need. Furthermore, in order to be effective, the participation of

women is to be realised at *all* levels (line 14) and in *all* phases (line 23). The sentence *women

playing their full part, on equal terms with men* (line 8) points to the separatist and liberalist

thinking of the decision-makers during this period. Women and men have each "their (…)

part" to fulfil in the development process. Because of various reasons, which remain

unmentioned, women have not fulfilled their part completely. In a liberalist vein, the text

mentions the fact that women ought to be the equal participants of men. The reasons for the existence of an unequal participation and its effects are not dealt with in the resolution.

The five instances of *women* as Goal are found in lines 14, 20, 23 and 37. None of the verbs used to extend an action to the participant 'women' is an ergative verb: *train*, *appoint* and *enable* do not confer *women* the possibility of being co-participant of the processes. A sixth occurrence of subjection, this time through the role of Beneficiary, is found in line 36. Women are represented here as needing help through training programmes if they are "to participate effectively" (line 37). The assumption behind these statements is that women had already been working for the progress of their societies, but they did not have the means to do this well. The absence of any reason behind this inappropriateness of women's work places the guilt on women's lack of knowledge or even their inhibited manner of involvement which is thus in need of encouragement, as the text of the 1957: 1162(XII) resolution twice expresses it:

(1) **women should be encouraged** to play an even greater and more effective part,
(2) *Member States (...) should (...)* **encourage** *the full participation of women*.

Avoiding placing any blame on the patriarchal system of development economics and of societies everywhere, which have always kept women aside, the economic situation of women appears to be only slightly critical, to which the solution is an easy one: encouraging and training women. Probing into the causes of these actions, the question which arises immediately is who encourages and trains women. The discourse of the resolutions is constructed as follows: the General Assembly, as the deliberative body of a neuter trans-national organization, directs signals of attention to Governments, which, as power-holding structures of the countries, are to act and enact various programmes to help women. Clearly, women are seen as the targets of governments' and other organizations' activities, as well as the instruments necessary for a fast development. The image of people as resources for the acceleration of progress is found in line 2: *the importance of developing* **human resources** *in order to* **accelerate** *social and economic progress*. This example highlights another aspect of the text: at the beginning, the authors speak of "developing human resources" (line 2), but then by line 8 narrow the focus on "women". There is here an inherent acknowledgement that women are humans too, a reality which development planners refused to confront until then. Accelerating the advancement of the growth status of developing countries was the main goal of the first United Nations' development decade (Karl 1984: 61). However, presenting the need to make women full participants as a prerequisite of rapid development appears as a strategy to make the governments accept the issue more easily and to pay more attention to it.

Helping women participate effectively is only done for the sake of development, not for the sake of women as individuals of equal worth.

Furthermore, women's active presence is relocated beyond the ambiguity of the particle *of* in the many instances of postmodification with nominalization: *recognizing the contribution of women* (line 11), *programmes to the advancement of women* (line 13), *promote the full participation of women* (line 30). These instances of activation by postmodification are examples of the intransitivity of the verbs lying beyond the actions in which women are seen involved (see the role of Actor above). The world of action without concrete events created around women by the intransitive verbs (*contribute (to), participate (in), advance*) contrasts strongly with the urge for full involvement and effectiveness offered by the repetition of the adjectives *full, all* and of the adverbs *fully, effectively*. The sense of urgency is also rendered through the repetition of the word *importance* (lines 2, 13, 14, 22), and through the presence of lexis such as *necessity* (line 8) and *desirability* (line 20). To the end of the resolution, the feeling of pressure on governments and organizations is diminished by the introduction of the idea of possibility: through the use of the word *possibilities* (line 34) and of the low modal operator *can* (line 37).

One must take into consideration here that the resolutions taken by the General Assembly are not meant to criticise the sovereignty of states or to impose laws on them. As has been shown, they are largely making suggestions and giving advice. This is exactly what the 1963 resolution does: it *calls the attention* (lines 19, 22) of governments and organizations to urgent matters it wishes to be taken into consideration. This is how one can explain its refrain from pointing to governments' faulty systems or from declaring what *must* be done rather than what constitutes a *possible* thing that *can* be done. The United Nations is an organization under the auspices of which solutions can be found through collaboration.

Early in the 1980s the General Assembly launched a campaign for the delineation of measures to be taken and activities to be implemented for the "improvement of the situation of women in rural areas". This quotation represents the title of the resolutions which spread over two decades (see Appendix 2) and in which the General Assembly urges Member States, the Secretary General, and other councils and commissions to focus seriously on issues able to elevate the status of women in the long run. Here is how the first appeal to countries sounds in the 1982 resolution: "The General Assembly…Calls upon Member States to take additional appropriate measures for further improving the economic and social conditions of women in rural areas" (1982: A/RES/37/59). Meeting yearly to arrive at these resolutions, the General Assembly deepens every time its understanding of the best methods to be suggested. This is

how the first appeal above expands gradually, starting from three areas of action

recommended to the states in 1989 and reaching a number of ten areas of action in 2003.

These ten invitations to action for the states made by the General Assembly in 2003 (forming

only a part of the whole resolution) are taken here as an example and placed under a detailed

analysis.

2003: 58/146 (my highlights and italics)
Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
…

1 3.   *Invites* Member States, in collaboration with the organizations of the United Nations
2 and civil society, as appropriate, to continue their efforts to implement the outcome of
3 and to ensure an integrated and coordinated follow-up to United Nations conferences and
4 summits, including their five-year reviews, and to attach *greater* importance to the
5 improvement of **the situation of rural women** in their national, regional and global
6 development strategies by, inter alia:

7 *(a)* Creating an enabling environment for improving **the situation of rural women**,
8 including integrating **a gender perspective** in macroeconomic policies and developing
9 appropriate social support systems;

10 *(b)* Pursuing **the political and socio-economic empowerment of rural women** by
11 supporting **their *full* and *equal* participation** in decision-making at *all* levels, including in
12 rural institutions through, inter alia, the provision of training and capacity-building
13 programmes, including legal literacy;

14 *(c)* Integrating **a gender perspective** into the design, implementation, monitoring and
15 evaluation of development policies and programmes, including budget policies, paying
16 increased attention to **the needs of rural women** so as to ensure that **they benefit from**
17 **policies and programmes** adopted in *all* spheres and that the disproportionate number of
18 **rural women living in poverty** is reduced;

19 *(d)* Ensuring that **the perspectives of rural women** are taken into account and that **they**
20 **participate in** the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and
21 activities related to emergencies, natural disasters, humanitarian assistance, peace-
22 building and post-conflict reconstruction;

23 *(e)* Investing in and strengthening efforts to meet **the basic needs of rural women**
24 through capacity-building and human resources development measures and the provision
25 of a safe and reliable water supply and sanitation, nutritional programmes, education
26 and literacy programmes, and health and social support measures, including in the area of
27 sexual and reproductive health and HIV/AIDS treatment, care and support;

28 *(f)* Designing and implementing policies that promote and protect **the enjoyment**
29 **by women** of *all* **human rights and fundamental freedoms** and creating an environment
30 that does not tolerate **violations of the rights of women and girls**, including domestic
31 violence;

32 *(g)* Developing specific assistance programmes and advisory services to promote

33 **economic skills of rural women** in banking, modern trading and financial procedures and
34 providing microcredit and other financial and business services **to a greater number of**
35 **women in rural areas** for **their economic empowerment**;

36 *(h)* Taking steps towards ensuring that **women's unpaid work and contributions to**
37 on-farm and off-farm production, including income generated in the informal sector, are
38 visible, and assessing the feasibility of developing and improving mechanisms, such as
39 time-use studies, to measure in quantitative terms unpaid work, recognizing the potential
40 for it to be reflected in the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes at
41 the national and regional levels;

42 *(i)* Designing and revising laws to ensure that, where private ownership of land and
43 property exists, **rural women are accorded** *full* **and** *equal* **rights to own land and other**
44 **property**, including through the right to inheritance, and undertaking administrative
45 reforms and other necessary measures **to give women the same right as men** to credit,
46 capital, appropriate technologies and access to markets and information;

47 *(j)* Promoting programmes **to enable rural women and men to reconcile their work** and
48 family responsibilities and **to encourage men to share equally with women** household
49 and childcare responsibilities.

The paragraph of the 2003 resolution given above epitomizes very well the results obtained in the quantitative analysis of the roles women and men have throughout the 1990s and at the beginning of the new century. This observation is valid considering the fact that the participant 'women' is represented mostly via activation processes throughout the text, mostly through the means of possessivation; considering that one encounters the participant 'men' also forming a target of actions; and considering that the most frequent issues on the feminist economics' agenda of the decade are present in the text. Each of these features is discussed separately below.

There are 20 occurrences of the participant 'women' taken alone (both as noun and as personal or possessive pronoun). Only one fifth of these occurrences represent cases of passivation. There is no occurrence of the participant 'women' in the role of Goal. The only means of passivation consists of the role of Beneficiary (lines 16-17, 34-35, 43, 45). Twelve of the sixteen instances of activation consist of possessivation, pointing either to something which relates to women (their *situation* in lines 5 and 7, their *needs* in lines 16 and 23, their *rights* in line 30, their *perspectives* in line 19, their *skills* in line 33) or to something they are engaged in physically (their *empowerment* in lines 10 and 35, their *participation* in line 11, their *work* and *contribution* in line 36) or to something they are engaged mentally (*enjoyment* in line 28). There is only one role of Actor for the participant 'women' in the text (lines 19-20) which is expressed via the intransitive verb *to participate (in)*. In this particular section of the resolution there are no transitive or ergative verbs to name processes in which women are

caught, though in the resolutions of the decade in general the percentage of transitive verbs denoting material processes reach almost 65%. Other instances of activation are realised via such roles as Existent (line 18), Possessor (line 43) or via association (line 48).

Throughout the resolution the main participant is represented by the rural women, whose actions and proprieties are brought systematically to the surface, under the cone of the Member States' attention. However, at the end, in the vein of the gendered approach, the General Assembly turns also to those who form the other half of the development process, the men and to the union of the two participants, women and men. Men represent the model of free and empowered participation in the economy. The states need to strive to place women on a similar level with men. In line 48 the participant 'men' is represented both in the role of Goal and in that of Actor. Men themselves are placed at the receiving end of processes, as they need to be encouraged in order to act for the benefit of all. Women and men together as a group are also found both at the receiving end and at the acting end, in the process of working together (line 47).

The equality between women and men surpasses the public domain and enters the private. In the previous decades the equal participation of women and men on the field was the main concern of the development planners. In the 1990s, equality is to be achieved not only in the fields, but also in the house. The last invitation to action for the states casts men as the goal of state encouragement as concerns the "household and childcare responsibilities". Aiming to reach the roots of gender inequality, development planners trespass the private sphere and open its doors to state and legal intervention. In order to cause a real change in the social situation in which women live every day, there is a need not only to reach the roots of inequality, but also to offer a basic package of needs and freedoms necessary for an equal representation. Lines 23 and 29 point to what is necessary: meeting basic needs and women enjoying all human rights and fundamental freedoms. Determinations such as *all* (lines 11, 17 and 29) and *full* (lines 11 and 43) or the comparative *greater* (lines 4 and 34) create a feeling of the enthusiastically argumentative plead which the General Assembly addresses to Governments. The Governments are called not only to a focused and energetic course of action, but also to a spirit of vigilance and responsibility: they need to devise plans and laws which *ensure* the correct achievement of aims (lines 3, 16, 19, 36, 42).

The final section of this chapter gives an overview of the means of representation of the two participants and of the results highlighted throughout the previous sections.

5.5. Concluding remarks

During the first decade of development, the United Nations' focus was to urge the need for women to advance. This first impulse was mostly driven by the intention to do something good for the economy, less for women as individuals (see section 2.1.1 and the references given there for this observation). Advancement was seen as a simple process for which women only needed to be trained and given encouragement. The 1970s were shaped by a strong and imposing movement for the integration of women in the development process and that is why an abrupt change took place not only at the level of development planners' attitudes and views, but also at the level of the numbers of resolutions on women and at the level of the roles the participant 'women' had in the texts. These changes from decade to decade can be traced in Figure 5.1, which delineates the percentages of the two main representation processes through time.
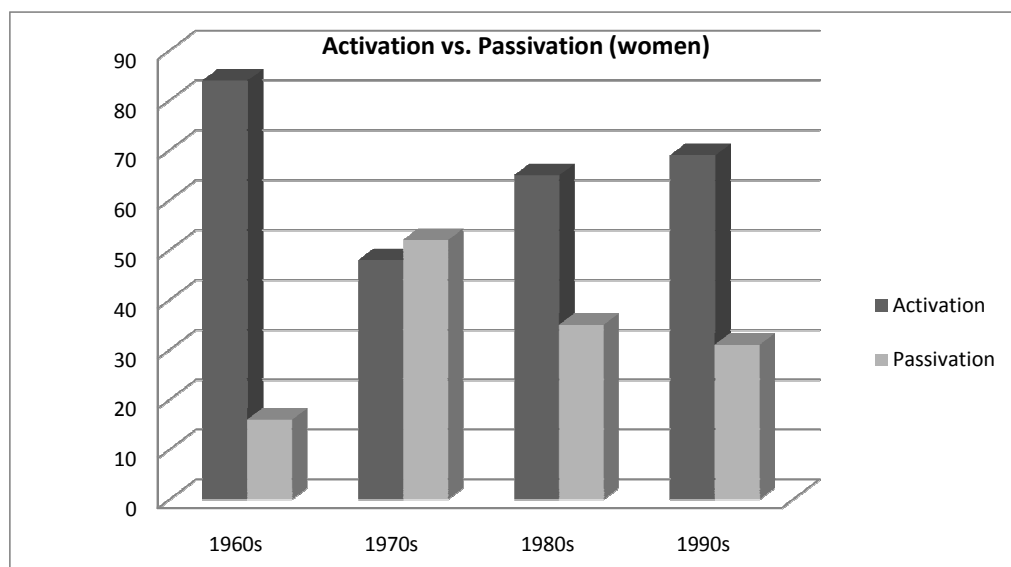
Figure 5.1. Activation and passivation of the participant 'women' throughout the four decades of resolutions (in percentages)

The analysis in section 5.2 indicates that the representation of the participant 'men' is too little to trace the percentages of the activation and passivation processes throughout the time and compare them to those valid for the representation of the participant 'women'. However, Figure 5.1. enables the observation that, as in the conference plans (see Figure 4.2), there are the three main features which can be observed regarding the evolution of the two great processes of the representation of women throughout the resolutions: from the first to the last

decade there is a decrease in the use of activation processes (they are actually increasing from the 1970s to the 1990s), an increase in the use of passivation processes (they are actually decreasing from the 1970s to the 1990s) and the activation processes are employed to a higher degree than the passivation processes (with the exception of the 1970s).

The analysis pointed to the fact that in the 1970s women were approached from a separatist and liberalist thinking. That is why they were seen as a part of the population whose functions and tasks were to be made immediately part of the development process. Women were presented/talked about in the texts as valuable resources whose mobilization would bring a major impulse to the growth process. They were the new elements in a socio-economic process which men had dominated for centuries. That is why they were regarded as the ones who needed help, instruction, as objects to be integrated by those already parts of the process (i.e. men). Women's integration became in the 1970s a social issue to which the planners took a distanced analytic perspective. This is correlated to the occurrence of the processes of circumstantialisation and the impersonalisation of the Actor whose actions have women as Goal. Women's needs and roles turned into elements to be addressed, investigated and described. This is correlated to the great leap of subjection processes by possessivation in the 1970s. Figure 5.2 shows the change in the use of the roles of Goal, Beneficiary and passivation via possessivation.
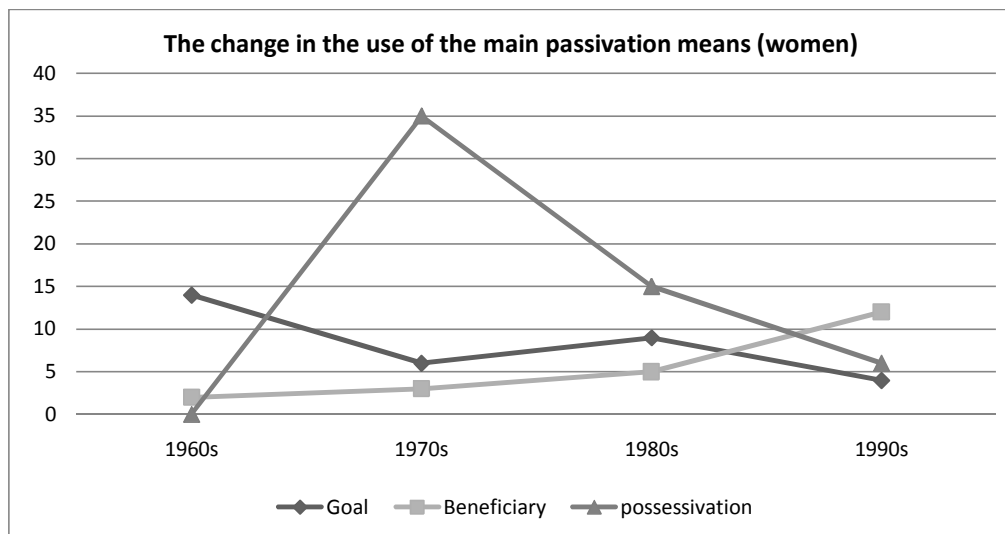
Figure 5.2. The change in the main roles and means of passivation processes in the representation of women throughout the four decades of resolutions (in percentages)

Women appear as a group of toiling workers under a globe of glass (the intransitivity of actions), which does not allow them to come out, but it does allow planners to examine them. The verbs lying beyond the nominalizations *participation*, *advancement* and *contribution* are used in intransitive form: *women participate (in), women advance (through), women contribute to development programmes*. Intransitivity is found also in the finite and non-finite verbs of the material processes in which women are given Actor role:

(1) *to what extent **women are participating in** community development programmes* (1957: 1162(XII));
(2) *in order to enable **women to participate fully in** the economic, social, cultural and political life of their respective countries* (1965: 2059 (XX)).

The lack of effective action on the part of women becomes more obvious when taking also into consideration the material processes in which the governments or the General Assembly are portrayed. When women have the role of Goal via subjection it is the Governments which lie at the cause-end of the action. This result of the analysis resembles that reached by Thompson and Guerra (1995) in their analysis of the 'about us' pages of various business companies, discussed earlier in section 2.2.1.2: there is an opposition established between the transitivity of the effective processes in which the governments and the General Assembly are portrayed and the intransitivity of the actions with no effects in which women are represented:

(3) *they [Governments] should, by every means in their power, **encourage** the full participation of women* (1957: 1162(XII));
(4) *Governments and agencies (...) **appointing** qualified women* (1963: 1920 (XVIII));
(5) *Governments of such States (...) **training** women* (1963: 1920 (XVIII));
(6) *[the General Assembly] **invites** the specialized agencies and the international non-governmental organizations to continue their efforts* (1965: 2059 (XX)).

Apart from Governments playing the role of Actor of the verbs which cast women in the role of Goal, there are also non-human realities which are represented in this role. This is a process of 'impersonalisation' of the actors (Van Leeuwen 1996: 58-61). Thus, women become the targets of the actions of programmes, practices and problems, not of planners or people:

(7) ***programmes** which would **enable women** to be integrated in national and international development* (1975: 3520 (XXX));
(8) *local and national **practices and customs** in many parts of the world **bar women from***... (1975: 3522 (XXX));
(9) *severe unemployment and underemployment **problems** for women have **hindered them from***... (1975: 3522 (XXX)).

Once the first United Nations decade of development for women closed (1975 – 1985) and the Women in Development approach proved unsuccessful, a stage of recognition of the value of women's own lives turned the attention of the development planners to the possibilities of

improving the impact of the growth procedures on women and their situation. In order to facilitate women's integration and participation, a step closer to women's individual existence is made to understand their needs, problems and concerns. This is correlated to the sudden increase in activation processes by possessivation. Figure 5.3 presents the change in the use of the role of Actor and activation via possessivation. The degree of familiarity with women's lives, due also to the increased involvement of women themselves at the decision-making and planning levels, expands in the 1990s and thus a better acceptance and understanding of the way women live their lives and do their work is achieved. The spiritual needs of women everywhere (education, satisfaction) and their social needs (property, power) are taken into consideration. From the 1980s to the 1990s, women's roles of Actor and Beneficiary increase, while the role of Goal decreases (see Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3). Indeed, for the first time, women are represented as doing actions which project their fulfilment outside the limited world women had been closed in. The intransitivity of the verbs which dominated for the first three decades is surpassed in the 1990s through the first appearance of transitive verbs, which portray women in key actions such as: ***enhancing*** *agricultural and rural development*; ***improving*** *food security* and ***eradicating*** *rural poverty* (2003: 58/146).
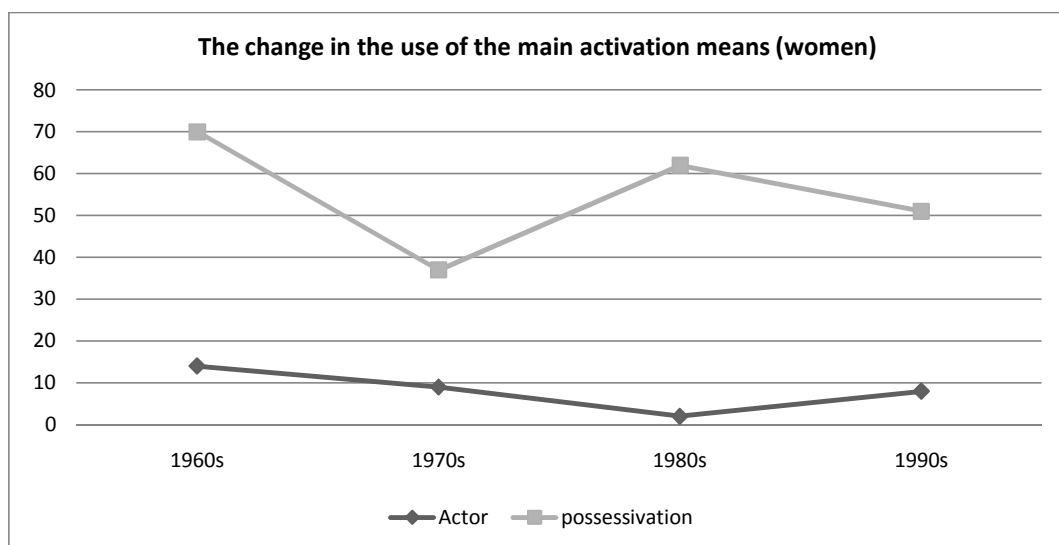
Figure 5.3. The change in the main roles and means of activation processes in the representation of women throughout the four decades of resolutions (in percentages)

The concept of 'gender' favours the consideration of the position of women as compared to men, as well as the position of men as compared to women. It is not only women who need to work for an equal relationship with men, but it is also men who need encouragement through the help of programmes.

In the texts of the resolutions throughout the four decades women are represented less via participation (i.e., the roles of Actor, Goal, Senser, Beneficiary, etc.) and more via possessivation (which can be seen in Figures 5.2 and 5.3). As seen in the discussion of WIA issues, there is a turning point in their representation which occurs in the 1980s: a change from focusing on activity issues to focusing on identity issues; from looking into what roles women can and do play in the development process to looking into what women need. This situation can be explained by the fact that the texts are inter-governmental resolutions on women and not stories about/with/by women. The latter can be found in texts written by women's non-governmental organizations (cf. the resource guide published by Isis International in 1984 in which stories about and interviews with individual women from specific places are given). However, from the analysis of the resolutions it can be noted that the transition of approaches towards women which has been pointed to by writers on women's issues in development (i.e. from the treatment of women as objects of development at the beginning to the involvement of women as agents and beneficiaries) is reflected well at the level of texts. Each decade brings a change in approach. Each decade brings women as participants closer to the target of equal and effectual actors. The process of impersonalisation is compensated by the introduction of transitive verbs and the movement towards specification and proximity (the many dimensions of women's lives seen from within: children, households, skills, potential, priorities, and other issues found in the WIA analysis of section 5.1.2).

Though present in a small number, the processes of subjection by circumstantialisation offer a good perception on the various angles from which the field of women and development is approached by the decision makers. The perception is even more accurate, when the processes of circumstantialisation of the previous decades are also taken in consideration:

- in the 1970s, these processes included mostly the preposition *to*, such as: ***questions relating to women*** *should be strengthened;* ***programmes relating to women*** *and development* (1975: 3520 (XXX));

- in the 1980s, the preposition which dominates the instances of circumstantialisation of the participant 'women' is *on*: *review the impact **on women** of development policies and programmes* (1987: A/RES/42/178), *methods in collection of statistics **on women*** (1989: A/RES/44/171);

- the 1990s create a rich palette of prepositions which introduce the participant 'women': *activities to generate income **among disadvantaged women*** (1995:

A/RES/50/104), *reference to the linkages **between women, natural resources and environment*** (1991: A/RES/46/167), *the continuing discrimination **against women*** (2003: 58/206) but also *reduce any adverse impact **on women*** (1999: 54/210).

The transition from circumstantialisation with *to* in the 1970s, to circumstantialisation with *on* in the 1980s and further to the use of *among*, *between*, *against* in the 1990s suggest a certain movement made by the decision makers 'to', 'around' and 'within' the issues of women. At first, the approach was taken from the distance of the preposition *to*, which indicates an outward look towards and over the issue. The next step brought the analysis closer, somewhere around the issues of women (cf. the spatiality of the preposition *on*); while the latest step has placed the approach not only around the issues (*on* women), but also on an inside position from which one can see what comes *between, among* and *against* women and their issues. The whole movement across the decades is one of getting closer and more involved.

A closer look at the participants of the development process is assumed to be found in the plans of the special UN agency, FAO, which works not only at the theoretical level of conferences and meetings where decisions are taken, but also at the level of the various countries, in the field, side by side with the women and men who express their needs and interests. Chapter 6 is the analysis of three action plans of FAO.

CHAPTER 6: FAO plans of action for women

Chapter 6 is an analysis of the development plans written by the Food and Agriculture
Organization in 1989, 1996 and 2002. The analysis points to the changes occurring in the
representation of women and men from the 1989 plan, which focuses on women, to the
2002 plan, which focuses on gender relations. The increasing reference to the notion of
'gender' brings with it a rising concern to make the notion understood and accepted by
women and men of the 'developing' world. This is seen in the shifting linguistic use of the
word *gender*: from one word type *gender* as in *gender issues* in 1989 to the occurrence of
nine word types with *gender* entering compounds such as *gender-disaggregated*, most
frequent in 1996, and *gender-sensitive*, most frequent in 2002.

6.1. The representation of women in the FAO plans of action

According to the UN Press Release from 2002, women still form the largest part of the poor
population in the world. It is to women that development organizations such as FAO direct
their programmes. The focus on women in the FAO plans is evident and is naturally reflected
in the occurrences of the word *woman/women* encountered throughout the texts. The analysis
of the representation of women in the texts is divided between the roles which *women* as
participants play in the texts (section 6.1.1) and the network of issues which is built to reveal
the world of the participants (section 6.1.2). Both the categories of processes and the classes
of issues are discussed diachronically, across the three plans.

6.1.1 The roles of women in the FAO plans of action

The general representation of women is, from the first to the latest plan, one of positive and
active involvement (see Table 6.1, below). The percentages of the passivation processes never
surpass more than 36% of all the processes identified in the three plans. The processes of
activation predominate therefore throughout the time. However, there is a slight fluctuation
which can be noticed when looking at the percentages listed in Table 6.1. Although the FAO
plan of 1996 brings with it an increase in activation processes and a decrease in passivation
processes, by the end of the 2002 plan it is the passivation processes which undergo an

increase (from 29% in 1996 to 36% in 2002), while the activation processes decrease (from 71% in 1996 to 64% in 2002).

Table 6.1. The representation of women in the FAO Plans of Action

Representation	Roles & means	FAO 1989		FAO 1996		FAO 2002	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Activation	Actor	125	32%	55	14%	33	20%
	Possessor	14	-	10	-	6	-
	Senser	4	-	3	-	2	-
	Sayer	2	-	-	-	1	-
	Identifier	-	-	3	-	1	-
	accompaniment	4	-	-	-	-	-
	possessivation	118	**31%**	202	**53%**	64	**38%**
	Total	**267**	**69%**	**273**	**71%**	**107**	**64%**
Passivation	Goal	59	15%	29	8%	16	10%
	Carrier	15	-	7	-	10	6%
	Identified	3	-	5	-	4	-
	Phenomenon	1	-	-	-	-	-
	possessivation	7	-	25	7%	9	5%
	circumstantialisation	11	-	20	5%	8	5%
	Beneficiary	22	6%	24	**6%**	13	**8%**
	Total	**118**	**31%**	**110**	**29%**	**60**	**36%**
Total		**385**	**100%**	**383**	**100%**	**167**	**100%**

The largest gap between the percentages of activation and passivation processes across the three plans is to be found in the 1996 plan. This is due to an increase in possessivation roles, which represent more than half of all the processes. The possessivation processes form the main means of representing women in the texts. Although in the first plan their numbers approach those of the Actor role, the occurrences of possessivation processes grow throughout the time surpassing the occurrences of all the other means in the texts. The preference is for the form of premodification, through which a row of determinations are attributed to the participant 'women'. The notions that determine women range from negative to positive notions and they are registered under women's activity and identity issues in section 6.1.2 below. Some examples of determinations via premodification are:

(1) *relating to rural **women's problems**; key to easing **women's daily burden*** (FAO 1989);
(2) *enhance **their opportunities** for remunerated employment and income; through the creation of national **women's machineries*** (FAO 1996);
(3) *which determine both **their** own **nutritional status**; recognise and support **women's role** in these sub-sectors* (FAO 2002).

The instances of possessivation also contain the nominalized construction, although, throughout the plans, determination is preferred to nominalization. Either in postmodification

or in premodification, derived nominals express, in the form of a noun, an activity in which women involve themselves:

(4) *encourage **women's enrolment** in higher education*; ***a greater use** of fertilizer and improved seeds **by women*** (FAO 1989);
(5) ***women's knowledge and management of** biodiversity for food security*; *understanding of **the achievements...of rural women** in agriculture* (FAO 1996);
(6) *it will eventually attract **women's investment** in the sector*; *FII will take into account **the contribution of women** to the industry* (FAO 2002).

In order to portray women acting in the texts of the plans, verbs are also used, parallel to the use of nominals. The role of a volitional, conscious Actor remains actually the prototype for carrying out an action. If in passivation processes verbs are preferred to nominals, in activation processes there is a change throughout the time: in the 1996 plan there are more nominals than verbs (due to the increase in possessivation means observed above), while in the 2002 plan verbs and nominals are used to an equal extent. In other words, at the beginning women are portrayed in various activities through the role of Actor, while later the tendency is to reify the processes in which women are portrayed and thus the texts are laden with grammatical metaphor. In the 1989 FAO plan, the 125 instances of Actor are corroborated by 31 instances of nominalization among the possessivation means. In the 1996 plan, there are 88 instances of nominalization well surpassing the 55 instances of Actor. Finally, in the 2002 plan the balance is again redressed between 33 instances of Actor and 25 instances of nominalization.

The palette of activities in which women are portrayed as Actor is enriched. The focus of the plans being largely on rural women, many of the activities are related to the care of fields and animals, of goods and markets, of children and families. Women manage all these with great dexterity, sustained by their experience and passion:

(7) ***women** are primarily responsible for **weeding, harvesting, transporting, storing, processing** and **marketing**, but **they** often **contribute** greatly to **ploughing**; **women market** foods such as vegetables…* (FAO 1989);
(8) ***women** in the developing world now **use** modern contraceptives*; *animal species which **women have** carefully **selected*** (FAO 1996);
(9) **w*omen play** a critical **role** in urban agriculture*; *(**women**) **take care of** the AIDS patients* (FAO 2002).

There are two remarks to be made when discussing the role of Actor in the FAO plans. First, as Table 6.1 shows, the instances of Actor role decrease throughout the three plans, from 32% in the 1989 plan to 20% in the latest plan. Second, not all the activities in which women are represented are positive and accomplished activities. There are also numerous instances in

which the activity in which women are represented is actually one which women cannot achieve, or through which women have part of a negative effect, not a beneficial one:

(10) **women do not share fully** in the decision-making processes at household level; **women tend to lose out** in most land reform programmes (FAO 1989);
(11) **women often fail to find the time to participate** in extension activities (FAO 2002).

The decrease of the role of Actor is paralleled by a decrease of the role of Goal. By the second plan, the role of Goal is reduced to half the percentage it acquired in the first plan. Although it never surpasses the role of Actor, the role of Goal is certainly more frequent than the instances of passivation via possessivation. Many of the nominals found in the examples of possessivation are the reified processes expressed via verbs under the role of Goal. This way, we find similar pairs as the ones discussed for the other texts above:

(12) the emphasis will be on **integrating women** into mainstream projects
vs.
(13) request a plan for **the integration of women** in development (FAO 1989);
(14) the Division will…help **empower rural women** by **enabling them** to access available information
vs.
(15) **women's empowerment** will be central to achieving initiatives (FAO 1996).

Example (12) indicates the approach taken in the 1989 plan for the improvement of the situation in which women find themselves: that of including or integrating them into projects and plans all over the world. They are therefore to become an integral part of economic projects. Two further items express this idea, *implement* and *incorporate*, the first conveying the sense of women being an instrument of development, the second transmitting the idea of the necessary whole needed for success and of the thoroughness of the process:

(16) assisting in **implementing women** in agricultural development projects and programmes, and in mobilizing the necessary resources (FAO 1989);
(17) a special training programme…on **incorporating peasant women** into the process of rural development has also been designed and implemented (FAO 1989).

However, being the aim of the strategies and plans of FAO, women undergo many other types of processes: women are trained, women are helped and assisted in their activities and women are also encouraged, recruited and employed. As with the role of Actor, not all the activities of which women are the target represent beneficial activities. Women can also suffer in the position of Goal. In this case, the instigators find themselves outside the world of FAO:

(18) **men**, by virtue of their position as household heads, tend to extend personal control over the land, **squeezing out women** (FAO 1989);
(19) **conditions** in small-scale fishing communities which **negatively affect women** (FAO 1996);
(20) **women have generally been ignored** in development programmes…**and excluded** from training programmes (FAO 2002).

The FAO plans are tailored to target women. That is why one can also find in the texts women envisioned as the beneficiaries of many of the activities implemented. The role of Beneficiary undergoes a slight increase throughout the time, reaching 8% in the 2002 plan. In this role, women are given, provided with and awarded different key elements which help them advance their economic situation:

(21) **giving women access** to credit**; encouraging governments to enact legislation to improve conditions for women** (FAO 1989);
(22) *the design of food processing equipment **appropriate for women*** (FAO 1996);
(23) *promoting a wider view of the opportunities for linking conservation and development, including **opportunities for women*** (FAO 2002).

Nevertheless, not every time women are envisioned as beneficiaries do they also manage to benefit from the situation. Sometimes they may have no possibility of profitting from the resources (example (24) below), while other times they may be in effect underprivileged beneficiaries (example (25) below):

(24) *capacities offered by information technologies are of **little benefit to women*** (FAO 2002);
(25) *the gender division of labour that **assigns to women** off-farm, on-farm and household tasks leads to **heavier workloads for women** in comparison to men* (FAO 1996).

