How integrated are women and gender in Integrated Water Resource Management?
– a Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

This thesis examines how gender and women are included, constructed and represented in Integrated Water Resource Management (IWRM) policy documents. Using Critical Discourse Analysis with a feminist approach, this study analyzes ten IWRM policy documents, ranging from the international to national level. Also a developed of Walby's phase's for women's inclusion is used to determine to which degree gender and gender are included on the whole.

The results show that the inclusion of women and gender issues is still not self-evident within water management, even though the IWRM framework is based on principles that recognize the importance of women. Women are especially reproduced as providers of household and community water, and the constructed role of women is as efficiency catalysts and care-givers and vulnerable. Furthermore, 'gender' is generally equated to 'women' or does not go beyond 'women and men'. Thus, to exclude men from the assessment and the constructing 'gender' as an issue that only concerns women entails that it is women who should find the solutions. The 'local people' which the policies concern are overall represented as 'the Other', in a passive manner.

Keywords: water, IWRM, gender, women, men, development, discourse analysis

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To my parents, for their

eternal support

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Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
GAD	Gender and Development
GWA	Gender and Water Alliance
GWP	Global Water Partnership
IWRM	Integrated Water Resource Management
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
SADC-WD	Southern African Development Community-Water Development
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP-DHI	United Nations Environment Programme-DHI Group partnership
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WASH	Water and Sanitation and Hygiene
WID	Women in Development
ZAMCOM	Zambezi Watercourse Commission

1   Introduction

Many parts of the world are experiencing water scarcity – a problem that will worsen with climate change. Water scarcity can affect various parts of society, from industrial productivity to ecosystems. Therefore, humanity needs to find sustainable methods to cope with both natural and human-made water scarcity for both mankind and the ecosystems of the planet. Furthermore, countries considered underdeveloped suffer the most from physical or economical water scarcity, as water scarcity impedes the social and economic development of these countries. Moreover, many of these countries will be worst affected as a result of climate change by becoming more dry and drought prone.

One system for a more holistic management of the water resources is the Integrated Water Resource Management (IWRM) framework. The framework was developed after a ministerial recommendation at the 1992 *Agenda 21 and the World Summit on Sustainable Development*-conference in Rio de Janeiro. It is based on the Dublin Principles, which were presented at the same conference. The definition of IWRM by the organization Global Water Partnership is widely acknowledged: "a process which promotes the coordinated development and management of water, land and related resources, in order to maximize the resultant economic and social welfare in an equitable manner without compromising the sustainability of vital ecosystems." (Rahaman & Varis, 2005, p. 15). Moreover, IWRM usually has a very strong focus on river-basin based water management, as the watershed often is viewed as a more suitable entity for holistic water management than, for example, countries defined by their national administrative borders. Some scholars have emphasized how IWRM is an amorphous concept, while others have stressed the importance of that it should be possible to be adapted to each local context (Biswas, 2004; Lenton & Muller, 2009). IWRM policies have been adopted as a practice by the United Nations, as well as on regional and local levels. In 2012, 79 countries had formed IWRM policies.

One of the founding Dublin principles' of IWRM is the recognition of the importance of women in water projects. Furthermore, on the international level of the

United Nations, all UN bodies and its cooperating organizations are enjoined to pursue *gender mainstreaming* in all the work performed. However, many water projects, both international and local, have been shown to overlook the role of women.

1.1   Disposition

The second chapter presents the aim and the research questions that the thesis intends to study. The third chapter gives the background to the issues through a literature review; Firstly, a review on how women – and later gender – have been excluded and included in the context of development. Secondly, how this relates to gender and women in water management projects. The fourth chapter outlines a theoretical framework on how policies create and reproduce identities. The fifth chapter describes the used method, Critical Discourse Analysis, and the chosen material for the study. In the sixth chapter the analysed results are presented through the discursive themes that have been determined, with the point of the departure from the discursive practice. Also the aspects of the textual components are presented. The final, and seventh, chapter draws conclusions through trying to answer the established research questions.

1.2   Limitations

Because the thesis has a post-structuralist nature, I will not claim any objectivity for the investigation, as it is a part of the post-structural worldview that there is no such thing as objectivity. IWRM is a framework that just as much concerns the 'global North' as the 'global South'. The reason that I have chosen to focus on the developing country context is partly due to personal interest, my Bachelor Degree is in Development studies. Moreover, more developing countries face extensive challenges now and in the future. Another reason to focus on developing countries was an availability issue: many 'developed' countries, for example within the European Union, do not have IWRM-based water management policies, neither country nor river-basin based.

This thesis will not directly address what actually happens in the IWRM programs or about how organizations do their work; it is about how the language employed in IWRM-policies regarding gender shapes how the readers perceive and understand the field. Neither will the thesis address the controversial topic of whether privatization is beneficial for water supply or not. Finally, I will make a distinction between gender and sex, and not address the topic of whether biological sex is a social construction as well.

2 Research Problem

Various studies have observed a lack of women's inclusion and influence in water projects, as well as how women are limited to certain roles, which also reproduce the female identity to these roles. However, no studies have been conducted specifically on IWRM. IWRM includes a wide range of categories for water use – such as industrial and irrigation water – with a focus on basin-based management. Typically, projects focused on gender and/or women solely concern household or community water. Moreover, IWRM is supposed to be based on the Dublin principles, whereof the inclusion of women is one such principle. It acknowledges that "women play a central part in the provision, management and safeguarding of water" (Rahaman & Varis, 2005 p.16). Previous research (see the Literature Review) has shown how policy discourse is gendering, and are not neutral texts. What I want to investigate is how IWRM discourse reproduces women and gender, and their connection to water.

2.1 Aim

The overall aim of this thesis is to, through discourse analysis, uncover how IWRM policy discourse includes, excludes and reproduces the roles of women, men and gender in connection to water. Firstly, the main aim is to find which patterns regarding these units occur in the IWRM policy documents. Secondly, I want to examine if 'gender' includes both men and women or if the concept is equated to women. Thirdly, I want to examine how the gendered categories are concatenated with different types of water; if eventual inclusion differs depending on which type of water it concerns, for example irrigation vs household water. Fourthly, I will examine whether women are treated as a homogenous group.

2.1.1 Research questions

The research questions are:

Are women, men and gender included in IWRM policies? In which contexts?

How are women, men and gender represented in discourses in IWRM policies?

Which roles are women and men assigned in IWRM policies? Which type of water?

What does "gender" represent in IWRM policies?

3 Literature review

3.1 Women, gender and development

The publishing of Ester Boserup's *Woman's Role in Economic Development* in 1970 can be seen as a turning point for the recognition of women's role for development. Boserup showed how Western aid policies, projects and its workers discriminated women, and that the development activities left women worse off in terms of resources and influence. It also had a segregating effect where men received training for cash-crop production and modern machinery, while women were trained on domestic welfare issues. This created a productivity gap between male and female farmers, which later also was used as an argument for treating men as breadwinners for a family wage. Similarly, the projects for women mirrored that time's Western-housewife ideal, and the activities led to that women were more closely tied to the household chores and their roles as mothers.

Nalia Kabeer (1994) exposed that practices from Boserup's time continues, even in "gender conscious" projects. The concerns of women were framed in relation to the domestic and maternal roles ascribed to them by the Western development planners. Third World women were constructed in relation to poverty and welfare policies, and were overlooked by programs that sought to improve regional production methods and economic growth. The description of the Third World female was a poor woman or girl in need of external support. Kabeer stressed how this ascribed role deprived women of their agency. Furthermore, Kabeer criticised the micro-economical assumption that the 'household', with the male head as its representative, was an entity that benefit all its members equally because the approach did not consider the unequal gender relation within the household.

