FROM WELL-BEING TO AGENCY: INTEGRATION OF WOMEN'S ISSUES IN PEACE, SECURITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES IN US

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DECLARATION

· I declare that the dissertation entitled "**From Well-being to Agency: Integration of Women's Issues in Peace, Security and Environmental Policies in US**" submitted by me for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.
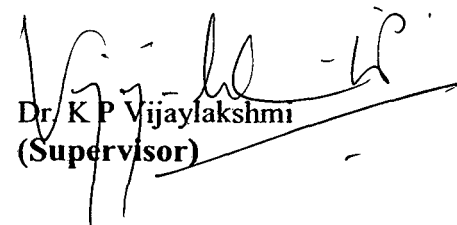
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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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(Chairperson)

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In this effort, I have tried my best to develop an original set of arguments, and have worked hard to enhance the accuracy and quality of this work. However, I accept the sole responsibility of shortcomings, if any, in this work.

ESHA PANDEY

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

In the last century, women's movement has evolved and has moved away from narrow 'welfarist' focus towards an emphasis on women's activism. The movement further metamorphosed from focusing on "well being" to "agency". This dissertation attempts to research the role of women as agents of peace in times of conflict and their role in environmental protection through the study of the working of the above-mentioned organizations. It seeks to raise and highlight questions regarding the concept of identity and the concept of work done by women. This study is an attempt to critically examine whether the goal of changing the status of women has been met. Further, it attempts to link 'third wave' advocacy to the goals realized by the movement in the past decade. While many studies have attempted to study the change in the status of women, this is a maiden attempt to study the advocacy of agency of women.

The objectives of this study are to identify and analyze the evolution of the three phases of American Feminism, to identify the shift in the women's movement's focus from "well being" to "agency", to study the issue of gendered impact of women as agents of change on two areas: peace and security and environmental protection by ecofeminism through the working of the selected organizations, and to establish the linkages between empowerment and participation in the process of establishing peace and ecological reconstruction.

The study specifically seeks to examine whether the era of 'third wave' of feminism in the US corresponded to a shift in the movement across the world in its focus from "well being" to "agency"? Have women as "agents" of peace and advocates of environmental policies had any impact on the peace processes and environmental politics in US and internationally? And

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if there were any linkages between women's movement and the advocacy work by women's movement?

The methodology for this study would be descriptive, empirical and analytical. The study proposes to refer both primary and secondary sources of information and data.

*The dissertation has been divided in to following five chapters. The **introductory** chapter would deal with the history of the women's movement by critically examining the three waves of feminist movement in the US. The focus will be on the third wave since it is the most recent (1990 onwards). This chapter will explain the move from "well being" identified with the first wave to "agency" identified with the third wave and the necessity for it.*

*The second chapter, '**Feminist Critique And The Road To Advocacy Of Agency**', This chapter will focus on the origin of women's movement and various waves of feminism. It takes in to account the various themes and social currents in feminist movement in America.*

*The third chapter, '**Women as Agents of Peace and Environmental Protection**' focuses on the role of women in promoting peace and security and environment. It highlights the organizational work to pro-peace and pro-environment ideologies This chapter links the issues of war and peace and environment to the third wave by undertaking four case studies of women's organizations in America.*

*The fourth chapter, '**Impact and Legislative Response**' assesses the impact of women's advocacy of the issues mentioned above. Whether the*

advocacy and feminist activism has led to any policy formulations would also be analyzed.

The last chapter contains the main findings of the study and an overall assessment of the shift from 'well being' to 'agency' and advocacy of women's groups.

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

"It was more than a century ago, in 1870, that Queen Victoria wrote to Sir Theodore Martin complaining about "this mad, wicked folly of 'Woman's Rights'." The formidable empress certainly did not herself need any protection that the acknowledgment of women's rights might offer. Even at the age of eighty, in 1899, she could write to A.J. Balfour, "We are not interested in the possibilities of defeat; they do not exist." That, however, is not the way most people's lives go - reduced and defeated as they frequently are by adversities. And within each community, nationality and class, the burden of hardship often falls disproportionately on women.[1]"

Amartya Sen has rightly proclaimed that the 'afflicted world in which we live is characterized by deeply unequal sharing of the burden of adversities between women and men.' Many share his belief that gender inequality exists in most parts of the world, from Japan to Morocco, from Uzbekistan to the United States of America in one form or the other today. "Indeed, gender inequality is not one homogeneous phenomenon, but a collection of disparate and interlinked problems.[2]" It expresses itself in the form of professional inequality or special opportunity inequality that is, is many cases young girls loose out because they are not given an opportunity to go to school or for higher education or in other cases the sex of a person comes into play and women loose out to men because "men are more fit for that particular job". This is the "gene vs. gender" debate. Gender is believed to be a social construct by most of the post-modernist feminists. They believe that it is the inter-subjective understanding of the "woman" which is integral in interpretation of her capabilities.

Nussbaum, a pioneer of the "capabilities approach" believes that "the capabilities provide individuals with opportunities for functioning, for making self-defined choices possible.

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[1] Amartya Sen, "Many Faces of Gender Inequality" *Frontline (New Delhi)* Volume 18 - Issue 22, Oct. 27 - Nov. 09, 2001 p.86-102

[2] ibid., p 87

These choices, however, are virtually meaningless without the material preconditions that enable their functioning. Thus, the central question driving the capabilities approach is what are individuals actually able to do or to be?[3]"

Even though America is one of the oldest democracies in the world, the journey of American women to freedom, not only political but also social and economic has been a thoroughly fought affair. The US constitution did not extend the right to vote to African Americans or to women. The early Republic gave legal suffrage or the legal right to vote to a handful of population mostly property owning male. It was only after the Civil War that the right to vote was extended to African American males and other minorities. It took another half a century for women to achieve the same.

Thomas Jefferson, the most liberal of the founders reflected a wide spread view when he stated, *"Were our state a pure democracy, there would be excluded from our deliberations, women, who to prevent deprivation of morals and ambiguity of issues should not mix promiscuously in the gatherings of men"*. His statement reflected the belief that natural differences between sexes required them to occupy separate spheres of life. Men would dominate public sphere of work and government while women would dominate the private domain of home.

Even a woman's citizenship was tied to her husband. Before the Civil War, they were not admitted to public high schools or hold jobs. Women, further, were expected to prepare for motherhood which education might fatigue or ruin. They did not have the right to manage property. This traditional concept of gender roles created problems for women who did not fit the mold. Even the judicial view had stated, *"Law as well as nature itself, has always recognized a wide difference in the respective spheres and destinies of men and women. Man, is or should be the woman's protector and defender."* The

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[3] Martha Nussbaum, (2000). *Women and human development: The capabilities approach.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 321

stereotyping of gender roles was thus, shared by all sections of social, political and judicial spectrum. Protesting against the essentially discriminatory nature of this view, women at the first instance began actively participating in religious forums that were dedicated to fighting against social evils like alcoholism and prostitution.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, religious revivalism began to spread and inspired the early women's rights movement. Large numbers of middle-class women joined evangelical societies whose efforts centered on religious conversion and on moral and social reform. These women campaigned to improve the lives and save the souls of prostitutes, increase the wages of workingwomen, and expand employment opportunities for women. They also campaigned to abolish alcohol, an effort that was known as *the temperance movement*. Temperance workers considered alcohol to be a primary cause of sexual violence, prostitution, promiscuity, adultery, and the destruction of working-class families. Many prominent early American activists for women's rights, including Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Elizabeth Blackwell, gained important organizational and political experience in the temperance movement.

American women became involved in many social and moral reform campaigns in the nineteenth century, but it was their efforts in the anti-slavery movement that led most directly to the organized campaign for women's rights. Many of the earliest female *abolitionists* came from Quaker backgrounds, and drew on Quaker traditions of equality for all people as inspiration for their political work. In some areas, women formed independent abolition societies.

In 1840, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton traveled to London to attend the World Anti-Slavery Convention. Upon arrival, however, the women were barred from participating in the conference and forced to sit behind a curtain. This experience of discrimination inspired them to organize the first women's rights convention. This convention met in Seneca Falls, New York, on July 19 and 20, 1848. *The Seneca Falls Convention* attracted more than 200 women and approximately 40 men. For the

convention, Stanton, Mott, and several others wrote *a Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions*, often considered the founding text of the American women's rights movement. Based on the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of Sentiments stated that men and women were created equal and that, like men, women were born with certain natural rights. *"The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her."* The document criticized men for denying women the right to vote, the right to hold property, equal terms in a divorce, and custody of children. It also criticized men for blocking women's access to higher education, the professions, and "nearly all the profitable employments." The declaration also faulted the church for excluding women from the ministry. Finally, the Declaration of Sentiments at the convention insisted that women be granted "immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States."

