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Pathways to Gender Equality? Implications of the Interface Between UNIFEM and the  
MDGs

By

Lisa Vander Weide

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
through Sociology, Anthropology and Criminology  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Master of Arts at the  
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2010

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## **ABSTRACT**

The United Nation's Millennium Development Goals were implemented in the year 2000 in efforts to re-energize social development initiatives on a global scale. As a UN organization, UNIFEM has an obligation to integrate this new framework for development into their current mandate, regardless of whether or not it is perceived as useful to UNIFEM's goals and activities. This study explores the nature of the relationship between UNIFEM and the MDGs, and questions the implications this interface has on the construction of pathways to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment. My findings suggest that over time, UNIFEM operates more like the bureaucratic organization of the UN, and less like a social movement organization many feminists expect it to be. This indicates a narrowing of the possibilities imaginable for the futures of women on the part of UNIFEM.

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my amazingly  
supportive father, Andrew Vander Weide,  
and to the loving memory of my mother,  
Margaret Scott.

I also dedicate this thesis to my fellow colleague  
and dear friend, Guy Lapointe, whose  
perseverance and strong will I admire.  
Don't ever give up.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

There are several people to whom I owe many thanks for having been a part of this academic endeavour. First and foremost, I am greatly indebted to my advisor, Dr. Lynne Phillips. Her passionate interest in my project, expert knowledge and sincere guidance played a pivotal role in the completion of this thesis. Thank you. Also, to my committee members, Dr. Suzan Ilcan and Dr. Maureen Irish, I thank you for your valuable input and advice. I must also acknowledge Professor Susan Sverdrup-Phillips for being a friend and mentor over the last two years, as well as Kelley Allard for all her advice and guidance along the way. And last, but not least, I thank my family and my loving partner for every ounce of their support.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
CHAPTERS	
<b>I. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
Introduction	1
<b>II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE</b>	<b>5</b>
Evolution of Aid	5
The United Nations Millennium Development Goals	7
Goal Three: Promoting Gender Equality and Empowering Women	9
About UNIFEM	11
UNIFEM and the MDGs	13
<b>III. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>IV. METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>V. ANALYSIS</b>	<b>29</b>
Part I: Techniques of Representation	29
Narratives	30
Photo Images	36
Charts, Diagrams and Graphs	39
Part II: Shifting Pathways?	44
<b>VI. CONCLUSION</b>	<b>56</b>
REFERENCES	58
APPENDICES	63



Appendix A. Official List of MDG Indicators	64
Appendix B. Revisioning the Economy Through Women's Eyes	67
Appendix C. Female Enrolment in Secondary Education by Region, 1999/2000	68
Appendix D. Gender Mainstreaming Matrix in EU Employment Policy	69
Appendix E. Composite Indices	70
Appendix F. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)	71
Appendix G. Women's Multiple Roles	72
Appendix H. The Cost of Gender Equality	73
VITA AUCTORIS	74

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>BPFA</b>	<b>Beijing Platform For Action</b>
<b>CEDAW</b>	<b>Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women</b>
<b>GEM</b>	<b>Gender Equality Matrix</b>
<b>IAEG</b>	<b>Inter-Agency and Expert Group on MDG indicators</b>
<b>IFI</b>	<b>International Financial Institutions</b>
<b>MDGs</b>	<b>Millennium Development Goals</b>
<b>PFA</b>	<b>Platform For Action</b>
<b>OECD</b>	<b>Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development</b>
<b>UN</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>UNIFEM</b>	<b>United Nations Development Fund for Women</b>

## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

### Introduction

The year 2000, the year of the new millennium, sparked renewed energy in global development strategies by major international organizations, including the United Nations. In the hopes of creating a “new and better world” for all, the focus was on resolving issues such as extreme poverty, human rights violations, and gender inequality, on a global scale. In order to energize this ‘new’ 21<sup>st</sup> century development movement, the United Nations formulated the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). With an emphasis on novel strategies and a global consensus on the development initiative, the eight goals of the MDGs are intended to improve the living conditions of the world’s most vulnerable populations by the year 2015. According to the UN, ineffective strategies of the past have purportedly been abandoned and replaced with new and innovative types of data collection, information sharing, and knowledge networks, in light of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

This new framework for development (the Millennium Development Goals) has also created “new regimes of collaboration, responsibilities and networks”, according to some researchers (Ilcan and Phillips, 2010, in press). That is, greater expectations have been placed upon UN agencies and international organizations to adopt the MDGs, integrate this initiative into their agendas, collaborate with other organizations, and provide greater donor support to aid in the ‘timely’ achievement of the goals. But, as researchers have found, UN initiatives such as these are not always complementary to some of its individual agencies’ mandates, such as UNIFEM (Criquillion, 2004; Griffen,

2004; Heyzer, 2005; Sweetman, 2005). While these tensions between UN organizations and the MDGs may exist, there are also some underlying modes of operation in common.

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) seeks to promote gender equality and women's empowerment, and, like all UN agencies, they are expected to be a team player in the MDG effort. However, despite decades of advocating for the mainstreaming of women's rights and empowerment into all UN initiatives, UNIFEM finds their mandate explicitly represented by only one of the eight Millennium Development Goals. For UNIFEM, this may be viewed as a flagrant underrepresentation of the importance of women's rights and empowerment in the global development project, as well as a narrowing of the possible avenues in which gender equality can be pursued. Ten years after the implementation of the MDGs, the question can be asked as to how UNIFEM continues to articulate with the MDGs, and the implications this relationship has had on the ways UNIFEM envisions the future of gender equality and women's empower strategies.

With this context in mind, the purpose of this study is to explore the nature of the interface between UNIFEM and the MDGs and its implications for UNIFEM's goals and activities. Is there evidence to suggest that this relationship with the MDGs has strengthened the goals and strategies of UNIFEM, or on the contrary, diverted UNIFEM's attention away from important gender equality initiatives of the past (e.g., the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Platform for Action (PFA))? Has UNIFEM's articulation with the MDGs in the last 10 years

broadened potential pathways to achieving gender quality, or has there been a narrowing of possibilities?

Considering the claim by the United Nations that the MDGs are globally applicable and in the interest of all, this research contributes to ongoing dialogue that suggests that the vision of the future for all put forth by the MDG framework is actually limited in scope. Some feminist activists and researchers argue that gender equality in the context of global development should be pursued in broader strategies than the United Nations and the MDGs employ (Young, 1996; Walby, 2002; Conway, 2007; Cole & Phillips, 2010, in press;). This study will closely examine key documents regarding the MDGs published by the UN and UNIFEM to explore potential transformations over time in the ways in which UNIFEM represents gender equity issues.

The main question being asked in this study is whether there are any shifts in UNIFEM's vision for the future of gender equality as they interact with the Millennium Development Goals over time. I employ governmentality theory to show the not-so-obvious ways in which power operates to shape to conduct of individuals to meet particular goals. Through this lens, I argue that the interface between UNIFEM and the MDGs has resulted in the formation of pathways to achieving gender equality by UNIFEM that reflect similar modes of governing and representation of the bureaucratic framework of the UN. This change over time from heterogeneous and inclusive strategies to homogenous, universal strategies lacking context becomes evident in my analysis of UNIFEM texts. This study contributes to the emerging literature that suggests the pathways put forth by international organizations like UNIFEM for social

development are too narrow, and limit what can be imagined for the futures of women. Specifically, this study speaks to the power of the United Nations and its ability to influence affiliate organizations to integrate initiatives like the MDGs into their mandates, even if it may at times deflect energy away from their own projects already in progress.

A brief account of the evolution of foreign aid will open this first section to provide the context in which the Millennium Development Goals have been created. Then a thorough discussion of the MDGs and the role of UNIFEM sets the stage for analyzing the implications of their relationship with each other. This discussion is followed by an outline of my theoretical and methodological framework. My analysis is then divided into two parts. Part one analyzes the shifts in the techniques of representation utilized in the UNIFEM texts. Part two is an analysis of the shifts in language as well as the technologies of agency that UNIFEM employs to move its targeted population towards 'empowerment'.

## CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

### *The Evolution of Aid*

In the late 1980s, the rationale for aid and development was focused primarily on ensuring economic security due to the growing debt crisis of the time (Rojas, 2004). As a result of the debt crisis, private sources of donorship diminished and greater power and control were allotted to International Financial Institutions (IFIs), such as the World Bank and IMF. With greater control over aid, IFIs at the time were able to push their agenda of market openness and deregulation. It is with this transfer of the control of aid to IFIs that the rationale for development took on economic dimensions (Ibid). Efforts shifted towards “strengthening commitments to an international economic order characterized by free markets, private property, economic incentives and a smaller state” (Rojas, 2004, p.104). International aid at this time became linked to structural reform (through structural adjustment plans), and development initiatives focused less on poverty, and more on international competitiveness and economic reform. Subsequently, poverty was also represented as an obstacle to economic growth, rather than as a humanitarian issue.

However, by 1995 the detrimental effects of utilizing aid as a means to enforce economic reform were evident. The effectiveness of structural adjustment plans (SAPs) was called into question. This paved the way for new mentalities of development, and the notion of creating time bound “social development goals” for the betterment of the global population was born (Rojas, 2004). In 1996, a number of UN goals sought to reduce the negative effects of globalization on the world’s most vulnerable countries,

including a goal to halve the number of people living in extreme poverty by the year 2015. This new 'social development' rationale sought to promote feelings of ownership within each country, and to put countries in charge of their own development. This new rationale was accompanied by new technologies, new methods for data collection, and a focus on measuring progress towards defined goals— all of which have allowed for donors to govern recipient countries "at a distance", as Nikolas Rose(1999) and Mitchel Dean (1999) would put it, while giving them the impression they are in control of their own development (Larner & Walters, 2004; Rojas, 2004). This shift from the SAP model to one of a liberal democratic model of 'social development', was proposed as a means of creating 'new' and 'better' pathways to achieving social development. However, I argue that the underlying emphasis on economic solutions to global issues of development in both models, are equally limited and narrow in focus. This new social development model is not novel, and could actually be perceived as just a continuation of development initiatives from the past (Sweetman, 2005).

It is within this social development rationale that the capacity building and empowerment strategies of the MDGs and UNIFEM may be located. By linking aid and assistance to promises of social reform through empowering individuals to become active citizens, the MDGs and UNIFEM, in this thesis, are viewed as exercising acts of governing. Countries in need of aid are expected to sign on to the MDGs under moral and ethical obligations to improve the welfare of their populations, thereby create the illusion that agreement to intervention is consensual, and that the responsibility for reform belongs to countries themselves. Informing these initiatives are constructions of



particular pathways of social development, consequently governing the ways in which achieving equality is thought to possible.

### *The United Nations Millennium Development Goals*

In September of 2000, the UN Millennium Declaration was adopted by 189 nations during the Millennium Summit. The Millennium Declaration contains eight time-bound goals, known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which aim to reduce global extreme poverty and its many dimensions. These eight goals and their accompanying 21 targets (Appendix A) are intended to enhance development, empower women, achieve equality and reduce risk in the poorest countries, through global partnerships between developing and developed countries, all by the year 2015 (Millennium Development Project, 2006). The eight Millennium Development Goals are:

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieve universal primary school education
3. Promote gender equality and empower women
4. Reduce Child mortality
5. Improve maternal health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability
8. Develop a global partnership for development

(United Nations, 2009)

Progress towards the MDGs is measured by sixty quantitatively defined indicators selected by national and international statistical experts (United Nation

Statistics Division, 2009). The United Nations relies on these national and international statistics experts, namely the Inter-Agency and Expert Group on MDG Indicators<sup>1</sup> (IAEG), to produce reports on progress towards to MDGs, analyze data, and maintain databases (United Nations, 2003). Each year, reports are produced by the Secretary-General summarizing the latest progress towards achievement of the MDGs, according to each indicator, and analyzed at global and regional levels. Data is compiled and analyzed by specialized agencies within their area of expertise, also according to each indicator (United Nations, 2008).