The frameworks adopted by the international community in the 1970's and 80's was Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) (Jaquette & Summerfield, 2006). Both these regimes have been widely criticized – especially by Third World feminists – for narrow-mindedness: that the experiences

of liberal, middleclass women was regarded to be the same for all the world's women (Mohanty, 1988). Other 'inclusion of women' – regimes identified by Jane Momsen (2010) are, firstly, the efficiency approach, which emphasized that the inclusion of women would make the development process more efficient. However, as formulated by Momsen the approach was rather "what women can do for development, instead of what development can do for women". Secondly, the empowerment approach which is supposed to give women agency to break their own shackles. Related to Mohanty's critique is the concept of intersectionality, which stresses that women are not a homogenous group – that people's experience is also based on their class, race, sexuality and possible handicaps (de los Reyes, 2005:41, avs. Intersektionalitet, makt och strukturell diskriminering).

3.1.1 Gender mainstreaming

Eventually, a wider attention on women's exclusion in development management lead to the establishment of the concept *gender mainstreaming*. It was adopted at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995. It highlighted the necessity to ensure that gender equality is a primary instrument for social and economic development (Charlesworth, 2005). It both aimed to highlight gender, instead of only women. However, the main difference of gender mainstreaming compared with previous regimes, was the emphasis that the gender perspective should no longer be a side project, but integrated and perpetrate in all activities. In 1997 the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defined the concept of gender mainstreaming as follows:

> "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 any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part 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 of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality." (ECOSOC, 1997, p 24)

However, gender mainstreaming has also been criticised for poor implementation results, often based in short-lived projects as an additional sideline (Jaquette & Summerfield, 2006). Some claim that gender mainstreaming also can have an inherently problematic component where more knowledge is seen to automatically lead to more social change, which have meant that the gender mainstreaming has consisted of education and awareness raising activities, while the actually situation stays *status quo* (Powell, 2016), Many organizations, both UN bodies and non-

governmental organizations (NGOs), have been criticized for only seeing gender mainstreaming as something for the 'local people', and not for conducting any gender assessments within their own organization (Charlesworth, 2005; Powell, 2016). Moreover, another critique is gender depoliticization, where work for gender equality becomes a consensus supported by everyone, but it loses its core of transforming social injustices and unequal distribution of resources. A related problematization is decoupling, which is when an organization responds to opposing demands by separating the challenging issues from its core activities (Powell, 2016).

3.2 Women and environment

Eco-feminism made connections between women and environment, with Vandana Shiva as the front figure, claiming that women have closer connections to the environment, and therefore better at taking care of environmental recourses (Shiva, 2002). Later feminists, particularly discourse feminists, have objected that this is an essentialist social construction and that the reason women are more is likely to protest against environmental degradation is that their socially constructed gender role and gendered tasks of labour division are more dependent on natural resources, and the social structures do not allow them access to other types of economic opportunities (Ahmed, 2005; Arora-Jonsson, 2013). Furthermore, several studies have shown that women, compared to men, did not have a deeper understanding of environmental issues, rather the opposite (Momsen, 2010).

Seema Arora-Jonsson has observed how women are described as vulnerable and potential victims in environmental policies, especially concerning climate change. However, women were also reproduced as more virtuous, and a possible key to sustainable development. The focus on women's possible vulnerability/virtuousness removes the focus from the power balance, and therefore the gendered social relation, between the sexes. Instead, women are portrayed as homogenous group suffering from a disadvantaged position compared to men. Furthermore, Arora-Jonsson warns for "the feminization of responsibility"; that poverty reduction and a sustainable development for the environment becomes an additional burden on women's shoulder. If women previously have been described as victims, they have now been transformed into possible heroines (Arora-Jonsson, 2013, 2011).

3.3   Gender, water and development

Today 'gender' is usually explicitly mentioned in water policies in the contexts concerning countries domestic water development. However, women as irrigators, fishers, or farmers are much less recognized (Ahmed & Zwarteveen, 2012). Margreet Zwarteveen (1997) has shown how women have not been comprised in irrigation policies. Irrigation management is closely connected to land rights, which many women in development countries lack. In the irrigation development projects especially, many (male) engineers saw the households as units, in the same manner as in Kabeer's research. The assumption was that the households were represented by the male head of the household, and the whole household, and its members, therefor had gotten their interests met. This resulted in that women as irrigators were neglected, and they were excluded from the decision making regarding the irrigation development. Examples of how the interests of women differed was the amount of water where generally richer male farmers got more water during times of water shortage, the timing of water delivery during the day and night and/or during the season, and the time scheduling for the irrigation meetings. Generally men's water use has been categorized as productive, e.g., irrigation or industrial, while women's use has been seen as limited to the domestic sphere. This outlook ignores also the productive outcome from women's water use, such as vegetable production and women as co-farmers (Zwarteveen, 1997).

Frances Cleaver has observed that the inclusion of women in many water projects appeared only on the surface. Either women were only mentioned briefly in the water management descriptions, or only given power on paper; even cases were the women actually were represented by their husband or brother occurred (Cleaver & Elson, 1995). Another type of no actual inclusion was participation projects where no consideration was given to the local cultural and social context. For example, in some community water councils the social costumes for appropriate female behaviour made it impossible for young women to contradict older male villagers. Moreover, no resources were given for the gender or real power for a broader change, since no account was taken to the cultural social relations, actual ability to pay for water, technology (Cleaver & Hamada, 2010). Another factor stressed by Cleaver is how "women in development water projects" have been treated as a homogenous group, without regards the local hierarchy, class/caste or economic circumstances. The power inequality can also differ within the same household, for example between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-laws of younger sons (Metha, 2000).

Joshi (2005) and Ahmed (2005) write that women in water projects have been seen as resources to make the projects more efficient. However, often has this 'efficiency' meant that women, mostly poor, have been used as unpaid labour, and

which moreover does not has enhanced their technical or managerial skills. Yet, these projects were presented as gender empowering based on the assumption that involving women will by itself provide results and benefit women. Furthermore, in accordance with Arora-Jonsson's conclusions, women were also represented to have closer connection to water and nature.

Several scholars (Wallace & Coles, 2005; Ahmed, 2005, 2007) have brought to attention how 'gender' is equated to women. Projects that attempted to move beyond this have commonly replaced it with the notion 'women and men', without making any deeper analysis on the social relationship between the sexes that the concept of gender entails. No account is taken to gender concepts of power inequalities or women's general lack of land rights. Furthermore, according to Ahmed (2005) projects begin with the men and the male water user-norm, and then tried to 'add on' women in later stages.

From the perspective of men and their relation to water, not much has been written from a gender perspective. One study made in Kenya suggests that while improved community-based household water supply relieves the burden from women and girls, the men felt that their physical work had increased (Crow *et al.*, 2012). Neither do all communities have women as the providers of the household water (Glück, 2009). Furthermore, there is a lack of research on how water development affects men and how the socially constructed role of "man" is related to water. On a broader development perspective Cleaver states that focus on women in developing projects can lead to essentialism of both men and women, where men often are only framed as obstacles to women's development (Cleaver, 2002). Moreover, both Abirafeh (2009) and Cleaver argue that only women-projects can backlash since men feels threatened and discriminated. Cleaver also claims further that the often hard physical work which is connected to the ascribed male breadwinner role is not considered in gender projects.

3.4 Stages of inclusion of women in policies

Political sociologist Sylvia Walby published in 1988 an article which contained a four phase model on the inclusion of women in policies and political reports, ranging from total neglect to full inclusion. Because Walby's theories are focused on a British context, the model has since been adapted to a developing country context by Lina Abirafeh (2009). Even if Abirafeh's book is focused on international aid in post 2001-war Afghanistan, I consider it highly relevant, as the theoretical outline has a clear general perspective, which can be applied on gendered policies in general. Abirafeh also adapted Walby's model to comprise the inclusion of men in development policies that involves gender. I will not go in detail and present these stages, as I do not agree with the separation of gender equality of women and men.

But I consider it worth mentioning that they span from the portrayal of men as women's perpetrators to full inclusion of men as allies for women's rights. I want to develop the model further, so it considers gender instead of only women.

The four stages are:

1. Total neglect of gender and women only, or mentioned in a footnote type of style.
2. Recognition of women's importance for development and the flaws of the previous ignorance, but does not express what this importance actually consists of. Furthermore, the terms 'women' and 'gender' are used as interchangeable.
3. Gender is included, but regarded as a special case: women's activities are treated are as a derivation from the male norm. Lack of concrete strategies for how to bring gender issues to fruition in program plan.
4. Full theoretical inclusion of gender. This cannot occur until there is empirical body of work that relates to both sexes and goes beyond 'women and men'.