Table 6.1 points to another minimal increase which occurs throughout the time among the means of representing women in the texts: the instances of circumstantialisation. Through these means of representation women are generally turned into one large class of population which is taken into close consideration. Women form the target of different analyses, such as: *case studies **on women***; *discussion **on rural women***; *national statistics **on women***; *national level data collection **on women** and farm households*; *topics **on women** in agriculture*; *a report **on women** and commercialisation*. Furthermore, the instances of circumstantialisation introduce women as being affected by various phenomena, either from the outside (the use of prepositions *on*, *against*) or from within (the use of prepositions *among*, *between*): *the differentiated impacts of policies **on women and men***; *discrimination **against women** in employment*; *alliance-building **among rural women***; *violence **against women***; *unequal power relations **between women and men***, etc.

The other roles through which women are portrayed in the texts of the FAO plans acquire a limited representation (see Table 6.1). Through the role of Possessor women are shown to possess something. This positive sense is almost always the case, but there are also examples in which women are shown to lack some key aspect (example (28) below):

(26) *rural **women have** many **roles*** (FAO 1989);
(27) ***women** often **have** primary **responsibility** for animal care* (FAO 1996);
(28) ***women** generally **do not have** equal **access** to information* (FAO 2002).

In the role of Senser, women are seen as the rational rural workers who either learn about or organize the activities typical of their daily duties. They are also emotional beings, capable both of enduring distress and of expressing their wishes:

(29) ***women learn*** *basic animal husbandry* (FAO 1989);
(30) ***technology*** *and* ***inputs*** *are* ***viewed by women*** *according to their effects on the supply of water* (FAO 1996);
(31) *both* ***women and children suffer*** *the consequences*; *crop varieties* ***preferred by women*** (FAO 2002).

Women are also defined (the role of Carrier) and identified in the texts of the plans. The aspects of their lives and identities are varied (see the discussion of the WIA issues in the next section): women can be vulnerable, but they can also be successful; women can be the vital participant of development, but they can also be the victims thereof:

(32) ***women*** *who* ***are*** *already* ***successful; women*** *constitute* ***an important percentage of the world's total agricultural labour force*** (FAO 1989);
(33) ***rural women*** *are* ***critical*** *to the sustenance of the world's poor*; ***women*** *are also* ***custodians*** *of biodiversity and* ***caretakers*** *of agricultural and livestock genetic resources* (FAO 1996);
(34) ***young women and adolescents*** *are particularly* ***vulnerable*** *[to be infected with HIV] due to social and cultural factors*; ***women*** *are* ***the victims*** *of food discrimination* (FAO 2002).

As can be seen, there is a large array of issues, either positive or negative, which are attributed to women, which identify them or which define the world of their activities. Section 6.1.2 discusses this network of issues in detail, according to the classes defined above.

6.1.2. WIA issues in the FAO plans of action

Within this section the issues which are associated with the participant 'women' within the texts are brought together in groups under the five classes discussed in section 3.2.2. The figures to which the five large classes of issues (i.e. who women are, what women have, what women need, what women do and what is done for women) amount in each of the five plans are shown in Table 6.2. The overview enables one to observe that the category of identity issues dominates throughout the three plans. The class of 'What women have' issues ranks highest in the 1989 and the 2002 plans, being closely followed by the class of 'Who women are' issues.

Table 6.2. WIA issues in the three FAO plans

Issue		FAO 1989	FAO 1996	FAO 2002
Identity	Who women are	95	188	105
	What women have	122	173	117
	What women need	47	66	66
Activity	What women do	71	76	45
	What is done for women	47	43	29
Total		382	546	362

An analysis of women's identity issues reveals not only who the women are, but also what is attributed to them and what they are considered to be in need of. Table 6.3 offers a survey of the notions women are identified with in the three plans of 1989, 1996 and 2002. These notions are grouped into four main classes: 'Location', 'Profession', 'Features' and 'Age'.

FAO is an organization working towards food security for all by focusing directly on the source of food: fields, crops and their workers. That is why there is a constant reference to women in rural areas: farmers, peasants, village women. In the 1996 plan, many of the occurrences of the word *women* are accompanied by the determinant *rural* (there are 151 occurrences of the term *rural*), turning the issues of 'Who women are' into the most frequent class of the 1996 plan. The recurrent reference to *rural women* is also an explanation for the lack of any reference to *women farmers* in the 1996 plan. In the other two plans, women's main occupation is that of farmer:

(1) *sources of finance for **women farmers** are clearly needed* (FAO 1989);
(2) *the improved access of **women farmers** to integrated soil and nutrient management technologies* (FAO 2002).

Women farmers of the FAO plans and even of the UN resolutions are the equivalent of *women workers* found in the WCW plans, in which the reference to women is general, not narrowed down to women in rural areas. However, there are other professions for women delineated in the FAO plans as well. In the 1989 plan, especially, the attention oscillates between the women who work the land (*agriculturists*) to the women who make the laws (*policy-makers* and *managers*). In order to reach women farmers to a greater degree through the programmes, women themselves were recruited and trained to become extensionists, because "in some parts of the world, constraints prevent male extension workers from interacting with women" (FAO 1989: 18). By the 2002 plan, women are not only trainers in development programmes, but they also hold shares on an equal foot with men:

(3) *efficient and appropriate technologies…will benefit both **women and men stakeholders*** (FAO 2002).

Table 6.3. 'Who women are' issues in the three FAO plans

Plan		FAO 1989		FAO 1996		FAO 2002	
Identity Issue / N		Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHO WOMEN ARE	Location	**rural women**, **peasant women**, local women, village women, women in Cameroon, Mauritania, in Sri Lanka, urban women, women in most cultures	55	**rural women**, **women in developing countries**, women in fishing communities, farm women	159	**rural women**, indigenous women, local women, migrant women, refugee, displaced women	44
	Profession	**farmers**, **extension workers**, heads of households, agriculturists, production scientists, policy-makers, managers, participants, producers, retailers, beneficiaries	31	women candidates, women staff, women consultants, women entrepreneurs, producers	9	(small hold, subsistence) **farmers**, **stakeholders**, livestock keepers, urban, peri-urban producers, extensionists, entrepreneurs, caregivers	40
	Features	poor women, labour force, successful women, dependent women, lower income women	9	**poor women**, **qualified women**, professional women	15	poor women, qualified staff, professional women, vulnerable women, victims	8
	Age	-	-	girls, young women	5	**girls**, elderly women, young women	13
Total			95		188		105

The constant reference to rural women is paralleled by a constant reference to women as poor beings who need to be helped out of their misery and tragic situation (example (4), below). However, the plan of 1989 presents women as a labour force, but also as being successful (example (5), below). The optimism of the beginning is compensated for by the pragmatism of the latest plan, coming out of the understanding that the situation still looks rather bleak for women (example (6), below):

> (4) *loans for women's groups may also have the added advantage of reaching **the poorest women** who as individuals would be ineligible* (FAO 1989);
> (5) *programmes profiling **successful women** in various agricultural professions* (FAO 1989);
> (6) *in some societies, **women are the victims** of food discrimination* (FAO 2002).

Turning to the location of women, there is one further aspect which can be noted in the transition from the first to the latest plan. The 1989 plan refers to women in specific countries

(women in Cameroon, Mauritania, Sri Lanka, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Bangladesh, Chile, etc), while the plan of 2002 establishes an opposition between local, indigenous women and refugee, migrant, displaced women. This opposition is required by the more difficult situation in which the latter category of women finds itself. Another opposition encountered in the 2002 plan is that between young and old women, due to the enlargement of the spectrum of women referred to:

> (7) ***the specific needs of elderly rural women and men workers*** *must be understood and taken into account in policies, and* ***their value and contributions*** *must be promoted* (FAO 2002).

The class of issues most rich in notions is that of 'What women have' issues. As seen in Table 6.2, this class of issues is the most represented class in the first and last plan. FAO points to various notions attributed to women, either in a positive or negative sense. Table 6.4 classifies the multitude of issues referring to 'What women have' along the six categories for the positive issues: Role and Status, Goods, Organizations, Proprieties, Private life and Women's issues. As for the negative issues attributed to women, they are brought under one large group of issues, as they all point to something women suffer from.

The importance of women in the development process is underlined by the frequent indication of the many roles they play and of the important responsibilities they have always had. The multitude of their roles is presented from the beginning of the first plan of action:

> Rural women have many roles: wife, mother and agricultural producer, involved in raising livestock, and growing, harvesting, processing, marketing and preparing food. They cultivate subsistence crops for family consumption and may also work on cash crop production, or they may be landless and rely solely on wage labour. Women are also agricultural extension workers, production scientists and sometimes policy-makers.… (FAO 1989: 1).

Despite the central tasks women assume, they do not have good working and living conditions and it is FAO's mission to urge the improvement of women's economic situation and living standards. The issue of women's economic goods is a vital one as it indicates the degree to which women's key contribution is rewarded. Women have an unstable income: either they manage to have a small source of money or they have none whatsoever (example (10) below):

> (8) *the purpose is…to ensure an evolving and dynamic* ***understanding of the situation of rural women*** (FAO 1996);
> (9) *sheep can provide women with* ***a substantial and much-needed income*** (FAO 1989);
> (10) *a* ***woman*** *may work 60 hours…and yet receive* ***no wage or cash income of any kind*** (FAO 1996).

Table 6.4. 'What women have' issues in the three FAO plans

Plan			FAO 1989		FAO 1996		FAO 2002	
Identity Issue / N			Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT WOMEN HAVE	positive	Role & Status	**role**, **task**, **status**, responsibility, condition	31	**role**, **status**, **responsibility**, condition, tasks, situation, standards	48	**role**, **responsibility**, situation, status, condition	41
		Goods	**income**, crop, land, wages, gains	11	income, wages, remuneration, gains	6	income	2
		Organisations	**groups**, cooperatives, agencies, conferences, federations, NGO, societies	23	organisations, advocates, associations, bureaux, ministries, communities, machineries, network	11	groups, associations	2
		Proprieties	skills, capability, ability, initiative, interest, commitment, perspectives, potential	13	**capacities**, **knowledge**, **interests**, skills, energies, potential, experiences, importance, leadership, demands, requirements, achievements, models	32	knowledge, capacities, skills, priorities, ability, experience, strategies, resources, value	15
		Private life	households, family, children, lives, homes	11	family, children, time, households	9	children, time, households, family	9
		Women's issues	**issues**	7	issues, topics	4	issues	1
	negative	Hardships	problems, needs, exclusion, burden, affect, concerns, constraints, discrimination, workload, difficulties, losses, impact	26	**needs**, **workload**, **constraints**, **affect**, **impact**, **inequality**, poverty, insecurity, burden, over/under-employment, stereotypes, concerns, problems, division of labour, exclusion	63	**needs**, **impact**, workload, affect, division of labour, inequality, constraints, concerns, exclusion, overburden, violence, effect, illiteracy, vulnerabilities, poverty	47
Total				122		173		117

Apart from the arduous work women do, there is another factor which entitles women to better rewards and greater recognition: their unique skills, capacities and knowledge. However, most of the time these remain undiscovered and unappreciated as well and women are left to face unequal treatment and heavy burdens.

(11) ***the capacity of women*** *farmers to assess and harness land production* ***is essential*** (FAO 2002);
(12) ***the difficulties women have*** *in securing land are even more serious for women heads of households* (FAO 1989);
(13) *the differential economic* ***impacts*** *and costs to society of* ***women's unequal access and treatment*** (FAO 1996).

'What women do' issues do not constitute a frequent class of issues in the texts of the FAO plans. The array of issues is limited: the issue of 'participation' is the most used in all of the three plans. Women are the participants of the plans and the vital contributors to development. They work eagerly and produce as much and well as possible. The key to their progress is for them to engage and implicate themselves in the programmes envisioned by FAO. The focus on what women produce reduces gradually: the issue of 'production' is encountered among the most frequent issues in FAO 1989 and then it mingles among the notions used seldom in the texts (see Table 6.5 further on).

Table 6.5. 'What women do' issues in the three FAO plans

Plan	FAO 1989		FAO 1996		FAO 2002	
Activity issue / N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT WOMEN DO	**participation, production, work, contribution, activities, labour,** engage themselves, organise, enrolment, progress	71	**participation, contribution, production, advancement, work,** labour, engage themselves, efforts, input	76	**participation, contribution, activities,** work, advancement, development, implication, collaboration, production	45

The economic value women bring proves to be less important than the activities women do, which favour their advancement:

(14) ***women*** *who* ***participate*** *in FAO's income-producing projects express more interest in affirmation on family planning* (FAO 1989);
(15) ***rural women contribute substantially*** *to forest harvesting, industries and marketing* (FAO 1996);
(16) *the importance of increasing* ***women's productivity*** *and hence* ***their contribution*** *to food systems* (FAO 1996).

The most noteworthy notion among 'What women need' issues is that of 'access' (see Table 6.6 below). It remains as such throughout the three plans. Women can fully profit from the development programmes they engage themselves in if they have open doors to all the sectors of social, economic and political life. With each plan, the access required for women covers more areas: access to land, fertilizers, credit and education in the 1989 plan, access to resources, information and opportunities in the 1996 plan, access to facilities and technologies

in the 2002 plan. Women can profit from the free access only if they also enjoy equal rights and the possibility of controlling that which belongs to them. In the first two plans, the training of women is also an important issue. Furthermore, health, nutrition and a positive image in the media are also something women need in order to participate and benefit to the full.

(17) *critical to women's empowerment is the **full and equal enjoyment by women and men of all human rights*** (FAO 2002);
(18) *with leadership and management **training**, **women can exercise more control** over their lives* (FAO 1989).

Table 6.6. 'What women need' issues in the three FAO plans

Plan	FAO 1989		FAO 1996		FAO 2002	
Identity issue / N	Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT WOMEN NEED	**access**, **training**, **equality**, **rights**, benefits, credit, opportunities, control, technology, choice, health, hygiene	47	**access**, **training**, **opportunities**, **benefits**, rights, security, technology, control, nutrition, awareness, representation, (positive) image	66	**access**, **benefits**, **opportunities**, **equality**, **rights**, **nutrition**, representation, power, control, training, attention	66

The class of 'What is done for women' issues is the least frequent class throughout the three plans of action. Therefore, the stress does not fall on what FAO and its plans put into practice. The stress falls on what women themselves do, have or need. As in the WCW plans and the UN resolutions, the approach of integrating women remains ubiquitous throughout the time, expressed via various items: *inclusion*, *incorporation*, *integration* or *involvement*. The notion of 'empowerment' is used in the economic development field starting with the 1990s and we find it in the 1996 FAO plan as well, though it does not reach the importance it had in the other genres analysed so far. Its frequency is low and it never surpasses the use of the issue of *involvement*. As concerns the domain of paid work, the plans advance the need for recruiting, employing and promoting women as well:

(19) *encourage **the promotion of women** within the Organization* (FAO 1996);
(20) *help to **empower rural women** by **enabling them** to **access** information, skills and technologies* (FAO 1996).

The role of the organization as facilitator is underlined by the act of enabling women to do their activities. Furthermore, the organization not only creates programmes for women in development, but it also gathers data and statistics on women, makes reports and thus helps propagate important information about women and their situation:

(21) *AGS will prepare **a report on women and commercialisation*** (FAO 2002).

Table 6.7. 'What is done for women' issues in the three FAO plans

Plan		FAO 1989		FAO 1996		FAO 2002	
Activity issue / N		Issue	N	Issue	N	Issue	N
WHAT IS DONE FOR WOMEN	Approach	**inclusion**, **integration**, involvement, incorporate, recruitment, promotion, mobilization	27	**involvement**, **employment**, integration, empowerment, inclusion, development, promotion, recruitment	29	**involvement**, **empowerment**, focus, target	17
	Support	enable, assistance, encourage, protection	8	enable, assistance	3	enable, support, encourage, assistance	6
	Plans	**programme**s, projects, workshop, services, plan	12	services, data, information, statistics, study	11	programmes**,** data, report, statistics, information	6
Total			**47**		**43**		**29**

In its process of inspecting the development status of the countries FAO considers not only half of those involved in rural work, the women, but also the other half, the men. The representation of men in the texts of the FAO plans is analysed in the next section.

6.2. The representation of men in the FAO plans of action

Men as participants are active side by side with women in most of their occurrences, even as early as the first plan. In the FAO plans of action, the approach of gender and development brings with it an augmented attention to the association of men with women or of women with men. When the occurrences of the participant 'men' alone are compared with the occurrences of the two participants together it can be seen that the gap between the results enlarges considerably plan after plan. By the latest plan the union of men and women represents more than 90% of all the processes men are involved in. Table 6.8 presents both the absolute and the relative numbers of the occurrences and points to the evident increase. The ratio between the relative occurrences of *men and women* and the relative occurrences of *men* reaches the unique level of 11.5 in the 2002 plan.

Table 6.8. The ratio between *men and women/women and men* and *men* throughout the three FAO Plans of Action

Plan	Participants	Men&Women vs.Men	Total	%	Ratio
		N			
FAO 1989	Men&Women	13	39	33%	0.5
	Men	26		67%	
FAO 1996	Men&Women	15	24	63%	1.7
	Men	9		37%	
FAO 2002	Men&Women	121	131	92%	**11.5**
	Men	10		8%	

Women and men are portrayed together as actors of common activities, as beneficiaries of development plans and as a fruitful union whose skills, needs and priorities are evaluated and developed through the plans. The power and equality relationship established between the two participants also forms a subject of debate and analysis. Although men as independent participants appear in very few processes as compared to the representation of women, the interest turns to the specific means of representing men in the development plans for women. The 45 roles of the participant 'men' are given in Table 6.9, below, along with the two main classes of activation and passivation and across the three different plans.

Table 6.9. The representation of men in the FAO Plans of Action

Representation	Roles & means	FAO 1989		FAO 1996		FAO 2002	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Activation	Actor	8	31%	-	-	3	**30%**
	Possessor	1	-	-	-	-	-
	Senser	2	-	-	-	-	-
	Existent	1	-	-	-	-	-
	accompaniment	6	**23%**	-	-	-	-
	comparison	1	-	4	44%	4	**40%**
	possessivation	1	-	2	-	1	-
	Total	20	**77%**	6	**67%**	8	**80%**
Passivation	Goal	1	-	1	-	-	-
	Carrier	1	-	-	-	1	-
	Identified	2	-	-	-	1	-
	Beneficiary	2	-	2	-	-	-
	Total	6	**23%**	3	**33%**	2	**20%**
Total		26	**100%**	9	**100%**	10	**100%**

The transition from the first FAO plan to the one influenced by the GAD approach throws light on an aspect which has not been encountered above, in the other genres analysed so far. All in all, it is the activation processes which increase by the latest plan, even though this increase is minimal, from 77% in 1989 to 80% in 2002. This is mirrored by a slight decrease in the use of passivation processes, from 23% to 20%. However, the same transition points to

the fact that there is a decrease in the variety of roles through which men are represented in the texts of the plans.

The growth in the use of activation processes throughout the time is not due to an increase in the presence of Actor role for men, but in the increase of instances of comparison. In the first plan of 1989, it is the Actor role which outnumbers the other roles. Men are represented not only as the doers of specific activities around the house (*men fish…build the storage facilities…and also cultivate*), but also as the ones who have always enjoyed greater command over proprieties (*men tend to extend personal control over the land*). Furthermore, men are not only represented as the mobile members of societies who are allowed to move out of the domestic sphere in which women are cocooned (*men migrate from their villages to cities*), but also as beings open to change (*men took an active interest in food conservation*). The next most frequent role through which men are represented in the first FAO plan is that of accompaniment. Related to the plan's approach of urging the equality of women to men, the image evoked is that of men as already involved participants in the development processes alongside whom women want to and do place themselves:

(1) *women engage in cooperation **with men*** (FAO 1989);
(2) *cultural factors prevent women from working **alongside men*** (FAO 1989);
(3) *guaranteeing women the right to own land either separately or jointly **with men*** (FAO 1989).

In the plans of 1996 and 2002 the means of accompaniment are not encountered anymore. The inclination towards the association of women with men is replaced by the preference towards comparison. The stress on the fruits women can bring to development (which is the general perspective of the approach in the first plan) is given up and compensated by a clear evaluation of the unfairness women suffer, of their many responsibilities, needs and deficiencies. This perspective is reflected in the means of activation via comparison. Women's disadvantaged situation is weighed against the advantaged situation in which men find themselves or women's and men's unfair contributions are being compared:

(4) ***their*** *wages are not equal **to men's*** (FAO 1996);
(5) ***women*** *continue to have far less access to services **in comparison with men*** (FAO 1996);
(6) ***women*** *in developing countries work up to one-third more hours **than men*** (FAO 1996);
(7) ***women*** *tend to contribute a far greater percentage of their cash income to household food requirements **than men do*** (FAO 2002).

Men are not anymore the desired partners of cooperation, as long as there is a noteworthy and unacceptable inequality in roles, responsibilities, involvement and benefits. The roles of Identified and Carrier point to the importance of the activities in which men are involved:

(8) *it is usually **men** who **are responsible** for large-scale cash cropping* (FAO 2002).

It is also interesting to note that in the two single instances of Goal for men, when they are portrayed at the affected end of an activity, the participant is not really the Goal of the activities mentioned, as these are either negated or do not affect men entirely:

(9) *this did **not** mean **ignoring men*** (FAO 1989);
(10) ***men** and better-off rural dwellers may only be **partially affected by** these impediments* (FAO 1996).

Negative effects being prevented from taking place in the lives of men, they can enjoy fully the benefits they have had for centuries:

(11) *rules tend to **favour men** in land rights* (FAO 1989);
(12) *facilities traditionally reserved **for men*** (FAO 1996).

However, the authors of the FAO plans turn their attention to the strategic importance of gender in increasing the effectiveness of the development programmes and plans. The next section looks into the way the notion of 'gender' is understood and used by the authors of the FAO plans.

6.3. Gender in the FAO plans of action

The titles of the plans themselves signal the basic focused movement from women to gender. The attention expands from considering women as isolated participants in development processes to considering women and men together caught up in social and power relations. The approach of the latest plan (GAD) is a more holistic approach which places a strong emphasis on the concept of 'gender'.

First, in order to see how the change of focus from women to gender manifested itself at the level of the texts, the instances of the participant 'women' and of the participant 'men' are compared side by side with the numerical instances of *gender*. The question is whether the focus of the latest ideology on gender is reflected in the language use of the texts, i.e. if there is an increased use of the word *gender*.

Table 6.10, below, gives the number of occurrences of the three words. In order to see which of the words or construction is most used in the body of the texts, the percentages of the four items to be compared are calculated against the total number of word tokens in each of the plans (for the number of words, see Table 3.1 in section 3.1.1). Table 6.10 below points to the alternations from one plan to the other: starting from FAO 1989 to FAO 2002, the

instances of *woman/women* decrease slowly, while those of *gender* and *man/men* (except for the sudden fall in the second plan) increase steadily. Moreover, the figure in the first row of the third column (167) represents only the occurrences of *women*, the plural form, as the singular form, *woman*, is not used in FAO 2002. The fact that the participant is not used in its singular form, *woman*, goes hand in hand with the fact that the latest plan speaks mostly of women and men together, which requires the plural form.

Table 6.10. The occurrences of *women*, *men* and *gender* in FAO plans (percentages of the total number of word tokens of each plan)

Participant / WCW	FAO 1989		FAO 1996		FAO 2002	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
women	385	**3.50%**	383	**2.39%**	167	0.86%
men	26	0.24%	9	0.06%	10	0.05%
women and men	13	0.12%	15	0.09%	121	0.62%
gender	25	0.23%	170	1.06%	318	**1.63%**

Second, in addition to the frequency of the word *gender*, it is equally important to analyse its use from period to period. Table 6.11 introduces the grammatical categories in which *gender* is found in each of the three plans.

Table 6.11. The grammatical classes of *gender* in FAO plans

Grammatical category / WCW plan	FAO 1989	FAO 1996	FAO 2002
noun	1	15	42
compound adjective	1	69	95
modifying noun	23	86	181
Total	**25**	**170**	**318**

In FAO 1989, there are 25 occurrences of the word *gender*, used almost exclusively as part of nominal groups. It occurs largely together with two nouns: *analysis* (11 instances) and *issues* (7 instances). In FAO 1996, not only does the number of occurrences increase, but the grammatical constructions in which the word is used all appear repeatedly. Along with the noun *gender* there are now adjective compounds such as: *gender-disaggregated, gender-sensitive, gender-related, gender-responsive, gender-based, gender-specific, gender-targeted* and *gender-adapted*. These compounds are also found among the 95 instances of compound adjectives present in FAO 2002. The fine differences between FAO 1996 and FAO 2002 are discussed below.

Out of the total number of occurrences very few are instances in which *gender* is taken as a noun standing on its own: in the first plan there is only one occurrence (given in example (1) below), while in the second plan there are 15 occurrences of *gender* as a noun and in the

third plan 42 occurrences. However, taken against the total number of occurrences for each plan, these figures represent a slight increase in the use of gender as noun throughout time. Some examples are:

(1) *presenting agricultural data by **gender*** (FAO 1989);
(2) *FAO has shown that the HIV/AIDS pandemic exacerbates existing obstacles to production in agriculture and increases malnutrition, with different impact on **each gender** (FAO 2002)*;
(3) *SDR will support income-generation opportunities for older youth of **both genders*** (FAO 2002).

Entering the highly productive lexical derivation pattern, *gender* appears often in noun and adjective compounds. Thus, as mentioned above, the most frequent nominal group in FAO 1989 is *gender analysis*. Other nominal groups which can be encountered in the 1989 FAO plan are *gender issues*, *gender consideration* or the compound adjective *gender neutral*:

(4) t*he Plan of Action urges that **gender analysis** be integrated with FAO's farming systems development training and projects* (FAO 1989);
(5) *such changes, which previously had been assumed to be **gender neutral**, can in fact further impoverish poor rural and urban people, particularly women and children* (FAO 1989).

In FAO 1996, the derivation pattern is not as simple. *Gender* attaches to an adjective to form a compound adjective determining different nouns: *gender-disaggregated data*, *gender-related elements*, *gender-responsive policy*, *gender-specific needs*, *gender-targeted activities*; *gender-sensitive national communication policies and strategies.* Additionally, gender attaches to a noun and together they determine another noun: e.g. *gender sensitivity analysis*. Such uses point both to the growing familiarity of the notion and also to its application in wider semantic areas.

In FAO 2002 the derivational patterns of 1996 are further employed, but this time a fine change in the meaning application of 'gender' can be traced. Firstly, a new notion emerges: 'gender mainstreaming'. Derived from the general noun *mainstream* the verb *to mainstream* appears in the sense of 'bringing into the core of a system'. Gender is the element that needs to be mainstreamed, that is why the word *gender* appears very frequently attached to the gerundive nominalization (see the discussion of and the definition of the term 'gender mainstreaming' in 4.3, above):

(6) *to develop a coding and monitoring system for **gender mainstreaming*** (FAO 2002);
(7) *to ensure adequate coverage of **gender mainstreaming** in corporate reports* (FAO 2002).

Secondly, the most frequent compound adjective with *gender* in FAO 1996, *gender-disaggregated*, disappears in FAO 2002 almost completely (there is only one occurrence left)

and its place is taken by *gender-sensitive*. The extensively used *gender-sensitive* imbues the text with a gentler atmosphere than *gender-disaggregated*. Furthermore, it points to the organization's intention to make the development process sound friendlier. Activities, methodologies, training are all designed to have gender as their guiding principle. The next most frequent element in FAO 2002 is *gender-responsive,* which joins *gender-sensitive* to the achievement of this intended effect.

Furthermore, there is an interesting aspect to be noted with respect to *gender-disaggregated*. Its first position in frequency is, indeed, replaced by *gender-sensitive*, but its constructional form survives. *Gender* is replaced by *sex*. *Sex-disaggregated*, contrasting the single occurrence of *gender-disaggregated,* appears 12 times. The two appear once together: *the need for collecting **gender- and sex-disaggregated** data is underlined*.

There is an immediate explanation which could be given for the fact that the frequent construction *gender-disaggregated* is neutralised and replaced with *sex-disaggregated*: 'sex' is biological, while 'gender' is cultural and psychological. 'Sex' is a binary notion (feminine and masculine), while 'gender' is a complex notion. Therefore, one could disaggregate, for example data, by sex, but not by gender. The struggle to pin down these two diverse notions is reflected in the awkward construction:

(8) *ESN will ensure generation, compilation and dissemination of dietary and nutritional status data disaggregated **by sex for gender** for all age groups*.

One aspect which comes out of the previous analysis is the observation that throughout the three development plans there is no one occurrence of the word *gender* as lexical verb. For development planners, 'gender' is a unit of social ascription and is therefore perceived as a noun (qualifying other notions). The understanding of 'gender' as a process has not yet made its presence felt in these data.

Taking into consideration the telling co-occurrences of the word *gender*, a brief summary of the key items revolving around the issue of 'gender' can be offered: in FAO's first plan the notion of 'gender' was at the beginning of its use, referring to women's roles and responsibilities in relation to those of men (a situation which had to be subjected to analysis once and for all) and FAO's main concern was to include gender analysis in projects. In FAO 1996 the degree of inclusion is increased in the process of incorporating gender issues in all activities, while in FAO 2002, as mentioned, the main processes seen as necessary are those of taking into account gender issues, mainstreaming gender and promoting gender equality.

To observe that there are no co-occurrences of the word *gender* with *male* or *female*, which would have created the nominal groups *male gender* and *female gender* is evidence of

the fact that the notion of 'gender' is not understood as dichotomous by FAO development planners. There is only one exception where the dichotomy makes itself felt, found in example (3) given above: *older youth of both genders*.

The area of development economics is a very lively area, ever changing approaches so as to find the most effective, ever enriching the defining notions they use so as to better capture the fine and complex social-cultural aspects. 'Gender' is one such notion which undergoes change in the process of refining its use: from simple to complex derivational patterns, from individual uses (*gender analysis*) to combinations into notions bearing the value of key processes targeted by the organization (*gender mainstreaming*).

6.4. Sample text analysis

The 1989 Plan of Action is structured along four spheres: civil status, economic, social and decision-making. In order to see women represented as being caught up in intense action the text analysed belongs to the economic sphere, the part on women's agricultural work. There are three aspects of the work women do on the agricultural level: food processing, livestock and forestry. These aspects are described, evaluated and commented from the perspective of the advantages and disadvantages women have from it. The issue of agricultural work has been a delicate one in the development process because women have always been involved in this work, but economic curricula have not taken them into consideration. The women-focused approaches highlight the key activities done by women and the gross unfairness cast on them.

FAO Plan of Action for Women in Agricultural Development (1989-1995)

Women's agricultural work

Food processing
1 **Rural women process foods**, especially for family consumption, with few or no modern
2 aids. Typical work includes *cleaning, threshing and grinding* grains or *drying* fish, and
3 *making* cheeses or yoghurt. In some parts of the world, **the village women share these**
4 **tasks**. Even so, it can take hours to process grams for cooking. For example, in one North
5 African country, it was estimated that **women spent four hours a day grinding** wheat for
6 couscous. A target of many FAO projects is to upgrade traditional food processing without
7 resorting to expensive technology. Tangible results have been achieved in food processing
8 *at the village level*, including drying perishables and milling grains. In Burkina Faso and

9 Ghana, improved technologies for drying fruits, vegetables and root crops have reduced the
10 losses resulting from seasonal gluts. In Burundi, **over 100 women have been trained to**
11 **use machines** for *processing* cassava into gari for local consumption.

Livestock
12 **Women's ownership and control of livestock** and **their products** are an important
13 *economic resource*. Sometimes, it is assumed that **women tend only small animals** while
14 **men own and care** for large livestock. But this division of labour should not be taken for
15 granted. In some places **women own cattle**, and in many others **women milk** and take
16 **care of the animals**. In Pakistan, for example, **women are responsible for** 60 to 80
17 percent of the *feeding* and *milking* of cattle. Moreover, where large animals are penned
18 and fed, *caring* for them becomes a domestic matter - changing from a situation where
19 **men and boys are in charge of herding** to one in which **women** *and children of both*
20 *sexes* **must do the work**. Poultry and animals such as sheep, goats, rabbits and guinea
21 pigs, are important **to women** because they are often the only source of income fully
22 under **their control**. In Egypt, as in many other countries, **women are responsible for**
23 **raising** nearly all of the goats and poultry. FAO finds that poultry and small animals
24 **raised by women** often make a greater contribution to the diet of low income groups than
25 do cattle. The problem is that **few** livestock extension **programmes include women**.

Forestry
26 The depletion of forest resources has had a substantial **impact on women** in three ways:
27 Trees are necessary to protect the quality of soil and water and to manage them as
28 productive resources. Most tropical farming systems are unsustainable without trees as
29 part of the system. When farmland and water are not available close to households, or
30 when larger gardens and longer waits at the well are required, this can greatly increase **the**
31 **time women spend on this task**. Forests provide food, fodder, fibre and the fuel for
32 *cooking* and *processing* food. These are products for which **women are** largely
33 **responsible**. Small-scale enterprises dependent on forest products are among the major
34 employers of rural people, especially the landless and the land-poor. **Women are heavily**
35 **dependent** on such enterprises and in some countries (such as Egypt) **are their**
36 **managers**. Forestry services are now focusing on supporting people's efforts to
37 incorporate trees into their living areas and farming systems as well as on integrating
38 agriculture in forested areas. They are finding it important **to learn from women** how
39 **they as managers of trees and forest resources can be supported** so as to have better
40 and sustainable access to the forest products and outputs **they need**.

FAO's approach is bottom-up. They start from the local, village level (line 8) to reach then
the national and global levels. They analyse the specific situations of each country and each
area, in order to devise measures which are appropriate. They know that the archaic, well-
grounded agricultural rhythm would only be disturbed by the forced introduction of new and
expensive technology (line 7). FAO tries to raise the veil of stereotypes and draws attention to
the fact that many assumptions regarding the work women do are wrong and it is a danger to
take them for granted (line 14). It is not true that women are relegated to domestic matters,
while men are accomplishing the work outside the household. Various areas have different
habits. Women are also those who possess and supervise the management of big livestock.

And even if women do jobs which might seem of minor responsibility, these jobs prove to have a key position in their financial lives and in the nutrition of the whole family.

The participants of the plan are referred to as the *rural women*. These are the women who live in villages and who work on the fields and in the households, primarily in austere conditions. The processes in which the participant is represented are largely activation processes (18 instances, compared to the 11 instances of passivation). The role of Actor abounds: there are 12 occurrences. The text portrays women as caught in various types of activities (processing food, grinding wheat, tending and raising animals, etc). Unlike the other sample texts analysed in the previous chapters, the FAO sample text contains a minimal number of instances of possessivation (3 occurrences in lines 12 and 22). Furthermore, women are depicted as being the Possessors of things (line 15 and lines 39-40).

To the image of women as actors and possessors, there is yet another image which is depicted throughout the texts. This is the image of women as the *managers* of many enterprises (lines 36 and 39). Women have a great responsibility on their shoulders and their knowledge and involvement is basic to agricultural work. One can note that this image of women is achieved via the roles of Carrier (*women are responsible*) and Identified (*women are their managers*), which belong to the means of subjection. That is, even the subjection processes are used for a positive effect in the representation of women in the first FAO Plan of Action. This is valid for the representation of women via the role of Goal as well. Women are the goals of processes via which they do not suffer or remain as passive recipients, but they are given an impetus for further action. In the first role of Goal (line 10) women are trained so that they can do something (use the machines), while in the third role (line 39) women are supported so that they can achieve something (access the products). Women undergo the processes in order to be able to launch other processes. However, this is not achieved via ergative verbs: *train*, *include*, *support* are not ergative verbs. This is achieved through the prolongation of transitive processes in which women are the goals (*train women*, *include women*, *support women*) with transitive processes in which women are the actors (*women use machines* or *women access products*). Moreover, fighting stereotypes, FAO authors highlight the fact that women are not always in the position of learners. They are themselves teachers as well, as they are the ones who know the smooth run of the economic system and can share their knowledge and power.

