One UN for Development?

The United Nations as an Actor in International Development

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In this thesis I analyze the work of the United Nations (UN) in international development, and especially the aspects of power, authority and autonomy in this work. I examine the roles that the organization has in development and the effects these roles can have on the position of the organization. Following the ideas of the bureaucracy theory by Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore (2004; 2005), I study if the UN can be seen as an independent actor rather than a tool of its member states. Inspired by my own experiences at the UN, I also pay attention to the position of the organization between the often conflicting interests of its member states.

My study is placed among studies of international organizations (IOs). The scientific relevance of the study lies in the political aspects of the work of IOs. They are increasingly central to world politics and therefore it is important to understand how they function. If IOs are able to use power and affect their surroundings, this should be taken into account while studying them. Power aspects are also central to discussions around international development, as there is still a persisting gap between the views of the global North and South. The UN with its universal membership lies in the middle of this battle.

As research material I have nine (9) reports of the UN Secretary General, produced in 2007-2012. The reports are all development-related, some of them focusing on the internal work of the UN and some on the wider development environment. I analyze them using qualitative content analysis.

Based on the analysis, the UN can be seen as an independent actor, its many different functions and especially its expertise in development making it an authoritative actor in international development. The organization is both supporting the work of its member states and actively promoting ideas important to its own agenda. The ideas presented already in the UN charter in 1945 are still evident in the work of the organization and guide the work of the organization over the often conflicting interests of the member states. The UN has various means to affect the decision-making of the member states and, thus, contribute to the development activities not only by regulating but also constituting understandings of development. One of the most important result of this thesis is therefore the abundance of action apparent in the work of the UN in development, presenting the organization not so much as an employee of the member states but as an independent, active authority. The results, therefore, are in line with the core ideas of the bureaucracy theory.

One of the interesting results of the analysis was the strong support the UN was showing the developing countries throughout its work. The organization can be seen as opposing some of the mainstream development policies and supporting a more equal development approach. This stance can provide the organization with both challenges and possibilities as it is trying to stabilize its position as a central particle in global governance.

Keywords: authority, development, global governance, international organization, power, United Nations

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Abbreviations

AMR	Annual Ministerial Review
BWIs	Bretton Woods Institutions
DCF	Development Cooperation Forum
DESA	Department of Economic and Social Affairs
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IFI	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IO	International Organization
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PD	Paris Declaration
QCPR	Quadrennial Comprehensive Police Review
SG	Secretary General
SSC	South-South Cooperation
SWC	System-wide Coherence
TCPR	Triennial Comprehensive Policy Review
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDG	United Nations Development Group
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCHR	UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
WFP	World Food Programme
WMO	World Meteorological Organization
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

The UN headquarters in New York City in March 2011   Photo: Emilia Autio

Foreword

Before I explain the actual focus of my thesis, I want to briefly explain my experiences and thoughts of the United Nations that have in their part shaped the idea of the thesis. Since I started my first internship at the Finnish Mission to the United Nations in New York around three years ago, I have been interested in the special nature of the organization called the United Nations. In the end I had the opportunity to do two internships, which allowed me to see both sides of the organization: the government's side and the UN Secretariat's side. During both of the internships I was working with the same issues, that is economic and social development with focus in the work done by or through the United Nations and its organizations. A lot of attention was given to examining, evaluating and overseeing the effectiveness of the development work of the UN organs at the country level. But even if the larger themes were the same, the viewpoint and emphasis of the work were very different in the two internships. To my mind, this reflects the relationship of the member states of the United Nations and the UN Secretariat in general in a fairly truthful way.

During the first internship, I worked at the Economic and Social sector (ECOSOC) of the Finnish Mission and got to take part in several high-level meetings taking place at the United Nations headquarters, acting as a representative of my country and having a once-in-a-lifetime chance to learn from those who form the daily international circus taking place around East 46th St on Manhattan. Days consisted of long meetings, listening to endless statements by the representatives of the 193 member states and writing reports back to Finland. Sometimes, the days ended at fancy parties and eager networking with colleagues from around the world. Sometimes networking seemed more important than the issues that we were dealing with. Sometimes political collisions blocked decision-making and the day turned into night without any progress. I learned that it is possible to argue over one single phrasing for hours and that also people representing states, like "ordinary" people, gamble with votes, money or partnerships. More than often the setting resembled a group of children on a sandpit: not everybody plays with everybody. Especially striking was the persistent division between the views of the southern member states versus that of the sorthern countries that could be witnessed in nearly every gathering, whether big or small.

After starting my second internship at the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) soon after the first one, I came to learn that the ones really running the forementioned international circus are the people working for the organization behind the scenes, doing the background work, preparing reports and working on the ground in developing countries. At the headquarter level they provide the

information, based on which the member states make decisions. On the ground they provide support and guidance to the local governments, organizations and people. The diplomats might be the ones that comprise the major organs of the United Nations and they are the ones that seal the decisions, but their work would not be possible without the people working for the UN. I was amazed by the drive and expertise of the people working at DESA, labouring long hours without the joys of diplomatic life. The work was often boring and lack of resources made it even less glamorous. They truly were "workers", in every sense of the word. But at the UN Secretariat it was easy to feel that there really excisted a particular spirit of the UN, and group of people working for the agenda inspired by that spirit.

After returning home from New York, I started to think about a starting point for my thesis. I begun by exploring my own thoughts of the organization, having spent seven months working at its headquarters. My uppermost feeling was confusion. My experiences at the United Nations environment engendered a highly contradictory image of the organization. It seemed like the UN was at the same time struggling to stay relevant in the changing international environment but also working with full speed from morning till evening, covering issues from financial crises to malnutrition to climate change to armed conflicts around the world. Even though the organization is facing a lot of criticism, there has to be some kind of a general consensus about the purpose of it all that fills the meeting halls everyday with important people dealing with important issues. To me, it did not seem that the UN was irrelevant, but that it was on the verge of drowning under the volume and severity of issues on its agenda. It was also functioning in the middle of the conflicting interests of the member states. One of the most apparent things I learned during my internships was that the historical and political power dimensions of international politics are present in the everyday work of the world organization. In other words, there are a lot of differences hidden under the beautiful idea of "we the peoples" (as the foundational treaty of the UN, the charter, begins), working for peace and development.

In my thesis I wanted to explore the nature of the organization a bit more. The central themes are the roles of the United Nations in international development and the means which it can use to create and uphold these roles. I want to understand what kind of issues can affect the position of the organization in international cooperation. In this connection I am interested in the relations of the organization to its member states. It is important to ask if the organization is merely a sum of its member states or if it is more.

1. Introduction

The focus of this study is the work of the United Nations (UN) in international development, and especially the aspects of power, authority and autonomy of this work. I examine the roles that the organization has in development and the effects these roles can have on the position of the organization in development. Following the ideas of Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore (2004; 2005), I aim at investigating if the UN is merely doing what its member states oblige or if it can be seen as an independent actor, possessing an agenda and a will independent of its member states. This is important, because the aspects of power and authority have in most of the contemporary international politics been attached to nation states only (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 161). Understanding international organizations better can help also in understanding the current challenges they are facing.

Inspired by my own experiences at the UN, I pay special attention to the relation the organization has with its member states.
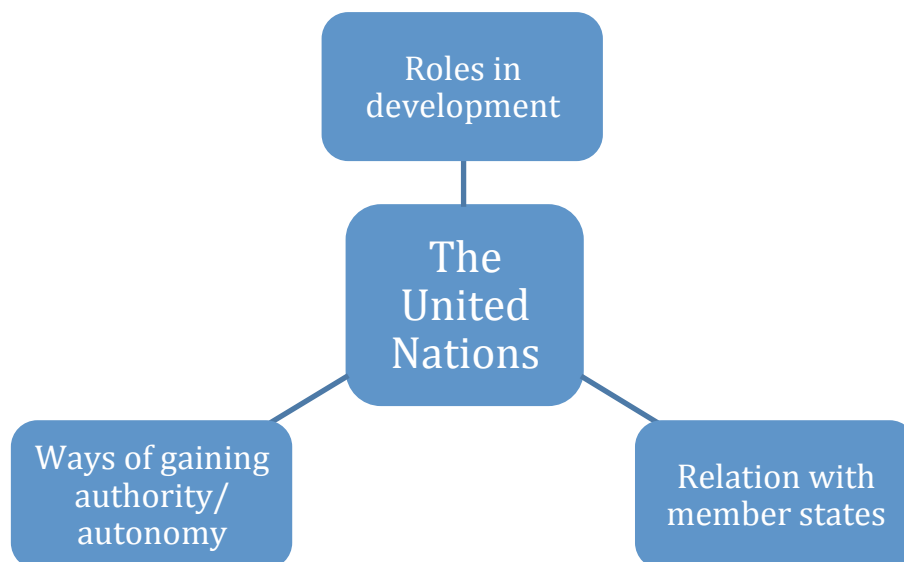
The focus becomes three-dimensional:

Figure 1. The focus of the thesis

All of these dimensions affect the work of the UN and contribute to its position in development.

The history of the United Nations goes all the way back into the time after the Second World War, when the international community decided that it was time to try to prevent anything like that from happening again. A universal organization to tackle the upcoming challenges, to uphold peace and to promote economic and social development, was the product of the tragedies of the early 20th century. (Black 2008, 11-18; Karns & Mingst 2010, 96; Kostakos 1995, 64.) The birth of the United Nations also started an era of new kind of international organization, as a stream of small and large intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations concentrating on various international issues was born. During the years the organization has developed into a huge organism, with its heart pounding at the headquarter but its veins spreading all over the world, affecting international and national policies. The organization is now the most universal international organization with 193 member states. The UN was an ambitious experiment of cooperation at a time when many of the features of the current international order were only starting to form. It was an early example of cooperation among nation states, surpassing nation states.

Promoting economic and social development has since the very beginning of the organization been an important part of the work of the UN. Development was seen, by the founders of the organization, as an important means to advance peace among nations. Besides carrying out a wide variety of development activities in most of the developing countries, the UN has had an important role as an opinion leader, both at country level and internationally. During its journey, the organization has been able to give birth to new ideas of development, often resulting in others following on their footsteps. (Jolly, Emmerij & Weiss 2009, 255.) This long history with development activities has made the UN into one of the most prominent expert bodies in the field. In the recent years, however, the organization has been faced with a crisis that could be its worse so far (e.g. Ghebali 2006, 24).

On the whole, international development architecture is today struggling to deal with its increasing complexity, with new actors emerging and with the persistent dilemma between the ideals and reality of development efforts (Brown & Morton 2008, 2). Globalization has changed international relations in an unprecedented way, connecting many parts of the world but also highlighting the gap between the privileged and the less fortunate. Information and ideas are today spreading with a volume unprecedented, making issues spanning over national borders more central than ever. In this new kind of space it has been necessary to look for new mechanisms to control the global cooperation. This is why scholars have in the recent years been increasingly interested in global governance, meaning the way issues spanning over national borders are being governed. (See e.g. Karns & Mingst 2010, 21-23.)

Also development cooperation has changed as new actors, such as the private sector, NGOs and former aid recipient countries, have emerged on the map. The changes cause pressure for all parties in development to find new, effective ways for cooperation (see e.g. Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen 2003, 3-6).

In the changing environment, questions of relevance and effectiveness have come up regarding the work of the UN. The effects of globalization have highlighted many of the problems of the organization and made it necessary to seriously push forward structural reforms. These problems are both internal and external, as the heavy, bureaucratic composition of the organization is hindering both the own work of the UN organs as well as the ability of the organization to preserve its relevance in the current development environment. Despite being a respected partner in development, the UN has constantly faced pressure from its member states and other partners. (See e.g. Weinlich 2011, 15.) The contradicting positions of the member states have also hindered the effective function of the organization. The slogan of the recent system-wide coherence reform process of the UN is "One UN for Development", referring primarily to the need for the organization to streamline its fragmented work, but it could just as well point to the urgent need to find a way to bring the groups of member states closer to each other in the development work. For example the former secretary general of the UN, Boutros Boutros-Ghali (2005, 39; see also South Centre 2005, 117) has stated that in its essence the crisis of the UN today is a North-South crisis.

It seems that sixty years after the birth of the UN, the organization is in a position where it needs to redefine its situation, tasks and values in order of staying relevant in the emerging world order (Lahdensuo 2001a, 14; Taylor 2000a, 296-299; Weinlich 2011, 15). Understanding the nature of the UN as an organization is vital for understanding its challenges and possibilities in international development.

1.1. Research problem

In this thesis I analyze the work of the UN in development, aiming at understanding the roles of the UN in development and the authoritative aspects that can be used to uphold and promote these roles. Traditional organization theories say that the organization is the sum of its members, meaning that most international organizations are controlled by their member states and therefore doing what they order. But what if that view is not common at all, as the case of the UN member states implies? My hypothesis is that the UN is, at least to certain extent, an independent actor having its own agenda and possibilities to promote this agenda.

I am using as theoretical framework Barnett and Finnemore's theory of international organizations as bureaucracies that do not only mirror what their members want but that are "more than the sum of their parts" possessing a will, agenda and nature. According to the theory, IOs are perceived as rational-legal agencies pursuing common good – and that is what gives them the position as authoritative bureaucracies. Their constructivist approach to the behaviour of international organizations provides a theoretical base for understanding the ways they behave and possibly exercise power. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 2-3; 2005, 161-184.)

The changing international environment is the framework in which the UN needs to operate and against which it needs to reform. The possible authority and autonomy of the organization are important factors in defining the possibilities of the organization to affect its position. If IOs are understood as actors, they can – and should – be studied as active participants in world affairs (see Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 16).

My research material consists of nine (9) reports of the Secretary General, produced by the organization in processes related to development activities between 2007-2012. A list of the research material can be found in chapter 5.2. and in the list of references.

1.2. The scientific relevance of the study

The scientific relevance of my study lies in the political aspects of the work of international organizations (IOs). International organizations have never been more central to world politics and therefore it is important to understand them better (see e.g. Rittberger & Zangl 2006, 3). If the IOs do not merely execute international agreements between states but also make independent decisions and affect national and local policies, as the bureaucracy theory suggests, it is relevant to ask how they function. What kind of roles can they have? How do they gain their authority? Are they impartial or do they only appear as such? How can they take part in global governance? These are the kind of questions I am interested in with respect to the largest international organization, the United Nations, and its work in international development.

In a scientific sense it is also important to look at the power aspects hiding in the structures of international development in general. I perceive the idea of development in itself as controversial. The field of development has changed a lot during the years, both practically and on the side of ideas that

guide development. After the hard experiences of the 1980s, such as the failures of many structural adjustment programmes of the international financial institutions, a new phase of international cooperation, commitments and partnerships has emerged in the last decades (e.g. Culpeper & Wangwe 2005; Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen 2003, xiv). But even though the recent years have brought fresh elements to the development discussions, the ideas of the mainstream do not necessarily represent the views of everyone. Also the current development trends and mechanisms are often affected by the old power structures and by no means provide equal possibilities for all actors (Hammad and Morton 2009, 2). There are still deep disagreements about the goals of development among the different players. The developing countries have pointed out that their voice is still not been heard and that ideas designed to help them often end up reproducing the old imbalances. The historical and political bias affecting the development architecture make it hard to achieve consensus, not to mention a system that would be equal for all parties. (Culpeper and Morton 2008, 24-25; Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen 2003, xiv; Fomerand 2003, 95-97.) The United Nations with its universal membership lies in the middle of this battle.

1.3. The key concepts

The United Nations is a large organization and it works on hundreds of different issues globally. In this thesis I am concentrating on the development sector, leaving out other sectors of the organization, such as peace and security, humanitarian, human rights and international law. Even though the work of the different sectors is always at some level connected, it is to my mind legitimate to talk about the development sector as an independent whole. It is also necessary in order of delimiting the context of the thesis. (See also Black 2008, 152.)

Development and development cooperation

Development is a central concept in this thesis. It is a controversial concept that has no single, fixed meaning, though in international politics it has most often been attached to the idea of positive social progress. In this thesis, development refers to the international development efforts that aim at achieving positive social progress to all countries. As such, development has been a central goal in the work of the UN. In development thinking, the charm of development stems from a combination of different dimensions attached to the concept. Development can be looked at as a goal, as an empirical, historical process and as an intervention. (Koponen 2007a, 49-51.) The dimensions together give the modern

perception of development its positive charge: if the development problems of our time are being addressed rationally and with good intentions, ideal development should happen. This applies regardless of what is held as the ideal development or form of intention at the time. (Ibid., 59.)

With respect to development activities, I am most interested in the global level, meaning the way international development trends, guidelines and contracts are created and administered. The ideas or ideologies influencing development at each time form the **development paradigms** (e.g. Stocke 2009, 19). These ideas guide **development cooperation**, meaning the many activities of different actors that are being used to create the ideal effects for developing countries. Within the UN, development cooperation is often referred to as **operational activities for development**, which are performed by UN funds and programmes in cooperation with other partners. The UN is a multilateral international organization, **multilateralism** referring to three or more states working together on certain issues. By concentrating on the development activities at the international level and the work of the UN in development, I am leaving out the other, multiple forms of development work, but I do recognize the existence of the wider field as the contex in which all the international agreements take place. Development efforts happen at all levels from local to global and by multiple different actors.

Authority and power

Authority means the power which one person or a group holds over another. What distinguishes it from the more general concept of power is the way authority is gained. Authority is legitimated, meaning that authority cannot be forced but it needs to be conferred by the people that it is used to guide or supervise. (Giddens 2001, 684.) The member states of an international organization, for example, can legitimate the organization to take care of certain tasks and give guidance on certain issues, providing it with authority. **Power**, in turn, refers to the ability to achieve aims or further interests through various ways, from use of force to indirect means of control, with or without resistance. In this study I use the concepts concurrently, as I see them as completing each other. Authority can be seen as referring to the position of an organization and power to what this position can be used to, both of which are important in the analysis.

North and South

In this thesis I use **North** as a synonym for **developed countries** and **South** as a synonym to **developing countries**. I use these terms when referring to the developed and developing countries in general, but also

with respect to the groups of member states of the UN. I capitalize the terms because I am referring to specific regions and their people, not only to the general location, geography or climate (see also Jamieson 2010). This way the North and South cover the countries and their political, social and cultural activitities. I follow the example of the UN family (UN 2011) and do not classify which specific countries are under the label of North/developed and South/developing. In this thesis, relevant is the relation of the different groups of member states, regardless of which specific countries are included in each group at a time. The developing countries are in the texts of the UN referred to also as recipient countries, as aid recipients, or programme countries, as the countries in which development programmes take place. The developed countries are also called donors, as the countries who provide assistance to the developing countries. The multiplicity of the terms tells about the complexity of the development discussion. Though the names refer to geographical positions, the difference was born around economic and political differences and is today also more or less historical. In the recent years several of the old aid recipients have experienced a period of economic growth and become donors themselves. For example India, Brazil and several countries in South East Asia are today called emerging states because of their rapid economic growth, (at least statistically) rising living standards and increased significance in world markets. Consequently, also South-South Cooperation, meaning cooperation of the developing countries, has increased (see e.g. UNDP 2012).

The North-South divide is an important background for the discussion in my study and it is a feature still evident in the everyday work of the United Nations. It refers to the geopolitical division between the wealthy developed countries and the poorer developing countries.

It is important to remember that in the end, classifications are made by people with different interest and different possibilities to take part in the process of forming the categories. Therefore, they can be used in various ways, also as a means of power. The terms should not be understood as fixed categories but rather as tools to understand the complex issues at hand. It would be inconsiderate to avoid talking about the differences labeling the relations of the developing and developed countries due to the fear of categorizing. Rather, recognizing the problem gives room to an approach based on the North-South divide as one of the background factors affecting the work of the UN.

What, then, is meant by the groups of North and South at the UN? In principle, every member state is an equal member at the organization and represents themselves in UN arenas. The states have, however, formed several groups in which they can better align their opinions and stances with like-minded countries and gain stronger political strength when acting together at UN arenas (e.g. Karns & Mingst

2010, 106; Morphet 2000, 224-270). The major groups include the European Union (EU) of the developed states and the Group of 77 (G-77), usually together with China, and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) of the developing states. Altogether there are dozens of country groups pursuing their goals at the UN. The G-77 has today over 130 members and, therefore, it encompasses a clear majority of the UN member states. The developed countries, however, provide most of the financial resources to the UN and have traditionally been the power players among the member states. (Weinlich 2011, 16.)

1.4. The structure of the thesis

In the second and third chapters I contextualize the research subject, first by describing the organization I am analyzing and second by explaining the reseach tradition in which my study is placed. In the fourth chapter I present the bureaucracy theory by Barnett and Finnemore. The fifth chapter contains the research questions, research material and method. Chapters six and seven are analysis chapters. In the sixth one I examine the roles of the UN in development. In the seventh I analyze these roles in the light of the bureaucracy theory, including the basis for IO authority and the ways in which this authority can be utilized in development politics. I also analyze the UN between its member states. The ninth chapter is the concluding one, in which I summarize the analysis chapters and, based on them, discuss the challenges and possibilities of the UN to take part in global governance.

2. United Nations in development

"The Purposes of the United Nations are:

...

To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends."

(United Nation Charter, United Nations 1945)

In this chapter I take a closer look at the work of the United Nations in development during the years the organization has existed as well as today. I also explain the diverse challenges that have forced the organization to consider several reform proposals during the years.

The charter of the United Nations was signed in June 1945, as a first step for the new world organization that replaced its predecessor, the League of Nations, and had the arduous goal of uniting the nations of the world in promoting peace and development in the post World War II world (e.g. Bhouraskar 2007, 23-24; Black 2008, 11-14; Barnett and Finnemore 2005, 166). The foundations of the UN were built on four sets of ideas: peace, independence, development and human rights. What was especially remarkable was the political will of the world leaders for such an agenda (Emmerij et. al. 2001, 16-17).

The charter (1945) is the founding document of the UN and at the same time the document that encompasses the structure and the most important principles of the work of the organization. The charter was revolutionary for its time in the way that it envisioned a common plan for a better world. Even today the message of the charter sounds powerful – sometimes to the extent that it feels naive. The charter is also a practical building instruction for the organization and – most importantly – a constituent treaty, binding its members to obey its articles. The articles of the charter are the basis for also the current working modes and agenda of the organization. The most fundamental message of the charter is the sovereign equality of member states, meaning that states do not recognize any higher authorities. From the very beginning of the journey of the UN, development played a significant role in the agenda of the organization and many of our contemporary ideas of development have been affected by the work of the

UN during the years. In order of understanding the work of the UN in development, it is necessary to understand the way the whole development thinking was formed during the 20th century. (See Karns & Mingst 2010, 97-99 for more.)

2.1. The UN in development – a brief history

According to Stocke (2009, 4-5) the two most important factors affecting the early years of development activities were the decolonization processes as well as the emerging new international order of the Cold War. During the bipolar world the UN moved from more political issues to seeking a new kind of international role by engaging its organizations in the work of providing better living standards for the countries in need worldwide. Development as an idea is, therefore, a post-colonial construct (Black 2008, 74-76). But even though the idea of developing the newly independent countries had a lot to do with getting them to absorb western principles, also idealism was important for the early development thinking. The idea of bringing well-being to those suffering from malnutrition and poverty was born in the early years of the existence of the UN and the other large IOs. Also the idea of aid, using public expenditures for humanitarian purposes, came about during these times. (Ibid., 74-75.) According to Stocke (2009, 483), the contribution of the UN to the formation of the global development agenda was especially significant in the early years. The participation of the UN system in the operational activities begun gradually, as the range of activities on the agenda of the organization started to expand in the end of the 1940s (United Nations 2009, 2). The first main instruments of the UN for assisting "underdeveloped" countries were a programme for technical assistance (the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance) and a fund (the Special Fund) for providing capital economic development in the 1950s (ibid., 29).

The UN declared the 1960s as the first official development decade, following by the second, third and fourth. The targets for the first decade were set for economic growth and development assistance. By this time, development had become an international obligation that most of the industrialized states had to take part in. The development environment was changing quickly and the emerged states and their people became the primary concern of the UN. The World Food Programme was started by the UN and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in 1961 to promoting economic and social development with the help of food aid. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was launched in 1965 to be the primary programme for technical development assistance of the UN and to coordinate the funding of the development assistance of the UN. At this stage the division of labour of the large organizations was such

that the World Bank provided development finance and the UN technical assistance. (Stocke 2009, 8-10; United Nations 2009, 2-3.) In the early years of development assistance development was generally seen as a modernization process in which societies move from one stage to the next, "higher" stage, both economically and politically and this process was supported by development aid (Stocke 2009, 20, 40).