4 Theory

4.1 Social construction

As mentioned, the study will have social constructivism and post-structuralism as a theoretical basis. These theories reject claims about an absolute reality, any grand meta-theory and objective truths. Instead the post-structuralist epistemology presupposes that the 'reality' is created through the subject's perceptions of the surrounding world, and that each social construction can be derived from a specific historical and cultural context. We structure our perception of reality when we speak, which is only non-neutrally mirroring the perceived image of the world, thus the language plays an active role in creation and change of the same imaging. These social structures are maintained through social interaction, which also shapes our 'knowledge'. Moreover, there is a linkage between our understanding of the reality and the social process; it gives the forms and legitimatizes social actions we do and do not do.

4.2 Discourse

Foucault is a central figure within discourse analysis, since he was the first to resolutly use discourse as his main epistemological and ontological concept, which was a part of his "archeological" studies. Foucault claimed that there are no subjects outside those that are constructed through discourse, and its creation and reproduction. Further, that the dominating discourse legitimatizes certain practices and forecloses others. Foucault argues, in difference with previous structuralist scholars, that discourse and practice cannot be separated, discourse gives the practice and the practice gives the discourse. Foucault emphasized that as much attention should be given to what is not said, i.e. what is excluded from the discourse (Foucault, 2008 [1976]). Words, policies and symbols are filled with different connotations, depending on which discourse is dominating and on context.

Politics, and therefore policies, is an exercise of power. According to Foucault there is not such a thing as one power, but several powers that co-exist and are exercised through social interactions. Firstly, there is never a society that has a coherent body were only one power is executed. Secondly, there has never been one place or one person that power emerged from, but power hierarchies developed, on separate fields e.g. through property ownership, slavery, armies. Thirdly, the mentioned powers had as their purpose, not to forbid, but to produce abilities. Finally, power, along with social construction, is never constant, but always changes (Foucault, 2008 [1974]).

Arturo Escobar (1984) has argued for how the colonial development discourse has shaped the 'developing countries'. Firstly, how the problem formulations created these countries as 'underdeveloped', an 'Other', and thus in need of aide. Secondly, the discourse's 'technification' allowed (Western) experts to extract the measures from the political realm and present them as positive and objective facts, i.e. for economic development. Thus, a field of knowledge of 'truth' and 'power' was created. Thirdly, institutions, such as NGO's and national departments, became the executioners of this development agenda. Escobar claims that the development countries took upon the identity created through the discourse, can be related to Ian Hacking's (2007) theories what he calls the 'looping effect'. The looping effect means that labels and categories attributed to people alter the affected person or groups behaviour and identification, the labelling does, thus, not leave the object unchanged. Hacking claims that these labels can function as templates, whose role people adapt to fulfil.

4.2.1 'the Other'

Representation often means that the one that differs from the self is represented. Simone De Beauvoir adopted the Hegelian notion of 'the Other' in her description of how male-dominated culture treats woman as the Other in relation and she argued that 'woman' is the Other of 'man'. According to de Beauvoir 'man' is associated with both the positive and the neutral, while 'woman' is associated with negative characteristics. Similarly, Edward W. Said observed how the Western colonial discourse, formed by intellectual Europeans, and created an essentialist representation of non-Europeans. Through the so called Orientalists, research about the Orient, they created what became viewed as objective. Said argued that the designation of Orient, which is considered as an objective indication, cannot be separated from the representation of the Orient. Said's thoughts have been applied on a wider colonial discourse where people in Third World – as the 'others' – were categorized to embody negatively coded characteristics supposedly no longer

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found in modern, westernized people, such as illiteracy, disorganization, back-wardness, superstition (Parpart, 1993).

4.2.2 Gender as discource

The main point of departure of this thesis is gender theory. According to gender theory, gender is the socially constructed relationship that separates the ideas about the biological sexes. Gender is thus a neutral term, and is not intended specifically at men or women, but the socially constructed relationship between them. How gender is constructed depends on the social, political, cultural, religious and historical context. The gender attributed to an individual provides the expected framework for the individual's behaviour, roles, duties, thought patterns and how they are perceived. Gender roles constructions change over time, in the same way as the rest of society is changing. Through discourse interaction are identities expressed and enhanced, such as gender roles (Wodak, 1997; Lazar, 2005). In this thesis will I use the definition regarding the differentiation of sex from gender by Giddens "sex is biological or anatomical differences between men and women", whereas gender is "concerns the psychological, social and cultural difference between males and females (Giddens, 1989, p 158). Furthermore, most societies have a division of labour between the sexes. Certain chores are seen as female – typically child nurturing, and many household duties, while others are male coded, such as cattle production. Gender theory argues that this is not a naturally given order, but socially constructed roles (Lazar, 2005).

Gender theory recognizes that there is an ideological gender-power order structured along axes of gender that privilege men over women. Since the post-structuralists assume that it is our use of language that maintains the societal orders, language also maintains the gender-power order, and it justifies the unequal and unjust treatment of women. Feminist scholars have stressed how research regarding the discourses' construction of gender focuses on several discourses that oppress women, rather than one single discourse (Wodak, 1997; Sunderland, 2004). One of the focuses for gender discourse research is the representation of women. The representation is regularly something or someone else the own self, an 'Other', and the representations are often built on stereotypes, that are then reproduced (Sunderland, 2004).

4.3   Policies as socially constructing

Frank Fisher (2003) brought attention to that policies are constructed on the basis of the pre-assumptions, values and worldview of the polity advisors, instead of being objective and neutral instruments of rationality, which they often are presented and perceived as. Furthermore, neither could the policy advisors ever be

neutral. Rothstein (2001) has also shown how the political administration is not a neutral actor, but partly acts according to their own interests and beliefs.

Lene Hansen (2006) argues identities and policies cannot be ontologically separated, and that identities are how policies are justified. Moreover, identities, amongst gender, have to be articulated in language to have continuous presence in the discursive practice. Policy discourses construct problem formulations, objects and subjects, but at the same time they produce policies that address them. Hansen stresses that through an understanding of policies as a discursive practice it is explained how material elements and ideas are interlinked, these cannot be seen in separate terms. The content of international policies is based on representations of identities, but also reproduces identities by their own formulations.

Policies discourse affects the outcome of the policies, as framed by Monkman and Hoffman:

> "Policy discourse shapes our understanding, which defines what is within and outside the scope of possible action. If getting girls into school is the primary problem (discursively framed), then efforts to increase enrollments will be prioritized. If the social construction of gender is recognized as key to determining who goes to school, why, what is taught, and how education is important, then we might prioritize engaging those more complex social processes and their consequences in our work." (p. 64)

4.3.1 Gendering policies

A distinguished scholar regarding gender discourse is Carol L. Bacchi, who argues that policies, created to solve the problems of society, through its discourse also (re)create and reproduce structures that in themselves are problematic, such as the women's role in society. Firstly, that discourses in policies constitute the subject by the construction of categories or groups, who are attributed to positions. Those designing policies thus have the power to define these positions, e.g. by constructing poor, young, native populations or women as particularly vulnerable groups. Secondly, that the political discourse regulates what can be said and not within the political context, for example policymakers who categorize issues as in the private and public sphere, and thus determine which areas the politics will intervene in and not (Bacchi, 1999). Policies are therefore in themselves gender*ing*, producing and reproducing constructed categories of political subjects, such as 'women' and 'men' (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010).

Furthermore, Schneider & Ingram (2005) concluded how policies are designed for different groups based on which stereotypes are associated with the groups in question, e.g. women, as powerful/deserving, or dependent and undeserving.