All in all, the sample text from the first FAO plan succeeds in representing the participant 'women' in a very active manner: activation processes predominate, Actor role is the norm, Goal role has a rare presence, the work women do is praised and prejudices about

women are fought against. The whole text vibrates with the rhythm of women's toil. This vibration is prolonged through the presence of non-finite verbs, dispersed throughout the text, expressing actions whose doers are left to be understood: *cleaning*, *threshing*, *grinding*, *making*, *processing*, *feeding*, *milking*, *caring* and *cooking*. However, the text makes it clear that it is women who are responsible for such activities. Had the verbs been finite, they would have been transitive verbs expressing material processes in which women would have had the role of Actor.

One decade later, FAO is still making many efforts to reach its target of ensuring the equitable treatment of all members of the development process. To pursue its objectives, FAO delineates four priority areas at the core of their work: food and nutrition, natural resources, agricultural support systems, and agricultural and rural development policy and planning. In order to remain in the same category of text as the one selected from the first plan, the excerpt for the analysis below is taken from the priority area of food and nutrition. This excerpt is part of the beginning of the text in which the rationale for selecting food and nutrition as a priority area is briefly described.

FAO Gender and Development Plan of Action (2002-2007)

1 37. Food and nutrition. Food security is defined by FAO not only in terms of access to, and
2 availability of food, but also in terms of resource distribution to produce food and the
3 purchasing power to buy food where it is not produced (FAO 2000e). Adequate food
4 availability *at the national level* does not automatically translate into food security at the
5 *individual and household levels*. Indeed, the issue is not only one of availability but also of
6 access to food (Frankenberger T.R., McCaston M.K., 1998) that requires action to ensure
7 access to food by *all* people. Furthermore, other underlying causes for malnutrition must be
8 addressed, such as dietary intake and diversity, health and disease, and maternal and
9 childcare.

10 38. Although *both rural women and men have different and complementary roles* in
11 *guaranteeing food security* at household and community levels, **women often play a**
12 **greater role in ensuring** nutrition, food safety and quality and **are generally responsible**
13 **for processing and preparing** food for **their households** and, thus, for the nutritional
14 well-being of the household members. Food processing contributes to food security by
15 assuring ongoing diversity of diet, minimizing waste and losses and improving
16 marketability of foods, **enabling women to participate** in the trade of food products.
17 **Their marketing activities** translate directly into improved family nutrition, as studies
18 have shown that **women tend to contribute** a far greater percentage of **their cash income**
19 to household food requirements *than men do* (FAO, 1996).

20 39. **Women** in their reproductive years, especially during pregnancy and lactation, **have**
21 **specific nutrient requirements**, which determine both **their own nutritional status** and
22 that of **their children**. In many societies, these specific needs are not recognized and **both**
23 **women** and children **suffer the consequences**. In some societies, **women are the**

24 **victims of food discrimination**, whereby priority is given to *feeding the male members* of
25 the family first, compromising the nutritional and health status of **the female family**
26 **members**.

The first paragraph points to the fact that FAO continues to pay attention to the importance of
the levels on which theory and practice start and end. The trickle-down system which
presumed that the opulence of the large classes would be spread to the disadvantaged classes
has proved to be an inefficient one. In order to solve the problem, one needs to go directly to
the roots of the system, to tackle the causes and then wait for improved effects. In the vein of
the gender approach towards development FAO authors pay homage to the gender balance
which should be attained. They authenticate the complementarities of the two participants in
economy (line 10). However, it is still women who remain the focus of development work and
who still need to overcome many obstacles. It is women who play "a greater role" (line 12)
than men in the priority domain of food and nutrition. It is women who fight for food security
and invest not only time but also the little money they earn in their families (line 18).

The sample text abounds in activation processes through which the participant is
represented. There are 13 instances of activation versus 3 instances of passivation. However,
there is a difference which can be spotted if comparing the sample of the first plan to this
sample from the 2002 plan. The use of possessivation means has more weight in the
representation of the participant. This situation has also been pointed to in the discussion on
the means of representation in section 6.1.1 (Table 6.1). The presence of transitive verbs
referring to activities women do is diminished and with it, the vibration of the text decreases.
There is a balance between Actor role (6 instances) and possessivation means (5 instances).
The text merges the inventory of women's issues (*activities*, *income*, *status*, and *children*)
with the enumeration of the activities women do (*play a role*, *ensure*, *processing*, *preparing*,
participate and *contribute*). Two other means of activation extend the realm of action to the
realm of feelings (the role of Senser in line 23) and to the realm of necessities (the role of
Possessor in lines 20-21).

There is another aspect which remains unchanged compared to the previous sample.
This is the positive aspect of subjection means. As in the previous sample of FAO texts, the
role of Goal, the only one encountered in this sample (line 16), is achieved via a verb which
does not portray women in a passive, recipient position, but in one which favours the
continuation of the chain of action: the improved marketability of foods enables women to do
something. Furthermore, another role of passivation, the role of Carrier, points to a feature
which is ascribed to women (line 12). The feature is that of responsibility, i.e. a positive

feature. The role of Identified (lines 23-24) is the only one of the subjection means which underlines a negative aspect. The role identifies women by assigning them a value, that of being victims. Although women give everything they have for the best of their families, in some societies they are still confronted with the traditional imprudence which makes men consider themselves superior and retain the right to control their finances and monopolize feeding habits. In line with the gender analysis which lies at the basis of every project, the two participants are referred to by using the adjectives *male* and *female* (lines 24-26).

The representation of the two participants throughout the FAO plans is commented upon and summarized in the final section of this chapter.

6.5. Concluding remarks

The three documents introduce what FAO considers to be good approaches to women in development, its strategies of action for a certain period of time ahead. As the authors of the FAO plans explain, the change of policy throughout the years is based on the "lessons learned in the implementation of the previous plans" (FAO 2002: 1), on the "continuing response to the global events of the 1990s as well as the recommendations of recent international fora" (FAO 1996: 1). Experience, global political events and new international development perspectives have lead to the reformulation, revision and refocusing of development plans for women.

In the 1989 FAO plan, women are seen as the unused resource for a better and more productive economy. It is assumed that what is good for economy is good for women. Indeed, the focus is on what women can offer to development if they are to be taken as full, active participants and not on what women need from development in order to improve their condition. This is a strategy meant to make the integration of women in development appear unthreatening to male bureaucrats who might resist any request of redistribution of power: therefore, it is better that women do not voice their needs and opinions, but accept the gratitude of being integrated in the plans and highlight the benefits of their work. Influenced by the liberal politics, the plan urges the need for the equality of women to men. As this is the first plan in which the organization formulates initiatives and proposes activities, the tone of future possibility expresses a strong belief: "women *can* have better access to productive resources and to social services. Along with men, they *can* have the opportunity to earn income…" (FAO 1989: 5). The core concepts of the first plan of FAO for women in

development are: 'integration of women', 'equity', 'women's productivity', 'women's active and equal participation'.

In the 1996 FAO plan the targets prove to be complex. There is an oscillation between FAO as promoter, catalyst of actions (*the Plan pursues to promote actions to reduce rural women's workload*) and women as performers who gain strength to carry those actions themselves (s*trengthen the skills and capacities of rural women to reduce the burden of their labour)*. Along with pointing to the vital part women play in agriculture and rural development (on which the first plan is based), there is here a clear evaluation of the unfairness women suffer, of their many responsibilities and needs. The second FAO Women in Development Plan revolves around the core concepts of 'gender-based equity', 'gender-disaggregated data', 'women's participation and productive resources'.

In the 2002 FAO plan there is no more sole focus on women, no more special section dedicated to their particular situation. Everything revolves around gender relations, women's and men's socially constructed roles, responsibilities and needs. For women and men to fully enjoy their human rights, the empowerment of women is critical, i.e. self-generated empowerment (see the definition of the term in 3.1.1). Therefore, equitable development is not only about reallocating productive resources, but, even more, it is about redistributing power. Unlike the first plan, in which the policy of integrating women was embellished as much as possible, to the point of totally reducing any social power issue, the 2002 plan places great focus on issues of power, control, conflict (Razavi and Miller 1995: 18). The political dimension is now central: globalisation and liberalisation have caused losses for poor farmers (women more than men). The focus is not anymore only on household; it goes beyond to other social institutions, such as the market, the community or the state. The core concepts of the latest Plan of Action for women-in-development are: 'mainstreaming gender issues', 'gender equality', 'self-empowerment' of women, 'equitable and sustainable agricultural and rural development'.

A survey of the representation means used in the three plans of the various periods reflects the following situation. For the representation of the participant 'women', similar to the situations encountered in the other genres analysed so far, there is a decrease in the use of activation processes, paralleled by an increase in the use of passivation processes (Figure 6. 1. below).
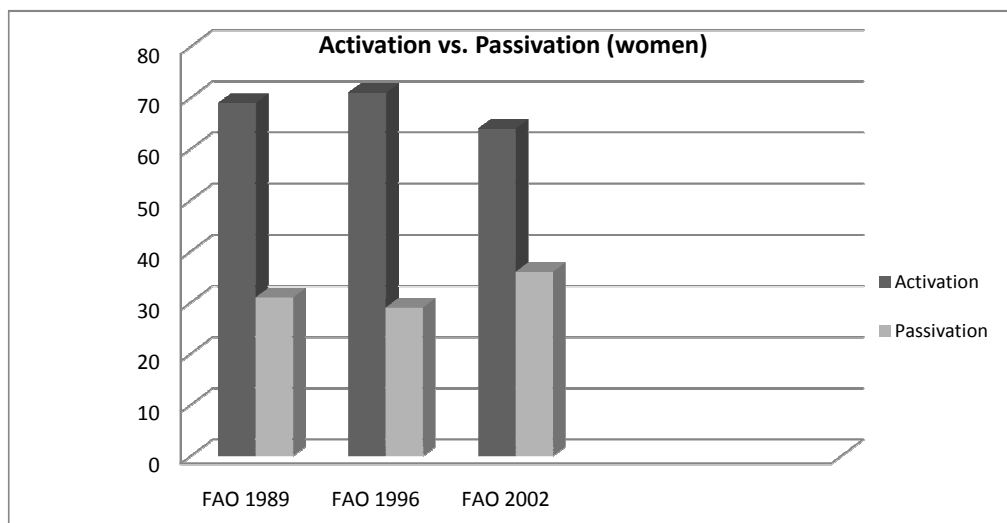
Figure 6.1. Activation and passivation of the participant 'women' throughout the three FAO Plans of Action (in percentages)

Taking a closer look at the roles and means of the representation of the participant 'women', there is an aspect which is similar to the representation of women in the texts of the conference plans, but different from the representation of the participant in the texts of the resolutions. This is the use of the means of possessivation via passivation: the use of these means is low. It is the means of possessivation via activation which not only are of importance, but also predominate over all the other roles. However, as Figure 6.2 reveals, they undergo a fluctuant evolution, reaching the peak in the text of 1996 FAO plan. Compared to the roles of Actor and Goal, which decrease in their use through time, the means of activation via possessivation undergo an increase.

The representation of the participant 'men', as in the texts of the resolutions, is kept within minimal occurrences. Among them, it is the means of comparison which are of importance, constituting thus a similarity to the representation of the participant 'men' in the texts of the resolutions. Novel circumstances are yet to be discovered. Unlike the characteristic evolution of the representation means encountered so far, be it for women or men, the minimal representation of men in the texts of the FAO plans reveals an opposing evolution: comparing the 1989 plan to the 2002 plan, it is the use of passivation processes which decreases over time, while the use of activation processes increases (see Figure 6.3.). The 1996 plan constitutes a change in the levels of the activation and passivation processes which highlights the differences in use from one plan to the other.
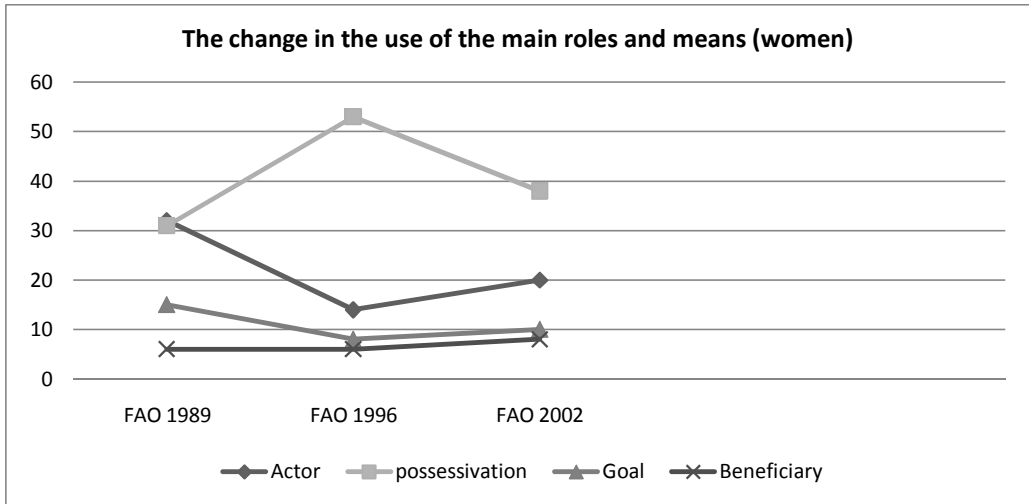
Figure 6.2. The change in the main roles and means of activation processes (Actor and possessivation) and passivation processes (Goal and Beneficiary) in the representation of women throughout the three FAO Plans of Action (in percentages)
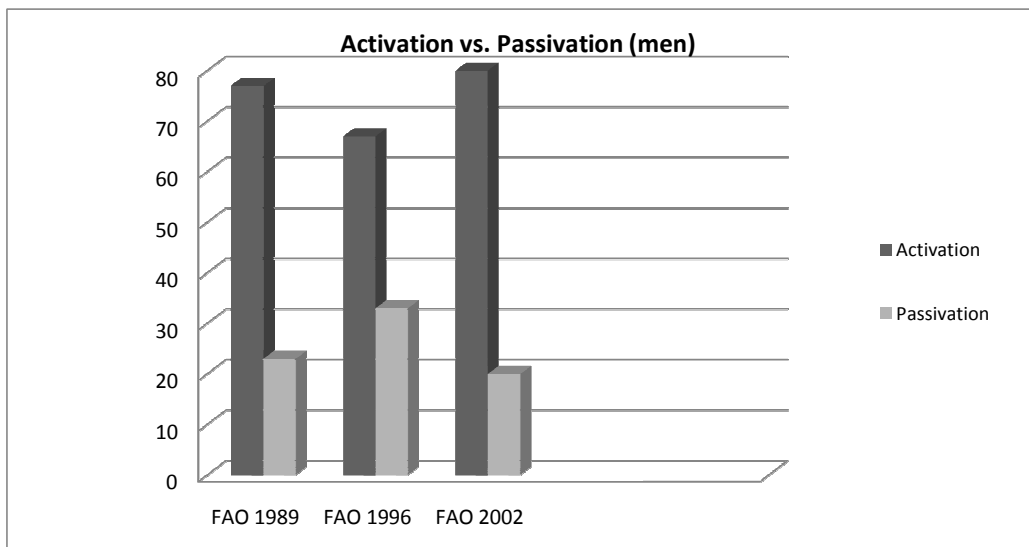
Figure 6.3. Activation and passivation of the participant 'men' throughout the three FAO Plans of Action (in percentages)

Therefore, in the texts of the FAO plans, the processes of activation and passivation have different evolutions for each participant. Unlike the situation in the conference plans the representation of the two participants has only one common feature: the predominance of activation processes over those of passivation.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 have presented a detailed analysis (both quantitative and qualitative) of the representation of the participants 'women' and 'men', of the use of *gender*

and of the array of development issues introduced through time in each of the three genres. Based on this analysis, the next chapter offers a discussion of the general traits which can be identified in the present data.

CHAPTER 7: Discussion. From Women to Gender

The present chapter examines the results of the detailed analysis done for each genre and traces main characteristics of the data of the study. The discussion considers the aspects of participant representation, genre and time separately. This way, the chapter is divided between sections which look at the characteristics specific to the representation of women (7.1. to 7.3.), the characteristics revealed for genres (discussed in each section, but mainly in 7.4), the characteristics traced along the factor of time (section 7.5), the characteristics specific to the representation of men (section 7.6.) and the characteristics traced in the use of the word *gender* (section 7.7).

7.1. The action women

The first aspect to be discussed concerns the two main poles of representation: activation and passivation. The roles and means of representing the participants have been grouped and analysed according to the two main classes of activation and passivation. The reason why the analysis is centred on these two large classes of processes is that the main aim of the thesis consisted in contouring the image of women and men conveyed by the texts. More specifically, the interest was to investigate whether the female social participants of the development texts are represented as active presences or, on the contrary, as passive presences and how this representation contrasts with the representation of men.

The processes through which the women are represented in each genre have been discussed in detail in the previous chapters. From the world conferences on women, through the resolutions and to the FAO plans, the results have indicated that the processes of activation predominate over the processes of passivation (with only one exception, that of the resolutions of the 1970s; see Figures 4.2., 5.1., 6.1.). However, it is generally the processes of passivation which undergo an increase through time, while the processes of activation decrease in their use from decade to decade. Despite this decrease throughout the decades, the processes of activation remain at an average of 63% across the time and texts, while the processes of passivation have an average of 37%. The fact that the activation processes are largely more frequent than the passivation processes is a positive and distinctive feature of the texts. Previous studies have shown that there are texts which contend in creating a negative image of women as the passive recipients of the actions of others (Mills 1995, which is an analysis of novels, therefore different

from the texts of development economics in the present study). Other studies show that women opt for passive, intransitive structures, for mental processes (vs. material processes) which distance them from effective decision-making (cf. Radner 1993, Meinhof 1997, Coates 1998). Yet, it has also been claimed that this kind of linguistic behavior is not regarded as negative by the women themselves in all contexts, but as a kind of helpful strategy which brings social gains and benefits (cf. Sadiqi 2003: 147, studying the poorly understood relationship between women, gender, and language in Morocco).

With the exception of the 1970s resolutions, the percentages of the activation instances are higher than those of the passivation instances in the various texts. Furthermore, the two prototype roles of activation and passivation - the roles of Actor and Goal - strengthen the already established positions of the two classes of processes. The role of Actor predominates over the role of Goal in most of the texts. Therefore, hypothesis 1.a is confirmed. It is only in the texts of the 1980s resolutions that the role of Actor decreases so drastically (down to 2% of all the processes of the decade) that the role of Goal is definitely more frequent (9% of all the processes). The sample analyses also indicated that there is a preference for intransitive verbs when expressing the activities women do and there is no use of ergative verbs, and hence, no Medium role for women (see the discussion in 2.2.1.2). However, this situation is compensated for by the presence of transitive processes. The fact that the processes of activation together with the role of Actor form the norm of representing women suggests that the authors of the texts of development economics manage to create a relationship of involvement: the women they take as participants are not regarded as the Others for whom action is undertaken, but as the Ones who act – the action women.

A further aspect of the representation of women which needs to be highlighted revolves around the role of Beneficiary. The resolutions and the plans of action are not only texts about women and with women, but they are also texts for women. The intended actions are to be done by women, to women and for women. It is this aspect which turns this kind of data into special texts: they are texts which portray women as the targets of actions, but also as the instigators and doers of actions and, furthermore, as the beneficiaries of the actions. This view of women is a panoptic view, which avoids the extremes (e.g. the view of women as target only) and praises the interconnectivity of positions. Women are not represented only as Goal of actions, in an extreme passive role, nor are they represented only as Actor, in an exaggerated active role. A balance is reached between the image of women as Actor and that of women as Goal through the importance given to the image of women as Beneficiary. This view reflects the existence of a plurality of situations in which women find themselves: there are women who already act as

powerful agents, but there are also women who actually have no right or possibility to act independently or even as part of a group; furthermore, there are also women who are extremely far away from the beneficial end of development programmes.

There is one notion which succeeds in capturing this interconnected position for women, a position which is not only realistic, but also pertinent. This is the notion of 'empowerment' which has been encountered in the texts, raising the issue whether to analyse it as an instance of activation or subjection. The notion of 'empowerment' assumes the involvement of at least two groups of people: those who have power and delegate it and those who come into the possession of power. Evidently there can be other groups as well: those who have power but do not share it, those who do not come into the possession of power at all and those who come into the possession of power but cannot use it. Women are envisioned ideally as the ones who are given power and by receiving it are able to initiate and control the desired activities. Consequently, women are first the Goal of the process (*empower women*) and only then can they be the Actor of actions as well (*women use the power to…*). In the whole process, women benefit from the assets they receive and from the new status they acquire. Therefore, the empowerment of women represents a process instigated by a party largely situated outside that of women (even though women can also belong to the party detaining power and distributing it to others). That is why the grammatical process realised by the notion of 'empowerment' has been categorised as one of subjection in the analysis. Moreover, that is why theorists like Kabeer made sure that the process of empowerment would not be seen as one which casts women in the sole position of receivers and firmly re-interpreted the process as one in which women can only take the position of generators: "Empowerment cannot be given, it must be self-generated…" (1994: 97). However, Kabeer herself admits further on that the first stage ought to be that in which women are "provided with the enabling resources" (1994: 97), i.e. first in the position of receiving and then in that of generating, first winning back what had been taken from women and refused to them unfairly and then creating their own governance.

The three genres present the reader with variations along the image of women as Actor, Goal or Beneficiary (see Figures 4.4, 5.2 and 6.2). In the FAO plans, not only does the role of Actor predominate over the role of Goal, but it also clearly predominates over the role of Beneficiary. In the texts of the resolutions of the first two decades there is no occurrence of the Beneficiary role; in the resolutions of the 1980s and 1990s, its frequency surpasses the role of Actor. In the plans of the world conferences on women the roles of Actor and Beneficiary compete and manage to reach a certain balance together with the role of Goal. Placed on a scale, the three sources of data range from the texts which mostly employ women as Actor (i.e. the

FAO plans), going through the texts which reach a balance of the three main roles of women as social participants (i.e. the texts of the world conferences on women), to the texts which manifest a preference for the passivation means of Goal and Beneficiary (i.e. the texts of the resolutions). The middle position of the scale is thus reached by the action plans adopted at the World Conferences on Women. The reference 'middle position' points to the position as related to the two remaining genres, not to the two poles of the scale: the conference plans are flanked by the action plans of the Food and Agriculture Organization at the active end of the scale and by the resolutions adopted at United Nations meetings at the passive end of the scale. Consequently, each genre represents a different approach towards women, covering the entire scale, from the active to the passive end.

However, the average percentages of the processes of activation and passivation throughout the time in the three genres show that it is the FAO plans which keep their place at the active end (68% activation processes and 32% passivation processes), while the other two genres change places along the scale. The greatest average percentage of passivation processes (40.6%) is found in the texts of the plans of the world conferences in which the balanced combination of Actor, Goal and Beneficiary roles is achieved. The texts of the resolutions with an average percentage for activation processes of 64.5% and an average percentage of passivation processes of 35.5% come in between the two other genres. As has been noted above, however, in between the poles of activation and passivation the three genres keep close to the pole of activation processes.

There are at least two conclusions which can be drawn from the highlighted aspect. First, the change of situation points to the fact that the use of the three prototype roles (Actor, Goal and Beneficiary) does not stand in direct relation with the use of the general classes of activation and passivation processes. Within these two classes there are other roles and means which play an important part as well. This aspect will be discussed further below. Second, it is obvious that the genres of development economics comprise a wide range of ways of representing the participant 'women'.

7.1.1. Women's Identity and Action (WIA) processes

The predominance of activation processes for women is an important characteristic of the development texts of the data. Within this grammatical aspect of the texts there is another feature which needs to be signalled. The most frequent means of activation and passivation processes is

not represented by the prototypes of these processes, i.e. the roles of Actor and Goal. The processes of activation by Actor and of passivation by Goal are outnumbered by the processes of activation/passivation by possessivation. It is these processes which become the norm of representing women. Through possessivation, a thing (the instances of determination) or a nominalized process (the instances of nominalization) is attributed to the participant 'women'. At an average of 45% of all means and roles (from 38% in the 1995 BPA to 70% in the 1960s resolutions), the processes of activation via possessivation reach the highest number in the texts. The exception is found in the 1989 FAO plan in which the role of Actor remains above the means of possessivation (though with only one percent). Furthermore, in the 1970s resolutions the means of possessivation among activation processes reach a balance with the means of possessivation among the passivation processes.

As has been made clear during the analysis, the means of activation via possessivation were divided in the two classes of determination and nominalization, while the means of passivation via possessivation only included instances of nominalization. The results showed that out of the two subcategories of the means of activation via possessivation it is the instances of determination which occur most frequently. Given the importance which the means of possessivation in general and the instances of determination in particular prove to have in the texts of the data, the axis along which the representation of women in the development texts has been scrutinized (**the axis of activation and passivation**) turns out to have a less considerable weight than expected. The axis of activation and passivation manages to expose exactly the degree to which the female participants are represented as Actor, Goal or Beneficiary. However, the axis of activation and passivation cannot shed light on the dimension of possessivation means, which are the most frequent in the data. These texts have at their core the participant 'women'. These participants are portrayed in a range of roles and functions. They are the targets of the plans of action, but also the leading forces of that action. This is very well conveyed, on the one hand, by the predominance of activation processes and, on the other hand, by the combination of Actor, Goal and Beneficiary roles manifest in the majority of the texts. Yet, this is not the main focus, nor the main message transmitted by the texts. The aspect of what women do and the aspect of what is done for women are strongly paralleled by the aspect of who the women are.

The means of possessivation thus require a closer look and a separate treatment. That is why a re-grouping of the grammatical processes along a different axis is deemed necessary. One gets a deeper perspective over the texts and their representation of women if the axis of activation and passivation is complemented by **the axis of identification and action**. Just as the

notions which formed the world of women in the texts were grouped along the issues of identity and activity (WIA issues), so can the grammatical processes through which women are represented be neatly grouped into two classes: the processes which identify women and the processes which place women in action (either at the instigating or at the receiving end). The processes are therefore grouped along women's identity and action processes, i.e. the WIA processes.

Within the passivation processes, the roles of Identified and Carrier both indicate something about the identity of the women viewed as participants: through an intensive identifying process the role of Identified indicates a particular class or group to which the women belong (cf. (1), below), while through an intensive attributive process the role of Carrier indicates a particular characteristic of women (cf. (2), below):

(1) ***women*** *constitute* ***a substantial and growing proportion*** *of the unemployed sector* (CPA 1980: para.42);
(2) *rural* ***women*** *are* ***critical*** *to the sustenance of the world's poor* (FAO 1996).

Aspects of the identity of women are also revealed through the roles of Identifier (cf. (3), below) and Possessor (cf. (4), below), both of which belong to the activation processes:

(3) *social protection measures that cover…* ***home workers****, a majority of whom are* ***women*** (1999: 54/210);
(4) *Member States…to ensure that* ***women have equal access*** *to political parties, trade unions, training…* (1976: 31/175).

The four roles of Identified, Carrier, Identifier and Possessor are similar in their function, but are found at the two different poles of the axis of activation and passivation. This division appears to be inadequate. It is important to single out the common denominator of all the roles and means through which the participants of the texts are identified. These are grouped together as **identifying processes**. Within this group of processes a further delineation is necessary: the difference between the processes which point to who women are and the processes which point to what women have or need. The first processes are **identity processes** and include the roles of Identifier, Identified and Existent. The second group of processes is that of **possession processes** and is formed of the roles of Possessor and Carrier and of the instances of determination which are part of the means of activation via possessivation.

The remaining processes, which do not belong to the identifying processes, are considered all within one class - the **action processes**. However, they need to be further subcategorised according to the process end which is relegated to women: the processes through which women find themselves at the instigator end are **activating processes**; while the processes through which women find themselves at the receiving end are **targeting processes**. The first of

these includes the roles and means which indicate what women do: the roles of Actor and Senser, and the means of association and of possessivation (activation) via nominalizations. The second class of processes includes the roles and means which indicate what is done to and for women: the roles of Goal, Phenomenon and Beneficiary, and the means of possessivation (passivation) via nominalizations and of circumstantialisation. Table 7.1, below presents together the two main types of processes, their subcategories, the specific roles and means and the issue which they express.

Table 7.1. The grouping of roles and means under identity and action processes in the representation of women: WIA processes

Types of processes	Subcategories	Issue	Roles and means
Identity	Identifying	**Identity** processes	*Who women are*	Identifier, Identified, Existent
		Possession processes	*What women have; What women need*	Possessor, Carrier, possessivation (determination)
Action	Activating		*What women do*	Actor, Senser, association, possessivation (instances of activation via nominalization)
	Targeting		*What is done to and for women*	Goal, Phenomenon, Beneficiary, possessivation (instances of passivation via nominalization), circumstantialisation

The axis of activation and passivation highlighted the representation of women as active or passive participants of the texts. Once the processes are re-grouped as the WIA processes, the axis of identification and action facilitates observing the representation of women in the texts along three main dimensions: the degree to which women are identified in the texts (i.e. the way women are named or grouped), the degree to which women play an active role and the degree to which women form the target of actions.

The identifying, activating and targeting processes are the three pillars which constitute the identification and action axis. These three types of processes compete for a first position in the grammatical representation of *women*. Women are not only active or passive presences in the texts; they are also a diversified class of participants with special characteristics, possessions and needs. For each of the genres, one of the three kinds of processes is of greater importance compared to the others. In order to show the relations established between the identifying, activating and targeting processes across time and genres, Table 7.2 introduces the percentages of the processes in each decade of the data.

The three types of processes intermingle to create a diversified representation of women. Their percentages vary from text to text. In order to detect which of the three pillars weighs heaviest in the complement axis of identification and action, the average percentages need to be taken into consideration. Thus, the first type of processes, the identifying processes, show an average of 34%, while the activating and targeting processes both reach an average of 33% (32.83% for the activating processes and 33.08% for the targeting processes).

Table 7.2. The percentages of identifying, activating and targeting processes in the representation of women in the corpus

Texts	WCW plans					UN resolutions				FAO plans		
Processes	WPA 1975	CPA 1980	NFLS 1985	BPA 1995	B 2000	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	FAO 1989	FAO 1996	FAO 2002
Identifying	39%	32%	34%	36%	38%	20%	21%	**47%**	**39%**	31%	36%	**36%**
Activating	30%	28%	29%	27%	25%	64%	27%	19%	28%	**43%**	38%	**36%**
Targeting	31%	**40%**	37%	**37%**	37%	16%	**52%**	34%	33%	26%	26%	28%

The average percentages establish not only which process type is the most frequent, but also what kind of relationship is built between the three processes. Across all genres and periods of time, the identifying processes are employed the most, followed by the targeting processes and immediately after that by the activating processes. This result confirms the hypothesis that processes which identify women are the default means of representing women (hypothesis 1.b in 1.2.2., above). This is valid for all the texts, irrespective of genre. However, it should be noted that there is not a great discrepancy in the use of the three kinds of processes and their percentages reach a balance in the representation of the participant 'women'.

Appendix 6 consists of tables of the identifying, activating and targeting processes for each of the three genres (cf. also the figures given in the tables of the activation and passivation processes in sections 4.5, 5.5 and 6.5, above). Compared to the results obtained along the activation and passivation axis (i.e. the evident preponderance of the activation processes), the situation introduced by the second axis seems to be reversed. Apart from the processes through which women are identified, the processes activating women are, in fact, slightly less employed than the processes targeting women. This is in contrast with the image of the action women (see also section 7.3, below on women as tools), but sustains the preference for the interconnected position which could be traced in the texts. This reversed situation is explained by the fact that identification is as equally important as activation and passivation are. The preponderance of the activation processes was the result of including a large part of the identifying processes among the activation processes. This finding strengthens the fact that the analysis done along the first

axis alone does not convey the exact representation of women. One needs to complement the first axis of activation and passivation with the axis of identification and action and to take three pillars into account: the pillar of the identification of women, the pillar of the activation of women and the pillar of the passivation of women. The key is to separate within the possessivation processes the instances of determination from the instances of nominalization. Furthermore, one needs to group in one class the roles and means which identify women so as to be able to separate them from the roles and means which activate and target the participants.

Along the axis of activation and passivation, the most frequent means of representing women was constituted by the possessivation means. Along the axis of identification and action it is the instances of determination which are the most frequent means of representing women. In Appendix 6 the tables of the identifying and action processes for each of the texts present in detail the roles and means of each group of processes and their specific percentages. Once the instances of determination have been separated it becomes obvious that their relative frequency is high. This result supports the observation that within the processes of activation via possessivation it is not the instances of nominalization but those of determination which are employed the most. Three out of twelve of the texts make an exception to this situation. In the 1989 FAO plan it is the role of Actor which has the most occurrences. In the text of the 1960s resolutions the instances of nominalization (50%) surpass the instances of determination (20%), while in the texts of the 1970s resolutions the instances of determination and the instances of nominalization within the activating processes have an equal frequency, and both are outnumbered by the instances of nominalization within the targeting processes.

The three main pillars of the representation of women have a different importance in each of the genres. Figure 7.1, below, shows the weight of the three types of processes in the three genres, according to their average percentages. In the FAO plans, the importance of the activating processes is certified by their average of 39%, which surpasses distinctly the average of the identifying processes (34.34%) and also that of the targeting processes (26.66%). However, it should be noted that in the last plan of 2002 the activating and identifying processes reach the same frequency (see Table 7.2, above). In the texts of the resolutions the average of the activating processes is still the greatest among the three processes (34.5%). Nonetheless, the targeting processes are also important and their frequency is almost equal to the average percentage of the activating processes (33.75%), leaving the identifying processes as the least frequent in the texts (31.75%). The situation found in the texts of the plans from the world conferences on women differs from that of the other genres. The activating processes here form

the least frequent group of processes (27.8%). It is the targeting processes which are the most employed (36.5%), followed closely by the identifying processes (35.7%).
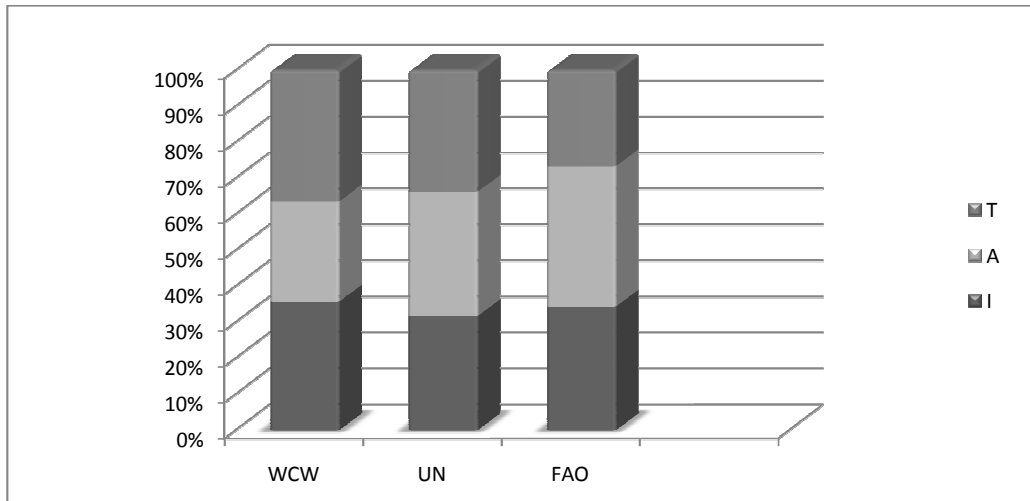
Figure 7.1. The employment of identifying (I), activating (A) and targeting (T) processes in the three genres

Placed on a scale, the three genres cover the entire range of representation means, spreading from one end to the other of the scale. The FAO plans, in which the pillar of the activation of women is the most important, are at the activating end of the scale. The texts of the resolutions are in the middle position, as they contain a balanced combination of the three types of processes, while still according the greatest importance to the activating processes. The texts of the plans released at the women world conferences are at the targeting end of the scale, as they accord the greatest importance to targeting processes. The three genres are thus hardly similar in their means of representing women and through their variation of means they ensure the existence of diversified discourses in development texts.