The second development decade of the UN (1970s) continued the policies that were established during the first one, but in an even more determinent way, expanding the operational activities of the organization. A goal for the official development assistance (ODA) was set for the developed countries and the established organs continued their work. Signs of a North-South crisis, however, emerged already at that time, though they concerned the international environment in general rather than merely the UN. In the 1970s the organization became central in the strengthened demands of many of the thirld world countries for a more equal international order. The developing countries built alliances such as the G-77 and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), that brought together developing countries sometimes with highly different interests to promote the broadening of the international development agenda. They wanted to address the structural inequalities that remained in the system and to create a new international economic order, referred to as NIEO (United Nations 1974). The UN General Assembly and especially UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) became important with respect to realizing these hopes (Stocke 2009, 10-11).

The 1980s has been called the lost decade of development, a time that left many of the developing countries with long-lasting development crisis, with smaller per capita income and with poorer living standards than before (South Centre 1993, 3). The economic crisis facing most of the developed countries in the early years of the decade turned into development crisis as the whole development assistance system was restructured. The credits that had been easily available made many of the developing countries end up in debt crisis, especially with many donor countries changing their aid policies and increasingly protecting their markets. The Bretton Woods Institutions started structural adjustment programmes which, as a precondition for aid, forced the developing countries change their total economic policies to more market-oriented. The purpose of aid in the 1980s was to facilitate these changes. The structural adjustment strategies focused merely on macroeconomics, posing a threat to many parts of the social sectors of the developing countries. Criticism towards the prevailing policies started to stem from academics, NGOs around the world and from some southern governments. (Koponen 2007b, 38; Stocke 2009, 11-12.) The organizations of the UN, working closely with the people that were most severely affected by the new policies, were one of the first to note the alarming consequences of this approach (Stocke 2009, 11-12). This, together with the history of facilitating the developing states' demands for a

more equal international order, made the UN already at this stage a kind of opponent to the dominant economic policies. The UN itself went through a crisis of funding, when the some of the donors cut down their contributions. Also the ability of the UN to deliver development assistance in an efficient and coherent manner started to be questioned from 1980s onwards. (United Nations 2009, 3.)

In the turn of the next decade (1990s) it became obvious that something needed to change. The changes in world politics, especially the end of the Cold War, enabled a fundamental reorientation in development assistance. All conditionalities were not demolished but the role of the state and institutions in development were again acknowledged and new objectives were set. These included promoting liberal principles, such as democracy, human rights and good governance, as well as ecological sustainability. In these efforts, the UN was an active promoter. Due to the many violent conflicts of the 1990s, focus also in dvelopment turned increasingly to security. Another change in the global development agenda in the 1990s was a growing emphasis in policy coherence: all actions of donor countries should be in line – or at least not against – each other and the all development policies should ensure the development countries' participation in global economy and in development processes. (Stocke 2009, 12-13.) During the latter half of the 1990s the member states started to pay increasingly attention to the need for enhanced coherence among the development activities of the UN family (United Nation 2009, 4). Some of the most important reforms of the development sector of the United Nations were started in the 1990s and reforms have remained on the agenda until today.

The start of the new millennium brought with it many important landmarks for the development work of the United Nations. The first Millennium Summit in 2000 became the largest-ever gathering of world leaders. At the meeting the member states reaffirmed their support for the UN – at least in their speeches – and recognized the need for collective efforts to secure equal possibilities for development at the global level. The Millennium Declaration (United Nations 2000) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) became an acknowledged agenda of the whole international community. The MDGs were important also in the way that in them the results of several previous global meetings had been turned into operational and measurable goals that could be monitored. (Stocke 2009, 14-15.) These cooperative efforts can be seen as key factors keeping the UN at the core of global governance in the early twenty-first century while the relative importance of other sectors of its work have at leas temporarily fallen (Karns and Mingst 2010, 95). All in all, actors in the international development cooperation system are at the moment trying to adjust to the changes of the wider environment (e.g. Davies 2011, 8-11). One attempt of fostering global cooperation is the work concentrating on the effectiveness of development aid,

coordinated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2007). This approach, however, is in its essence too "northern" to be accepted by all parties (e.g. Bissio, 2007)

2.2. The UN in development today

The most important principles of the current development work of the UN are summarized in the UN development agenda (United Nations 2007). It is a summary of the goals, commitments and strategies that have been made at the UN world conferences and summits since 1990, combining the traditional ideas stemming from the UN charter with the ideas and issues considered important at each time and each gathering. It is meant to serve not only as guideline to the United Nations, but as an framework to guide international development at all levels. (Ibid.) For this reason, it is also rather general in its nature.

Today, the work of the UN in development is a mixture of normative, research-based, supporting (serving as a forum for states) and operational activities (Weinlich 2011, 18). The thematic areas of the development activities of the UN include social development, health and population issues, sustainable development, energy, science and technology, advancement of women, governance, international trade and macroeconomic finance, countries in special situations and statistics, all of which involve a number of sub-categories and have specific agencies working with them (see more at UN 2012a). An important part of the work is also providing member states with policy advice and support to capacity building (Weinlich 2011, 17-18).

What is special about the UN is that in most areas of its work, the United Nations performs two functions: policy and operational (Bhouraskar 2007, 17). It is both creating the guidelines at the international level and putting them into action at regional and national level with its partners. This is true also in the case of economic and social development. The primary UN organ doing operational work on the ground has for a long time been the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), while the World Food Programme has been the main humanitarian actor. Besides these two, the UN family comprises of many other funds and programmes that are today working under the United Nations Development Group (UNDG).

The structure of the organization

Structurally, three of the six principal organs of the UN are especially relevant with respect to economic and social development. These include the General Assembly (GA), the Economic and Social Council

(ECOSOC) and the UN Secretariat, which Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) is the primary office dealing with development. In addition to that, there is a myriad of specialized agencies, funds, programmes and subsidiary bodies working with the varied group of issues. The funds and programmes are the main actors in the development cooperation of the UN at the country level. A figure of the UN system is attached to the end of the study (see appendix 1).

Intergovernmental organs

The two intergovernmental principal organs of the UN related to development work are the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. **General Assembly** is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative assembly of the United Nations, designed to provide a general agenda for debate among all member states. The GA can be described as the core of the organization, as its agenda is extensive and its responsibilities include coordinating and supervising the overall work of the organization, including the specialized agencies, subsidiary bodies, funds and programmes. (Black 2008, 18; Smouts 2000, 21; Karns & Mingst 2010, 102.) To categorize the workload of the GA, the work is divided between the General Assembly and its six main committees. The second and third Committee are the ones that primary concentrate on economic and social issues. (Leisma 2009, 33.)

The **Economic and Social Council** (ECOSOC) of the UN serves as the multilateral intergovernmental body within which member states gather to discuss issues related to global economic and social development policies (South Centre 2007, 18). The working field of ECOSOC is wide, covering issues such as population, drugs, crime, environment and food security. The Council gives member states guidance and directives with respect to these issues. Its work also plays an important role in development co-operation. Besides the substantial session, the work is done in several commissions and working groups throughout the year. These groups provide the Council with support and advice. The issues covered by ECOSOC are also relevant at the Second and Third Committee of the GA, but the commissions of ECOSOC have the advantage that they can concentrate on their respective thematic issues with more time and energy. (Leisma 2009, 52-53.) ECOSOC is said to be the most complex part of the UN system, as the activities it oversees engage over 70 percent of the human and financial resources of the UN. This has also made it struggle during the whole time it has existed. (Karns & Mingst 2010, 114-115.)

UN Secretariat/DESA

Whereas the GA and ECOSOC consist of representatives of the member states, the Secretariat is the central office of the UN staff. It is headed by the UN Secretary-General, assisted by a staff of around 44 000 international civil servants working at the headquarters in New York and around the globe. The Secretariat supports the work of the UN bodies, such as the GA and ECOSOC (in other words, the member states), in different ways. It does a lot of research work, collecting information and preparing studies and reports, and carries out tasks directed by the member states. The Secretariat is important for the work of the organization in that it encompasses a group of highly skilled professionals of different fields. Its work involves co-operation with national governments and other IOs as well as NGOs, media and local people in member countries. Its experience and expertise are therefore vital for the member states. (Beigbeder 2000, 196.)

At the UN Secretariat, the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) is the primary office dealing with issues related to development. It supports the two intergovernmental bodies by providing broad macro-level policy research on economic and social development issues, ranging from poverty reduction to development financing and environmental issues. It also partners with a wide variety of actors involved in development efforts. (South Centre 2007, 18; UNDESA 2012b; Leisma 2009, 69.)

Funds and programmes and specialized agencies

The system of UN organizations involved in economic and social development extends well beyond the principal bodies. They have created a variety of funds, programmes and subsidiary bodies to take part in the workload of the organization. In general, the specialized agencies, funds and programmes and some external partner organizations are the operational actors of the UN, and the presence of the organization at the country level, especially in developing countries, is often based on their field activities.

The most important funds and programmes are United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and World Food Programme (WFP). (Taylor 2000b, 100.) The funds and programmes were established to respond to the challenges that had emerged after the constitutive meeting of the UN in 1945. They report to the GA, ECOSOC or the Secretary General, who supervise their work and make decisions about their functions. (Leisma 2009, 81-82.) UNDP is the main agency of the UN delivering country-level development assistance. It also provides the UN system with policy analysis of

development issues. The World Food Programme is the main actor in the field of humanitarian affairs. The other UN funds and programmes have specialized mandates and programmes at country-level. (South Centre 2007, 18.) All in all the work field of the funds and programmes is extensive, covering most issues on the development and human rights agenda of the UN. They have a strong country presence around the world; for example UNDP and UNICEF have their offices in over a hundred countries. (Leisma 2009, 82.) In 1997 all the 32 UN funds, programmes, agencies, departments and offices playing a role in development were placed under the United Nations Development Group (UNDG). The UNDG is a result of the UN reform, aiming at streamlining and enhancing the work of the different actors.

Specialized agencies are autonomous organizations that work together with the UN system and with each other. They include agencies from World Health Organization (WHO), World Health Organization (WHO) and World Meteorological Organization (WMO) to the IMF and World Bank (altogether 17 agencies). (Leisma 2009, 81; Taylor 2000b, 100.)

2.3. Reforming the UN

The UN has changed relatively little during the years. Many of its principal organs remain the same as in the early days, even though the agenda of the organization has exploded in its scope (Kostakos 1995, 67). The overall coordination of policies and operational activities has always been a challenge for the UN system (Stokke 2009, 491). Globalization, the new dynamics of the international environment together with the old organization and working practices have resulted in a confusion of the role of the world organization and a growing dissatisfaction in its work from both within and outside the organization. The need to define and address the problems thoroughly has increasingly been recognized by the organization and the member states (Lahdensuo 2001, 14; Taylor 2000a, 296-299; UN 2012c; Weinlich 2011, 15.)

Recent reforms of the development sector

The development sector of the UN seen several reform proposals, some of which have been realized but even more that have remained at the stage of ideas. The sector has had its fair share of challenges, such as continuing problems with financing, lack of coordination, management and structural weaknesses (Lahdensuo 2001, 14; Karns & Mingst 2010, 131; Weinlich 2011, 2-3). The large variety of issues on the development agenda and large number of actors taking part in development activities at different levels has made the work challenging. In the past two decades there has been new hope for more functional,

lasting changes in the structure and action of the sector. Former secretary-general Kofi Annan started extensive organizational reform processes shortly after taking up his post in 1997 (Beigbeder 2000, 212). His reform agenda resulted in for example the streamlining of some organizational structures and the birth of United Nations Development Group (UNDG), a consortium of the 32 UN agencies, funds and programmes working with issues related to development. (Bertrand 2005, 7-8; Lahdensuo 2001a, 14; UNDG 2007.) Many of the reforms that have taken place within the UN development sector during the past years have evolved from the tightened cooperation that has emerged as a result of the creating of the UNDG.

The System-wide Coherence (SWC) reform process is the most recent and comprehensive of the reforms taking place at the UN development apparatus. As a consequence of the often overlapping and uncoordinated work of the multiple UN actors, the member states decided to put the question of "system-wide coherence of the UN's operational activities" on the agenda at the 2005 World Summit of the United Nations. (Von Freiesleben 2008, 37.) The SWC process was started in 2006 by analyzing how the development work of the UN could be made more efficient and coherent at the country level (see e.g. UN 2006; United Nations 2006). The SWC is a positive exception in the list of reform proposals, since some six years after the process was started, some changes in the structure and operation of the UN development sector have actually been realized. The most visible results are the eight One UN pilot countries that have been the first to try co-operation between different UN offices in a certain country. A grand achievement is also the new UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, UN WOMEN, that started its work in the beginning of 2011 (UN WOMEN 2011).

Besides the System-Wide Coherence, other important changes in the economic and social sector of the organization have been the founding of the biennial Development Cooperation Forum (DCF) and the Annual Ministerial Review (AMR) of ECOSOC, both mandated by the same 2005 World Summit outcome document (United Nations 2005a) that gave birth to the SWC process (UN 2012b; 2012e). The DCF has been designed to be an arena for inclusive development discussion and it has been received well among all parties (see e.g. Brown and Morton 2008, 2; UN 2012d).

The reforms started after the World Summit they represent new means of making the work less bureaucratic and more efficient. This is important for the effective function of the organization, which is connected to the urgent need of the organization to remain an acknowledged actor in development. The problem is that the position of the organization depends on many factors also outside the UN. The overall ambiance and the rapid changes of the international environment are challenges for all of the actors in

development. What determines which actors are strengthened in such an atmosphere is a question closely connected to the structural reforms of the organization.

2.4. The UN between the member states

"The United Nations is in a crisis. The institution is persistently criticized by the North. It is painted as ineffective, not corresponding to the requirements of the new age, in need of profound reform and in danger of becoming irrelevant. On the other hand the countries of the South cling to the organization and its Charter. They see it as their last hope of preserving multilateralism and democratic governance in the family of nations." (South Centre 2005,117.)

One of the most striking observations I made while working at the UN was the division of the member states into groups that can roughly be described as the North and South. The dichotomy is taken up in this study because the UN, serving "the member states, is in a challenging position between their differing views. The division affects not only the development-related work at the UN, but also outside of it.

What, then, do I mean by the dissonance between the groups of states in the UN arenas? Naturally, there are many dimensions. One of them is practical. In the discussions and meetings taking place at the United Nations on a daily basis, a division between the views of the developed countries and developing countries remains clear, often making it hard to form consensus as the two blocks cling to their views (see e.g. Fomerand 2003, 81-83; Malone & Hagman 2000, 402-404). The decision-making processes, encompassing the old grudges and current conflicts, speak their language about the political dimensions of international diplomacy. It can become difficult to accomplish solutions that would satisfy everyone in the complex, often overly political processes. This confrontation makes decision-making slow and sometimes takes attention away from the actual decisions (Malone & Hagman 2000, 402-404; Weinlich 2011, 67). In such a decision-making process it is compulsory for the parties to push their views to be heard. The decisions and declarations formed at the UN often become compromises, attempting at covering all the views of the member states that are not too much against the views of any group. Issues related to economic inequality, development, military power and state's rights to sovereignity and self-determination have always been central to the North-South divide. (Karns & Mingst 2010, 106-108). The divide, however, as it is institutionalized, can affect any decision as it becomes important to have a say in everything.

Background for the dissonances

The North-South division is not only a problem of the UN arenas. Even though the idea of development was born around ambitious and idealistic goals history has shown that development did not happen so easily. Merely the starting point, where there are developers and those that are being developed, implies that problems may arise. Many of the development ideas of the UN system were and are dominated by western ideas. This of course reflected the overall economical and political situation in the world at that time. Later on, development initiatives gained more impetus from the specific circumstances of the developing countries, but the base for thinking remained in western ideas and concepts. (Jolly et. al. 2009, 84-87.)

As the early years of development brought with them lapses and failures, the suspicions of developing states have only been strengthened. Even though development co-operation has in many ways been of use to the people of developing countries, it has become clear that it comes with a cost. Despite the declarations of equality and solidarity, the global political, financial and economic systems have during the years only strengthened the position of the developed world, building conditionalities and protectionalities to hinder the independent action of developing states and making it hard for them to get their voices properly heard. It is not easy to access the global system, not politically or economically, because the structure of the system as well as the power blocks of the developed states have developed into the norm. (See for example Culpeper and Wangwe 2005; Moyo 2009) These differences are present in all interaction of the states and affect also the way they deal with the UN.

Like the UNs approach towards the northern and southern member states, also the expectations that the different actors place on the United Nations differ. To put it short, the South has for long been speaking for a strong UN while the North has been more restrained in its stances (Beigbeder 2000, 207). Though the issue, naturally, is more complicated in its dimensions than putting the North and South against each other, it is possible to see many differences of the country groups entrailing around this issue. Already in 1996 (xv) the South Centre, who often expresses the views of the groups of developing countries at the UN, wrote that the future of the UN will be vitally important for all aspects of international co-operation and especially for the southern countries. The developing countries have on many occasions stated that in order of protecting their interests they need support from the UN, who they see as the most likely neutral international organ and a channel for expressing their views.

The role of the UN in the governance of global economic policies is an issue where the opinions of the North and South have been very different. According to the South Centre (1997; 2007, 4-9) the UN was originally intended to act as the head of the family of international organizations that promote the agenda of the UN charter. One of its tasks was to oversight the work of UN specialized agencies (like the WTO and the Bretton Woods institutions) to ensure that their work is in line with the common agenda. For different reasons, however, the UN has not managed to live up to the expectations in the area of global economic governance and policy. At the same time the BWIs have operated independently, pursuing their own policies and at the same time undermined those of the UN. In other words, those who were supposed to be governed have during the recent years taken over the lead in the global economic policy discourse. An argument used by the developed countries to justify this has been that the UN should stick to "doing what it does better than others", meaning focusing on other things than global economy, while others could lead the efforts in global economic governance (South Centre 1997; Weinlich 2011, 6, 67-72).

Some southern critics have seen the comments of the northern member states as a deliberate attempt to move power away from the UN. They claim that the role of the UN has been pushed to focus more on humanitarian issues and peacekeeping, leaving development policies to other parties and thus putting an end to the expansion of the authority of the UN. (See e.g. South Centre 2005, 9-10; South Centre 2007, 6; Weinlich 2011, 67-72.) The South has repeatedly expressed the need to restore the position of the UN and its organs (such as the UN committee for trade and development, UNCTAD) as the primary global institution in development governance, meaning developing, managing and implementing development policies at different levels – and supervising the BWIs. (South Centre 2007, 4-9, 17-18; Weinlich 2011, 67-72). The validity of the western development theories and strategies have been questioned after it became clear that they have not been able to boost the development of many countries – often the opposite (Dijkzeul & Beigbeder 2003, 1-2). The UN, it seems, is seen as an option to strive for a more open and equal international order, if it would only be allowed to rise to a more central position.

Some criticism by the South is also aimed at the UN. This is most often the case when the reports or action proposals reflect, to their mind, too much the "northern agenda". (Ibid.). The developing countries have also criticized the membership of some UN organs and the way few powerful countries of the North are seen as shaping the structure and policies of the UN to match their own interests (South Centre 1996, xv). More often the critique has been directed on other actors such as the northern states and the Bretton Woods Institutions. Sometimes it is difficult to say if this is due more to the unsatisfactory actions of other actors or direct support to the operation modes of the UN. Like the everyday discussions at the UN demonstrate, there is a fine line between a proposal for action and a mere manifestation.

The South and UN reform

Recent research (e.g. Ghebali 2006; Von Freiesleben 2008; Weinlich 2011) shows that the North–South division has been evident in the most recent reform processes of the development sector of the UN, such as the System-Wide Coherence (SWC). The expertise of the UN in critical economic thinking and different development strategies is recognized by most parties, but there have been different opinions on which direction and how the organization should be steered (see e.g. South Centre 2007, 10). The attitude of the member states towards the different functions of the UN depends on what the group expects of the organization (Beigbeder 2000, 206).

The countries of the North have showed strong support to the current reform initiatives at the UN, such as the System-wide Coherence, but the South has also in the matter of reforming the UN development sector raised its critical voice. The very essence of the reform is one of the disputed topics. While the developed countries have maintained a technical view of the role and reform of the UN, the developing countries see the reform question more as a political issue. The countries of the North have relied on "the value and the limitations of the UN mandate and capacity" and stressed the need for efficiency and coordination - which actually are themes of recent UN reforms such as the System-wide Coherence. According to Beigbeder (2000, 206-207), it is likely that the developed countries do not want the organization to gain any more independence in budgetary or political matters. This kind of desire, though, is rarely expressed publicly, but is found in internal papers and discussions of the donor countries (Weinlich 2011, 6).

The developing countries have stated that they see this kind of perception of the UN and its reform as inadequate, since they do not see a technical reform doing much for the persistent substantial problems and political flaws. In 2007, the G77 and China emphasized the need for the reform process to strengthen the role of the UN as the centerpiece of multilateralism and enhance democratic decision-making, transparency, more effective implementation of the mandates and the equality of the UN member states in all issues. *"The voice of every Member State must be heard and respected, irrespective of their budgetary contributions to the Organization."* They also criticized the way the SWC reform initiative does not sufficiently demand a stronger supervising role for the UN and is in that way bypassing the core messages of the UN charter. (South Centre 2007, 4, 6-7.) The same issues have been at the top of the agenda of the South Centre regarding the governance and reform of the UN (South Centre 2012b).

Weinlich's (2011, 4-5) study also confirmed the forementioned differences regarding the desired role for the organization. She states that although the organization has been struggling with structural challenges,

all disputes at the UN can somehow be returned to the division between the northern and southern member states. The developing countries' wish to enhance the role of the UN as a powerful coordination forum or problem-solving arena for global development actors was not supported by any of the northern states – and neither is it a part of any of the current debates at the UN headquarters (ibid. 92-94). Especially in the economic issues outside of development policy, the industrialized countries wish to marginalize the role of the UN. "*Although this basic conflict does not drown out all negotiations about technical questions, practically all negotiation positions in almost all decision-making processes can somehow be reduced to this conflict, which takes the focus off of the actual content of decisions.*" (Weinlich 2011, 4-5.) The member states do share a wish to make the UN development sector more effective, especially at the country level (ibid. 8), but the routine of returning time and time again to the question of the right kind of world order and the role of the UN in it takes attention away from the development agenda. Some of the most fundamental reform proposals are no longer discussed due to the persistent disagreements (ibid. 109). Von Freiesleben (2008, 50-51) has written that the negotiations following the launch of the report by the panel on SWC were more successful in revealing problems than solutions.

Late Victor-Yves Ghebali (2006, 12), a scholar on the United Nations system and at Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), has written that the System-wide Coherence reform process of the UN is directly related to the on-going North-South debate. The pace of the reform is connected to the interaction of the member states: the disputes delay decisions that delay action. He mentions that the success of the UN is in the end a question of volition. If the member states do not have enough will to strengthen the capacities of the UN to face the changes brought on by globalization and the crisis that are inevitable, the problems of the UN are likely to continue.

The disputes of the groups of member states at the UN can be practical, ideological, historical and political, which makes them a challenging combination to work with. The UN, created by the very same member states, needs to find a way to balance between the different demands placed on it. In a changing environment this can be challenging. I will take up the issue of North and South in the analysis chapters but first I will discuss the context in which my study is placed.

3. Studying international organizations

In the field of social research, my thesis is placed among research of international organizations (IOs). The different IOs are in many ways relevant in the international environment of today. They are important tools for their member governments in addressing issues that are significant from the viewpoint of the international community. They are also at the hub of the efforts to understand the current governance mechanisms, since they were created to help states deal with supranational issues. At the moment the focus is increasingly on the diversity of actors affecting governance at all levels from local to global. But what are international organizations and how have they been studied?

3.1. The evolution of international organizations

International organizations can roughly be divided into two categories: intergovernmental organizations and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), meaning both NGOs that operate internationally and profit-oriented transnational companies (Rittberger & Zangl 2006, 3-4). In this study I am mostly interested in intergovernmental organizations and refer to them as international organizations (IOs).

As opposed to NGOs, whose members are non-governmental actors, IOs have a membership that is composed of states, usually represented by governmental agents. They have at least three member states and activities in several states. Their existence is based on a multilateral governmental act, such as intergovernmental agreement or a decision by an existing IO. (Karns & Mingst 2010, 5; OECD 2005; Rittberger & Zangl 2006, 8.) IOs also possess a permanent secretariat that performs their ongoing tasks. As IOs are created and financed by member states, they benefit from governments' support and often share some of their governments' authority (Dijkzeul & Beigbeder 2003, 2).