Until the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, the anti-slavery and the women's rights movement had a lot in common. In fact, usually the same women were active in both the cases. Nevertheless, the Fifteenth Amendment left them dissatisfied as they were still deprived of the right to vote. Henceforth, the anti-slavery movement and the women's right movement went separate ways. Civil war had enhanced women's self-confidence and stimulated them organizationally; but the nationalization of women's right on national scale did not begin until 1880.

With the formation of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1890, the women's right movement focused almost exclusively on attaining the right to vote. Carrie Chapman Catt (1859 - 1947), U.S. woman suffrage leader and pacifist, referring to the Woman Suffrage movement said, *"Once, this movement represented the scattered and disconnected protests of individual women...Happily, those days are past...there has emerged a present-day movement possessing a clear understanding and a definite, positive purpose."* In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment granted women this right. In theory, the Nineteenth Amendment extended voting rights to all women. "The right of

citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex"[4].

After the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote, members of the women's movement focused on gaining other rights for women. Alice Paul and Lucy Burns directed their efforts toward prohibiting all other inequities between men and women. Paul and Burns had established the National Women's Party in 1916 to work for women's suffrage. However, they believed that winning the right to vote marked only the beginning of women's struggle for equality. In the early 1920s, the National Women's Party aimed to pass an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution that would make illegal all forms of discrimination based on sex.

Under the influence of the National Women's Party, the U.S. Congress introduced the ERA in 1923, but the issue failed to gain significant support. Some people who had previously supported women's right to vote nevertheless opposed the ERA. They included moderate social reformers, such as Florence Kelley and Jane Addams, and administrators in the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. These people opposed the ERA because they believed that strict enforcement of equal rights would mean the elimination of protective legislation for women. They thought that the ERA would be particularly harmful to working-class women. The above discussion has brought to fore the significant shifts in the women's movement in America and has underlined considerable legislative battles won by women's groups throughout the course of this movement.

Conceptual Basis of American Feminism:

"The false division of human nature into "feminine" and "masculine" is the root of all other divisions into subject and object, active and passive; the beginning of hierarchy"[5].

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[4] Text of the Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution cab be found at http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution.html accessed on 10 Dec 2007

[5] Gloria Steinem in Observer Life Magazine, London. May 15, 1994 www.msnencarta.com accessed on January 15, 2008

After intense debates and discussions, scholars have come to a general conclusion that feminism is a diverse, competing, and often opposing collection of social theories, political movements, and moral philosophies, largely motivated by or concerning the experiences of women, especially in terms of their social, political, and economical inequalities. Feminism focuses on limiting or eradicating gender inequality to promote women's rights, interests, and issues in society. Modern feminism, with deep historical roots, focuses on earning, and establishing equity by and for women, vis-à-vis men, to promote those same rights, interests, and issues, regardless of gender considerations. Thus, as with any ideology, political movement or philosophy, there is no single, universal form of feminism that represents all feminists. The most well known types of feminism are liberal feminism, social feminism, radical feminism, and post-modern feminism. Lately, Cyberfeminism and Ecofeminism have also made in-roads in the feminist circles.

Liberal feminism seeks no special privileges for women and simply demands that everyone receive equal consideration without discrimination based on sex. Liberal feminists hold the view that freedom is a fundamental value, and that the just state ensures freedom for citizens including women[6]. Liberal feminists seek to remove barriers that prevent equal access for women to information technology jobs not only to provide economic equality but also to provide access to higher-paying jobs for women.

In contrast to liberal feminism, *socialist feminism* rejects individualism and positivism. Socialist feminist reform suggests that the allocation of resources for development should be determined by greatest benefit for the common good. A growing use of cyber protests to disrupt capitalist enterprises such as the World Bank might be seen by socialists as an example of information technology use for the common good.

Radical feminism maintains that women's oppression is the first, most widespread, and deepest oppression. Radical feminism rejects most scientific theories, data, and

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[6] Works of Liberal feminists can be accessed at http://www.science.uva.nl/~seop/entries/feminism-liberal/#EgaLibFemWorks// , website of Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

experiment not only because they exclude women but also because they are not women-centered. Radical feminism suggests that because men, masculinity, and patriarchy have become completely intertwined with technology and computer systems in our society, no truly feminist alternative to technology exists.

Postmodern feminist theories imply that no universal research agenda or application of technologies will be appropriate and that various women will have different reactions to technologies depending upon their own class, race, sexuality, country, and other factors. In contrast to liberal feminism, postmodernism dissolves the universal subject and the possibility that women speak in a unified voice or that they can be universally addressed. The social constructivist perspective on gender and technology reveals some of the issues embedded in its assumptions. *Social constructivist perspective* forwards the belief that there is no behavior or meaning, which is universally and cross-culturally associated with either masculinity or femininity, that what is considered masculine in some societies is considered feminine or gender-neutral in others. It is not that gender difference does not exist but that it is manifested differently in different societies.

Cyberfeminism is a woman-centered perspective that advocates women's use of new information and communications technologies for empowerment. Some cyberfeminists see technologies as inherently libratory and argue that their development will lead to an end to male superiority because women are uniquely suited to life in the digital age. The term Cyberfeminism, which explicitly fuses gender and information technology, arose in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Hawthorne and Klein in their book, "Cyberfeminism", state that "just as there are liberal, socialist, radical and postmodern feminists, so too one finds these positions reflected in the interpretations of Cyberfeminism"[7]. Cyberfeminists saw the potential of the Internet and computer science as technologies to level the playing field and open new avenues for job opportunities and creativity for women where absence of sexism, racism, and other oppression would serve as major contrasts between the virtual world and the real world.

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[7] Susan Hawthorne, and Renate Klein (Eds.). (1999). *"Cyberfeminism: Connectivity, Critique and Creativity"*. North Melbourne, Vic., Australia

Currently, there are not many clear and explicit applications of feminism theory in the context of Information System research. However, the emerging area of cyberfeminism can benefit from different types of feminism in order to build cyberfeminist theories. Cyberfeminism uses aspects of different feminist theories to reflect many interactions among information technologies, women, and feminism.

Cultural Feminism, relies on tradition and supports the theory that there are fundamental personality differences between men and women, feminism supports the notion that there are biological differences between men and women, for example, "women are kinder and more gentle then men", leading to the mentality that if women ruled the world there would be no wars. Cultural feminism is the theory that wants to overcome sexism by celebrating women's special qualities, women's ways, and women's experiences, often believing that the "woman's way" is the better way.

Ecofeminism is a set of theories that claim that because of biological determinism, reproductive and maternal roles, the oppression of patriarchy and women's more holistic spiritual connection to nature, or the alternative perspective that feminism can provide, women are more concerned about environment than men are.[8] This theory rests on the basic principal that patriarchal philosophies are harmful to women, children, and other living things. Parallels are often drawn between society's treatment of the environment, animals, or resources and its treatment of women. In resisting patriarchal culture, eco-feminists believe they are also resisting plundering and destroying the Earth. They feel that the patriarchal philosophy emphasizes the need to dominate and control unruly females and the unruly wilderness (nature and the earth).

Ecofeminism states the patriarchal society is relatively new, something developed over the last 5,000 years or so and that the matriarchal society was the first society. In this matriarchal society, women were the center of society and people worshipped Goddesses. This is known as the *Feminist Eden*, the time in history where women were the center of

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[8] Mark Somma and Sue Rienhart "Tracking the Elusive Green Women: Sex, Environmentalism and Feminism in the US and Europe", *Political Research Quaterly*, Vol.50, No.1,(March 1997) pg 153-169

society. During the process of evolution of women's movement, it has moved beyond the narrow 'welfarist' aims of "well being" towards "agency". The number of women's groups involved in advocacy of agency for women and inclusion of women in dialogues and dialogic explorations for resolution of conflicts or environmental issues like, global warming , which was taken up by women in Kyoto as well as Bali, has swelled.

Conceptual Basis of Agency

Agency is a philosophical concept of the capacity of an agent to act in a world. Human agency is the capacity for human beings to make choices and to impose those choices on the world. It is normally contrasted to natural forces, which are causes involving only unthinking deterministic processes. In this respect, **agency is subtly distinct from the concept of free will**, the philosophical doctrine that our choices are not the product of causal chains, but are significantly free or determined. Human agency entails the uncontroversial, weaker claim that humans do in fact make decisions and enact them on the world.

The capacity of a human to act as an agent is personal to that human, though considerations of the outcomes flowing from particular acts of human agency for us and others can then be thought to invest a moral component into a given situation wherein an agent has acted, and thus to involve moral agency.

