

# Governing Through Accountability: Gender Equality and the United Nations

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## Abstract

This article investigates the audit culture of UNIFEM, an international organization dedicated to bringing about global gender equality. UNIFEM's strategic plans, regional activities, and one fund-raising activity are analyzed to illustrate how pressures to "manage for results" combine with the UN's promotion of a transnational, modernist ethos to shape gender equity policy and, ultimately, what we know about women's lives.

## Résumé

Cet article enquête la culture de vérification chez UNIFEM, un organisme dédié à amener l'égalité globale entre les sexes. Les plans stratégiques de l'UNIFEM, les activités régionales et une activité de levée de fonds sont analysées pour illustrer comment les pressions pour "gérer pour les résultats," combinées avec la promotion de l'ONU d'une philosophie trans-nationale, moderniste visée à l'établissement d'une politique pour l'équité entre les sexes, et ultimement, ce que nous connaissons sur les vies des femmes.

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International organizations dedicated to social transformation wield substantial power as they bring their agendas to the world, shaping how we live through world-wide projects on food, education, health, work, migration and political institutions. While these agendas may be implemented with the intention of improving people's lives, they do so with particular "technologies" to effect ways of thinking and living in the world.<sup>1</sup> In this sense, the techniques and procedures which drive the policies, programmes and activities of international organizations produce not only political and economic transformations, but also cultural effects.

We are only beginning to appreciate the contradictory consequences that such international projects have for women's lives. In this article, we examine current international efforts to promote gender equality, exploring the idea of accountability as a technology which accompanies these efforts. We adapt the concept of audit culture (Strathern 2000) to investigate how the United Nations (UN), an international organization dedicated to social transformation, profiles particular ways of thinking and modes of living in its efforts to effect gender change. As Strathern suggests, audit culture refers to the set of practices and ideas which result from the identification, evaluation, and measurement of "appropriate" behaviour, a process particularly salient in neoliberal contexts. Of interest to us here is how different kinds of accountabilities associated with results-based management affect the ways in which gender equality is internationally promoted and implemented. A focus on the audit culture of international organizations

such as the UN captures the extent to which gendered subjects are being assembled through emphases on measurable criteria, modes of participation, and end-products.

To develop this argument, we consider the work of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). UNIFEM is the UN organization responsible for implementing the Beijing Platform for Action; its mandate is to advance gender equality. We argue that the audit culture of UNIFEM is shaped by pressures to "manage for results" and by the UN's mandate to promote a transnational, modernist sensibility grounded in human rights concepts of autonomy, individualism, choice and equality (Merry 2006). We examine how the audit culture of UNIFEM, and the expertise to which it is linked, points not only to the limited ways gender equality is envisioned by the UN, but also to the kind of world for which gender is being mobilized. Our point here is to illuminate how the political and economic rationalities of late neoliberalism may become bound up in feminist strategies for change, and to contribute to the important work of delineating the challenges international feminism faces within the current context of globalization.

### **Gender Equality Projects: Conceptual and Methodological Framework**

The emerging literature on the place of audit in neoliberal economies (Elyachar 2006; Kipnis 2008; Strathern 2000) illustrates how people may be mobilized for the purposes of "government," and the range of techniques for assembling and auditing populations for specific projects of "rule" within and beyond the nation state.<sup>2</sup> Since auditing inscribes specific meanings and value on behaviour, the emergence of audit culture can be read as an attempt to exercise power over conduct (Munro and Mouritsen 1996; Strathern 2000). Critical analysts have observed how authoritative accounts, in the name of expertise, are called upon to render social change a

technical rather than a political issue (Ferguson 1990; Mitchell 2002). We note here that such expertise also creates new accountabilities: it is mobilized to put people and things in specific places.