When policies and events do not have an outspoken gender intention, they are regarded as neutral. To quote Walby: "As if the existing […] take men as gender neutral and only women as gendered subjects" (2003, as cited in Abirafeh 2009). However, perceived neutral designations, such as 'citizens' or 'people,' are overlooking power structures, argues Arora-Jonsson, who specifically studied environmental policies. When women are explicitly mentioned, it is as vulnerable and more virtuous in relation to the environment. Motivations given for when women were not actively included were that the women were shy, passive, illiterate and/or not enterprising enough in the development organization context. Furthermore, when women were included it usually took place under the principle "add women and stir", which can be connected to the previously mentioned research by Cleaver and Kabeer and on a broader picture with scholars' that claims that men are always the norm (Arora-Jonsson, 2011, 2013).

Rather few studies are made specifically on gender discourse and policy and identity construction. However, one study on how American university commission reports by Elizabeth Allan (2003) showed how discourses regarding women constructed, and above all, represented women. The found discourses identified women as outside the academic realm, putting family first, in need of personal development and as potentially vulnerable. Similar discourses have been found by Powell (2016) in the Swedish university context. Another study on the discourses on girl's school enrolment in development countries, performed by Karen Monkman & Lisa Hoffman (2013). The discourses were shown to consist of different arguments for girl's education: justice arguments (that both sexes have the same right to education), utility arguments (that female education can contribute to society, e.g. lowered child mortality) and empowerment arguments (that education automatically empower women) and an equalization between women and gender.

5 Methods and Materials

5.1 Conceptual Framework

The study will be conducted with Norman Fairclough's *Critical Discourse Analysis* (*CDA*) as the main methodology. Discourse analysis pleads that discursive practices constitutes our social reality. *CDA* is an orientation within discourse analysis. On contrary other discourse analysts, Fairclough sees discourse as both constitut*ed* and constitut*ing*. Furthermore, the *CDA* regards discourses as including social identity and social relations, including unequal power relations, called *ideological effects*. Thus, Fairclough adds a Marxist viewpoint to the analytic system. In addition, Fairclough sees discourse as constructing epistemological systems.

To empathize, Fairclough discourses have three different functions: Firstly, an ideational, i.e. a content dimension for how the text signifies the surrounding world. Secondly, a relational dimension through how the social relationships of the discourse' participants are negotiated and enact. Thirdly, discourses create our identities through how social identities are set up in discursive practices. This thesis will focus on the third function: creation of social identities.

Furthermore, texts reflect the discourse that they have been produced in, and help to rebuild and transform the discourse's fundamental identities, social and cultural relationships. Discursive practices (production, consumption and distribution of texts) thus give rise to that both social and cultural reproduction and change occurs. The discursive practice thus becomes an important part of a social practice, since it both founds and transforms social structures and processes such as power relations between the sexes.

Fairclough's model has the starting point that that every communicative event has three dimensions:

- It is a text (speech, writing visual or a combination of these)
- It is discursive practice, which involves production and consumption of texts

- It is a social practice
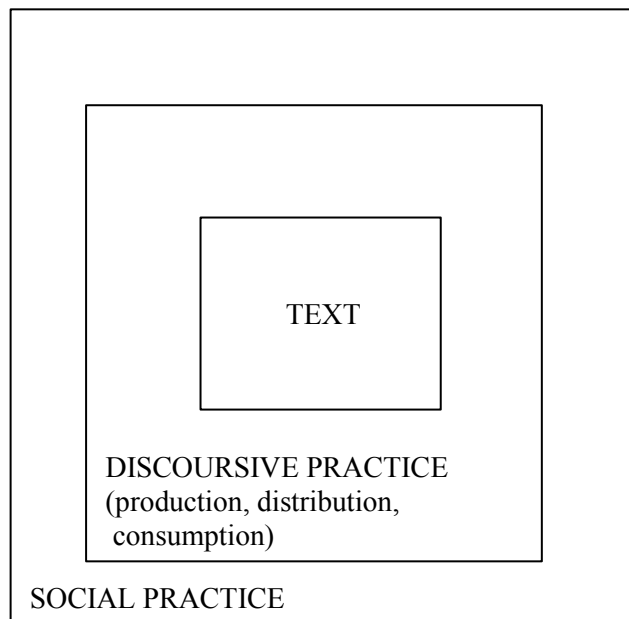
Figure 1 Fairclough's three-dimensional discourse analysis
model (Fairclough 1992 p. 73)

Further, Fairclough three-dimensional model is displayed in Figure 1. All these
three dimensions must be included when discourse analysis is conducted on a
communicative event: 1) the text's features 2) the process for production, con-
sumption and distribution connected to the text 3) the broader social practice that
the communicative event is a part of.

5.2 Analytical tools

Fairclough, who stresses the importance of the empirical application, has devel-
oped an extensive toolbox for the practical analysis. I have chosen, according to
the recommendation by Bergström & Boréus (2012) and Winther-Jørgensen &
Phillips (2000), the following analytic tools:

Modality is about how strongly something is stated, the level of affinity (cer-
tainty) in the proposition. For example: "Men are physically stronger than women"
(high affinity), "men are *usually* physically stronger than women" (medium affini-
ty) "*I think* men are physically stronger than women" (low affinity). A higher mo-
dality is to get a particular claim or interpretation to be seen as obvious, objective

and 'true'. The degree of modality affects the discourse structure of social relations, especially.

Transitivity marks the relationship between the different actors in the texts. The purpose of analysing transitivity is to examine how grammatical choices give the text its specific meaning. It is central how the text's agent is connected with proposition's verb.

The concept of *intertextuality* is used to examine which other texts the analysed text refers to, for example, when referring explicitly to other texts in the current document. It is used as a tool to trace the discursive and social practice. Texts or communicative events are not entirely new.

Interdiscursivity is a wider form of intertextuality that describes various discourses within and/or between the arenas. So to say; parts of other discourse shines through in the discursive practice. High interdiscursivity within a discourse can be an indication of changes in social processes. Opposite, low interdiscursivity can be a sign of that the current social structures are maintained.

The *order of discourse* is a term that Fairclough uses to refer to "a limited range of discourses which struggle in the same terrain". The order of discourse is therefore both a number of discourses within the same field, which may be in conflict, and the arena for the discursive combat. In the discursive battle the different discourses fight on different images of reality, regarding which of the discourses that represent the 'true' reality, and furthermore to achieve *hegemony*. Fairclough describe hegemony as the domination of a certain viewpoint (Bergström & Boréus, 2012; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000; Fairclough, 1992).

In addition to Fairclough and the tools presented by him, I will also use the following:

- From Laclau & Mouffe have I taken the concept *floating signifier*, which refers to a term which is open to be filled with different meanings. When different discourses are using the same concept but give it a different meaning, it can connote a struggle between different discourses to define the content of the particular phenomenon (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000).
- The linguist James P. Gee (2011) has created a whole tool system for discourse analysis. I see them as a complement to Fairclough, due to a detailed perspective of certain aspects. However, since Gee has a large focus on the linguistics of spoken language, are only a few of them suitable for this study, which is focused on written texts. The selected tools from Gee's toolbox are: #9 *Why this Way and not That Way?*-tool (would the text have a different meaning if it been structured differently, e.g. what is said first), #16 *The Identities Building* -tool (which identities the creator is trying to enact or get others to recognize) and #23 *The Situated Meaning*-tool (which meaning does a word or phrase have in the given specific context and how this context is the socially constructed).

These tools have mainly been for me to process the text and will not be presented separately in the Analysis.

- As mentioned, Bacchi might be the most well-known scholar on gendering policies, and even if I will not use her entire *What's the Problem?*-approach, I will use it as angle for the analysis of the discursive practice of certain discursive elements, where a clear 'problem' can be discerned in the texted since it sets the focus on the what the alleged problem fundamental construction is (Bacchi, 1999).

Albeit that all policy documents have been read, with average number of 88 text pages, it has been necessary to use the Whole word-search function in Adobe Acrobat Reader to identify all sections and contexts where the expressions of interest are addressed. The searched terms are: 'gender', 'women', 'men', 'girls' and 'boys'. Because even if gender should not be conflated to 'women and men', it is these sections were these words are mentioned that the social relations that comprise gender structures and relations can be uncovered.