A similar observation has been made concerning the positioning of the three genres between the active and passive ends of the activation vs. passivation scale. The fact that each of the genres preserves an analogous place along the two scales highlights the relation established between the texts, the genres to which they belong and the sources of their production. The two genres of plans find themselves at the extreme ends of the scale: the action plans of the Food and Agriculture Organization are at the active end, while the action plans agreed upon at the World Conferences on Women are at the passive end. In between these two genres, the UN resolutions are characterised by the stability of the middle position. The three groups of texts are not placed

along the activation vs. passivation scale only according to the genre they represent. There is a further aspect which influences the placement of the texts on the scale: this is the focus of the texts as regards the chosen field of action and the targeted participants.

The FAO plans have a specific target: women in specific countries. They also have a specific field of action: development. Through this detailed focus, the texts refer to particular women doing particular activities. The resolutions have a specific field of action: resolutions for development. However, they have a general target: they are addressed to all women, without large differentiation. The plans of the conferences have both a general spectrum of the women functioning as participants (numerous classes of women are delineated, see section 7.2.) and a general field of action: they examine not only the area of development but also many other areas in which women need to work towards their rights and welfare. The **axis of activation** is paralleled therefore by an **axis of specificity**. The more specific the focus of the text, the more active are the participants; the more general the lines of discussion, the greater the tendency towards passivation means. Furthermore, the genre with the broadest focus, the plans of the world conferences, combines the tendency of targeting women with a greater tendency of identifying women than that found in the other genres.

The above discussion of the characteristics of the three genres regarding activation, passivation, identification and specificity can be presented as in Figure 7.2, below. The figure shows the way in which the three genres align themselves along the three poles of activation (A), passivation (P) and identification (I), while considering their focus as well. The dotted line of the FAO plans signifies a specific focus of the texts, while the full line of the WCW plans signifies a general focus. The UN resolutions with their mix of a specific field of action and general target are sketched in half via a dotted line and in half via full line. The double line points to the importance of the third aspect of participant representation in texts: identification. Although cast in the shadow of the two other important aspects of participant representation, i.e. activation and passivation, identification is strongly anchored together with them in the texts. The texts from development economics are thoroughly investigated when combining the analysis of activation and passivation processes with an analysis of identification means. The tendency of the genres towards one of the three poles (A, P and I) is represented in the figure by the position of the titles of the texts with respect to the poles: the FAO plans belong to the pole of activation; the UN resolutions, in which the use of the three types of processes is not discrepant but still inclined towards the use of activating processes, occupy the middle position between the activation (A) and passivation (P) poles; the WCW plans glide away from the activation pole to place themselves between the poles of passivation (P) and identification (I).
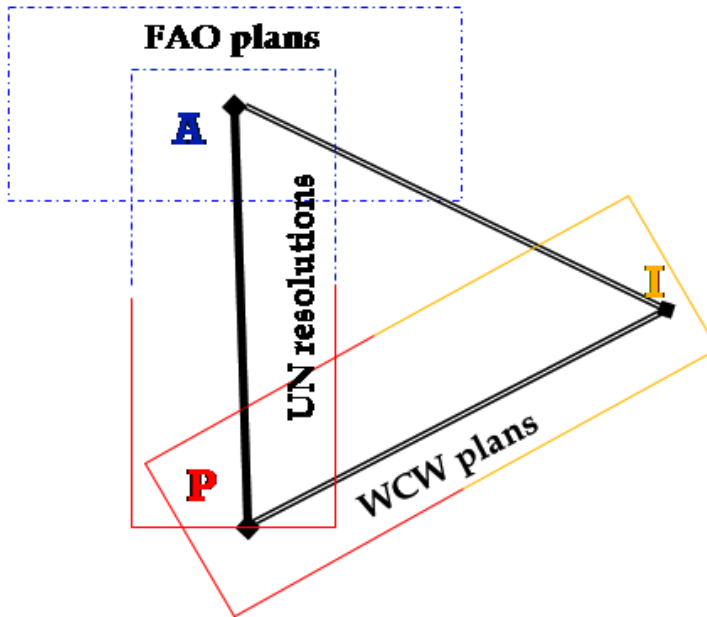
Figure 7.2. The placement of the three genres along the three aspects of activation (A), passivation (P) and identification (I) according to their focus (dotted line = specific focus of genre; continuous line = general focus of genre; double line = importance of the aspect of identification)

7.2. The plurality of women

The majority of participant roles delineated in the Hallidayan structure are Actor, Goal, Beneficiary, Identified, Identifier, Sayer, Senser, Phenomenon, Possessor, Existent and Carrier. Each of these roles is encountered in the representation of women in the texts. The multitude of roles women play in the resolutions and plans stands as proof for the authors' multilateral interest in and perspective over the world of women. This focused interest can be seen not only at the grammatical level, but also at the lexical level. The texts do not portray women as one large class of people, but as a multitude of identities.

The class of 'Who women are' issues among the WIA issues of the different genres (see Tables 4.7 and 4.8, 5.6 and 6.3) showed that the participant 'women' is introduced as belonging to different classes and is categorised according to various factors. The authors of the texts talk about women from different places, of different ethnicities, of different social status and age.

There are four major factors which are referred to when considering 'Who women are' issues: 'Location', 'Profession', 'Features' and 'Age'.

The plans of the world conferences have by far the largest array of reference means for women's identities. Tables 4.7 and 4.8 show that the aspects concerning women are all well represented throughout the years of conferences. This facet goes hand in hand with the fact that it is in the texts of the world conferences that the identifying processes reach the highest percentage, as compared to their percentages among the identifying, activating and targeting processes in the other two genres.

The FAO plans and the UN resolutions form an undersized part of the data analysed, due to the fact that their texts are shorter than those of the plans of the conferences. This is one reason why the texts of the FAO plans and of the resolutions do not include as many reference means towards the identities of the participant 'women'. However, the size of the individual texts cannot be related to the lack of terms referring to women in terms of 'Location', 'Profession', 'Features' or 'Age'. The size of the FAO plans is more comparable to that of the UN resolutions than to that of the WCW plans, which are double the size of the FAO plans and resolutions taken together. However, the use of the reference categories in the FAO plans resembles more their use in the WCW plans than that found in the UN resolutions. The FAO plans refer to women in terms of all the factors except one: there is no reference to the marital status of women in any of the three plans (see Table 6.3). The UN resolutions present a different situation. There is no reference to the profession, marital status and age of the women until the resolutions of the last decade of the 1990s (see Table 5.6). The presence or absence of one of the above factors in the texts is dictated by the focus and message of each text and by the development approach lying behind it, which changes throughout time. Until the beginning of the 1980s neither the resolutions nor the first world plan of action make reference to the marital status of women. The broad focus of the world plan of action explains its use of the other categories of reference means, while the UN resolutions make no reference to the profession or age of women and only pay limited attention to their social status. It is interesting to observe that the late 1990s bring harmony among the texts, as they all refer to the major aspects concerning women, 'Location', 'Profession', 'Features' and 'Age' (except the lack of reference to the marital status of women in the FAO plans).

Through its constant presence in all the texts, 'Location' is the most important of the factors. References to it are the most frequent in two of the three genres. This is so because the texts are designed for specific regions and situations of the world. Women are thus first of all identified according to the place they are in or come from and only secondly according to

other factors, such as 'Profession' or 'Age'. The focus of the UN resolutions and FAO plans on development determines the ubiquity of their reference to *rural women* or *women in developing countries*. At a closer look, the FAO plans are the ones which extend the two classes of women with a further focused reference to women in specific countries (*women in Cameroon*, *in Mauritania*, *in Sri Lanka*) in the first plan of 1989 and to women of specific activity groups (*women in fishing communities*) in the middle of the 1990s. The latest plan of 2002 introduces the antagonism between *indigenous/local women*, whose knowledge is precious and searched after and *displaced women*, whose families have been uprooted from their lands by natural disasters or human conflicts. This antagonism (*indigenous*, *local women* vs. *displaced women*) is common in the FAO plan of 2002 and the WCW plans of the 1990s. It is not present in the resolutions. The time span is an indicator of the fact that some women's issues are first discussed in the plans of the world conferences and only later taken up and refocused in organizational plans. In the Beijing plans of 1995 and 2000 the juxtaposition of *indigenous women* to *displaced women* is a key aspect, leaving the interest in *rural women* behind. Going back in time to the plans of 1980s conferences there is another location-oriented opposition among the means of reference to women. It is the contrast between *rural women* and *urban women*. This contrast is also encountered in the FAO plans, but not in the resolutions.

The concatenation of the various antagonisms throughout time and genres and the importance itself of the aspect of location in the reference to women are reminiscent of the observations made by Phillips and Ilcan (2000) in their article on the domestication of spaces. The authors demarcate the spatial thinking of various conceptions of women in shifting development theories. Their standpoint is that a permanent reversed mirroring of the dynamics of the spatial and of knowledge/power contributes to an unvarying reproduction of "categories like north-south, centre-periphery, or global-local" which entrap the reader in the "spatiality of the discursive" (2000: 214).

The discussion so far has pointed to the fact that 'Location' is an important factor in the classification of women in the chosen data as well. 'Location' forms the axis of women's representation. However, the other categories of the reference means for women in the development texts are also of importance. It is not only the aspect of location which describes the world of women addressed by the plans and resolutions, but a sum of other aspects as well. Professional, marital and social status, age and other features are of equal importance in the conceptualisation of the target actors. In the plan of the 1975 world conference, 'Profession' and 'Age' are key factors when referring to women: *women workers* and *girls*,

young/old women are more frequently referred to than *rural women*. During the 1980s the category of 'Social status' turns into an equally important factor. The focus falls on *refugee*, *migrant* and *minority women*, the oppression they have to face and the rights they need to fight for. *Refugee* and *migrant* are terms that denote both a social and a spatial dimension. However, the spatial dimension, of moving from one country to another, is effaced by the social dimension of integration and position in the new society. It is these issues which are considered in the plans. The focus on the location of women is almost equal to the focus on the aspect of social status. Either through the reference to the opposition *rural – urban* or, just as in the FAO plan of 1989, through the exact specification of countries/folks (*Lebanese, Palestinian, African, Arab women*), the women of the 1980s plans are introduced according to their spatial coordinates.

During the 1990s there is an increased concern for the situation of *girls*. A strong preoccupation for the future (for the future economy, health and generations) turns women and girls into equal targets of the plans. The age of the women addressed by the authors of the plans therefore becomes a more important factor than their location. Though 'Location' is still among the most represented categories of reference means, it is closely accompanied by the categories of 'Social status', 'Profession' and 'Features'. Not only are thus *indigenous* and *rural women* important actors of the 1990s plans, but so are *refugee* and *migrant women*, *women workers* and also *vulnerable* or *disadvantaged women*. The broader focus of the plans of the world conferences allows the authors to concentrate on more aspects of women's realities than is possible or intended in the FAO plans and the UN resolutions. 'Location' is thus an axis of conceptualizing the world of women, but it is not the only one, as shown by the situation in the largest part of the data formed by the five plans of the world conferences. The resolutions of the United Nations remain unchanged in their interest for the aspect of 'Location' throughout the four decades. The FAO plans, however, present the reader with a slight change in the representation of women as concerns the consideration of the major factors indicated above. The first two plans make use of 'Location' as the most important factor in the representation of women. The last plan of 2002 makes an exception through the importance given to the aspect of women's profession. In the plans of the world conferences the profession of women was referred to in general terms (e.g. *women workers*, *women entrepreneurs* and *producers*), while in the FAO plans the reference is part of the specific domain of agriculture to which the plans belong. The women in the Gender and Development Plan of Action are *small hold farmers* and *subsistence farmers*, *stakeholders* or *livestock keepers*.

The plans and resolutions are born out of the aim of improving the lives and economic conditions of women everywhere. That is why the authors point to the hardships of women's lives persistently. This is achieved through one particular category of the 'Who women are' issues: 'Features', describing women, especially through their social status, which remains lamentable. This category contains lexis predominantly referring to an adverse feature or social status of women: *vulnerable*, *disadvantaged*, *marginalized women* pointing to the low social position; *beaten*, *mutilated*, *raped*, *starving*, *dying women* pointing to the miserable physical state of women; *poor*, *low-income*, *unemployed*, *homeless women* pointing to the miserable financial state of women. Yet, among the features describing women there are also some which refer to favourable characteristics: *qualified*, *trained*, *professional*, *successful women*; women are *beneficiaries* and *consumers*; women are a *force* and *resource*. The first two FAO plans only describe women in positive terms, while the first world plan of action does not make reference to any negative feature or social status of women. The optimism of the beginning is replaced by the worries arising through experience. As time passes, the deeper understanding of the situation and the acuteness of women's realities make the authors of the texts turn a critical eye upon development work and focus on the hostile factors.

Gathering the various observations made so far, one can conclude that the participant 'women' in the resolutions and plans under analysis is formed by a plurality of women, not a limited class of women. At the level of transitivity choices, the previous section has shown that the participant 'women' is caught in various processes, being thus attributed various roles. At the level of lexical reference, women are presented according to their various identities and realities in terms of their location, profession, marital and social status, features and age. Among these categories of reference, location has proven to be a key factor. But profession, social status and age have been discovered to play an increasingly important part in the categorisation of women in the development texts. This confirms part of hypothesis 1.c that women's issues concentrate on identifying the situation of women as participants within the development process (for further discussion on whether other parts of hypothesis 1.c stand or not, see 7.3.1, 7.4.1 and 7.5, below).

The discussion so far indicates that there is a certain progression in the way in which the 'Who women are' issues are represented in the three genres, especially regarding the diversity of the reference categories of 'Location', Profession', 'Features' and 'Age'. The interest or lack of interest in certain aspects places the three genres in a certain relation to one another: from a concentration on only one of the categories in the reference to women to a concentration on all the categories delineated in the analysis. The plans of the world

conferences appear to be the 'umbrella' texts. This is not only due to their largeness in size, but mainly due to their extended focus which motivates the use of a broad range of women's categories. In the class of 'Who women are' issues across the plans, the four categories of 'Location' (36% of all the issues), 'Profession' (15.6% of all the issues), 'Features' (17.4% of all the issues) and 'Age' (31%) are each well represented and in a balanced way (none of the class is below 15% or over 50% of all the issues; cf. the situation in the other two genres, below). Moreover, the plans of the world conferences appear to be one step before the other texts in introducing new aspects which are to be considered within development. Evidence of this is the presence of the juxtaposition of *indigenous*, *local women* to *displaced women* already in the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action, while their presence in the FAO plans is delayed until the 2002 plan.

The FAO plans are the 'contact' texts, due to the fact that they present common aspects with the other two genres: with the resolutions, the FAO plans have in common the focused reference to women in development and therefore the interest in the situation of rural women and farmers; with the plans of the world conferences, the FAO plans unite to refer to certain categories of women which remain absent in the resolutions, such as the focus on the contrasting situation of indigenous, local women vs. displaced women or the focus on the situation of women in specific countries. The four categories of issues are placed in a clear hierarchy: 'Location' (66.5% of all the issues), 'Profession' (20.6% of all the issues), 'Features' (8.3% of all the issues) and 'Age' (4.6%).

The United Nations' resolutions are the 'brick' texts. They are characterised by a less diverse use of reference categories: there is an exclusive focus on 'Location' (70% of all the issues), while the other three categories are equally represented (each reaching 10% of all issues). Moreover, the resolutions narrow down their target to one particular group of women: *rural women.* The label of 'brick' texts for the resolutions matches their role of representing moral authority (see 3.1.1.2) and thus conveying messages in a direct, unadorned manner, and being a source to other texts.

7.3. The tools of women vs. the women as tools

Identifying the women for whom the plans of action are conceived and delineating the spectrum of women's issues which turn into targets of the plans represents a basic task of the people who devise and write the plans and resolutions. Section 7.1 has underlined the fact that identification

constitutes an important pole of one of the axes along which the texts can be analysed (the axis of identification and action vs. the axis of activation and passivation). The identifying processes represent a firm pillar in all the three genres. Apart from defining who the women to act in the programmes are ('Who women are' issues), identification also comprises the outlining of the range of ingredients which define the world of women, i.e. persons, objects and aspects which are directly connected with or attributed to women ('What women have' and 'What women need' issues). This section shows that 'possession' is another important factor in delineating the portrait of women who enter the development process.

7.3.1. The tools of women

There are two phenomena which indicate that the world of women's possessions is not immaterial to the development analyst. The reader is confronted with the material side of women in development both at the level of grammatical processes and at the level of lexical aspects, through the instances of determination and through the issues of 'What women have', respectively.

Along the axis of identification and action the results have indicated that it is the instances of possessivation via determination which are the most frequent means of representing women. This situation becomes evident once the instances of determination are separated from the instances of nominalization (see Appendix 6). Through determination, the authors of the texts attribute both concrete and abstract things to women. These can range from *ploughs* to *rights*, from *children* to *access* or from *cooperatives* to *knowledge*. Such notions illustrate the fact that the things which are attributed to women name key aspects of women's realities. However, not all of these aspects are within women's reach or to their benefit. The instances of determination also attribute to women things which are denied to them. In this sense, the authors of the texts highlight the fact that the situation needs to be changed: women's *rights* are violated, their employment *options* are narrow or their *productivity* is underestimated. Irrespective of whether the aspects attributed to women through the instances of determination have already been achieved by women or still need to be attained by women, in the present study they are considered to belong to the class of women's possessions. They are part and parcel of the world of women in development. These aspects are found among the WIA issues, where they are placed into various categories.

The second feature which underlines the importance of the sum of tools women possess in the world of development is the preponderance of 'What women have' issues among the WIA issues. The sections on WIA issues for the three genres have illustrated the fact that the focus on the five classes of issues changes from text to text (see 4.1.2, 5.1.2 and 6.1.2). This is especially true of the texts of the resolutions, in which the importance given to one class of issues during one decade of resolutions is altered during the next decade. A good example is the descending importance of 'What women do' issues: as Table 5.5 shows, they descend from the first place among the issues in the 1960s (32 occurrences out of a total of 66, i.e. 48.5%) to the last place in the 1990s (90 occurrences out of a total of 803, i.e. 11.2%). Considering this aspect, the average percentages of each of the five classes of issues within the three genres have been calculated in order to estimate the average importance of each class and to see where 'What women have' issues position themselves. Table 7.3 presents the average percentages of the five classes against the total number of WIA issues in the plans (taken one by one) and in the resolutions (grouped by decade).

Table 7.3. WIA issues in the corpus (percentages of the five categories across texts)

Texts	WCW plans					UN resolutions				FAO plans		
Issues	WPA 1975	CPA 1980	NFLS 1985	BPA 1995	B 2000	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	FAO 1989	FAO 1996	FAO 2002
Are	8.8%	18%	14.2%	17%	19.2%	21.2%	10.3%	18.5%	**29%**	24.8%	**34.4%**	29%
Have	**38.3%**	**32.1%**	**34.7%**	**34.2%**	**35.8%**	12.1%	18.5%	**36.1%**	23%	**32.3%**	31.7%	**32.3%**
Need	18%	16.8%	16.5%	23.5%	21%	7.6%	9.2%	3.5%	24.2%	12.2%	12%	18.2%
Do	19.6%	15.6%	16.8%	14%	15.3%	**48.5%**	23.4%	14.1%	11.2%	18.5%	14%	12.4%
4W	15.7%	17.5%	17.8%	11.3%	8.7%	10.6%	**38.6%**	27.8%	12.6%	12.2%	7.9%	8.1%

In eight out of the twelve main texts the issues of 'What women have' hold the first place. This indicates an undeniable concern for aspects which characterise women's lives. The tools which women possess determine the degree to which they can act and the degree to which their activities are successful. However, there is also a strong concern for aspects which women still need to appropriate for themselves. The aspect of possession is also achieved through the focus on the issues of 'What women need'. These issues point to tools women require in order to survive and supervise the world of development. However, these tools are not yet in their hands. They are tools women are still fighting for. This observation confirms part of hypothesis 1.c, regarding the representation of women: the concern for the tools women need in order to participate equally in the development process (further discussion in 7.4.1 and 7.5, below discloses whether the other parts of hypothesis 1.c stand or not).

Development planners are conscious of the importance of the means and devices women need to have at hand in order to act as efficient participants. That is why they take these tools as targets in their strategies. If the interest for actual possessions ('What women have' issues) is considered together with that for required possessions ('What women need' issues), it becomes evident that the focus on the tools of women lies at the core of development plans and resolutions. This observation is valid for all texts, with the exception of the texts of the first two decades of resolutions, in which the concern for 'What women do' and 'What is done for women' issues is not surpassed by that for 'What women have' and 'What women need' issues taken together.

The above table of the average percentages of WIA issues in the texts offers another perspective on the approach of the authors of texts towards the women they address. In terms of the predominance of 'What women have' issues, the genres can be arranged on a scale: from complete attention to women's tools (the texts of the world conferences on women), to moderate attention (the texts of the FAO plans) or even minimal attention (the texts of the UN resolutions). The tools women have or still need to acquire are of vital importance for the efficient implementation of development programmes. Possession joins location, profession, social status and age to compose the portrait of the women in development economics.

7.3.2. The women as tools

There are three main aspects within the analysed texts which give a different view of the position of women in development. The action women who fight for their rights, get involved and eventually solve things their way are seen by the development planners, investors and other members of the development economics' network as an undiscovered supply, which needs to be put into use in order to boost economy and challenge social norms. Three aspects can be delineated:

- the image of women as force and resource,
- the image of women as the Goal of the integration process and
- the image of women as the necessary participants in the development process.

The first image has been observed throughout the chapters of analysis in the reference to women as *force*, *labour force* and *resource*. As *force*, women are envisioned as the social group which is able to bring about change, both at the level of society and at the level of economy. This image is evoked in all the texts, across the three genres, though certain patterns can be traced. The 1989 FAO plan is the only FAO plan which transmits this image

by introducing women right in the title of the plan as "rural women – a force for change" (FAO 1989). The UN resolutions contain their reference to women as a force for change starting with 1989. In the introduction of every resolution the General Assembly underlines the fact that it recognizes "the significant contribution women make to economic activity and *the major force they represent for change and development* in all sectors of the economy" (1989: A/RES/44/171, 1995: A/RES/50/104, 1998: A/RES/52/195, 1999: 54/210, 2001: 56/188, 2003: 58/206; my italics). With their focus on development, both the FAO plan and the UN resolutions refer to women as vital tools for improving the economic situation of their countries. The texts of the world conferences highlight other powers which women hold and can make use of. The first world plan, dated 1975, created with the enthusiasm of the beginning and with the trust in a better world, saw in women the engine for altering unfair, inveterate social norms. This was a good foretelling: "in our times, women's role will increasingly emerge as *a powerful revolutionary social force*" (WPA1975: para.6; my italics). Twenty years later, the uncertainty of the prediction becomes the certainty of the reality: "women…*are a fundamental force for* leadership, conflict resolution and the promotion of lasting peace at all levels" (BPA 1995: para.18; my italics). Women, therefore, can act within every domain, accomplishing various tasks successfully.

One of the triggers of the feminist movement within economy was the fact that although women performed different kinds of activities, they were not considered a work force, let alone registered or paid as such. That is why an important achievement has been to make women visible within the economic records and make clear that they constitute an important percentage of the world's total labour force. The UN resolutions make no reference to women as (part of the) labour force. The 1989 FAO plan points to the major proportion of women within the agricultural labour force and celebrates the fact that women are no longer "invisible in the agricultural economy" (FAO 1989: 4). The detailed plans of the world conferences not only point out that "women *constitute* 35 per cent of the *world's labour force*" (NFLS 1985: para.27; my italics), but also highlight key aspects which arise from this fact. The positive aspects are that the number of women within the labour force grows constantly and that "women…*provide the main labour force* for subsistence production" (BPA 1995: para.250; my italics). The negative aspects are that in many cases women are discriminated, are taken as a cheap labour force and that "the *double burden* for women of having the major responsibility for domestic tasks and of *participating in the labour force* remains" (NFLS 1985: para.18; my italics). The gradual understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of the situation is also revealed by the analysis and can be followed at the level of grammatical processes. In the beginning, women are

identified as the labour force or part of it, through identifying processes such as *be*, *form* and *constitute*. Gradually, through activating processes (*participating*, *provide*) or nominalizations (*participation*), women are introduced as active members of this force.

The image of women as *resource* is not frequent in the texts, but it reveals a key economic mentality according to which for everything and everyone a good use needs to be found. This approach does not appear at all within the FAO plans. At the world conferences on women this view is imparted only in the beginning, in the first 1975 plan: "… because of their important role in agricultural production and in the preparation, processing and marketing of food, *they constitute a substantial economic resource*" (WPA1975: para.9; my italics). The text can be read as an explanation why women should and need to be taken into consideration by development planners. Women are able to and do perform many tasks, and hence, their unused potential needs to be explored within the economy. This is the only time this image of women is encountered. In the 1990s, the UN resolutions revive the image of women as resource, but from a completely different angle. The economic angle is replaced by the humanistic angle. At this point, it is elderly women who are envisioned as "*a human resource for development*" (1994: A/RES/49/162; my italics) and their inclusion within plans and strategies of international organizations is requested by the General Assembly.

For the target of social change and economic prosperity women constitute a capital. For the development process women constitute the target itself. Side by side with the image of women as the Actor of the daily tasks or of other tasks to be implemented in development plans, there is also the image of women as the Goal of the integration process. In section 7.1.1 it was observed that in the plans of the world conferences on women and in the UN resolutions the targeting processes represent an important percentage of all the processes. The need for integrating women actually remains a ubiquitous one, unchanged from the 1960s to the late 1990s. Throughout the genres and periods of time, the issues of *integration*, *inclusion* and *involvement*, later connected with the issue of *empowerment*, represent strong points on the agendas. They target the women and indicate that for development planners women continue to be the tools for making the development process function.

An equally unwavering issue is that of *participation*. The participation of women in the development process is, ought to be or needs to be the case everywhere. This message is transmitted in all the texts, over time. That is how the texts manage to convey the image of women as the necessary tools in the development process. If women do not participate in the development process, half of the world's population resources are left unused.

7.4. The preference for identity issues and nominal forms

The discussion so far has already highlighted aspects which are proof for the heading of this section: the importance of the means to define the world in which women live and work. This section deals with the aspects and characteristics of the texts which demonstrate that identities are preferred to activities among women's issues (section 7.4.1) and that both women's identities and women's activities are expressed through the use of nominals (nouns and nominalizations) rather than through the use of verbs (section 7.4.2). Moreover, the present section draws a scale of the genres according to their tendency towards identity issues and nominal forms.

7.4.1. The preference for identity issues

The delineation of the WIA processes has disclosed that the aspect of the identification of women is as important in the texts as the aspects of their activation and passivation. Within the WIA issues, there are two main characteristics pointing to the fact that identity issues are key issues. The first characteristic is the gradual tendency of the three genres to focus on identity issues. The second characteristic is that identity issues are not only more numerous than the activity issues throughout the genres, but their contents change through time and their categories are enriched with new issues, as compared to the activity issues in which the contents and number of identifiable clusters remain constant. These two characteristics are helpful in understanding the different approaches of the authors to development throughout the time.

A closer look at the table of average percentages of the WIA issues in the texts (Table 7.3., section 7.3.1, above) shows that the percentages of the 'What women do' and 'What is done for women' issues diminish throughout the texts and time. The greatest discrepancy is found in the texts of the UN resolutions in which both the 'What women do' issues (the 1960s resolutions) and 'What is done for women' issues (the 1970s resolutions) decrease in use from the first to the last place among the percentages of all issues. In comparison, the classes of identity issues undergo an increase in use throughout the texts and time, the fluctuation in percentages being more conspicuous for the two classes of 'What women need' and 'Who women are' issues than for the rest of the classes. Consequently, all the texts are characterised by an increased focus on women's identity issues ('Who women are', 'What women have' and 'What women need'), which results in secondary attention being paid to women's activity issues ('What women do' and 'What is done for women').

In order to see the importance given to each of the five classes of issues in each of the three genres, the average percentages are visually presented in Figure 7.3, below.
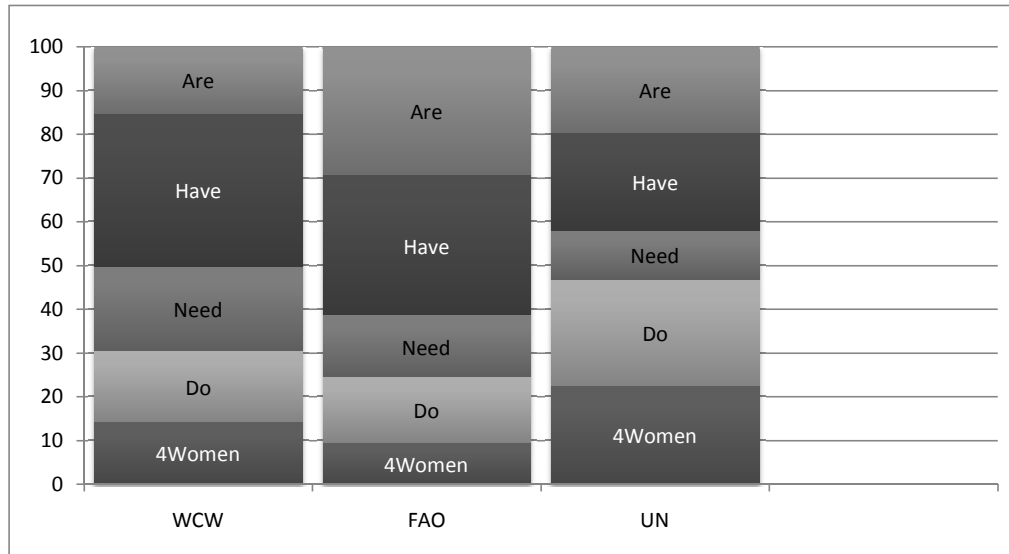
Figure 7.3. The preponderance of the five categories of WIA issues in the three genres

The action plans of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the action plans agreed upon at the world conferences on women have in common the importance they accord to the issues of 'What women have' and the assignment of a third place to the issues of 'What women do'. The second place in importance within the WIA issues is assigned differently by the FAO and WCW plans: the plans of the women world conferences focus on 'What women need', while the FAO plans focus on 'Who women are'. The UN resolutions present the opposite situation by according the first place to 'What women do' issues. Moreover, in the UN resolutions, the issues of 'What women have' are represented to the same extent as the issues of 'What is done for women'.

Another two observations can be made: first, identity issues are definitely more frequent than activity issues; second, the three genres occupy a certain place on a scale between the pole of identity issues and the pole of activity issues. The first observation is a confirmation of hypothesis 1.c, concerning the importance of the aspect of identification of participants. The second observation suggests the following: the UN resolutions are not characterised by the stability of the middle position anymore, as was the case on the scale between activation and passivation poles. The ratio between the identity and activity issues (53.3% vs. 46.7%) indicates that in the texts of the resolutions the focus on identity issues does not minimize the focus on activity issues. Compared to the FAO plans in which the ratio between the identity and activity issues is 75.6% to 24.4%, the UN resolutions are found at the pole of activity issues, opposite the

pole of identity issues which is represented by the FAO plans. The stability of the middle position is reached by the plans of the world conferences, in which the ratio between the percentages of the two types of issues (69.6% for identity issues and 30.4% for activity issues) is larger than that found in the UN resolutions, but not as large as that found in the FAO plans.

Beyond the numbers there are words. This means that the percentages discussed above represent various notions which are taken into consideration by the various authors, through the various decades, in the different texts. The tables of the WIA issues for the three genres introduce these notions and their numbers of occurrences. The identity issues cover by far a wider spectrum of aspects through the many, changing notions of which they are formed. The identity issues include clusters of notions which convey location, profession, features, marital and social status, age, role, benefits, memberships, competencies, private life, hardships and needs. The activity issues are less numerous and they do not fall into as many clusters. The groups of activity issues cover four main aspects: on the one hand, the activities women do and on the other hand, the approaches, plans and assistance for women. Furthermore, the clusters of identity issues undergo modifications, in the sense that new notions appear which expand and strengthen the aspects to be discussed. For example, in the texts of the world conferences the cluster of women's competencies of 'What women have' issues expands to consist of elements such as *skills*, *commitment*, *perspectives*, *knowledge*, *energies*, *ability*, *value*, *priorities*, *interests*, *talents*, *self-esteem*, etc. The clusters of women's activities are not enriched with as many new notions. For example, the cluster of 'Approaches' under 'What is done for women' issues includes *integration*, *employment* and *empowerment*. For a further discussion of the way in which these notions change throughout time and from genre to genre, see also section 7.5, below.

Identity and action are the two basic aspects of the representation of women. Section 7.1 placed side by side the use of identifying processes and the use of activating processes in the representation of women and indicated that across all genres and periods of time the identifying processes are employed the most. Sections 7.2 and 7.3 placed identity and activity issues side by side and showed that the first are more numerous, while the second decrease in frequency. Another comparison to be dealt with is that between the use of verbs and the use of nouns and nominalizations in identifying the women in the texts and in portraying women in action. This is the topic of the next section.

7.4.2. The preference for nominal forms

Generally, the most frequent means of representing women are the processes of possessivation (along the axis of activation and passivation) and the instances of determination (along the axis of identification and action). At this point, it is in order to scrutinize the situation on a more concrete level, i.e. to consider separately not only the instances of determination and nominalization, but also women's roles expressed via verbs and nominal means (i.e. nouns and nominalizations). At this concrete level, we can, on the one hand, compare the use of Actor role (which is expressed via verbs) with the use of possessivation means within activating processes (which are expressed via nominalizations) and, on the other hand, compare the use of the roles of Identified, Identifier, Carrier, Possessor and Existent (which are expressed via verbs) with the use of possessivation means within identifying processes (which are instances of determination and are expressed via nominals). The first comparison highlights the preferred means used to portray women in action, while the latter comparison highlights the preferred means used for identifying women. The tables in Appendix 6 include the percentages of all these means and roles in the different texts. Table 7.4, below, presents side by side the sums of these percentages across the two phenomena of identification and of action. The figures in bold are the highest percentages.

The preference for nouns and nominalizations is conspicuous. Both to depict women in action and to identify women, more nouns and nominalizations are used than finite verbs. Among the means and roles of identification, nominals predominate without exception: in all the texts, the percentages of the use of nominals under Identity are by far larger than the percentages of the use of verbs. The means and roles of expressing women in Action are characterised by variation. A discussion of this variation follows below.

It is only in the texts of the UN resolutions that the use of nominals is constantly preferred to the use of verbs when representing women acting. At the opposite pole, the FAO plans incline the balance towards the use of verbs. Both in the first and in the last plan, the percentages of Actor role detach themselves from the percentages of the nominalizations (the difference is particularly large in the first plan). A balanced situation is found in the texts of the world conferences. Not as pregnant as in the FAO plans and still not as insignificant as in the resolutions, the tendency towards using verbs when portraying women in action manifests itself in the world plans as well. In two of the plans the percentages of the verbs surpass the percentages of the nominalizations, while in the remaining three plans the difference between

them is notably small. That is why, when considering the average percentages across the plans (13.1% for verbs to 12.9% for nominals), it becomes evident that in the WCW plans the use of verbs competes with the use of nominals in the representation of women in action.