In the long course of history, international organizations have emerged fairly late. The first ones were created in the 19th century, but most of them were born during the second part of the 20th century. There had, of course, been this kind of co-operation at the international level before but it was not until last century before international organizations became an integral part of international co-operation. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 166; Rittberger & Zangl 2006, 3.) The first organizations were public international unions, functional in their aims of enhancing the trade and communication between states. Still, from the very beginning, IOs have also been connected with advancing liberal values such as freedom, autonomy

and liberty. In this way they have not only been technical tools but also champions of political values. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 166; Riggs & Plano 1994, 3-4.)

The largest IOs as well as the abundance of IOs following them were born to these liberal roots. The World Bank was established in 1944 and the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) started their work in 1945. Both World Bank and IMF have their own work agendas but are at the same time special agencies of the United Nations. The World Bank and IMF form the so called Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs). The three organizations were created to respond to the challenges of the post-war world, with the starting point that international cooperation would be the most efficient - and perhaps the only - way to solve the economic and social problems of the time. The idea was not only to avoid another war, but to help nations to civilize and bring about progress. These two goals are also closely connected: it was believed that the creation of more liberal states would help to produce a more stable international order. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 166.) Ironically, this idea stemming from the war-struck western countries might be the reason for many of the contemporary disputes over the tasks, role and equality of the IOs, as the northern dominance is being contested.

The job description of the IOs, especially the extent of it, has changed a lot during the years. Whilst IOs in the 1940s and 1950s concentrated on negotiating rules and standards for the member states and functioned as a debate forums for the member states, they have since then taken up many more tasks. The decolonization and its aftermath gave them a chance to take on operational work, which today forms a big part of the work of many organizations, including the UN family. Taking part in the operational work gave IOs more independence but the growing operational work has over the years posed a dilemma to the organizations. IOs often end up working in places and situations that states do not want to interfere with, which can result in slow progress and even failures, all contributing to risking the legitimacy of the organizations. (Dijkzeul and Gordenker 2003, 313-314.)

One can today count over 250 intergovernmental organizations and over 6000 international NGOs, of which the United Nations is probably still the most well known and also the most universal, with all internationally recognized sovereign states except for the Vatican City as its members (Rittberger & Zangl 2006, 3-4). With so many IOs existing, it is clear that their fields of work vary a lot, from gathering, analyzing and disseminating data to developing and monitoring rules and agreements and doing operational work on the ground (e.g. Karns & Mingst 2010, 5-8). Some of them have specific focus areas whereas others, such as the UN, cover a wide array of areas. Also their membership varies from universal to restricted.

International organizations have naturally faced challenges and criticism during their existence (see e.g. Dijkzeul & Gordenker 2003, 332) but while one can have different opinions about the successes and failures of these institutions, it remains clear that they have had massive effect on the way the international community has functioned and functions today. It would be difficult to address the substance of much of contemporary international politics without international organizations (Rittberger & Zangl 2006, 3).

3.2. International organizations in global governance

The rapid change of the international environment, and with it the development environment, has been a hot topic in the recent years. We are today living in a world that is more interdependent than ever before. As Lahdensuo (2001a, 13) has stated, globalization can be looked at as a phenomenom in which a group of political issues have in the recent years turned from national to global. The borders of nation states have become easier to bypass and both smaller and larger new actors have emerged on the map. Ideas, trends, brands and popular culture have spread around the world in a way that has never been seen before, but so have many of the problems become globalized. There have been various views about whether the effects of globalization will result in chaos and crises rather than possibilities for well-being and prosperity (Giddens 2001, 74) but in any case, with a growing agenda of international challenges, there is a strong need for enhanced governance and rule-making at the global level (Barnett & Duvall 2005, 1; Giddens 2001, 74; Karns & Mingst, 21). International organizations can be seen as important instruments in stabilizing and enhancing co-operation among nation states (Rittberger and Zangl 2006, 214-215; see also Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 161).

What is global governance?

Governance has already for a while been a widely used term in social sciences. Global governance refers to the governance of the multiplicity of affairs affecting at the international level. It is an attempt to understand and control the phenomena stemming from globalization. Unlike most theories of international relations, global governance sees world politics as a multi-level system in which processes at levels from local to global are interlinked and affect each other. (Dingwerth and Pattberg 2006, 192.) For example issues of development are not just economic but have also social, political, ecological and human rights related consequenses (Karns & Mingst 2010, 537-538).

The Commission on Global Governance (1995, 2) developed a standard definition of global governance, according to which *"governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest."*

Although the idea of global governance can be traced back to the ancient times, the current definitions for the term have been heavily influenced by the post-Cold War liberalism as well as globalization. Global governance is different from many international relations theories in that it does not concentrate its attention to nation states, but conceives also other actors, such as international organizations, as equally important particles. In today's world there is an increasing need for such an approach. (Dingwerth & Pattberg 2006, 191; Karns & Mingst 2010, 4; Kostakos 1995, 64-65; Weiss 2000, 796). The approach has been seen as a possibility to enable peaceful cooperation among states and peoples (Barnett & Duvall 2005, 1). Similarly, without adequate rules for cooperation at the global level, there is a higher risk that the states will build protective barries and uphold conflicts.

The UN has sometimes been considered "the centerpiece of global governance", as it has most of the nation states as its members and enjoys a special role as the envoy of liberal values (Karns & Mingst 2010, 95). Its role as a governing body still depends on the ability of the organization to cope with the changing environment. The forms of development activities and the actors in development are today more diverse than ever, changing the old dynamics and forcing to look for new means to control the system (e.g. Kepa 2010, 3). The change, however, has so far been controversial. Free-market ideology has often been dominant in these approaches, causing the strengthening of those already strong in the markets. It has also made many developing countries suffer damage and widened the persistent gap between the rich and the poor in the world. (Jolly et al. 2009, 237-241.)

Broadening the core principles of global governance to include social justice and sustainability would be vital in producing more balanced globalization. Even though the recent times have brought these ideas into the global rhetoric, legally binding rules and regulations have most often focused on economic principles, ignoring that there are other things that are important in strengthening global governance. (Jolly et al. 2009, 245.) This kind of developments can be seen as a part of the North-South division, in which the historical and political bias affect the international environment of today. To be acknowledged legitimate by the international community, particles of global governance must allow participation of

actors from all levels, allowing democracy and a sense of ownership to develop (Karns & Mingst 2010, 30-33, 547-552).

3.3. Contradictions in studying international organizations

International organizations have been a popular research subject in social sciences. Studies have included case or theoretical approach specific studies as well as several handbooks (e.g. Karns & Mingst 2009; Rittberger & Zangl 2006). IOs as active participants in international politics as well as power and authority in their work have so far not been studied much in social research, even though the growing interest towards global governance has made also IOs an increasingly interesting subject for theorists (Dingwerth & Pattberg 2006, 192). Nation states have been given disproportionately attention in the study of international relations, especially when the focus has been on power (e.g. Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 69). This, for its part, tells also about the speed of globalization and emerge of a multidimensional international order – not even the scholarly world has been able to follow it.

A look at literature shows not only how international organizations as actors has been a less common subject of study in social sciences, but also that several authors have in the recent years started to critize the one-sided approaches of studying IOs. They have argued that by bypassing some features of the work of the organizations, it becomes impossible to come to relevant conclusions about their relevance and their influence. (See e.g. Barnett & Finnemore 2004 & 2005; Dijkzeul & Beigbeder 2003; as opposed to e.g. Lefever 1993.)

Dijkzeul and Beigbeder (2003, 15-16) list four reasons as the most important shortcomings of the study of international organizations: 1) lack of empirical material and sufficient theory about the way international organizations actually function 2) lack of interaction among scholars of different disciplines researching international organizations 3) focusing the reseach concepts, units and methods in a way that over-emphasizes the external dimensios of their work, such as the position of member states, leaving internal functions with too little attention and 4) a lack of attention to southern perspectives and experiences. All of these aspects are relevant also regarding my study which, therefore, is one attempt to shed more light to the ways IOs can affect world politics. The incomplete coverage of the work of the international organizations often results in incomplete information about their successes and failures. They see the importance of the managerial aspects of the organizations as particularly underrecognized, especially as the management issues can have severe effects on how the international organizations function. They also

remark that the fierce criticism the international organizations often receive is not always grounded on the right reasons, may it be because of lack of sufficient information or due to national or other interests (ibid. 1-2). Understanding the complex ways the IO's work is therefore a precondition for accurate criticism. The same problem is also evident when talking about the attention international organizations and the UN gain in the media (ibid. 11-13).

Even though Rittberger and Zangl (2006, 6), earlier, listed "action" as one of the three roles IOs can play in international politics, the problem is often the same: there is not enough focusing on how and why the IOs can be actors and what effects this can have. Karns and Mingst (2010, 16-18) and Dingwerth and Pattberg (2006, 193) note that international relations scholars have for most of the time viewed IOs as agents of their member states and focused on their structural attributes, even though the IO secretariats and employees often do much more than the states may have intended. This kind of limited view can easily surpass some highly important aspects of the nature of IOs, such as the use of power. Global governance can, however, prove important in this regard.

Like in the study of IOs, the lack of attentions given to power aspects has plagued also the study of global governance. The classical questions of governance have always folded around questions of power, of who governs, how abuse of power can be traced and how individual autonomy can be retained. Also in global governance, a careful analysis of the forms of power involved is crucial for understanding how world orders, rules for action and hierarchies are born. For some reason, however, the power aspects of governance at the global level have not gained as much attention as they would deserve. One reason for the difficulty of applying power into discussions about global governance is the different perceptions of power itself among the scholars. Different views of power lead to different renditions of its operation and its importance. Often, they also lead to underestimating or disregarding the concept. There are also some historical reasons that explain the inadequate attention given to power aspects. In the situation facing the world after the end of the Cold War the eagerness to find international co-operation and consensus surpassed the attention towards aspects of power – in some cases it was even seen as contrary to it. To be able to fully analyze the different aspects of global governance, it is essential to take into account power aspects, as "global governance without power looks very different from global governance with power". (Barnett & Duval 2005, 1-8.)

3.4. Recent studies of international organizations

Some studies, however, do already address the issue of international organizations in governance at the international level. For example Hawkings et. al. (2006) have been analyzing why states have delegated tasks to international organizations, such as the WTO and European Commission, in stead of attempting to deal with them themselves. They paid attention to how states attemt to preserve their power while delegating to international organization and what kind of difficulties can emerge while doing this delegation. Like Barnett and Finnemore (2004; 2005), whose theory is central in my study, they see IOs as bureaucracies. The main difference is that their viewpoint, like most of the research on IOs, concentrates on the states as the main actors.

Kohler-Koch and Eising (2005) examined the European Union (EU) as the most important change in European governance. They have explored different aspects of governance that have been changed by the EU. These include thematic areas, such as environment and infrastructure, as well as theoretical approaches of governance, such as the position of nation states and the different aspects of governance and govenrmentality. The emergence of supranational actors such as the EU forces social theorists to look for new frameworks for understanding the political systems.

Mahon and McBride (2008) have studied the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as a particle in global governance. Their analysis includes the history, structure and core functions of the organization as well its possible roles in different policy areas. They explore the way the existence of international organizations has changed over time and how the current environment has affected the work of the OECD. What is very visible in the study is the need for a multidimensional approach while studying the large international organizations and their funtions.

What is common to the studies presented above, is that they all are bringing light to the role of different international organizations in global governance. The study of Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore (2004; 2005) of international organizations as bureaucracies belongs to the same category, as it also widens the way international cooperation and especially governance is studied. In my thesis the focus is on the United Nations as an authortitative actor, but the same kind of approach could – and should – be applied to any other international organization taking part in governance over national borders.

4. The bureaucracy theory

"The power of international organizations is produced by the authority that constitutes them"

(Barnett and Finnemore 2004, 29.)

In this chapter I present Barnett and Finnemore's (2004; 2005) theory of international organizations as bureaucracies, the viewpoint that has given me the most relevant ideas around which to build the research setting. I am using the bureaucracy theory as a tool for analyzing the data. The analysis is structured around some central themes of the theory, including the ideas behind modern IOs and causes for the authority of IOs. I am interested in the ways the UN gains authority and uses it while working in development. My experiences at the UN indicated a clear independence from the member states in many aspects of the organizations work and therefore I dare to hypothesize that the UN is to some extent an independent actor in international politics. This does not mean that the member states would not have an important role in its operation.

By authority I refer to a position that the organization has been granted by its member states – authority thus means power that has been legitimated (see also Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 5; 2005, 169-170; Giddens 2001, 684). As an authority, IOs are in a position to make others rely on their judgement, and can have various ways to use power. I use the concepts of authority and power concurrently, referring to the ways the IOs can work not only to gain autonomy but also to independently drive certain issues over others because of their authoritative position. They prefer some functions and some values over others, and often act according to these preferences. To my mind the question is not whether the United Nations is using power or not, but rather how this power is an organic feature of its work.

4.1. What is the bureaucracy theory all about?

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore have studied the way international organizations are discussed in social research and especially among scholars of international relations. They have found it distracting that IOs are often described as passive tools performing tasks mandated to them by states who hold authority. This functionalist view of IOs, typical especially to international relations theorists, can easily result in ignoring the political character of IOs and the many ways in which they can use power. Barnett and Finnemore have developed an alternative theoretical framework for understanding IOs as autonomous actors who use power in multiple ways. Conception of IOs as authoritative actors puts them

at odds with much of international relations theory, which has presumed that only sovereignity [of states] can be basis for authority (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 23, 5; 2005, 161-163). My experiences at the UN environment, however, presented the UN in many ways as an autonomous and authoritative organization, and therefore I have taken the theory of international organizations as bureaucracies as the theoretical basis for this thesis.

Barnett and Finnemore wanted to find an approach to explain not merely the reasons why IOs exist but to understand the way they behave. The search led them to sociological theories. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, viii.) Drawing from sociological theories on organizations and building on the idea of an authoritative bureaucracy, originally introduced by Max Weber (e.g. Weber 1978, 212-226), they describe the IOs as bureaucracies, as autonomous actors who have authority over their member states and possess an agenda and a will independent of their member states. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 2-3) They ask what kind of actors IOs are, how they behave, what purposes they pursue and what kind of effects do they have. The answers are important in order of understanding the ways in which IOs exercise power, work autonomically, succeed and also fail. (Ibid. 2004, 156.) The bureaucracy theory draws from Weber's theories of modern bureaucracies, authority and power, and applies them at the international level. This way, the theory can be connected to the discussion about governance at the international level.

The theoretical approach used in this study is constructivist, it has its roots in sociology and relies on the idea that reality is produced in social processes. Central to constuctivism is understanding the behaviour of individuals, states and other actors as shaped by cultural practices, socially constructed rules and shared beliefs. It is interested in how identities and interests are constructed. Constructivists believe that actors are capable of creating and changing the meaning of norms, ideas, values and shared beliefs by interaction. They are interested in institutions as embodied in norms, practices and formal organizations. (See e.g. Berger & Luckmann 1966; Karns & Mingst 2010, 50-52.) Social constructivism has in the recent years become increasingly important for studying pieces of governance and especially the role of norms and roles in it. While sovereignty is considered as one of the most important international institutions because it determines the identity of states, multilateralism can be seen as a key norm affecting state behaviour. With respect to IOs, constructivist are often interested in their social content, the dominant ideas shaping their interests, and the way these interests are transmitted to others. In other words, they see IOs as purposive actors, who have the ability to affect international relations. (Karns & Mingst 2010, 50-52) In this way, social constructionism provides a change to look at IOs with respect to aspects of authority.

Barnett and Finnemore (2004, 3) claim that bureaucracies, such as IOs, exercise power through their ability to create impersonal rules, through which they not only regulate but also construct the social world. Like Max Weber earlier, they argue that the core of the bureaucratic power is control that is based on knowledge. By possessing, producing and transforming information into knowledge (providing it with meaning), bureaucracies gain authority. This includes mapping data, creating rules and in this way socially constructing social realities. (Ibid., 29-31) In this way the international organizations cannot be seen as merely functionalist tools for the states, they need to be seen as equally active and relevant in producing social realities.

4.2. Building blocks of modern bureaucracies

The contemporary architecture of IOs can be understood as an expression of two components of global culture. These are **rationalization** and **liberalism**. Both of the ideas have expanded across the globe during the past centuries and have affected the way IOs have been constituted. Rationalization has given IOs their form as bureaucracies and liberalism the values that they pursue. The reason why IOs have authority can therefore be traced back to these characteristics that constitute them in special relations to others. Only the two together can provide them with authority and with it autonomy to act. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 161-163.)

Bureaucracy is a distinct social form of authority, having its own internal logic and behaviour (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 3). IOs as bureaucracies possess many of the features of the rationalization process. Max Weber (1864-1920) introduced the concept of rationalization in the turn of the 20th century to describe the way the systems of administration or organization were increasingly built around the features of hierarchy, continuity, impersonality and expertise. This process, according to him, was increasingly dominating all spheres of life. (e.g. Weber 1946, 196-244.) Modern bureaucracies are hierarchical in their structure and they offer their employees chances of continual advancement. They are impersonal by their nature, since work is guided by rules and procedures, and they are characterized by expertise that is a prerequisite for the selection of staff. In this modern bureaucratic form, tasks are divided into manageable components that a designated, qualified office or person supervises. Therefore decision-making becomes, apparently, depoliticized and depersonalized. Bureaucracy, according to Weber, is a uniquely authoritative and powerful social form because of this rational-legal character. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 162-164.)

International organizations such as the UN are examples of modern bureaucracies. Bureaucracy can be described as a phenomenon of modern life, as a mechanism that has been built to organizing and regulating the complex tasks of societies (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 17). According to *Encyclopedia Britannica (2012),* bureaucracy is a *"specific form of organization defined by complexity, division of labour, permanence, professional management, hierarchical coordination and control, strict chain of command, and legal authority. ... In its ideal form, bureaucracy is impersonal and rational and based on rules rather than ties of kinship, friendship, or patrimonial or charismatic authority."* Attitudes towards bureaucracies in public discourse are somewhat contradictory, but still it continues to be the mechanism of choice at nearly all spheres of public life. As Barnett and Finnemore (2004, 17) state, we live today in a world that may be globalized but that is certainly bureaucratized.

However, the rational-legal form of IOs would not be enough to provide IOs with legitimacy. Also values and social purpose are needed. According to the bureaucracy theory, liberalism has dominated the thinking about IOs both theoretically and in policy circles. Ever since the beginning they pursued commonly valued social goals, such as peace, democracy or human rights. Liberalist beliefs in progress and in the capacity of technological change have commonly been connected with IOs, who have been seen as both promoters and managers of change. The amount of IOs exploded after the end of the Cold War, but the end of the bipolar world order gave also the expansion of liberalism new impetus. The connection between these two is obvious. A driving force behind the first development efforts was the presumption that the sovereignty and equality of all states would best advance peaceful international cooperation. Historically, but even more today, IO staff and the advocates of IOs commonly see the role of the organizations as one of promoting commonly agreed social goals and principles. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 163-165, 167-168.)

IOs have, of course, encountered also opposition when pursuing their agenda, but in general their form and values are today approved by most. States have created IOs because they see in them potential as being a more efficient governance mechanism to control the unknown effects of globalization processes. The combination of modern bureaucratic form and liberal principles has turned out to be powerful and supplied IOs with authority to construct and govern the social world. (Ibid., 168-169.) Understanding the nature of bureaucracy as a social form makes it possible to understand also the power of IOs (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 5-7).

4.3. International organization as an autonomous authority

Most of the dominant approaches to IOs present them as lacking agency, autonomy and authority, even if they come to this conclusion through different theoretical routes (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 169). The basic argument of the theory of IOs as bureaucracies is that bureaucracies have autonomy because of the special authority they possess, and together these attributes allow them to act independently and generate changes in the world (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 3, 6-7). Contemporary writing on IOs has most often portrayed them as technical tools for the states, providing necessary functions and acting as arenas for state action – and if they possess authority, it is delegated from the states and can be taken away by the states (Barnett and Finnemore 2005, 161-162). This way, the UN would be a machinery in the service of the member states, which of course is true in a sense, but provides a very narrow view of its nature. According to the bureaucracy theory, it is paradoxical to think that some of the the actors in global cooperation – in this case the IOs – would not use power, since governance and power are inevitably linked. It will be very difficult to make any relevant conclusions about governance if the authority of all actors involved is not sufficiently recognized.

What, then, is meant by authority and what makes an IO one? Authority means the ability of one actor to deploy discursive and institutional resources in order to get other actors to defer the judgement to them (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 5; 2005, 169-170.). Authority is here looked as a social construction and a part of social relations that cannot exist apart from the social relations that create and legitimate it. In order of existing, it requires some consent from other actors. The difference between power and authority is that an actor can have power regardless of what others think, but authority needs to be conferred. Authority, then, helps an actor to be heard among the many voices available. This right to speak credibly is central to the way authority works and produces effects. People are more likely to alter their behavior according to the guidance given by an authority. This does not mean only getting people to do things they normally would not, but also telling them what is the *right* thing to do. Of course, there can be several authorities that give guidance to people, and they can choose which one to listen – or if they want to listen at all. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 169-170.)

Different basis for the authority of IOs

The two characteristics typical to the IOs, the rational-legal form and liberal principles, are in key role in presenting them with authority. In other words, IOs can have authority both because of the missions they

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pursue and the ways they pursue them. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 5.) But what kind of forms can this kind of authority take? According to the theory, authority can have several dimensions. Besides **rational-legal authority**, meaning the basic bureaucratic form of IOs, three categories of substantive authority can be recognized that are relevant in making international organizations authoritative actors. These are **delegation, morality and expertise**. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 20-27; 2005, 171-175) I will now present each of these briefly and return to them in the analysis chapter 7, in which I analyze the authority in the research material.

First, IOs have **delegated authority** because states have put them in charge of some tasks. For example the UN gets its mandates from the member states, who at the same time give the IOs possibility and responsibility to manage these tasks. Even though it might seem that this authority does not provide the IOs with much of authority since the mandate comes from the member states, the delegation process is actually more complicated. The states often delegate to IOs task that they cannot – for different reasons – perform themselves. These mandates can be vague, too broad or conflicting, and need to be interpreted. Only in order of fulfilling the delegated tasks, the IOs need to have some amount of autonomy. Delegation by the member states authorizes IOs to act autonomously only to the extent that they appear to be serving the delegators. Delegated authority, thus, is loaned and is valid only if the IOs appear to be serving their mandates. This responsibility can also turn out to be a major challenge for some of the IOs, if the interest of member states conflict. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 171-172.)

Second, IOs have **moral authority** if they are created to serve or protect some commonly shared principles and they can use this status as a basis for authority. For example the UN Secretary General often uses the status of the organization to promote certain issues in the eyes of the international community. To make matters more complicated, moral authority can also be hidden in the way IOs present themselves with respect to others, usually the states. If they are able to present themselves as serving higher moral purpose than the states, they are more likely to be granted more authority. IOs can present themselves as impartial and depoliticized, even though that obviously is not the case, but campaigning for shared goals, such as peace or environment, make the matters seem more neutral and therefore often results in authority. (Ibid., 172-173.)

Third, IOs can be referred to as **expert authorities** which means that some complicated social tasks require special expertise from the people dealing with them. States have created IOs partly because the organizations have skilled personnel who are able to deal with these issues on behalf of the states. IOs gain some of their authority because of the expertise within their walls. The expertise also shapes their

behaviour, since the organizations have to, to certain extent, follow the policies favoured by the experts. Like in the cases of delegated and moral authority, also the professionalism of the people working for the organizations can be used in creating an impression of depoliticization. If the expertise is presented as technical and objective, it is more likely to result in greater autonomy and authority. (Ibid., 173-174.)

These different authority types together contribute to making IOs autonomous actors, which can happen in at least two ways: by putting them **"in authority"** or making them **"an authority"** – or mixing the two. The former refers to the authority derived from an institutionalized role, such as the president or secretary general of the UN. The position is given, and it is usually taken away at some point. The latter, instead, is authority stemming from expertise, such as education or experience. Changes in social position do not usually affect authority of this kind. The different basis for the authority of IOs provide a possibility to explore these dimensions. Often, IOs are considered being both in authority and an authority which can increase their overall prominence but it can also cause them difficulties. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 25-26.)