We understand technologies aimed at affecting conduct - procedures, targets, participatory techniques and "best practices" - to be part of a broader "making up of people" (Hacking 1986). The dissemination of UN expertise - in the form of programmes, policies, and workshops - can be seen to form part of an international effort to re-imagine the local and its value (Moore 2006) within the late neoliberal era. We define late neoliberalism as a mode of governance in which the economic policies of international free trade and capital investment are combined with the participatory language of good governance, individual agency, and a respect for difference. While this appears to be a paradoxical mode of governance, an increasing number of scholars are identifying the complementary dynamic that can develop among neoliberal policies, participative democracy and a politics of difference (Hale 2006; Phillips 1996). Given that there is often slippage in the commitment to equality in this "partnership," it is important to question how organizations committed to gender equality fare in this context. Focusing on audit culture is thus a strategic analytical move for identifying how new accounts, and measures to "track progress," may constitute techniques for the management of gender equality and inequality in these times.

To address the issues raised here requires investigation of multiple international sites and connections, mapping not only the range of efforts at gender change by international organizations, but also the geo-politics of power that are linked to them. Global, international and regional organizations and networks, both governmental and non-governmental, as well as nation-building efforts, are all linked. The different strands we identify here are:

*International Governmental Organizations; Global Projects; International Non-governmental Organizations; Regional Organizations and Networks; Nation-States.* In the remainder of this section we sketch what we consider to be the most pertinent international gender equity efforts in order to indicate the multi-faceted landscape in which UNIFEM resides.

At the centre of our study is an examination of an *International Governmental Organization*, the United Nations. We recognize that the UN, as a massive bureaucratic organization, is not a homogenous space: the multiple projects it undertakes on gender equality may involve different logics from the case of UNIFEM we consider here.<sup>3</sup> Still, in agreement with other scholars (Drori 2005; Merry 2006), we understand the UN to advance cultural norms and meanings associated with a global human rights regime that shapes how gender equity is framed. At the same time, UN projects always involve the development of partnerships for funding and project effectiveness, partnerships which both set and extend the parameters of projects. Linked to UN and UNIFEM operations are *Global Projects*, a pertinent example of which is the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) project. The eight MDGs (one of which is to promote gender equality) indicate the growing consensus of the World Bank, the UN, and other organizations on future global development and the means for getting there. The World Bank has also developed a Gender Action Plan to which UNIFEM is tied (World Bank 2006). In addition, *International Non-governmental Organizations* concerned with gender equality must be considered part of this international assemblage, and include international feminist NGOs such as WEDO (Women's Environment and Development Organization) and DAWN (Development Alternatives for Women Network). These organizations and networks play an important role in putting pressure on international organizations and nation states to develop policies and laws for gender

equity (Moghadam 2005; WEDO 1997). *Regional Organizations and Networks* also form part of this assemblage but tend to be less concerned with implementing policy and more concerned with opening or broadening spaces within which to rethink and reshape ideas about trade, politics, and publics from the perspective of gender equality (e.g., WIDE in Europe and REMTE in Latin America). And, finally, the projects of *Nation-States* are important to this landscape for two reasons: the UN works with and requires agreement from Member States, and in Latin America the nation-state is an important source of leverage for gender- and rights-related issues (Deere and León 2001; Franceschet 2003). Brazil and Ecuador house the two UNIFEM offices we consider here.<sup>4</sup>

In our analysis of UNIFEM we see these projects as creating an overlapping and dynamic assemblage generating ideas and practices about gender change. We are most interested here in the question of how audit technologies and expertise of a particular international project - gender equality - interconnect with others to enable the production of what comes to be viewed as authoritative or "smart" accounts of gender equity. The focus on "smart" development in the UN reflects the increased importance of the Millennium Development Goals in the UN and the "managing for aid effectiveness" of the 2005 Paris Declaration. Smart development requires SMART results - Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant and Time-Bound results.<sup>5</sup>

To investigate audit culture within this complex landscape, we conducted research on UNIFEM in New York and in the offices in Ecuador and Brazil, and we examined UNIFEM reports, programmes, plans and policies, other UN reports on gender, and relevant websites. In this article, we consider three sets of data: UNIFEM's Multi-Year Funding Framework (MYFF) and Strategic Plans; its specific projects in Latin America; and, UNIFEM's 30th Anniversary Gala, held in 2006.