5.3   Material

The chosen corpus is policies from different organizations, from different 'levels' of the IWRM, this in order to be able to determine which discursive themes the levels share, but also how they differ. The case study is only seen to represent itself, while the international documents represent the international IWRM arena, with an influence on practices beyond what is included in this study. Special attention has been given to gender-sections in the not gender-specific documents, but also how over sections regarding human water activity relates to gender.

Language also matter for the selection of the river basin and the country based policies: Some countries only have policies in their local non-latin based alphabetic language, such as Georgian. I do not know Spanish and my knowledge of French is not proficient enough to do the type of linguistic analysis that *CDA* demands. Therefor the documents were required to be in English.

1. International policies from the United Nation's Integrated Water Resource Management Reader. The international documents have been chosen because they reflect an overarching international IWRM discourse, and should not be regarded as a sample. These documents are: "Integrated Water Resources Management Plans – Training manual and operational guide", Cap-Net, GWP & UNDP (2005); and two document from the UN World Water Assessment Program (published by UNESCO): "Integrated Water Resource Management in

Action", UNESCO (2009a); "IWRM Implementation in Basins, Sub-basins and Aquifers: State of the Art Review", UNESCO (2009b).

2. One specific IWRM gender document, "Whys Does Gender Matter in IWRM?". It could have been preferable to have more gender specific documents, but this is the only one found which does not come from a national aid agency. There are previous, similar documents developed by the same organization, the Gender & Water Alliance. However, since I do not have the aim or intention to perform any comparative study on how the discourse has changed over time I choose to include only one document of this type. I will shorten title to "Why does Gender Matter?"

3. Regional document from regional cooperation organizations, from a perspective that is a collaboration of several countries for regions of interest. The chosen documents are "Policy for Integrated Water Resource Management The African Development Bank" (2000) and "ASEAN IWRM Country Strategy Guidelines – IWRM Monitoring Status Guidelines" for ASEAN Countries (2009). Since the file for the document Asian Development Bank has not been available, I choose to instead include this one, which is still a draft.

4. Transboundary river-basin policies. Since IWRM has a very strong emphasis on the river-basin perspective for water management, often as preferable over, or at least as a complement to, country based policies. The selected river-basins are the Mekong and the Zambezi. The reason for these choices is simple: they were the ones who had clear IWRM policies in English for both river basin and on a country basis. The included documents are "Working Towards an IWRM-Based Basin Development Strategy for the Lower Mekong Basin" (2011 from the Mekong Commission and "Integrated Water Resources Management Strategy and Implementation Plan for the Zambezi River Basin" (2008) from the SADC-WD/Zambezi River Authority, in cooperation with the three Scandinavian international aid and development cooperation agencies.

5. Local country policies, as case studies. The selected country policies are Cambodia and Zambia. Within their respective river basin, the case study country-based documents have been chosen with the criteria that it has been developed with as little influence from Western organizations as possible. The reason I see this as important is that these possible Western organizations are usually the same organizations as the one I analyse on an international level. The documents are called "Integrated Water Resource Management and Water Efficiency (IWRM/WE) – Implementation plan" (2008) from Zambia and "Final Report on Integrated Water Resource Management Strategy and Roadmaps in Cambodia" (2005). Both national policies has found been at the website IWRM Data Portal, developed by the UNEP-DHI.

A reference list to the documents – including hyperlinks to access them –- can be found in the Appendix.

5.4   Self-reflection

The field of discourse analysis, and particularly Fairclough, stresses the importance of self-reflection while conducting CDA-research. I am a person with the privileges of being Western, white, with a higher education and from a country with water abundance. This will impact this thesis; for a post-structural based thesis I cannot allege otherwise. There is no objectivity, and my own subjective is constructed by the world-view of my surroundings. I can never remove my white Western mind and gaze, even if I can reflect upon limited parts of my Bordieuan social fields and habitus. There might be aspects of the discourses that I cannot discover, because the constructing of my social reality might be the same as the as the authors.

Moreover, I want to mention that I have done an internship – in Gujarat, India – regarding community-initiated water and children, with a special focus on adolescent girls. It can contribute to that I have a pre-understanding about the process development of these types of policies.

Finally, my native tongue is Swedish, not English. This means there might be structures in the grammatical constructions which I have not detected. Furthermore, having English as a second language does not only apply to me, but also to some of the producers of the texts, which has been noticeable for the national level policies. Thus, there might also be a gap in what is written the document and what its producer's intended.

6   Analysis

The texts vary between 18 and 182 pages. However, the sections considering gender are short. In some instances, gender or women were only mentioned in a bullet-point list, for example for adopted measures. Therefore, there is no distinct subject regarding neither women nor gender, to examine. Empathizing how the discursive practice is created through production and consumption of texts, I consider it important to notice that among the documents that has a clear author, all are men, expect for the *Why Does Gender Matter?*. The intended readers are likely professional practitioners working within in the water sector, or governmental officers, with a similar connection.

I will present the results in the order influenced by Bergström & Boréus (2012), starting with the discursive practice and connect it to the social practice, then on the detailed textual traits. However, first an analysis of the documents overall inclusion of women and gender:

6.1   General presentation of the presence of women and gender in the texts

The variation of the inclusion of women and gender is considerable. In two of the documents – the ASEAN Guidelines and the UN Waters's Implementation Plan – neither gender nor women are mentioned at all, and in one (the UN Water's Action Plan) it is only mentioned in a fact textbox about the founding principles of IWRM, and in the Appendix which links IWRM to the work with the Millennium Development Goals.

In the *Why does Gender Matter?*-document the situation is reverse: the point of departure-discourse is gender and the work to achieve more gender equality in a developing country context. Then, it is applied on water-related contexts – where absence of gender equality has been identified – and their discourses, such as household water and agriculture. These water discourses are then integrated with

the central and dominating gender discourse as practical methods of achieving the overarching goal: a more gender equal society. Since this document is so divergent, I will consider it as an alternative discourse to the mainstream IWRM nature.

Since a significant part of the policies texts do not include gender or women sufficiently for a subject position to be found, I will use the further-developed model of Abirafeh & Walby to highlight which of the policies documents that includes a gendered discourse at all. The documents range from stage 1 (no inclusion of gender nor women or mentioned only in a footnote style) to a questionable stage 4 (full inclusion). My stage classification of the policies can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1 - Stage of inclusion of gender and women in the policies

Stage of the inclusion of gender	Policy
Stage 1 Not mentioned or only mentioned in a footnote style	UN Water Assessment, IWRM Implementation ASEAN Guideline – not mentioned Mekong Commission – not mentioned Cambodia – footnote style UN Water Assessment IWRM in Action – footnote style (Appendix)
Stage 2 Previous regimes neglect of gender and/or women are in focus.	Zambezi
Stage 3 Where gender is added and mentioned as a special case; women's activities are viewed as the derivation from the norm	African Development Bank Zambia Cap-Net/GWP Training Manual IWRM
Stage 4 Full inclusion of gender Beyond 'women and men'	(??) *Why Does Gender Matter in IWRM?*

The reason that I hesitate to consider the *Why Does Gender Matter?* to fulfil Stage 4, is that even though its deep understanding of gender and the consequences of different water regimes on women's livelihood, is that it strongly emphasizes women's involvement as different from men's. It also diverges in its focus from the traditional IWRM issues, to a main focus on issues that traditionally interlinks

women and water, where other types of focus could be seen as reproducing the deviant of the norm. I will conduct a further discussion whether this approach reproduces the 'domestic woman' or challenge of the current order in the discussion about interdiscursivity.

As mentioned, the level of inclusion varies drastically, and not all of the documents have enough for a clear, subject construction. Thereby the analysis of the reproduction of the role of socially constructed entities will concern the texts that do have more comprehensive material. However, of course the exclusion of gender and women is startling, and I will come back to this matter in the Concluding Discussion.

6.2 Thematic discourses

6.2.1 The interlinkage of women and household & community water
The most apparent discourse in all of the documents, where gender or women are not only mentioned in a footnote style, is how women are interlinked with household and community water.