In certain philosophical traditions like pragmatism, phenomennology, existentialism and particularly those established by Hegel and Marx[9], human agency is a collective, historical dynamic, rather than a function arising out of individual behavior. Hegel's Geist and Marx's universal class are idealist and materialist expressions of this idea of humans treated as social beings, organized to act in concert.

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[9] Hegel's influential conceptions are of speculative logic or "dialectic," "absolute idealism," "Spirit," the "Master/Slave" dialectic, "ethical life," and the importance of history. Marx is a co-founder of Marxism (with Engel's), alienation and exploitation of the worker, *The Communist Manifesto Das Kapital*, and Materialist conception of history

Scholars like Benson believe that 'common themes in recent feminist ethical thought can dislodge the guiding assumptions of traditional theories of free agency and thereby foster an account of freedom which might be more fruitful for feminist discussion of moral and political agency'. Women's labour in salvaging and enhancing their agency is both difficult and possible in a 'sexist society.' He suggests that feminist thought should helpfully reorient prevailing ways of understanding 'free agency' and that this reorientation in turn would boost analysis of the conflicts involved in women's consciousness of their own power as agents[10].

The general opinion among scholars like Benson and Gottfried[11] that creation of a free agent's self as perfect self-domination is difficult to comprehend and frequently manifests itself as a puzzle. A perusal of the available literature reveals that the though many of these theories are not incompatible with serious feminist concerns, contemporary feminist thought has tended to emphasize individual experiences of women, which are diverse and unique, rather than as moral and political monolith.

Normative competence of free agency is to emphasize the importance of consciousness-raising in creating new possibilities for free action. Though diverse versions of the meaning of free agency are readily available, the real nature of the subject has rarely been questioned.

Scholars have generally presumed three notions about free agency. Firstly, they assume that free agency is, independent of the existence or character of either our relationships with other persons or our social situation. That is, **free agency has been treated as having a non-relational, even solipsistic, character.** "The abilities which comprise our

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[10] Paul Benson, "Feminist Second Thoughts about Free Agency" *Hypatia*, Vol. 5, No. 3, (Autumn, 1990), pp. 47-64; Indiana University Press

[11] Heidi Gottfried *"Feminism and Social Change: BRIDGING THEORY AND PRACTICE"*1996: Illinois: USA

freedom as agents-over and above the abilities that make us agents in the first place-are ones we possess entirely in our own right."[12]

Secondly, **'free agency' has been understood to be lacking in any essential normative content.'** Accounts of freedom have presented themselves as being neutral among competing substantive ethical or political commitments.' Neutrality has been assumed as a measure of the adequacy of a view of free action. Free agency has been assumed to be a value-neutral precondition for the appropriate application of certain domains of value (e.g., moral requirements) to persons' actions rather than certain standards of valuable action.

Thirdly, it has been assumed that **primary constitutive condition of free agency is the agent's having the power to control, regulate, or rule over her conduct.** But instead of questioning what the free agent's distinctive control consists of, the scholarship focused on if some sort of control is what mainly defines free agency. The free agent's control can be described as an executive power, the power decisively to initiate courses of action in the face of available alternatives, the ability to do or not do.

AGENTS AND AGENCY

*"...Women and girls are often the most adversely affected victims of violent conflict –
targets for abuse, refugees, inhabitants of shattered communities and states. But time
and again women have demonstrated their resilience in overcoming despair and
building peace."*

—*Lee H. Hamilton*[13]

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[12] Paul Benson, "Feminist Second Thoughts about Free Agency" *Hypatia*, Vol. 5, No. 3, (Autumn, 1990), pp. 47-64; Indiana University Press

[13] Lee H. Hamilton is president and director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and director of The Center on Congress at Indiana University. He served as chairman and ranking member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, chaired the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran, the Joint Economic Committee, and the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. His congress papers can be accessed at Lee H. Hamilton Congressional Papers, 1965-1998

Contemporary philosophical traditions identify a **rational agent** as an agent who takes actions based on information from and knowledge about his or her environment. In economic terms, an agent tends to maximize the chances of success using commonly accepted logical inference rules[14].

It is interesting to note that some of the strongest and most widely shared intuitions about free agency concern the diminished freedom of certain socially marginal people. For instance women, who are capable of acting intentionally, but have severely restricted powers to act freely. They people typically can carry out plans, which reflect what they care about and what they think they know about the world and their situation in it. They are agents.

From the above mentioned analysis of the rational agents and other philosophical tradtions, it is clear that the action a rational agent takes depends on the agent's past experiences; the agent's information of its environment ; the actions, duties and obligations available to the agent and the estimated benefits and the chances of success of the actions. Women's agency has proved to be a very important role-player in the emergence of welfare states in liberal societies across the world. In times of war, women are the worst sufferers as they have to survive the onslaught and fend for their children sans the men-folk, who are either dead or busy fighting. This experience gives them a better understanding of the needs of the society and an insight into the working of the same. It is contended that they are better equiped to re-build the society because they understand society better and are better at dialogues than men. The following chapters will endeavour to further the above proposition in the context of American women. In general, the diversity of women's experience and the importance of local conditions in determining their status and needs determines the role they can play as agents to bring about a welcome social change. In studying the American experience, these propositions can be usefully tested. Further, as globalization impacts women world wide, the journey and experience of American women have relevance and linkages for others.

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[14] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, http://plato.stanford.edu/, accessed on 14 Dec 2008

Women's Agency and Social Change

The need to understand how women's agency can bring about long term changes in society, has begun to dominate philosophical discourses in US and elsewhere. Many of them believe that the expansion of women's capabilities not only enhances women's own freedom and well-being, but also has many other effects on the lives of all[15]. That is an enhancement of women's active agency can, in many circumstances, contribute substantially to the lives of all people - men as well as women, children as well as adults. Many studies have revealed that the greater empowerment of women tends to reduce child neglect and mortality, cut down fertility and overcrowding, and more generally, broaden social concern and care[16]. Once the shackles of patriarchy are broken, women tend to seize business and economic initiative with much success. Women's participation does not merely lead to generation of income for women, but it also provides many other social benefits that come from women's enhanced status and independence. The remarkable success of organizations like the Grameen Bank and the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) in Bangladesh is a case in point. The high profile presence of women in social and political life in that country has drawn substantial support from women's economic involvement and from a changed image of the role of women. The nature of modern Bangladesh reflects in many different ways the increasing agency of women. Sen says that the precipitate fall of the total fertility rate in Bangladesh from 6.1 to 3.0 in the course of two decades (perhaps the fastest such fall in the world) is clearly related to the changed economic and social roles of women, along with increases in family planning facilities. There have also been cultural influences and developments in that direction. He also observes similar changes in parts of India where

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[15] Heidi Gottfried *"Feminism and Social Change: BRIDGING THEORY AND PRACTICE"* 1996: Illinois: USA

[16] "Gaining Ground: *A Profile of American Women in the Twentieth Century"*: This report documents the trends in well-being of American women in the 20th century in seven categories: demographics, health, family, education, economics, attitudes and religion. While women have made phenomenal strides forward in life-expectancy, economics, education, and in maternal health, the areas of personal well-being are cause for concern. This report can be accessed at
http://www.beverlylahayeinstitute.org/articledisplay.asp?id=4687&department=BLI&categoryid=reports

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women's empowerment has expanded, with more literacy and greater economic and social involvements outside the home. He insists that informed choices are those based on critical reflection and deliberate intentionality. They reflect the real interests and desires of individuals rather than choices made under desperate or constraining circumstances. Thus, the political rights of self-determination and affiliation embodied in the central capabilities are vital to the formulation of genuine human needs, of creating opportunities to make functional choices.

Nussbaum, another scholar of capability approach, views women's collectives as the primary locus of social transformation in India while she simultaneously privileges the establishment of constitutional guarantees linked to the central capabilities, some of which are already contained in the Indian constitution, but remain unenforced[17]. This tension reflects the inherent contradictions in Nussbaum's project. She believes that the political rights embodied in the capabilities are a precondition to developing the new "regimes of choice" exemplified by the women's collectives.

Women's Movement: Impact on Social Change

Women's movement today has moved beyond focusing on well-being of women to free agency of women. In the past, the well-being aspects of women in women's movements was the exclusive concentration, however, today it is fair to say the agency aspects are beginning to receive more attention. An agent-oriented approach to the women's agenda is necessary because such an agency can play a crucial role in removing the iniquities that are rampant in societies across cultural and political boundaries. Respect and regard for women's well-being is strongly influence by women's ability to earn an independent income, find employment outside the home, having ownership rights, being literate and being an educated participant in decisions within and outside the family. As progress is

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[17] Martha Nussbaum, (2000). *Women and human development: The capabilities approach.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 321

made in these agency aspects, the survival of women compared to men tends to improve and may one day be equal to that of men.