To be able to exercise their authority, the IOs have to manage an important paradox. On one hand, IOs are created to promote certain, commonly accepted values and gain their authority and legitimacy based on that. On the other hand, a lot of bureaucratic power is justified by the objective and rational character of the institutions – an appearance they naturally attempt to uphold. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 174-175) The interesting thing here is that such objectivity most likely does not exist, but myth of objectivity is central to the legitimacy of the IOs. A lot of the IO authority, based on this perception, seems to be based on some kind of acting, where its components are hidden in the complicated structures and modes of action of the organizations, and where the organizations try to find a balance between the neutrality that gives them authority and the autonomy that enables their operation. Demands of both rationalization and liberalism connect also here, making IOs powerful but also causing them challenges.

International organizations utilizing their authority

Power in international relations theories has most of the time concentrated on the power play of nation states, who have been seen as using IOs or development assistance as instruments in pursuing their own national interests (Stocke 2009, 16). Though IOs have been studied a lot, this research has not generally concentrated on aspects of power in the behaviour of the organizations. According to the bureaucracy theory, however, IOs do use power in multiple ways. As explained in the previous subchapters, Barnett and Finnemore state that as bureaucracies, IOs are conferred authority, which enables them to use

discursive and institutional resources to get others to defer to their judgement. This can be seen as an example of Weber's claim that authority is domination legitimated. Control based on knowledge lies at the heart of bureaucratic power. Barnett and Finnemore define power as the "*production, in and through social relations, of effects that shape the capacities of actors to determine their own circumstances and fate*". (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 29) Therefore, even if authority contains some element of content, it can be placed in the same conceptual family of social control together with power. Both concepts are, as expressions of social control, concerned with steering, guiding and regulating others, and the distinction between power and authority is often blurry. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 29.) In this study I use the concepts of authority and power concurrently, authority referring to the position of an organization and power to what this position can be used to. As authorities, IOs can have many different kind of possibilities to contribute to the social constitution of the world.

International relations scholars have typically seen the ability of IOs to use power as one based on normative and material resources and directly shaping the behaviour of others, for instance by teaching, establishing "best practices" or setting sanctions. Understanding IOs as authorities widens the scope to encompass also other forms of power. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 175-177.) IOs can for example guide the behavior of others by structuring situations and understandings in a way that results in preferred outcomes. An example of this is the way that their common role as agenda-setters of meetings and conferences. In this role the staff of IOs can determine what is and what is not discussed and, eventually, what kind of policies are passed. IOs are also important authors in classifying and organizing information. Through these classificatory practices they can invent categories and move people within these categories. This can be seen as one of bureaucracy's greatest sources of power. (Ibid. 177-178.)

But besides regulating, IOs can be seen as also constituting the world we are living in (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 179). Like authorities in general, IOs have the ability to constitute the problems that need to be solved and the means that could solve them (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 34). For example the idea of development was invented by development agencies as a solution to the group of problems affecting countries suffering from economic problems. The same agencies also had a lot of power to affect what was meant by "development" and who was to take responsibility of the identified problem. Therefore they could lead the whole process of creating a problem and controlling the process of addressing it. IOs thus have the ability to create and define social reality by, for example, defining what good life is like and what to do to achieve it. They can also be seen as upholding the liberal world order that gave birth to them. Though the rules of IO are contested and interests often collapse, their alleged authority and expertise give them the advantage to hold on to their views. (Ibid. 179-181.)

In sum, as authorities IOs can be seen as both **regulating** and **constituting** the world (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 30). This is done by various means, often built into the working practices of the organization (see figure 2).

Regulating power	Constituting power
Direct control, organizing information, coordinating, framing or guiding the work of the member states	Redefining or inventing concepts, norms, problems or solutions

Figure 2. Forms of IO power

The forms of power are, naturally, overlapping and sometimes hard to identify, but it is important to know their existence because it changes the way we understand IOs and their behaviour. Different types of power also produce different outcomes (ibid. 30). The three main mechanisms for IOs to achieving change are: 1) classifying the world and creating categories 2) fixing meanings in the social world and 3) creating and diffusing new norms and rules. By these means, they legitimate and facilitate their own existence and its expansion. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 31-34.)

Power in its different forms has been a discussed topic in social sciences (e.g. Ruostetsaari 2003). The relation of knowledge and power has been central in sociology, especially after Michel Foucault's input to the field since the 1960s. The way knowledge is produced and organized, i.e. the forms of knowledge, can be seen as forms of power and social institutions. The classification criteria, methods and concepts used in data collection and organization in social research contribute to the construction of ideas such as "society", "social reality" and the ideas in that reality. The reality, thus, does not just exist but is constructed by certain actors in certain time and place. The same kind of power can be related to social institutions that classify reality and place individuals in different subject positions, giving them in that way specific meanings and forming the space they have to act. This leads to a two-way process: as organizational arrangements produce knowledge, the contexts in which these organizations are talked about affect the way they evolve. (Alasuutari 1998, 159.) The UN, in this sense, is to a large extent a social institution producing, processing and spreading information about its surroundings. Following the theory, it needs to be considered as contributing to creating social realities, not just as a servant of the states but as an active actor. This is the viewpoint I will take up in the analysis chapters.

4.4. Critique of the theory

In general, the theory of international organizations as bureaucracies has been received well among social scientists. It has been seen as a welcomed addition to the discussion about international organizations and their character and as a needed effort to consider the effects of bureaucratization at the international level. The attention given to the theory depends, naturally, on the background and emphasis of work of the commentators. Seabrooke and Tsingou (2009, 7-8) have still expressed their concern on the constructivist theories of the recent years that have seen the staff of international organizations as being increasingly under the command of the organizational culture of their employer. Even though they agree with Barnett and Finnemore on bureaucracies having their distinctive working practices and organizational cultures that make them actors with specific independent features, they question the influence of this culture on the IO staff, especially otside the walls of the organization. As the work of the IOs on policy issues is generally interaction between many spheres, public, private and academia, they do not see the organizational culture as definitive in forming the opinions of the staff.

To my mind, the ideas presented by Barnett and Finnemore provide an interesting starting point for studying the UN, since they contain different, though sometimes on the outset a bit simplified, tools for analysis. The ideas contained in the theory need to be utilized with respect to different cases to be able to better understand their importance. As it seems clear that power is always a part of human interation, the dimensions of power and authority in the work of the IOs need to be analyzed carefully. This is important from the point of view of the organization as well as the wider international community, especially as the viewpoint has been less common when studying IOs.

5. Research questions, methods and material

In this chapter I present the research questions, research material and the approach that I will use in analyzing the data. The research questions are:

1) **What kind of roles does the UN have in international development?**

2) **How the elements of authority and power appear with respect to the work of the UN in international development?**

The first level of the analysis concentrates on recognizing the roles the UN is playing in development. This is important for understanding the scope and diversity of the organization's work. The second research question concentrates on analyzing the material in the light of the bureaucracy theory. This includes examining the reasons why IOs can become authoritative and the ways in which this authority can be utilized. After going through both research questions I discuss them with respect to the UN in global governance.

5.1. Research material

The primary research material of this thesis consists of 9 reports of the Secretary General, meaning texts produced by the UN Secretariat. I define them as the "voice of the UN", since they represent the summarized view of the UN and its organizations at the highest level. The elements of power and authority could in principle be studied in any documents of the UN but in this study the thematic focus area is development, both within the organization and in wider cooperation. Within that area I chose documents I considered relevant and informative. The code at the end of the title refers to the official number of ECOSOC (E) or General Assembly (A) resolutions. In the analysis sections, I refer to the material by the number given on the list below and the affiliated chapter of the report. The research material is composed of:

1) **Recommendations contained in the report of the High-level Panel on United Nations System-wide Coherence in the areas of development, humanitarian assistance and the environment.** 2007, 6 pages. (A/61/836) The report, published in 2006, provided thorough recommendations on how the UN

development system could be made more coherent and efficient. In his reply, the Secretary General comments the proposals in the report on behalf of the UN actors.

2) **Triennial comprehensive policy review (TCPR) of operational activities of the United Nations development system.** 2007, 37 p. (A/62/73–E/2007/52) The TCPR report of the Secretary General reviews the development cooperation of the UN system in the light of the expectations of the member states, expressed in their TCPR resolutions. The General Assembly's Comprehensive Policy Review resolutions provide the primary mandates for the development work of the UN family and for reforming the UN development system and increasing its coherence.

3) **Globalization and interdependence: role of the United Nations in promoting development in the context of globalization and interdependence.** 2009, 19 p. (A/64/310)

4) **Trends and progress in international development cooperation.** 2010, 31 p. (E/2010/93) The report is prepared for the 2010 Development Cooperation Forum (DCF) and reviews severals issues related to trends in international development cooperation as well as progress in implementation of global development goals and partnerships.

5) **An overview of the major international economic and policy challenges for equitabe and inclusive sustained economic growth and sustainable development, and of the role of the United Nations in addressing these issues in the light of the New International Economic Order.** 2010, 18 p. (A/65/272) The report offers and overview of various dimensions of globalization and the challenges it brings to economic growth and sustainable development. It also discusses the role of the UN in the light of these issues and the ideas related to the New International Economic Order (NIEO).

6) **Simplification and harmonization of the United Nations development system.** 2011, 22 p. (E/2011/88)

The report reviews progress in the simplification and harmonization of the UN development system, with respect to the System-wide Coherence reform process and the guidance of the Triennial comprehensive policy review, as requested by the GA and ECOSOC.

7) **Results achieved and measures and processes implemented in follow-up to General Assembly resolution 62/208 on the triennial comprehensive policy review of operational activities for development of the UN system.** 2011, 13 p. (without annexes). (E/2011/112)

The report reviews the operational activites for development of the UN system with respect to the guidance given in the triennial comprehensive policy review of 2007.

8) **Trends and progress in international development cooperation.** 2012, 30 p. (E/2012/78)

The report is prepared for the 2010 Development Cooperation Forum (DCF) and reviews severals issues related to trends in international development cooperation as well as progress in implementation of global development goals and partnerships.

9) **Quadrennial Comprehensive Policy Reviev.** 2012, 69 p. (A/67/93-E/2012/79)

The triennial comprehensive policy review (TCPR) was changed into quadrennial in 2012.

The above-mentioned reports are replies to different resolutions, reports and requests of the member states at the GA or ECOSOC. What all of them share in common is that they deal with international development cooperation, carried out by the UN or under the supervision of the UN. Within that framework they represent different viewpoints (see figure 3). A part of them, like the ones that talk about the TCPR/QCPR (documents 2 and 9) and the harmonization of the development work of the UN (documents 1, 6 and 7), concentrates especially on assessing the work of the United Nations. Others discuss the international development environment and the role of the UN in it (documents 3, 4, 5 and 8). Hence, the focus moves between representing and evaluating the internal work of the UN and the wider international environment. The reports also cover many specific themes, such as environment, gender equality or South-South cooperation, but the focus of my analysis is on development cooperation in general.

The internal dimension	**The external dimension**
The UN focusing mostly on its own work	The UN focusing mostly on the wider development environment
Documents 1, 2, 6, 7, 9	Documents 3, 4, 5, 8

Figure 3. Dimensions of the research material

The reports have been produced by the UN between the years 2007 and 2012. The time frame was chosen because I wanted the documents to be as new as possible, but to still cover different areas of the development work of the UN. The chosen starting point is the reply of the Secretary General to the reform proposals of the High-level Panel on System-wide coherence (document 1). The latest documents are the report from the 2012 Development Cooperation Forum (document 8) and the Quadrennial Comprehensive Policy Review of 2012 (Document 9).

The UN producing documents

Getting familiar with the United Nations can be like entering a new country with its own language, customs and special features. Like the structure of the organization, also the working methods of the intergovernmental organs, Secretariat, funds, programmes, specialized agencies, working groups and committees and other organs of the UN are varied and complicated.

The work of the UN consists of close interaction with its member states. As the GA and ECOSOC are intergovernmental organs, they gather the member states together to discuss issues and make decisions at daily meetings at the UN. The most important meetings for these organs are their high-level gatherings a few times a year, but their regular meetings take place around the year. Based on their negotiations at the GA and ECOSOC, the member states make decisions, listed as resolutions, that are meant to guide both the work of the United Nations as well as other actors such as the member states themselves, depending on the contents. For example the most important mandates for the work of the UNDG are in the comprehensive policy reviews of operational activities for development of the United Nations system, meaning General Assembly resolutions that monitor and assess the development operations of the UN. (e.g. UNDG 2012a; UNDESA 2012a.)

To be able to make decisions and take issues forward at the GA and ECOSOC, the member states receive information from their governments as well as other experts, a lot of which prepared by the connected department at the UN Secretariat. This way it is not only the member states who guide the UN, but also the other way around. The materials produced by the Secretariat (meaning the UN) are published under the participating office or as reports of the Secretary General. They are usually prepared by the division of the Secretariat working with issues in question. Often the most important documents are reports of the SG, and other reports and studies are published as background documents or separate reports affiliated to particular departments or research areas.If the report covers a large array of issues, the wider is the group that has contributed to the making of it. In development cooperation, a lot of information is also collected from the UN actors and locals on the ground in developing countries. "The voice of the UN" is defined again in each process, and presented to the member states in the final form.

Even though the primary research material of this thesis are reports of the Secretary General, the research could not have been possible without getting acquainted with large amount of other material related to the subject. These include webpages of the different UN organs and the materials that can be found through them (most of the documents produced by the UN and its organs are fortunately easy to access on the

internet), handbooks, studies and articles produced by organizations and academics from both North and South as well as discussions in media and social media. The most important introduction to the subject was, however, my almost year-long period of working at the UN headquarters in New York. The time at the UN gave me a thorough introduction to the work of the organization, the building blocks of the reseach setting and many tools to handle them.

5.2. Content analysis

The research method used in this study is qualitative content analysis, meaning the systematic reading of a body of texts or images (e.g. Krippendorff 2004, 3). Content analysis can be either a specific research method or a loose theoretical framework for different kind of analysis entities. In fact, most of the analysis methods in qualitative research are in some way based on content analysis, if it is seen as a theoretical framework of analyzing written, heard or seen material. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 93.) As a specific research method it is based on a process of systematic and objective organizing of research material into concise and general form, bringing forth new understanding of the issue being studied (Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 138; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 105).

The research method in social sciences consists of the practices and operations with which the researcher makes observations about the subject he is studying. Underlying this process is always a theoretical framework, which in social research is not merely a list of possible explanations to be tested during the study, but also a way of perceiving the reality. (Alasuutari 1998, 29-31.) What is common to the research processes is the need to be able to define, in the course of the process, the most important findings that will also affect the rest of the research process. It is also important to understand that the researcher is always interpreting the world from his or her own perspective. In the end it is up to the researcher to decide which observations and findings are relevant with respect to the subject that is studied, but these choices are guided by the theoretical approach. (Alasuutari 1998, 30-31; Kiviniemi 2007, 73-75.)

The tradition of content analysis includes different approaches that affect the way the analysis is conducted and the type of results that can be achieved. Often, it is the use of theory that defines the type of the analysis (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 100). The analysis can be grounded in the research material, in which case earlier observations and theories are less relevant and the methodological choices of the study guide the process. The analysis can also be tied on a specific theory, in which the research setting is built around an earlier theory or model that provides the tools for analyzing the research subject. This kind of

content analysis is often used to testing an existing theory. The approach that falls somewhere between the two is an analysis bound on a theory, meaning that there is a theory that gives tools to be used in the analysis, but the observations come from the research material. The approach is not based on testing the theory, but rather on using elements of the theory to finding new approaches. There is an interplay between the observations stemming from the research material and the ideas of the existing theories. (Eskola 2007, 162-164; Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002, 97-102.) The challenge with all of these models is to bridge the gap between the theory and the research subject in a constructive way.

My analysis falls under the third type of content analysis. The bureaucracy theory is the single most important theoretical tool in this thesis, but rather than testing the theory I am using elements of the theory to understand the UN better. The theoretical concepts, such as different types of authority, are used as analytical tools. The reseach setting has been formed and reformed along the way based on the research material and research literature. In that way the analysis is a combination of the key elements of the research material as well as the theory.

My analysis process was typical to content analysis. I have read through the material several times, focusing on the issues relevant in answering the research questions, coding the material (making notes of the relevant parts of the material so that it is easier to organize) and finally combining my findings into groups according to the research questions (see e.g. Alasuutari 1998, 40-41; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 93-95). In the analysis sections I have organized the findings into chapters based on the research questions. The first level of analysis was to organize the work of the UN into different roles, based on the ways the work of the organization was described in the research material. The roles, thus, were formed after thorough analysis of the material, keeping in mind the research setting that is concentating on the work of the UN at the international level. Even though the bureaucracy theory by Barnett and Finnemore (2004; 2005) was not fully utilized before the second analysis chapter, it was important in determining the research setting. With respect to the second reseach question, the theory was used as a tool, providing me with concepts that I have utilized with respect to the research material. These tools affect also the findings, and thus help to form the additional paths where to take the research process.

5.3. Challenges and restrictions

The biggest challenge with respect to the research material was to collect material that was concise enough to support the research questions chosen but rich enough to do it in a multidimensional and

comprehensive way. I had to make choices among the hundreds of development-related documents the UN produces each year. What made the selection easier was the way the bureaucracy theory could in principle be tested on any texts of the UN, the theme of the material being a secondary choice. Development was the thematic area of the work of the UN that interested me most and that I knew best.

After making the decision of using only official documents of the SG I faced another challenge, namely the form of the official texts of the UN. As you will be able to see from the quotes used in the analysis chapters, the texts are very formal, consisting of monotonic listings of issues that have happened, will happen or should happen in a specific focus area. I was afraid that this, combined with highlighted politeness and neutrality that is the aim of an organzation cherishing an impartial partnership with its partners, could easily result in difficulties in finding any relevant observations with respect to the research questions. Luckily my concern proved to be groundless, as the texts were very fruitful as research material.

The challenge in conducting content analysis is to recognize the things, both connections and exceptions, in the research material that are relevant with respect to the research setting, and to concentrate on those findings. This does not only mean leaving out all the other interesting parts of the material, but also analyzing the relevant parts as detailed as possible. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 94.) It is also important to keep in mind the theoretical and methodological approach that is used in the study, and to stick to those approaches (Alasuutari 1998, 40-43; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 94). These challenges have been evident also with my thesis. With respect to content analysis and the research setting, the biggest challenge was to be able to utilize the research material to the biggest possible extent within the framework of a loose and varied research method. This required close connection with the tools taken from the bureaucracy theory and the practices of content analysis.

6. The roles of the UN in international development

In this chapter I concentrate on the first research question: **What kind of roles does the UN have in international development?** The focus of the analysis is the development work of the UN at the international level, meaning both the internal policy work and cooperation with partners. At the firt level of analysis I have organized the roles of the UN into five main categories, which are: expert, commentator, coordinator, generator of ideas and representative of the member states.

All in all, the work of the UN in development is combination of many different actions in different fields and by different actors. Rather than functioning separately, the roles that the organization plays complement each other. Some parts of the work, thus, could be put under several categories, and the different aspects of the work are closely connected. As my main focus is the position of the organization in international development, I do not concentrate on the roles the organization plays in its development work on the ground, even though the practical development work is always connected to the work at the headquarters. Moreover, the details of the practical development work are way too multiple to be analyzed in this study in a satisfactory way.

Dividing the work of the UN into different roles can help understanding the dimensions of the development work of the organization. The roles are examined further in chapter 7 when I turn the focus to the UN as an autonomous authority.

Throughout the analysis, I refer to a specific report by the number given to it on page 42-43 and by the number of the paragraph (the reports of the SG are generally divided into short paragraphs). For example "document 2, para. 14" refers to the 14th paragraph of the TCPR 2007.

6.1. Expert

The role that stood out from all of the research material was the role of the UN as an expert in international development. By expertise I mean skills, knowledge or resources that the organization possessed, used and offered to the use of others. Expertise is an integral part of the work of the organization at all levels. This was evident in all parts of the research material, whether the organization was dealing with its internal issues or commenting the wider development environment.

The working field of the UN in development-related issues is very wide. Only in the selected research material the UN referred to hundreds of issues from local to global, handled by different UN organs, member states and other partners. Reporting about the work of the organization at the level of the Secretary General (SG) can only provide a brief overview of the workload of the organization in development, but the reports are an interesting example of the work of the organization at the global level. They, in their part, present the way the organization engages itself in development activities at different levels.

One issue contributing to the expertise of the UN is the variety of issues the organization is dealing with, ranging from large international commitments to more specific focus areas. The organization gave thorough account on different development-related issues, listing both positive and negative developments and providing proposals for action. Based on the data, the UN uses its expertise not only to conducting its own development work but also to supervising and guiding other partners in development. An example of an expert recommendation, directed at the member states, is the way the UN addresses the lack of progress in trade negotiations: *"To enable developing countries to benefit more fully from global trade opportunities, developed countries must address three issues. ..."* (Document 8, para. 14-16.) Here, the organization gives the developed countries, the North, detailed guidance on how to proceed to the right direction. This kind of discourse was typical to in the data, whether the target audience was the North, South, the member states in general, the UN organs or a combination of these.

The UN staff consists of qualified professionals from around the world who produce reports, publications, studies, surveys to the use of the member states. The processing and production of information is an important part of the work of the organization. Often, the effect of expertise is emphasized by the data, such as numbers and statistics, used in reports (e.g. document 9, figures I-II, para. 64, 67, 114, 201-203). *"Analyses of the sources, modalities and destination of funding for United Nations operational activities for development show that core resources subsidize the support to and management of non-core financed activities, despite the repeated calls by the General Assembly to avoid such subsidization."* (Document 9, para. 67.) In the extract above it is also possible to see the way in which the UN comments the work of the member states.

In many ways, the expert role is natural to the kind of organization that the United Nations is. The organization was in fact born to be a specialized organization of its member states and during the years it has been collecting people with expertise in different fields to work for it. Expertise is, thus, what is *expected* of the UN and it gives the organization the right, but also the confidence to present its view on

issues. The analysis showed the diversity of the work of the UN, all of which can contribute to the expertise of the organization. I will return to the issue of expertise in the next analysis chapter, as it turns out that the elements of expertise can be utilized in many ways as the organization is holding on to its position and promoting its agenda. Expertise can be an important tool for a bureaucracy to gain authority and, with it, autonomy (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 24-25).

6.2. Commentator

A role that is closely connected to the expertise of the UN is its position as a commentator in development issues, providing information and guidance on issues requested by the member states. I have separated the role of a commentator from the expert category because it is necessary to stress the role in which the UN uses its expertise to talk about issues outside its internal development work. As a commentator the UN "lifts" itself above the mere sphere of its own work and utilizes its material and intellectual expertise in commenting or advising the international community or some of its members on a range of issues. Based on the research material, the organization gives guidance to the work of the member states with respect to both work around the UN and external issues touching international development. Often, the mandate for this comes from the member states.

The UN, for example, reviewed the global crises, such as the economic and financial crisis of 2009, giving comments on both northern and southern member states: *"The current crisis is affecting all countries, both developed and developing, and has a serious and disproportionate impact on the poorest and most vulnerable. ..."* (Document 3, para. 59 forward.) This was followed by a number of practical recommendations on how to best handle the challenges brought on by the crises and what should be the role of the UN in this work. Also the reports discussing trends in the international development cooperation (documents 4 and 8) consisted of a detailed review of the current situation and in most cases recommendations for action.

The organization gives both positive and negative feedback on the way certain development issues have proceeded. This includes for example the quantity and quality of aid (e.g. document 8, para. 8), certain aspects of the aid effectiveness agenda (e.g. document 4, para. 65-67) and conditionalities of aid (e.g. document 4, para. 71-76). The reasons for the critique are, generally, explained and recommendations for better practices given, which gives more affirmation to the expert role of the organization.

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An example of positive feedback was given with respect to the crises of 2009: *"Thus, the recent commitment of the Group of Eight to conclude the Doha Round by the end of 2010 can be seen as a welcome indication of the growing resistance to protectionism and as a reiteration of the importance of multilaterally agreed trade rules and disciplines. Existing rules already recognize legitimate trade measures and actions; further strengthening those rules and placing development at their centre could be one of the most important collective actions Governments can take."* (Document 3, para. 11.)

The expertise of the UN fuels its commentator role, as it gives it legitimacy to speak out. As an expert and a commentator, the organization seems to be clearing a space for itself (or, upholding the space it already has?) among the many roles the different actors can have in global cooperation.