### **UNIFEM and Gender Equality**

Women's organizations throughout the world have been formally linked to and supported by the UN system since 1975, when the First World Conference on Women took place in Mexico (Antrobus 2004). Efforts to promote global gender equality galvanized in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing, when an expanded Platform for Action was developed to integrate women's issues into the UN bureaucracy and programs. Since the Beijing conference, the UN has charged UNIFEM with the mandate to "transform women's lives by ensuring that commitments made by the international community to achieve gender equality are fulfilled" (UNIFEM 2005).

Established in 1976 with a Head Office in New York, UNIFEM currently operates 16 offices throughout the world. Although underfunded compared to other UN agencies (UN DAW 2005; UN GA 2005), UNIFEM has steadily moved towards a more expansive role within the UN. In 1979, it engaged with a large number of Member States through the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which over 170 countries have since signed. In 1984, the UN described UNIFEM as a "catalyst" for gender change and a supporter of "innovative" activities (UN DAW 2005), terms which continue to be key markers for UNIFEM's activities (see UN EB 2007 for UNIFEM's 2007-2011 Strategic Plan). UNIFEM's mandate in 1993 was the promotion of the "strategic importance of the empowerment of women"; by 2000 the UN described UNIFEM itself as "strategic" for the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals. In 2002, after UNIFEM submitted its annual report and multi-year business plan, the UN recognized it as a Centre of Excellence and lauded UNIFEM as a "best practice" model for using resources wisely, operating efficiently, and achieving results effectively (UN DAW 2005).

The Millennium Development

Goals, combined with the increased presence of the international women's movement, have helped to expand the mandate of UNIFEM (Antrobus 2004; Elson and Keklik 2002; Pietilä 2007). At the same time, the UN has been under pressure to become a "leaner" organization. Soundly criticized for its cumbersome, inefficient and ineffective bureaucracies, the UN has made a concerted effort to "harmonize" its offices and programmes (Paul 1996).

Results-based management has emerged as an important instrument to demonstrate to critics and donors that dollars are being well spent. In turn, UNIFEM has adopted fiscal responsibility and results-oriented programming as a central component of its identity. Its Multi-Year Funding Framework (2004-2007) emphasizes "tracking results" and ensuring that governments "adopt harmonized gender equality indicators" (UN GA 2004).

In 2006, outgoing UN Secretary General Kofi Annan proposed consolidating the UN's gender equality operations so that, as he put it, there is "one strong and coherent voice on women's issues in the United Nations system."<sup>6</sup> Within the context of these reform efforts, UNIFEM's Executive Director proposed gender equality as the foundation for "smart development." Dr. Noeleen Heyzer, a sociologist who left the international feminist network DAWN to become UNIFEM's Executive Director (1994-2007), argued that: "If the UN is to remain a legitimate player in the 21st century, it must stay at the forefront to assist countries to deliver on gender equality and women's empowerment...This is the key to smart development" (Heyzer 2006a, 4). Her argument echoes the World Bank's approach to gender equality. The Bank's current Gender Action Plan (2007-10) - which includes UNIFEM as a "capacity-building partner" - argues that there is a clear "business case" for women's empowerment, and that "[t]his is nothing more than smart economics" (World Bank 2006, 2).

What is striking in these statements

is an apparent convergence on what gender equality and women's empowerment are and how to achieve them. "We know how change happens," declared Heyzer (2006b). This kind of language signals not only how ideas about gender equality may become malleable in a global arena demanding accountability, but how gender equality itself can become an accounting device.