In the American context it has been found that men and women have both congruent and conflicting interests that affect family living. Sometimes the deprived women cannot clearly assess the extent of her relative deprivation. The perception of who is doing "productive work" or who's "contributing" to the family's prosperity can be very influential. Also, perceptions of individual contributions to the family play a major role in the division of the family's joint benefits between men and women. There is significant evidence that the empowerment of women can greatly reduce child mortality.[18]

Thus, several authors, analysts and experts have pointed out that when women are given the same opportunities as men, they are no less successful in making use of them. Some believe that the impact of women's empowerment in enhancing the voice and influence of women does help to reduce gender inequality of many different kinds, and can also reduce the indirect penalties that men suffer from the subjugation of women. In fact, the relevance of these points have been amplified in the American context .

In the following chapters the study will attempt to account for the shift in the women's movement in US from focus on well being to agency. It seeks to build linkages between activities and achievements of women's groups domestically and internationally. In the past few years, these groups have increasingly taken up unconventional issues like peace making and environmentalism to negotiate and alter the larger political context which impacts the status of women. Therefore, a study of the achievements of these groups in terms of advocacy for the above causes, and changes brought about in terms of legislation in the US is relevant and necessary. However, in order to understand the significance and salience of extraordinary movement of women from 'well being' to 'agency', it is important to incorporate the origins and the various stages that the women's movement

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[18] Fertility rates go down with greater empowerment of women. "Gaining Ground: *A Profile of American Women in the Twentieth Century*" see fn 15

underwent. The following chapter examines the various stages of women's movement in America along with the analysis of feminism.

CHAPTER-2

FEMINIST CRITIQUE AND THE ROAD TO ADVOCACY
OF AGENCY

"No golden weights can turn the scale
Of justice in His sight;
And what is wrong in woman's life
In man's cannot be right."

> *Frances E. W. Harper (1825 - 1911)*
> *U.S. writer and social reformer*
> *"A Double Standard" in Atlantic Offering,*

The American feminist movement has often coincided with the history of the women's movement. The Feminist movement emerged around the late nineteenth century, with the beginnings of the so-called "first wave" of feminism. Feminism, as a whole, has been divided into three 'waves', with each seen as dealing with different aspects of the same issues[1]. The first wave refers to the feminism movement of the Nineteenth through early Twentieth centuries, which dealt mainly with the Suffrage movement. It was an outgrowth of the anti-slavery and abolitionist movements, in which women fighting for the rights of Blacks in the United States realized that they themselves lacked some of the rights they were fighting for others. According to O'Neill the term "woman movement appears in the late nineteenth century to describe all the public activities of women, whether directly related to feminist goals or not."[2] The second wave (1960s-1980s) dealt with the inequality of laws, as well as unofficial inequalities, and was sparked by the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*. It concluded with the failure of the "Equal Rights Amendment" to the U.S. Constitution. The Third wave of Feminism

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[1] Waves of Feminism by Jo Freeman online accessed on 23 May 2008
http://www.jofreeman.com/feminism/waves.htm

[2] William L. O'Neill, Everyone was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969.

(1990s-current), is a continuation of the Second Wave, but is a response to the perceived failures of the Second-wave.[3]

Limiting the history of Feminism to the history of the modern Feminist Movement has been criticised by some authors as ignoring women's opposition to patriarchy over the course of thousands of years.[4] For example, Mary Wollstonecraft, author of A Vindication of the Rights of Women, put forth ideals we now recognize as feminist, as an outgrowth of the enlightenment values espoused in the late 18th, early 19th centuries[5]. Thus, this chapter aims to bring out the drift of theories of feminism across times and spaces as feminism evolved in America. However, it is important to understand the etymology of the term "feminism" and the ideology and philosophy that came to be associated with it.

Etymology of "feminism"

The word "Feminism" appeared first in France in the 1880s, Great Britain in the 1890s, and the United States in 1910[6]. The Oxford English Dictionary lists 1894 for "feminism", and 1895 for "feminist". Prior to that "Woman's Rights" was probably the term used most commonly, hence Queen Victoria's description of this "mad, wicked folly of 'Woman's Rights' ".[7] It was the London *Daily News* that coined the term, and by importing it from France, automatically branded it as dangerous. "What our Paris Correspondent describes as a 'Feminist' group...in the... Chamber of Deputies".

Prior to the appearance of "feminist" as a label for women involved in discussing or advancing women's issues, we find the use of the term 'protofeminist'. Although the use

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[3] In the mid 1990s, feminists began to debate the origins of female political activism in an effort to understand their own history. In fact the challenge was to understand the suffrage movement and whether women were consciously active in it. Jo Freeman says that suffrage movement was the "second wave" and the "third wave" began in 1960s. However, my contention is the above formulation of "waves".

[4] Ann Taylor Allen , Feminism, Social Science, and the Meanings of Modernity: The Debate on the Origin of the Family in Europe and the United States, 1860–1914. *The American Historical Review* 1999 October 104(4)

[5] Charlotte Witt, Feminist History of Philosophy 2000 (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)

[6] Margaret J M Ezell, Writing Women's Literary History. Johns Hopkins University 1993 216 pp.

[7] Letter to Sir Theodore Martin 1870. Cited by Amartya Sen, in *"Many faces of gender inequality"*. Frontline 18(22) November 9 2001

of the term 'proto-feminist' defies a standardized definition of a feminist, and does not necessarily add value to the investigation of the history of feminism, as well as potentially detracts from the importance of their contributions[8]. Urbanski[9] refers to this as erasing women from history in her account of Margaret Fuller's[10] life. Cott stressed the need to see feminism retrospectively and inclusively as "an integral tradition of protest"[11].

"The Feminist Consciousness": A Conceptual Basis

Feminism is more than a philosophy or an ideology as contended by feminist academics like Green[12]. She believes it is a "vocabulary of motives" maintained by strong group support. She also believes that becoming a feminist leads to transformation of human consciousness and an alteration in the perception and interpretation of everyday life. She distributed a questionnaire of fourteen pictures to a group of young women in university campuses and came up with the conclusion that "a feminist consciousness is a recognizable and a distinct process".[13] In her survey, she found that feminists were more likely to use a feminist vocabulary of motives and introduce general theme of sexism or specific theme of job discrimination. She also asserted that feminists are not ideologically oriented and while feminist consciousness is distinctive, it is not monolithic or one-dimensional.

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[8] Eileen H Botting, Houser Sarah L. "Drawing the Line of Equality": Hannah Mather Crocker on Women's Rights. American Political Science Review (2006), 100: 265-278

[9] Marie Mitchell Olsen Urbanski, ' Margaret Fuller: Feminist writer and revolutionary (1810-1850)' in Spender, Dale (ed.) op. cit. pp. 75-89

[10] Margaret Fuller was born Sarah Margaret Fuller on May 23, 1810 in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts. From 1840 to 1842, she served with Emerson as editor of *The Dial* a literary and philosophical journal for which she wrote many articles and reviews on art and literature. In 1843, *The Dial* published her essay *The Great Lawsuit. Man versus Men, Woman versus Women* in which she called for women's equality. In 1845 she expanded her *Dial* essay and published *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, which became a classic of feminist thought.

[11] Nancy F Cott,. What's In a Name? The Limits of 'Social Feminism'; or, Expanding the Vocabulary of Women's History. *Journal of American History* 76 (December 1989): 809–829

[12] Pearl Green, "The Feminist Consciousness", *The Sociological Quarterly* 20 (Summer 1979): 359-374

[13] ibid.pp359

Feminists presume that women and men are equal[14]and are committed to the goals, beliefs and values of the women's movement. Green believes that the impact of feminism on people is pervasive and should be considered more than a belief system.

In contrast with Green's approach, Hartman, the feminist critic, once described feminism in relation to the mother of all ideologies, Marxism. "Marxism and feminism are one, and that one is Marxism, *sic* either we need a happier marriage or a divorce".[15]Clearly, there is a need to address feminism independently, according to her not as an ideological over rider to Marxism or any other philosophy. In her view, very often it is found that when a woman talks she presents her point of view and represents "women's perspective" conversely when a man talks he represents humanity. Further she argues that it is high time this marginalization is stopped and men stop being taken as standard of analysis.