6.3. Coordinator

The UN also acts as a coordinator for global development activities at a more practical level. This includes facilitating the work of the member states by organizing conferences and summits, in which the organization supports the work of the member states but also takes part in the work. Often, these are overlapping, as in the UN arenas the organization and the member states are both always in some way involved. The role of a coordinator is also closely connected to the development ideas the UN is creating or promoting (see following subchapter), as it is coordinating work around them.

The organization has during the years hosted several large international meetings that have allowed countries to gather together to address issues touching some or all of them. Most prominent examples of the recent meetings inlude the Millennium Summits of 2000, 2005 and 2010, focusing on the creation and follow-up of global commitments for development, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These meetings have been seen as important for the image of the organization if it wants to value its position at the centre of international cooperation – especially now that the organization has struggled to stay relevant. (Jolly et al. 87-88; Karns & Mingst 2010, 126-131; Malone & Hagman 2002, 409-410.) The organization has been seen as a "neutral" and universal arena for the states to gather together.

Besides the large summits, the organization gathers the member states together at the yearly meetings of the intergovernmental organs, country groups, working groups and other meetings. In these meetings the primary participants are the member states, but as the organizing party the UN is always at some level involved also in the substance of the meetings.

The UN meetings were regularly brought up in the research material, often when referring to the decisions or requests formed at the earlier meetings: *"The present assesment of the relevance, effectiveness, impact and efficiency of operational activities of the United Nations system and of the sustainability of their outcomes takes as its benchmarks goals, norms and standards that were agreed by the General Assembly. It will take into account the 2005 World Summit Outcome, earlier United Nations conferences and summits and the changing context of international development cooperation."* (Document 2, para. 3.)

These meetings seem to be an integral part of the cycle in which the development policies are formed, evaluated and reformed. The organization also attached great expectations to the new ECOSOC funtion, the Development Cooperation Forum (DCF), which is seen as an arena for more inclusive discussions about development (e.g. document 2, para. 15).

The material shows that in the last decades, the role of the UN as a coordinator seems to have been strengthened and that this role is endorsed by the organization itself. Coordinating the development discussions is, thus, regarded by the UN one of its responsibilities as a universal expert body. The organization often stressed its qualities as a neutral coordinator for the international cooperation, meaning not only organizing the arenas for the member states to discuss but taking an active role itself in coordinating the actual development work (e.g. document 1, para. 2). The role of a coordinator is not only technical, but it can provide the organization with chances to take part also in the substance of the work it is coordinating.

This way the coordinator role is also connected to the role of an expert and commentator, as the qualities together enable the organization to be more than mainly a tool of the states. I will return to this in the next analysis chapter in connection with the discussion about authority and power of the IOs.

6.4. Generator of ideas

Besides coordinating and governing many development processes, an important part of the work of the UN is the way it can contribute to the development ideas of each time. The ability of the organization to set goals for development has been seen as one of the strengths of the UN throughout its existence (Jolly et al. 87-88; Karns & Mingst 2010, 126-131; Malone & Hagman 2002, 409-410). Also many of the

development-related concepts created or reformed by the organization have been adopted to the mainstream development discourse during the years. These include the concept of sustainable development in the 1980s and a human-centered development approach (human development) in the 1990s. (Emmerij et. al. 2001, 3; Karns & Mingst 2010, 406-408; Stocke 2009, 12-13; see also Boås & McNeill 2004, 217.) The position of the UN as an (expert) authority contributes to the ability of the organization to affect the global development agenda.

Different development ideas and development goals were visible in the data. Especially the Millennium Develpment Goals (MDGs), that are in many ways a creation of the United Nations, came up in the research material regularly (e.g. document 2, para. 9; document 5, para. 43-59). They are an institutionalized part of the development agenda of the organization, but are often referred to as the common development agenda of the international community. The UN acts as a coordinator of the MDGs, supervising their execution (see e.g. document 8, para. 6-9).

All in all, the UN defined as the most important guidance for global development efforts the goals that have been agreed on at the summits of the UN in the 1990s. These have been summarized into the UN development agenda (United Nations 2007). *"In the 2005 World Summit Outcome (General Assembly resolution 60/1), Member States reaffirmed the commitments of the major United Nations conferences and summits in mobilizing development efforts at all levels and in guiding the work of the United Nations system. They also strongly reaffirmed their commitment to meet the goals and objectives agreed to at the conferences and summits, as well as the Millennium Development Goals."* (Document 5, para. 68.) This way the organization stresses the importance of the agreed goals for both the member states and the UN organs.

In the data it was possible to see many concepts and ideas that the organization is promoting. These could be concepts initiated by the organization or ideas developed in the course of international development efforts and modified to correspond to the needs of the organization. They included the ideas of sustainable development - that has gained new prominence in the recent years - ownership of development (or country ownership), the right to development, capacity development, gender mainstreaming, mutual accountability and many more (e.g. document 8, para. 29, 31-35, 41, 94). The concepts, recurring regularly in the reports, are one way of organizing the work of the organization but they can also be one way of diffusing the ideas and values the organization prefers.

6.5. Representative of the member states

The fifth and last of the roles of the UN presented in this chapter focuses on the relation of the organization with its member states. It brings a slightly different perspective to the analysis, because now the attention turns to the fact that the UN might play different roles to different member states. The research material shows that the member states are an inseparable part of the work of the organization. The organization was created by them, to work for them. The materials produced by the UN are usually made on the request of the member states and, even if the report would deal with the work of the UN, this work is done for the benefit of the member states. The member states, thus, are the primary audience for the reports of the Secretary General that comprise the research material of this thesis.

Sometimes the member states were referred to as a whole ("member states"), for example when the UN talks about what the member states have done at the UN foras (e.g. document 2, para. 5). More often the member states are, however, addressed in groups. Generally the division is the traditional one of the developing countries and developed countries or the North and South. I mentioned earlier that the groupings of the member states were evident at the everyday work of the UN, and based on the research material the same division of states is also typical to the UN.

Usually, the UN brought up the different challenges and the preferred solutions for the country groups in separate chapters. In these, it expressed what donors or recipients should do and why. (E.g. document 3, para. 39-40; document 4, para. 18-24.) The division is natural, since the major dichotomy in global development is still the one between the ones who bring development or provide aid and those who receive it.

The UN and developing countries

Based on the data, one of the evident roles for the UN in development was a role in which it acted as a spokesperson for the developing countries. All in all, the developing countries were paid much more attention to in research material. This is of course natural, since they are the main objects of development efforts, but the material also unveiled a multidimensional partnership between the UN and the developing countries. The organization was throughout the data consistent in paying attention to the developing countries' situation. This included portraying them as the key partners with whom to work to overcome the current problems causing poverty and underdevelopment. The needs of the programme countries were

constantly brought up as the most important principle guiding the development work of the UN (e.g. document 1, para. 1; document 2, summary; document 6, para. 12; document 8, para. 38).

Based on the research material, the UN sees the participation of the developing countries as a prerequisition for a functional international system. The organization is promoting partnerships, solidarity and mutual cooperation of the North and South (e.g. document 4, para. 123), and throughout the research material this was done by speaking out for the developing countries – sometimes even on behalf of them.

The UN and developed countries

The developed countries were also addressed regularly, but usually with respect to specific topics, such as funding, policy planning or implementing the policies. The UN is dependent on funding coming from member states, and the comments, needs or wishes of the organization regarding funding were expressed in the reports (e.g. document 9, para. 40). The same goes for preferred policy options or focus areas. Often member states make decisions based on the information coming from the organizations, so it is understandable that the UN adressess the donors in its reports.

The relationships of the UN with the northern member states was still not limited only to material issues. The cooperation of the UN with them has been long-standing but the relations produced by it are different from the one the organization has with the developing countries. For example the partnership between the UN and the European Union (EU) in development is described as important by both sides (UN 2010). The US is the single largest donor of UN operational activities, but EU countries, together, provide clearly the largest share of funding (Weinlich 2011, 38). Though the organization does bring up also issues that are concerns of the developed countries, the same kind of, almost established, role of a spokesman was not seen with respect to them. The relation of the UN with the developed countries seems to be more of a technical kind rather than ideological.

The UN between North and South

All in all, the analysis shows the UN as collaborating closely with all of its member states. However, the different approach towards the groups of northern and southern member states is an interesting feature in its work. It should by no means be taken for granted that the member states are divided into two distinct groups that are not only objects of different policy proposals but that are partnering differently with the organization – even if the organization at the same time presents itself as serving the "member states" in

general. The division is also the same one that is visible in the interaction of the member states at UN arenas. This is why I will take this role into specific consideration in the following chapter.

6.6. Summary: The roles of the UN

Based on the analysis, it is possible to say that the UN is playing several different roles in international development. The organization can at the same time provide an arena for discussion, produce and distribute information, generate ideas, work for institutionalizing these ideas and put them into action at the country level. The expertise of its staff makes it firs and foremost an expert organization – a feature which affects its work. The amount of tasks shows the connection between the headquarters and the country level and between the organization and its member states. My findings are in line with those of Jolly et al. (2009, 34-35) who also see the roles of the United Nations as multiple and varying.

In the following chapter I examine the work of the UN in development with respect to the bureaucracy theory. I have combined the roles of an expert, commentator, coordinator and generator of ideas into **the development expertise of the United Nations** (see figure 4). The expertise of the organization encompasses all these dimensions and together makes it an important player in development. The role of the UN as a partner of its member states, meaning the last of the roles formed in this chapter, is in many ways folded around the division of the developed and developing countries. Therefore **the UN between North and South** is also examined in the following chapter.
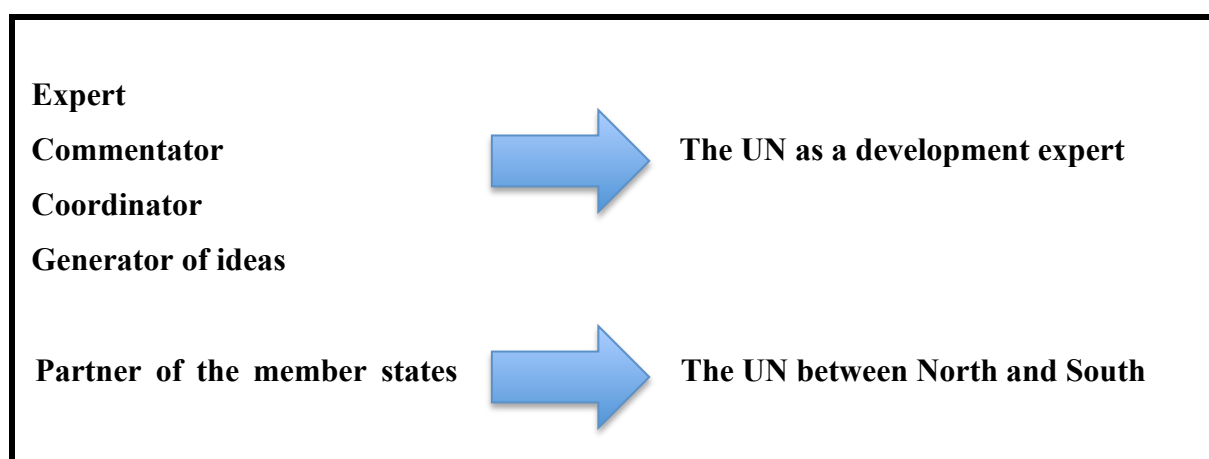

Figure 4. The focus areas of the second analysis chapter

7. The United Nations as an authority

In this chapter I concentrate on the second research question**: How do the elements of authority and power appear with respect to the work of the UN in international development?**

Central to this chapter is the way IOs gain legitimacy and, possibly, use power. In the previous chapter we noted that the UN was talking about issues related to development in many different ways. It took a role in coordinating development activities both within and outside the organization, often speaking with the voice of an expert. It also spoke differently to the different groups of member states. These notions are important also when we turn our attention to the bureaucracy theory. In this chapter I am examining the UN as an expert in development, applying the bureaucracy theory of Barnett and Finnemore.

Barnett and Finnemore suggest that basis for IO authority are often multiple and overlapping. In other words, it is often a combination of many elements that gives IOs their current possibilities of action. The roles of the UN provide basis for its authority: Authority is born as a combination of all the relations the UN has with its member states and other partners. Within these relations, the organization can use its qualities to advocate some issues over others and achieve change. IOs can be authoritative in at least two ways: being "in authority" and "an authority", which are often, but not always, overlapping. Rational-legal and delegated authority are central in putting an IO in authority, while expertise contributes to making an authority. Moral claims, according to Barnett and Finnemore, can contribute to both, demonstrating at the same time how blurred the line between different kind of authorities is. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 25-27.)

7.1. Ideas behind the modern bureaucracy

The bureaucracy theory suggests that authority of the IOs is based on the special kind of relations that they have to others. These relations, in turn, are possible because of two central components of global culture that constitute IOs: rationalization has given IOs their form as bureaucracies and liberalism the values that they pursue. These elements provide IOs with autonomy and, with it, a possibility to use power. (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 162-163.)

When we turn our attention to the United Nations it is easy to notice that the UN is, certainly, a bureaucracy. It is very hierarchically structured and the work is guided by rules and regulations. Its staff

is selected based on their expertise and have chances of advancement within the organization. The complexity of the issues on the agenda of the organization is being controlled by dividing the work into smaller segments, each managed by specific divisions, units, offices, working groups or individuals. This is indispensable because otherwise the workload of the organization would become impossible to handle. The rational-legal form also makes the UN appear convincing for the public. The documents that form the research material of this thesis are living proof of the kind of everyday work of the UN that is, in the end, summarized in reports and publications.

The liberal ideas are also easy to find in the work of the UN. The history of the organization is in many ways intertwined with the rise of new international environment after the world wars. The values around which it was built, presented for example in its foundational treaty the charter (United Nations 1945), were explicitly liberal, and at the time of the birth of the organization they were supported by not only liberals but by supporters of most political views (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 166-167). The charter stresses the importance of the dignity of the human person, human rights, equal rights of all people and all countries, liberty, tolerance, peace, social progress, better standards of life, international peace, security and law and employing *an international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples"*, among other things. Also in the research material the charter was mentioned as encompassing the values and principles that the UN stands for (e.g. document 9, para. 12).

Based on the analysis, the UN is pursuing a world order in which both developed and developing countries could be equally involved in the decision-making related to common affairs. Also the core issues of the charter, such as the importance of peaceful cooperation and the role of the UN in it, are still visible in the reports of the SG (e.g. document 1, para. 1-2). An important goal that came up repeatedly in the research material is the need for the developing countries to have greater ownership of their development processes, meaning that they can be the key players in developing and carrying out their development agendas (e.g. document 4, para. 16; document 7, para. 6). In a way this can be seen as a change in the international values regarding development: the current trend regards development more as a process of cooperation than one-sidedly bringing something good (material, values) to those seen to be in need.

The traditional view of international organizations has seen the IOs as tools of the states rather than independent actors (e.g. Andreev 2007). Hence, the member states of the UN are a large and varied group of countries, with different values and different opinions. Obeying the will of "the member states" is therefore, per se, impossible. The UN needs to make choices not only regarding its practical work but also

its ideology. According to Barnett and Finnemore (2004, 19), the bureaucratic rules shape the identity of the organization and help to define the bureaucratic culture. This includes a common understanding of the core mission, goals and working practices of the organization. Based on the analysis, the bureaucratic culture of the UN is in many ways affected by the ideas of the charter and other liberal ideas that the UN has adopted or created during the years. Mobilizing efforts of bringing well-being to the parts of the world considered in need of it, or helping countries help themselves in this process, is still a central goal for the organization.

When considering the liberal values possibly steering the work of IOs, it is important to remember the political aspects in this work. Based on its position, the UN has power over what kind of issues it wants to promote in the name of common good and it is actively driving certain issues over others. According to Boås and McNeill (2004, 2006-208) the constructivist perspective implies that the structures of multilateral system are determined more by the shared ideas than the material conditions and that the identities and interests of the actors in the system are constucted in social interaction. These ideas are still not only shared, but also opposed and contested, and underlying power relations affect the work at all levels. The member states do not always agree on issues, which can make it hard for the IOs to balance between their different demands. It can, for example, be difficult for the UN follow the principle of the equality of all member states under pressure from powerful states. Sometimes also the values of some member states can contradict with the ones of the organization. For example the case of sexual minorities has shown that sometimes the liberal values that the UN can rise above the equality of opinions of the member states, as the organization is an active advocate of sexual – as well as gender – equality despite the views of some member states (see e.g. Väisänen 2009). In this kind of cases the bureaucratic culture, meaning the internal structure and agenda of the organization, can determine the chosen path (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 19).

The combination of bureaucratic form and liberal ideas is somewhat surprising, since the bureaucratic form has traditionally been very matter-of-fact and, thus, far from any kind of idealism. According to the bureucracy theory (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 162-163), however, it is this combination that can make IOs powerful. The two dimensions can supplement each other, the first making IOs efficient and the second giving the work a purpose, also in the eyes of the larger public. Based on the analysis, the bureaucratic form as well as strong support for liberal values are very much visible in the work of the UN today, but the efficiency of this combination – at least in the case of the UN – has been a question mark in the recent years.

7.2. The UN as an authoritative actor

Barnett and Finnemore (2004, 20-25) presented four different types of authority that contribute to the possible autonomy of the IOs. These included rational-legal, delegated, moral and expert authority. According to them, these different types of authority are in different ways contributing to making IOs authoritative and, therefore, at least to some degree autonomous. By **rational-legal authority**, Barnett and Finnemore (2004, 20-22; 2005, 170-171), refer to the basic form of international organizations as bureaucracies. This form of authority was recognized already by Max Weber (e.g. 1946, 196-198) as the most legitimate one for tackling the complex issues of modern societies. But the bureaucracies cannot rely only on their rational-legal impersonal form, but they need to have social purpose to be able to gain their respect and legitimacy in the eyes of the people they serve. This is where the other categories of authority come into the picture.

Delegated authority of the UN

The idea of delegated authority is that states create IOs and, then, delegate certain tasks to them, putting them in authority (see Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 25-27). At first, it might seem that this kind of authority would not provide IOs with much of autonomy, since they merely do what the states ask them to do. However, this is only the tip of the iceberg. The tasks provided to IOs often offer them multiple chances to do autonomous decisions and, sometimes this is essential, if they want to function at all. (Barnett and Finnemore 2004, 22-23; 2005, 171-172.)

Based on the data, the UN appears at the same time independent and closely connected to its member states. The connection was most evident when the organization talked about its mandates. The work of the UN is mandated and funded by the member states, which the organization brought up regularly. This included referring to the overall mandate of the organization as well as to the specific document that a specific report was an answer to (e.g. document 1, para. 1; document 9, para 2, 106).

According to the bureaucracy theory (Barnett and Finnemore 2004, 22), sometimes the states delegate tasks to IOs because they want them to take care of an issue or tackle a problem. In these cases delegation creates autonomy because that is what states want: acting autonomously *is* the mandate. This kind of delegation was especially evident in the case of the UN. The organization has such a long list of tasks on its agenda that close supervision by the states would prove to be impossible. The work of the UN happens

in dozens of different locations, offices, teams, groups and processes, so involving the member states directly in each of them would be impossible. The UN organizations have their own agendas and working practices and – so it seems – a lot of room to act independently. The supervision thus remains at the highest level, where the UN reports to the member states in the form of reports, such as the ones comprising the data of this thesis. The UN and the member states can be seen as engaged in a dialogue through their reports – in which case the reports provide them a convenient distance that still preserves the appropriate relation between the two. Based on the behaviour of both the organization and the member states, there is clear division of labour between the two.

The UN was in the research material repeatedly referring to the tasks it was performing for the states (e.g. document 6, para. 2-3). This way, the organization was reminding its member states of the rights and responsibilities it had been given by them, and the relative autonomy that comes with the delegation. By listing the mandates and responding to them thoroughly, it was bringing out its role as a loyal servant of the states – and also a servant capable of carrying out the delegated tasks. Depoliticization is, according to the bureaucracy theory (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 172-174), an effect crucial for the legitimacy of IOs but also an effect stemming from the different forms of authority. To be able to gain autonomy, it is important to keep up the image of a servant of the member states. Because delegated authority is lent and is makes the IO competent only as long as it is acting in a way approved by the states. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 22-23.)

Moral authority of the UN

Moral authority is based on the widely shared values and goals that IOs are often created to serve. This way, the IOs can use the ideological basis of their birth as justification for their autonomy. These moral goals are presented to guide everything the organization does. A feature of moral authority is the way the morality of the organization is placed against self-seeking states, presenting an actor pursuing for "common good". This allows IOs to present themselves as impartial and depoliticized even if flagging for certain moral principles is always to some extent political. The image of neutrality is also constantly guarded by the heads of IOs. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 23; 2005, 172-173.)

This aspect of the theory was very interesting with respect to my research setting. The neutrality, impartiality and objectivity of the UN were, indeed, themes that were apparent in the research material, both directly and indirectly.

"Development cooperation is more than a transfer of funds and technical assistance. The United Nations has legitimacy and the mandate to focus on development, human rights and security. The United Nations stands for certain values and principles, as enshrined in its Charter." (Document 9, para. 12.) This way the legitimacy, mandate and values were seen as reasons entitling – or obligating – the organization to take a role in development.

The neutral, impartial role as a justification for the presence or leadership of the UN was seen as important when cooperating with the recipient countries or tackling crises (document 2, para. 63; document 3, para. 61; document 5). According to the UN, the organization could be in key position in continuing to achieve development in the times of crisis: *"These new methods need to be developed in a spirit of partnership, cooperation and solidarity, bearing in mind the common interests and national priorities of each country. As the main institution of inclusive multilateralism, the United Nations can play an important role in facilitating such efforts."* (Document 5, para. 5.)

Based on the research material, the UN has a clear set of values to lean on, even with the actual contents of the development agenda evolving over time. The reports of the SG are formed according to a bureaucratic pattern, taking into account the requests of the member states, but the ideological background is always there. Like discussed in the previous chapter, the work of the UN is still being built on the "spirit of the charter", meaning the values that were written down in the founding document of the organization. For example the TCPR of 2007, which is the most important document guiding the development activities of the UN on the ground, states that: *"The bedrock principles for operational activities* [development cooperation] *of the United Nations system derive from their universal, voluntary and grant nature and from their neutrality and multilateralism. Operational activities are therefore strongly anchored in the normative mandates and roles established by the United Nations system."* (Document 2, summary.)

However, the analysis shows that representing itself as neutral and unselfish does not mean that the UN would not make choices regarding its work and that these choices would not be affected by some, specific motives. The moral goals that can be seen as building blocks of modern international organizations are, it seems, used by the UN as one rationale for the work in the eyes of the member states. The moral features attached to the organization are in this way one factor contributing to the autonomy of the organization. Like the bureaucracy theory suggests, the UN makes it sure to lift itself above the different motives of nation states (see Barnett and Finnemore 2005, 172-173). This is still done extremely delicately, making sure no specific state is pointed out as an example of the egoism of states. At the same time, the neutral

and inclusive nature of the UN in economic and social governance is presented as a fact, rather than an opinion (see e.g. UN 2012f).

Neutrality is also a dominant feature when the member states address the UN. At least in the UN arenas, the member states are usually extremely polite towards the organization. The behaviour towards the world organization can be seen as an indication of the importance of participating in "common affairs": the basis on which the UN has been granted authority in different aspects of cooperation also requires it to be respected by the member states. Courtesy, of course, is a feature of diplomatic interaction in general. The political work happening behind the scenes of each actor or group of actors is another thing: it might only be effective if it is kept away from daylight?

Expert authority of the UN

Expert authority is based on the idea that sometimes bureaucracies are created to employ skilled people to take care of certain important tasks. If the bureaucracies encompass a lot of experience and expertise, it becomes easier to confer them with authority to be able to make decisions. Previously we have noted that an organization can be put **in authority** by delegating it certain tasks. The expertise, sometimes complemented with moral reasons, is capable of making the UN also **an authority**, meaning that it is not only the socially recognized position but also intellectual and practical knowledge that authorizes the organization. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 25-27) This authority, in turn, is shaped by the expert nature of the organization: the organization and its staff need to serve their member states according to the knowledge they have, just as they need to serve the moral attributes attached to them. (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 24-25; 2005, 173-174.)

In the first analysis chapter I analyzed roles that the UN is playing in the field of development. The role of an expert stood out as the most visible roles of the organization, if measured by the skills that the organization possessed and workload it had on its agenda. Following the bureaucracy theory, the knowledge and skills of the people working for the UN can be seen as contributing to the authority caused by expertise.