Five main criteria were utilized by the UN and IAEG in the selection of indicators of the MDGs. Each indicator must: “Provide relevant and robust measures of progress towards the targets of the MDGs; be clear and straightforward to interpret and provide a basis for international comparison; be broadly consistent with other global lists and avoid imposing an unnecessary burden on country teams, governments and other partners; be based to the greatest extent possible on international standards, recommendations and best practices; and be constructed from well-established data sources, be quantifiable and be consistent to enable measurement over time “(United Nations, 2003, p.1).

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<sup>1</sup> The Inter-Agency and Expert Group (IAEG) on MDG Indicators “includes various departments within the United Nations Secretariat, a number of UN agencies from within the United Nations system and outside, various government agencies and national statisticians, and other organizations concerned with the development of MDG data at the national and international levels including donors and expert advisers. IAEG is responsible for the preparation of data and analysis to monitor progress towards the MDGs. The Group also reviews and defines methodologies and technical issues in relation to the indicators, produces guidelines, and helps define priorities and strategies to support countries in data collection, analysis and reporting on MDGs” (<http://mdgs.un.org>).

Currently, there is much debate surrounding the measurement of progress of the MDGs. The international statistics community has increasingly become concerned with the lack of adequate data to properly measure progress (as it is outlined by each indicator) in the poorest regions of the developing world. According to the UN, new initiatives are being proposed to raise awareness for “statistical capacity building” in order to aid in producing accurate data and to better track what the UN defines as ‘progress’ (United Nations, 2003, p.2). From a governmentality perspective, this reliance on narrow, quantitative, indicators and data collection for tracking change and measuring progress towards the MDGs frames the pursuit of social development in a particular way, and defines how the global community should envision change. It becomes important to consider, then, whether these kinds of pathways are appropriate for realizing the goal of global gender equality and women’s empowerment.

### *Goal Three: Promoting Gender Equality and Empowering Women*

Of particular interest for this research project is Goal Three: To promote gender equality and empower women. I am mostly interested in how the United Nations proposes to reach this goal, and the ways in which this framework contributes to pursuing gender equality in a particular way. According to the UN, the target for this goal is to “eliminate disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by the year 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015” (United Nations, 2008). They seek to reach this target by fulfilling three quantitative indicators. The first is the ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education. The second is the share of

women in wage employment in non-agricultural sectors. The third is the proportion of seats held by women in national parliament (United Nations, 2008).

Framing the pathway to gender equality in this way means all efforts to achieving this goal are channeled towards meeting a very limited set of quantitatively defined indicators, and other aspects of gender equity issues are not visible. For instance, simply increasing the ratio of girls to boys in education does nothing to ensure that girls receive the same quality of education as boys, nor does it mean girls are necessarily enabled to improve their subordinate positions (Kabeer, 2005). Similarly, simply increasing the share of women in non-agricultural labour does not challenge the exploitative conditions and health risks involved in (especially poor) women's work, nor does it acknowledge that paid labour may not translate into greater control over their own lives for women (Kabeer, 2005; Pearson, 2007). Furthermore, simply holding seats in parliament does not necessarily mean these women are able to exercise any influence on policies and decision-making (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2004), or that these elite few are making decisions responsive to the majority of women (Kabeer, 2005; Cornwall et al, 2007).

This obvious disjuncture between how gender equality is conceptualized, and the actual resolution of gender inequity, presents agencies like UNIFEM with an opportunity to create alternative, more inclusive pathways to gender equality. Despite having no option but to engage with the MDGs, can UNIFEM use this relationship with the MDGs to their advantage in their goals and activities? Can they create an alternate vision, or

are they bound to the same forms of knowledge, techniques and strategies as the framework put forth by the MDGs?

### About UNIFEM

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) was first established in 1976 as the United Nations Voluntary Fund for the Decade for Women (UNVFDW), and was initially established only for the duration of the UN Decade for Women, 1975-85. However, in 1984, it was decided by the General Assembly that UNVFDW would be re-established as UNIFEM and will act as a “separate and identifiable entity in autonomous association with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which will play an innovative and catalytic role in relation to the United Nations overall system of development co-operation” (UNIFEM, 2009, n.p). Working in 166 countries, the UNDP primarily supports capacity development efforts by helping governments, civil society and other partners to build the skills, knowledge and experience they need to improve peoples’ lives (United Nations Development Programme, 2009). In all activities, UNDP encourages the protection of human rights and the empowerment of women, and plays a critical role in the guiding of all of UNIFEM activities (Ibid).

Today, UNIFEM carries out its goals worldwide. Its headquarters are located in New York City, and currently, there are 3 liaison offices, 15 sub-regional offices, 10 country programme offices, and 44 project offices around the world supporting a wide variety of programmes (UNIFEM, 2009a). Seventeen national committees for UNIFEM

also support the organization through public education about UNIFEM and women's issues, and through fundraising programmes that support UNIFEM activities around the world. The NGO committee for UNIFEM shares a similar role, with representatives from 25 NGOs aiding in the promotion of the organization's work (Ibid). UNIFEM's Consultative Committee meets annually and is responsible for guiding UNIFEM on issues about programs and policies. The committee consists of five members, each representing a key geographical region, and each serving for a term of three years. Furthermore, UNIFEM is governed by the UNDP Executive Board, which consists of 36 member states representing regions all around the world. The UNDP Executive Board "oversees and supports the activities of...its associated funds, including UNIFEM, ensuring that the organization remains responsive to the evolving needs of programme countries" (UNIFEM, 2009a, n.p).

The main goal for UNIFEM is to advance women's rights and achieve gender equality, which the organization defines as recognizing women as equal to men in access to basic human rights, especially as equal economic agents central to a vibrant economy. It entails the design and implementation of economic policies that give women and men equal access to decent work, food security, social insurance and other basic human rights (UNIFEM, 2009a, n.p). Other goals include transforming institutions with the aim of creating more accountability to women's rights and empowerment, "strengthening the capacity and voice of women's rights advocates", and "changing harmful and discriminatory practices in society"(UNIFEM, 2009a n.p). In order to achieve these goals, all activities by UNIFEM are aimed towards one over-arching goal: "To support the implementation at the

national level of existing international commitments to advance gender equality” (UNIFEM Canada, 2009, n.p). UNIFEM’s key activities include: Enhancing women’s economic security and rights; ending violence against women; reducing the prevalence of HIV and AIDS among women and girls; advancing gender justice and democratic governance in unstable and fragile states (Ibid). The primary ways in which UNIFEM implements the above goals are by providing technical and financial assistance for innovative strategies contributing to the empowerment of women, and enhancing public accountability to women’s rights (Ibid)

#### UNIFEM and the MDGs

As an organization of the United Nations, UNIFEM is expected to engage with the MDGs and support these new development strategies. This raises the question of how UNIFEM has articulated with the MDGs and whether or not this relationship carries with it consequences for the possible ways in which gender equality strategies are conceived.

On the one hand, UNIFEM is able to maintain a high profile, attract international donors and foster collaborations and partnerships among global organizations as a result of its affiliation with the United Nations and the MDGs. In this sense, UNIFEM’s relationship with the MDGs has opened doors for women’s organizations and has aided in promoting gender equality and women’s empowerment as a global movement (Snyder, 2006). Consequently, many feminist activist groups depend on UNIFEM to be a vehicle in which they are able to influence development policies, advocate women’s

rights and human rights, and to contribute to the longevity of important women's movements (Moghadam, 2005).

On the other hand, others argue that the bureaucratic framework and policies of the United Nations are antithetical to feminist thought and close ties to the UN and the MDG framework may in some ways limit, or compromise, UNIFEM's mandate to advance gender equality (Hendricks, 2005; Cole & Phillips, 2008). While promising to prioritize issues of the most vulnerable groups of the world's women, UNIFEM is beginning to operate based more on the frameworks of benchmarking, accountability and results based management as a result of pressure from the UN to adhere to these types of strategies (Cole and Phillips, 2008). These techniques contribute to the framing and governing of a particular pathway to gender equality, and thus, will limit the scope in which the futures of women are envisioned (Hendricks, 2005). Subsequently, some feminist groups feel that UNIFEM is becoming less like a social movement organization, and is increasingly becoming more like the bureaucratic institution that is the UN (Walby, 2002; Conway 2007; Doerr, 2007).

As a mainstream organization, UNIFEM is faced with a double-edged sword, so to speak. There are many advantages to being a part of an institution like the UN as it allows for global networks and international support for women's issues in development. However, framing gender equality in ways that are governed by the UN-oriented bureaucratic framework may shift attention away from important micro-level issues (Cole & Phillips, 2008). UNIFEM faces a dilemma regarding how to engage with the Millennium Development Goals. Can they work with the MDGs, following measuring



change through a reliance on its quantitative indicators? Can they work with the MDGs by using only the elements of the MDG initiatives that are functional to their own goals and activities? Alternatively, is there space in which UNFEM can engage alternative strategies for achieving their goals? This is concerned to show how UNIFEM has articulated the MDG overtime, and what this implies for the current way in which gender equality is being framed.

## CHAPTER III: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

### Theoretical Perspective

An central theoretical perspective informing this analysis is Michel Foucault's (1991) governmentality theory as utilized by theorists such as Mitchell Dean (1999), Nikalos Rose (1999), Peter Miller (1991), Wendy Larner (2004), and others. According to Foucault (1991, p. 102), governmentality refers to the "ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflection, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of a very specific albeit complex form of power". For this study, I argue that the United Nations can be considered the 'ensemble' from which this complex form of power arises to propel global development. As an organization of the UN, UNIFEM is a participating member of the 'ensemble' that contributes to the organizing and governing of populations.

Government is described by Dean (1999) and Rose (1999) as any deliberate attempt to regulate or shape individual behaviour to meet a particular end, according to a specific set of norms and standards. Specifically, government is often described as the conduct of conduct (Dean, 1999, p. 10). That is, government involves the shaping of individual conduct through a variety of transformative techniques and forms of knowledge to achieve a particular end - not through coercion, but through the subject's desires, beliefs and interests (Dean, 1999, p.11). From this perspective, the MDGs and UNIFEM can be considered to be engaging in practices of governing to the extent that they seek to shape how we think about social development and gender equality.

Important to note here is that Foucault's theory of governmentality is usually applied only to the exercising of government within the nation state, until recently. Emerging literature suggests that with the rise of international organizations engaging in activities of government, the notion of governmentality can be pushed beyond the nation state and applied to the global arena (Larner & Walters, 2004, p.1). With the expansion of globalization, transformations in the operation of economic, political and social relations have created new spaces for power to occupy, dispersing it among a variety of international organizations (Larner & Walters, 2004, p.4). As governmentality theory "favours a view of power which is dispersed", wherein the state is viewed as one amongst many loci of government (Ibid), Foucault's (1991) theory of governmentality is applicable to my analysis of UNIFEM and the United Nations' MDGs in the context of global development.

Both UNIFEM and the MDGs put forth a specific framework for the global community to carry out social development and gender equality initiatives. As such, we can consider them to be 'regimes of practices of government' (Dean, 1999, p.165). That is, UNIFEM and the MDGs are informed by, and give rise to, particular forms of knowledge and expertise, tools and techniques. All of these define the subjects to be governed, define how to govern these subjects, and outline the aims and effects of their practices of governing (Ibid). As regimes of practices of government, their effects are two-fold. On the one hand, they bring social development issues to a global audience, create global partnerships, contract international commitments for investment, and can contribute to positive social change. On the other hand, they also set norms and

standards for development and gender equality, depend on benchmarks, monitoring and performance indicators (Dean, 1999, p165), and tend to abstract and objectify the 'real world' (Eastwood, 2006). This study will focus on UNIFEM as a "regime of practice", and decide whether its mode of constructing and governing the pathways to gender equality has changed over time as their involvement with the MDG framework has developed. Of particular significance is whether the pathways put forth by UNIFEM take on more characteristics of the MDG framework over time (results-based, quantitative representations, and technocratic and macro-economically driven solutions), and if so, what are the impacts on achieving the goal of gender equality and women's empowerment? The backdrop here is that some feminist activists imagine development in much broader terms than the MDG or UNIFEM framework (Young, 1996; Phillips and Cole, 2009; Conway, 2007; Doerr, 2007) and, as an organization specifically serving to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment, UNIFEM faces pressure to offer strategies beyond the liberal democratic model of the UN (Young, 1996; Phillips and Cole, 2009; Conway, 2007).