THEMES IN FEMINIST THEORIES

Feminist theory[16] is a blanket term, which encompasses work done in a broad variety of disciplines, prominently including the approaches to women's roles and lives and feminist politics in anthropology and sociology, economics, women's and gender studies, feminist literary criticism, and philosophy. Feminist theory, in general, aims to understand the nature of inequality and focuses on gender politics, power relations and sexuality. While generally providing a critique of social relations, much of feminist theory also focuses on analyzing gender inequality and the promotion of women's rights, interests, and issues. Themes explored in feminism include discrimination, stereotyping, objectification (especially sexual objectification), oppression, and patriarchy. The following discussion is an attempt to understand various theoretical and philosophical foundations on which feminist theory has developed over a period from 1848 to 1990s.

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[14] Quoted in Pearl Green, "The Feminist Consciousness", *The Sociological Quarterly* 20 (Summer 1979): 359-374

[15] Heidi Hartmann, "The *Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union*" in Woman and Revolution 2, 2 (L Sargent ed. 1981) cited in "Feminist Critical Theories" by Deborah L. Rhode in Stanford Law Review (Vol. 42:617) Feb 1990

[16] All use of term "feminist theory" in this work implies plurality of various feminist theories.

It has been said that human events and ideas do not fit neatly into periods. This is particularly true in relation to women's history[17]. Feminist historians have tried to shape a broad understanding of the antecedents of women's activism and have not so much concentrated on definitive period structures. Some have argued that where periodicity schemes have been defined by a culture, in which some voices are silent, engaging those voices creates an awkward fit with other "communities of discourse"[18]. In fact to many the ideas and movements rarely commence with the stroke of a pen, and a true understanding of a complex concept requires understanding of antecedents rather than sharp definitions into periods.

The **"disappearing woman"** has been a focus of attention of academic feminist scholarship[19]. Research into women's history and literature reveals a rich heritage of neglected culture. One debate is whether women should be referred to by their birth names or by their married names, if they were subsequently married[20]. Barbara Leigh Smith broke with tradition in England, by merely appending her husband's name, whereas Lucy Stone in America created a sensation when she refused to take her husband's name. An argument for using birth names is that it helps to prevent these women disappearing again.

Feminism in America took a slightly different course than in other countries like, Britain[21] as the antislavery campaign of the 1830s provided a perfect cause for women to take up, identify with and learn political skills to negotiate a conclusion. Attempts to

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[17] Joan Kelly."Did women have a renaissance?", in *Women, history and theory: The essays of Joan Kelly*. Chicago 1984 pp 240

[18] Dominick LaCapra,. *"Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language"*. Ithaca, NY 1983 pp 256

[19] Dale Spender, *Invisible woman: The schooling scandal. Writers & Readers*. London 1982 p 312

[20] Dale Spender, *Women of ideas - and what men have done to them from Aphra Behn to Adrienne Rich*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1982 p295

[21] All information about women's movement in Britain can be obtained from http://womenshistory.about.com/od/britishhistory/British_Womens_History.htm

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exclude women only strengthened their convictions further, and were instrumental in moving women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott firmly into the feminist camp, leading to the 1848 Seneca Falls (New York) women's convention, where a declaration of independence for women ("A Declaration of Sentiments"[22]) was drafted. The Declaration of Sentiments became the focus for organized women's rights movement in America. Sarah and Angelina Grimké were examples of women who moved rapidly from the emancipation of slaves to the emancipation of women, while Sojourner Truth, a freed slave, pointed to the injustice of freeing slaves and then only giving the vote to black males. The most influential writer of the time was the controversial journalist and author Margaret Fuller whose *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* published in 1845 impacted several audiences from men and women.

Waves in Feminist Theories in America

Early feminists in America include Susan B Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage amongst others. Stanton and Gage saw the church as a major obstacle to women's rights.[23] They therefore welcomed the emerging literature on matriarchy. Stanton's *"The Matriarchate or Mother-Age"*, and Gage's *"Woman, Church and State"*, supported the literature on matriarchy and questioned Bachofen's thesis[24] by adding a unique epistemological perspective, the critique of objectivity and the perception of the subjective. Stanton made a perceptive observation regarding assumptions of female inferiority and felt that the worst part of these assumptions was that women themselves believed that they were inferior. Amongst male feminists, was the scientist Karl Pearson, who introduced Bachofen's work to Stanton.

The British legal historian, Sir Henry Maine criticized the inescapability of patriarchy in his *Ancient Law* (1861), and the Swiss legal scholar Johann Jakob Bachofen first indicated the possibility of a primal matrilineality in 1854. This was often used to vindicate male supremacy, although at the same time it opened the door to challenging the inevitability of patriarchy, and was developed further by feminist writers such as

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[22] A copy of the Declaration has been attached in the annexure.
[23] Matilda Joslyn Gage. Woman, Church, and State, in Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (eds.) History of Woman Suffrage. 3 vols. Rochester, N.Y. 1881–82. 1: 753–99
[24] Bachofen's thesis indicated the possibility of a primal matrilineality in 1854

Stanton and Gage as has been mentioned earlier. The major debate of the period was not the existence of matriarchy/matrilineality, but whether patriarchy represented inevitable "progression" or was merely an evolutionary step on the way to "equarchy", a truly egalitarian state.[25]

Scholars like Nancy Cott distinguished between modern feminism and its antecedents, particularly the struggle for suffrage. In America, she identified the decades before and after women obtained the vote in 1920 (1910-1930) as a watershed in the history of American women's movement. She argues that the Nineteenth century women's movement was primarily about women as a universal entity, whereas over this decade it transformed itself into a movement primarily concerned with social differentiation, attentive to individuality and diversity. New issues dealt more with woman's condition as a social construct, gender identity, and relationships within and between genders. Politically this represented a shift from an ideological alignment comfortable with the right, to one more radically associated with the left.[26]

Sociological Currents and Feminist Theory

The 'sociology of family' has continued to employ feminist theorists, both in terms of debating the historical fact of matriarchy, and in its symbolism in interpreting social issues throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. This revolved around the theories of Bachofen and the rejection of inevitable patriarchy. This led to continuing challenges to accepted patriarchal models from early feminist thinkers.

Freud's contemporary and feminist author Catherine Gascoigne Hartley wrote in her book '*The Truth about Woman*' that patriarchy was equally unstable, and believed that women's movement of twentieth century dealt with restoring social justice. To her "*It is*

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[25] August. Die Frau Bebel, in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, und Zukunft Zurich 1883. (English translation, as Woman in the Past, Present and Future London, 1885

[26] Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987

the day of experiments...We are questioning where before we have accepted, and are seeking out new ways in which mankind will go...will go because it must[27]".

At the turn of the twentieth century, emergent sociological thinking was at odds with the debate about the nature and evolution of kinship. For instance, Herbert Spencer maintained a belief in patriarchal supremacy, while Lester Frank Ward, who was also a socialist and a feminist, vigorously opposed this as did the socialist writer Paul Lafarge. Ward went further, teaching the natural supremacy of the female, and the evil that had come from male supremacy. Ward also wrote that there would be a reconciliation of statuses of men and women leading to egalitarian relationships.

Others like, Georg Simmel, though known as a feminist sociologist, were deeply pessimistic about an "objective culture" that he considered as inalienably male as the "Gesellschaft" of Ferdinand Tönnies[28]. For Simmel, objective male culture had detached itself from its wellsprings of subjective feminine holistic culture. Women were trapped in a culture in which they could not advance. Renowned sociologist, Max Weber went on to develop the concept of civilization as an iron cage, a tragically inevitable triumph of rationality over emotion.[29] These writers were widely accepted as depicting the universal truth of the state of family in western society. Thus, the appearance of feminist writers brought about a change in the debate and shaped the understanding about not only the family in society but specifically, the role of women in family.

Psychoanalysis and feminism

Psychoanalytic theory emerged during the years of rigorous debates on kinship. In essence, kinship and gender relations formed the core of these theoretical writings, and have been portrayed as one of the elements containing feminism. Its origins can be found

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[27] Catherine Gascoigne Hartley, The Position of Woman in Primitive Society: A Study of the Matriarchy London 1914

[28] George Simmel on Women, Sexuality, and Love. New Haven Conn. 1984 at pg 67

[29] Eric Matthews (trans.) Max Weber: Selections in Translation. Cambridge 1978 at 170.

in the Romantic, and in particular in Bachofen's representation.[30] The central theme present in Sigmund Freud's work is conflict between matriarchy-patriarchy which led to the rift that followed between him and other well known scholar Carl Jung. Freud believed in the concepts of universal patriarchy while Carl Jung had yearned for liberation and return to matriarchy.[31] Freud disliked feminist sexual radicalism. The centrality of Oedipal desire is best expressed in his book *Totem and Taboo* (1913) in which he forwarded the case of a polygamous dominant male, challenged by its male offspring. Anthropologists later challenged this position; nevertheless, it became quite influential in twentieth century culture.