"Formal water management is male dominated. Though their numbers are starting to grow, the representation of women in water sector institutions is still very low. That is important because the way that water resources are managed affects women and men differently. As custodians of family health and hygiene and providers of domestic water and food, women are the primary stakeholders in household water and sanitation. Yet, decisions on water supply and sanitation technologies, locations of water points and operation and maintenance systems are mostly made by men". (Cap-Net/GWP 2005, p. 9)

"These are some of the issues being addressed to empower women and reduce poverty at household levels. The Gender Strategy for the water sector is defined in Guidelines for Implementing Community Water Supply and Sanitation Projects in Rural Areas". (Republic of Zambia, p. 41)

"Gender issues should be taken into account in integrated water resources management. The Bank will strongly support water resources development projects which show good prospects of reducing the time spent by women and girls in fetching and storing water". (African Development Bank 2000, p. 38)

"Coverage is low in the riparian states – and this translates in women spending considerable time on collecting water over large distances in part of the year". (ZAMCOM 2008, p. 44)

When women are mentioned in other contexts, it is in the footnote style, outlined by Walby and Abirafeh. Women's role within IWRM becomes only in relation to household and community water. It can be argued that this is the sole most important aspect for women in development countries since the situation is that women and girls in many regions the main or sole providers of water for domestic purposes. The dichotomy of domestic-woman versus productive-man is remained, and through the documents reproduced. From Bacchi's *What's the Problem?*-approach can be seen that is the *time* that women spend on water collection, which is the perceived problem, and not the inequality and social relations that might be behind that just women have this responsibility.

The *Why does Gender Matter?*-document tries to widen the perspective, with own sections for Agriculture and the slightly diffuse and all-including "Environment, Climate Change and Waste Management". However, I want to claim that an emphasis still is on women's role as providers of household water. Even though the "General Concepts" has a diverse focus that recognizes women's role as providers of domestic water, as well as fishers and farmers, it still has its focus on duties traditionally viewed as 'female'. In addition, there is a vague reference to a forestry project. Furthermore, the two sections about community water and Sanitation are the two first. Using the #9 Tool *Why this Way and Not That Way* by Gee, I claim that the document would have a different meaning if the 'Domestic & Drinking Water' would have been the last of the chapters' instead of the first. The focus on domestic water reoccurs in the last "Environment, Climate Change and Waste Management"-chapter, where the problems of pollution are focused on the risk of pollution the drinking water. In the first chapters the measures are also clearer, while in the last chapter it is more similar to the other documents with vague measures, even though it keeps its thorough inclusiveness.

Women are also represented as a homogenous group; nothing is mentioned about different interest of women. Sometimes 'the poor' are mentioned in the same context, but not the intersection of 'women' and 'poor', other any other types of intersectionality.

6.2.1.1 The efficiency of women

In the context of women and household & community water, a sub-discourse can be found: women as efficiency catalysts: bringing in women in projects will make the projects more efficient and better performed. It can be identified in the underlined sentence segments:

> "Involving men and women in influential roles at all levels of water management can speed up the achievement of sustainability; and managing water in an integrated and sustainable

way contributes significantly to gender equity by <u>improving</u> the access of women and men to water and water-related services to meet their essential needs" (Cap-Net/GWP, p. 9)

"They may <u>therefore be better contributors to the establishment and maintenance of project facili</u>ties. Experience has shown that women are sometimes better financial managers of water projects. They may also have preferences for different services that could enable them to engage in higher economic value activities". (African Development Bank, p. 36)

"The Policy emphasises the positive beneficial impact of effective rural and urban water supply systems, as well as the provision of small scale hydropower in rural areas, on the <u>reduction of burdens</u> for women, girls and children, whose opportunities for gainful employment and school attendance would then be significantly raised, <u>with multiplier effects for the societies</u>". (African Development Bank, p. 9)

The modality is not unanimous. The affinity in these sections varies, because the propositions contain words such as "may" or "can" (in lighter grey), which lowers the affinity. It follows a pattern where the describing section has a lower affinity, while the results section has a higher level of affinity.

As mentioned in the Literature Review Ahmed (2005, 2007) has argued this can add one more role of pressure and responsibility on the women involved in these types of projects: that themselves and others have the expectation that they will be catalysts. If the efficiency of the project fails, it will imply that the women that has failed in this role. Even though women are presented as beneficial for the project management, they are from transitivity perspective still represented as passive in the process in phrases such as //<u>reduction of burdens.</u>

For a wider social practice this can be associated with the findings by researchers such as Cleaver and Joshi (2005; 2010) that have shown how the involvement of women has not been directed towards more influence for women, but how women, particularly poor women, have been used as unpaid labour in community-based water development projects.

Moreover, the time saved for women as a result of better access and shortage distances for domestic water, should be spent on productive activities:

"…improved water services give women more time for productive endeavours, adult education, empowerment activities and leisure"

"Making water more easily accessible to communities will allow women and girls <u>to devote more time to other activities</u> that will enhance their economic and social empowerment such

as literacy programmes, skills development, and promotion of income generating activities to improve the quality of their lives." (African Development Bank 2000, p. X)

This high affinity indicates that women's involvement, with especially community-based water, will give a higher productivity is taken as a truth, since the assent of the statements is total. However, previous research on gender and household technologies has shown that technical solutions, on contrary from male connoted machinery, did not actually ease the drudgery of women, but instead increased the work load of women (Cowan, 1983).

6.2.1.2 Women as caregivers

Another sub-discourse connected to household and community water is how women are represented through their role as caregivers: as mothers, for the local communities and for the environment. The first example is in how the UN Water Assessment IWRM in Action (UNESCO 2009a) only includes women in the Annex 2. I would argue that the mere fact that the authors only include women in this MDG section of the document is part of the discursive practice which reproduces women as care-givers. Namely, the MDGs itself had a strong focus on women as mothers. Two of the goals regarding the MGD's were "Reduce child morality" and "Improve maternal health" and there closely conjugated with women's role as caregivers, and especially as mothers. In the UN Water Assessment IWRM in Action list's regarding the MDG Gender Equality and under the part of 'Contribution of improved water resources management and access to water supply and sanitation' it is stated: "Higher rates of child survival are a precursor to the demographic transition toward lower fertility rates; having fewer children reduces women's reproductive responsibilities (UNESCO 2009a)". Even though, it is addressed under the section regarding the MDG Goal 3, even though that maternal mortality is addressed in MDG Goal 5 'Improve Maternal Health'. Other examples of how the role of the care-giving woman is reproduced are:

"As custodians of family health and hygiene and providers of domestic water and food, women are the primary stakeholders in household water and sanitation." (Cap-Net/GWP 2005, p. 9)

"In contrast with their role as primary caretakers in the welfare of their societies, the role of African women in decision-making processes in the development and management of water resources has most often been neglected…." (African Development 2000, p. 19)

"The role of women as custodians of food and water related issues at household level should be fully taken into account. Women are particularly concerned about family and community issues. ." (African Development Bank 2000, p. 36)

In addition to women care-giving traits, they are also portrayed as protectors of the environment:

The pivotal role of women as providers and users of water and guardians of the environment has seldom been reflected in institutional arrangements for the development and management of water resources. (Cap-Net/GWP 2005, p. 11)

This finding is in accordance with the observations by Kabeer (1994)and Ahmed (2007): that women are seen in their care-giving role and that policies reproduce this role. It can also be connected to Arora-Jonsson's (Arora-Jonsson, 2011, 2013) observation about the 'feminization of responsibility'; that women's care-giving role become extended outside of the private family realm to also include the community and the environment. That woman should be 'guardians of the environment' is an essentialist perspective that also has been shared by eco-feminists; women are better suited for environmental protection. Rather, women's specific concern for environ conceal the gendered power structure which gives women less access to other types of resources and the care-giving role they have been ascribed. Also here is the modality at a medium level, since words such as 'often' are used, lowering the affinity.