### **The Audit Culture of UNIFEM**

#### STRATEGIC PLANS

While UNIFEM has worked with a results-based management focus since 1997, the Multi-Year Funding Framework proposed a full-fledged corporate approach with an indicator-based "strategic results framework." Responsive to the demands of the UN's audit process, UNIFEM's 2004-2007 Strategic Plan emphasizes productivity, efficiency and the need "to enhance coherence and internal accountability" (UN, GA 2004). The Plan also refers to the need to take advantage of "partnerships," "opportunities" and "tools and incentives for organizational effectiveness." It notes that UNIFEM is developing "a select and strategic range of products and services to offer partners" (UN, GA 2004, 6-7). There is also mention of UNIFEM's plans to "re-profile" its 16 offices to "ensure that they are best positioned to deliver on the results committed to in the new MYFF" (UN, GA 2004, 7), and the need to move away from individual and "isolated" projects.

UNIFEM's 2008-2011 Strategic Plan appears to shift from that position. It highlights the need to ensure that the most "marginalized" women are heard, and that the community level is taken into account. The plan states that UNIFEM will "prioritize groups of women whose rights are most threatened, whose options and opportunities are most limited, and whose visions for change merit greater visibility and attention" (UN EB 2007, 15). At the same time, however, there is a contradictory and overwhelming emphasis on accountability, benchmarks, expertise, and results-based

monitoring in the 2008-2011 Strategic Plan. For example, the Plan outlines, not one, but three "frameworks for accountability": one for development results (in line with the new country team approach to the Millennium Development Goals), one for "managing for results" (in line with the Paris Declaration), and one for integrating financial resources (UN EB 2007). The Plan also alludes to increased demands on UNIFEM for "replication" and improved ways of tracking results. These technologies all move activity away from the micro level and away from viewing "marginalized" voices as having appropriate expertise.

UNIFEM's strategic plans assume a reliance on gender expertise and training, and a preference for projects that have "comparative advantages." Expertise in gender equality, viewed as central to all UN initiatives, is unquestioned as a tool for promoting change. Indeed, "gender expertise" is likened to the need for technical expertise for information technology (UN ECSO 2005, 8). UNIFEM puts gender expertise, and the calculative culture to which it is attached, into service for effecting the particular gender changes that fit with what it calls its "corporate" priorities (UNIFEM 2004/2005: 16). What UNIFEM calls "coherent, state-of-the-art expertise to advance gender equality" will continue to be central to the organization until at least 2011 (UN EB 2007, 5).

The current goals of UNIFEM are to: reduce feminized poverty (or to increase economic security as it is phrased in the 2008-11 Plan); end violence against women; halt and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS among women and girls; and, achieve gender equality in democratic governance. UNIFEM sets narrow, measurable parameters to identify successes in meeting these goals. Thus, in its reports, reducing feminized poverty takes the specific form of promoting microenterprises and developing gender-responsive budgets. Ending violence against women takes place through developing new laws and launching public

campaigns. Reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS occurs through health education. The indicator for "advancing gender justice in democratic governance" is the number of women elected to parliaments. In contrast to more subtle social and cultural changes for achieving gender equality, the advantage of these "indicators" is that they can be easily measured: the number of micro-enterprises created, laws changed, or women elected can all be counted (Elson and Keklik 200, 48).

The UNIFEM Head Office in New York produces the results-based and expert-driven framework and operates as the primary fund-raiser, policy maker, and political negotiator within the UN system. UNIFEM's other offices are viewed as the "agents of change" that bring gender expertise and opportunities to women's groups, municipalities and national governments.

#### UNIFEM IN LATIN AMERICA

As "agents of change," UNIFEM offices work with governments, municipalities and other international and regional organizations and networks. We consider here the activities of two Latin American offices, the Southern Cone office (in Brasilia, Brazil) and the Andean office (in Quito, Ecuador). The results-based management approach gears activities of these offices toward bringing experts and opportunities to women in national contexts rather than bringing local women's concerns to the UN.<sup>7</sup> Knowledge exchange takes the form of training: how to do budgets, how to run a business, how to use new technology, and how to network and build leadership.