To answer the question of whether UNIFEM is narrowing or expanding potential pathways to achieving the goal of gender equality and women's empowerment, I will focus on the technical strategies of government within the texts of this organization. Dean (1999, p.31) describes these as the "means, mechanisms, procedures, instruments, techniques, technologies and vocabularies" that are utilized in achieving the particular objectives of regimes of practices. Technical strategies aspire to shape human conduct to produce a desired effect. Human capacities then, are the target of these technical

means (Rose, 1999, p. 52). These techniques have transformative potential and may “impose limits over what it is possible to do” (Ibid), and are therefore, an important aspect of this analysis. Two particular technical strategies of government I will consider are: rendering subjects visible/invisible through techniques of representation; and moving the population towards ‘empowerment’ through technologies of agency and technologies of performance.

Rendering visible the subjects over which government is to be exercised is an integral aspect of governing (Rose & Miller, 1991; Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999). This is accomplished through particular “inscription devices” (Latour, 1986, as cited in Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999) such as photo images, maps, charts, tables, graphs and the like. The particular effect of these devices, or techniques of representation, is to re-present aspects of social reality that make clear who, and what are to be governed, how particular subjects are confined to space, how different regions are connected to one another, what problems are to be solved, and what solutions will solve them (Dean, 1999, p.30). By inscribing subjects and the spaces they occupy in objective, standardized ways, otherwise ephemeral aspects of social life become calculable, comparable, and manipulated (Rose & Miller, 1991; Scott, 1998). Considering these techniques of representation is important to any analysis of government as they bring into focus a particular target population, representing subjects in particular ways that enable the justification of the exercising of government. Furthermore, rendering visible a target population simultaneously obscures other objects of the social world (Scott, 1998; Dean, 1999).

However, government is not only concerned with matters of representation, it is also concerned with intervention (Rose and Miller 1991). For this reason, the second aspect of my study is to analyze the particular technologies of agency and technologies of performance (Dean, 1999) utilized by UNIFEM. Technologies of agency, or what Barbara Cruikshank( 1999) refers to as ‘technologies of citizenship’, arise when the groups of individuals are deemed as at-risk, or powerless and are targeted for intervention. Technologies of agency include techniques of empowerment, capacity building, accountability frameworks, and self-esteem building (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999); what we can identify as the crux of UNIFEM’s mandate. The object of technologies of agency is to transform these ‘powerless’ subjects into active citizens, capable of managing their own risks (Ibid). These strategies ultimately shape the conduct of the target population and place the responsibility for managing their own empowerment onto the subjects themselves.

The notion of ‘empowering’ individuals has become a more controversial topic in the last few decades. While its emergence as a solution to social problems is most popularly linked to the U.S Community Action Plans (CAPs) of the 1960’s under President Johnson’s ‘War on Poverty’, empowerment as a means to ‘self-help’ can be traced back to the Victorian philanthropy era in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Cruikshank, 1999). Thus, the concept of empowerment is not new. What is more recent, however, is the growing criticism of empowerment strategies, and the tools and techniques they employ.

Empowerment strategies involve the transformation of less powerful, less ‘capable’ individuals into active citizens able to exercise choice, agency, and self-

government. Although the principles behind empowerment are, in theory, well intentioned, implicit to the process are particular techniques, discourses, and tactics aimed at enabling individuals to become capable, politically active citizens (Cruikshank, 1999, p.2). Empowerment is based on the notion that subjects are lacking power, self-esteem, or political awareness, and its focus is to build the capabilities of these 'powerless' subjects (Ibid, p. 3). In this sense, to empower is also to govern as "empowerment strategies... act upon others by getting them to act in their own interest" (Ibid, p. 68). Here, the key to empowering subjects is not through brute force, but through techniques that "secure the voluntary compliance of citizens" (Ibid, p.4). Ultimately, empowerment is both voluntary, and coercive.

For example, in the context of the UNIFEM texts, it is clear that the overarching goal of each UNIFEM report is to promote gender equality by 'empowering' women. The 2000 progress report opens the first chapter by stating, "Oppressed people may lack the courage to choose to develop and use their capabilities" (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 7). The focus of the report is to extend the idea of human development to include the process of women's economic empowerment. Specifically, the report seeks to develop women's capabilities leading to their own agency, referred to as 'self-empowerment'. A complimentary aspect of this process is to also enable other social actors to remove barriers that may impede the exercise of women's agency (Ibid, p.7). In 2002, UNIFEM states, "[women's] empowerment is essentially about the ability to make choices and exercise bargaining power; to have a voice; to have the ability to organize and influence the direction of social change, to create a just social economic order, nationally and

internationally” (UNIFEM, 2002, p. 63). According to this report, women could be empowered by increasing the enrollment rates of women in education, increasing the number of women holding seats in parliament, and by increasing women’s share of wage labour. In the 2008/2009 progress report, UNIFEM links empowerment to increasing women’s capacities to engage in the accountability process (UNIFEM, 2009, p. 53). It calls for a strengthening of accountability to women in the following five areas: politics and governance, access to public services, economic opportunities, justice, and the distribution of international assistance or development and security (Ibid). Women’s empowerment is achieved here through a “combination of leadership positioning, political leverage and institutional capacity” (Ibid, p. 114). Ultimately, the notion of empowerment, as employed by UNIFEM, is primarily about building the capacities of particular women and engaging them in the process of their own empowerment. The intended result is to produce women who are now ‘capable’, and responsible for overcoming their own powerlessness. Thus, in these UNIFEM documents, a ‘powerless’ population is targeted, needs and entitlements are expressed, interventions are proposed, and particular capacities are expected to arise.

Linked to notions of agency are technologies of performance which render individuals into “calculable subjects in calculable spaces” (Dean, 1999, p.168). These technologies include such things as audits, benchmarking, budgets, expertise, accountability (Rose & Miller, 1991; Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999; Strathern, 2000). These kinds of techniques are about optimizing performance, creating best-practice standards, and promoting competition (Dean, 1999). At the same time, they also allow for the



surveillance and regulation of the target populations (Strathern, 2000; Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999).

The calculative and evaluative technologies of agency and performance mentioned above are characteristic of the MDG framework (Ilcan & Phillips, 2010, in press). The question remains, then, whether there is a shift over time in how UNIFEM imagines gender equality initiatives as they engage with the Millennium Development Goals. As an idealized programme of global development, the MDG's represent what James Scott (1998, p.4) refers to as a 'grand scheme'. While optimistic in its intentions, the framework offered by the MDGs also engages in processes of standardization and simplification that make the complexities of global development legible and manageable (Scott, 1998). This aspect of grand-schemes is perhaps their biggest downfall. As the planning for global development becomes more schematic, the strategies begin to lose the local context (Scott, 1998). Consequently, any ensuing strategies lacking context and the "essential features of any real, functioning social order" can never actually create a functioning social order (Scott, 1998, p.6). In this sense, the MDGs, as a grand scheme, are rather susceptible to failure, and as a participating member of the 'ensemble', UNIFEM risks becoming tied to a similar fate.

## CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY

### Methodology

The chosen methodology for this study is a combination of content analysis and discourse analysis. Utilizing both methods has allowed me to reveal the changing representations of women in UNIFEM documents through photos, narratives and charts while also locating them within the discursive theme of governing at a distance.

Some key documents produced by UNIFEM regarding the MDGs that I deemed important for analysis include:

1. United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2000). *Progress of the World's Women 2000*. New York: UNIFEM.
2. United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2002). *Progress of the World's Women. Gender Equality and the Millennium Development Goals*. New York: UNIFEM.
3. United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2004). *Pathway to Gender Equality: CEDAW, Beijing and the MDGs*. New York: UNIFEM.
4. United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2008). *Gender Equality Now. Accelerating the Achievement of the Millennium Development Goals*. New York: UNIFEM.
5. United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2009). *Progress of the World's Women. 2008/2009: Who Answers to Women? Gender and Accountability*. New York: UN Publications.

In addition to these documents, some MDG texts were utilized to inform the comparative aspects in the language between UNIFEM and the MDG reports:

1. United Nations. (2005). *Millennium Development Goals Report 2005*. New York: United Nations.
2. United Nations. (2009). *Millennium Development Goals Report 2009*. New York: United Nations.

Content analysis involves analyzing “patterns of symbolic meaning within written texts” (Neuman, 2003, p.53). In this study, the ‘content’ refers to photo images, personal narratives and charts, graphs and diagrams within UNIFEM documents. The purpose of conducting the content analysis is to reveal visual and numerical aspects of the documents that signal techniques of governing that are not explicitly visible. In this sense, content analysis is a complimentary methodology to discourse analysis as it may facilitate the discovery of the discursive nature of these texts.

The first stage of my analysis involved categorizing photographs within the texts into several groups. After first distinguishing between the photos depicting women who appeared to have phenotypically Caucasian features, and those depicting women who appeared to be visible minorities, each category was divided into three subset categories: caring labour activities; empowering activities such as voting or using technology; and protesting. I counted the number of photographs in each category, revealing that most photographs depicted women appearing to be of visible minority status, and the most common activity they were engaged in was domestic labour. This allowed me to see differences in how women are represented through these texts, and how these representations rendered visible specific target populations.

Similarly, I categorized narratives utilized in the document according to content, region and status. As I read each narrative, I paid particular attention to what the women were speaking about in their narrative, whether or not their name and/or the region they came from was attached to their stories, and whether any official titles

accompanied their names and respectively assigned numbers to the narratives. This coding revealed that women in developing countries often remained anonymous and powerless, while experts and prominent international leaders were identifiable, and had more knowledge and credibility. Lastly, charts were categorized in terms of their complexity (or lack of), the type of quantitative representation (table, diagram or graph), and in terms of content (what they were intending to represent). This analysis revealed a simplification of charts and diagrams over time, as well as the submerging of photos and narratives into quantitative representations. Utilizing content analysis has allowed me to uncover particular techniques of representation.

According to Fairclough (2003, p.124), discourse is a way of representing some part of the world in a particular way. Furthermore, “discourses do not just represent the world as it is, but they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world...and tied to projects to the change the world in particular ways” (Ibid). In this sense, we can view the texts produced by UNIFEM as a discourse of governing gender equality and women’s empowerment in the context of global development. These texts represent particular ways to conceptualize and achieve gender equality, and may shape the ways in which the pathways to gender equality are imagined. This methodology is complimentary to my theoretical analysis as it allows me to uncover and compare the modes of governing that currently inform influential gender and development initiatives such as the MDGs.

I began this analysis with the 2000 UNIFEM text, still unencumbered by the MDG model, and then continued chronologically with the subsequent documents staying

specifically attuned to changes over time. Within each document, I sought specific descriptions and uses of language that indicated a regime of governing. Important to any analysis of practices of governing is language because “language is constitutive of government...[and it is] language [that] makes acts of government describable and possible” (Rose, 1999, p. 28). Emphasis here is not only on the meanings of the words in these texts, but rather how the texts function in relation to other things, or “what it makes possible” (Rose, 1999, p.29). In this sense, the focus is on how the language within the UNIFEM and MDG texts makes achieving gender equality possible.