The UN regularly compiles summaries of the most important developments of each sector of its work and then presents them to the member states. The reports were often very detailed in their description of the work, presenting both successes and failures of the recent processes and presenting possible policy

options. The research material also included a lot of background information, as if to demonstrate the knowledge on which the reports were based (e.g. document 2, para. 61; document 9, para. 5-6).

In the data the UN used several ways to rationalize its expertise, such as listing, facts, figures and data, supporting its claims. This was often made by referring to studies or surveys that had been conducted (e.g. document 9, para. 115). For example the preparation process of the Triennial Comprehensive Policy Review (TCPR) of 2007 (document 2 of the research material), is described in the report like this:

"The analysis contained in the present report is based on a range of inputs. They include in-depth studies on selected key issues; a review of evaluations undertaken by funds, programmes and agencies and meta-analyses undertaken by the United Nations Evaluation Group; field missions; questionnaires; and a collection of information and documentation from United Nations system entities. Substantive consultations were held with Member States, representatives of civil society, including non-governmental organizations at the country level, and United Nations system inter-agency bodies, such as the High-level Committee on Programmes of the United Nations Chief Executives Board for Coordination (CEB), the United Nations Development Group and the United Nations Evaluation Group. Moreover, consultations were held individually with a large number of specialized agencies, regional commissions and other United Nations system entities. A workshop organized in March 2007 brought together a number of representatives of Governments of Member States and of entities of the United Nations system to discuss the preliminary findings of the analysis." (Document 2, para. 5.)

The result is a 37-page report, summarizing the information collected from the above-mentioned sources. Barnett and Finnemore (2004, 24-25) attached this kind of information-sharing to the need of the organizations to stress the objectivity of their expertise. All in all, the reports of the SG were very in-depth, detailed and showed the UN as encompassing a huge amount of specialized knowledge wiht respect to development.

The expert nature of the UN can be seen also in the number of issues the organization is dealing with, especially with relatively little resources. When the organization cannot compete with material resources, it is actively relying on its intellectual capital – which is also generally endorsed by the member states. The supporting role of the organization at the country level was also mentioned as important because the financial and human resources of the UN are scarce (document 2, para. 48). The specialty of the organization is therefore in the intellectual, not material wealth it possesses.

Expertise, thus, is also a feature that the organization recognizes and uses for gaining prominence. The UN consistently stressed its own qualities, such as the extent of its operations, its long experience in cooperating with the developing countries and its focus and specific important areas of to bring up its role as an expert (e.g. document 9, para. 15, 162-165) as well as its potential to coordinate certain issues (e.g. document 9, para. 208). This was especially evident in the focus areas in which the UN considered its know-how.

"The United Nations system's operational activities for development is unique in that it combines the legitimate articulation and representation of global mandates with knowledge, skills and resources that can help developing countries design and implement their national development policies…" (Document 2, para. 16.)

"There is considerable potential for United Nations organizations to programme South-South peer learning…into their operational activities for development." (Document 9, para. 208.)

The authoritarian element of the expertise of the UN stemmed from the way the issues were presented and policy guidance given to the actors involved. This included thorough coverage of what is going on and usually also the rendition of the organization on this, often resulting in policy proposals. The expertise combined with the impression of serving the states impartially and with morality behind the agenda can become a powerful tool and provide the IOs with a position in which they can make independent decisions (see Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 24-25). Based on the research material, the expertise of the UN gives impetus to its autonomous action and, thus, gives it space to act as a global commentator and coordinator. Expertise becomes a basis for authority, just as the bureaucracy theory suggested.

The basis for IO authority, presented by Barnett and Finnemore, are based on the analysis visible in the work of the UN, but how can these be put into practice in the work of the organization?

7.3. The UN regulating and constituting the world

Like we explored in chapter 4, the bureaucracy theory sees IOs capable of using their authority to both regulating and constituting the world (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 29-31). Following Weber, Barnett and Finnemore argued that the core of the bureaucratic power is control that is based on knowledge. By possessing, producing and transforming information into knowledge (providing it with meaning),

bureaucracies such as IOs gain authority. They are the authorities who collect data and organize it, and thus classify, label and invest meaning in information. Doing this, they map social reality. (Ibid., 29-31.) They can also utilize their expertise by creating and diffusing new norms, and in this way bringing forward issues important to them. The three main mechanisms for the IOs to utilize their authority are 1) classifying the world, creating categories 2) fixing meanings in the social world and 3) creating and diffusing new norms and rules. These mechanisms are often overlapping and contain both regulative and constitutive elements. (Ibid., 31-34.)

Elements of all of these features in the work of the UN were visible in the data. This work, especially at the headquarter level and at the Secretariat, involves a lot of research, processing information and presenting it in some understandable form to the target group. This way, the staff of the organization is constantly organizing and reorganizing the information that is then transmitted to the wider use. The reports forming the research material on this study are an example of data compiled by the UN. They entail a lot of information that has been compiled from different sources, processed and is presented in a new form. Though neutral in their composition, the reports are always a result of affected by the agenda of the organization or its staff. They need to make choices regarding what is left out and what is emphasized and how issues are presented. The analysis shows that the organization is able to coordinate and comment development efforts, but it has also many possibilities to guide the behavior of others by structuring situations and understandings in a way that results in preferred outcomes.

The UN generating ideas

In the previous analysis chapter I named generating ideas as one of the main roles of the organization in development. The way organizations can create new concepts or ideas is accordig to the bureaucracy theory an example of the way IOs can constitute the social world (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 179-181). The working field of the UN provides the organization with many possibilities for affecting the contents of concepts or ideas, in other words fixing meanings. Defining concepts such as mutual accountability (e.g. document 5, para. 81 forward; document 8, para. 94) or capacity development (e.g. document 1, para. 10—12; document 2, para. 47, 50; document 7, chapter A; document 9, chapter A), and promoting their execution, is a common feature of the development work of the UN. For example capacity development, meaning *"the ability of people, organizations and society as a whole to manage their affairs succesfully"* (document 2, para. 47), was mentioned as one of the key contributions of the UN system to development.

The organization, thus, uses certain terms repeatedly in its work, making them a part of the global development agenda, or changing the contents of a term to best match their perception of it. Many of these concepts recurred in the reports regularly, thus becoming a part of the agenda of the organization at each time (e.g. document 4, para. 134 for several key concepts). Sometimes, the ideas come from outside the organization and sometimes they are created in UN-led processes, but in any case the situation the organization is in allows it to make choices regarding what kind of ideas it wants to promote and, thus, what are considered "good" policies.

Like prosessing and organizing information and sometimes providing it with new meanings, the UN also has the ability to create new norms and ideas and, in that way, use productive power. Its composition as an expert body provides it with both the knowledge and legitimacy to define what is desirable and undesirable action – this indeed provides the organization many possibilities to use power. (See also Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 179-181.) The elements changed or invented, of course, can usually not be pointed out directly form the work of the organization, but by looking at the work of the organization in the longer run. The line between regulating and constituting power is fine and the development-related reports of the UN demonstrate how it is difficult to identify in the jungle of activities and actors.

Based on the research material, the UN can have a lot of ways to take part in constituting the development ideas. Especially if the prepared document is widely used, its content can have powerful effects. For example the comprehensve policy reviews (TCPR/QCPR) of the UN are guiding the development work of the UN family, but their effects are bound to spread much further. The preparations for the reviews, for example for the first quadrennial comprehensive policy review to be released in late 2012, are thorough and include several analytical studies, surveys, reviews, consultations with a variety of stakeholders and evaluations. (see e.g. UNDESA 2012c) In addition to collecting, organizing and producing information, the UN has, in such a large-scale process, the possibility to also produce social realities. As a well-known research institution it has the ability to write the realities of very different groups of people into institutionalized knowledge, but not only that: the UN is also in the position to transform this acquired information into policy proposals and, often, into policies.

Besides development ideas, the UN has been actively involved in creating and promoting also more practical goals for development such as the Millennium Development Goals (**MDGs)**. The MDGs are one way of organizing social realities, but through them the UN also takes part in fixing meanings and creating new categories and principles of development work (e.g. document 8, para. 6-9). The MDGs were mentioned throughout the research material as the goals that should be pursued by the whole international

community. According to the UN, they have been formed in cooperation among many stakeholders and, therefore, illustrate the idea of "global partnership for development" which is crucial for achieving the goals (document 5, para. 71). In the research material the MDGs are systematically mentioned whether in the beginning of the reports or with respect to specific thematic parts of the reports (e.g. document 1, para 1; document 4, para. 5). The UN has, in other words, been able to develop, promote and – to some extent – institutionalize a set of principles that represent their views and values in development work also outside their immediate sphere of work. The goals can be seen as promoting cooperation among the dispersed field of development, but they also give the organization more visibility and authority at the international level, as the final monitoring of the MDGs is still the responsbility of the UN family.

7.4. The UN utilizing its authority

The way the UN gave policy guidance turned out to be one of the most striking features of the analysis. The authority of the organization is clearly so strong that it can utilize it while addressing the member states. It spoke for the member states in a diplomatic manner, but making it clear what kind of policies and measures it would prefer to see being taken. Providing the member states advice requires a certain amount of autonomy and certainly a position as an authority, to be able to be heard. This way the organization used its position as a delegated expert to justify the guidance given. The UN uses many ways to convince the audience of the attributes that make it qualified to be a leading authority in development. The organization seemed to be using its role as an expert, commentator and a coordinator to assessing, steering and also criticizing the member states – often with the member states' consent. Retaining its role, thus, requires a lot of work that is based on the way the organization acts, but also the way it appears to its partners. Discursive ways are one way of doing this.

The guidance often addressed the direction to which member states should guide their actions. This can be seen as both practical and ideological guidance, since the organization can in its stress the values it finds important. Below, we can see the UN commending a focus on poverty reduction and sustainable development – ideas important to the organization – with respect to the countries most in need.

"Development cooperation needs to be closely focused on those mechanisms which have poverty reduction and sustainable development (rather than financial sector profit) as their primary motivation." (Document 8, para. 27.)

"Globally, development cooperation should continue to be targeted towards vulnerable and marginalized countries, such as least developed countries, small island developing States and post-conflict countries." (Document 8, para. 76.)

One issue that the UN regularly referred to was funding. The organization is dependent on the member states on funding issues and it needs to constantly work on rationalizing the need for resources (see e.g. Stocke 2009, 482-483). In the reports the organization also gave guidance on how and what kind of funds should be distributed to support the operational activities in the best possible ways (e.g. document 2, para. 21). The expertise and special capabilities of the organization, especially, were used as reasons for the need for finances. *"The performance and impact of United Nations development cooperation is closely linked to the level and predictability of its funding. This has been repeatedly underscored by the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council."* (Document 2, para. 18.) One way of the UN to attach attention to certain issues is by telling a story, where it first highlights the specialty of its work and then presents the threats for this work, demanding a reaction from the member states.

The guidance could be indirect, presenting the best practices and biggest gaps to be addressed, but often it was expressed directly by providing also guidance of what should be done and by whom (e.g. document 3, para. 59-62; document 9, para. 39). While doing this, the organization also had a chance to promote ideas important to its agenda. For example with respect to increasing the impact of development cooperation, the UN stressed the need for all countries to steer their policies also outside development activities to supporting national priorities and internationally agreed development goals:

"Developed countries need to ensure that all policies support progress towards the internationally agreed development goals. Developing countries need to engage more effectively with "beyond aid" issues by designing comprehensve policies and strengthening implementing institutions." (Document 4, para. 16.) The "beyond aid" approach is related to a broad view of development that the organization is pursuing and is, thus, one example of also an idea or concept that the organization is promoting – just like capacity development or ownership of development.

The UN used a lot of expressions such as "should" or "needs to" when it gave proposals for action to the member states – and sometimes also UN organs (e.g. document 8, para. 107). Sometimes the guidance of the UN was very detailed and could – if desired – be directly utilized in the decision-making processes of the member states. The guidance was also regularly explained to be based on the views and comments of the member states in their earlier sessions, thus including an element of delegation. It included proposals

for both developing and developed countries as well as the UN family, to be presented by the GA. The work of the member states is, thus, made easier by proposing what kind of decisions they should make. Here we can see elements of power, as the organization is framing the problems and their solutions and thus aiming at changing social realities.

"Most areas of the global partnership for development are not living up to expectations and, without progress across the board, development cooperation will have a limited impact. Measures need to be taken to reduce volatility and increase the development impact of private flows (FDI and remittances), complete a strong pro-poor Doha trade round, broaden debt relief, establish a fair and transparent debt workout procedure, develop pro-development global financial regulations and further enhance the voice and participation of developing countries in the international financial architecture." (Document 4, para. 122.)

"There is, therefore, a clear need to build upon the progress made in aid for trade. In addition, despite current conditions, the international community should deliver on its commitments to increase technical, financial and political support for aid for trade and the enhanced integrated framework for least developed countries to help strengthen the trading and production capacities of developing countries." (Document 3, para. 13.)

As the mandate for these reports, like all of the reports of the SG, comes from the member states, an amount of authority – expert authority, as well as delegated authority – is already given to the UN. In this role of an authority, the UN also criticized some aspects of the work of the international community. *"A key problem continues to be that the allocation of international development cooperation is not sufficiently conducive to maximizing progress towards achieving the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals. This applies to allocation among developing country groups, regions, individual countries and regions within countries, as well as to allocation among channels, sectors and types of aid."* (Document 4, para. 43.)

The UN did not only report on its work in development cooperation, but it also compiled a summary for the member states, listing how the GA and ECOSOC should next instruct the work of the UN. This way, the UN was pulling all of the strings, choosing the most important focus areas and having a lot of power to influence the ways these issues are addressed. The recommendations were sometimes presented by saying for example: *"the General Assembly may wish to* [a list of recommended actions]*"*, leaving thus the final choice – or a sense of it - to the member states. This is an interesting example of the way the UN can

forward its own interests but still preserve the image of the member states of their control over the processes (see figure 5). It collects the views expressed by the member states, reports on its work, makes summaries of the core issues on the agenda and gives the member states guidance on how to make decisions Though this kind of role provides the UN with a lot of power to affect the work of the intergovernmental organs, it can also be seen as one of the roles where the UN actually does need to act as a "servant" of the member states to be able to be heard.

The basic pattern for the guidance given by the organization:

1) The UN gives account on what has been going on	2) proposes what should/needs to happen
3) proposes how it should be done	4) (possibly) gives recommendations to the member states on how to guide the UN

Figure 5. The UN giving policy guidance

The task of the UN Secretariat is twofold: to support the intergovernmental organs in their work by providing them with information and support the UN offices in their work following the guidance from the member states. At the same time the UN can be seen as guiding the work of the member states as they produce the information that is used for making decisions and have the expertise to suggest issues that should be taken into consideration. The GA and ECOSOC, in turn, take guidance form the UN but also guide its work, since the madate for the work comes from member states. The interaction is visible also in my research material. By presenting it work in a detailed way and making it sound effective and, what is even more important, loyal to the guidelines of the member states, the organization is able to preserve its legitimacy.

The UN talking about itself

One aspect of the development expertise of the UN is the way the organization emphasized its own qualities, also when selling it to the member states. This is relevant with respect to the research setting because the UN can affect its own position also by presenting itself in a good light, whether this is due to its expertise, moral qualities or something else. The operational activities of the UN, for example, are in

the data called special in that they combine the legitimate representation of global mandates with knowledge and skills that can help developing countries form and implement their national development policies and achieve the international development goals (document 2, para 16). In this way, the UN offers the "whole package". This includes the role of the organization in helping developing countries make the best out of resources that they gain from other sources (document 2, para. 3, 16 and 59) and its expertise in certain focus areas, such as gender equality (document 2, para. 72 forward, document 7, para. 22).

"The knowledge, skills and resources made available to member countries by some 40 funds, programmes, agencies and other entities of the United Nations development system are of unparalleled breadth and depth. The diversity of resources is a rich reservoir for programme countries." (Document 2, summary.)

The UN itself has listed as its roles for example those of a *"convener, standard-setter, advocate, expert, monitor, coordinator and manager of programmes"* (document 1, para. 2), which is line with the result of the first analysis chapter, seeing the UN as a multifaceted expert in development.

The UN also regularly brought up its importance with respect to managing current global issues. This could be expressed directly (e.g. document 3, para. 4) or indirectly, by listing the benefits the organization could bring to the global cooperation. The arguments included the areas in which the UN has expertise, the processes the organization has started or references to the greater equality or national ownership the UN is promoting. *"The United Nations plays an essential role in helping to manage the various ramifications of the crises. It can ensure dialogue and enable a coordinated response based on an inclusive decision-making process. It also has the capacity to provide impartial analysis and pragmatic policy recommendations in this area."* (Document 3, para. 61.)

With respect to governance of global economic policies, the desired role of the UN is expressed in the report exploring trends in international development cooperation (document 4, para. 15): *"It is also essential that the legitimate role of the United Nations in leading global economic discussions continue to be enhanced. Such reforms, especially if reflected in more balanced global governance of development cooperation, have the potential to bring fundamental improvements in the prospects for attaining Millennium Development Goal 8 and the internationally agreed development goals as a whole, and for overcoming the crises."*

On the other hand, the limitations of the organization were also taken up while discussing for example the role of the UN in capacity development. *"Given its limited financial and human resources, the best manner in which to use the United Nations system's potential is not by directly involving it in the provision of services, but rather by allowing it to assist national partners in developing and implementing strategies to increase resources and capacities to deliver services, possibly through pilot initiatives."* (Document 2, para. 48.)

We noted earlier, that the most recent development agenda of the UN (United Nations 2007) is a summary of the development goals, agreed at the most important UN summits during the 1990s. While talking about the agenda, the UN, thus, talks about the development agenda as a summary of the member states' views – which it of course also is - not as the agenda of the organization. The role of a facilitator, hosting the meetings, collecting the ideas and combining them into an agenda that can be utilized also at the practical level, is therefore adopted by the organization. This role, however, can still provide the IO with authority.

Not talking directly about itself the organization could move the focus from itself to the issues at hand. The UN, on several occasions (e.g. document 8, para. 62) stressed the positive effects of providing aid through multilateral organizations. They were said to be less political and commercialized and in that way taking better into account the needs of the developing states. This way the organization could use the positive qualities attached to multilateralism also to its own benefit.

"This goal [of turning the effects of the global crises into positive results] *can be achieved through inclusive multilateralism and the equitable participation of all countries, both developed and developing, as envisioned in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order…"* (Document 5, para. 4.)

The UN as an autonomous actor

Based on the data, the UN seems to have a lot of autonomy. One of the most evident reasons for this is the large machinery of the organization that employs thousands of people around the world and encompasses hundreds of different organs and units. The huge amount of actions it performs require a certain amount of independence for the organization to be able to function at all. At this stage of the organization's history, there is not even a possibility for the member states to get involved in all of the work of the UN family –

and, why should there be? The UN was created by the states to perform certain tasks, so some autonomy must have been a part of this plan.

The analysis has shown many possible reasons for the autonomy of the UN. These include the aforementioned delegation based on morality and expertise, the organization encompassing many qualities that justify its authority. The extent of the different tasks performed by the organization and the relative autonomy the organization has to perform them can be looked at for example with respect to the reform efforts of the organization (document 7, para. 79-89). The autonomy is, naturally, not mentioned, but the report reveals the way the work is done and presented to the member states in their meetings. The independency is evident also in the cases where the UN addresses the wider development environment (documents 4, 5 and 6). The organization makes thorough analysis of a wide array of issues and provides means to tackle these challenges. In this role, the UN, appears very independent and, at times, like an external consultant of the international community, who has a specific view and skills to address the issues at hand.

"Hence, beyond the immediate objective of providing humanitarian relief in the countries most ill-equipped to weather the present crisis, national policymakers and the international community must critically address the broader and long-term challenge of reducing poverty and hunger. These issues highlight the need for better coordination across global, regional and national development partners." (Document 3, para. 30.) The extract continues by presenting the ways the UN organs together with other development agencies have taken up the issue of food insecurity, and, in the end, presents a list of seven most crucial focus areas to be addressed to ensure food security.

The role of an independent actor providing policy guidance sometimes extends to also other actors besides member states governments, such as national and international research institutions, private sector and local communities. Also changes in the way e.g. science and traditional knowledge are utilized were suggested. (Document 3, para. 33.)

The report by the SG (document 1) commenting the reform proposals made by a panel of the member states (United Nations 2006) is a good example of the way the UN is describing its importance to the member states. This also the document which was most apparently speaking with the voice of the SG himself, speaking on behalf of the UN system. In the report, the SG also took a role in which he commented the ideas of the member states as a partner rather than a "loyal servant". The partnership aspect was evident also elsewhere in the research material. The UN did not portray itself merely as an

opponent of the member states, like some of the findings imply, but addressed the issues also in the role of a partner. The way member states approach issues such as sustainable development will be important also for the work of the UN (document 9, para. 28).

The SG also presented his view of the policy proposals given to the UN. This seems legitimate, since as a representative of the organization, he has the competence to assess the possibilities to operationalize the proposals by the member states. The report (document 1) connected the proposals of the panel to the wider changes going on at the UN and to the policy documents that are most important to the development work of the UN (document 1, para. 10-11). This way, the role of the SG reports seems to be policy coordination also from the viewpoint of the UN, to best match the will of the member states with that of the organization. Also based on this it is hard to see the UN merely as a servant of the member states. In an issue touching many areas of the work of the organization, such as the SWC reform, the cooperation of the UN with the member states was repeatedly stressed in the documents (e.g. document 1, para. 22).

"The United Nations system is conscious of the need to urgently take steps to enhance overall coherence and effectiveness, but is equally aware of the need to ensure that efforts to act on the Panel's recommendations are guided by and respectful of the intergovernmental consideration of the Panel's report." (Ibid.)

Though the UN usually did not stress the superior role of the states in decision-making, in the report discussing the globalization and the role of the UN, the organization did point out in the concluding paragraph that *"countries are the main actors"* and that the international community needs to give them their strong support through different mechanisms (document 3, para. 61). The need for a strong international community to support the development efforts of the states can also been seen as a twofold issue: the more efficient work of the multilateral institutions such as the UN demands also strengthened support from the member states. Reviving and strengthening multilateralism was in the data repeatedly mentioned as important for managing the globalized environment, and, for the sake of universality, equality and impartiality, the role of the UN in this was seen as important (document 3, para. 4, 16, 61; document 5, para. 4, 6). This way, the moral dimension was again attached to the UN – against the actors possibly less moral.

Like we saw earlier, the research material showed many examples that suggested that the authority of the UN can be based on many forms of the organizations work. All in all, the line between autonomy and dependency was often vague in the texts (e.g. document 1, para. 15). Even if the UN has autonomy, it

needs to constantly interact with its partners, discuss its choices and it faces a varying degree of resistance (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 156). Still the obvious autonomy, and with it, authority to guide the work of the member states and through them, to guide its own work, even though the general understanding is that the relationship should be vice versa.

The Neutrality of the UN

According to the bureaucracy theory, appearing neutral and depoliticized is important in gaining authority, whether the authority stems from the delegation by the member states, the morality or the expertise of the organization. This creates an interesting paradox in which the IOs are born to promote and protect certain values, but at the same time they justify their power by stressing their objectivity. Even if this kind of objectivity most likely does not exist, the IOs need to work hard to preserve the image of their impartiality. (E.g. Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 174-175.)

The case of the UN confirms this paradox but in the data the values of the organization surpassed the need for neutrality. For example Black (2008, 86) has stated that the UN has a huge fear of interfering with the internal issues of the states or criticizing them. This kind of fear, however, was not in a prominent role in my research material. Although the universal membership of the UN, making each state equal with respect to each other, places certain demands for the UN to remain neutral and impartial, the texts included also a number of places where the UN expressed its opinions, criticized the member states or listed the problems that needed to be addressed. The organization did stress its *"unique universality and neutrality"* (e.g. document 1, para. 2). But based on the data, this neutrality did not mean that the UN could not take stances on issues on its agenda. Rather, the neutral character was presented as basis for the policy guidance by the organization and, it seemed, entitled the organization to have its say. The altruistic and neutral values of the organization can also be seen as important tools for it, since the UN family accounts for only around 7 percent of the ODA and cannot therefore compete on material basis (Bertrand 2005, v).

The UN also stressed its own role in tackling common issues, e.g.: *"Fears over new rounds of unsustainable debt in the wake of the global recession have increased the urgency of reaching an international agreement on a fair and transparent international debt workout procedure, ideally under the aegis of the United Nations for the sake of legitimacy and credibility."* (Document 4, para. 13.)