A major UNIFEM initiative in Latin America has been the promotion of gender sensitive, or gender responsive, budgets. Gender sensitive budget initiatives are considered the "implementation" linkage to "accountability mechanisms" such as CEDAW. The goal is to raise awareness about the implications for women of national and municipal budgets. Gender budgets pressure governments to include the

disproportionate social and economic burdens that women may bear in the distribution of resources. For example, government statisticians may be trained to collect data on women's unpaid work that can be used to develop policy.

A recently documented case in Ecuador involved expertise from Canada (International Development Research Centre - IDRC), funding from the Belgium government, the work of the Network of Latin American Women Working to Transform the Economy (REMTE), and the support of UNIFEM. In this case, the project "contributed to the women organizing and elaborating a political agenda based on their rights, which was decisive in getting the local government to assign funds in the 2003 budget to the strengthening of feminist organizations" (IDRC 2005; UNIFEM- RA 2006). While this appears to be a positive outcome, it is not clear whether local women are being supported in their own initiatives or whether they are being imposed upon to participate in such budgeting activities. How audit culture frames the interface between the concerns of local women and such planned activities is very clear, however. In IDRC's report on its gender budget projects (IDRC 2005) results fit the "terms of reference," that is, the previously identified outcomes and indicators for the project. So, for example, the report treats the formation of a women's caucus as an indicator that a "civil society mechanism" has been developed. The creation of a municipal gender equity office is viewed as an indicator that "capacity building" has taken place. This in turn is an indicator that an "institutional mechanism" has been established to implement policy proposals. In all, IDRC lists eleven "success indicators," including the number of individuals involved in training sessions, the number of reports produced, the number of requests for experts to coordinate workshops, and the number of experts actively working in the region. Most telling is that the report describes the actual outcomes of the project only in terms of the

three expected outcomes for the project.

Read through the lens of audit culture, this results-based orientation illustrates how quantification and new modes of calculating outcomes in themselves can become indicators of gender change. At the same time, we learn next to nothing about how project participants actually engage with this new economic and political mentality. Do such efforts produce not just a calculated subject, but a calculating subject (e.g., smart women)? There is also the question of what effects remain invisible in this orientation. Is there evidence here not just of the technologies of calculation but of new exclusions, what Biehl (2005) refers to as the technologies of invisibility? For, as Biehl argues, the ways in which people are produced ("made up") and the ways in which they become invisible are part of the same power equation.

#### THE CULTURAL ECONOMY OF UNIFEM: THE GALA

In May 2006, we attended UNIFEM's 30th Anniversary Gala in New York. We analyze this event here because it speaks to the cultural and economic dynamics that are also at work in the organization. Advertised as a "unique opportunity to gather much needed resources for UNIFEM from individuals, organizations and corporations," the Gala invitation called for black tie and national dress. The 500 guests paid a minimum of \$500.00 a plate. Nicole Kidman, as the Goodwill Ambassador of UNIFEM, hosted the evening. At dinner, one of UNIFEM's program coordinators seated at our table explained how Kidman became UNIFEM's Ambassador: "We cultivate celebrity partnerships. It's where the money is." The Gala did indeed attract money. A delegation from Japan in national dress paid for a private "pre-reception with Nicole." Most attendees were American, dressed in Chanel suits, taffeta dresses, and fur

jackets. They spoke of various gender-based fundraising projects they supported and the organizations they, in many cases, had founded.

Early in the evening, Nicole Kidman welcomed everyone and introduced a video to explain UNIFEM's work. She introduced then Executive Director, Noeleen Heyzer. Dr. Heyzer thanked attending members of the banking industry, the media, NGOs and the entertainment industry, referring to them as the "UNIFEM family." She identified the entertainment industry as being a particularly important part of the "family."<sup>8</sup> By satellite, the President of Liberia, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the first woman president in Africa, received UNIFEM's first Global Leadership Award for her work in peace building. Terry Lundgren, CEO of Macy's, was given the Global Champion Award for helping Rwandan women sell hand-woven baskets at Macy stores throughout the United States. Mr. Lundgren was introduced as the man who has "helped to make the global economy work for women." Echoing the World Bank, he remarked in accepting the award: "It's good business to take advantage of the whole workforce."