Feminism and the Twentieth Century

"I myself have never been able to find out precisely what feminism is: I only know that people call me a feminist whenever I express sentiments that differentiate me from a doormat, or a prostitute"- Rebecca West[32]

The feminist interpretation of the role of women in the wars has emphasized the preoccupation of national leaders with mobilizing and regulating women. While earlier writers had depicted wars as emancipating, more recent scholarship, such as Francoise Thebaud and Nancy Cott, emphasises the conservative effect with reinforcement of traditional imagery, and a literature directed towards motherhood. This aspect of women's role during war has been referred to as the **"nationalization of women**[33]**"** which explored the ways in which wartime experiences challenged traditional gender roles.

In the immediate postwar period, **Simone de Beauvoir** stood alone in her fierce opposition to an image of woman in the home and in relation to men. De Beauvoir provided an **existentialist dimension to feminism** with the publication of *The Second Sex* in 1949. As the title implied, the preliminary remarks are about the implicit

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[30], Frank J. Sulloway Freud, Biologist of the Mind: Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend. New York 1979
[31] William McGuire, (ed.), Manheim, Ralph and R. F. C. Hull (trans.) The Freud-Jung Letters: The Correspondence between Sigmund Freud and C. G. Jung. Princeton N.J. 1974
[32] Rebecca West,. "Mr. Chesterton in hysterics", in The Clarion 1913 cited in Microsoft® Encarta® Reference Library 2003
[33] Tormay quoted in Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur *"Gender and War in Twentieth-century Eastern Europe"*- 2006 - Social Science - 251 pages

inferiority of women, and the first question de Beauvoir asks is *"what is a woman"*? Woman she apprehends is always perceived of as the "other", *"she is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her"*. In this book and her essay, "Woman: Myth & Reality", de Beauvoir predated Betty Friedan in seeking to demythologise the male concept of woman. In her view, it is "a myth invented by men to confine women to their oppressed state. For women it is not a question of asserting themselves as women, but of becoming full-scale human beings.[34]"

These writings explain the evolution of the growing discontent of many feminist scholars in to serious work on the role of women in society both in times of peace and war. Further, many of the writings moved from contesting the definition of womanhood in existing literature to actively enhancing the legal identity of women. It also clearly shows that the currents in sociological thinking serve as a vital clue to understanding the various stages of feminism.

American Feminism in "Three Waves"

The history of feminism in the United States is often explained by the metaphor of "waves"[35]. The "**first wave**" characterized the period from the passage of the "Declaration of Sentiments" at Seneca Falls in 1848 to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, which gave the women the right to vote. The central goal of this wave was to gain a legal identity for women that included the right to own property, to sue, to form contracts and to vote[36] Women had not only gained political experience in the battle for suffrage but had also become a formidable force of public opinion of critical issues such as abolition of slavery, temperance movement, abolitionism and progressivism in politics. Clearly, women were not only interested, but also involved in changing gender inequalities at the societal level. The war years challenged women to think differently as they became painfully aware of the stereotyping of the role they played. At the intellectual level, many writers like Cott and de Beauvoir deconstructed

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[34] Debra B. Bergoffen, *"The Philosophy of Simone de Beauvoir: Gendered Phenomenologies, Erotic Generositie"*. SU, NY 1996

[35] For details on works on Waves of Feminism see Jo Freeman, www.jofreeman.com

[36] Rory Dicker, and, Alison Piepmeier, "Catching a Wave: Reclaiming Feminism For The Twenty-First Century" pg 9

the myths and realities of women while at the ground level, women's groups actively participated in enhancing the political rights of women.

By the late fifties, the civil rights movements and the counter cultural protests spurred the publication of crucial texts, like Betty Freidan's 'The Feminist Mystique', awareness and activism that followed gained further momentum in the 1960s. This phase began to be referred to as the "**second wave**", generally focused on gaining full spectrum of rights for women. The eradication of domestic violence, access to childcare and abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment were some of its central demands. The second wave feminists believed that the differences between the sexes were socially constructed and critiqued the notion of biological differences. They believed that the most important identity is that of being a woman and all other identities, be it racial, ethnic or based on sexual orientation or national and regional are secondary

Post-war feminism reflected a shift in emphasis from tangible and concrete discrimination such as unequal laws, to more abstract concepts of gender relationships. While many very real issues of discrimination, unequal opportunity, pay and control of reproduction remained, the newer directions included an examination of the pervasiveness of male models of society and politics, and of how women were portrayed, and ultimately how women saw themselves by incorporating such models, resulting in distorted expectations. Second wave feminists were concerned with gaining full social and economic equality, having already gained almost full legal equality in many western nations.

The second wave of feminism was a reaction to the glorified femininity portrayed by the media and the entertainment industry. The publication of Betty Friedan's **The Feminine Mystique** in 1963 was a turning point. It was a direct attack on the myth of American complacency, enquires as to what women really felt and wanted. The book became an icon for mid century feminism and the feminist movement. As expected, it was criticized for being simplistic and middle class. However, its success discredited its criticism and highlighted its importance in satisfying the unmet needs of scores of women.

The Feminine Mystique is widely credited with launching the feminist movement of the 1960s. It is difficult to separate the book from Friedan's political activities. She founded the **National Organization of Women (NOW)** three years later, of which she became the first president. NOW became the focus of the fight for equality in the United States.

The renaissance of feminist activism in the late 1960s was accompanied by promising literature on related issues, such as concerns for the earth and spirituality, and environmental activism. Meanwhile in the United States women's frustrations crystallised around the failure to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment during the 1970s. The Equal Rights Amendment was written in 1921 by suffragist Alice Paul. It has been introduced in Congress every session since 1923. It passed Congress in the above form in 1972, but was not ratified by the necessary thirty-eight states by the July 1982 deadline (It was ratified by thirty-five states).

The 80s and early 90s were extremely crucial because the fight over Roe vs. Wade lead to the most enduring cleavage of American society on the issue of 'pro-life' and 'pro-choice'. In the **Roe vs. Wade** case of 1973 by a vote of 7-2, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against a Texas law prohibiting abortions not necessary to save the woman's life, extending the fundamental right to privacy to a woman's decision to choose abortion. The decades following the decision saw massive backlash and huge response in terms of a large number of cases being fought. For instance, **Maher v. Roe** (1977) in which the Supreme Court upheld a Connecticut ban on public funding for abortions, with the exception of abortions that were "medically necessary." Additionally, Harris v. McRae (1980) and Webster v. Reproductive Health Services (1989). During this period, women realized the importance of being in political office and pushed for election to the Congress.

THIRD WAVE

In the fall of 1991, President George W. Bush nominated Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. During the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings, Anita Hill, an African-American law professor from Oklahoma, came forward and said that Thomas had sexually harassed her almost a decade earlier, while she had been employed under him. In response to the Thomas hearings, Rebecca Walker published an article entitled "Becoming the Third Wave" in a 1992 issue of Ms in which she declared, "I am not post feminism feminist. I am the Third Wave.[37]" This event is often marked as the beginning of the usage of the term 'third wave' applied to feminism. As scholars like Kisner has argued, Walker's was "a notable expansion of feminist space for women of color". Others like Siegel stated that the Clarence Thomas hearings, the Rodney King beating, and the passage of anti-abortion legislation in some states resulted in a political coming of age and a "remarkable resurgence of grassroots student activism, young feminist conferences, and a host of new or newly revitalized social action organizations and networks led largely by young women"[38].

The twenty-first century has turned out to be an age of 'third wave feminism'. These third wave feminists are seen as more media savvy than their second wave seniors and reach the masses more often than the elder feminists whose writings were mostly academic. Jennifer Baumgardner, Amy Richards, Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie and Rebecca Munford along with Natasha Walters are some of the famous third wave feminists who have given a call for reinvention of feminism, "demanding that women should get angry again"[39]

The third wave has brought in the politics of identity, which demands to accommodate racial, gender and ethnic differences and sexual preferences. The forbearers of this kind

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[37]Rebecca Walker: *To Be Real: Telling the Truth and Changing the Face of Feminism*, Anchor. 1995, pp234

[38] D.L Siegel, "The Legacy of the Personal: Generating Theory in Feminism's Third Wave" *Hypatia* (1997): 46 – 76 pg 47

[39] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak,, 'Feminism 2000: One Step Beyond', Feminist Review No. 64, Spring 2000, pp113-116

of politics believe that the acceptance of dominant culture or identity is violation of one's integrity40. In the 1970s and 1980s women called for recognition that identities are intersectional —in other words that, gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality are interlocking and that oppression is not experienced only along one axis[41]. The third wave thus identifies the differences between women being as important as differences between men and women and rejects the idea of treating women as a monolithic bloc.