My analysis becomes important when considering that texts may at times set up dialogical relationships between their own discourses and others (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, if this study reveals language and modes of governing that diverge from the MDG framework, this may signal tension between UNIFEM and the United Nations MDGs. Alternatively, similar modes of governing may indicate a homogenization of potential pathways. In either case, an examination of this discourse allows for discussing the role of these particular modes of governing in the shaping of conduct in the goal of social development.

Carrying out this process proved quite difficult as it involved reading each text several times until I was able to develop an appropriate lens. Any analysis of government involves meticulous interpretation of words, phrases and themes within text. With several UNIFEM and MDG documents to analyze, the collection of data was quite arduous.

This study may potentially be criticized for relying only on content and discourse analysis. However, as Dorothy Smith (1999, p. 195) writes, “discursive texts [are] local practices organizing a sequential social act”. In other words, these texts alone have the ability to shape behaviour and conduct in the name of ‘forward moving progress’. Furthermore, as a product of the international organization known as the United Nations, these texts often contain universalizing objectives. Such universal or objectifying texts can “create forms of consciousness that override the ‘naturally’ occurring diversity of perspectives and experiences...coordinating people’s diverse experiences, perspectives and interests into a unified frame” (Smith, 1999, p.196). The production of texts for global development is a product of a translation of actual experiences into institutionally recognizable documents (Eastwood, 2006, p. 194). In this way, UN texts have abstracted material realities and re-presented them in objective ways, rendering invisible actual places and practices (Eastwood, 2006, p.183).

## CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS

### Part I: Techniques of Representation

As mentioned above, empowering individuals involves tacit strategies that, on the surface, may appear quite mundane. However, a more in-depth analysis reveals that the techniques employed by the UN are governmental in nature. As noted earlier, *governing is dependent upon rendering visible the target population in which government is to be exercised* (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999). Similarly, to empower, it is necessary to present a particular target group in ways that elicit clearly *who* is to be empowered, and this is accomplished through various techniques of representation. Specifically, the UNIFEM reports employ narratives, photo images, and charts and tables to represent a category of women comprised of poor, visible minority women, living in underdeveloped regions. Just as Cruikshank (1999, p.76) describes how particular inscription devices were used to operationalize ‘the poor’ in the CAPs of the 1960’s, the techniques of representation used in this instance are to operationalize a specific category of women as vulnerable, and in need of empowerment. The overall effect is to render this subset of the population knowable, describable and governable (Cruikshank, 1999, p.76, Dean 1999, Rose, 1999).

### Techniques of Representation:

The process of empowering others is dependent on several techniques of representation, in which the target population can be identified, known, and ultimately governed through the strategies of empowerment. Nikolas Rose (1999) refers to this

process of representation for the purposes of governing as “spatializing the gaze of the governors” (p.36). Through the use of “inscription devices” such as maps, charts, graphs and pictures, it is possible to objectively re-present the space intended for governing as docile, stable, and comparable (Latour, as cited by Rose, 1999, p. 36). Moreover, inscription devices are intended to “produce conviction in others” (Latour, as cited by Rose, 1999, p.37). The complex array of techniques and experts required to re-present a population or space provide indisputable evidence of the causes and solutions to the population’s powerlessness. This knowledge generated by experts legitimizes the ways in which the population is represented, and justifies the interventionist strategies and policies that ensue (Rose, 1999).

In this analysis, I focus on three techniques of representation, or “inscription devices”: Narratives, photo images, and charts and graphs. I argue, like Dean (1999), Rose (1999) and Latour (1987), that these three techniques serve to draw attention to a particular group of people and the spaces they occupy, and to compare them in an ostensibly objective way so as to demonstrate and problematize the target population’s ‘powerlessness’.

#### Narratives:

The use of narratives in texts is important to consider because the inclusion (or exclusion) of particular stories and voices directs attention to a particular issue or group of individuals, while obscuring others. There are numerous ways to critically analyze the use of narratives. On the one hand, narratives can be a positive contribution to political



discussions such as social change for women. They can be employed as a tool to express a range of cultural and social perspectives that stem from the different locations of individual women (i.e, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation). Narratives in this way can foster an understanding across difference, and increase the likelihood that differences in perspectives are utilized as a resource for social change, rather than being perceived as a source of political divisiveness (Young, 1996, p.120). On the other hand, the use of particular narratives and the exclusion of others must also be critically analyzed. The selection of a narrow range of experiences serves to produce a specific image of a group of individuals, and its effect is to justify interventionist initiatives. The narratives found in the UNIFEM documents are no exception.

For theorists like Iris Young (1996), narratives are an important aspect to political discussions, especially in larger scale political debates where discussions are often divided along lines of class or race. As is the case of the MDGs, reaching political goals often involves uniting participants around a common goal, or a global objective. However, this act of defining a singular objective for the common good involves assimilating multiple points of view or interests into one general goal. It is often the dominant groups' perspectives that typically define the 'common good', while the social perspectives of the less privileged remain invisible (Young, 1996 p. 126). In this instance, narratives provide a way for these excluded individuals to demonstrate their unique and specific needs or entitlements. This expression of difference allows for a greater understanding of how development policies and programmes affect women differently, depending on their social position. Subsequently, policy makers can use this

understanding of difference as a way to create more responsive initiatives, rather than contributing to strategies fractured along lines of race, class, and other social and cultural dimensions (Young, 1996, p.127). In this sense, the inclusion of individual narratives can potentially offer a wider range of possibilities of envisioning the achievement of gender equality.

In my examination of the documents produced by UNIFEM before the Millennium Development Goals, I found that personal narratives of women were highlighted, signifying an interest in women's voices. In the 2000 Progress Report, which was published before the consideration of UN's Millennium Declaration in September of 2000, there are 41 instances of women being directly quoted. A multitude of voices are heard, ranging from anonymous, poor women, to sorted experts and women in positions of leadership. Of the 41 quotes, twelve are categorized as what I call 'personal narratives', wherein women are speaking specifically of a personal experience or need. However, in all 41 cases, the text of the narratives is enlarged, bolded and separated from the main text, giving them all a prominent visibility. In every instance, the women either spoke of their particular experiences in ways that expressed their unique hardships, or profiled their personal views on a particular subject. For example, a poor woman in Bangladesh is quoted, "If there is less, we eat less. You have to feed men more, or they beat you" (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 23), and a wife of a tea farmer in Kenya is quoted, "The head of the family spends all the money recklessly leaving the family with nothing" (Ibid, p. 86). Furthermore, a woman named Elsie Onubogu in Nigeria shares her opinion on gender equality. She is quoted, "For me, women's progress is when every

woman can make and contribute to informed decisions about her rights, welfare, and general well-being of her society” (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 15). In each of these examples, an experience or viewpoint is made visible, and each is unique and separate from the other. The range of needs and social perspectives in this document enhances the reader’s awareness of difference, and fosters an understanding across this difference without attempting to assimilate the multiple viewpoints. According to Young’s (1999) perspective, the inclusion of narratives in the 2000 document would be an instance in which the political discussion surrounding social change and development has been enhanced through the recognition of difference.

While the inclusion of individual narratives can be read as having a positive effect on public discussions surrounding development, analyzing the same narratives as techniques of representation in which only a subset of women are being rendered visible for the purposes of governing through empowerment presents a contrary argument. Rather than creating a diverse pathway to gender equality through difference, these narratives could alternatively be interpreted as narrowing the focus of international development programmes to a just a small subset of the population (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999). In relation to the 2000 report, there is a strong sense of individual women’s voices before the implementation of the MDGs. However, there is a certain *kind* of woman being heard here, and she is being represented in three ways; as vulnerable, anonymous, and from underdeveloped regions of the world.

The first is the representation of women as powerless, vulnerable and in need of assistance. For example, of the twelve personal narratives that appear in the document,

10 of them spoke of individual situations of *need*. The poor woman in Bangladesh and the tea farmer's wife from Kenya, are just two stories that evoke a sense of powerlessness, or a lack of some ability. More examples include a widow in Bangladesh who speaks of the discrimination and maltreatment she receives from neighbours in her village after the death of her husband (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 54), and three poor women in India who describe the negative impacts economic reform has had on their daily lives (Ibid, p. 28). The personal narratives here, present an image of women who lack the power to control their own situation, women whose stories convey a "desire" for outside assistance, women whose stories provide the adequate justification for intervention by international organizations and development policies and programmes.

The second aspect of representation involves the "anonymous" woman. As discussed earlier, many voices were included in the 2000 progress report. What is interesting, though, is that the twelve women speaking of their personal situations of powerlessness or need remained nameless. These women were only identified by titles such as, "Rural woman in Bihar, India", or "Woman in Northern Pakistan" (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 19). Only three women were named in these twelve personal narratives, and even then, their surnames were not attached. The remaining 39 highlighted quotes were accompanied by a name and/or title, however, the women speaking never told their personal stories. Instead, they either spoke of other women's hardships, or they shared their expertise on topics such as women's progress, women's unpaid labour, development policies, and the like. I argue then, that the woman made 'knowable' and 'describable' through her personal stories here, and by the stories told of her by others,

is not only poor and vulnerable, but also anonymous. The effect of this anonymity is to make possible the generalization of the individual experience to all poor women. Not only is the intervention for empowerment by outside agencies justified, but it can also reach a much wider range of individuals since the experiences of the nameless, anonymous woman can be applicable to many.

The third aspect of representation in these narratives is spatialization. I have thus far identified a targeted woman who is poor, vulnerable, and anonymous. I have also found that the personal narratives describing experiences of powerlessness and need are concentrated in specific regions of the world. Although the narrators remain nameless, the region from which they come is always noted. Among the narratives, only India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Kenya and Costa Rica are represented. Conversely, the 'named' voices in the report are rarely identified by their region. Instead, they have titles of leadership and positions of power attached to their names signaling an authoritative role that takes precedence over the region from which they come. We see in these narratives a clear divide between the vulnerable anonymous woman, and the capable, authoritative woman. There is also a further spatial divide suggesting that needy and 'powerless' individuals are only found in developing regions of the world, while the capable and empowered woman is from elsewhere.

As a technique of representation, the overall effect of narratives is to 'operationalize', or render visible, a particular target group (Cruikshank, 1999; Dean, 1999). Just as the CAPS in the 1960's operationalized a category of 'poor' people, the narratives in the 2000 UNIFEM progress report represents a category of women who are

poor, powerless, vulnerable, and from developing regions of the world. Through narratives, this category becomes 'knowable', 'describable', and 'calculable' (Cruikshank, 1999; Rose, 1999). These narratives provide certainty to the outsider that these women are indeed 'powerless', and that initiating empowerment strategies and development policies is warranted. An important point to acknowledge here is that the ways in which this category comes to be represented will have an effect on the how others view these individuals, as well as how they view themselves. This directly affects the capabilities imagined for these women, and by these women, and the frameworks within which things are imagined possible to do.

Although narratives are an important aspect of the techniques of representation, they are not the only way women come to be represented in the UNIFEM progress reports. For example, photo images utilized in the UNIFEM progress reports also play a key role in presenting a particular category of women, in very specific ways.

### Photo Images

Focusing again on the 2000 Progress Report, I have counted 91 photographs in total (not including images of artwork, book covers, posters or diagrams). Interestingly, of these photographs, only four were of phenotypically Caucasian women. None of the women in these four photographs appear in situations of hardship, nor do they appear vulnerable or needy. In fact, one image is of a middle-aged, apparently Caucasian woman, looking triumphantly up to the sky while rock climbing, as if to say, "If I can do it, you can too". Perhaps, this image is indicative of the Western values and beliefs

informing the international development strategies that are intended to be universally applicable. Conversely, the remaining 87 photographs all include visible minority women undertaking three main categories of activities: Domestic labour; empowering activities; and the protesting woman.