The Gala, by all accounts, was a great success. After everyone had had a chance to exchange business cards, an African drumming group, Drum Café NY, entertained the guests, reflecting a decidedly African focus for the evening. Small drums were distributed and we sat at our tables beating drums in time with the drumming group. The group's leader shouted out to us:

We are so thrilled to be here tonight to drum for the women of the world. Women are the heartbeat of the world, of the family, of the community. For thousands of years the drum has been the heartbeat of community...building communities of caretakers...empowering the women of the world...For UNIFEM!

We attended this event because we

thought it would be an ideal way to make our first contact with UNIFEM for our study. But the event itself became an unexpected part of our data for a number of reasons. First, the event speaks to what UN organizations must do these days to raise money for their development efforts. With limited core funds, UNIFEM has come to rely heavily on non-core funds from partnerships and fund-raising. Mark Alleyne (2005) argues that, when then Secretary General Kofi Annan expanded the focus on celebrity partnerships within the UN by recruiting dozens of primarily American and European celebrities, he meant to improve the UN's credibility and visibility, and to spread what Alleyne calls the "propaganda" of universality without upsetting Member States. For our study it is also important to highlight how such celebrities have become bound up in the calculations of the UN: they figure in modes of international governance that promote a certain kind of audit culture, one where "effective results" must be obtained through the international measurement of culturally distinct situations. The UN has expected UNIFEM to be accountable and track results around the world without having the benefit of the core funding needed to enable such "results." In this situation, celebrity partnerships are an effective strategy for UNIFEM: they raise the profile of and legitimate women's issues as "mainstream" issues, and help to keep gender on the UN agenda.

This particular celebrity partnership also signals the transnational, modernist sensibility of gender which UNIFEM seeks to promote and inscribe. Thanks in part to global communications systems, a Hollywood actress such as Nicole Kidman serves as a kind of benchmarking technique, a "best practice," that helps UNIFEM market its work to promote gender equality and women's empowerment. In an issue of *Ladies Home Journal*, Kidman explains her decision to support UNIFEM (Laskas 2006). The *Journal* presents Kidman as a "woman of the world" (in one photo Kidman, in lounge wear, is touching a

large globe). She is portrayed as cosmopolitan yet caring, independent yet reliable. She is a survivor who can stand on her own two feet, and a good mother in times of crisis. She embodies the ideals of (neoliberal) self-sufficiency and resourcefulness, and UNIFEM's own orientation as a responsible and accountable organization. In this sense, Kidman is the quintessential "smart" woman and she does more than attract wealth to UNIFEM. Her profile sets standards for and normalizes the work of UNIFEM, including efforts to mobilize women for "smart" development and the training of women to be more economically and politically resourceful.

At the same time, Kidman's presence privileges a view of gender equality that neither challenges class and racialized inequalities nor disrupts global economic power. There is a cost, then, of equating "smart development" with gender equality. As a strategy to achieve gender equality, it confines activities to eliminating discriminatory "inefficiencies" in the labour market or in formal political systems to ensure women's equal contributions. Gender equality work comes to signify the making up of women as a resource for current economic or political systems. At the same time, as such changes can be tracked and monitored, this strategy reinforces the current accountability frameworks of late neoliberalism. Indeed, the (2006-2009) World Bank Gender Action Plan states that the core objective of promoting gender equality is to "empower women to compete" in product markets, financial markets, land markets, and labour markets (World Bank 2006, 9). This is their smart economics. As partners in this plan, UNIFEM's role is to "...supervise local government and civil society agencies...implementing Results-Based Initiatives [and to] function as a capacity-building partner for 'coaching' the local implementing agencies to deliver high-quality results in a timely manner" (2006, 13). This proposal for gender equality not only makes UNIFEM responsible for the



"production" of women who can compete in current economic and political systems, but it feeds rather than disturbs global governance as it is currently constructed.