6.2.2.3 The need of empowerment and education
Pervading, women are described as in need of empowerment:

"These are some of the issues being addressed to empower women and reduce poverty at household levels" (Republic of Zambia , p.41)

"Policies to equip and empower women to participate at all levels in water resources management programmes are rare" (African Development Bank, p.34)

"Promote gender equality and empower women" (Cambodia, p. 5)

A part from the empowerment discourse, a similar discourse is found regarding education:

 "Introduce educational activities on water and IWRM, focusing particularly on women and children". (UNESCO 2009a, p. 13)

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Gender equity with special focus of enhancing women's participation and promoting capaci-
ty in hygiene education will be considered (Republic of Zambia 2008, p. 136)

From a section concerning participation in the Zambezi:

"The first step in the process of change is information and awareness. Communication can
create an enabling environment that will allow the ZAMCOM to move forward. A compre-
hensive public information programme is needed in order to reach groups whose lives may
be affected by the cooperation. These include women's groups, youth groups, small farm-
ers, business associations and local authorities, as well as the better-recognized national level
decision-makers and opinion leaders." (ZAMCOM 2008, p. 66)

There is no information about any 'second step'. The participation remains at a
level where being informed and aware about the issue.

Gender mainstreaming as a concept has previously been criticized for a to
strong focus on educational efforts, especially project based, were the objects for
the education do not get other resources beyond this education. Empowerment has
been a buzzword within the development sector for the last decades, but has been
criticized for that people cannot 'be empowered' if it is not accompanied by a
redistribution of resources and power which makes a real difference for peoples'
influence.

6.2.2 The equalization between gender and women, and the missing men

It occurs in several texts that 'gender' and 'sex', or 'gender' and 'women', are
used as interchangeable. Men are only mentioned as a part of 'women and men'.
Regarding the equalization between gender and women the most obvious example
is from the African Development Bank that explicitly states: "Gender equity implies
the effective participation of women in the planning, design, implementation, evaluation, and all
other decision-making processes in water resources development and management" (p 36).

As has been previously observed (Wallace & Coles, 2005; Zwarteveen et al.,
2012), the text which attempts to move beyond the interchangeability of 'women'
and 'gender' is instead only conceptualized as 'woman and men'. No heed is made
regarding the structures that constitutes how gender roles are constructed and how
it is connected the social and power relations around water.

Gender mainstreaming is a term used rife. It is used, however, with rather dif-
ferent meanings, where the documents producers' presents it differently. Cap-
Nat/GWP has /Promotion of women's empowerment/ as a measure for gender main-
streaming, The ZAMCOM emphasizes that participation is accomplished through
assessment "Enhance the participation of women in water management by undertaking the

assessment of the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes (gender mainstreaming)" (p. 62), while Zambia ascribes implementing of gender mainstreaming to NGO's "The role of NGO's has also extended to mainstreaming gender in community water programmes and projects." Gender mainstreaming can be regarded as a floating signifier, i.e. that does not have a clear definition accepted by the whole society, but which different actors discourse fill with the meaning that is in accordance with their ideology.

6.2.3 No internal glance – the "Others" in need of gender mainstreaming

The fourth found discourse is that in most of the documents, the need of gender mainstreaming only concerns the local, often rural, people. The exception is the *Why Does Gender Matter in IWRM?* and the Implementation Plan from Zambia. Here I would like, in accordance with the Foucauldian discourse traditions highlight what is *not* said. It could be argued that the documents and the resources should not be about internal navel-gazing. However, also documents which have a special section for Human Resources consider neither gender nor women. Internationally, the water sector is known for the traditional dominance of male engineers and macho history (Zwarteveen, 2011). If only the gender equality-component of counting men *vs* women is considered, it is plausible that the executing organization, governmental or non-governmental, have a workforce that is constituted of a majority of men. The majority of the documents are also as mentioned written by men, with the exception of the *Why Does Gender Matter?*

This is of the same structure which has been observed by Arora-Jonsson; that the need of gender mainstreaming is for the 'Others', usually for populations of developing countries and the 'local people'. Thus, the lack of internal scrutinizing on the lack of gender equality can conduce to reproduce gender equality as something for the 'less developed'. Neither are any suggestions found, except in the *Why does Gender Matter?*, that the 'local people' have been asked about their opinions about the policies design.

6.2.4 'Social issues' and 'vulnerable groups

There is an inclination to interlink 'gender' under a separated section for 'social issues' or such, and that it is not mentioned elsewhere, except in one-sentence statements in 'checklist' over measures or principles. A tendency can be seen for the concept 'decoupling'; when the organization separates gender from their core work (Powell, 2016). Thereby, the question is disconnected from the other contexts, not gender mainstreamed, but diverted to its own sphere.

A related component is how the vulnerability of women is accentuated:

"The main challenges identified under the Vision included water scarcity, lack of affordable access to clean drinking water and adequate hygiene, particularly for <u>the most vulnerable; the poor, women and children</u>" (African Development Bank, 2000, p.3)

"Water sources and sanitation facilities closer to home put women and girls <u>at less risk of sexual harassment and assault</u> while gathering water and searching for privacy" (UNESCO 2009, p 13)

"The weed mats also harboured <u>crocodiles and snakes, making it difficult for women to fetch water and do washing in infested places</u>" (ZAMCOM, p. 49).

It underlines the possible vulnerable role of women, and as in this example, which does not include women in few other ways, ultimately this discourse creates a gender construction of women as a potential victim, in need of protection. Furthermore, in additional texts women or gender are frequently mentioned, in the same context as 'vulnerable groups', but what the vulnerability lies in is never specified. As 'vulnerable' is a synonym of 'fragile' and 'sensitive' this gives the implication that the also concerns women. For a broader social practice this can be connected to the societal structure of women as the weaker sex. In accordance with Bacchi's *What's the Problem?*-approach the problem consists of that women are vulnerable, not the societal constructions that foreclose women from influence. In one policy, the Zambian, gender is in the same section as the battle against HIV/AIDS. , that these question either belong together or that they do not fit in with anything else.

Furthermore, as have been previously seen, these describing sections have a high to medium modality.

6.3 Textual components

6.3.1 Transitivity

To be mentioned: certain clauses lack a verb, which means that there is no point of departure to connect the transitivity to. In the more comprehensive material the findings: Firstly, women are presented in descriptive terms, statements about the livelihood of women: /women, children and youth, as well as the poor, in general, bear a considerable burden of fetching water for families, particularly in rural areas/ Secondly, statements about how women are; which traits that category 'women' has: /Experience has shown that <u>women are</u> sometimes better financial managers of water projects/. Thirdly, the level of grammatical of objectification is high. The mentioned categorized citizens do not display any agency of their own, but the text's reader

who is the active subject and will transform the livelihood for the women. /reduce the domestic workload of women / Involving men and women in influential roles at all levels of water management / to empower women and reduce poverty at household levels /. In the *Why does Gender Matter?*-document is the transitivity different. Albeit the text is written from the reader's perspective, the acting verb is constructed differently, e.g. "ensure women's involvement" instead of "involve women".

Women are not described as passive, but are portrayed in the texts as recipients of the reader's capability to change the situation. However, as can be read, in these contexts the 'local' men are given the same receiving position. The text is written from the intended reader's perspective. This transitivity style can thereby be connected the notion about 'Other' in need of development measures, undertaken discussion by e.g. Momsen and Mohanty regarding the passive, receiving, role that women, above all, has been assigned.

6.3.2 Intertextuality

Generally, the level of intertextuality between the texts is low. According to Fairclough low intertextuality is associated with instability with within the discourse.

The direct textual references found are: references to national water laws (Republic of Zambia 2008), the Principles of IWRM, including the recognition of women's role in water management, and several references to the MDGs. The MDG's has been criticised for their narrow definition of gender, since their definition of gender partly is too much based on figures. Moreover, in the IWRM principle of the recognition of women's role in water management, it just states the participation of women and not gender. The combination of the IWRM principle and the MDGs, reference can contribute to maintain the order where gender is seen as corresponding to women. The strong focus on women's role in regarding domestic water might be discerned already in the principle "women play a central part in the provision, management and safeguarding of water", since the provision has not been a strong focus for IWRM otherwise. Furthermore, the principle also recognizes women as 'safeguarding of water', which might be interpreted as 'environmentally aware'.