The most frequently occurring image is of women performing some form of domestic labour. Twenty-six photographs depict women caring for children, collecting water and food, knitting or sewing, and similar tasks. Almost all of these women appear unhappy and poor, and are located in environments that suggest they are in underdeveloped rural areas. The second largest category of images presents women in settings in which they were able to exercise some empowering action. Of these twenty-three photographs, eleven images feature women speaking at a conference or convention, two show women voting, two picture women being interviewed, and two involve women using technology such as a telephone or a computer. In all instances, these women appear to be well-dressed, and none of these women appear unhappy or vulnerable. Eighteen photographs of women rallying and protesting make up the third category of images. Although these women could be considered to have the capacity to demand change, one cannot be sure they are demanding change to the capitalist system more than they are demanding equal participation in it. Outside of these three categories, nine photographs picture women in an education setting, six photographs show women in an agricultural setting, and only 3 photographs showed women working in a paid- labour setting such as a factory.

The representation of women through images in the 2002 UNIFEM Progress Report is similar to that of the previously discussed narratives. The primary target of the photographs is women of colour or visible minority status. Furthermore, there are two kinds of visible minority women represented here. The first, and most prominent, is the sad, hardworking, obviously poor, woman who is forced to spend her time doing unpaid care labour. This “type” of woman is rarely pictured smiling, and rarely appears to be enjoying the tasks in which she is engaged. In stark contrast is the woman who has been given the opportunity to express herself in a formal setting, or has been given the opportunity to vote, use technology, or tell her story in an interview. These women more often appear happy and engaged in public life. This contrast in photo images could be interpreted as a technique that serves to “produce conviction in others” (Latour, as cited by Rose, 1999, p.37). It becomes difficult to dispute the photographic ‘evidence’ demonstrating that when women do not possess the ability to control their own situations, they are unhappy, poor and vulnerable, and therefore, in need of empowerment. Moreover, the photos further illustrate the point that women who have been given the tools to overcome some aspect of their own powerlessness, they are no longer vulnerable, and are generally happy.

An examination of later progress reports, as UNIFEM becomes more engaged with the MDGs, reveals a subtle shift in the techniques of representation over time. In the earliest 2000 progress report, photos images appear to be complementary to the personal narratives representing women. In 2002, the number of photographs of women drastically decline, and by 2008/2009 photographs are not present at all.



However, this is not to say that women are no longer being represented within the UNIFEM documents. Rather, a shift in the particular technique of representation occurs over time. While personal narratives and photographs all but disappear, the number of charts, tables, diagrams and graphs equally increase. This particular technique of representation shares a similar function to that of narratives and photographs – to render visible the population and the space in which to govern. Yet, its use as a technique, I argue, is also indicative of the relationship between UNIFEM and the MDGs, and will subsequently have an effect on the ways in which the pathways to gender equality are constructed.

#### Charts, Diagrams and Graphs

The use of charts, diagrams and graphs are techniques of representation that serve to objectify, organize, and re-present space in ways that make governing possible. Also referred to as “cartographical techniques”, charts and graphs abstract complex realities of individuals’ social environments and the practices in which they are engaged, and recreate them in quantified, calculable and standardized ways (Ilcan & Phillips, 2000, p. 472). The overall effect is to ‘place’ populations in particular territories, compare and rank them according to their progress towards international development standards, and to provide ways of seeing where further intervention is ‘needed’ (Ibid, 2000, p.473). Furthermore, the use of charts and graphs is a modern mechanism of simplifying and recreating the increasingly complex social, economic and political environment that is continuously transforming in the era of globalization.

While charts, diagrams and graphs were present in the earliest progress report by UNIFEM, there are important differences in how they are utilized as a technique to represent women between the 2000 report and the reports that followed in later years. For instance, the 2000 report explicitly acknowledges the multiple perspectives and social perspectives of women and suggests that statistics and charts alone do not adequately represent women's lived realities. UNIFEM (2000, p.62) states that while this report utilizes statistical measures, "it also presents at least part of the complexity of women's experiences [through photos and personal stories], which form a counterpoint to the tables and charts". There appears to be a deliberate attempt to engage with complexity and women's differences by focusing more on the micro-level experiences of individual women, and utilizing statistics and charts as a supplementary tool.

However, as UNIFEM becomes more engaged with the MDGs, there is an erasure of the local woman's subjective experience, and an obvious focus on more objective, quantified methods of representation. In the 2002 report, while there are only 10 photographs of women, charts, tables and graphs are employed 22 times. Furthermore, the size of each chart or graph, and the numbers of pages devoted to displaying them have greatly increased. In fact, almost half of the 63 page document is devoted to the representation of women's reality through the use of simplified tables and charts. The 2008/2009 progress report reveals a similar emphasis, with charts and graphs consuming the majority of the document. With this shift in the techniques of representation, the question remains as to how women are rendered visible through charts and graphs.

Especially in the later reports these charts and graphs represent an abstract, quantified, standardization of the local woman's experience. They also place women in distinct categories and territories, all of which can be objectively compared and ranked in terms of progress towards achieving gender equality and women's empowerment. It becomes easily visible, with no need for detailed explanations and with conviction by expert statisticians, which regions are 'ahead' in development, and which areas will need further intervention. This is made apparent by the way the charts and graphs in the UNIFEM reports categorize countries into 7 regions: Sub-Saharan Africa; Northern Africa; Central and Western Asia; Asia and the Pacific; Latin America and the Caribbean; and Western Europe and other Developed Countries. In every instance, the regions appear in this order. One can only speculate on whether this is an intentional or accurate ranking of these regions in terms of progress, but it is interesting to note that the viewer's attention is always directed first, to Sub-Saharan Africa, a region characterized as vastly underdeveloped. Moreover, the category of Western Europe and other Developed Countries is always last in the order, and statistics are included for only a handful of countries. This directs the 'gaze' of governance, or empowerment, to the most underdeveloped regions, highlighting countries with the widest gender gaps in areas such as education, wage labour and parliament, while simultaneously rendering issues of gender inequality in developed countries invisible.

These findings speak to the ways in which developed regions are often used as the referents for global development, and as such, women in these regions face greater obstacles to having their gender equity issues heard (Jonsson, 2009). In her study,

Seema Arora-Jonsson found that discriminations and issues of power are veiled behind the great standard of welfare enjoyed by these women, and so the questioning of gender inequality in this wealthier nation was difficult (Ibid). Conversely, the gender issues raised by women in India were much more 'visible' and their arguments for change were more readily received as being legitimate and important (Ibid).

In analyzing charts James Scott's (1998, p.3) discussion of "statecraft" and the process of making populations "legible" for the purposes of social change and development is relevant. As early as the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century, governments have devised techniques that allow for complex social practices, or "illegible" phenomena, to be simplified and standardized in ways that transform otherwise "unknowable" event into something that is easily recorded, monitored, and "administratively convenient" (Scott, 1998, p. 2). Scott (1998) specifically discusses the use of maps by the state to bring into focus limited aspects of a particular reality, with the intention of transforming the very thing the map is representing. It is in this context that I make the argument that the shift in the UNIFEM documents from personal narratives and photographs, to charts and graphs, reflects a similar process of simplification and standardization on the part of UNIFEM. I also argue that this simplification is indicative of UNIFEM's relationship with the bureaucratic framework of the United Nations that informs the Millennium Development Goals.

In UNIFEM's earliest 2000 progress report, the few diagrams included are complex and illustrative (See "Revisioning the Economy Through Women's Eyes" and "The Flow of Globalization", APPENDICES A & B). These diagrams require in-depth

explanations and detailed legends to understand what they are representing. Without this supplementary information, the diagrams become incomprehensible. These illustrative diagrams have entirely disappeared in 2002, and are radically simplified in 2008/2009. Diagrams in the latest report are reduced to simple flow charts that are easy to follow and understand, and thus explanations of them are not “necessary” (See appendices E & F). According to Scott’s (1998, p. 2) notion of “statecraft”, this simplification process will allow for greater “manipulation”. That is, quantifying realities allows for objective comparisons across regions, as well as over time. This in turn will determine *who* is “on track” with the MDGs, who is in greatest ‘need’ of empowerment (intervention), and how policy makers and programme developers will move forward in their goals for social change.

This analysis of the various techniques of representation has revealed a shift in how women become represented as UNIFEM engages with the Millennium Development Goals over time. While the narratives and photo images ultimately served as a tool to make visible a particular target population of women for empowerment, the inclusion of complementary mechanisms of representation in the first progress report was at the very least, an attempt to create a more detailed portrayal of a global woman. The elimination of the micro-level experiences over time and an increasing emphasis on quantified realities puts forth an image of a standardized, calculable and homogenized, global woman.

This section of the analysis will involve analyzing the UNIFEM texts in chronological order of publication to detect whether there are shifts over time in how women and their capacities, as well as the potential pathways to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment, are imagined. My argument is that preceding the implementation of the MDGs, UNIFEM's representation of women included the local woman's experiences, and achieving gender equality was complex and multidimensional. However, as UNIFEM becomes more involved with the Millennium Development Goals, there is a subtle shift in how women are represented, in the capacities expected of them, and the ways in which the strategies for achieving gender equality and women's empowerment are proposed. There is a shift towards simplification, standardization and homogenization, wherein the experiences of the local woman are submerged into quantitative abstractions of reality that are transcribed into a translocal and global experience. Furthermore, we see a shift from multifaceted solutions to issues of gender inequity, to a focus on solutions that are dependent on economic investments.

In the text published in the year 2000, *Progress of the World's Women*, the representation of women is heterogeneous, multidimensional, and local. We hear the personal narratives of local women and we see photo images of local women. Although these techniques of representation, coupled with the few charts of statistical data, draw our attention to a particular target population of women whom are poor, vulnerable and needy, there is also an inclusion of various experiences, and an attempt to present a

more complex image of these women by including multiple complimentary methods of representation. Furthermore, there is particular attention paid to the various positions of women and the subsequent actions they can carry out in the pursuit of social development. For instance, UNIFEM proposes that women at the local level should conduct participatory assessments that emphasize qualitative methods (UNIFEM, 2000, p.62). At the national and regional levels, individuals should draw upon nationally representative surveys and regional databases to prioritize relevant strategies. At the global level, individuals should focus on a few key indicators for a wide range of countries, even though UNIFEM acknowledges that the global assessment is not rich in diversity as it relies heavily on quantitative representations (Ibid). This multidimensional approach to social development signals an attempt to include difference and construct a pathway to social development that is heterogeneous and wide-ranging.

In terms of empowerment, the 2000 UNIFEM text imagines social development through the lens of “human dignity”. The main goal of the report is to “promote women’s dignity and rights as full and equal human beings” (p.16). Empowerment here is about expanding women’s choices, and gaining the ability to exercise command over resources (Ibid). This entails:

Acquiring knowledge and understanding of gender relations; developing a sense of self worth and belief in one’s ability to acquire desired changes and the right to control one’s life; gaining the ability to generate choices and exercise bargaining power; and developing the ability to organize and influence the direction of social change . (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 20).

To achieve this kind of equality and empowerment for women, this text proposes to build particular capacities of women, namely, literacy skills, technical skills, economic independence, reproductive and fertility rights, health, education, and freedom from violence (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 18). This is to be accomplished through a number of strategies. Primarily, UNIFEM's efforts to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment consist of re-energizing previous commitments made to women by governments in the early 1990's. Conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Platform For Action (BPFA), and other human rights and social justice instruments contain important experiences and knowledge that have led to significant gains in women's lives. In the 2000 report, UNIFEM urges governments to reemphasize these commitments.

UNIFEM also suggests that progress towards empowerment should be assessed by linking action to broader objectives than CEDAW and BPFA like internationally agreed upon targets and indicators (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 86). As a precursor to the Millennium Development Goals, 21 donor governments, all members of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperations and Development (OECD), adopted the International Development Targets (UNIFEM, 2000, p.57). These targets were intended to spark global partnerships among global development institutions like the World Bank and the UN system to resolve issues such as extreme poverty, literacy, health and more, on a global scale. With these international targets, we see for the first time a growing emphasis on 'novel' strategies and the collection of



'new' data. Furthermore, these newly proposed targets are received by UNIFEM in an enthusiastic light. This becomes obvious in the text when they state:

Targets and benchmarks make progress visible and measurable, allow monitoring of trends to see if there is progress, provide incentives for sustained and strengthened efforts, help determine responsibility for achieving targets, allow progress to be rewarded by recognition (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 38).