We can hope that the women whose lives have been touched by UNIFEM training workshops are able to escape this kind of calculation. Or, if not, perhaps they can at least draw from training workshops ideas to fashion independent paths for themselves. Such independent paths would likely remain invisible in the audit culture of UNIFEM, not counting as a "high-quality result." However, understanding women's own goals and alternative accountabilities would help to broaden rather than foreclose definitions of "smart" and reopen debates about what, in fact, constitutes gender equality.

### Conclusion

We have focussed here on audit culture and gender equality within one international organization, UNIFEM. We have suggested that, although UNIFEM has sought to change its modes of operation, the technologies of audit culture that currently shape its gender equity efforts will constrain any initiatives for change for some time to come. Our analysis complements the work of others who remain concerned about the UN approach to social change.<sup>9</sup>

Our study of how the global "meets" the global, so to speak, reveals not only the gender of globalization (Freeman 2001) but the political, economic and cultural dynamics that fuel it. If new modes of gendered calculation within international organizations are tied to the political and economic rationalities of late neoliberalism, the crucial question remains whether women are taking up "good gender practices" precisely to meet the requirements of projects and funding. Or, perhaps there are alternative accountabilities that women have created for themselves which may challenge the global culture being envisioned by the UN. Future research on this question is vital. The case we describe here, of how audit haunts

UNIFEM efforts, urges the need for feminist analysis of the impact of the results-managed programmes which are driving current efforts to change the world - for such programmes are part of the calculative practices that aim to intervene in and "improve" the lives of women around the globe.

### Endnotes

1. "Technologies" here derives from Foucault (1991). It refers to instruments and procedures that quantify, calculate and produce certain kinds of populations to govern.
2. Foucault employs the term "government" to argue that rule operates in multiple sites, not just the state (Foucault 1977, 1991). Analysts are usefully employing this concept of government to understand the dynamics of supra-national rule within the different strands of globalization (Larner & Walters 2004; Ong and Collier 2005).
3. OSAGI (Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women), DAW (Division for the Advancement of Women), and INSTRAW (International Institute for Research and Training for the Advancement of Women) are also UN-based units dealing with women's issues.
4. The Andean Region office in Ecuador is responsible for promoting gender equality in Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Bolivia. In Brazil, the Southern Cone office is responsible for Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile. The other two offices in the Latin American region are located in Barbados and Mexico. Our selection of the offices in Brazil and Ecuador was influenced by our previous research experience in these two countries. For more on Brazil and Ecuador, see Cole and Phillips (2008).
5. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness was proposed to guide relationships between donor countries (e.g., OECD countries) and "partner" countries to ensure the timely implementation of the Millennium Development Goals. The 2007 evaluation of UNIFEM's multi-year funding

framework recommends that "UNIFEM needs to thoroughly review the current MYFF and develop a limited number of revised, SMART results accompanied by relevant and neutral indicators" (UN EB 2007, Annex 5: 5).

6. The plan had been to appoint the Head of the new gender entity at the rank of Undersecretary General and to increase the budget substantially (UN GA 2006). Despite expectations that these changes would be agreed upon by 2007, debate about whether there will be a new UN gender architecture continues (Meijers 2008).

7. For a full discussion of the proposal-based process recently adopted by the UNIFEM offices, see Phillips and Cole (forthcoming).

8. This nod to the entertainment industry was not surprising, given that the Host Committee for the Gala included (among others) Lauren Bacall, Bette Midler, Julianne Moore, Sarah Jessica Parker, Sydney Pollack, Susan Sarandon, Diane Sawyer, Jerry and Jessica Seinfeld, Uma Thurma, Catherine Zeta-Jones, Kate Winslet and Elizabeth Taylor.

9. For feminist critiques, see Barton (2004), Kerr, Sprenger and Symington (2004), Molyneux and Razavi (2002). The Beijing +5 and Beijing +10 reviews also provided important opportunities for critical feedback.

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