Table 7.4. The use of verbs and nominals in the expression of identity and action processes in the representation of women in the corpus (the percentages under Action – Verbs are the percentages of the role of Actor; under Action - Nominals are the percentages of possessivation means within activating processes; under Identity – Verbs are the sums of the percentages of Identified, Identifier, Carrier, Possessor and Existent; under Identity – Nominals are the percentages of the possessivation means within identifying processes, see Appendix 6)

Texts		WCW plans					UN resolutions				FAO plans		
		WPA 1975	CPA 1980	NFLS 1985	BPA 1995	B 2000	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	FAO 1989	FAO 1996	FAO 2002
Identity	**Verbs**	-	5%	5.9%	9.4%	7.5%	-	3.4%	1.7%	12.2%	8.3%	6.5%	12.5%
	Nominals	29.1%	26.8%	28%	26.7%	30%	20%	17.9%	45%	27%	22.5%	29.7%	23.3%
Action	**Verbs**	17.3%	12%	13%	13.4%	10.1%	14%	8.2%	2.3%	8.2%	32.4%	14.3%	19.7%
	Nominals	10.5%	14.3%	14.4%	11.8%	13.7%	50%	17.9%	16%	18.5%	8%	22.9%	14.9%

In the FAO plans, verbs are preferred to portray women in action. The plan of 1989 represents a special case among all the texts through the four times greater percentage of verbs. Indeed, as no other plan, the 1989 plan abounds in verbs referring to specific agricultural activities which women have always done; the focus is on the range of tasks women typically do, not on the processes in which they participate for the implementation of different development plans (as the focus is in the rest of the texts). Thus, a veritable image of rural women working in farms and in fields is achieved in the 1989 plan through verbs such as *grow*, *milk*, *graze*, *plant*, *process*, *conserve*, *improve*, *enhance*, *collect*, *borrow*, *market*, *save*. By the FAO 2002 plan the specific activities of the farms or fields are replaced by general activities like *prepare*, *take care of*, *make use of*, *undertake*, and by activities typical of the development plans: *play a role*, *participate* and *contribute*.

Though not abounding in examples of specific activities, the texts of WCW plans stand out through their balanced use of nominals and verbs in the representation of women in action: not only in that there is no great discrepancy between their percentages in each of the five plans, the largest difference being that in WPA 1975 of 17.3% for the use of verbs vs. 10.5% for the use of nominals (which is still a small difference compared to the difference found in FAO 1989), but also, as mentioned above, their average percentages across the five plans are close to one another, 13.1% for verbs vs. 12.9% for nominals (compared to the average percentages of the resolutions in which verbs cover 8.17% and nominals cover 25.6%, and the average percentages of the FAO plans in which verbs cover 22.13% and nominals 15.26%). An example of this

balance is the sequencing of verbs (finite and non-finite) and of nominals to express the same notion, such as the sequence below, present in the 1985 Nairobi plan, in which the percentages of verbs and nominals are closest to one another. Paragraph after paragraph, the image of women working is expressed through activating processes (the finite verb *work* and its non-finite form *working*) and through possessivation processes:

> (1) *the middle and lower levels of the work-force, where the majority of* **women work** (NFLS 1985: para.133);
> (2) *the increasing number of* **women working** *in the informal economy* (NFLS 1985: para.147);
> (3) *services should be in harmony with the timing and patterns of* **women's work** (NFLS 1985: para.155).

This chapter has discussed the results of the analysis by considering them from different angles and comparing them across various factors: across genres and their focus, across issues and processes, across identity and action, according to the frequencies encountered (quantitatively) and according to the notions expressed (qualitatively). Being a diachronic study, a further comparison is required: the comparison of the results across the factor of time. This is done in the next section.

7.5. Homogenisation vs. diversification

A comparison of all three genres is only possible starting with the late 1980s, the period in which the first FAO plan was written and published. The analysis of each genre in the previous chapters has shown that from text to text, from the 1960s to the 1990s, there are important changes in the roles which women play or in the categories into which women are grouped. Two figures show the evolution through time of processes (Figure 7.4) and issues (Figure 7.5). They give the average percentages of the processes and issues manifest in the texts belonging to each decade (based on the figures indicated in Appendix 6). The processes and the issues are examined across the two main phenomena of identity and action: Figure 7.4 presents the evolution of the identifying and action processes, while Figure 7.5 shows the evolution of the identity and activity issues.
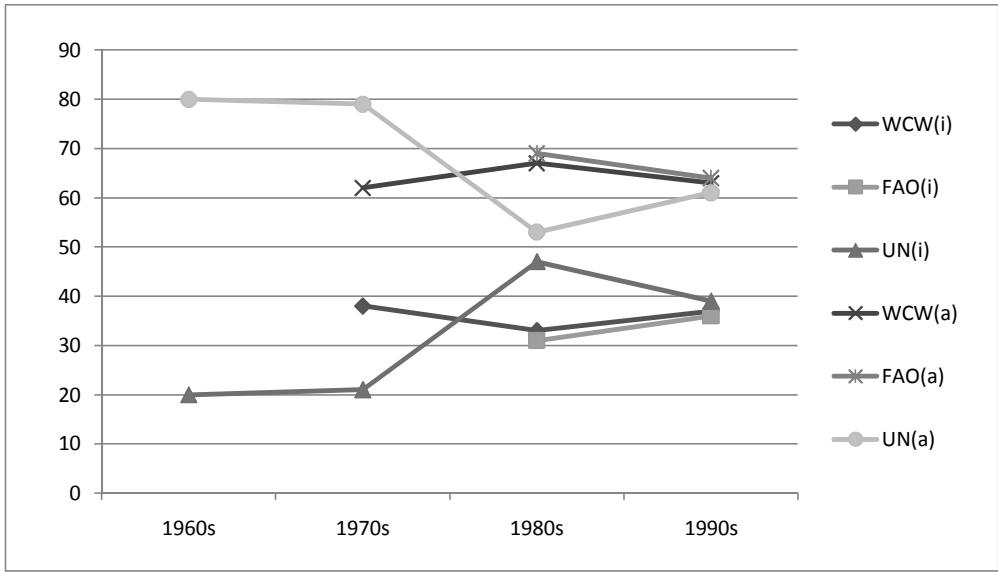
Figure 7.4. WIA processes in the different genres across time and across the two types of processes: identifying (i) and action (a) processes (in percentages)
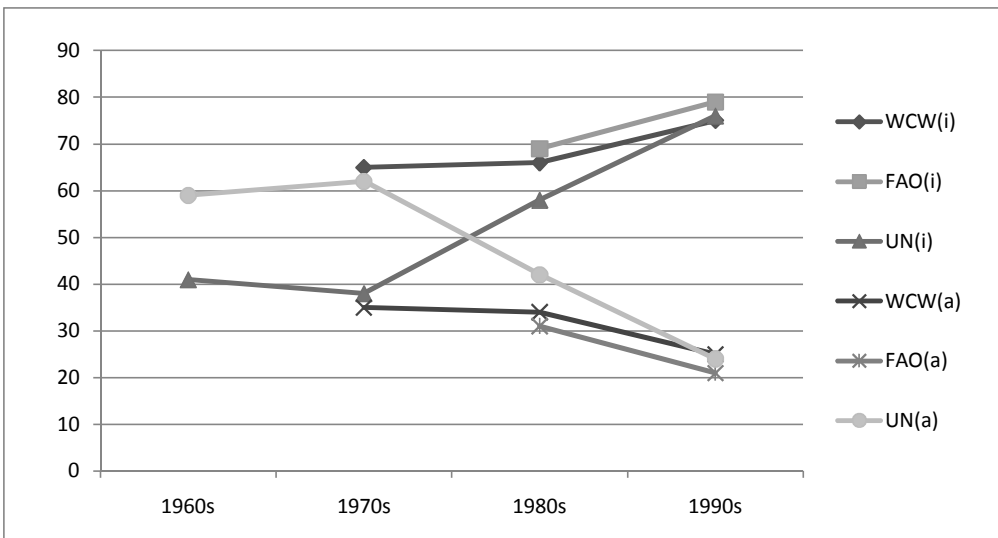
Figure 7.5. WIA issues in the different genres across time and across the two types of issues: identity (i) and activity (a) issues (in percentages)

The diagrams support the observations made previously: the tendency of increase in the use of identifying processes and the growing predominance of identity issues. There are, however, three further remarks to be made. The first remark concerns the amount of variation from one decade to the other in the employment of issues and processes. From the 1980s to the 1990s the jump in percentages caused by the use of issues is slightly higher (up to a change of 18%) than the jump in the percentages of processes (up to a change of 8%). This indicates a greater constancy at the

level of the grammatical processes through which participants are represented, contrasting with greater flexibility at the level of issues concerning the participants throughout the time.

The second remark concerns the fact that among the three genres it is the UN resolutions which present the greatest variation across time. The discrepancy of the percentages from decade to decade is larger than those found in the FAO and WCW plans. This is true of both the use of processes and in the use of issues. From the 1970s to 1980s the incongruity in the number of the two kinds of processes found in the UN resolutions is reduced by increasing the use of identifying processes with 26%. During the same period, in the texts of the world conferences there is a change of only 5%, even though this change does not reduce the incongruity in the use of the two processes, but increases it. In the use of issues, the jump in percentages is up to 20% in the texts of the resolutions and less than 2% in the texts of the world conferences. From the 1980s to the 1990s the changes in percentages are not as great, but it is still the percentages found in the UN resolutions which remain larger than those found in the FAO and WCW plans.

The third remark concerns the fact that the 1990s are characterised by a homogenisation in the use of processes and issues across genres. The two figures show how each type of process and issue reaches the same level of frequency within each genre. Either through increase or decrease in the use of processes and issues, the three genres unite in their means of representing women. The means of FAO and WCW plans evolve parallel throughout the time. It is mostly the UN resolutions which undergo change and adopt the characteristic means of the plans in representing women.

The homogenisation at the level of means contrasts with the diversification at the level of notions. This is true especially of the notions included in the most populated classes of issues, 'What women have' and 'What women need' issues (see Tables 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 5.7, 5.8, 6.4 and 6.6). This diversification evolves from the late 1980s to the late 1990s and differentiates the genres in their focus on specific issues concerning women. As pointed out in the discussion of the axis of specificity in 7.1.1, above, the focus of each genre regarding the chosen field of action and the targeted participants is an important factor which determines the classes of women they address and the range of activities women are portrayed as doing. In this sense, the world conferences on women, with their broadest focus, include a larger diversification throughout the time of the classes of women they address than do the FAO plans or the resolutions, whose main and constant focus remains on the rural women (see section 7.2 on 'Who women are' issues). One essential aspect of the texts is what the authors consider as indispensable for women in development from one decade to another. This is best observed at the level of 'What women have' and 'What women need' issues (section 7.3.1, above).

It is at the level of WIA issues that the genres differentiate themselves across the time. The initial interest for the role and status of women is common to all genres. This is also valid for the interest in the problems and needs of women. During the 1990s, each genre channels the interest in specific issues according to their focus on different fields of development work. One can trace a particular interest for each genre: the resolutions have an interest in the issues of equality and poverty, the plans of the world conference have an interest in the issues of human rights, health and violence, while the FAO plans have an interest in the issues of access and workload. Therefore, even though the genres converge in the means of representing women during the late 1990s, they diverge in their concerns of the women in development. This way the three genres cover more aspects of the world of women which require organizational intervention.

However, as regards the activity issues the interest remains constant throughout time and throughout genres. In section 7.4.1 it was shown that identity issues surpass activity issues both in size (they are more frequent) and in interest (they cover a wider array of notions). Indeed, Figures 7.4 and 7.5, above, show that from the 1970s onwards there is a continuous rise in the use of identity issues and a continuous decrease in activity issues. The main activity issues can be identified clearly: they are common to all genres and to all decades. The key 'What women do' issue is that of *participation*, while the key 'What is done for women' issue is that of *integration*. During the 1990s the new issue of *empowerment* turns into the key 'What is done for women' issue, common to all genres. The shift from the interest in integration to the interest in empowerment signals a change from an approach of participation prescribed for women to an approach of participation which is self-administered by women. This confirms hypothesis 1.c, which stated that women's issues will point to the tools for equal participation and self-administration.

This evolution of the means of representation and of the use of notions constitutes evidence for the fact that the aspect of identification lies at the core of participant representation. Identification has a central role in differentiating the theoretical approaches: WID, WAD and GAD can be delineated in the texts not at the level of activity issues ('What women do' and 'What is done for women', although *empowerment* occurs as a new issue), but at the level of identity issues, i.e. 'Who women are', 'What women have' and 'What women need'.

7.6. Men – beyond a traditional role

Even though the development approaches expand to consider the entire mechanism of social development, turning their attention to men, girls, boys and the elderly, women remain the main participant of the development plans. The amount of work men do is not comparable to the amount of work women do, as women need to be active on different levels, both in the house and on the farm or at the market. However, it is women's work which is left unvalued. As the solely recognised component of the working force, men represent the model of free and empowered participation in the economy and turn into the norm of assessment of the success of development plans for women. From the beginning, men represent the standard of equality which women need to reach. Through the means of association, such as in the construction *on equal terms **with men***, women are set on the race towards the ultimate level of impartiality.

For a better understanding of the allocation of responsibilities and possibilities among the participants, development planners compare the situation of women to the situation of men. In the FAO plans of the 1990s the means of comparison are preferred to the means of accompaniment. Thus, the plans point to the discrepancy between women's disadvantaged situation and men's beneficial position: men are not affected by difficult conditions to the degree women are, as they are favoured within the development process.

The plans of the world conferences dissect the reality of the position men have had in relation to women, but also discuss the roles men should have in societies in order to make the achievement of the aim of fair distribution and involvement possible. This way, there are two images of men which can be found in the texts of the plans of the world conferences: first, there is the image of men as the actors of the unfair processes of "subjection, exploitation, oppression and domination of women" (CPA 1980 para.13); second, there is the image of men as the goal of the development plans, as the participants who also need to undergo changes. In order for advancement to take place within societies, both participants, 'women' and 'men', need to be stimulated towards a change. Men themselves need to be involved in the plans, encouraged and educated to alter their conventional work rhythms. The UN resolutions and the WCW plans discuss the new roles men have in societies. They need to bridge work life with their family life. The presence of men in the domestic sphere is seen as an important step towards the improvement of the situation of women.

The presence of men in the texts varies from genre to genre. The UN resolutions on women make little reference to men, when compared to the texts of the world conferences on women, in which men are represented in an increasing variety of roles. Evidently, the great

interest in the situation of men manifested in the world plans is also due to the size of the texts and the general focus of the genre. Although the representation of men in the UN resolutions is minimal, its evolution in time across genres reveals an interesting aspect. It is actually only the representation of men in the resolutions which undergoes an increase, from 0.03% in the 1970s (2 occurrences in the texts of 6,545 words, see Table 5.12 and Appendix 3) to 0.16% in the resolutions written starting from 2000 (12 occurrences in the resolutions of 2001 and 2003 amounting to 7,695 words, see Table 5.13). In contrast, the representation of men in the FAO plans is the opposite: there is a decrease from the first plan (26 occurrences representing 0.24%, see Table 6.10) to the last plan (10 occurrences representing 0.05%). In the texts of the world conferences, the representation fluctuates in its decrease: there is a decrease from the 1970s (29 occurrences representing 0.17%, see Table 4.16) to the 1980s (63 occurrences in CPA 1980 and NFLS 1985 representing 0.09% of the total number of words of the two texts, i.e. 68,787 as seen in Appendix 3), followed by an increase in the Beijing 2000 text (26 occurrences representing 0.12%), which however remains below the percentage of the first plan. Therefore, on a scale of representation of the second participant, 'men', it is the UN resolutions which increase their focus on the situation of men, while the FAO plans lie at the end of the scale representing a decreasing focus on the situation of men.

A further important aspect of the analysis has been the comparison of the representation of men as a single group of participants to the representation of women and men as participants taken together. The results have shown that the use of the two participants together increases throughout time. Furthermore, the association of women and men surpasses the representation of men as single participants. This is so in all three genres, especially the FAO plans, in which not only does the representation of men decrease, but the representation of women and men together undergoes a considerable leap in the plan of 2002. Figure 7.6, below, shows the representation of men and the representation of women and men placed side by side, across genres, along four decades, from the 1970s to the period starting with the year 2000. The 1960s have not been included as there is only one occurrence of the participant 'men' in this period (in the texts of the resolutions). The texts written starting from 2000 have been separated from the 1990s in order to give a better insight into the representation of men which is scarce and not as easy to trace as the rich representation of the main participant, 'women'. The figures for the representation of men vs. the representation of women and men are found in Tables 4.14, 5.11 and 6.8. They are calculated against the total number of words of the respective texts, which can be seen in Appendix 3.

Two genre-related characteristics can be traced in Figure 7.6: the divergence between the FAO plans and the UN resolutions, and the similarity of the UN resolutions to the plans of the world conferences. In the FAO plans there is a reversal of the focus on men as a single group of participants (in the 1989 plan) to a focus on women and men together (in the 2002 plan). Also, the two ways of representing men, as single participant or as associates of women, reach the greatest discrepancy in 2000. At the other pole, the texts of the UN resolutions focus mainly on the association of women and men, but the levels of the two ways of representation are brought closer in the resolutions written after 2000. A main focus on the association of women and men is also found in the plans of the world conferences, though here the discrepancy between the representation of men as single participant and of women and men together is augmented with the time.
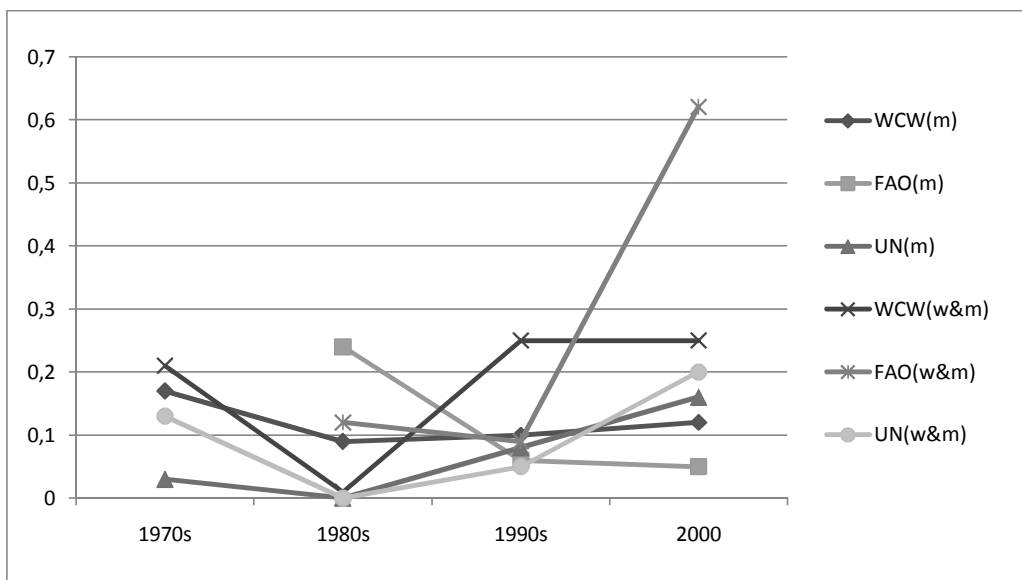
Figure 7.6. The representation of men (m) vs. the representation of women and men (w&m) in the three genres across time (percentages of the total number of words of each genre per decade in the corpus)

The coming together of the two participants promises to bring not only more equality, but also more effective social development. The analysis has shown that the texts manifest a clear increase in the association of women and men: they are both Actor of common activities or Beneficiary of development plans. Women are an equally important part of the world work force, while men take over household tasks. The fruitful union becomes the norm, which is also sustained by the introduction of the notion of 'gender'. The next section discusses the introduction and understanding of this notion in the data.

7.7. When development is not en-gendered it is endangered

The word *gender* occurs in the data for the first time in the middle of the 1980s, more exactly in the text of the world conference held in 1985. Although the resolutions cover the largest period of time, dating back to the 1960s, the word occurs for the first time in a resolution released in 1989, at the same time as the first FAO plan. A definition of the notion is first given in 1995 in the text of the world conference. As shown in section 4.3, the so-called definition included in the statement of the president of the conference vaguely relates the meaning of gender to "the *common* understanding of the term" (FWCW 1995, my italics), which, however, remains unexplained. The change to an approach focused on gender (from WID to GAD) brings with it a change in the way the authors of the texts write their plans and projects. The third hypothesis of the study regarding the use of the word *gender* (see 1.2.2) is confirmed by the analysis. For all three genres it is valid: the change of approaches brings with it an enlarged use of the word *gender*, corroborated by a focus on the association of the two participants, 'women' and 'men'. The increase in the use of the coordination *women and men* has been dealt with in the previous section (see Figure 7.6). In this section, Figure 7.7 places side by side the evolution of the use of *gender* and the coordination *women and men* across time and genres. The percentages are calculated against the total number of words of the respective texts (see Tables 4.16, 5.13 and 6.10). It should be noted that the use of *women and men* together is not seen as an alternative to the use of *gender*, or vice versa. The two uses are regarded as complementing each other to express the renewed focus on issues of concern to the two participants, due to the holistic approach which closely considers the relation between women and men, and their particular roles across economical, political and social domains.

Figure 7.7 suggests that the use of *gender* not only increases across time and genres, but also dominates over the use of the association *women and men*. Among the three genres, it is again the texts of the FAO plans which stand out with a high level of the use of the newly-emerging notion: in the last plan of 2002 *gender* manifests a percentage of 1.63 (of the total number of words of the text, see Tables 3.1 and 6.10). However, a remarkable leap in the use of *gender* across time is found in the texts of the UN resolutions: from a percentage of 0.02 of the total number of words of the 1989 resolution, the only resolution written in the 1980s which contains the word, up to a percentage of 0.71 of the total number of words of the resolutions written after 2000. A similar situation to that of the resolutions in the use of *gender* is present in the texts of the world conferences, from a percentage of 0.04 in the 1980s to a percentage of 0.91 in the text of Beijing 2000.
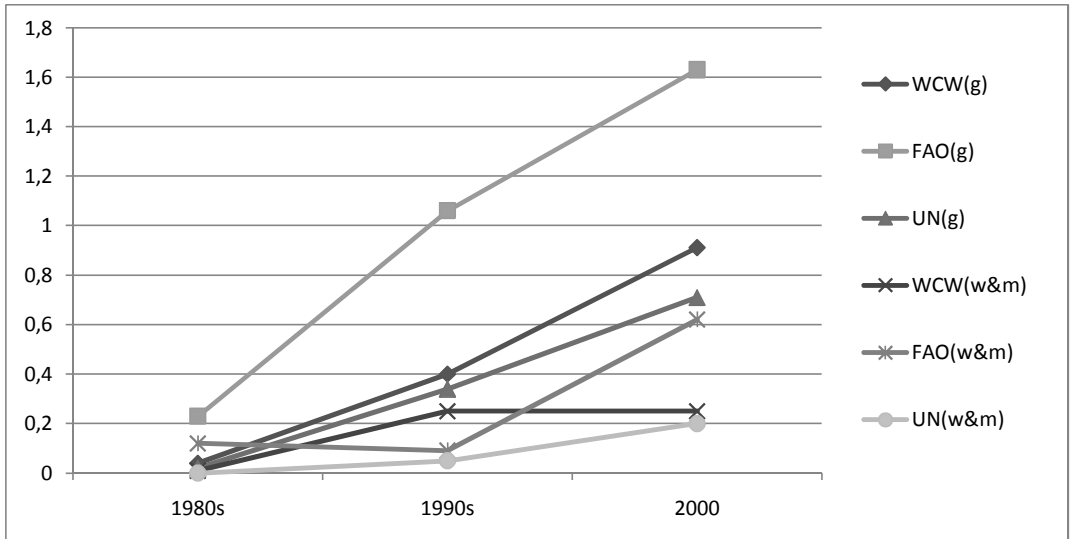
Figure 7.7. The use of *gender* (g) vs. the representation of *women and men* (w&m) in the different genres across time (percentages of the total number of words of each genre per decade in the corpus)

The increase in the use of *gender* throughout the time is not related to an increase or variation of the grammatical categories via which it is expressed, but to an increase in the notions with which it is associated in compound adjectives or nominal groups. The most frequent grammatical class in which *gender* is used is that of a noun modifying another noun, followed closely by its use as a noun entering a compound adjective. *Gender* is never used in the data as an adjective (e.g. *gendered opinions*), let alone as a verb (e.g. *the activities gender the participants*). This verifies the second part of the hypothesis regarding the use of *gender*, namely that in the data *gender* is expected to be found in compounds and groups, increasingly more from period to period of its use in the texts.

Development planners do not work with the notion of 'gender' as identity or performative gender, which remains the interest of sociology and ethnomethodology. For development planners, 'gender' is an abstract thing, a basic quality, but not a process. It is perceived as the union of women and men, but also as a unit of social ascription, a norm of research and work, a powerful social variable to be evaluated within and alongside race, generation, politics, economy, power, schooling, art, class, age, nationality, language, ethnicity, occupation and social status. The word *gender* is not associated with the diverging indication of the adjectives *male* or *female*, which points to a holistic understanding of the concept. There is only one example in which a dichotomous understanding of the notion is made explicit: *SDR will support income-generation opportunities for older youth of **both genders***.

Gender enters the highly productive system of lexical derivation and it appears in nominal groups, such as *gender analysis*, *gender relations*, *gender equality* and also in adjective compounds, such as *gender-specific*, *gender-sensitive, gender-disaggregated*. The two most frequent nominal groups with *gender* across genres are *gender equality* and *gender mainstreaming*. *Gender equality* points to the awareness that difference is only a consequence of an even greater social phenomenon, that of inequality and that is why the aim is to destroy barriers and limits towards the equal enjoyment of full access. 'Gender mainstreaming' is the concept of the texts written in the late 1990s, expressing the culmination of previous stages: from the plan to include gender analysis in projects, to the process of incorporating gender issues in all activities, up to mainstreaming gender. Through the association of *gender* with other notions there are also senses such as: divergence or unity (*gender differences, gender balance*), human characteristics and practices (*gender role*, *gender division of labour*), ways of knowledge (*gender norms*, *gender policies*).

The three genres exhibit a similar evolution in the use of *gender* as part of a compound adjective, as in the later texts they all use the item *gender-sensitive*: in the texts of the world conferences the change is from a high use of *gender-specific* to a high use of *gender-sensitive*; while in the texts of the resolutions and of the organizational plans the change is from the preference for *gender-disaggregated* to the preference for *gender-sensitive*.

The notion of 'gender' is gradually refined: from simple to complex derivation, from individual uses (*gender analysis*) to combinations which become notions bearing the value of key processes that the organizations have as target (*gender mainstreaming*). The rich grammatical construction of *gender* highlights the fact that 'gender' functions as a unique social variable which permeates social experiences. The reality of the re-evaluation of the notion is reflected in the range of different texts that make reference to it and in the various roles it can take: 'gender' is a thing in action or being described and a quality of social primordial importance.

CHAPTER 8: Conclusion

The diachronic exploration of texts from economic development has traced the representation of the main participants and the re-thinking of central issues in development throughout four decades, starting with the 1960s to the late 1990s. The goal of the thesis was to establish the degree to which the changing attitudes to the roles of women and men in development are reflected at the level of texts. The feminist development approaches starting with the 1960s, grouped under the Women In Development, Women And Development and Gender And Development approaches (see section 2.1.1), have been scrutinized via an analysis of the processes and roles used in the representation of women and men, an analysis of the related groups of lexical co-occurrences of the main participant and an analysis of the introduction and use of the word *gender*. The framework of the study has been developed through the discussion of feminist theories, especially feminist economics, and through outlining the main tenets of the Hallidayan systemic functional grammar (see section 2.2.1) which is the tool for grammatical analysis used in critical discourse analysis (see section 2.2.2). Combining these approaches has helped constitute an adequate repertoire of grammatical means for the analysis. More exactly, the system of transitivity choices devised by Halliday (1985, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) has been complemented by the system network of participant representation means woven by van Leeuwen (1996). The complete inventory of processes and roles (introduced in section 3.2.1) has been applied in the analysis of three genres: conference plans of action, governmental resolutions and organizational action plans. The quantitative analysis has been corroborated for each of the three genres of the data with detailed analyses of sample texts from different points in time.

The diachronic study of development texts pointed to the fact that the focus on women is strengthened by an increasing focus on women and men and by the new focus on gender. The results of the text analysis have shown that the hypotheses given in the introduction are maintained: the role of Actor predominates over the role of Goal in the representation of the participant 'women' (hypothesis 1.a); the identifying processes are the default means of representing the main participant 'women' (hypothesis 1.b); the central issues of the texts are issues of identity, participation and empowerment (hypothesis 1.c); men are represented as Actor and the focus lies on the partnership between women and men (hypotheses 2.a and 2.b); gender evolves from a concrete to an abstract notion, signifying a norm of research in its function as a noun determining another noun (hypothesis 3). The results of the study shed

light on participant representation, on genre characteristics, on the image of women and men and, last but not least, on the use of *gender*. These aspects are discussed below.

At the level of the means of participant representation, the study has developed a form of analysis which accounts for the characteristics of the data. It brings a new perspective to the importance given to representation processes, resulting in a new grouping of processes (see the discussion on WIA processes in 7.1.1). More exactly, it has been shown that for a better evaluation of the representation of participants one needs to complement the axis of activation and passivation with the axis of identification and action. There are three pillars which sustain the architecture of participant representation: the pillar of the identification of participants, the pillar of the activation of participants and the pillar of the passivation of participants. In other words, the form of analysis devised by the study alters the model of Halliday through the separation of the roles and means of identification and, at the same time, it alters the model of van Leeuwen through the separation within possessivation processes of the instances of determination from the instances of nominalization. Furthermore, the form of analysis adopted in the study reveals the importance of strengthening the observation of grammatical processes and roles with a close observation of lexical co-occurrence. The results indicate that the diachronic change from one approach to another is actually manifested less at the level of experiential grammar, but more at the level of rhetoric. This is to say that the means of representation, the processes and roles, have a stable evolution and a minimal change compared to the ever flourishing field of lexical co-occurrences, in which ideological key notions are dropped or adopted in the discourses, developing meanings and functions throughout decades.

Moreover, the results of the study allowed the observation that changes align themselves less along the factor of time, but more along the factor of genre and that the differences between genres are dictated by their focus. This is to say that processes, roles and issues remained fairly similar from decade to decade within one and the same genre, but noteworthy differences have been traced when comparing the results across genres. These differences have been discussed in chapter 7 for each of the characteristics identified for the data. The action plans of the Food and Agriculture Organization are characterised by a preference for activation processes and identity issues. They have a specific target and field of action. At the opposite pole, the action plans agreed upon at the World Conferences on Women are characterised by a preference for passivation processes and identity issues. They have a general target and field of action. In between these poles, the UN resolutions are characterised by a balanced use of activation and passivation means and focus on activity

issues. This balance is also reached through the broad target taken within a specific field of action, that of development. The constellation in which the three genres place themselves reflects the constellation of the cone formed by the data in Figure 3.1, in which the general plans of the world conferences on women are placed at the base of the cone, the benchmark UN resolutions are placed in the middle position and the practice-based FAO plans lie at the peak. This aspect has brought about the conclusion that there are two axes which run parallel to define the characteristics of the genres: the axis of activation and the axis of specificity. From the base of the cone to the peak, there is a movement from general focus towards specific focus paralleled by a movement from passivation of actors to activation of actors. However, the analysis has shown that the genres are better scrutinized along the axis of identification and action. Along this axis, there is homogenisation across genres, as all three genres are characterised by an increase in the use of identifying processes and of identity issues throughout time (see Figures 7.4 and 7.5).

The image of women is that of a participant caught in complex relations: they are actors and they are beneficiaries, they form the target and they are defined. The general image is that of action women, as activation processes predominate over passivation processes. The prevailing use of possessivation means allows both for the description of issues concerning women, the elements which identify them (the instances of determination), and also for the abstractization of the activities they are doing (the instances of nominalization). At a closer look, the analysis of the sample texts has also pointed to the fact that the use of intransitive verbs and the lack of ergative verbs transmit the image of women as actors of a limited world which they do not surpass. The plans of action and the resolutions are written for women and by women. They discuss the areas in which women activate, but also the situations in which they are disadvantaged; they present women as tools for action, but also discuss the tools women need to act. This complex image of women is explained through the different development approaches across genres and across time, and through the fact that the category of women is not a uniform one, but there are different women experiencing different situations in different parts of the world.

In the spirit of the fight for equality between women and men the representation of the participant 'men' is also one in which activation processes predominate. The degree to which the participant 'men' is taken into consideration is different from one genre to another, depending on the focus of each. Men are represented together with women, as partners involved in activities, as actors or beneficiaries. Men are also represented as those who undertake activities which are unfair to women, but also as the target of development plans,

i.e. in need of being involved in the plans, encouraged and educated to alter their mentalities and behaviour, at home and at work. Through means of association and comparison, men are represented as the standard of equality and the model of empowered participation.

The association of the two participants is overtaken starting with the middle of the 1980s by the use of the notion of 'gender'. The change from one approach to another, from WID to GAD, presupposes an intense preoccupation with the term and a deeper understanding of its meaning and means of use. In the development texts of the data *gender* is less used as a word on its own (as a noun) and more in the modification of other terms (nouns or adjectives). Entering lexical derivation is a prolific system which allows the introduction of new notions and complex groups. Gender functions as the social variable which guarantees the broad concept of development to respond to all aspects of women's and men's lives.

The data of the study cover four decades of development work, being thus a mirror of the historical events which have motivated and accompanied the work on women's issues: from the independence movements of the 1950s and 1960s which "allowed the roots of the women and development concept and movement to take hold" (Snyder and Tadesse 1997: 78), to the Western feminist movement which gained strength in the late 1960s and early 1970s and thus placed the focus on gaining parity with men (Sen and Grown 1988: 24); from the questioning of the efficacy of central planning and the ideological discrediting of the state throughout the 1980s which made it possible for NGOs to function as partners in development (Razavi and Miller 1995: 38), to the shift to GAD during the 1990s which has turned political rather than economic aspects of development into the main issues of concern (Pietilä 2002: 68).

The present study has shown that the change in the approaches throughout the decades from focusing on women to focusing on gender entails a range of transformations:

▪ a wide-ranging theory: the evolution of the approaches within feminist economics, from WID, WAD to GAD, is an evolution from a focus on ends to a focus on means, from the focus on women's personal situation to a focus on social gender relations of power, conflict and co-operation;

▪ a wide-ranging field of action: a ramification of action on more levels, from action on local level to action on local, national, global levels, but also on the within-the-house level;

▪ increased mediatization of documents: the plans and resolutions are placed at the disposal of the audiences in different languages and in different formats (print and online). This is an

exemplification of the mechanisms of 'recontextualisation' (Bernstein 1996, Sarangi 1998) and formalising (Iedema 1999), as discussed in 2.3.2;

▪ adoption of new abstract notions: whereas the 1960s focus on 'inclusion' and 'integration', the 1990s focus on 'gender mainstreaming' and 'empowerment'. However, the text producers concentrate also on concrete aspects of the lives of women (income, jobs, organisations or children) or on the mechanism of development work (rights, training, employment or programmes). This way, the texts are a good mix of abstract notions and concrete steps and do not fall under the criticism which Straehle et al. (1999: 93) directed at the texts under their analysis (see in 2.3.2 the discussion of their study which revealed that the tools to fight unemployment proposed by the Presidency Conclusions largely consist of "abstract-conceptual activities", not "specific political interventions");

▪ increased metaphorization and impersonalisation of the processes: the use of nominalizations and intransitive verbs (whose functions have been shown by Chilton and Schäffner (1997: 226) to be those of self-legitimizing and dissimulation), the focus on identity issues and identification processes, the use of impersonal actants such as *globalisation* and *liberalisation* which are taken for granted, presented as desirable, but also criticized for the invisibility of their negative social and economic impacts in policy issues (FAO 2002: 5-6). The latter feature is described by Lemke (1999: 30) as a characteristic of bureaucratic discourse, and is labelled by Dorgeloh (2004, 2005) in the analysis of academic genres as 'de-narrativization'. The official texts in Biber's analysis tended also to be markedly non-narrative (as shown in 2.3). However, at the same time, the present study showed that the lack of ergative verbs and the presence of intransitive verbs are compensated for by the presence of chains of transitive verbs (in which women change from the role of Goal into the role of Actor) and by the movement towards specification and proximity (the many dimensions of women's lives seen from 'within': children, households, skills, potential, priorities, and other issues found in the WIA analysis).