This new initiative of targets and indicators is promoted by UNIFEM as an adequate means to gender equality. However, although they are optimistic about the new direction of global development, they propose several measures to enhance the framework. For example, it is argued that a gender mainstreaming matrix similar to the one used in the European Union Policy (See Appendix D) could better assess progress towards institutional change and lead to a breakdown in gendered divisions of labour (UNIFEM, 2000, p.35). In addition to the matrix, UNIFEM also proposes using composite indices to complement the International Development Targets such as the Gender Sensitive Development Index and the Gender Empowerment Measure (See Appendices E & F) to allow for several dimensions of gender equality and empowerment to be aggregated into one index. Also, a complex scorecard could better track changes by region and over a period of time. These additions to the targets and indicators are an acknowledgement by UNIFEM that a single target alone cannot capture the many dimensions of gender equality and women's empowerment.

Overall, my analysis of the 2000 UNIFEM progress report reveals a multidimensional and diverse approach to gender equality. Women's multiple social perspectives are included, and experiences of local women are present. Multiple techniques of representation attempt to provide a holistic image of women at the heart of social development (even though the techniques simultaneously target poor women in the developing world, and render women in developed regions invisible). The future for the pathways of achieving women's empowerment is envisioned through a wide range of human rights and social justice conventions of the 1990's, as well as through complementing the International Development Targets with composite indicators and score cards to better capture gender equality in its entirety. There is an emerging trend towards standardizing through targets and indicators and time bound goals. However, the achievement of gender equality before the integration of the Millennium Development Goals is heterogeneous and complex; this is a characteristic that disappears in later years.

Two years after the implementation of the MDGs, there are some distinct shifts in the language of the progress report published by UNIFEM in 2002, *Progress of the World's Women, 2002*. For example, the main goal of the 2000 reports was to "promote women's dignity and rights as full and equal human beings" (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 16). In the year 2002, the focus becomes "showing the positions of countries in achieving the MDGs and showing [women] how to push their countries forward" (UNIFEM, 2002, p.2). In this instance, women are to use this report as a tool "to push their countries forward". This indicates the emergence of responsabilization of women for their own

empowerment. Furthermore, the focus in the original report is shifted from human rights, to “forward- moving” progress in 2002; a characteristic indicative of the MDGs. With progress conceptualized simply as forward movement, momentum of previous commitments to women’s empowerment is lost (Kabeer, 2005), and pathways to gender equality are purportedly innovative and novel.

A subtle shift in the representations of women is also revealed. Although the local woman is still visible through photo images, her personal narratives disappear. Instead, her narratives appear to be submerged into charts and graphs, as statistical representations have become more prominent in this report. This form of representation signals a greater focus on standardization and quantitative representations of global development as UNIFEM becomes involved with the MDG framework. Similarly, the capacities of women UNIFEM seeks to build in reaching their goal of gender equality and women’s empowerment reflect the same indicators of Goal 3 of the Millennium Development Goals: Promote Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment. Although UNIFEM acknowledges that this single goal is limited in its ability to adequately address and resolve gender inequity issues, targets, indicators and statistical representations are the main focus of this report.

While UNIFEM states that statistics alone cannot tell the full story of women and development, there is greater emphasis placed in 2002 on the advantages of utilizing indicators and statistics. The 2002 document promotes the strengths of the MDG indicators such as: Creating visibility by comparing across regions, assessing rates of progress of each region towards each goal, and allowing for the monitoring of each

region's commitments. At one point, UNIFEM states that according to their past experiences "indicators really can help to bring about change for women" (UNIFEM, 2002, p.58). In this context, UNIFEM appears to be more enthusiastic of the possibilities of the MDG framework for social development and the future of gender equality. With these strengths in mind, this text also proposes innovations for improving the measuring and monitoring of 'progress'.

Such innovation involves improving the methods in which data and information about populations is collected, analyzed and presented. UNIFEM proposes that regions and their governments "liberate data" to make it more available to grassroots organizations, build gender-sensitive supplementary indicators, and make information available to organizations to improve accountability. Moreover, at this point, UNIFEM is actively working to "strengthen the statistical capacity of national statistics offices and women's organizations to help them to use indicators to monitor fulfillment of commitments" (UNIFEM, 2002, p. 55). Not only does this indicate a growing responsabilization of women to manage their own empowerment, but these "novel" innovations are also nothing more than an extension of the MDG framework with a focus on standardizing and quantifying the initiatives of global development.

In summary, I suggest that the 2002 report marks the beginning of a narrowing of the possible pathways in which to reach the goal of gender equality and women's empowerment. There is a simplification of the representation of women, wherein the voices of local women and their day-to-day experiences entirely disappear. The complex women that appeared before the MDGs are now submerged into charts, tables and

graphs, and the diverse realities are abstracted and quantified. The growing emphasis on measuring, monitoring and reporting produces calculated, and standardized subjects. These shifts in techniques and language are a reflection of a homogenization of solutions to gender equity issues.

By 2009, the limitations of the MDG framework have been fiercely debated, but the framework has not been abandoned. According to the most recent progress report, *Progress of the World's Women, 2008/2009: Who Answers to Women?*, UNIFEM continues to incorporate the MDGs into their efforts, which has subsequently had an effect on how UNIFEM imagines the future for women and social development. In this report there is an extensive focus on enhancing accountability measures. The main goal of this progress reports is to “strengthen the accountability of power-holders to women...stressing the critical role of women’s voices and collective action in driving change” (UNIFEM, 2009, p. 13). Gender-responsive accountability in this context entails women participating in all oversight processes so that decision-makers are accountable to women most affected by their decisions, as well as using the advancement of gender equality and women’s rights as a standard by which to measure the performance of officials (UNIFEM, 2009, p. 10). Accountability systems in this case are dependent on vigilant monitoring of performance, reporting, and management and tend to promote market-based competition between service providers. The language of accountability indicates a greater responsibility being placed on women to attain their own empowerment through participation, and employing ‘voice-based’ or ‘choice-based’ demands (explained below). There is also a continuation of processes that contribute to

the production of standardized subjects who are capable of attaining their own empowerment through evaluative techniques (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999; Larner & Le Heron, 2004).

As previously discussed in the section on charts, the local woman has been entirely submerged into charts. We do not hear of her hardships, nor do we see her day-to-day activities. Instead, we hear only the voices of prominent leaders and experts, shifting the focus of development away from the subjective experiences of local women, to the 'hard facts' of statistical experts and carefully constructed charts and graphs (Latour, 1987; Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999). This indicates a complete homogenization of women, a permutation of the diverse, local woman into a simplified, yet global, woman.

Empowerment in UNIFEM's 2009 document is primarily about building women's capacities to enable them to demand accountability through 'voice-based', and 'choice-based' approaches. Voice-based initiatives emphasize "collective action, representation of interests, and the ability to demand change" (UNIFEM, 2009, p. 4). Choice-based strategies involves "applying a market-derived rationale to accountability processes", where the emphasis is on "end-users of public or private services as the agent of accountability, as well as using market tools such as user fees to motivate providers to improve delivery of services" (UNIFEM, 2009, p.5). This model of accountability assumes an ideal Liberal-Democratic system, and perhaps initiatives such as these are a product of UNIFEM's involvement with the UN, given that the United Nations is often criticized for promoting the capitalist market and employing Liberal Democracy as the only solution to global development issues (Walby, 2002; Conway, 2007; Cole &Phillips, 2009;

Ilcan & Phillips, 2010, in press). “Other World” feminist activists vehemently argue that these approaches do not actually benefit women in the developing world, are more advantageous to wealthier nations (Walby, 2002; Conway, 2007; Doerr, 2007).

In terms of the future, this 2009 report states that the only way to achieve the Millennium Development Goals is if “gender-responsive accountability systems are put into place both nationally and internationally” (UNIFEM, 2009, p. 1). UNIFEM proposes intensifying investments in and focus on building capacities for accountability to women. Interestingly, the emphasis on financial investments suggests increased monetary flow is the solution. Again, we see the language of UNIFEM shifting from diverse and complicated solutions to social development and women’s empowerment, to standardized and universally applicable strategies focusing primarily on economic growth.

Lastly, a report published by UNIFEM in the same year as the 2008/2009 progress report, *Gender Equality Now: Accelerating the Achievement of the Millennium Development Goals*, solidifies my argument that involvement with the MDGs has shifted the language and focus of UNIFEM. In this report, the main goal is to outline the actions necessary to accelerate the achievement of the MDGs by the time required (2015) by focusing on greater investments in mainstreaming gender equality in each of the eight goals. The representation of women in this document is very much in line with the 2008/2009 progress report. The only image of women is of a stick-figure woman with her arms held up in the air (See Appendix G). Above her she is holding up the eight icons representing each of the Millennium Development Goals. On each side of her are two

text boxes: “I have many roles, I may be a mother, leader, student, decision-maker, farmer, worker, and/or voter”, and “I need the ability to be educated, to be healthy, to have a voice and influence, and to enjoy opportunities and choices” (UNIFEM, 2008, p.1). This image represents the ‘translocal’(Eastwood, 2006) woman. The local woman has effectively been transcribed into a faceless, nameless, global woman, and she has now become responsible for not only her own empowerment, but also social development.

To reach the goals of the MDGs and gender equality, this report highlights the need for greater financial investments into commitments made by governments. According to this report, “the cost of inaction is far higher than the price tag for action” (UNIFEM, 2008, p 8)(See Appendix H). Highlighting the costs associated with an illiterate workforce, increased health care costs, costs of orphanages due to high maternal death rates and etc., are intended to urge governments and institutions to invest more into the MDG framework and the strategies already underway. Ultimately, this report demonstrates that solutions to gender equality and women’s empowerment are *financial*, and that the issues of global development are more about money, and investing more, and less about power. This emphasis of economic solution can be interpreted as a reflection of UNIFEM’s relationship with the MDGs. The underlying effect of the MDG framework is about convincing organizations and institutions to donate financial assistance to proposed strategies. As UNIFEM has engaged with the MDGs for the last decade, their focus has become significantly narrowed to these concerns, wherein only financial pathways to achieving gender equality and women’s



empowerment are rendered visible and viable. UNIFEM's focus on economic solutions to gender equality becomes even more obvious when we take into consideration their 2008 publication titled, *Bridging the Gap: Financing Gender Equality*.

In conclusion, my analysis has revealed some subtle, yet significant shifts in the ways in which UNIFEM imagines the achievement of gender equality and women's empowerment. In early efforts, solutions to issues of gender inequity were multifaceted with various complementary techniques to account for the multiple social perspectives and locations of women. As UNIFEM integrates the MDG framework into its strategies, achieving gender equality becomes envisioned more through technocratic, macroeconomic means that reflect the Liberal-Democratic ideal long promoted by the United Nations. After 2002, women become largely responsible for attaining their own 'empowerment'. Solutions over time focus less on aspects of achieving "human dignity" (UNIFEM, 2000), and more on increasing financial investments to promote existing strategies. Ultimately, the context of local women's experience is lost over time, and the pathways to gender equality become abstract and homogenized by UNIFEM into narrow solutions that ignore the underlying and complex power relations of gender equality and women's empowerment in social development.

## CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

### Conclusion

As an organization of the United Nations, UNIFEM has an obligation to articulate with the Millennium Development Goals. This is not to say that there are no contestations on the part of UNIFEM as to the efficacy of this framework for realizing their primary mandate of gender equality and women's empowerment (Goetz & Sandler, 2007). Many women working within what Cole and Phillips (2009, p.187) refer to as the UN-orbit (which includes UNIFEM) acknowledge that their activities begin to focus on results-based management and accountability, and consequently constrain the possibility of feminist alternatives. Regardless of some contradictions between the goals and activities of UNIFEM and the MDG framework, UNIFEM is a participating member of the 'ensemble' of the United Nations and plays an important part in informing pathways to gender equality and women's empowerment.