The third wave is thought of as the younger generation feminism, one that rejects traditional or stereotypical understandings of feminism. It is meant to be antithetical or in opposition to its predecessor, the second wave[42]. However, there are varied opinions on the definition of the "third wave". In general, it can be said that the third wave is "a reinvigorated feminist movement" or "just the second wave with more lip gloss[43]." Many of the goals of the third wave are similar to the second wave though it is more focused on multiple identities of women. However, analysts like Patel believe that 'third wave is a feminism that moves beyond identity politics and liberal multi-culturalism in its radical resistance against new forms of racism, fascism, nationalism and religious fundamentalism world-wide.' Scholars believe that a post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality is also central to the third wave and helps to 'account for its heightened emphasis on the discursive power and fundamental ambiguity inherent in all gender terms and categories.' Third wave theory usually encompasses queer theory, women-of-colour consciousness theory, critical theory, post-colonial theory, ecofeminism, and new feminist theory.

On examining the "third wave", it is important to note that the factors of change that impacted the world since the "second wave", some of them were to do with the battles on

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[40] Georgia Warnke, "Race, Gender and Antiessential Politics"; SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 2005, Vol. 31. No. 1
[41] Rory Dicker, and, Alison Piepmeier, "Catching a Wave: Reclaiming Feminism For The Twenty-First Century" pg 9

[42] ibid., pg5
[43] A young woman at the National Women's Studies Association Conference, June 2001 in "Catching a Wave: Reclaiming Feminism For The Twenty-First Century" pg3

issue of abortion while some others dealt with fighting legislative battles for women's rights. This in turn has transformed "women's issues" which are no longer limited to political equality or human rights issues. The "third wave" not only recognized the diversity of issues facing the women, it has transformed the struggle of women which is no longer limited to activism on streets; its on the television, in the magazine like the *Bust* and the *Bitch* and the newspapers and associations like the Third Wave Foundation and even punk music like the Riot Grrrls.

Heywood and Drake have defined "third wave" as a movement that contains elements of second wave critique of beauty, sexual abuse and power structures while it also acknowledges and makes use of the pleasure, danger, and defining power of those structures."[44] However, others believe that the third wave depends on the use of personal experiences to bridge larger political and theoretical explorations. Clearly, it was not only different from "second wave", but unfurled new characteristics of its own.

MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN "SECOND WAVE" AND "THIRD WAVE"

The impulse of the third wave is to change the world; rid it of all the evil. It is committed to change the inter-subjective understanding of women and other 'sociological categories'. The third wavers are not victims any more; they inflict the blows as well. There is a lot of tension between the second wave and the third wave. In their book *Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism and the Future*, Jennifer Baumgardner and Amy Richards define the third wave as "the women who were reared in the wake of the women's liberation movement of the 1970s"[45]. These women were born after 1960 and came of age in the eighties and nineties; their experiences were formed by similar social

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[44] Leslie Heywood, Jennifer Drake (Editors): *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism,* University of Minnesota Press 1997 pg 3
[45] Jennifer Baumgardner, Amy Richards: *Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism, and the Future,* Farrar, Straus and Giroux 2000, pg 15

conditions at approximately the same point in their lives and they hold a common interpretive framework shaped by their historical circumstances[46].

Baumgardner and Richards analyze how these issues affect the personal lives of the women along with working on the issues identified by the second wave like domestic violence and abortion rights. Although third wave feminists are often seen as apolitical by their mothers' generation, the authors argue that women of the third wave are in fact leading very feminist lives, but their definition of what it means to be a feminist has changed.

The second wave feminists are the worst critics of the third wave feminists. Their informal ways are looked at by the second wavers with contempt and as mocking the seriousness of the job-"feminism". To this, the third waver's answer is that the internalization of feminist ideals is quite apparent from the integration of feminism in the daily lives of young women. This proves that the feminism has succeeded in permeating the social discourse. They believe that this is the right approach since 'feminism is a movement not a membership drive'.

The criticism that second wave feminists often reserve for third wave feminists is that the third wave is too ambitious, too unfocused, not appreciative enough of the small changes that take years to effect, and not a united movement for change. Findlen challenges this judgment, saying that the second wave's unity is more mythical than real since every woman's experience is different. What may appear to be division within the third wave is actually an honest appreciation and admission of the each woman's different experiences, and how these affect her role in feminism.

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[46] R. Alfonso, & J. Trigilio, "Surfing the Third Wave: A Dialogue between Two Third Wave Feminists." *Hypatia*, (1999): 48 – 78 pg 49

While second wavers were more of separatists, third wavers are self-proclaimed integrationists. Rather than carving out a limited agenda, third wavers want feminism to be an all-encompassing way of life and in doing so they are also including men because 'it is important to realize that they are an integral part of the feminist agenda.' Conversely, the second wavers focused exclusively on the needs of women. Baumgardner & Richards claim that second wave tactics do not speak to the "media-savvy, culturally driven generation" of the third wave.

The second wave focused on changing women's social role; and the third wave's challenge is to ensure the rest of the world changes to keep up with women's changed roles. This organization maintains that the second wave was a theoretical movement, while the third wave is about applying feminism to women and men's everyday lives. Instead of being a departure from its ideals, third wave feminism builds on the ideals of the second wave. Though the difference may lie in the way, the two waves analyze the political and the cultural. While the second wavers were able to distinguish the cultural analyses and political creations, the third wavers are returning to pop-culture; they more influential in cultural reproduction as writers, producers and directors than the second wavers were in their youth.

The use of the term "wave" in describing the distinct periods of feminist consciousness and revolution connotes a belief that each phase is building on the previous one, just as actual waves do. However, the use of the term "third" is problematic for some second wave feminists who may not consider their contribution to the movement to be history. The very identification of a third wave implies that the second wave is over, and as many members of the second wave are still very active in feminist work and politics, they may be resistant to the idea that there could be a new feminism waiting to replace - or at least alter - theirs[47].

Baumgardner & Richards argue that the main source of tension between the two movements has been the third wave's embracement of what they call "Girlie" feminism

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[47] Irene Karras, 'Third Wave's Final Girl: Buffy The Vampire Slayer', Thirdspace Vol.1, Issue 2 (2002)

and what the second wave perceives as falling into the trappings of femininity that they worked so hard to escape[48]. Second wave feminists have accused third wave feminists of being indifferent towards their politics.

EMERGENCE OF FEMINIST CONSCIOUSNESS AND POP CULTURE

One of the critical facets of the "third wave" has been the emergence of a new kind of feminism called "girlie feminism". For instance, the rise of many "teen-queens", on the national television in the US, who were dramatically different from their mothers' generation. Many female characters of films and popular television series became the embodiment of what the third wave feminism espoused. On popular shows like "Buffy, the Vampire Slayer", the chief protagonist of a very famous sit-com has been characterised as "Third Wave's Final Girl". This program simultaneously belongs to the action, thriller, horror and science fiction genres. It is based on the premise that every generation has a slayer, who conquers all the evil, which in this case is Buffy. She is the role model for young women of the twenty first century. Her mission in 'slaying the vampires' and ridding the world of all the evils is seen as a metaphor for the impulse driving the third wave "change the world".

Third wave's commitment to "girl power" is quite apparent in this series. "Buffy's" struggle in the high school, with young men, her realization of her sexuality and her recognition of her problems and the world in general are images of what is going on in the minds of third wavers presently. The third wavers and the second wavers have very different views on the issue of sex and abortion, and reproductive rights. They claim to be more aware of multiple sexual preferences and identities thus resulting, as against the second wavers who were more integrationist than their younger counterparts are. Like "Buffy", the third wave feminists have not chosen their destiny they have just inherited it. However, the clear shift in their approach in the solution of the problems comes from the fact that they view men as partners rather than as the "problem" itself.

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[48] Jennifer Baumgardner, Amy Richards: *Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism, and the Future*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux 2000, pg 134

Contrary to the general criticism that the third wave is apolitical, Buffy, the third wave's final girl has a political agenda- to rid the world of evil and to destroy the clichés about the women: to make the world livable for both men and women. Third wave feminists are women who are fighting against the real and imagined boundaries of past and present patriarchies and feminisms in articulating their identities, choices, and successes in the home and workplace[49].

THIRD WAVE'S ADVOCACY OF AGENCY

The above discussion on the origin features and aims of the third wave have brought out its commitment to advocacy for agency. The third wave is not about being a victim it is about taking charge. In fact the third wave has heralded what is known as the AVF or "anti victim feminists" phenomenon.