The clashes and reinforcements of the features outlined above (e.g. the image of action women vs. the impersonalisation of actors) divulge the presence of a conflicting background against which the organisations run to face new political, economic, social trends and challenges (globalisation, knowledge-driven economy, re-scaling of social relations), while still preserving their integrity as organisations with clearly defined aims. Moreover, the documents are the products of meetings in which there is continual negotiation taking place,

not only a negotiation of terms, but also a negotiation between parties: feminist economy vs. the UN economic model; the UN as international decision body vs. the governments it addresses; the General Assembly vs. the UN system (e.g. the General Assembly admonishes the secretary general); the approach of WID vs. the approach of GAD; NGOs vs. the UN and other (financial) institutions (e.g. the critique made by Amnesty against UN bodies for having failed to address the human rights of women adequately). As far as the data of the present study are concerned there are further tensions either at the level of practices or at the level of texts which need to be considered:

▪ some of the documents are written by development planners for people of the so-called 'Third World': the aspect of 'First World helping Third World' and all that this involves (different economic statuses, different cultures, traditions, norms, values and interests) is something which gives rise to a subliminal tension;

▪ the documents are 'written' for people of the so-called 'Third World' whose literacy is still on a low level: the tension between 'able to read and write' and 'not able to read and write' is also at stake;

▪ 'gender' remains a notion which is rather problematic, not only because of its abstract meaning and difficulty of translation but also because it is hard to put into practice, especially with the people of the 'developing' countries whose religious culturally-specific views are different from Western views;

▪ the tension between taking 'gender' as the tool of analysis and still focusing on the situation of women, as they are the ones who still form the largest part of the poor population in the world (according to the UN Press Release, 2002) and who still suffer most from inequality. This is reflected by the predominant representation of women and the numerous roles they have throughout the data (as opposed to the representation of men). However, as the analysis has shown, the association *women and men* is an ever increasing presence;

▪ the tension established through the promotion of gender equality, the fight against the naturalization of unequal gender relations while promoting the naturalization of economic global norms and largely accepting the phenomena of globalisation and liberalisation whose effects have been deepening inequality (Symington 2002). Beyond the gender differences lies an even greater social phenomenon: inequality (Lott 1997: 294). The organisations go to the

roots of the issue when urging to 'promote gender equality', the destruction of barriers and limits, and the equal enjoyment of full access.

The present study has its limitations. The suggestions for further study highlight the gaps which still need to or could still be filled:

▪ the representation of women and men and the use of *gender* in NGO texts, as compared to the results of the analysis done here on governmental texts;

▪ the use of *gender* in corpora: a comparative study to detect similarities and differences between the use of *gender* in texts such as those analysed in the present study and the use of *gender* in corpora (such as BNC, FLOB, LOB, BROWN and FROWN) or on the internet;

▪ analysis of the representation of women and men along the five main distinctions identified by van Leeuwen (see 2.2.2.1) as important factors in the representation of social actors in discourse: exclusion vs. inclusion, activation vs. passivation, generic reference vs. specific reference, nomination vs. categorisation and personalisation vs. impersonalisation;

▪ the analysis of aspects such as thematisation, lexical cohesion, modality, organisational representation in order to see whether the characteristics observed in this study are paralleled by other linguistic traits;

▪ a more detailed analysis of the use of nominalizations and determinations: the semantic categories to which they belong (see the discussion in 3.2.1); the preference and motives for using one form or the other (which form, in which processes - activation/passivation, with which participants – women/men, which forms have verbal equivalents in the text);

▪ identifying WIA issues and WIA processes in the data in order to go on revealing other interesting characteristics of the data both across means (comparing processes and issues) and across genres;

▪ the representation of organisations in the texts, i.e. an analysis of their roles as participant in the texts (whether they are represented as Actor, Goal, Beneficiary, etc.);

▪ the identification of heteroglossic voices within organisations (by looking at a mix of texts) and the orientations and intentions they represent (see Lemke 1999: 30), taking also the competing interests of audiences into consideration;

▪ detecting the dynamic process in the organizational changes through the evolution of the genre repertoire: using genre analysis to map workflow design and planning (cf. Yoshioka and Hermann 2000 and their opinion that the right genre at the right moment furthers communication and decision processes).

Kabeer 1999 identifies three inter-related dimensions which can point to the validity of the process of empowerment, i.e. the ability to make strategic life choices. These three factors are: resources, agency and achievements. The present study has shown that agency is also a vital part of the texts written by UN and FAO. The approaches within development strive to contribute to the understanding and analysis of occurring changes and their impact on areas of social life. Pleading for the equality of the participants in the development process also implies a focus on resources and free access to them. However, the good policies, however well formulated, do not always have a good implementation and that is why, on the side of achievements, there are various issues which remain to be solved. The infectivity of policies is continuously criticized: e.g. the progress report of the sixth African development forum which attacks the bad implementation of good policies (cf. ADF VI); Bunch (2007), who points to the marginalization of women after decades of feminist involvement, in 2000, at the Millennium Summit where only one concrete target for gender equality is adopted and in the documents of which women are referred to only as child bearers; Verma (2004), who confronts the aspects of rhetoric and reality in development work and alerts us the fact that women's empowerment has become a cliché and that there is a need for a re-definition and re-thinking of the concept of 'development' to include cultural and social norms and to take the structures of patriarchy into account. The discrepancy between theory and practice was also discussed and attacked by Woost (1997; see 2.1.2), who considers that the use of promising notions and fine-sounding words in theory is paralleled by the cultivation of a solid base of inequality through preserving the hierarchy of the powerful investor over the poor workers in practice.

The transfer from theory into practice is done through texts which transmit a certain image of the participants through naming them (e.g. rural women in the developing world), identifying them (e.g. as being, poor, migrant, lactating women or managers) and reflecting a specific attitude towards them (e.g. they need help). The present study has shown that there is a shift in rhetoric throughout the decades. Practitioners need to work and identify the best ways to make sure that this shift in discourse is not only meant to create the illusion that people do participate and have a voice in development (Woost 1997), but that there is a real achievement of a participatory, committed society, that there is a balance reached between

bottom-up and top-down approaches. Action plans and resolutions such as those analysed in the present study are stepping stones towards a re-conceptualization of social and economic values, towards the understanding that the more fields women access and act in, the more developed a nation is.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Across three stages of evolution
(cf. de Beauvoir 1949, Tong 1983, Grillo 1997, Gibbon 1999, Parpart et al. 2000)

Time period/ Field	Feminism	Linguistics	Development
I / up to 1980s	**Egalitarian**	**Dominance**	**Women In Development**
	women are as capable and rational as men	the patriarchal social order is impregnated in language	the need to bring and integrate women, half of the developmental resources, into the development paradigm
	the goal is to eliminate the obstacles preventing women participating in social life on the same terms as men (liberal ideas) and bring women into public production (Marxist theory)	language patterns enable men to dominate women	focus on women's projects
	transcend the condition of femininity	women are disadvantaged as language users	give women the possibility of income and of looking after their own families and productions
II / the 1980s	**Difference**	**Difference**	**Women And Development**
	sexual difference is stressed and seen as a source of strength and alternative values	male and female socializations are different	development is not a process of including men and excluding women
	women's bodies and specificities are praised and given valued significance	women and men have separate but equal language styles	both women and men had always been involved, it is just that women were included in a disadvantaged and underprivileged position
	the need of redefining society's values and structures	women's language behaviour is re-valued	the need to change the development paradigm
III / 1990s and onwards	**Postmodernist**	**Postmodernist**	**Gender And Development**
	knowledge is not a true mirror of nature and is always achieved through a certain perspective	challenges the binary opposition of gender	a holistic approach which views the problem in the unequal, 'naturalised', social and power relations between women and men
	the proper use of reason is incapable of achieving socially beneficial situations (justice, freedom, equality)	there is no fixed self, but individuals construct and enact their identities (gender) moment by moment in interaction	the goal is to make both women and men active and equal participants in decision-making
	individual and collective subjects are marked by difference, diversity and specificity	gender cuts across other patterns (age, class, race, ethnicity, purpose) thus blurring the causal effect of speech patterns	empowerment of the disadvantaged in a people-centred development

Appendix 2. Four decades of General Assembly resolutions on women and development

Resolution	GA Resolution
1957: 1162 (XII)	Participation of women in community development
1960: 1509 (XV)	United Nations assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries
1962: 1777(XVII)	United Nations assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries
1963: 1920 (XVIII)	Participation of women in national social and economic development
1965: 2059 (XX)	United Nations assistance for the advancement of women
1974: 3342 (XXIX)	Women and development
1975: 3520 (XXX)	World Conference of the International Women's Year
1975: 3523 (XXX)	Women in rural areas
1975: 3524 (XXX)	Measures for the integration of women in development
1976: 31/175	Effective mobilization of women in development
1979: 33/200	Effective mobilization and integration of women in development
1979: 34/204	Effective mobilization and integration of women in development
1980: 35/78	Effective mobilization and integration of women in development
1981: A/RES/36/74	Comprehensive outline of a world survey on the role of women in development
1981: A/RES/36/126	United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace
1981: A/RES/36/127	Consideration within the United Nations of questions concerning the role of women in development
1982: A/37/57	Integration of women in development
1982: A/RES/37/59	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
1984: A/RES/39/126	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
1984: A/RES/39/128	Integration of women in all aspects of development
1985: A/RES/40/106	National experience relating to the improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
1985: A/RES/40/204	Effective mobilization and integration of women in development
1987: A/RES/42/178	Effective mobilization and integration of women in development
1989: A/RES/44/78	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
1989: A/RES/44/171	Integration of women in development
1991: A/RES/46/167	Women, environment, population and sustainable development
1992: A/RES/47/174	Summit on the Economic Advancement of Rural Women
1993: A/RES/48/109	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
1994: A/RES/49/162	Integration of older women in development
1995: A/RES/50/104	Women in development
1995: A/RES/50/165	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
1998 : A/RES/52/93	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
1998: A/RES/52/195	Women in development
1999 : 54/135	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
1999 : 54/210	Women in development
2001 : 56/129	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
2001 : 56/188	Women in development
2003 : 58/146	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas
2003 : 58/206	Women in development

Appendix 3. Composition, size and structure of the corpus

Period	Source	Genre	Texts	N
1960 - 1970	**UN**	**Resolution**	United Nations' 1960s resolutions on women and development	1,789
1971 - 1980	**UN**	**Resolution**	United Nations' 1970s resolutions on women and development	6,545
	WCW	**Conference Plan of Action**	World Plan of Action (1975)	17,003
			Copenhagen Programme of Action (1980)	32,151
1981 - 1990	**UN**	**Resolution**	United Nations' 1980s resolutions on women and development	7,522
	FAO	**Organisational Plan of Action**	FAO Plan of Action for Women in Agricultural Development (1989-1995)	11,012
	WCW	**Conference Plan of Action**	Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (1985)	36,636
1991 - 2003	**UN**	**Resolution**	United Nations' 1990s resolutions on women and development	15,328
	FAO	**Organisational Plan of Action**	FAO Women in Development (WID) Plan of Action (1996-2001)	16,018
			FAO Gender and Development Plan of Action (2002-2007)	19,517
	WCW	**Conference Plan of Action**	Beijing Declaration & Platform for Action (1995)	55,019
			Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the 21st century (2000)	20,775
				239,315

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. World Plan of Action (1975) - the representation of women

N	Women in text	Process	Means/Role	Women's Issue	Category of women	Nom./Det.
1	It (the int. community) has included the full integration of women in the total development effort	subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
2	History has attested to the active role which women played, together with men	activation	Actor	role	with men	
3	in accelerating the material and spiritual progress of peoples	activation	Actor		women	det.
4	women's role will increasingly emerge as a powerful revolutionary social force	activation	premodification	role	women	det.
5	There are significant differences in the status of women in different countries	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
6	rooted...in the social category of women within a given country	activation	postmodification	social category	women	
7	basic similarities unite women	subjection	Goal		women	
8	to fight differences wherever they exist	activation	Actor		women	
9	The women...are even more affected by such problems	subjection	Goal	problem	women	det.
10	the new measures taken to improve their situation	activation	premodification	situation	women	det.
11	as well as their role in the process of development	activation	premodification	role	women	det.
12	In many countries women form a large part of the agricultural work force	subjection	Identified	force	women	
13	because of their important role in agricultural production	activation	premodification	role	women	det.
14	they constitute a substantial economic resource	subjection	Identified	resource	women	
15	the status of women in this sector is doubly disadvantaged	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
16	While industrialization provides jobs for women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	jobs	women	
17	and constitutes one of the main means for the integration of women	subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
18	women workers are disadvantaged in many respects	subjection	Goal	disadvantage	workers	
19	special attention must be paid to the situation of the woman worker in industry and in services	activation	postmodification	situation	workers	det.
20	Women workers feel painfully the effects of the present economic crisis	activation	senser		workers	
21	repercussions on the situation of women in many countries	activation	postmodification	situation	women	det.
22	During the last decades women's movements	activation	premodification	movement	women	det.
23	and millions of women ...have focused public opinion on all these problems	activation	Actor		women	
24	public opinion often overlooks the many women of regions under alien domination	subjection	Goal		women	
25	particularly those subjected to apartheid	subjection	Goal		women	
26	who experience daily the terror of repression	activation	senser		women	
27	and who struggle tirelessly for the recovery of the most elementary rights of the human person	activation	Actor	rights	women	
28	The reality of the problems which women still meet	activation	Actor	problem	women	
29	in their daily life	activation	premodification	life	women	det.
30	in their efforts	activation	premodification	efforts	women	det.
31	to participate in the economic and social activities	activation	Actor	participation	women	
32	and the political administration of their countries	activation	premodification	countries	women	det.
33	define a society in which women participate in a real and full sense in economic, social and political life	activation	Actor	participation	women	
34	programmes which have been adopted concerning the status of women	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
35	the socio-economic structure which places women in an inferior position	subjection	Goal	position	women	
36	for their own personal fulfilment and the benefit of society	activation	premodification	fulfilment	women	
37	In order to allow for women's equal (fuller) participation	activation	premodification	participation	women	nom.
38	heavy work load... that fall upon (large groups of) women	subjection	circumstantialisation	workload	women	nom.
39	social services that are essential to the improvement of the condition of women	activation	postmodification	condition	women	det.
40	and their full participation in development on an equal basis with men	activation	premodification	participation	with men	nom.
41	women are disadvantaged	subjection	Goal	disadvantage	women	
42	in their attempt	activation	premodification		women	nom.

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Copenhagen Programme of Action (1980) – the representation of women

N	Women in text	Process	Means/Role	Women's Issue	Category of women	Nom./Det.
1	opportunities for the participation of women in development, both as beneficiaries and as active agents	activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
2	The issue of inequality…affects the vast majority of women of the world	subjection	Goal	inequality	women	
3	the attainment of equality by women	activation	postmodification	equality	women	nom.
4	long disadvantaged	subjection	Carrier	disadvantage	women	
5	The improvement of the status of women requires action at the national and local levels	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
6	Women's development should not only be viewed as an issue in social development	activation	premodification	development	women	nom.
7	To improve the status of women	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
8	and their role in the process of development	activation	premodification	role	women	det.
9	friendly relations…to the development of women themselves	activation	postmodification	development	women	nom.
10	remove obstacles and constraints on women's full and equal participation in development	activation	premodification	participation	women	nom.
11	the socio-economic structure which places women in an inferior position	subjection	Goal	position	women	
12	to increase their contribution to the strengthening of world peace	activation	premodification	contribution	women	nom.
13	quantitative or qualitative improvements in the status of women	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
14	strengthen practical measures for advancing the status of women	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
15	ensure that women's concerns are taken into account	activation	premodification	concerns	women	det.
16	women's increased participation in the realization of the objectives	activation	premodification	participation	women	nom.
17	improving the conditions of the most disadvantaged groups of women	activation	postmodification	condition	women	det.
18	especially the rural and urban poor (women)	activation	postmodification	disadvantage	rural, urban	det.
19	and the vast group of women workers in the tertiary sector	activation	postmodification	disadvantage	workers	det.
20	particularly those (women) disadvantaged because of socio-economic and historic conditions	subjection	Goal	disadvantage	women	
21	The roots of inequality of women	activation	postmodification	inequality	women	det.
22	in many societies women have been sharing similar experiences	activation	Actor	experience	women	
23	factors causing the unequal share of women in development	activation	postmodification	inequality	women	det.
24	on the basis of the childbearing function of women	activation	postmodification	childbearing fct	women	det.
25	has mainly restricted women to the domestic sphere	subjection	Goal	restriction	women	
26	and has unduly burdened them	subjection	Goal	burden	women	
27	women have of ten been regarded	subjection	Phenomenon		women	
28	and treated as inferior and unequal in their activities	subjection	Goal	inequality	women	
29	and have suffered violations of their human rights	activation	Senser	rights	women	
30	They have been given only limited access to resources	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	access	women	
31	The inequality of women in most countries stems…	activation	postmodification	inequality	women	det.
32	The unfavourable status of women is aggravated	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
33	women's work as producers and reproducers	activation	premodification	work	women	nom.
34	the subjection, exploitation, oppression and domination of women by men	subjection	Goal	subjection	by men	
35	Women are not simply discriminated against by the productive systems	subjection	circumstantialisation	discrimination	women	
36	but (women are) subject to the discrimination that arises	subjection	Identified	discrimination	women	
37	by virtue of (women) being the reproductive force	subjection	Identified	force	women	
38	women's childbearing function	activation	premodification	childbearing fct	women	det.
39	and their traditional nurturing roles are respected	activation	premodification	role	women	det.
40	little recognition of women's actual or potential contribution to economic activity	activation	premodification	contribution	women	nom.
41	The role of women within the family	activation	postmodification	role	women	det.
42	the dual oppression that women suffer	activation	Senser	oppression	women	
43	on the basis of their sex and social class	activation	premodification	sex, social class	women	det.
44	the present world profile of women	activation	postmodification	world profile	women	det.
45	they represent 50 percent of the world adult population	subjection	Identified		women	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (1985) – the representation of women

N	Women in text	Process	Means/Role	Women's Issue	Category of women	Nom./Det.
1	the political, economic and social liberation of women	subjection	postmodification	liberation	women	nom
2	eliminating obstacles to the improvement of the status of women	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
3	efforts to end discrimination against women	subjection	circumstantialisation	discrimination	women	nom
4	and to ensure their equal participation in society	activation	premodification	participation	women	nom
5	women's reproductive and productive roles were closely linked to the political...	activation	premodification	role	women	det.
6	...religious conditions that constrained the advancement of women	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom
7	factors intensifying the economic exploitation, marginalization and oppression of women	subjection	postmodification	expl, marginal, oppression	women	nom
8	ensure the full integration of women in the total development effort	subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom
9	increase women's contribution to the strengthening of world peace	activation	premodification	contribution	women	nom
10	measures to be taken for the advancement of women	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom
11	the importance of the participation of women in the development process	activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom
12	perpetuated women's disadvantages in society	activation	premodification	disadvantage	women	det.
13	enlarging the perspective for the future of women	activation	postmodification	future	women	det.
14	objectives for the advancement of women	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom
15	international concern regarding the status of women	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
16	commitment by the international community to the advancement of women	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom
17	efforts for the integration of women in the development process	subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom
18	allow the increased participation of women in the economic and social development	activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom
19	new programmes in support of women	subjection	postmodification	support	women	nom
20	adversely affected...the women of those countries	subjection	Goal	affect	women	nom
21	current difficulties of the developing countries, which affect women the most	subjection	Goal	affect	women	
22	opportunities for the participation of women in development	activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom
23	For women in particular, equality means the realization of rights	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	equality	women	
24	The role of women in development is directly related to the goal	activation	postmodification	role	women	det.
25	providing women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		women	
26	particularly those who are poor or destitute	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		poor, destitute	
27	with the necessary means for increasingly claiming	activation	Actor	claim	women	
28	achieving	activation	Actor		women	
29	enjoying	activation	Senser		women	
30	and utilizing equality of opportunity	activation	Actor	opportunity	women	
31	increasingly successful participation of each woman in societal activities	activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom
32	The full and effective promotion of women's rights can best occur	activation	premodification	rights	women	det.
33	requires that women be enabled	subjection	Goal	enable	women	
34	to exercise	activation	Actor		women	
35	their right	activation	premodification	rights	women	det.
36	to participate on an equal footing with men in all spheres	activation	Actor	participation	with men	
37	The effective participation of women in development	activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom
38	The enhancement of women's equal participation in development	activation	premodification	participation	women	nom
39	recognition by society of the need to improve women's status	activation	premodification	status	women	det.
40	permit the mobilization of women at all levels	subjection	postmodification	mobilization	all	nom
41	optimum development of women's strengths and capabilities	activation	premodification	strength, capability	women	det.
42	including their great contribution to the welfare of families	activation	premodification	contribution	women	nom
43	requires that women play a central role as intellectuals, policy-makers, decision-makers....	activation	Actor	role	women	nom

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Beijing Platform of Action (1995) – the representation of women

N	Women in text	Process	Manner/Role	Women's Issue	Category of women	Nom./Det.
1	advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	equality, devel., peace	all women	
2	Acknowledging the voices of all women everywhere	activation	postmodification	voices	women	det.
3	taking note of the diversity of women	activation	postmodification	diversity	women	det.
4	and their roles and circumstances	activation	premodification	role	women	det.
5	honouring the women	subjection	Goal		women	
6	who paved the way	activation	Actor		women	
7	inspired by the hope present in the world's youth	subjection	Carrier		women	
8	the status of women has advanced in some important respects	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
9	affecting the lives of the majority of the world's people, in particular women	activation	postmodification	lives	women	det.
10	enhancing further the advancement	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
11	and empowerment of women all over the world	subjection	postmodification	empowerment	all women	nom.
12	Ensure the full implementation of the human rights of women	activation	postmodification	rights	women	det.
13	The empowerment of women...	subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
14	and advancement of women	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
15	contributing to...	activation	Actor	contribution	women	
16	Women's empowerment	subjection	premodification	empowerment	women	nom.
17	and their full participation on the basis of equality	activation	premodification	participation	women	nom.
18	Women's rights are human rights	activation	premodification	rights	women	det.
19	eradication of poverty...requires the involvement of women in developm.	subjection	postmodification	involvement	women	nom.
20	reaffirmation of the right of all women	activation	postmodification	rights	all women	det.
21	to control all aspects	activation	Actor		women	
22	of their health	activation	premodification	health	women	det.
23	in particular their own fertility	activation	premodification	fertility	women	det.
24	is basic to their empowerment	subjection	premodification	empowerment	women	nom.
25	and advancement of women	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
26	peace is...linked with the advancement of women	subjection	Identified	force	women	nom.
27	who are a fundamental force for leadership, conflict resolution	subjection	circumstantialisation	participation	women	
28	monitor, with the full participation of women	activation	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
29	foster the empowerment	subjection	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
30	and advancement of women	activation	postmodification	groups	women	nom.
31	contribution of all actors of civil society, particularly women's groups	activation	premodification	empowerment	women	det.
32	priority action for the empowerment	subjection	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
33	and advancement of women	activation	postmodification	rights	women	nom.
34	Ensure the full enjoyment by women and the girl child of all human rights	activation	postmodification	discrimination	women	det.
35	eliminate all forms of discrimination against women	subjection	circumstantialisation	advancement	women	
36	remove all obstacles to the advancement (of women)	activation	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
37	and empowerment of women	subjection	postmodification	independence	women	nom.
38	Promote women's economic independence	activation	premodification	burden	women	det.
39	eradicate the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women	subjection	circumstantialisation	access	women	
40	ensuring equal access for all women (to resources)	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	lit., training, healthcare	girls and women	
41	literacy and training, and primary health care for girls and women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	advancement	women	nom.
42	Take positive steps to ensure peace for the advancement of women	activation	postmodification	role	women	
43	the leading role that women have played in the peace movement	activation	Actor	violence	women and girls	
44	eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls	subjection	circumstantialisation	health, education	women	det.
45	enhance women's sexual and reproductive health & education	activation	premodification	rights	women and girls	det.
	protect all human rights of women and girls	activation	postmodification			

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Beijing 2000 - the representation of women

N	Women in text	Process	Means/Role	Women's Issue	Category of women	Nom./Det.
1	an agenda for the empowerment of women	subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
2	priority action to achieve the advancement (of women)	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
3	and empowerment of women	subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
4	The objective of the Platform for Action is the empowerment of all women	activation	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
5	The full realization of all human rights and fundamental freedoms of all women	activation	postmodification	rights&freedoms	all women	det.
6	is essential for the empowerment of women	subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
7	contribute to the full enjoyment by women of their human rights	activation	postmodification	human rights	women	nom.
8	women share common concerns that can be addressed	activation	Actor	concerns	with men	
9	only by working together and in partnership with men towards the common goal of gender equality	activation	Actor	work	with men	
10	It respects and values the full diversity of women's situations and edts.	activation	premodification	situations, cond.	women	det.
11	some women face particular barriers	activation	Actor	barriers	women	
12	to their empowerment	subjection	premodification	empowerment	women	nom.
13	women face barriers to full equality and advancement	activation	Actor	barriers	women	
14	Many women encounter specific obstacles	activation	Actor	obstacles	women	
15	related to their family status	activation	premodification	status	women	det.
16	and to their socioeconomic status	activation	premodification	status	women	det.
17	including their living conditions in rural areas	activation	premodification	conditions	women	det.
18	Additional barriers also exist for refugee women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	barriers	refugee	
19	Many women are also particularly affected by environmental disasters	subjection	Goal	affect	women	
20	various forms of violence against women	subjection	circumstantialisation	violence	women	
21	promoting employment and income generating activities for women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	activities	women	
22	financial instruments for women have emerged	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		women	
23	widened economic opportunities for some women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	opportunity	women	
24	living in poverty in particular in rural areas	activation	Existent	poverty	women	
25	lack of technological and financial support for women's entrepreneurship	activation	premodification	entrepreneurship	women	det.
26	practices, have constrained women's economic empowerment	subjection	premodification	empowerment	women	nom.
27	programmes aimed at empowerment of women	subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
28	achieving gender equality and the empowerment of women	subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
29	Progress was achieved in women's and girls education and training	activation	premodification	education, training	women and girls	nom.
30	systems to reach women and girls in indigenous communities	subjection	Goal		women and girls	nom.
31	to encourage them	subjection	Goal	encourage	women	
32	to pursue all fields of study	activation	Actor		women	
33	efforts to strengthen literacy among women and girls	subjection	circumstantialisation	literacy	women and girls	det.
34	and to increase their access to all levels and types of education	activation	premodification	access	women	nom.
35	the link between women's enrolment in higher educational institutions and labour market dynamics	activation	premodification	enrolment	women	nom.
36	aggravating women's inequality at economic, social and political levels	activation	premodification	inequality	women	det.
37	programmes to cover all aspects of women's health	activation	premodification	health	women	det.
38	throughout women's life cycle	activation	premodification	life cycle	women	det.
39	high mortality rates among women and girls as a result of malaria	subjection	circumstantialisation	mortality rates	women	det.
40	attention to reproductive rights of women	activation	postmodification	rights	women	det.
41	attention to HIV/AIDS) among women and girls	subjection	circumstantialisation	HIV	women and girls	det.
42	increased attention to women's mental health	activation	premodification	health	women	det.
43	recognition of the specific health needs of older women	activation	postmodification	needs	older	det.
44	adopted key action in the field of women's health	activation	premodification	health	women	det.
45	measures addressing the health of women and girls	activation	postmodification	health	women and girls	det.

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Resolutions of the 1960s - the representation of women

N	Resolution	Women in texts	Process	Means/Role	Women's issue	Category of women	Nom/De
1	1957-1162(XII)	Participation of women in community development	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
2	1957-1162(XII)	women should be encouraged	Subjection	Goal	encouragement	women	
3	1957-1162(XII)	to play an even greater and more effective part in it	Activation	Actor	participation	women	
4	1957-1162(XII)	to what extent women are participating in community development programmes	Activation	Actor	participation	women	
5	1957-1162(XII)	encourage the full participation of women in the development of their respective communities	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
6	1957-1162(XII)	the progress made as regards the participation of women in community development	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
7	1960-1509 (XV)	United Nations assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women in developing countries	nom.
8	1960-1509 (XV)	the advancement of women in under-developed countries	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women in under-developed	nom.
9	1960-1509 (XV)	the progress achieved in the field of women's rights	Activation	premodification	rights	women	det.
10	1960-1509 (XV)	the Commission is showing a special interest in the condition of women in developing countries	Activation	postmodification	condition	women in developing countries	det.
11	1960-1509 (XV)	programmes designed to improve the status of women	Activation	postmodification	status improvement	women	det.
12	1960-1509 (XV)	assistance for the advancement of women in the develop-ing countries	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women in developing countries	nom.
13	1962-1777 (XVII)	United Nations assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women in developing countries	nom.
14	1962-1777 (XVII)	special assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women in developing countries	nom.
15	1962-1777 (XVII)	programmes which are designed to promote the advancement of women in developing countries	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women in developing countries	nom.
16	1962-1777 (XVII)	a unified, long-term United Nations programme for the advancement of women	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
17	1962-1777 (XVII)	organizations whose aims are to advance the welfare of women everywhere	Activation	postmodification	welfare	women everywhere	det.
18	1962-1777 (XVII)	programmes designed to meet the needs of women in developing countries	Activation	postmodification	needs	women in developing countries	det.
19	1962-1777 (XVII)	a unified, long-term United Nations programme for the advancement of women	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
20	1962-1777 (XVII)	assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women in developing countries	nom.
21	1963-1920 (XVIII)	Participation of women in national social and economic development	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
22	1963-1920 (XVIII)	United Nations assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women in developing countries	nom.
23	1963-1920 (XVIII)	the necessity of women playing their full part, on equal terms with men	Activation	Actor	participation	women	nom.
24	1963-1920 (XVIII)	Recognizing the contribution of women to national social development programmes	Activation	postmodification	contribution	women	nom.
25	1963-1920 (XVIII)	the importance of such programmes to the advancement of women in general	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
26	1963-1920 (XVIII)	the importance of training women for such participation at all levels	Subjection	Goal	training	women	
28	1963-1920 (XVIII)	the importance of training women so as	Subjection	Goal	training	women	
29	1963-1920 (XVIII)	to enable them	Subjection	Goal	enabling	women	
30	1963-1920 (XVIII)	to participate fully in all phases	Activation	Actor	participation	women	
31	1963-1920 (XVIII)	to promote the full participation of women in the planning and execution of national development programmes	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
32	1963-1920 (XVIII)	centres where women can receive the requisite training	Beneficialisat	Recipient	training	women	
33	1963-1920 (XVIII)	to enable them	Subjection	Goal	enabling	women	
34	1963-1920 (XVIII)	to participate effectively in the economic	Activation	Actor	participation	women	
35	1963-1920 (XVIII)	and social development of their countries	Activation	premodification	countries	women	det.
27	1963-1920 (XVIII)	the desirability of appointing qualified women to bodies responsible for the preparation of national development plans	Subjection	Goal	appointment	qualified	
36	1965-2059 (XX)	United Nations assistance for the advancement of women	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
37	1965-2059 (XX)	special assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women in developing countries	nom.
38	1965-2059 (XX)	the matter of improving the status of women	Activation	postmodification	status improvement	women	det.
39	1965-2059 (XX)	programmes concerning the status of women	Activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
40	1965-2059 (XX)	a unified, long-term United Nations programme for the advancement of women	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
41	1965-2059 (XX)	the contribution which women can make to national development	Activation	Actor	contribution	women	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Resolutions of the 1970s – the representation of women

N	Resolution	Women in texts	Process	Means/Role	Women's issues	Category	Nom./Det.
1	1976-31/175	Effective mobilization of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
2	1976-31/175	resolution on the integration of women in the development process	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
3	1976-31/175	the importance of the role of women in all aspects	Activation	postmodification	role	women	det.
4	1976-31/175	and their contribution to the establishment	Activation	premodification	contribution	women	nom.
5	1976-31/175	women, especially those at the lower socio-economic levels, are among the most disadvantaged groups of society	Subjection	Identified	disadvantage	lower socio-economic	
6	1976-31/175	the integration of women in the development process	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
7	1976-31/175	facilitate the equal participation of women with men in all development efforts	Activation	postmodification	equal participation	with men	nom.
8	1976-31/175	ensure that women have equal access to political parties…	Activation	Possessor	equal access	women	
9	1976-31/175	(women have) equal opportunities	Activation	Possessor	equal opportunities	women	
10	1976-31/175	to participate in policy-making in the economic field…	Activation	Actor	participation	women	
11	1976-31/175	projects relating to women	Subjection	circumstantialisatio	projects	women	
12	1979-33/200	the effective mobilization of women for development	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
13	1976-31/175	their (organisations') programmes benefit women	Beneficialisat	Beneficiary	benefit	women	
14	1979-33/200	Effective mobilization	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
15	1979-33/200	and integration of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
16	1979-33/200	the integration of women in the development process	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
17	1979-33/200	the effective mobilization of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
18	1979-33/200	the substantial contribution of women to the over-all development	Activation	postmodification	contribution	women	nom.
19	1979-33/200	of their countries	Activation	premodification	countries	women	det.
20	1979-33/200	the vital importance of the effective mobilization	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
21	1979-33/200	and integration of women in all sectors of development	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
22	1979-33/200	the effective mobilization of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
23	1979-33/200	Effective mobilization	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
24	1979-33/200	and integration of women in the development process	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
25	1979-33/200	the mobilization and integration of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
26	1979-33/200	en-hancing the participation of women in all sectors	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
27	1979-33/200	facilitating the integration	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
28	1979-33/200	and participation of women in the development process of their countries	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
29	1979-33/200	of their countries	Activation	premodification	countries	women	det.
30	1979-33/200	promoting the participation	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
31	1979-33/200	and integration of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
32	1979-34/204	Effective mobilization and integration of women in development	Activation	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
33	1979-34/204	part of declaration relating to the role of women in development	Activation	postmodification	role	women	det.
34	1979-34/204	integration of women in the development process	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
35	1979-34/204	the effective mobilization of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
36	1979-34/204	and contribute on a basis of equality	Activation	Actor	contribution	women	nom.
37	1979-34/204	and should share in improved conditions of life	Activation	Actor	share with men	women	
38	1979-34/204	measures aimed at the effective participation of women	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
39	1979-34/204	in the over-all development of their countries	Activation	premodification	countries	women	det.
40	1979-34/204	the effective mobilization and integration of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Resolutions of the 1980s - the representation of women

N	Res	Women in texts	Process	Means/Role	Women's issue	Category of	Nom./Det.
1	1981	world survey on the role of women	Activation	postmodification	role	women	det.
2	1982	activities to include women	Subjection	Goal	inclusion	women	
3	1982	innovative projects to include women	Subjection	Goal	inclusion	women	
4	1982	the world conference on women	Subjection	circumstantialisation	conference	women	
5	1984	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
6	1984	the improvement of the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
7	1984	the need to improve the status of women	Activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
8	1985	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
9	1985	the improvement of the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
10	1985	the need to improve the status of women	Activation	postmodification	status improvement	women	det.
11	1985	ensure their full participation	Activation	premodification	participation	women	nom.
12	1985	further improving the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
13	1985	Questions of the exercise by rural women of their rights	Activation	postmodification	rights	rural	nom.
14	1987	Effective mobilization and integration of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
15	1987	the cross-sectoral and multidisciplinary nature of the issue of women in development	Activation	postmodification	issue	women	det.
16	1987	the effective mobilization and integration of women in the economy	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
17	1987	improving access by women to development co-operation resources	Activation	postmodification	access	women	nom.
18	1987	increasing the participation of women at all levels in the development process	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
19	1987	improving the integration of women in the process of development	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
20	1987	women contribute significantly to the overall economy	Activation	Actor	contribution	women	det.
21	1987	the value of their production is not fully accounted for	Activation	premodification	production	women	nom.
22	1987	encourage their greater participation in the labour market	Activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
23	1987	activities to integrate women in development are included at all levels	Subjection	Goal	integration	women	
24	1987	changes in the situation of women in their regions	Activation	postmodification	situation	women	det.
25	1989	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
26	1989	the importance given to the problems of rural women	Activation	postmodification	problems	rural	det.
27	1989	pay particular attention to the role of women in rural development	Activation	postmodification	role	rural	det.
28	1989	financial crises in many developing countries have severely affected the socio-economic	Activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
29	1989	improving further the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
30	1989	the improvement of the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
31	1989	national machineries for the advancement of women	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
32	1989	projects aimed at improving the situation of rural women	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
33	1989	and integrating them into national development plans at all levels	Subjection	Goal	integration	rural	
34	1989	measures designed to give rural women broader access	Beneficialisat	Beneficiary	access	rural	det.
35	1989	to promote the establishment and strengthening of rural women's associations	Activation	postmodification	association	rural	det.
36	1989	to encourage the development of women's co-operatives	Activation	premodification	cooperative	women	det.
37	1989	projects aimed at the improvement of the situation of rural women	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
38	1989	Integration of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
39	1989	effective mobilization and integration of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	mobilization	women	nom.
40	1989	activities to advance the status of women	Activation	postmodification	status	women	det.