This study reveals a narrowing of the pathways to gender equality put forth by UNIFEM as they become more engaged with the MDGs. As a grand scheme (Scott, 1998), the MDG framework is dependent on standardizing and transforming its subjects into calculating, uniform, active citizens. These 'symptoms' of what James Scott (1998) calls grand schemes are evident in the language and techniques employed by UNIFEM as a consequence of integrating the bureaucratic framework of the MDGs into their goals and activities.

My analysis demonstrates an erasure of local contexts as a result of UNIFEM's relationship with the MDGs, a simplification of the representations of women, and a

homogenization of possibilities for achieving gender equality. I argue that the elimination of complexity is “useful” for governing, as standardized, uniform subjects are manageable and easily manipulated. However, complexity and diversity have advantages. Consider Scott’s (1998, p.353) argument of the ‘manufactured forest’. A man-made forest in which trees are planted in wide, straight rows makes for simple and efficient abstraction of lumber. But high efficiency and manageability in the short run come at the cost of stability over time. Imagine, if you will, a natural forest, with intertwining roots, and complex, interdependent networks of eco-life. Habitats like these are stable over time, more self-sufficient, and much more resilient to environmental change (Scott, 1998). If we apply the same logic to the construction of ‘grand development schemes’, I suggest that simplifying strategies and homogenizing diversity leads to the construction of pathways to gender equality that are highly susceptible to failure.

*Transnational and anti-globalization feminists argue that working within institutional settings like UNIFEM constrains the ability of UNIFEM to operate as a social movement agency (Moghadam, 2005, p.98). As an alternative to the Liberal-Democratic model promoted by the UN and its affiliates, transnational feminists propose heterogeneous networks, multi-perspective initiatives, and a process to achieving gender equality based on improvisation. (Walby, 2002; Conway, 2007; Cole & Phillips, 2009). Rather than directing the process of social development by focusing on results, the future should be imagined as unpredictable wherein the potential pathways for gender equality are endless.*

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# **Appendices**

## Appendix A: Official List of MDG Indicators

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)	
Goals and Targets (from the Millennium Declaration)	Indicators for monitoring progress
<b>Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger</b>	
Target 1.A: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day	1.1 Proportion of population below \$1 (PPP) per day <sup>1</sup> 1.2 Poverty gap ratio 1.3 Share of poorest quintile in national consumption
Target 1.B: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people	1.4 Growth rate of GDP per person employed 1.5 Employment-to-population ratio 1.6 Proportion of employed people living below \$1 (PPP) per day 1.7 Proportion of own-account and contributing family workers in total employment
Target 1.C: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger	1.8 Prevalence of underweight children under-five years of age 1.9 Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption
<b>Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education</b>	
Target 2.A: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling	2.1 Net enrolment ratio in primary education 2.2 Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach last grade of primary 2.3 Literacy rate of 15-24 year-olds, women and men
<b>Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women</b>	
Target 3.A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015	3.1 Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education 3.2 Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector 3.3 Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament
<b>Goal 4: Reduce child mortality</b>	
Target 4.A: Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate	4.1 Under-five mortality rate 4.2 Infant mortality rate 4.3 Proportion of 1 year-old children immunised against measles
<b>Goal 5: Improve maternal health</b>	
Target 5.A: Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio	5.1 Maternal mortality ratio 5.2 Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel
Target 5.B: Achieve, by 2015, universal access to reproductive health	5.3 Contraceptive prevalence rate 5.4 Adolescent birth rate 5.5 Antenatal care coverage (at least one visit and at least four visits) 5.6 Unmet need for family planning
<b>Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases</b>	

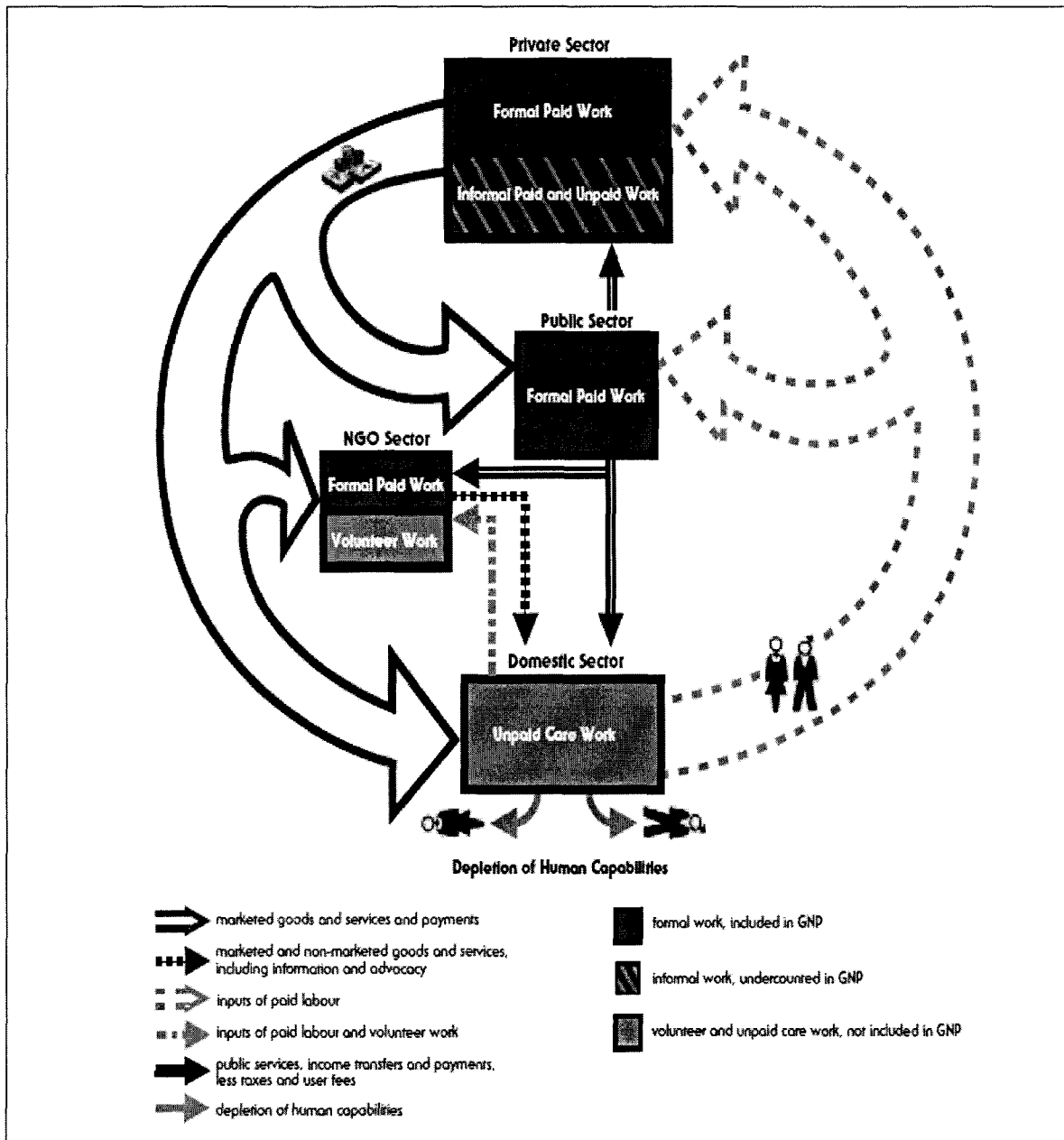
Target 6.A: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS	6.1 HIV prevalence among population aged 15-24 years 6.2 Condom use at last high-risk sex 6.3 Proportion of population aged 15-24 years with comprehensive correct knowledge of HIV/AIDS 6.4 Ratio of school attendance of orphans to school attendance of non-orphans aged 10-14 years
Target 6.B: Achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it	6.5 Proportion of population with advanced HIV infection with access to antiretroviral drugs
Target 6.C: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases	6.6 Incidence and death rates associated with malaria 6.7 Proportion of children under 5 sleeping under insecticide-treated bednets 6.8 Proportion of children under 5 with fever who are treated with appropriate anti-malarial drugs 6.9 Incidence, prevalence and death rates associated with tuberculosis 6.10 Proportion of tuberculosis cases detected and cured under directly observed treatment short course
<b>Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability</b>	
Target 7.A: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources	7.1 Proportion of land area covered by forest 7.2 CO2 emissions, total, per capita and per \$1 GDP (PPP) 7.3 Consumption of ozone-depleting substances 7.4 Proportion of fish stocks within safe biological limits 7.5 Proportion of total water resources used 7.6 Proportion of terrestrial and marine areas protected 7.7 Proportion of species threatened with extinction
Target 7.B: Reduce biodiversity loss, achieving, by 2010, a significant reduction in the rate of loss	
Target 7.C: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation	7.8 Proportion of population using an improved drinking water source 7.9 Proportion of population using an improved sanitation facility
Target 7.D: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers	7.10 Proportion of urban population living in slums <sup>ii</sup>
<b>Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development</b>	
Target 8.A: Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system	<i>Some of the indicators listed below are monitored separately for the least developed countries (LDCs), Africa, landlocked developing countries and small island developing States.</i>  <u>Official development assistance (ODA)</u>
Includes a commitment to good governance,	8.1 Net ODA, total and to the least developed countries, as

<p>development and poverty reduction – both nationally and internationally</p> <p>Target 8.B: Address the special needs of the least developed countries</p> <p>Includes: tariff and quota free access for the least developed countries' exports; enhanced programme of debt relief for heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) and cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous ODA for countries committed to poverty reduction</p> <p>Target 8.C: Address the special needs of landlocked developing countries and small island developing States (through the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and the outcome of the twenty-second special session of the General Assembly)</p> <p>Target 8.D: Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term</p>	<p>percentage of OECD/DAC donors' gross national income</p> <p>8.2 Proportion of total bilateral, sector-allocable ODA of OECD/DAC donors to basic social services (basic education, primary health care, nutrition, safe water and sanitation)</p> <p>8.3 Proportion of bilateral official development assistance of OECD/DAC donors that is untied</p> <p>8.4 ODA received in landlocked developing countries as a proportion of their gross national incomes</p> <p>8.5 ODA received in small island developing States as a proportion of their gross national incomes</p> <p><u>Market access</u></p> <p>8.6 Proportion of total developed country imports (by value and excluding arms) from developing countries and least developed countries, admitted free of duty</p> <p>8.7 Average tariffs imposed by developed countries on agricultural products and textiles and clothing from developing countries</p> <p>8.8 Agricultural support estimate for OECD countries as a percentage of their gross domestic product</p> <p>8.9 Proportion of ODA provided to help build trade capacity</p> <p><u>Debt sustainability</u></p> <p>8.10 Total number of countries that have reached their HIPC decision points and number that have reached their HIPC completion points (cumulative)</p> <p>8.11 Debt relief committed under HIPC and MDRI Initiatives</p> <p>8.12 Debt service as a percentage of exports of goods and services</p>
<p>Target 8.E: In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries</p>	<p>8.13 Proportion of population with access to affordable essential drugs on a sustainable basis</p>
<p>Target 8.F: In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications</p>	<p>8.14 Telephone lines per 100 population</p> <p>8.15 Cellular subscribers per 100 population</p> <p>8.16 Internet users per 100 population</p>

Source: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/mdg/Host.aspx?Content=Indicators/OfficialList.htm>

## Appendix B: Revisioning the Economy Through Women's Eyes

Chart 1.1: Revisioning the Economy Through Women's Eyes



Source: United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2000). *Progress of the World's Women 2000*. New York: UN Publications. Pp.26.