The case of the northern and southern member states is an especially distinct example of the differing views of states, but the pressure can also come from individual states or other interest groups. The UN, as proposed by the bureaucracy theory (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 23), seems to gain autonomy from these

differences and can use it to offer an authoritative, impartial-looking response. In the research material, the organization addressed both developed and developing countries often with different comments, but keeping itself as an outsider.

The UN did not usually refer directly to its own role between the groups of member states, even though it otherwise brought up its views (e.g. document 3, para. 61; document 5, para. 5). Depending on the document, it left itself outside the issues handled or used euphemisms to point out what was the role of its work in certain issue. These included stressing, again, the importance of multilateral organizations (document 8, para. 43) or the achievement of MDGs. At the practical level, the indications to its expertise or support capabilities were indirect ways to stress the importance of its existence. This kind of justification is also important when taking into account that the actual decision-making power of the UN at the highest level is very limited.

The authorization of the member states needs to be kept up by acting neutral and depoliticed, without any political goals or agenda other than the one coming straigth from the member states. Even though the UN was in the research material keen on promoting the values important to its agenda, but at the same time it also presented these values as the ones given by the member states. This way the organization was still fulfilling its role as an obedient envoy of the member states.

7.5. The UN between North and South

One notable observation that has come up during this research process has been the close collaboration of the United Nations with – and for – the developing countries. This chapter is devoted to further analyzing this issue. Earlier, I analyzed the work of the UN in the light of the bureaucracy theory, noting that the organization can have many ways to utilize its qualities in gaining authority and using this authority to promote its agenda. How, then, could this be important with respect to the organization balancing between the North and South?

First, it needs to be said that the role of the UN in supporting and helping the developing countries came up frequently in the texts (see e.g. document 2, para. 16, 86). ”Protecting the poorest and the most vulnerable” was a specific part of the work of the organization, addressed in a separate section in for example the report about globalization and the role of the UN (document 3, para. 21-27). All in all, the UN, while reporting on the developments or giving policy guidance, consistently brought up the need to

take into account the needs of the recipient countries. Taking the needs of the recipient countries into account was, therefore, written into the agenda of the organization.

Based on the data, it seems that the UN development cooperation is internally assessed according to the way it has succeeded in supporting the developing countries. The flagship document of the operational development work of the UN, the TCPR 2007, stated: *"The main focus of the present report is to assess to what extent and in what ways the United Nations system has provided efficient and effective support to developing countries in order that they might realize their national development strategies and achieve the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals, within the context of their national development priorities."* (document 2, para. 2.)

The need to reform the organization was also attached to the discussion about supporting the South. The UN needs to be able to be flexible and coherent enough to be able to respond to the needs of the developing countries. *"It* [the UN] *should advocate global standards and norms and, in each country, should be focused on delivering results in line with country needs."* (Document 1, para. 1.) This included partnering with the developing countries to help them achieve the common goals: *"The United Nations Development Assistance Framework [UNDAF] process is often seen as an important opportunity for the United Nations country team to help countries advance the implementation of internationally agreed norms, and the standards and development approaches agreed globally at the United Nations, when governments prepre their national development plans and strategies."* (Document 9, para. 109.)

A core idea that was promoted throughout the research material was the idea of national ownership. Ownership refers to the responsibility and possibility of the developing countries to take the principal reponsility of their own development. The general idea behind the need for ownership is that if development policies are imposed by external actors on a reluctant recipient, it is unlikely that the strategy will prove successful in the long run. (Culpeper & Morton 2008, 13.) The discussions around ownership can be seen as a part of a wider debate about the political, economic and social effectiveness of development aid (Castel-Branco 2008, 5). The aid-effectiveness agenda, coordinated by the OECD, is the most important international effort built around the idea of ownership (see OECD 2008), but also the UN seems to have adopted into its everyday development work (e.g. UNDG 2012c)

The idea of national ownership was also referred to on various ways, such as referring to the "national partners" (document 2, para. 36 and 48; document 6, para. 5) and to the importance of taking into account

"national needs" (document 8, para. 4), "country needs" (document 9, para. 130) or "national priorities" (document 1, para. 118; document 8, para. 6). *"The most fundamental driver of change will be programme country leadership. This will also require an update of national development strategies or the national sustainable development strategies, as mandated by previous summits…"* (Document 8, para. 38.)

Based on the data, the UN is actively promoting ownership as well as its own possibilities to support that ownership (document 4, para. 27; also document 9, para. 178). One reason for the need to develop the work of the UN at the country level was the need to be able to provide the developing countries greater access to the expertise and information resources of the UN entities (document 2, para 118), thus stressing the importance of the organization. The need for participation of the UN has been also the statement of southern scholars (see e.g. Brown & Morton 2008, 7-8). The need for ownership of development was referred to as the will of the member states (document 2, para. 8). National development strategies provide the framework for the United Nations Development Assistance Frameworks (UNDAFs), that are the strategic frameworks for the UN teams on the ground in developing countries (document 8, para. 33-34). According to the UN, the UNDAFs are increasingly aligned with the national plans. The idea of national ownership is, therefore, embedded also in the policy work of the organization and also in the latest reform efforts such as the SWC (e.g. document 1, para. 12).

The UN has for a long time been active also in South-South Cooperation (SSC), meaning cooperation between the countries of the South (e.g. document 2, para. 2, 65-67; document 7, para. 17). The UNDP Special Unit for South-South Cooperation was established already in 1974, aiming at promoting the cooperation of the southern countries in the UN system and outside of it (UNDP 2012).

"There is a significant potential for an increased role of the United Nations system in strengthening funding partnerships among developing countries. The United Nations system could channel these contributions. But its unique role could be to help developing countries, at their request, establish a strong link between the operational activities that these new contributions support and the pursuit of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals." (Document 2, para. 69.) Here, the organization stresses the importance of cooperation among the southern countries but it also includes a role for itself in this cooperation (e.g. document 8, para. 123). This is justified by stressing the "unique role" of the organization. The support, though, is not forced on the member states but the choice os delicately left for them.

The Development Cooperation Forum (DCF), a new function of the UN development work, was in the data seen as a new tool to evaluate and give guidance to the international development efforts (e.g. document 8, para. 1-3), to catalyze new approaches (ibid., para. 23) and to enable an inclusive forum for discussion (ibid., para. 91). This guidance, which was very detailed and practical, was summarized in the documents 4 and 8 of the research material. The reports stressed, again, the expert quality of the organization, justifying its guidance as well as its role as a coordinator of the event. Also the reform need of the organization is thus explained by the need to be able to deliver for the countries most in need – which can of course be seen as appealing to the moral reasons justifying the work of the organization.

The UN and the North

What, then was left for the northern donor countries? The assesments of the situation of the international environment as well as the account of the work of the UN family are presented in the documents of the UN for all of the member states, but it is natural that the role of the northern countries is not that visible in the documents dealing with development. The role of the donor countries is today increasingly one of a financier and a policymaker, which are important roles but very different from the ones of the developing countries.

In the data the organization addressed also the developed countries to express its concerns on certain issues. For example the dependency on few donors was seen as contributing to the overall unpredictability of funding (document 7, para. 8). The UN also criticized the basis for the development work of some donors, sometimes using surprisingly harsh language (e.g. document 4, para 46). According to the organization, the political or other interests affect the aid allocation and therefore hinder the best possible development results.

"Most donors still have to establish an objective and transparent basis for allocating aid among countries, and continue to allocate bilateral aid based on political, strategic and economic interests. Some have adopted models to allocate aid or preselect recipients, based largely on donor-conducted assessments of "performance" and the quality of policies and institutions in programme countries. These undermine the principle of national ownership, because of a lack of Government and civil society involvement, and are neither transparent nor objective in showing a clear link to objectively measurable development results." (Document 4, para. 46.)

In this role the UN uses its expert role to give feedback to some of the donor countries, acting as a supervisor and as a protector of the rights of the developing countries.

The dichotomy, however, is not that simple. The UN also showed support for many of the policies by the northern countries that often are created together with UN organizations. These include work on most of the mainstream development efforts in which the UN is actively taking part. The partnership of the UN with the North goes back a long way, as many of the functions of the organization have been developed by them. Therefore it is not only compulsory issues, such as funding, that connects the work of the UN to the donor countries.

The UN as a global critic

While analyzing the roles of the UN in development, one role that came up was the UN as a commentator of global development efforts. This role is evident also when turning the attention to the UN between its member states. Based on the research material, the equal participation of all countries is a central demand of the UN, also with respect to the wider international development efforts (document 5, para. 4). On the whole, the dissatisfaction of the UN with many current developments in international cooperation was evident in the reseach material. This was the case especially with respect to trade and economic policies, which the UN criticized on several occasions (e.g. document 3, para. 6-16; document 4, para. 10), demanding stronger efforts to change the international financial architecture, calling for enhancing the participation and voice of the developing countries in all decision-making (document 4, para. 122). The full participation of the developing countries in all decision-making has, according to the UN (document 5, para 52), been a goal of the UN ever since the 1970s, when the declaration for a new international economic order (NIEO) was published. The organization pointed out that in 1974 all member states were unanimous about the need for an new international economic order (NIEO), based on a fair international system aiming at development for all (document 5, para. 50). These commitments (United Nations 1974), however, have not according to the organization lasted until today as since the 1980s, the domination of few powerful nations has affected the development policies of most southern countries, making their governments dependant on donors and creditors (document 5, para. 59).

When discussing the wider development environment, the UN was clearly critical towards some of the mainstream actors and their policies. These included the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs), whose policies were claimed to be unequal and not reflecting the realities – especially the current realities – of the international community (document 4, para. 15; document 5, para. 23). Especially critique of the

inequal power structures of the BWIs came up through the material. Stocke (2009, 481) remarks that depending on the viewpoint, the BWIs can be seen as competitors to UN organizations or as a part of the extended family of organizations, to which they belong. In the material, the former option was clearly the dominant one. The common reasons for the birth of the organization and their relation as parts of the same UN family (the BWIs are specialized agencies of the UN, thus today very alienated from it) did not prevent the UN from pointing out what was wrong with the BWIs and what should be done about it.

The critique of the UN is here in line with that of the southern countries (e.g. G77 2005). The triumph of economic liberalism over the proposals attached to the NIEO have been seen as one reason for the vanished importance of the UNCTAD. (Karns & Mingst 2010, 394.) The report ends with an interesting remark about the role of the UN in the search for a different kind of international order. *"Through the landmark United Nations conferences and summits since the 1990s, Member States have attempted to recapture lost ground for policy space. They have asserted national ownership of development strategies and demanded greater participation in global economic governance. The United Nations Development Agenda, derived from the United Nations conferences and summits, reflects some of the spirit of the 1974 New International Economic Order and also aims to achieve "development for all"."* (Document 5, para. 87.)

The critique of the economic polices of the recent decades can be looked at as an attempt of the UN to regain its role as one of the main organs involved in the formation and regulation of economic policies at the global level. In the extract above, this is done by using "the member state's will" to justify this need. How accurately it actually depicts this will, we cannot know, but the stance of the UN with respect to economic governance brings in any case light to why the developing countries are in favour of the UN being the primary institution to supervise global economic policies (e.g. South Centre 2007, 17). Likewise, it is easier to understand why the UN has been critical towards the developments of global economic governance.

What kind of issues, then, could be affecting these differences? One reason may be related to the different membership of the UN and the BWIs, of which the first has universal membership while the IMF and World Bank are practically owned by the industrialized countries. Therefore, the operation of the UN is based on the equality of all member states, providing in with a wide political mandate. The different rights and duties of the member states affect the structures, objectives and the ideas generated within an organization, as well as the self-identity of the organization. (Honkanen 2001, 417; Stocke 2009, 21; See also Cogan 2009) One reason for why the UN is more inclusively promoting also the priorities of the

developing states appears to be the fact that they actually are more visibly a part of the work of the organization.

The critique of the UN included the inequalities the UN recognized in the work of the BWIs as well as the failed policies of the 1980s: *"The governance structures and operations of the Bretton Woods institutions — one dollar basically gives one vote — also do not reflect the developmental aspirations and strategic priorities of the developing countries and the changing global economic realities."* (Document 5, para. 23.) The BWIs gained more prominence in the area of global economic and social policies in the 1980s, and this development has continued after the end of the bipolar world order. This, in itself, is a concern for the UN. Generally the BWIs have promoted their economic policies in line with the powerful northern states and in that way distanced themselves from the South, as well as from the policies preferred by the UN, more in line with the southern states.

On the other hand it needs to be noted that both overall economic policies and the BWIs were also addressed in a neutral manner in some parts of the research material. (E.g. document 8, para. 13) This reflects the role of the UN as supporting as well as opposing some of the developments taking place in international cooperation and, in any case, the participation fo the organization in this cooperation. The development agenda of the UN (United Nations 2007) was said to encompass, at the international level, contemporary challenges of global economic governance, such as debt, aid, trade, technology, finance and migration (document 5, para. 83). The UN, thus, attaches its development agenda to the measures of governance at the international level – and takes a role in global governance.

The organization did not only express the need for a more equal international order and ownership of development, but sometimes it also spoke directly on behalf of the member states – especially on behalf of the developing countries. This included expressing their particular needs or concerns in terms of planned policies, recent developments or any issue at hand (e.g. document 4, para. 25-26, 72, 79 and 111; document 8, para. 53).*"Programme countries and other stakeholders have also expressed concerns about two other types of policy coherence specifically linked to the impact of development cooperation, highlighting the need for what might be called "aid coherence"."* (Document 4, para. 25-26.)

"In addition, development cooperation is seen by programme countries as a vital source of funding because it has a much stronger focus on issues related to sustainable development (anti-poverty and environmental) than private flows and directly funds high proportions of expenditure on education, health, food security, water and sanitation on most low-income countries." (Document 8, para. 53.)

This way, the organization can also practically be referred to as a spokerperson for the developing countries. Often the views of the member states were based on studies or surveys conducted by the UN among the member states. In document 8, the UN spoke strongly for the imporance of development cooperation, and as the extracts shows, it was said to be also the preference of the South. However, it is impossible to know how much of the information comes straight from the member states and how much from the organization. The information is merged into a flow in which concepts promoted by the UN, such as sustainable development, show up as the preference of the developing countries. In any case the preferences of the developing countries seem to be more in line with the somewhat critical approach of the UN than with the other international actors – and likewise.

Black (2008, 15) points out that one of the initial expectations for an universal organization was to act as a moral example for the member countries by encouraging and even pressuring them to pursuing the ideas included in its charter. Considering the variety of member states, this task has been difficult. Today, moral principles are still an important part of the character of the UN. It has been able to hold on to the key principles of the charter and develop new moral goals for the international community. The reality of international politics has still taken its toll on the UN. If the World Bank and IMF are openly promoting economic liberalism, the position of the UN is more complex. With the BWIs having the primary position in governing economic and social policies, the UN has been more focused on the normative work of discussing and creating development ideas – and of course on the operational development work. (Karns & Mingst 2010, 396, 405-408.)

All in all, the development work of the UN was in the data consistently connected to the work around national ownership of development, to strengthening national capacities and to promoting a more equal international order – often while criticizing some of the mainstream policies. At the same time the UN can be seen as creating itself a specific role in these aspirations. I will take up this issue in the final chapter while discussing the factors possibly affecting the role of the UN in global governance.

7.6. Summary: The UN as an authority

Analysis of the data revealed different means that the UN can utilize while becoming a powerful authority and an independent actor. Elements of all of the authority types suggested by Barnett and Finnemore, rational-legal, moral, delegated, expertise authority, were visible in the data (see figure 6). The

combination of them can be very effective, as it presents many different arguments for the autonomy of the organization. As an expert, commentator and coordinator the organization has multiple means of affecting the decisions of the member states and based on the analysis, it is actively trying to utilize these means. It is also promoting concepts that it has created, or adding its own flavor to concepts created elsewhere.

My analysis supports the thesis of Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore (2004; 2005) of international organizations as actors who consciously and determinedly try to affect their agenda, drive certain policies over others and guide not only their own work but also the work of their member states and partners. The versatility of the development activities of the UN and the expertise of its staff make it unique in the league of IOs. The bureaucratic form and liberal ideas still constitute the backbone of the UN, but also several features of the everyday work of the organization contribute to the relative autonomy that the organization has. The mandate of the organization gives it an agenda, and the organization is actively promoting this agenda, adapting it to current situations. The member states, of course, hold the final decision making power, but as the mandates in the resolutions are concise and the work field of the UN very wide, they do leave room for interpretations. This is important because the UN organizations are the primary experts in their fields. They need to be able to use their expertise, at least in part, independently. But the loose mandates naturally enable not only practical, but also some ideological and political choices.

The research material confirms that the United Nations can be looked at as being both "in authority" and "an authority", both of which are supported by the development expertise of the organization. The development expertise of the organization stood out as the most visible role of the organization throughout the research material, whether looking at the organization with respect to its member states or to the international community in general. Based on its composition, the UN has been delegated many tasks by the states, in other words it has been put in authority because of the qualities that states see capable of taking care of the responsibility. The experience and expertise of the staff contibute to making the organization also an authority. The way the UN is using moral causes to justify its authority is also apparent in the research material. The neutrality and impartiality of the organization as well as the "common goals" of the international community are discourses that are used to rationalize the existence of the organization as well as the need for an authoritative position for it.

Appearing impartial and depoliticized is said to be a key to the legitimacy of IOs in the eyes of their member states but the research material proved this appearance to be very multifaceted, the neutrality often being presented – or understood by the member states - indirectly. The UN did stress its impartial,

universal qualities, but at the same time it could drive certain values over others and present these as the common good. It seems like the role it has been delegated by the member states includes also the right for choosing certain features on its agenda. The UN thus is not an autonomous authority only because of the role states have given it. It is at least to some extent independent and influential as a result of continual work around its agenda and with its partners. This autonomy does not make the organization completely independent of its member states, since it has to uphold its autonomy by keeping its member states happy.

The question of the UN with respect to the obvious dichotomy between the groups of its member states, especially the North and South, is interesting. In principle, we could leave the UN outside this discussion and note that the roots to these kinds of dissonances are in complex historical and political relations that often have taken place between nation states and therefore are not related to the UN. In many ways this is true. However, the nature of an organization like the UN is inherently one that is so closely connected to the member states that this kind of distance would be difficult to achieve. The UN was created to serve the states, and at the practical level the North-South divide is affecting the everyday work at the UN in many ways. As the dissonances hinder effective decision making, the North-South divide can be seen as one of the main factors affecting the relevance of the UN in the eyes of the member states (see also Malone and Hagman 2002, 409-411).

In this dichotomy, however, can also lie some possibilities for the organization (see figure 6). While looking at the case of the UN between its member states with respect to the wider context of international development, it is possible to recognize many elements that could contribute to the partnership of the organization with its southern member states. One of the most important of them is the way the developing countries have stressed the importance of the organization and the need ot strengthen it. The organization has struggled to stay relevant in the governance of economic and social policies, as other actors, such as the BWIS, have increasingly gained prominence. This way the support of the South is a welcome addition to the battle of staying relevant. Supporting the South is also in accordance with the mandate of the organization, providing it with a chance to promote liberal ideas that, based on the research material, are still central to its agenda.

The roles of the UN as an expert and as a commentator, as well as a spokesperson for the developing countries, label the way the organization discusses the current trends of international cooperation in the research material. At times, the organization could be considered not only as a commentator but as a harsh critic of some of the current developments. The organization was actively promoting also issues outside the mainstream agenda, if they matched its own mandate. However, this was evident especially in cases

where its own position appeared to be jeopardized. The organization seemed to introduce every possible means to prove that it has something valuable to contribute to for example global economic governance. Promoting the rights and needs of the Southern countries can be an important dimension of the agenda of the organization, but they are also the ones that are more likely to support the organization when needed. The motives behind the choices are, thus, multiple. This conclusion was further supported by the observation that the attempts of the UN to campaign with values were most evident in documents not addressing directly the development work of the UN. At the same time the relation of the UN and the South can be seen as two-fold: also the developing countries are calling for urgent changes in the current power balances of the international environment (e.g. G77 2005), and the support from the UN can be an important advantage in these endeavours. At the diplomatic arenas, however, these kinds of goals are not expressed directly, especially not by the UN.

Role of the UN	Authoritative features
Expert in development	-Delegation by the states based on expertise presented in various ways -Moral values (the charter) -Impression of neutrality
Partner for developing countries	-Support for the ones most in need (moral values) -Contesting some of the dominant policies and players

Figure 6. Authoritative features of the UN in development

8. Conclusions and discussion

"A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth looking at."
        (Oscar Wilde, 1891)

Traditional organization theories say that the organization is the sum of its members, meaning that most international organizations are controlled by their member states and therefore doing what they order. I asked what if that view is not common at all, as the case of the UN member states implied. My hypothesis was that the UN is, at least to certain extent, an independent actor having its own agenda and possibilities to promote this agenda. The analysis of the development work of the UN showed that the organization *is* an autonomous actor and an active participant in global development, playing several different roles which together contribute to its position as one kind of a global monitor. This position is created, upheld and used with diverse methods of action. One of the most important result of this thesis is therefore the abundance of action apparent in the work of the UN in development, presenting the organization not so much as an employee of the member states but as an independent, active authority. It seems like the UN is continuously working on its agenda, pushing it forward and persuading its partners to follow its example. Even with the member states playing an important role in its operation, the research material implies that it should be seen also as an independent whole with its own working culture and agenda that seems to have been born rather as a result of a dialogue between the organization and the member states than by order of them.

The dimensions of the research material, presented in the beginning of this thesis (see figure 1, p. 1), are based on the analysis closely connected. The roles of the organization, its ways of gaining authority and autonomy and its relation with its member states all affect each other and the possibilities of the UN to take part in global governance. In this final chapter I draw together the ideas of the previous chapters and discuss the possible role of the UN in global governance.

8.1. What kind of roles does the UN have in development?

The roles of the UN in development are multiple, varying from facilitating and supporting the work of the member states to independently conducting its own development work and guiding the work of the member states in various ways. The scope of the work of the organization is so wide, both content-wise and structurally, that this kind of versatility comes almost naturally. What was more suprising was the way

the role of an assistant or servant of the states was not less obvious in the research material. Rather, the expert nature of the UN stood out as the most distinctive feature, both when the organization was addressing its own work and the wider development environment.

I summarized the roles of the UN in development into five categories: expert, commentator, coordinator, generator of ideas and partner of the member states. The first four together form the development expertise of the United Nations, which can be seen as a basis for the authority of the UN in development (see the following chapters). The fifth role offers a slightly different viewpoint, as it concentrates on the UN with respect to its member states. The role of the UN between the northern and southern member states was taken up in the analysis because the relations the organization has with its member states affect the everyday work of the organization and thus its overall effectiveness. It can also contribute to the chances it has in governance at the global level.

8.2. How does the organization gain its authority?

Like explained above, especially the expertise of the UN proved to be something that both the organization and the member states utilized. The expertise, in fact, is what is expected and what gives the organization its autonomy and authority. To fullfill its mandate, the UN needs to deliver, but by doing it can also choose elements that it wants to include or exclude, bring forward and oppose. Even with the final decisions coming from the member states, the analysis shows that there is plenty of room for independent action in the everyday work of the organization. The UN has many ways to facilitate, coordinate, guide and shape the work of the member states. It is actively writing and re-writing its own agenda and promoting it to its partners. It is at the same time regulating the development activities, but also taking part in constituting new concepts, understandings and trends. The authority of the organization consists of multiple particles that altogether make the UN an expert in development, and certainly an independent authority possessing a will and an agenda guiding its work.

The buraucracy theory suggests that the qualities of IOs providing them with authority can make the organizations authoritative in at least two ways: by putting them in authority or making them an authority – or a mix of the two (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 25-26). The analysis shows the UN in development as being both in authority and an authority. The states have put the UN in authority to take care of certain tasks and this authority gives it legitimacy also to exercise power. The expertise, experience and, to certain extent, the moral reputation of the organization contribute to making the UN an authority. Together these

two are providing the UN many chances to act independently. Based on the analysis, the authority of the UN is primarily used to promoting the agenda of the organization. This agenda is based on ideas built on the UN charter, which in turn is presented as a common agenda of the international community.

8.3. Is the UN impartial or does it only appear as such?

Considering the UN as an autonomous actor naturally questions the traditional view of international organizations as servants of their states. The analysis showed the UN serving first and foremost the liberal ideas of its charter, which already distances it from the straight control of the member states. Even though values such as peace and democracy are generally understood to be pursued by every state, the agenda of the organization cannot be driven directly from a summary of the member states' preferences. On the other hand, providing the UN the authority it possess can include also the freedom to build on an agenda that is seen as the best possible option "for all peoples".