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Resolutions of the 1990s – the representation of women

N	Res.	Women in texts	Process	Means/Role	Women's issue	Category of women	Nom./ Det.
1	1991	reference to the linkages between women, natural resources and environment	Subjection	circumstantialisation	environment	women	
2	1991	the integration of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
3	1991	the critical role that women play	Activation	Actor	role	women	
4	1992	the continuing rise in the number of rural women living in poverty	Activation	Existent	number	rural	
5	1992	to improve the living conditions of rural women	Activation	postmodification	conditions	rural	det.
6	1992	special needs of rural women	Activation	postmodification	needs	rural	det.
7	1993	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
8	1993	the importance attached to the problems of rural women	Activation	postmodification	problems	rural	det.
9	1993	to improve the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
10	1993	affected the socio-economic status of women	Activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
11	1993	the continuing rise in the number of rural women living in poverty	Activation	Existent	number	rural	
12	1994	Integration of older women in development	Subjection	postmodification	integration	older	nom.
13	1994	economic problems of elderly women even more acute	Activation	postmodification	problems	elderly	det.
14	1994	they are often viewed only as beneficiaries and not as contributors to development	Subjection	Phenomenon		elderly, beneficiaries	
15	1994	approach for the advancement of women	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
16	1994	measures that respond to women's needs	Activation	premodification	needs	women	det.
17	1995	resolutions on the integration of women in development	Subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
18	1995	the significant contribution that women make to economic activities	Activation	Actor	contribution	women	
19	1995	the major force that they represent for change and development	Subjection	Identified	force	women	
20	1995	women are key contributors to the economy	Subjection	Identified	contribution	women	
21	1995	the empowerment of women is a critical factor in the eradication of poverty	Subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
22	1995	female-headed households	Activation	premodification	household	female-headed	det.
23	1997-1998	Improvement of the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
24	1997-1998	the importance attached to the problems of rural women	Activation	postmodification	problems	rural	det.
25	1997-1998	programmes to improve the situation of women in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
26	1997-1998	instrument of poverty alleviation, including for rural women	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	poverty	rural	
27	1997-1998	affected the socio-economic status of women, especially in rural areas	Activation	postmodification	status	rural	det.
28	1997-1998	female-headed households	Activation	premodification		female-headed	det.
29	1997-1998	women are key contributors to the economy	Subjection	Identified	contribution	women	
30	1997-1998	and to combating poverty	Activation	Actor	contribution	women	
31	1997-1998	the empowerment of women is a critical factor	Subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
32	1997-1998	reduce any adverse impact on women	Subjection	circumstantialisation	impact	women	
33	1997-1998	employment opportunities for women	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	employment	women	
34	1997-1998	marginalization of women in developing countries	Subjection	postmodification	marginalization	women	nom.
35	2003	to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women	Subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
36	2003	the agreed conclusions on women's participation in and access to the media	Activation	premodification	participation	women	nom.
37	2003	instrument for the advancement	Activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
38	2003	and empowerment of women	Subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
39	2003	an enhanced role for rural women at all levels of rural development	Beneficialisation	Beneficiary	role	rural	
40	2003	Recognizing the critical role	Activation	postmodification	role	rural	det.
41	2003	and contribution of rural women	Activation	postmodification	contribution	rural	nom.
42	2003	in enhancing agricultural and rural development	Activation	Actor		rural	
43	2003	improving food security	Activation	Actor	food security	rural	
44	2003	and eradicating rural poverty	Activation	Actor	poverty	rural	
45	2003	the socio-economic marginalization of rural women	Subjection	postmodification	marginalization	rural	nom.

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. FAO 1989 - the representation of women

N	Women in text	Process	Means/Role	Women's Issue	Category of women	Nom/ Det
1	women constitute an important percentage of the world's total agricultural labour force	subjection	Identified		labour force	
2	excluding their many hours of seasonal, part-time and unpaid labour	activation	premodification	labour	women	det.
3	and their household activities	activation	premodification	activities	women	det.
4	underestimate the work done by women	activation	Actor	work	women	
5	Rural women have many roles	activation	Possessor	role	rural	
6	They cultivate subsistence crops for family consumption	activation	Actor		rural	
7	and may also work on cash crop production	activation	Actor	work	rural	
8	or they may be landless	subjection	Carrier		rural	
9	and rely solely on wage labour	activation	Actor	labour	rural	
10	the scenario in which women work in agriculture	activation	Actor	work	women	
11	their participation in rural development is crucial	activation	premodification	participation	women	nom.
12	recognition of their participation has not always led	activation	premodification	participation	women	nom.
13	to their inclusion as project beneficiaries	subjection	premodification	inclusion	women	nom.
14	training has always been insufficient to enable women	subjection	Goal	enable	women	
15	to achieve	activation	Actor		women	
16	their full potential	activation	premodification	potential	women	det.
17	the issue of women in agricultural development has gained momentum	activation	postmodification	issue	women	det.
18	the need to integrate women into mainstream agricultural development	subjection	Goal	integration	women	
19	world attention to the critical role of women in development	activation	postmodification	role	women	det.
20	the elimination of discrimination against women	subjection	circumstantialisation	discrimination	women	
21	including women specifically in the Programme	subjection	Goal	inclusion	women	
22	includes discussion on rural women	subjection	circumstantialisation	discussion	women	
23	the participation of women on an equal basis with men	activation	postmodification	participation	women	nom.
24	FAO's approach to women in development has focused	subjection	circumstantialisation	participation	women	
25	on the role of women in agricultural production and rural development	activation	postmodification	role	women	det.
26	FAO's commitment to rural women	beneficialisation	Client		rural	
27	the Plan ensures the systematic incorporation of women into all programmes	subjection	postmodification	incorporation	women	nom.
28	guaranteeing women their place	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		women	
29	including all aspects of women in development in their programmes	activation	postmodification	programmes	women	det.
30	programmes to improve the lives of rural women	activation	postmodification	lives	rural	
31	research studies on all issues related to women in agricultural development	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	issue	women	
32	request a plan for the integration of women in development	subjection	postmodification	integration	women	nom.
33	discuss how to integrate women into the proces	subjection	Goal	integration	women	
34	Advising policy makers on women in agricultural development	subjection	circumstantialisation	integration	women	
35	implementing women in agricultural development	subjection	Goal	implementing	women	
36	women already make a crucial contribution to agricultural production	activation	Actor	contribution	women	
37	It is dedicated to enhancing their participation through projects	activation	premodification	participation	women	nom.
38	programmes that systematically bring women into the mainstream	subjection	Goal	programmes	women	
39	programmes oriented exclusively to women (women-specific projects...	beneficialisation	Client	programmes	women	
40	the integration of women as participants	subjection	postmodification	integration	participants	nom.
41	include women in their mainstream projects	subjection	Goal	inclusion	women	
42	cultural factors prevent women	subjection	Goal		women	
43	from working alongside men	activation	Actor	work	women	
44	rural women have been generally neglected	subjection	Phenomenon	neglect	rural	
45	greater equality for rural women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	equality	rural	
46	FAO's long experience in working with women	activation	accompaniment		women	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. FAO 1996 - the representation of women

N	Women in text	Process	Means/Role	Women's Issue	Category of women	Nom./Det.
1	the tremendous contribution of rural women to food and agricultural production	activation	postmodification	contribution	rural	nom.
2	increase the involvement of rural women	subjection	postmodification	involvement	rural	nom.
3	to promote the advancement of women	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
4	food insecurity among rural women	subjection	circumstantialisation	insecurity	rural	
5	the families they support	activation	Actor	family	rural	
6	Women, environment and sustainable development will be an important theme for research	subjection	Identified		women	
7	the concept of "people" also includes women	subjection	Goal		women	
8	Strengthen the skills and capacities of rural women	activation	postmodification	skills, capacities	rural	det.
9	to reduce the burden	activation	Actor	burden	rural	
10	of their labour	activation	premodification	labour	rural	nom.
11	and increase	activation	Actor		rural	
12	their economic gains	activation	premodification	gains	rural	nom.
13	appropriate productive and domestic labour-saving technologies for rural women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	technologies	rural	
14	to involve rural women in the policy formulation process	subjection	Goal	involvement	rural	
15	facilitate a mutual learning process between rural women and all those...	subjection	circumstantialisation		rural	
16	matters pertaining to the status of women	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
17	FAO can contribute to enhancing the status of rural women	activation	postmodification	status	rural	det.
18	guide Member Nations as they strive to bring the full benefits of development to rural women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	benefits	rural	
19	recommendations on women in agriculture	subjection	circumstantialisation	recommendations	women	
20	the advancement of women into the twenty-first century	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
21	understanding of the situation of rural women	activation	postmodification	situation	rural	det.
22	including their contributions to	activation	premodification	contribution	rural	nom.
23	and constraints in agriculture	activation	premodification	constraints	rural	det.
24	enhance the benefits that rural women derive	activation	Actor	benefits	rural	
25	from their contributions	activation	premodification	contribution	rural	nom.
26	strengthen their capacities	activation	premodification	capacity	rural	det.
27	to contribute to national development	activation	Actor	contribution	rural	
28	issues affecting rural women	subjection	Goal	affect	rural	
29	rural women play a major role in agriculture	activation	Actor	role	rural	
30	negative impact on rural women	subjection	circumstantialisation	impact	rural	
31	direct responsibility for household food provision falls largely on women	subjection	circumstantialisation	responsibility	women	
32	where women produce 60-80 percent of basic foodstuffs	activation	Actor	production	women	
33	or to Asia, where they perform over 50 percent of the labour in rice cultivation	activation	Actor	labour	women	
34	at their disposal	activation	premodification		poor	det.
35	Rural women are both the best equipped and the least equipped	subjection	Identified		rural	
36	to manage the environment	activation	Actor		rural	
37	incorporate the knowledge and concerns of rural women	activation	postmodification	knowledge, concerns	rural	det.
38	having a large number of children continues to be a major asset	activation	Possessor	children	rural	
39	source of...security for poor rural women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	security	poor rural women	
40	both recognized the importance of the status of women	activation	postmodification	status	women	det.
41	include them as actors and decision-makers	subjection	Goal	inclusion	women	
42	rural women are critical to the sustenance of the world's poor	subjection	Carrier		rural	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. FAO 2002 - the representation of women

N	Women in text	Process	Means/Role	Women's Issue	Category of women	Nom./Det.
1	conferences for the advancement of women	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
2	bring the full benefits of development to rural women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	benefits	rural	
3	to be achieved without overburdening women farmers	subjection	Goal	overburden	farmers	det.
4	negotiate women's role in international trade negotiations	activation	premodification	role	women	det.
5	the specific needs of women	activation	postmodification	needs	women	det.
6	Activities specifically targeted to women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	activities	women	
7	women-headed households in situations of emergencies	activation	premodification	households	women	det.
8	FAO has been involved with issues concerning rural women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	issues	rural	
9	the discourse on the advancement of women	activation	postmodification	advancement	women	nom.
10	development resources for improving women's conditions	activation	premodification	conditions	women	det.
11	making their contributions visible	activation	premodification	contribution	women	nom.
12	it had a tendency to focus solely on women.	subjection	circumstancialisation	focus	women	nom.
13	the empowerment of women has emerged as a major issue of concern	subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
14	women participate in policy-making and decision-making	activation	Actor	participation	women	
15	transformative change requires the empowerment of women	subjection	postmodification	empowerment	women	nom.
16	Critical to women's empowerment is	subjection	premodification	empowerment	women	nom.
17	Plan of Action acknowledges that women's rights are an integral and indivisible part	activation	premodification	rights	women	det.
18	women can be affected negatively by globalisation	subjection	Goal	affect	women	
19	women could reap significant benefits	activation	Actor	benefits	women	
20	women's empowerment...can lead to a reduction in fertility and infant mortality	subjection	premodification	empowerment	women	nom.
21	women migrants' remittances were fundamental for rural poverty alleviation	activation	premodification		migrant	det.
22	migration...leaving women behind	subjection	Goal		women	
23	to assume responsibility of the farming activities	activation	Actor	responsibility	women	
24	the specific needs of elderly rural women and men workers must be understood	activation	postmodification	needs	elderly rural	det.
25	their value...must be promoted	activation	premodification	value	elderly rural	det.
26	and contributions must be promoted	activation	postmodification	contribution	elderly rural	nom.
27	Young women and adolescents are particularly vulnerable	subjection	Carrier	vulnerable	young	
28	women, who are traditionally caregivers	subjection	Identified		caregivers	
29	(women) take care of the AIDS patients	activation	Actor		women	
30	their time...is significantly reduced	activation	premodification	time	women	det.
31	to engage in agricultural activities	activation	Actor	activities	women	
32	that limits their access to land and other agricultural support services	activation	premodification	access	women	nom.
33	the protection of the human rights of women and girl children	activation	postmodification	rights	and girl children	det.
34	as well as for the elimination of all forms of violence against them	subjection	circumstancialisation	violence	and girl children	
35	and of their use as a weapon of war	subjection	premodification		and girl children	nom.
36	emergencies affect women and girls differently from men and boys	subjection	Goal	affect	and girls	
37	women often lose the capacity	activation	Possessor	capacity	women	
38	to sustain	activation	Actor		women	
39	their families' livelihoods	activation	premodification	family	women	det.
40	women often have the primary responsibility for family care	activation	Possessor	responsibility	women	
41	they are placed under great stress	subjection	Carrier		women	
42	in trying to meet such family needs in emergency situations	activation	Actor	needs	women	
43	increase the trauma of gender-specific physical insecurity for women and girls	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		and girls	
44	they are also at high risk of nutritional deficiencies	subjection	Carrier	nutrition	and girls	
45	limited access for subsistence farmers, particularly women, to all resources	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	access	subsistence farmers	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. World Plan of Action (1975) - the representation of men

N	Men in text	Process	Means/Role	Issues	Category of men	Nom./Det
1	the technological structure of production in general has been oriented towards man	subjection	circumstantialisation	orientation	men	
2	and his requirements	activation	premodification	requirements	men	det.
3	give the most favourable conditions for the harmonious development of her personality—an aim which is equally relevant to the development of man.	activation	postmodification	development	men	nom.
4	when it is assumed that a woman can be the head only in the absence of a man	activation	postmodification	absence	men	det.
5	The enactment of legislation on voting and eligibility for election on equal terms with men	activation	accompaniment	on equal terms with	men	
6	In most countries female enrolment at all levels of education is considerably below that of men	activation	postmodification	enrolment	men	nom.
7	the occupations in which most women workers are concentrated are not the same as those in which most men are employed	subjection	Goal	employment	men	
8	Access to skills and the provision of institutional and on-the-job training should be open to women in the same way and on the same conditions as to men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	training	men	
9	In some parts of the world, urbanization involves mainly a migration of young men	activation	postmodification	migration	men	nom.
10	The majority of women still spend more of their time in and around the house than do men	activation	Actor	time	men	
11	The relative time spent on economic and household activities and on leisure by girls and women compared to boys and men	activation	comparison	time	men	
12	ensure that women shall have the same access to that care as men	activation	comparison	access	men	
13	Women should have the same right of access as men	activation	comparison	access	men	
14	life-long education towards the re-evaluation of the man and woman	subjection	postmodification	re-evaluation	man and woman	nom.
15	Higher status for this role in the home—as a parent, spouse and homemaker—can only enhance the personal dignity of a man and a woman	activation	postmodification	dignity	man and woman	det.
16	promoting the equal rights of men and women	activation	postmodification	rights	men and women	det.
17	The achievement of equality between men and women implies	subjection	circumstantialisation	equality	men and women	
18	they should have equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities	activation	Possessor	rights, opp. &resp.	men and women	
19	to enable them	subjection	Goal	enable	men and women	
20	to develop	activation	Actor		men and women	
21	their talents and capabilities	activation	premodification	talents&capabilities	men and women	det.
22	The necessity of a change in the traditional role of men as well as of women	activation	postmodification	role	men and women	det.
23	The acceptance of shared responsibilities for home and children by both men and women	activation	postmodification	responsibilities	men and women	nom.
24	measures to implement men's and women's right to employment on equal conditions	activation	premodification	right	men	det.
25	legal norms providing for equality of men and women	activation	postmodification	equality	men and women	det.
26	child-care centres...are of vital importance in promoting equality between men and women	subjection	circumstantialisation	equality	men and women	
27	full equality between men and women throughout the world	subjection	circumstantialisation	equality	men and women	
28	conventional attitudes, concepts and notions concerning the respective roles of men and women in society	activation	postmodification	role	men and women	det.
29	ensure that men and women shall enjoy full legal capacity	activation	Senser		men and women	
30	illiteracy is much more widespread among women than among men	subjection	circumstantialisation	illiteracy	men	det.
31	When food is scarce women often experience a greater degree of malnutrition than men	activation	Senser		men	
32	Women are usually affected by these social problems to a greater extent than men	activation	comparison	problem	men	
33	who frequently receive less protection and assistance than men	activation	comparison		men	
34	History has attested to the active role which women played, together with men	activation	accompaniment	role	men	
35	and their full participation in development on an equal basis with men	activation	accompaniment	on an equal basis with	men	
36	conditions...have often precluded the actual enjoyment by women of this right (to health) equally with men	subjection	accompaniment	equally with	men	
37	the role of women, along with men, needs to be considered	activation	accompaniment	role	men	
38	and contribute on equal terms with men to the development process	activation	accompaniment	on equal terms with	men	
39	to exercise equally with men their right	activation	accompaniment	equally with	men	
40	the cause of peace **require** the maximum participation of women as well as men in all fields	activation	postmodification	participation	women and men	nom.
41	in the legal, economic, social, political and cultural status of women and men	activation	postmodification	status	women and men	det.
42	on the basis of equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities of women and men	activation	postmodification	rights, opp. &resp.	women and men	det.
43	In order to promote equality between women and men	subjection	circumstantialisation	equality	women and men	
44	Governments should ensure for both women and men equality before the law...	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	equality	women and men	det.
45	The membership of such bodies should include both women and men	subjection	Goal	include	women and men	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Copenhagen Programme of Action (1980) - the representation of men

N	Men in text	Process	Means/Role	Issues	Category of men	Nom./Det.
1	promoting economic activities and employment opportunities on an equal footing with men	activation	accompaniment	employment	men	
2	priority being given to the employment of men in economic activities outside the family household	subjection	postmodification	employment	men	nom.
3	the adverse effects on the wage levels and job stability of women are more extensive than on those of men	activation	postmodification	adverse effects	men	det.
4	Women's right to participate in and benefit from the industrialization process on equal terms with men must be secured	activation	accompaniment	participation	men	
5	the wide gap between the economic opportunities available to men and those open to women has not been reduced	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	opportunities	men	
6	while men, due to greater job security, have developed opportunities for sustained employment in the labour force	activation	actor		men	
7	learned skills	activation	senser	skills	men	
8	and increased	activation	actor	wage	men	
9	their relative wages	activation	premodification	wage	men	det.
10	In those sectors women workers, like men workers, are often underpaid	activation	comparison	underpaid	men	
11	measures should be taken to ensure that women are introduced, on the same footing as men, to new types of training	activation	comparison	introduction	men	
12	it is therefore essential that household chores and family care should be shared by men	activation	actor	share	men	
13	training for all types of occupations, including those traditionally accessible to men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	training	men	
14	Ensure access for rural women to the use, enjoyment and development of land, in conditions of equality with men	activation	accompaniment	equality	men	
15	measure rural women's contribution on an equal basis with men's	activation	premodification	contribution	men	nom.
16	to involve more men in programmes for attitudinal change	subjection	Goal	involvement	men	
17	Men should be involved in health programmes	subjection	Goal	involvement	men	
18	by according to women the same practical and legal rights as those of men	activation	postmodification	rights	men	det.
19	the subjection, exploitation, oppression and domination of women by men	activation	postmodification	subjection	men	nom.
20	The joint responsibility of men and women for the welfare of the family	activation	postmodification	responsibility	men and women	det.
21	a change in the attitudes and roles of both men and women	activation	postmodification	attitudes, roles	men and women	det.
22	a comparison of the performances of men and women in every sector of economic and social development	activation	postmodification	performance	men and women	nom.
23	unless the inequality between men and women is eliminated	subjection	circumstantialisation	inequality	men and women	
24	a change of men's and women's attitudes	activation	premodification	attitudes	men and women	
25	the existing inequalities between men and women in all sectors	subjection	circumstantialisation	inequality	men and women	
26	remove the gap between the attainments of men and women	activation	postmodification	attainments	men and women	nom.
27	action programmes ensuring the equality of men and women	activation	postmodification	equality	men and women	det.
28	Promoting attitudinal change among men and women	subjection	circumstantialisation	attitudes	men and women	
29	measures for the entire working population, men and women alike	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	measure	men and women	
30	secure for men and women the same right to work and to unemployment benefits	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	rights	men and women	
31	on a basis of equality of men and women	activation	postmodification	equality	men and women	det.
32	both men and women can take the responsibility for family planning	activation	Actor	responsibility	men and women	
33	abolishing traditional stereotypes of men's and women's roles	activation	premodification	role	men and women	
34	Encourage parity of men and women in teaching and administrative positions	activation	postmodification	equality	men and women	det.
35	equal treatment and status for men and women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	equality	men and women	
36	employed by the organizations whether as temporary, fixed-term or permanent employees or as consultants	subjection	Goal	employment	men and women	
37	ensure that...the employment market is not less accessible to women than to men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	employment	men	
38	and to exercise public functions on equal terms with men	activation	accompaniment		men	
39	that give them the possibility equally with men	activation	accompaniment	possibility	men	
40	and to participate on an equal footing with men	activation	accompaniment	participation	men	
41	Ensure access for women in conditions of equality with men to financing	activation	accompaniment	access	men	
42	the problems of development and equality of participation of women and men in development	activation	postmodification	participation	women and men	nom.
43	causes of the inequality between women and men	subjection	circumstantialisation	inequality	women and men	
44	the distribution of tasks and responsibilities of women and men in society	activation	postmodification	tasks, resp.	women and men	det.
45	institutionalized inequality in the status of women and men has also resulted	activation	postmodification	status	women and men	det.
46	promote equal rights of women and men	activation	postmodification	rights	women and men	det.
47	Acknowledgement of the double burden has enabled women and men	subjection	Goal	enable	women and men	
48	to move forward	activation	Actor		women and men	
49	to challenge existing stereotypes	activation	Actor		women and men	
50	and to develop social programmes	activation	Actor		women and men	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (1985) - the representation of men

N	Men in text	Process	Means/Role	Issues	Category of me	Nom/Det
1	the status of women continued to be regarded as secondary to that of men	activation	postmodification	status	men	det.
2	women's total input of labour in the formal and informal sector will surpass that of men by the year 2000	activation	postmodification	labour input	men	det.
3	regarding the capacities of women as inferior to those of men	activation	postmodification	capacity	men	det.
4	the sharing of power on equal terms with men must be a major strategy	activation	accompaniment	power	men	
5	ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Government	activation	accompaniment	opportunity	men	
6	present men actively involved in all aspects of family responsibilities	subjection	Goal		men	
7	their unemployment rates are higher than those of men	activation	postmodification	unemployment	men	det.
8	are often of greater assistance to men than to women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	assist	men	
9	unemployment rates for young women are often much higher than those of young men	activation	postmodification	unemployment	men	det.
10	Educational programmes to enable men	subjection	Goal	enable	men	
11	to assume as much responsibility as women	activation	Actor	responsibility	men	
12	the industrial and domestic work of women without loss of their jobs and tasks to men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		men	
13	the need for men and society as a whole to share with women the responsibilities of producing and rearing children	activation	Actor	share	men	
14	as well as the people, often men, who maltreat them	activation	Actor	maltreat	men	
15	it also stems from women's dependence on men	subjection	circumstantialisation	dependence	men	
16	regulations and household surveys that confine the role of supporter and head of household to men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	role	men	
17	policy development, and legislation that confines the role of supporter or head of household to men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	role	men	
18	ensure that women have the same access as men to ...treatment	activation	comparison	access	men	
19	enable men	subjection	Goal	enable	men	
20	to assume as much responsibility as women	activation	Actor	responsibility	men	
21	Women must have the same opportunity as men	activation	comparison	opportunity	men	
22	action to promote equality between men and women	subjection	circumstantialisation	equality	men and women	
23	a sharing of this responsibility by men and women	activation	postmodification	responsibility	men and women	nom.
24	ensure that both men and women enjoy equal rights	activation	Senser	rights	men and women	
25	implement the right of men and women to employment on equal conditions	activation	postmodification	rights	men and women	det.
26	to secure for men and women the same right to work	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		men and women	
27	accelerate de facto equality between men and women	subjection	circumstantialisation	equality	men and women	
28	a better sharing of responsibilities between men and women	subjection	circumstantialisation	responsibility	men and women	
29	policies ...may benefit both men and women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		men and women	
30	A greater sharing by men and women of family and health-care responsibilities	activation	postmodification	share	men and women	nom.
31	education directed towards both men and women	subjection	circumstantialisation	education	men and women	
32	equitable society in which men and women enjoy equal partnership	activation	Senser	equality	men and women	
33	the high levels of unemployment, which affect women more than men	activation	comparison	affect	men	
34	led to higher illiteracy rates among women than among men	subjection	circumstantialisation	illiteracy	men	
35	If women have an income, it is generally lower than men's	activation	premodification	income	men	
36	transfer tasks traditionally performed by women to men or to public services	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	tasks	men	
37	to participate on an equal footing with men in all spheres	activation	accompaniment	participation	men	
38	secure the participation of women as equal partners with men	activation	accompaniment	participation	men	
39	programmes should be developed to integrate women into all economic activities on an equal basis with men	activation	accompaniment	integration	men	
40	and to participate in the political process at all levels on equal terms with men	activation	accompaniment	participation	men	
41	bringing women into the mainstream of the development process on an equal basis with men	activation	accompaniment		men	det.
42	the inclusion of women in these forms of participation on an equal footing with men	activation	accompaniment	inclusion	men	
43	improved statistics and indicators on the situation of women as compared with men	activation	comparison	situation	men	
44	to benefit equally with men from national policies	activation	accompaniment		men	
45	Social security benefits should be guaranteed to women on an equal footing with men	activation	accompaniment	benefits	men	
46	impediments to the achievement by women of equality with men	activation	accompaniment	equality	men	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Beijing Platform of Action (1995) – the representation of men

N	Men in text	Process	Means/Role	Issues	Category of men	Nom./Det
1	encourage men	subjection	Goal	encourage	men	
2	to participate fully in all actions towards equality	activation	actor	participation	men	
3	other households are dependent on female income even where men are present	subjection	Carrier		men	
4	men have started to accept greater responsibility for domestic tasks	activation	actor	responsibility	men	
5	changes in women's roles have been greater and much more rapid than changes in men's roles	activation	premodification	role	men	det.
6	the number of women living in poverty has increased disproportionately to the number of men	activation	postmodification	number	men	det.
7	Young men are often not educated	subjection	Goal	education	men	
8	to respect women's self-determination	activation	actor		men	
9	to share responsibility with women in matters of sexuality and reproduction	activation	actor	share	men	
10	epidemiological studies in many countries are often based solely on men	subjection	circumstantialisation	studies	men	det.
11	interventions administered to women are based on research on men	subjection	circumstantialisation	research	men	det.
12	educate men regarding the importance of women's health and well-being	subjection	Goal	education	men	
13	Encourage men	subjection	Goal	encourage	men	
14	to share equally in child care and household work	activation	actor	share	men	
15	to provide	activation	actor	provide	men	
16	their share of financial support	activation	premodification	share	men	det.
17	for their families	activation	premodification	family	men	det.
18	even if they do not live with them	activation	existent		men	
19	on the same basis as they are made available to men and boys	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	availability	men	
20	programmes to educate	subjection	Goal	education	men	
21	and enable men	subjection	Goal	enable	men	
22	to assume	activation	actor	assume	men	
23	their responsibilities	activation	premodification	responsibility	men	det.
24	to prevent HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases	activation	actor		men	
25	Design specific programmes for men of all ages and male adolescents	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	programmes	men	
26	Men's groups mobilizing against gender violence are necessary allies for change	activation	premodification	groups	men	det.
27	inadequate sharing, by men and by society, of family responsibilities	activation	postmodification	share	men	nom.
28	strengthen women's access to credit and capital on appropriate terms equal to those of men	activation	postmodification	access	men	det.
29	encourage men	subjection	Goal	encourage	men	
30	to seek employment in the social sector	activation	actor	employment	men	
31	the tendency for political decision-making to remain the domain of men	activation	postmodification	domain	men	det.
32	integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion and at the same levels as men	activation	comparison	position	men	
33	The factors that cause the flight of refugee women…may be different from those affecting men	subjection	Goal	affect	men	
34	men often pursue work in distant locations	activation	actor	work	men	
35	leaving women to safeguard	activation	actor		men	
36	In some areas of the world, men outnumber women by 5 in every 100	activation	existent		men	
37	women are twice as likely to be infected as men	activation	comparison	infection	men	
38	Women are affected by many of the same health conditions as men	activation	comparison	affect	men	
39	Ensure that women have the same right as men	activation	comparison	rights	men	
40	discrimination against women by men	activation	postmodification	discrimination	men	nom.
41	enable girls and women, as well as boys and men on an equal basis	subjection	Goal	enable	girls, women, boys, men	
42	to complete their education	activation	Actor	education	girls, women, boys, men	
43	Women, like men, particularly in rural areas and poor urban areas, are increasingly exposed to environmental health hazards	activation	comparison	position	men	
44	equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women	activation	postmodification	responsibility	men and women	nom.
45	inequality, both between men and women	subjection	circumstantialisation	inequality	men and women	nom.
46	the right of men and women to be informed	activation	postmodification	rights	men and women	det.