## Appendix C: Female Enrolment in Secondary Education by Region, 1999/2000

Table 1: Female Enrolment in Secondary Education, 1999/2000

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	
	Net Rate
Mauritius	74
Botswana	63
Namibia	40
Malawi	40
Zimbabwe	40
Swaziland*	35
Ghana	28
Lesotho	24
Sierra Leone	22
Gambia	20
Eritrea	20
Zambia*	19
Uganda	17
Togo	14
Equatorial Guinea	14
Ethiopia	12
Madagascar	12
Benin	11
Congo, DR	9
Guinea	7
Burkina Faso	7
Niger	5
Mozambique	5
Tanzania, UR	5
Chad	4
	Gross Rate
South Africa	95
Gabon*	51
Sudan	36
Kenya*	28
Comoros	19
Djibouti	17
Senegal*	15
Mauritania	15
Côte d'Ivoire*	15
Guinea-Bissau	14
Angola	13
Rwanda	12
Mali*	10
Burundi*	6
Cameroon	n.d.
Cape Verde	n.d.
Central African Rep.	n.d.
Congo	n.d.
Nigeria	n.d.
Reunion	n.d.
Seychelles	n.d.
Somalia	n.d.
Uganda	n.d.

CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA	
	Net Rate
Israel	89
Bahrain	87
Qatar	82
Azerbaijan*	78
Jordan	78
Lebanon	73
UAE	72
Oman	59
Georgia	56
Kuwait	50
Syria*	38
Iraq	26
Yemen*	21
	Gross Rate
Kazakhstan	87
Kyrgyzstan	84
Tajikistan	67
Saudi Arabia	65
Turkey	46
Armenia	n.d.
Cyprus	n.d.
Turkmenistan	n.d.
Uzbekistan	n.d.

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC	
	Net Rate
Korea, Rep.	94
Malaysia	93
Fiji	76
Samoa (Western)	73
Mongolia	66
Viet Nam	58
Thailand	57
Philippines*	53
China	48
Indonesia	46
Maldives	33
India	31
Vanuatu	21
Laos PDR	25
Papua New Guinea	18
Cambodia	11
	Gross Rate
Brunei Darussalam	116
Iran	77
Sri Lanka*	74
Bangladesh	58
Nepal	45
Myanmar*	35
Pakistan	32
Afghanistan	n.d.
East Timor, DR	n.d.
Hong Kong, China	n.d.
Korea, DPR	n.d.
Singapore	n.d.

NORTHERN AFRICA	
	Net Rate
Egypt	77
Libya*	76
Tunisia	70
Algeria	60
Morocco	27

Source: United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2002). *Progress of the World's Women 2002: Gender Equality and the Millennium Development Goals*. New York: UN Publications. Pp. 33

## Appendix D: Gender Mainstreaming Matrix in EU Employment Policy

### Box 11: Gender Mainstreaming in European Union Employment Policy

Gender mainstreaming requires more than policy statements. It needs to be embodied in operational measures. The matrix below presents an assessment of progress in gender mainstreaming in EU employment policy, and indicates that few countries have yet proposed changes in either law or taxation and public expenditure (fiscal policy).

Country	Policy commitments	Legislation	Fiscal measures	Positive action including special training	Institutional mechanisms	Collection of baseline and monitoring data
Belgium	X					X
Denmark	X	X				
Germany	X	X		X	X	X
Greece	X			X	X	
Spain	X					X
France	X			X	X	X
Ireland	X					
Italy	X			X	X	X
Luxembourg	X					
Netherlands	X	X		X		
Austria	X			X	X	X
Portugal	X			X		X
Finland	X			X		
Sweden	X		X	X		X
UK	X		X			

Source: United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2000). *Progress of the World's Women 2000*. New York: UN Publications. Pp. 35.

## Appendix E: Composite Indices

### **Box 9: Composite Indices: HDI, GDI and GEM**

#### **HDI**

The Human Development Index (HDI) measures the average achievement of a country in basic human capabilities. The HDI indicates whether people lead a long and healthy life, are educated and knowledgeable and enjoy a decent standard of living. The HDI examines the average condition of all people in a country; distributional inequalities for various groups of society have to be calculated separately.

#### **GDI**

The Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) measures achievement in the same basic capabilities as the HDI does, but takes note of inequality in achievement between women and men. The methodology used imposes a penalty for inequality, such that the GDI falls when the achievement levels of both women and men in a country go down or when the disparity between their achievements increases. The greater the gender disparity in basic capabilities, the lower a country's GDI compared with its HDI. The GDI is simply the HDI discounted, or adjusted downwards, for gender inequality.

#### **GEM**

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) examines whether women and men are able to actively participate in economic and political life and take part in decision-making. While the GDI focuses on expansion of basic human capabilities, the GEM is concerned with the use of those capabilities to take advantage of the opportunities of life.

Source: UNDP 1995.

Source: United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2000). *Progress of the World's Women 2000*. New York: UN Publications. Pp.103.

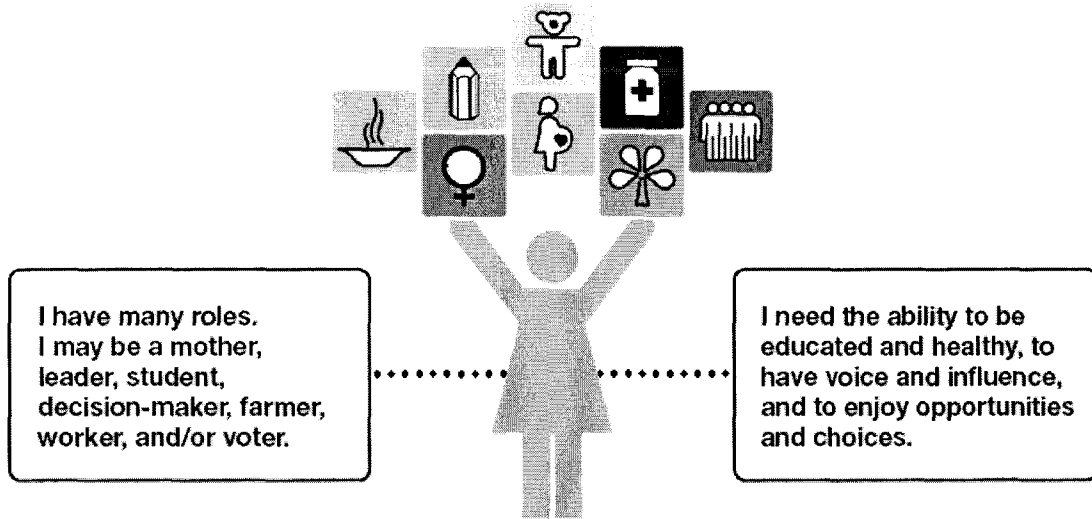


## Appendix F: The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

<b>Box 10: The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)</b>		
<b>Step 1</b>	<b>Types of Power</b>	<b>Indicator</b>
	<b>Economic Power:</b> Purchasing power	Women's share of real GDP (PPS \$)
	Decision-making power	Women's share of administrative and management positions, and of professional and technical positions.
	<b>Political Power:</b> Parliamentary decision-making	Women's share of seats in parliament
<b>Step 2</b>	<b>Indices of Gender Gaps in Power</b>	
	<b>Economic Power:</b> Purchasing power	Gap between female and male proportional income shares, weighted so as to penalize gender inequality and weighted by the level of real GDP per capita.
	Decision-making power	Gap between female and male proportional shares of administrative & management positions, weighted to penalize gender inequality. Gap between female & male proportional shares of professional & technical positions weighted to penalize gender inequality.
	Combined Decision-making Power Index	Simple average of administrative and management index and professional and technical index
	<b>Political Power:</b> Parliamentary decision-making	Gap between female and male proportional shares of seats in parliament, weighted so as to penalize inequality
<b>Step 3</b>	<b>Composite Index</b> GEM	
		Add together the three indices calculated in Step 2 and divide by 3.

United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2000). *Progress of the World's Women 2000*. New York: UN Publications. Pp. 105.

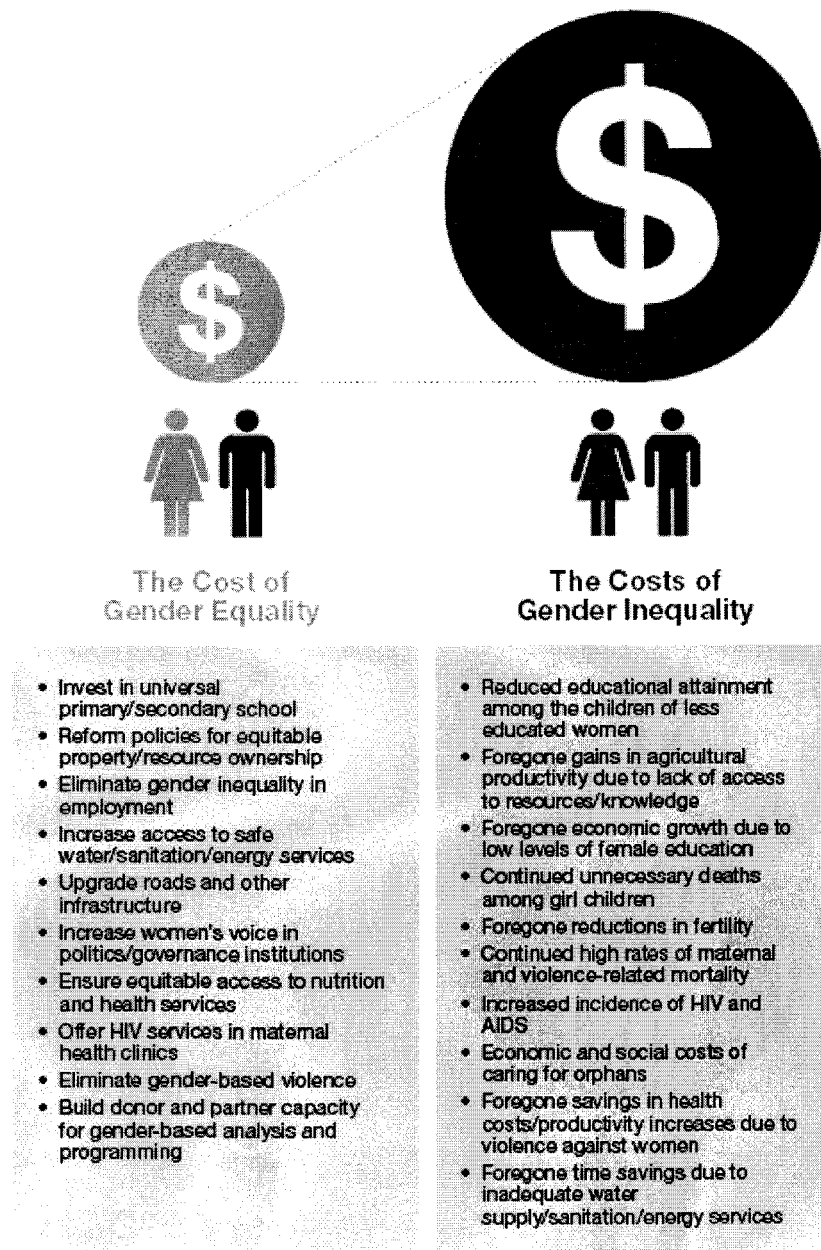
## Appendix G: Women's Multiple Roles



Source: United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2008a). *Gender Equality Now. Accelerating the Achievement of the Millennium Development Goals*. UNIFEM headquarters: UNIFEM. Pp. 2.

## Appendix H: The Cost of Gender Equality

The Cost of Gender Equality  
is Dwarfed by the Costs of Inequality



Source: United Nations Development Fund for Women. (2008a). *Gender Equality Now. Accelerating the Achievement of the Millennium Development Goals*. UNIFEM headquarters: UNIFEM. Pp. 11

## **VITA AUCTORIS**

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