In the data the UN stressed its impartiality and neutrality and rationalized the need to strengthen its role in development by these attributes, but at the same time it took stand on many issues, preferring certain policies and developments over others and actively guiding the international community to the "right" direction. This way the organization was not only adapting to the opinions of the member states, but actively interacting with them and exchanging views. As said, the role of the UN as a servant of the states was less apparent in the texts. The organization did follow the diplomatic principles in interacting with the member states and it did bring up the role of the member states as the ones giving policy guidance. This, however, did not make the organization appear to be passively serving the states. On the contrary, the division of labour between the two parties seemed established, with each side knowing their role.

In this cooperation it was sometimes hard to know who is actually governing whom. This, of course, is also what the bureaucracy theory used in this thesis implies (Barnett & Finnemore 2004, 20-27). If the IOs manage to appear impartial and serving the sates, their authority and autonomy is likely to increase. The UN, as an expert authority, seems to manage its neutral image by referring regularly to its mandate and the attributes attached to it. This way, the neutrality should be taken for granted by the member states, giving the organization the advantage of acting as a champion for common good. In this role it has a fair amount of autonomy to develop and promote its views.

The UN partnering with the South

One important aspect of this study has been the position of the global South in development discussion and in the work conducted by the UN. Based on the analysis, the political dissonances of the member states can be seen as one of the key reasons for many of the problems the international community is now facing. Out of these differences, the North-South division is the single largest factor affecting the decision making of the UN member states (and the cooperation of the states in development in general). At the UN, it often results in weak compromises, affecting in this way also the effectiveness of the work of the organization. The way the UN was actively supporting the developed countries and driving issues preferred by them was an interesting feature in the research material. The organization, again guided by its agenda, took a stance for the southern states but also against some of the prevailing development and economic policies. The "common agenda" of the international community entitles the support for the developing countries but the extent of this support seemed to exceed the requirements of this agenda. Interestingly, the role of a global critic is parallel to the role of the organization as a development expert.

The history of the groups of member states at the UN can explain the current relations of the organization and the South. The years when the UN was the most active coordinator in economic and social development were the years when most development achievements happened – or, consequently, the development policies of the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) especially in the 1980s resulted in catastrophical results for many of the developing states. The same goes for the current financial policies that have proved in many ways difficult for the autonomy of the southern states. Some of the southern scholars have actually seen the early post-World War II success of the UN in shaping global economic policies as one reason for its current difficulties in this field (e.g. Boutros-Ghali 2005; South Centre 1997; 2005; 2007). They claim that the dominant players fear that the UN could increase the developing countries' possibilities to take part in the global economy and therefore have pushed the organization away from economic governance. This view can, of course, be questioned, but in any case many of the global financial and monetary policies are today increasingly managed by the BWIs and the WTO.

According to the South Centre (2012c) the hopes of the southern countries of the UN as an instrument through which global solidarity could florish and equal global growth and development to the South could be brought forward faded over the years as the UN has had difficulties to deliver on its mandate. However, there is still a clear connection between the history of development and the involvement of the UN, with regards to the southern expectations. The countries of the South have not forgotten the positive effects of the work of the UN and have not seen a reason to stop their demands for strengthening the organization.

(See e.g. G77 2005; South Centre 2005; 2006; 2007.) In sum, the South seems to be campaigning for "the original UN" that has been deprived of its original goal by the self-seeking northern states. In a way, then, the liberal goals of the UN have been adopted by the developing countries, but only in the cases where it suits their needs. This is one case in which the UN can be seen as acting as a tool for the member states.

The UN did not in the data refer to the issues presented above. Rather, it hung on to its agenda, as the mandate given to it by the member states, stressing the need for greater national ownership and overall equality of states as a prerequisite for the realizing of common development goals. Based on the analysis we can list some reasons for why and how the UN ended up taking the primary role as the support system of the developing countries and their development-related challenges. One reason could be simply that the UN system is expected to support developing countries in their development efforts as it has always been the mandate of the organization. This is a form of delegated authority: supporting the developing states can be seen as part of carrying out the mandate. Another reason could be that the operational activities of the UN are valued and stressing their importance gives the organization legitimacy. The relation of the organization and the South, however, seems to be deeper than that and, as such, contain also more political motives for both parties.

The former secretary general of the UN, Boutros Boutros-Ghali (2005, 39) has called the crisis of the UN as a North-South crisis. According to him, the situation after the cold war has allowed a dominance of certain developed countries to develop, and with that also the central decision-making power has moved from the UN to other international bodies. However, a change in the international power balance has occurred in the recent years as the South has both economically and politically become more prominent. These changed geo-political circumstances could give the developing countries a new chance to affect the way global governance institutions are run and what is on their agenda (South Centre 2012a). Therefore it can be suggested that supporting the developing countries is important for the UN not only because of the mandate from the member states and not only because of the ideological principles guiding the agenda of the organization, but also politically. Clinging on to the countries that show the most support to the organization seems natural both in hope of gaining prominence and in the fear of losing it. This way the UN, as a supporter of the developing countries, could also end up benefiting from the increasing influence of the South.

8.4. How could the UN take part in global governance?

From the UN point of view the last two decades have been interesting. The period has been called the revival of the spirit of the UN charter, a chance to finally realize the purpose of the organization, and a time in which countries have gathered together in big UN-led conferences to discuss aspects of cooperation at the international level. At the same time, the UN has been seen going through its most severe crisis so far – a crisis that can be referred to as a crisis of multilateralism (Ghebali 2006, 24). One of the problems for the UN in the recent years has been the challenge of staying relevant in the rapidly changing environment. International organizations are at the core of most historical and theoretical discussions of global governance (Barnett & Finnemore 2005, 161), but ironically the UN is said to be in crisis partly due to the new globalized era in international politics. The planet's economic, social and political situations have changed dramatically over the decades the organization has existed, sometimes in ways that are hard to identify. The UN, however, has changed relatively little since its early days, and is now in a position when change has become essential for the organization. (E.g. Jolly et. al. 2009, 237; Lahdensuo 2001, 14; Taylor 2000a, 296-299; Weinlich 2011, 15.)

Even if IOs can use their position and qualities to making themselves appear as a well-needed counterforce to the self-seeking states, the attributes attached to them are not enough to keep up their position unless they are able to perform their tasks efficiently enough. The UN thus needs to find innovative ways to stay relevant, especially as it can not rely only on its institutional position in an atmosphere in which relevance is increasingly measured by results. (See also Lahdensuo 2001, 14; Karns & Mingst 2010, 131; Weinlich 2011, 2-3.) The reform need was recognized by the organization throughout the data as challenge to the organization and its member states.

Based on the analysis, the UN can still have many possibilities to contribute to global governance. Its diverse expertise in development is likely to keep it in the centre of development discussions, as the organization is already taking part in most of the core development processes at the levels from international to national. For example the UN as a coordinator of development activities is taking part in facilitating the common development efforts and at the same time reinforcing its own role in the centre of the cooperation. An example of an approach in which the UN has been actively involved is the work around the idea of global partnerships for development. The UN has been able to give birth to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that have become a common project of the international community, the organization acting as a promoter and a supervisor of the goals. In the data, the MDGs and

other international development goals were represented as the overall goal all partners in development should pursue. At the same time they encompass many of the core principles for the development work of the UN. The partnership approach in general has been important for the organization for a long time (e.g. United Nations 2007).

The way the organization is carrying out its agenda, paying attention to the southern views and sometimes opposing the dominant development models could also be important for the position of the organization in global governance. In the recent years there has been discussion about the current development paradigm – and the possible need for a new one. Development paradigms constitute the dominant ideas affecting the intellectual and practical environment of each time. Often, they have presented the prevailing political ideologies of the donor countries (Stocke 2009, 16-22) but lately there have been signs of new ideas emerging at the top of the agenda, and a call from the South to reform the current agenda. These two phenomena can be seen as overlapping, but also contradictory, because new development trends are still dominantly created and coordinated by the North. The increasing prominence of the global south could however in the near future change the situation.

The South Centre (2012a) has stated that traditionally the South has been holding the "short end of the stick" in global governance, meaning that developed countries have constantly interefered with the way developing countries are governed. Therefore the South has been talking about the need for a new development paradigm for a long time (South Centre 1993, 248; see also 2007, 147; Culpeper & Morton 2008, 2-3, 10-19; Long 2004, 31). In governance discussions, the idea of *good governance,* meaning a more participatory, open and ethical governance approach, has been increasingly discussed (e.g. World Bank 2011). The elements of the development work of the UN support many of the ideas connected to good governance (Weiss 2000, 801-806). To be acknowledged legitimate by the international community, particles of global governance must allow participation of actors from all levels, allowing democracy and a sense of ownership to develop. (Karns & Mingst 2010, 30-33, 547-552.) The UN with its open criticism and support from the South could be in a key role in presenting more equal governance models. In the data the organization brought consistently up the need for a more equal development system. The inequitable distribution of the benefits of globalization as well as the lack of effective global governance were seen as problems. According to the organization, the increased inequalities of the international environment, developed during the past two centuries, have been driven by increases in international rather than national level inequality. This way, the key to addressing these problems is also to be found in the arrangements at the international level. The changing development environment was thus addressed by the

organization in a two-fold way: as a chance to steer the international cooperation into more sustainable paths but also as a threat for development, especially in the case of the most vulnerable countries.

With respect to the discussion about who should be able to make the rules in development, one can of course ask why the northern states should not be able to set the rules and place conditions on some issues if they are the ones spending enormous amounts of money and resources on developmental functions (see also South Centre 2006, 13-14). But clinging on to this easily leads to missing the core of the debates. The point, in the terms of international politics, is that as long as the developing countries feel that they are not in equal position with their so-called international partners, co-operation will remain inert and produce even more weak decisions. Therefore it is possible to propose that was the reason behind the close relationship of the United Nations with the developing countries political, ideological or both, it is something that the organization could utilize while attempting to regain its position at the centerpiece of global governance (see figure 7).

Role of the UN	Authoritative features	Effects for the UN in global governance
Expert in development	-Delegation by the states based on expertise presented in various ways -Moral values (the charter) -Impression of neutrality	-Ability to speak out -Ability to take part in coordinating but also steering and reforming development activities -Ability to affect the member states
Partner for developing countries	-Support for the ones most in need (moral values) -Contesting some of the dominant policies and players	-Possible advantage from support of the South, forming a large pressure group -Possible disadvantage for objecting some of the mainstream policies and actors

Figure 7. The UN in global governance

8.5. The way forward

Eskola (2007, 161-162) has stated that research does not only need to find answers to hypotheses, but it can also engender new ideas and new questions in the minds of the researched and the readers. This is the case also with this study. To my mind, the most important input of the bureaucracy theory to the development discussion is the increased understanding it might bring regarding the nature and action of international organizations. This understanding needs to be applied to different cases, utilized in future research and developed further. My case supported many of the ideas central to the theory, presenting the United Nations as an active, independent actor in the field of development. However, while addressing the difficulties of the organization and the probable challenges lying ahead, merely the understanding of the UN as an actor is most likely not enough to help the organization. There are also other actors in the field of development who are actively using their authority and promoting their interests. In fact, that is what (international) politics is all about.

As an academic field the study of global governance is still young but its prominence has been acknowledged and there certainly is need for new approaches while globalization keeps escalating. As Jolly et al. (2009, 244-245) write, nation states are most probably not going to disappear from the map of international politics, but today it is more important than ever to include also other actors in the discussion about governance at the international level. There needs to be greater efficiency in international institutions, more effective rules and regulations, and a more democratic system of representation. Based on my analysis, the UN, including its agencies, funds and organizations, despite its weaknesses and failures, remains the only international organization with virtually universal membership and widespread international legitimacy. If the UN is seen as the most participatory international organ, even if not a perfect one, this factor is most likely contributing to its support (e.g. Karns and Mingst 2010, 548)

For the UN to maintain or even strengthen its role as the most universal organization it is important that the different branches of the UN take into account the complex changes that have taken place in the international arenas in the past decades and utilize them in the process of reforming their work. The expertise to be found under the roof of the organization is an enormous intellectual resource for the organization and its partners. This aspect is something that the organization could capitalize further, especially as it is the very expertise that contributes to its authority in development – or even constitutes it. (See also Jolly et. al. 2009, 250-251.) The organization definitely has the expertice as their strength but the

heavy organizational structures and complex decision-making machinery as well as the politics of "doing things as we always have" pose a challenge, especially in a world that sometimes changes faster than anyone can guess. Also, the challenges of the development sector might not be the same as the ones the UN actors are facing in the areas of humanitarian work, security or peacekeeping. The organization is still in the eyes of the wider public considered as one entity. The unequal governance structures of some UN organs affect the legitimacy of the organization as a whole. In this sense structural changes play a central role. The expertice and experience of the world organization can only live up to expectations if it is channelled in a way that shows itself fulfilling the same principles that are required of others.

Victor-Yves Ghebali (2006, 27) has stated that *"international institutions are not supposed to develop only in political fair weather conditions… What really matters is their ability to cope with crises situations."* It is very hard to say how the position of the UN will develop in the near future, but based on the research process the organization has many possibilites to affect its position. If it is able to utilize the crisis for its advantage, there is no reason for why the UN could not continue being one of the most important actors in global governance. Despite the many challenges that have faced the organization during the years, the basic existence of the United Nations has enjoyed continuous support (see e.g. Baehr and Gordenker 1999, 162-163). To be able to find legitimacy for its work – or overall existence – the organization needs to utilize the features of its different roles and the authoritative means in a way that brings it forward. Already it is possible to see the organization engaging its partners in discussion about the future orientation of cooperation. The challenge for the future seems to be the way in which it manages to reform itself without loosing its basic building blocks that provide it with its special character.

Questions for future research

The questions that arose as a result of this research process are multiple. They include further examining the international organizations as actors and especially the way in which they have contested the position of nation states as the main actors in global governance.

Paying attention to the idea of ownership of development, especially with respect to power and authority, is an idea that could be utilized anytime due to the rich material already available. It is closely connected to the North-South divide, but it also provides a chance to examine the different meanings that one concept can contain.

If I myself would continue the research on the United Nations, it would be interesting to further examine the contributions of the organization to the global development agenda, for example by concentrating on the cooperation born around the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The ongoing UN reforms also offer many possibilities for analyzing the capacities of the organization, both historically and with respect to thematic focus areas.

8.6. About the research process

In the end, I want to say a few words about the research process, which has been a good introduction to the complexity of international politics. Even if I see the research setting and the outcomes of this study as somewhat succesful, I find myself being at least as confused about the processes of global cooperation than I was before starting this study. This, however, might be also a good thing, as the importance of different approaches in studying IOs and global governance has become even clearer during the research process.

What was obvious already before beginning the research process, was that the abundance of documents produced by the UN would pose challenges to the researcher. I was lucky to be rather well acquainted with a part of the work of the organization, which helped me to know which way to look while looking for relevant documents. To my mind, the final selection of documents was comprehensive enough to provide answers to the research questions. The texts were also varied enough in their focus areas to provide a broad view of the different aspects of the development of the organizaton.

Another challenge that I knew to expect was the format and language of the official texts of the UN. I was afraid the format of the texts could leave me with very little proof of the organization as an independent actor, or of any voice of the organization on the whole. This, however, turned out to be an unnecessary concern. The texts were written in a very formal manner, discretion being a key feature, but it did not mean that there would be no expressions of opinion or no personal touch to the texts. Despite their matter-of-fact form, or perhaps because of the very form, the reports provided in fact a fruitful base for exploring the elements of IO authority and IO behaviour in general. It appears that politeness and neutrality do not hinder expressing opinions and promoting certain issues over others. Sometimes these issues can be promoted even more forcefully by presenting them in a formal shape.

Discussions about the international development environment are sometimes hard to follow, especially if one wants to concentrate on the actions of UN rather than the member states. Even at the UN arenas, the primary focus of meetings and processes is not on the organization but on the member states. Taking the organization into closer consideration has, thus, been interesting, because it has required a specific approach concentrating on the "background" rather than the forefront. It has also been challenging, because this kind of information needs to be dug out. It is easier to find information about what the UN does than about the relations, motives and dichotomies behind this work. As the bureaucracy theory suggests, these aspects are an integral part of the work of IOs and, therefore, they need to be taken into consideration. With respect to my reseach setting, it is still important to point out that in the everyday work of the organization the member states are, indeed, central actors. The UN is in many way dependent on its member states and it also cherishes this relation. I do not see the focus on agency as surpassing this relation, but rather complementing it.

About northern dominence and southern theory

As I started to analyze the research material with respect to the North-South division, I had no idea how deeply this division would be connected to the overall international cooperation – and as such also to my research setting. The North-South dimension of development activities became an important part of this thesis. To be able to understand the differing opinions, I paid special attention to finding material produced by the southern scholars. This, however, turned out not to be an easy task. Most of the literature found in libraries and used at the university, even the part of it concentrating on development and the southern countries, is produced in the North. For example Culpeper and Morton (2008, 2) have noted in their study the deep concern of the developing countries regarding the way most development knowledge is today produced in the North. Without reasonable knowledge of the southern experiences, forming impartial, inclusive development policies at the international level remains challenging. Dijkzeul and Beigbeder (2003, 16), in turn, have noted that the lack of attention to southern perspectives and experiences is one of the most prominent problems in the study of IO's. For a good introduction to this problematic situation in social sciences and with sociology as an example, turn to for example Connel (2007).

The southern views, it seems, are often expressed through certain research institutes or by individual scholars, and in the mainstream discussion they often represent a kind of alternative or even a secondary view. Often, the texts of the southern writers, at least regarding international development, seem to be discussed against the background laid by northern theory. It becomes difficult to create a neutral research

setting – even if interesting southern views are available – if the background literature is implicitly northern. It can of course be asked, what use there is to search for theory written by southern scholars, if the most expertise and in that way also most professional research is conducted in the North. Is southern theory relevant just because it is written in the South? Yes and no. First, the claim of most of the expertise to be found in the North is questionable and depends on what is defined as "expertise". It is clear that best expertise regarding southern countries is produced, at least to a great extent, by those from the South. The work conducted by northern scholars is also important, but its viewpoint is different. There is of course no reason to expect that the northern theory would consciously be discriminative towards other parts of the world, but if no room is left for views from other parts of the world, a implicitly twisted setting is born. I see this as a wider matter that definitely encompasses issues of power and bias. It is an issue that is hard to change, but it is something that needs to be taken into account at all levels of research. In this study the most important point regarding this discussion is the notion of the multiplicity of the North-South division.

Eskola and Suoranta (1998, 21) have stated, that in fact the largest part of scientific research is based on common sense and earlier experiences, something really "scientific" forming only a small part of the final product. Even if you did have a scientific way of presenting this result, it could – and should – still be questioned because all research, and qualitative research especially, is affected by the own knowledge of the researcher. With respect to my own role as a researcher I can only say that I have tried my best to stay objective, to take into account the different opinions of the North and South and other parties, to look at material produced both within and outside UN environment and to look at all of this critically. At the same time I can not deny my own position as a student coming from Finland and studying under the influence of western education system nor as a writer with more enthusiasm than experience in this kind of research. Hopefully the weaknesses of the researcher can awake relevant questions for future research in the head of the reader.

Data

All reports can be found at the UN official document service (ODS) by using the symbol of the document in the search. ODS can be found at http://documents.un.org/welcome.asp?language=E

1) Recommendations contained in the report of the High-level Panel on United Nations System-wide Coherence in the areas of development, humanitarian assistance and the environment
2007 (A/61/836)

2) Triennial comprehensive policy review (TCPR) of operational activities of the United Nations development system
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Appendices

The United Nations System. UN organizational chart. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/structure/org_chart.shtml (3.4.2012)

Appendix 1. UN organizational Chart

The United Nations System

UN Principal Organs

- General Assembly
- Security Council
- Economic and Social Council
- Secretariat
- International Court of Justice
- Trusteeship Council [5]

NOTES:

1 UNRWA and UNIDIR report only to the General Assembly.

2 IAEA reports to the Security Council and the General Assembly.

3 WTO has no reporting obligation to the General Assembly (GA) but contributes on an ad-hoc basis to GA and ECOSOC work inter alia on finance and developmental issues.

4 Specialized agencies are autonomous organizations working with the UN and each other through the coordinating machinery of ECOSOC at the intergovernmental level, and through the Chief Executives Board for Coordination (CEB) at the inter-secretariat level. This section is listed in order of establishment of these organizations as specialized agencies of the United Nations.

5 The Trusteeship Council suspended operation on 1 November 1994 with the independence of Palau, the last remaining United Nations Trust Territory, on 1 October 1994.

This is not an official document of the United Nations, nor is it intended to be all-inclusive.

Subsidiary Bodies

- Main and other sessional committees
- Disarmament Commission
- Human Rights Council
- International Law Commission
- Standing committees and ad hoc bodies

Subsidiary Bodies

- Counter-terrorism committees
- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)
- International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)
- Military Staff Committee
- Peacekeeping operations and political missions
- Sanctions committees (ad hoc)
- Standing committees and ad hoc bodies

Functional Commissions

- Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice
- Narcotic Drugs
- Population and Development
- Science and Technology for Development
- Social Development
- Statistics
- Status of Women
- Sustainable Development
- United Nations Forum on Forests

Regional Commissions

- ECA Economic Commission for Africa
- ECE Economic Commission for Europe
- ECLAC Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
- ESCAP Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
- ESCWA Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia

Other Bodies

- Committee for Development Policy
- Committee of Experts on Public Administration
- Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations
- Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
- United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names
- Other sessional and standing committees and expert, ad hoc and related bodies

Departments and Offices

- **EOSG** Executive Office of the Secretary-General
- **DESA** Department of Economic and Social Affairs
- **DFS** Department of Field Support
- **DGACM** Department for General Assembly and Conference Management
- **DM** Department of Management
- **DPA** Department of Political Affairs
- **DPI** Department of Public Information
- **DPKO** Department of Peacekeeping Operations
- **DSS** Department of Safety and Security
- **OCHA** Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
- **OHCHR** Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
- **OIOS** Office of Internal Oversight Services
- **OLA** Office of Legal Affairs
- **OSAA** Office of the Special Adviser on Africa
- **OSRSG/CAAC** Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict
- **UNODA** Office for Disarmament Affairs
- **UNOG** United Nations Office at Geneva
- **UN-OHRLLS** Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States
- **UNON** United Nations Office at Nairobi
- **UNOV** United Nations Office at Vienna

Programmes and Funds

- **UNCTAD** United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
  - **ITC** International Trade Centre (UNCTAD/WTO)
- **UNDP** United Nations Development Programme
  - **UNCDF** United Nations Capital Development Fund
  - **UNV** United Nations Volunteers
- **UNEP** United Nations Environment Programme
- **UNFPA** United Nations Population Fund
- **UN-HABITAT** United Nations Human Settlements Programme
- **UNHCR** Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
- **UNICEF** United Nations Children's Fund
- **UNODC** United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
- **UNRWA** [1] United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
- **UN-Women** United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
- **WFP** World Food Programme

Research and Training Institutes

- **UNICRI** United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
- **UNIDIR** [1] United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
- **UNITAR** United Nations Institute for Training and Research
- **UNRISD** United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
- **UNSSC** United Nations System Staff College
- **UNU** United Nations University

Other Entities

- **UNAIDS** Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
- **UNISDR** United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
- **UNOPS** United Nations Office for Project Services

Advisory Subsidiary Body

- UN Peacebuilding Commission

Specialized Agencies [4]

- **ILO** International Labour Organization
- **FAO** Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
- **UNESCO** United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
- **WHO** World Health Organization
- **World Bank Group**
  - **IBRD** International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
  - **IDA** International Development Association
  - **IFC** International Finance Corporation
  - **MIGA** Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
  - **ICSID** International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes
- **IMF** International Monetary Fund
- **ICAO** International Civil Aviation Organization
- **IMO** International Maritime Organization
- **ITU** International Telecommunication Union
- **UPU** Universal Postal Union
- **WMO** World Meteorological Organization
- **WIPO** World Intellectual Property Organization
- **IFAD** International Fund for Agricultural Development
- **UNIDO** United Nations Industrial Development Organization
- **UNWTO** World Tourism Organization

Related Organizations

- **CTBTO PrepCom** Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization
- **IAEA** [2] International Atomic Energy Agency
- **OPCW** Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
- **WTO** [3] World Trade Organization