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Beijing 2000 - the representation of men

N	Men in text	Process	Means/Role	Issues	Category of men	Nom./Det.
1	increased awareness among men	subjection	circumstantialisation	awareness	men	
2	women and men experience humanitarian emergencies differently	activation	senser		women and men	
3	of their responsibility in family planning	activation	premodification	responsibility	men	det.
4	an insufficient encouragement for men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	encouragment	men	
5	specialized studies being conducted on gender roles, in particular on men's and boys' roles	activation	premodification	roles	men	det.
6	Gender equality implies that women's as well as men's needs, interests, concerns, experiences and priorities are an integral	activation	premodification	needs, interests, concerns...	women and men	det.
7	their work and family	activation	premodification	family	men	det.
8	as long as there is insufficient sharing of tasks and responsibilities by men	activation	postmodification	share	men	nom
9	promote responsible, safe and respectful behaviour by men	activation	postmodification	behaviour	men	???
10	Men and boys should also be actively involved	subjection	goal	involvement	men	
11	and encouraged in all efforts to achieve the goals	subjection	goal	encouragement	men	
12	Design, and implement programmes to encourage...	subjection	goal	encouragement	men	
13	and enable men	subjection	goal	enable	men	
14	unequal career opportunities and inadequate sharing, by men, of family responsibilities	activation	postmodification	share	men	nom
15	the right of men and women	activation	postmodification	right	men and women	det.
16	reconcile family and work responsibilities of both women and men	activation	postmodification	responsibility	women and men	det.
17	encourage men	subjection	goal	encouragement	men	
18	the importance of balanced participation of women and men in decision-making	activation	postmodification	participation	women and men	nom
19	implement programmes including education programmes, particularly for men and boys, on changing stereotypical attitudes	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	programmes	men	
20	and lag behind men in income and career mobility	subjection	circumstantialisation		men	
21	discussion on the roles and responsibilities of women and men	activation	postmodification	roles, responsibility	women and men	det.
22	require the partnership of women and men at all levels	activation	postmodification	partnership	women and men	det.
23	to be informed	subjection	Carrier	information	men and women	
24	promote shared responsibility of parents, women and men and society as a whole	activation	postmodification	responsibility	women and men	det.
25	reasons why men and women may be affected differently by the process	subjection	Goal	affect	men and women	
26	existing inequalities between men and women migrants	subjection	circumstantialisation	inequality	men and women	
27	statistics on the contributions of women and men to society	activation	postmodification	contribution	women and men	nom
28	the socio-economic situation of women and men	activation	postmodification	situation	women and men	det.
29	Promote respect for the right of women and men to the freedom of thought	activation	postmodification	right	women and men	det.
30	spirituality and belief play in the lives of millions of women and men	activation	postmodification	lives	women and men	det.
31	and to have access to safe, effective, affordable	activation	Possessor	access	men and women	
32	Older women and men have distinct reproductive and sexual health issues	activation	Possessor	issues	older, women and men	
33	the differing impacts of poverty on women and men	subjection	circumstantialisation	impact	women and men	
34	widening economic inequality between women and men	subjection	circumstantialisation	inequality	women and men	
35	unequal distribution of unremunerated work between women and men	subjection	circumstantialisation	work	women and men	
36	Obstacles such as unequal power relationships between women and men	subjection	circumstantialisation	power	women and men	
37	a lack of communication and understanding between men and women	subjection	circumstantialisation		women and men	
38	armed conflict has different destructive impacts on women and men	subjection	circumstantialisation	impact	women and men	
39	millions of the world's poorest women and men still do not have access to	activation	Possessor	access	poorest women and men	nom
40	Peace is inextricably linked to equality between women and men	subjection	circumstantialisation	equality	women and men	det.
41	Equal pay for women and men for equal work	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	work	women and men	det.
42	the continued disproportionate burden for women in comparison to men	activation	comparison	burden	men	
43	substantial improvements of de jure equality between women and men	subjection	circumstantialisation	equality	women and men	
44	women, more often than men, are burdened with the responsibility of	activation	comparison	burden	men	
45	negative stereotyping of women and men still persist	subjection	postmodification	stereotyping	women and men	
46	implications of environmental problems for women and men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		women and men	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. Resolutions (1960s to 2003) – the representation of men

N	Resolution	Men in text	Process	Means/Role	Issues	Category of men	Nom./Det.
1	1963: 1920 (XVIII)	the necessity of women playing their full part, **on equal terms with men**	activation	accompaniment	participation	men	
2	1975: 3520 (XXXX)	to promote equality between men and women	subjection	circumstancialisation	equality	men and women	
3	1975: 3520 (XXXX)	projects that would promote...the achievement of the equality of women and men	activation	postmodification	equality	women and men	det.
4	1975: 3520 (XXXX)	the promotion of the full equality of women with men in all spheres of life in accordance with international standards	activation	accompaniment	equality	men	
5	1975: 3520 (XXXX)	implementation of the Plan to the daily lives of men and women throughout the world	activation	postmodification	lives	men and women	det.
6	1975: 3522 (XXXX)	efforts to extend to women the facilities now being offered only to men by financial and lending institutions	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	facilities	men	
7	1975: 3523 (XXXX)	the realization of the full and equal partnership of men and women in the development of society, both in law and in fact	activation	postmodification	partnership	men and women	det.
8	1976-31/175	facilitate the equal participation of women with men in all development efforts	activation	postmodification	participation	women and men	nom.
9	1979: 34/204	women and men should participate	activation	Actor	participation	women and men	
10	1979: 34/204	and contribute on a basis of equality in the social, economic and political processes of development	activation	Actor	contribution	women and men	
11	1979: 34/204	and should share in improved conditions of life	activation	Actor	share	women and men	
12	1980: 35/78	the real and effective participation of women and men in all aspects of the development process	activation	postmodification	participation	women and men	nom.
13	1998: A/RES/52/93	measures to increase land availability to poor women and men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	availability	poor women and men	
14	1998: A/RES/52/195	the principle of shared responsibility between women and men	subjection	circumstancialisation	responsibility	women and men	
15	1998: A/RES/52/195	Urges all Governments to ensure women's equal rights with men	activation	accompaniment	rights	men	
16	1998: A/RES/52/195	measures are taken to increase land availability to poor women and men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	availability	poor women and men	
17	1999: 54/135	measures to give women the same right as men to credit	activation	comparison	rights	men	
18	1999: 54/210	small-scale farmers who are more likely to be women than men	activation	comparison	farmers	men	
19	1999: 54/210	the principle of shared responsib. betw. women and men for the achievm. of gender equality	subjection	circumstancialisation	responsibility	women and men	
20	1999: 54/210	Urges all Governments to ensure women's equal rights with men	activation	accompaniment	rights	men	
21	1999: 54/210	ensure that women are accorded full and equal rights as men to own land and other property	activation	comparison	rights	men	
22	1999: 54/210	measures to give women the same right as men to credit, capital	activation	comparison	rights	men	
23	2001: 56/129	measures to give women the same right as men to credit, capital	activation	comparison	rights	men	
24	2001: 56/129	Promoting programmes to enable rural women and men	subjection	Goal	enable	women and men	
25	2001: 56/129	to reconcile	activation	Actor		women and men	
26	2001: 56/129	their work	activation	premodification	work	women and men	det.
27	2001: 56/129	to encourage men	subjection	Goal	encourage	men	
28	2001: 56/129	to share equally **with women** household and childcare responsibilities	activation	Actor	share	men	
29	2001: 56/188	the equal rights and opportunities of women and men must be assured	activation	postmodification	rights	women and men	det.
30	2001: 56/188	peace is inextricably linked to equality between women and men and to development	subjection	circumstancialisation	equality	women and men	
31	2001: 56/188	small-scale farmers who are more likely to be women than men	activation	comparison	farmers	men	
32	2001: 56/188	the lack of equal access of women and men to, and control over, credit, technology...	activation	postmodification	access	women and men	nom.
33	2001: 56/188	ensure women's equal rights with men	activation	accompaniment	rights	men	
34	2001: 56/188	measures to give women the same right as men to credit	activation	comparison	rights	men	
35	2003: 58/146	necessary measures to give women the same right as men to credit, capital...	activation	comparison	rights	men	
36	2003: 58/146	programmes to enable rural women and men	subjection	Goal	enable	rural women and men	
37	2003: 58/146	to reconcile	activation	Actor		rural women and men	
38	2003: 58/146	their work and family responsibilities	activation	premodification	work	rural women and men	det.
39	2003: 58/146	to encourage men	subjection	Goal	encourage	men	
40	2003: 58/146	to share equally with women household and childcare responsibilities	activation	Actor	share	men	
41	2003: 58/206	the equal rights and opportunities of women and men must be assured	activation	postmodification	rights	women and men	det.
42	2003: 58/206	peace is inextricably linked to equality between women and men and to development	subjection	circumstancialisation	equality	women and men	
43	2003: 58/206	small-scale farmers, who are more likely to be women than men	activation	comparison	farmers	men	
44	2003: 58/206	the lack of equal access of women and men to, and control over, credit, technology...	activation	postmodification	access	women and men	nom.
45	2003: 58/206	Urges all Governments to ensure women's equal rights with men	activation	accompaniment	rights	men	
46	2003: 58/206	and their full and equal access to education, training, employment...	activation	premodification	access	women and men	nom.
47	2003: 58/206	necessary measures to give women the same right as men to credit, capital...	activation	comparison	rights	men	
48	2003: 58/206	enable men and women	subjection	Goal	enable	men and women	
49	2003: 58/206	to reconcile	activation	Actor		men and women	
50	2003: 58/206	their work, social and family responsibilities	activation	premodification	work	men and women	det.

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. FAO 1989 - the representation of men

N	Men in text	Process	Means/Role	Issues	Category of men	Nom./Det.
1	the participation of women on an equal basis with men in rural development	activation	accompaniment	participation	men	
2	where cultural factors prevent women from working alongside men;	activation	accompaniment	work	men	
3	rules tend to favour men in land rights	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	rights	men	
4	laws that deny women from working with men	activation	accompaniment	work	men	
5	who are not family members	subjection	Identified		men	
6	men tend to extend personal control over the land	activation	Actor	control	men	
7	squeezing out women	activation	Actor		men	
8	guaranteeing women the right to own land either separately or jointly with men	activation	accompaniment	rights	men	
9	women participate on an equal basis with men	activation	accompaniment	participation	men	
10	men own	activation	Possessor	own	men	
11	and care for large livestock	activation	Actor	care for	men	
12	men and boys are in charge of herding	subjection	Carrier	charge	men and boys	
13	women engage in fish processing in cooperation with men	activation	accompaniment		men	
14	men concentrate on income-generating work	activation	Senser	work	men	
15	Men migrate from their villages to cities	activation	Actor		men	
16	With fewer men in the community, the demand on women for labour reduces the time	activation	Existent		men	
17	While the men fish,	activation	Actor		men	
18	girls and women have fewer opportunities than boys and men to attend school	activation	comparison	opportunities	boys and men	
19	only men learned about new opportunities and technologies	activation	Senser	opportunities	men	
20	One problem was the assumption that extension training is for men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	training	men	
21	This did not mean ignoring men	subjection	Goal		men	
22	who build the storage facilities	activation	Actor		men	
23	and also cultivate maize	activation	Actor		men	
24	men took an active interest in food conservation	activation	Actor		men	
25	a broader concern with women's roles and responsibilities in relation to those of men	activation	postmodification	roles and resp.	men	det.
26	Land is awarded to a "family head", traditionally a man	subjection	Identified	family head	man	
27	stimulate the entire agricultural labour force, both men and women, and to maximize its output	subjection	Goal	labour force	labour force, men and women	
28	Local men and women voluntarily carry out the tasks	activation	Actor	task	local men and women	
29	including both men and women as full participants	subjection	Goal	inclusion	men and women	
30	men and women have complementary labour roles for the same crop	activation	Possessor	role	men and women	
31	Men and women participate in watershed management in Bolivia	activation	Actor	participation	men and women	
32	include both men and women	subjection	Goal	inclusion	men and women	
33	equal wages to be paid to men and women workers	beneficialisationb	Beneficiary	wages	men and women workers	
34	projects that include both men and women	subjection	Goal	inclusion	women and men	
35	land titles will be awarded to both women and men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		women and men	
36	the agricultural activities of women and men vary according to region	activation	postmodification	activities	women and men	det.
37	lessen the labour input of women and men	activation	postmodification	labour	women and men	det.
38	train women and men extension workers	subjection	Goal	training	women and men extension workers	
39	Discussions with both women and men farmers	activation	accompaniment		women and men farmers	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. FAO 1996 - the representation of men

N	Men in text	Process	Manner/Role	Issues	Category of men	Nom./Det.
1	land tenure patterns that favour men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	favour	men	
2	their wages are not equal to men's	activation	premodification	wages	men	det.
3	women in developing countries work up to one-third more hours than men	activation	comparison	work	men	
4	armed conflicts and drought...have affected women more severely than men	activation	comparison	affect	men	
5	men and better-off rural dwellers may only be partially affected by these impediments	subjection	Goal	affect	men and better-off dwellers	
6	women continue to have far less access to services in comparison with men	activation	comparison	access	men	
7	heavier workloads for women in comparison to men	activation	comparison	workload	men	
8	facilities traditionally reserved for men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	facility	men	
9	Rural women's access to agricultural extension services worldwide is only about 1/20th of that of men	activation	postmodification	access	men	nom.
10	nor are the differential policy impacts on men and women considered	subjection	circumstantialisation	impact	men and women	
11	This includes targeting both men and women	subjection	Goal		men and women	
12	involving men and women in the participatory approach	subjection	Goal	involvement	men and women	
13	incorporate the knowledge, needs and interests of both men and women	activation	postmodification	knowledge, needs, interests	men and women	det.
14	the unequal opportunities between men and women in relation to socio-economic livelihood	subjection	circumstantialisation	opportunities	men and women	
15	policy that responds to the needs and interests of rural women and men	activation	postmodification	needs, interests	rural women and men	det.
16	the differential roles, constraints and opportunities of rural women and men are largely left implicit	activation	postmodification	roles, constraints, opportunities	rural women and men	det.
17	institutional performance impacts differentially upon rural men and women	subjection	circumstantialisation	impact	rural women and men	
18	the equitable participation of rural men and women in the development process	activation	postmodification	participation	rural women and men	nom.
19	global actions for rural men and women towards sustainable	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		rural women and men	
20	vigorous participation of rural people – both women and men	activation	postmodification	participation	rural women and men	nom.
21	and their communities	activation	premodification	communities	rural women and men	det.
22	do not generally consider rural men and women's differential conditions and needs	activation	premodification	conditions, needs	rural women and men	det.
23	captures the socially-defined differences between women and men	subjection	circumstantialisation		women and men	
24	women and men working together	activation	Actor	work	women and men	

Appendix 4. Samples of the analysis of the representation of women and men in the corpus

Appendix 4. FAO 2002 – the representation of men

N	Men in text	Process	Means/Role	Issues	Category of men	Nom./Det.
1	women can be affected negatively by globalisation and liberalisation processes to a greater extent than men	activation	comparison	affect	men	
2	emergencies affect women and girls differently from men and boys	activation	comparison	affect	men and boys	
3	women tend to contribute a far greater percentage of their cash income to household food requirements than men do	activation	Actor	contribution	men	
4	women have often a more highly specialised knowledge of wild plants used for food, fodder and medicine than men	activation	comparison	knowledge	men	
5	it is usually men	subjection	Identified		men	
6	who are responsible for large-scale cash cropping	subjection	Carrier	responsibility	men	
7	identification of the role and responsibility of men	activation	postmodification	responsibility	men	det.
8	in securing nutritional well-being of all household members	activation	Actor	involvement	men	
9	women farmers tend to be more involved than men in the production	activation	comparison	involvement	men	
10	production of cash crops undertaken by men	activation	Actor	production	men	
11	a comprehensive gender sensitive programme on children and youth, including boys, girls, young men and women	subjection	Goal	programme	boys, girls, young men and women	
12	understand the specific roles and responsibilities of men and women in agriculture	activation	postmodification	roles, responsibility	men and women	det.
13	their main constraints and needs	activation	premodification	constraints, needs	men and women	det.
14	as well as their ability	activation	premodification	ability	men and women	det.
15	to carry out	activation	Actor		men and women	
16	their activities under emergency situations	activation	premodification	activities	men and women	det.
17	scarce attention paid to the different roles and responsibilities of men and women	activation	postmodification	roles, responsibility	men and women	det.
18	more balanced employment opportunities for men and women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	opportunities	men and women	
19	distributed to all involved in the industry, both men and women	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		men and women	
20	environmental aspects, as these affect men and women	subjection	Goal	affect	men and women	
21	activities will encourage the participation of both men and women	activation	postmodification	participation	men and women	nom.
22	understand how men's and women's local knowledge can promote the conservation of biodiversity	activation	premodification	knowledge	men and women	det.
23	lifting men and women	subjection	Goal		men and women	
24	out of their poverty	activation	premodification	poverty	men and women	
25	Special attention will also be given to the role of men and women in livestock	activation	postmodification	role	men and women	det.
26	address apparent differences in opportunities and outcomes between men and women	subjection	circumstancialisation	opportunities	men and women	det.
27	taking into account men and women's role in aquaculture	activation	premodification	role	men and women	det.
28	to raise awareness on their contributions to agricultural and rural development	activation	premodification	contribution	men and women	nom.
29	meeting challenge of HIV/AIDS for both men and women by extension organisations	beneficialisation	Beneficiary		men and women	
30	men and women subsistence farmers have developed different expertise	activation	Actor		men and women subsistence farmers	
31	with special attention paid to the most vulnerable, including very poor women or men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	attention	poor women and men	
32	who are normally neglected by projects	subjection	Goal	neglection	poor women and men	
33	or excluded from training programmes	subjection	Goal	exclusion	poor women and men	
34	a more accurate picture of the contributions of both rural women and men	activation	postmodification	contribution	rural women and men	nom.
35	providing access to information and communication technology (ICT) for both rural women and men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	access	rural women and men	
36	and equality between rural women and men	subjection	circumstancialisation	equality	rural women and men	
37	rural women and men have a stake in the preservation of the environment	activation	Possessor	role	rural women and men	
38	poor rural women and men may have limited access to new agricultural technology	activation	Possessor	access	rural women and men	
39	both rural women and men have different and complementary roles	activation	Possessor	role	rural women and men	
40	Access to land or the lack of it concerns both rural women and men	beneficialisation	Beneficiary	access	rural women and men	
41	rural women and men are both active agents in agricultural and rural development	subjection	Identified		rural women and men	
42	address the different roles and needs of rural women and men adequately	activation	postmodification	roles, needs	rural women and men	det.

Appendix 5. Samples of the analysis of the use of *gender* in the corpus

Appendix 5. Gender in WCW Plans of Action

N	WCW Report	Text	Grammatical Category	Adjective	Issue
1	Nairobi 1985	the advancement of women and the elimination of gender-based discrimination	CA	based	discrimination
2	Nairobi 1985	Women, by virtue of their gender, experience discrimination in terms of denial of equal access	N		
3	Nairobi 1985	The gender bias evident in most development programmes should be eliminated	ModifN		bias
4	Nairobi 1985	bring about changes in social attitudes so that new or modified gender roles will be accepted, promoted	ModifN		roles
5	Nairobi 1985	Governments should compile gender-specific statistics and information	CA	specific	statistics
6	Nairobi 1985	Gender stereotyping in all areas should be avoided	ModifN		stereotyping
7	Nairobi 1985	The appropriate gender-specific indicators for monitoring women's health	CA	specific	indicators
8	Nairobi 1985	eliminate all discriminatory gender stereotyping in education	ModifN		stereotyping
9	Nairobi 1985	develop gender-specific statistics and information that reflect accurately women's contribution	CA	specific	statistics
10	Nairobi 1985	eliminate gender bias from labour markets	ModifN		bias
11	Nairobi 1985	negative attitudes towards women should be eliminated and traditional gender norms changed	ModifN		norms
12	Nairobi 1985	the gathering of gender-specific data and economic indicators	CA	specific	data
13	Nairobi 1985	Gender-specific violence is increasing and Governments must affirm the dignity of women	CA	specific	violence
14	Nairobi 1985	investment in evolving adequate gender-specific data is also required	CA	specific	data
15	Nairobi 1985	improve systematically statistical and other forms of gender-specific indicators	CA	specific	indicators
16	Nairobi 1985	remove gender-specific discriminatory perceptions, attitudes and behaviour	CA	specific	discrimination
17	Nairobi 1985	mutually reinforcing gender-sensitive policies and programmes	CA	sensitive	policies
18	Beijing 1995	remove all obstacles to gender equality	ModifN		equality
19	Beijing 1995	ensuring that a gender perspective is reflected in all our policies and programmes	ModifN		perspective
20	Beijing 1995	the common goal of gender equality around the world	ModifN		equality
21	Beijing 1995	occupational segregation patterns in the labour market and other gender-based barriers	CA	based	barriers
22	Beijing 1995	ensure the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in all spheres of society	ModifN		perspective
23	Beijing 1995	The boundaries of the gender division of labour between productive and reproductive roles	ModifN		division of labour
24	Beijing 1995	epidemological studies ...they are not gender specific	CA	specific	studies
25	Beijing 1995	without any investigation and adjustment for gender differences	ModifN		differences
26	Beijing 1995	policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies	ModifN		perspective
27	Beijing 1995	design gender-sensitive health programmes	CA	sensitive	programmes
28	Beijing 1995	Redesign health information...so that they are gender-sensitive	CA	sensitive	information
29	Beijing 1995	the incorporation of gender-sensitive community-based participation	CA	sensitive	participation
30	Beijing 1995	evaluating programmes, based on gender-impact assessments	ModifN		impact assessments
31	Beijing 1995	any act of gender-based violence	CA	based	violence
32	Beijing 1995	Take into account gender-sensitive concerns in developing training	CA	sensitive	concerns
33	Beijing 2000	a lack of bargaining power resulting from gender inequality	ModifN		inequality
34	Beijing 2000	Women's participation and gender concerns are still largely absent	ModifN		concerns
35	Beijing 2000	set as goals gender equality, development and peace	ModifN		equality
36	Beijing 2000	to ensure that commitments for gender equality, development and peace	ModifN		equality
37	Beijing 2000	progress towards the achievement of gender equality	ModifN		equality
38	Beijing 2000	towards the common goal of gender equality around the world	ModifN		equality
39	Beijing 2000	increasing recognition of gender dimensions of poverty	ModifN		dimension
40	Beijing 2000	gender equality is one of the factors of specific importance	ModifN		equality
41	Beijing 2000	integrate a gender perspective into poverty eradication	ModifN		perspective
42	Beijing 2000	the incorporation of a gender perspective into their policies	ModifN		perspective
43	Beijing 2000	gender-specific prevention and rehabilitation programmes	CA	specific	prevention
44	Beijing 2000	professional and gender-sensitive standards in the delivery of women's health services	CA	sensitive	standards
45	Beijing 2000	gender-specific risks from tobacco and environmental tobacco smoke	CA	specific	risks
46	Beijing 2000	a gender sensitive approach to the application of international human rights	CA	sensitive	approach
47	Beijing 2000	Gender-based persecution has been accepted	CA	based	persecution
48	Beijing 2000	all forms of abuse, including gender-specific abuse	CA	specific	abuse
49	Beijing 2000	gender-sensitive attitudes towards women	CA	sensitive	attitudes
50	Beijing 2000	promoting gender equality and women's participation	ModifN		equality

Appendix 5. Samples of the analysis of the use of *gender* in the corpus

Appendix 5. Gender in UN resolutions

N	UN Resolution	Text	Grammatical Category	Adjective	Issue
1	1989:A/RES/44/171	continue to develop gender disaggregated data and indicators concerning the role of women in development	CA	disaggregated	data
2	1989:A/RES/44/171	ensure that it will collect and report gender disaggregated data	CA	disaggregated	data
3	1995:A/RES/50/104	the adoption of gender-sensitive policies and legal measures	CA	sensitive	policies
4	1995:A/RES/50/104	promote methodologies for incorporating a gender perspective into all aspects of policy-making	ModifN		perspective
5	1995:A/RES/50/165	give due consideration to the gender aspects of rural-urban migration	ModifN		aspects
6	1998:A/RES/52/195	gender equality is of fundamental importance for achieving sustained economic growth	ModifN		equality
7	1998:A/RES/52/195	shared responsibility between women and men for the achievement of gender equality	ModifN		equality
8	1998:A/RES/52/195	neglecting a gender perspective in policy formulation and implementation	ModifN		perspective
9	1998:A/RES/52/195	the adoption of gender-sensitive policies and legal measures	CA	sensitive	policies
10	1998:A/RES/52/195	promote...family-friendly and gender-sensitive work environments	CA	sensitive	work environments
11	1998:A/RES/52/195	their efforts to integrate gender concerns into national programmes	ModifN		concerns
12	1998:A/RES/52/195	United Nations system to integrate gender mainstreaming into all its programmes and policies	ModifN		mainstreaming
13	1998:A/RES/52/195	in accordance with agreed conclusions 1997/2 on gender mainstreaming	ModifN		mainstreaming
14	1999:54/135	insufficient for a full understanding of the gender implications of the processes	ModifN		implications
15	1999:54/135	Integrating a gender perspective into the design, implementation, monitoring	ModifN		perspective
16	1999:54/210	Reaffirming that gender equality is of fundamental importance	ModifN		equality
17	1999:54/210	the importance of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policy formulation	ModifN		perspective
18	1999:54/210	paid employment contributes to the empowerment of women and gender equality	ModifN		equality
19	1999:54/210	shared responsibility between women and men for the achievement of gender equality	ModifN		equality
20	1999:54/210	promote methodologies for mainstreaming a gender perspective in all aspects of policy-making	ModifN		perspective
21	1999:54/210	promote...family-friendly and gender-sensitive work environments	CA	sensitive	work environments
22	1999:54/210	integrating gender concerns into national programmes	ModifN		concerns
23	1999:54/210	strategies to eradicate poverty and to promote development and gender equality	ModifN		equality
24	1999:54/210	United Nations system to integrate gender mainstreaming into all its programmes and policies	ModifN		mainstreaming
25	1999:54/210	in accordance with agreed conclusions 1997/2 on gender mainstreaming	ModifN		mainstreaming
26	2001:56/129	States resolved, inter alia, to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women	ModifN		equality
27	2001:56/129	urges Governments to integrate a gender perspective, with attention to the improvement	ModifN		perspective
28	2001:56/129	integrating a gender perspective in macroeconomic policies	ModifN		perspective
29	2001:56/129	Integrating a gender perspective into the design, implementation	ModifN		perspective
30	2001:56/188	the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways	ModifN		equality
31	2001:56/188	gender equality is of fundamental importance for achieving sustained economic growth	ModifN		equality
32	2001:56/188	promote...family-friendly and gender-sensitive work environments	CA	sensitive	work environments
33	2001:56/188	integrating gender concerns into national programmes	ModifN		concerns
34	2001:56/188	examine all aspects of financing for development from a gender perspective	ModifN		perspective
35	2001:56/188	Encourages Governments to integrate fully a gender perspective in their preparations	ModifN		perspective
36	2001:56/188	United Nations system to integrate gender mainstreaming into all its programmes and policies	ModifN		mainstreaming
37	2003:58/146	promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways	ModifN		equality
38	2003:58/146	called upon Governments to mainstream the gender perspective into development	ModifN		perspective
39	2003:58/146	insufficient for a full understanding of the gender implications of the processes of globalization and rural change	ModifN		implications
40	2003:58/146	integrating a gender perspective in macroeconomic policies	ModifN		perspective
41	2003:58/146	Integrating a gender perspective into the design, implementation	ModifN		perspective
42	2003:58/206	integrate a gender perspective in the preparatory processes	ModifN		perspective
43	2003:58/206	fully incorporate a gender perspective into the implementation	ModifN		perspective
44	2003:58/206	implement the specific recommendations on microfinance and micro-credit for women and gender budget policies	ModifN		policies
45	2003:58/206	incorporate a gender perspective in their planning and evaluation	ModifN		perspective
46	2003:58/206	mainstreaming a gender perspective in planning and evaluation	ModifN		perspective
47	2003:58/206	integrate gender mainstreaming into all its programmes and policies	ModifN		mainstreaming
48	2003:58/206	in accordance with agreed conclusions 1997/2 on gender mainstreaming adopted by the ECOSOC	ModifN		mainstreaming
49	2003:58/146	take into consideration, while addressing gender issues, the priorities and needs of rural women and girls	ModifN		issues
50	2003:58/206	calls for, inter alia, the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women	ModifN		equality

Appendix 5. Samples of the analysis of the use of *gender* in the corpus

Appendix 5. Gender in FAO plans

N	FAO Plan	Text	Grammatical Category	Adjective	Issue
1	FAO 1989	Such changes, which previously had been assumed to be gender neutral	CA	neutral	
2	FAO 1989	Farming systems and gender analysis	ModifN		analysis
3	FAO 1989	Combining gender analysis (an analysis of men's and women's roles in relation to each other)	ModifN		analysis
4	FAO 1989	The Plan of Action urges that gender analysis be integrated with FAO's farming systems	ModifN		analysis
5	FAO 1989	the identification of women as project participants, in presenting agricultural data by gender	N		
6	FAO 1989	Conducting farm management surveys, including the study of gender roles in agriculture	ModifN		roles
7	FAO 1989	Continuing the inclusion of gender analysis in the design of.. projects	ModifN		analysis
8	FAO 1989	Guidelines on gender analysis	ModifN		analysis
9	FAO 1989	so that gender concerns can be addressed in project formulation and reviews	ModifN		concerns
10	FAO 1989	enable gender issues to be covered in food and nutrition planning	ModifN		issues
11	FAO 1996	gender issues can only be adequately addressed in national agricultural and rural development policies and plans	ModifN		issues
12	FAO 1996	proposes instruments to address gender concerns in FAOs technical areas	ModifN		concerns
13	FAO 1996	data and information on the gender dimension of agriculture and rural development	ModifN		dimension
14	FAO 1996	dissemination and use of gender- disaggregated data on human resources in agriculture	CA	disaggregated	
15	FAO 1996	information on the links between gender and the technical issues	N		
16	FAO 1996	policy development in the area of gender, biodiversity, indigenous knowledge and the environment	N		
17	FAO 1996	integrate a gender perspective into agricultural and rural development approaches	ModifN		perspective
18	FAO 1996	Support the formulation and application of gender-responsive agricultural and rural development policy	CA	responsive	
19	FAO 1996	to guide more gender-responsive policy and programme formulation	CA	responsive	
20	FAO 1996	FAO will provide gender awareness training to policy-makers	ModifN		awareness
21	FAO 1996	the promotion of gender equity in the development process	ModifN		equity
22	FAO 1996	objectives for promoting gender equity in achieving sustainable development	ModifN		equity
23	FAO 1996	Increased global awareness of the gender implications of development	ModifN		implications
24	FAO 1996	dissemination of gender-disaggregated data and information on women's labour force contributions	CA	disaggregated	
25	FAO 1996	technical publications will be prepared that reflect gender issues	ModifN		issues
26	FAO 1996	the collection and dissemination of information on gender issues in the field	ModifN		issues
27	FAO 1996	Training of trainers in gender issues relevant to IPM will be expanded	ModifN		issues
28	FAO 1996	and training approaches giving due attention to gender issues	ModifN		issues
29	FAO 1996	to assure better consideration of gender issues in the project cycle	ModifN		issues
30	FAO 1996	staff will be trained in gender analysis	ModifN		analysis
31	FAO 1996	gender-disaggregated data will be incorporated in existing data bases	CA	disaggregated	
32	FAO 1996	promote gender-sensitive national communication policies and strategies	CA	sensitive	
33	FAO 1996	Existing gender-sensitive training will be translated into local languages	CA	sensitive	
34	FAO 1996	assuring that they (projects) are gender-responsive	CA	responsive	
35	FAO 1996	to promote gender-based equity in the access to, and control of, productive resources	CA	based	
36	FAO 1996	it requires a gender-based approach	CA	based	
37	FAO 1996	that captures the socially-defined differences between women and men, i.e. gender-based differences in roles and	CA	based	
38	FAO 1996	to include gender-specific needs	CA	specific	
39	FAO 1996	Through gender-targeted activities, AGA will provide women with assistance	CA	targeted	
40	FAO 1996	The design of gender-adapted food processing equipment...will be improved	CA	adapted	
41	FAO 1996	to integrate WID/gender concerns into policies on agriculture and food security	ModifN		concerns
42	FAO 1996	improve FAOs holdings on women/gender in all aspects of rural development	N		
43	FAO 1996	AGL will develop gender-responsive advisory materials on on-farm water management	CA	responsive	
44	FAO 1996	land tenure considerations will be disaggregated and analysed by gender	N		
45	FAO 1996	gender will be considered in issues of access to land	N		
46	FAO 2002	gender mainstreaming is one of the 16 Priority Areas for Inter-disciplinary Action	ModifN		mainstreaming

Appendix 6. WIA processes in the three genres

Table 1. WIA processes in the first three conference plans (WPA 1975, CPA 1980, NFLS 1985)

Representation		Roles & means	BPA 1975	CPA 1980	NFLS 1985
Identifying	Possession	Carrier	10	2	11
		Possessor	9	13	22
		possessivation (det.)	116	**223**	**335**
	Identity	Existent	9	7	4
		Identifier	-	3	2
		Identified	9	17	32
	Total		**153 (38%)**	**265 (32%)**	**406 (34%)**
Action	Activating	Actor	**69**	99	152
		accompaniment	-	3	3
		Senser	9	12	17
		Sayer	-	-	1
		possessivation (nom.)	42	119	173
		Total	120 (30%)	233 (28%)	346 (29%)
	Targeting	Goal	52	96	134
		Phenomenon	1	3	3
		circumstantialisation	16	41	73
		Beneficiary	36	144	154
		possessivation	20	49	79
		Total	125 (31%)	333 (40%)	443 (37%)
	Total		**245 (62%)**	**566 (68%)**	**789 (66%)**
Total			**398 (100%)**	**831 (100%)**	**1,195 (100%)**

Table 2. WIA processes in the 1995 BPA and B 2000

Representation		Roles & means	BPA 1995	B 2000
Identifying	Possession	Carrier	33	6
		Possessor	33	13
		possessivation (det.)	**369**	**151**
	Identity	Existent	31	7
		Identifier	6	2
		Identified	28	10
	Total		**500 (36%)**	**189 (38%)**
Action	Activating	Actor	186	51
		accompaniment	5	1
		Senser	16	5
		Sayer	-	-
		possessivation (nom.)	164	69
		Total	371 (27%)	126 (25%)
	Targeting	Goal	157	42
		Phenomenon	7	-
		circumstantialisation	130	64
		Beneficiary	135	49
		possessivation	85	33
		Total	514 (37%)	188 (37%)
	Total		**885 (64%)**	**314 (62%)**
Total			**1,385 (100%)**	**503 (100%)**

Appendix 6. WIA processes in the three genres

Table 3. WIA processes in the UN resolutions

Representation		Roles & means	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Identifying	**Possession**	Carrier	-	2	-	1
		Possessor	-	2	-	23
		possessivation (det.)	10	**26**	**76**	**124**
	Identity	Existent	-	-	-	14
		Identifier	-	-	-	4
		Identified	-	1	3	14
	Total		**10 (20%)**	**31 (21%)**	**79 (47%)**	**180 (39%)**
Action	**Activating**	Actor	**7**	12	4	38
		accompaniment	-	-	-	2
		Senser	-	1	1	2
		possessivation (nom.)	25	26	27	85
		Total	32 (64%)	39 (27%)	32 (19%)	127 (28%)
	Targeting	Goal	7	9	16	19
		Phenomenon	-	1	-	1
		circumstantialisation	-	8	8	23
		Beneficiary	1	5	8	55
		possessivation	-	52	25	53
		Total	8 (16%)	75 (52%)	57 (34%)	151 (33%)
	Total		**40 (80%)**	**114 (79%)**	**89 (53%)**	**278 (61%)**
Total			**50 (100%)**	**145 (100%)**	**168 (100%)**	**458 (100%)**

Table 4. WIA processes in the FAO plans

Representation		Roles & means	FAO 1989	FAO 1996	FAO 2002
Identifying	**Possession**	Carrier	15	7	10
		Possessor	14	10	6
		possessivation (det.)	87	**114**	**39**
	Identity	Identifier	-	3	1
		Identified	3	5	4
	Total		**119 (31%)**	**139 (36%)**	**60 (36%)**
Action	**Activating**	Actor	**125**	55	33
		Senser	4	3	2
		Sayer	2	-	1
		accompaniment	4	-	-
		possessivation (nom.)	31	88	25
		Total	166 (43%)	146 (38%)	61 (36%)
	Targeting	Goal	59	29	16
		Phenomenon	1	-	-
		circumstantialisation	11	20	8
		Beneficiary	22	24	13
		possessivation	7	25	9
		Total	100 (26%)	98 (26%)	46 (28%)
	Total		**266 (69%)**	**244 (64%)**	**107 (64%)**
Total			**385 (100%)**	**383 (100%)**	**167 (100%)**

Appendix 6. WIA processes in the three genres

Table 4. Average percentages of processes and issues across time and genres

			1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Processes	**Identifying**	**FAO**	-	-	31%	36%
		UN	20%	21%	47%	39%
		WCW	-	38%	33%	37%
	Action	**FAO**	-	-	69%	64%
		UN	80%	79%	53%	61%
		WCW	-	62%	67%	63%
Issues	**Identity**	**FAO**	-	-	69.3%	78.8%
		UN	41%	38%	58%	76.2%
		WCW	-	65%	66%	75.4%
	Activity	**FAO**	-	-	30.7%	21.2%
		UN	59%	62%	42%	23.8%
		WCW	-	35%	34%	24.6%

The present thesis is a study of language as a reflection of changes and trends in social reality. It is set against the background of feminist development economics which is considered from both synchronic and diachronic viewpoints. The focus lies on the use of activation and passivation processes in the representation of women and men in texts from the United Nations, the lexical choices and collocations associated with these two groups of participants, the introduction of the notion of 'gender' and the evolution of development issues across approaches, time and genres. The corpus of texts comprises three different bureaucratic genres covering the period between early 1960s and late 1990s: plans of the world conferences on women, UN resolutions on women and Food and Agriculture Organisation plans of action for women. The theoretical linguistic frameworks are M.A.K. Halliday's systemic functional grammar and critical linguistics. The analysis discloses the general trends and the significance of grammatical and lexical choices as reflections of underlying ideologies about women and men, their roles, and the meaning of gender. The change from focusing on women to focusing on gender is not as much a change in the processes via which participants are represented, but more a change of the rhetoric of approaches and their focus: from the integration of women in projects addressing men to women's self-empowerment, from an analysis of women's situation to a complex consideration of gender relations, from urgent addition to consideration of social implications and dialogue-oriented cooperation.