6.3.3 Interdiscursivity

Certain interdiscursivities are recurring, such as the emphasis of the economic and social development. However, it can be interlinked with the previously mentioned intertextuality regarding the principles, since sustainable economic and social development is often mentioned of IWRM, which in its turn is deducible from the

Brundtland report "Our common future" from 1987. According to Fairclough a high level of interdiscursivity is associated with wider change of the societal order. I instead want to claim that IWRM has been such a loosely based approach, the framework itself can be considered a floating signifier, alike gender mainstreaming. Certain representatives for the IWRM approach have also expressed that IWRM should be an approach that is adjusted to each local context. I want to stress, however, that I consider the technical and political management discourses to be hegemonic within the IWRM context.

In the document from Zambia an own discourse can be noticed: the interlinkage between water and gender and HIV/AIDS. The Zambian policy is from 2008, when the HIV/AIDS epidemic was still at its peak. Therefore, Zambia's social practice of politics probably focused all efforts to prevent further spread of HIV/AIDS. Except from what has been previously mentioned regarding this Zambian example it is another example of how IWRM different discourses seek to fill a floating signifier with meaning.

Since this thesis is focused on the reproduction of constructions of identities, the focal point has not been to analyse the conflicts that can be found between two opposite sides of a discussion. However, concerning the order of discourse, it could be considered that GWA, which is behind *Why Does Gender Matter?*, tries to challenge the current technically and politically oriented hegemony, about the meaning of IWRM. Does it only account for the coordination, e.g. data exchange and mediating conflict, of commonly shared water recourses within a limited water shed? Or can women and girl's right to adequate menstrual hygiene be included within the IWRM framework? It is never stated in the *Why Does Gender Matter?*- document, but its focus in the two first chapters (after General Concepts) "Domestic and Drinking Water" and "Sanitation" bear a strong resemblance to another water framework – Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) – originally formed by the USAID. WASH, perhaps unlike IWRM, has had a strong women's focus. However, WASH has had its focus on issues that traditionally are constructed as female tasks or designated as women's issues. GWAs emphasis on that women and men have different roles can be a legitimization of their deviation from traditional IWRM. The question that I want bring up, is whether this an attempt to challenge the current IWRM discourse order, or if the constructors of this document are so coloured by the traditional work on gender and water issues designed. Regardless of GWA's intent, the discursive practice regarding IWRM can be influenced, depending on whether this approach becomes incorporated into the more mainstream IWRM discourse. Although, looking at how gender as treated in other disciplines, it is more likely that it transforms in to a decoupled side-discourse.

Lastly, one more found interdiscourse – and at one instance clearly stated (GWA, p. 9) – is intersectionality: women are not treated as a homogenous group where all have the same interests, but concern is taken to poverty, religion and civil status.

7   Concluding discussion

The first conclusion is that is not self-evident that gender or women are included in IWRM-policies, even though the recognition of women's importance is recognized in the Dublin Principles. As previously noted, several policies do not mention women or gender at all, and if so – only in a footnote style. Interestingly, among the policies that do not do any heed for of involving gender or women are the international documents, which are produced by, or in cooperation with the United Nations. Especially since these international policies are agenda-setting for the world community and the UN's IWRM Reader is probably a commonly used resource, especially as an introduction to IWRM. One reason for the low level of inclusion in these policies might be that they regard IWRM for all nations, not only developing countries. It could strengthen the claim that 'gender inclusive policies' are only seen to be a concern in the developing context.

Within these policies, women are primarily represented through their interlinkage with provision of household and community water. Therefore, the story of women as water users and managers is still limited to the woman striding through a semi-arid landscape with a water container on her head, with her daughter helping and therefor missing school, creating one more generation of illiteracy. I do not deny that this might be the reality for many of the world's women, but the current reproducing of this role as the only role for women in water management is ignorant of the other roles women can have regarding water. It gives the non-inclusion of women in other arenas that are part of the IWRM, as the role as farmers, irrigators or otherwise engaged in some income generating activity. Thus, men then continue to be the norm in a whole spectrum of IWRM issues. There is an obvious risk that the structures that Boserup brought into the light in the 1970's, are and will be repeated: that men are trained and involved in more advance techniques, while women become even more shackled to domestic chores than they already are.

Women are treated as a homogeneous group, with homogeneous interests, which can contribute to ignorance of the needs of poor women, to name just one

example. 'The poor' are also mentioned within these policies, but no regard is given to the intersection of poverty and gender, or any other type of intersection. 'Local people', particularly women, are portrayed in the need of external development, and especially empowerment. However, it can be seen in the discursive practice that the empowerment is to be generated by the policies' reader, a water professional, not by the 'local people', which the policy concerns. Furthermore, little inclination is given to women's own agency, and often the emphasis is on women's vulnerability. And as mentioned previously, there is no explanation for the cause-and-effect between the involvement in water management processes and the presumed empowerment. Moreover, generally no regard is taken to gender mainstreaming within the own organization. The women these policies concern might therefore at least have a triple role as 'the Other': as women, as citizens of developing countries and often living in rural areas.

Most policies tie women tightly to the socially ascribed gender roles, stressing women's motherhood and care-giving capabilities. Moreover, a discourse of women as guardians of the environment can be discerned in one case, but is not as prominent. Women are also ascribed the role of being efficient and productive, and that the involvement of women in water benefits their whole community, such as education for young girls and more time for productive chores for adult women.

The concept of 'gender' in the policies is equated with 'women', which means that the questions regarding the social relations and interactions between the sexes are not considered. As stated by Arora-Jonsson, when policies and process do not mention gender specifically, they are regarded as gender neutral. But the 'neutral' reproduce the socially constructed man as the norm. Because men are only mentioned as a part of 'women and men' when gender sections attempts to move beyond 'gender = women', and because women are so tightly reproduced in the regard of household water, men become the norm for all other types of water usage. Women, thus, become 'the Other', especially since IWRM traditionally does not have a strong focus on household water provision. Then women's water usage becomes a special case, or is merely 'added and stirred' into the exciting structures.

The missing gaze on men might miss how men can be included in the achievement of better livelihoods for women as so called allies. In addition, there might be matters beyond the men's socially constructed, gendered water-role of importance as well. How are men affected by changing water regimes? One example – not concerning water, but agriculture – is how suicide of poor Indian farmers has increased tremendously when the constructed role of the family father as the household's breadwinner no longer can be fulfilled. Apart from the exclusion of men themselves, the equalization of 'gender' and 'women' forms another structure – putting the responsibility of the work for gender equality on women. i.e., gender

equality is a women's issue and therefore, it also is up to women to find the answers and implement them. The category of 'women' is seen as both the issue and the solution, through leaving men out of the equation.

It is clear that the Why does Gender Matter?-document has a different focus than the other policies' documents – above all, the quite obvious central focus on gender. Firstly, the linguistic constructions are different, with a perspective creating the 'local people' – both women and men – to have agency and not be the passive receivers of the capabilities from the water professionals. Secondly, the inclusion of intersectionality stands out, stressing that women are not 'one' homogenous group. The Why does Gender Matter?-document is at least partly more similar to another framework, WASH, than to IWRM. It could be questioned whether the producers behind the policy aimed to transform IWRM into a framework with more concerns for issues that affect women, e.g. lack of sanitation. However, there may be a risk with this approach – that there will continue to not be any gender perspective on the issues that IWRM traditionally concern, such as international planning of water courses, mediating water conflict, technical water infrastructural systems, the question of dam building, which type of data regarding water is collected, etc. However, the character of IWRM makes it open to interpretation and different actors can fill it with the meaning that is of their interest.

Work with gender equality should probably be uncomfortable, as it is about the distribution of power and resources between the sexes. These factors, such as women's lack of land rights, unequal distributions of influence within the household, etc., are not addressed in practical measures. The international community has recognized women's importance in water management. However, it might have led to depoliticization of the work for gender equality within water management; it is a matter that most agree should be included, but it loses its principal implication of social change.

To close, the level of 'integrating' women through the concept of gender varies considerably and those that do include contribute to the reproduction a questionable image of women. If IWRM sincerely seek to integrate women and gender mainstreaming, more concern has to be taken to how the policies reproduce the role of the stakeholders.

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Appendix – Corpus

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