Concept of AVF

The gender politics in the 1990s in America has been dominated by sex scandals be it Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas hearings or Bill Clinton-Monica Lewinsky episode which shook the office of the president and led to impeachment proceedings. A new trend was witnessed in this decade, that of looking down upon victims. The women who were involved in these scandals refused to be labeled as "victims". Hillary Clinton, the president's wife emerged a clear winner because she was a "good" victim[50]. However, Clinton managed to survive and complete the term. Interestingly, Hillary Clinton went on to become State Senator and also ran for presidential nominations in 2008.

Women's movement as a whole became a staple target of the crusade by right wingers to shame and re-blame victims[51]. They have been described as "anti victim feminists" or AVFers. AVF has been led generally by young women in their 20s and early 30s, who imagine themselves to be the vanguard of third wave or by older academics who were at

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[49] Irene Karras, 'Third Wave's Final Girl: Buffy The Vampire Slayer', Thirdspace Vol.1, Issue 2 (2002)pg8
[50] Alyson M. Cole, 'Victims no more' 'Feminism 2000: One Step Beyond', Feminist Review No. 64, Spring 2000, pp135-138

[51] ibid. pg 135 (para2)

the periphery of the second wave feminism[52]. For AVFers (third wavers) who believe in "girl power", being a victim means being powerless. They believe that if women are victims, they are victims of "victim feminism": a characteristic of the second wave. AVF is a rebellion against the older generation of feminists, 'it seeks to divorce feminism from the Left' and shifts its focus away from the 'issues of economic redistribution and other egalitarian causes'.

Ultimately, the "third wavers" advocate the change in the world, which will be characterized by increased participation of women across US in many unconventional and new issues. For instance, conventional issues like, self-defense, sexual freedom, economic well-being and employment, the promise of technology, and the place of the traditional values, including the family. As well as unconventional issues like participation of women in, peacekeeping, peace-building, sustainable development, security issues, environmental issues and issues of weapons of mass destruction-biological and chemical warfare. As has been mentioned earlier, this change was brought about when the women's movement entered its third phase in the form of the "third wave". This is not to say that women were not active participants in discussions on issues ranging from peace and security to domestic violence before the third wave, but to emphasize that, as the movement entered the third phase the focus of the movement also shifted form focus on the "well-being" of women in general to the change they can bring about as "agents" and women were expected to help not only women but also men and children, the biosphere and the planet earth. Thus, women began participating in issues related to environmental protection in huge numbers and sometimes perceived as better agents of change then men were as they have an inherent understanding of the needs of the family and the environment.

In conclusion, it is evident that the three waves of feminism in the US have maintained a steady trajectory of progress of women. It is also well contended that each of these waves have drawn from the previous one yet developed new features as demanded by the conditions of the period of their development. By examining them through this metaphor

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[52] ibid. p135

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of 'waves', which basically lays out a structural idea of formation and reformulation of action, the changing role of women in US has been very well documented.

For the purpose of this study, two issue-areas have been chosen, which have borne witness to the agency of women. They are:

- Women in peace and security
- Women in environmental protection

These areas have witnessed most visible changes during the shift from one wave to the next and have impacted not only American women but also have a global impact. The next chapter would asses the extent of advocacy of agency in the above-mentioned issues by examining the working of four organizations, which have been actively involved in organizing women to bring about changes.

CHAPTER-3

WOMEN AS AGENTS OF PEACE AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

"After the genocide, women rolled up their sleeves and began making society work again."

Paul Kagame, President of Rawanda[1]

The "third wave" which began in the early 1990s was the harbinger of the definite shift from "well being to agency"; that is, women were now ready to use their "agency" to change the world. The third wave brought in the politics of identity, which demanded the accommodation of racial, gender and ethnic differences and sexual preferences. The forbearers of this kind of politics believed that the acceptance of dominant culture or identity was a violation of one's integrity[2]. In this period, women called for recognition, that identities are intersectional –in other words, gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality are interlocking and that oppression is not experienced only along one axis[3]. The third wave thus identified the differences between women being as important as differences between men and women and rejected the idea of treating women as a monolithic bloc.

At this juncture, a definition of the twin concepts of "well-being' and "agency" is both necessary and useful. These concepts have been adapted from the work of Amartya Sen, who first used them in "Wellbeing, Agency and Freedom: the Dewey Lecture 1984" published in *Journal of Philosophy 83* (April 1985) and subsequently developed them in his *Inequality Reexamined* and *Development as Freedom*. Both these works are very helpful in identifying the nature of the changes in the status of women in America. In particular, they link the goal of removal of gender inequality to the advancement and well-being of women, which was the objective of the feminists.

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[1] http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/460_the_vital_role_of_women_in_peace_building.cfm (8 Dec 2007)

[2] Georgia Warnke, "Race, Gender and Antiessential Politics"; *SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 2005, Vol. 31. No. 1

[3] Rory Dicker, and, Alison Piepmeier, "Catching a Wave: Reclaiming Feminism For The Twenty-First Century" pg 9

As Sen explained, the broad goal of removal of gender inequalities would require both men and women to be equally involved and not only the "victimized" women. In his own words, *the agency aspect refers to the pursuit of goals and objectives that a person has reason to value and advance, whether or not they are connected with the person's own well being. People may actively choose to pursue other objective which could be very broad such as the removal of gender inequalities. The distinction between 'agency' and 'well being' is conceptually rich, since they refer to two distinct ways in which a person's values, ends, ambitions freedoms and achievements can be understood, using two different perspectives of assessment[4].*

He also observed that women's movement has evolved and that it had moved away from narrow 'welfarist' focus towards an emphasis on women's activism. The movement further metamorphosed from focusing on "well being" to "agency". As Sen stated, *in course of the evolution of the women's movements, their objectives have gradually broadened from this narrowly 'welfarist' focus towards incorporating and emphasizing the active role of women as agents in doing things, assessing priorities, formulating politics and carrying out programmes[5].* It is this evolution of women as agents of change that is the broad focus of this chapter. In particular, it is argued that the evolution of women from victims to agents is apparent in the field of peace and security and ecofeminism. This chapter defines and assesses the role of women in peace making and environmental protection taking the evidence from the working of select organizations in the field.

ROOTS OF ACTIVISM

Twentieth century was no different from the nineteenth in terms of war and peace. In fact, war became deadlier with the nuclear weapons coming in to use and peace was even more difficult to achieve and maintain. Throughout human history, wars have been

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[4] Amartya Sen, in Women and Men in "The Argumentative Indian" 2005 Penguin pg 220

[5] ibid.,pg220

fought for possession of territory and resources and the last century was no different. Be it gold, ivory or oil, resources dictated the terms of war and peace. Women and children have generally been the worst sufferers of such conflicts and have been mostly excluded from the peace processes. During the last century, women increasingly felt that peace would be more forthcoming and sustainable, if women were equally represented during peace negotiations. However, to break the traditions and ascertain women's inclusion in the discussions was a colossal task. Non-government women's organization set out to achieve this humongous task by petitioning, protesting and feeding pubic opinion about issues of war and peace. In time, linkages were established between feminism and environmentalism, as this issue was a "hot topic" and liable to have a massive impact on populations across cultural and political barriers. Most of these organizations reject stereotyping of women that they are inherently incapable of taking decisions. They are involved in work at grass root level through workshops and sensitization to their cause. Thus, these groups set out to achieve two major feats: one, equitable representation at negotiations and brokering peace and, two, working at grass root level to get women basic human rights to work, to own property and make decisions.

WOMEN AS AGENTS OF PEACE

"Resolution 1325 (2000) holds out a promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected and that barriers to their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed. We must uphold this promise."

— *UN Secretary-General's report to the Security Council on women, peace and security, 2004*

The role of women in conflict resolution and peace building has been increasingly emphasized in multilateral policy discourse. Since the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, which called for equitable participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels, the UNSC adopted a resolution to focus on the role of women in the maintenance of international peace and security. Since its adoption in 2000, Security Council Resolution 1325has served as a catalyst for women all over the world to mobilize their efforts for equal participation in peace and security. The UN Secretary General's

report to the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security, 2004 gives a clear idea of the situation regarding women as agents of peace and security all around the world. [6]

Women play a multi-dimensional role in peace and conflict resolution. Firstly, the presence of women during negotiations is a matter of equitable representation. However, women's voices need to be heard and suggestions incorporated against "tokenism" and neglect, which are generally practiced. Secondly, women bring gender perspective to 'substance of negotiations'. According to Swanee Hunt of the Women Waging Peace network, *"Common sense dictates that women should be central to peace making, where they can bring their experience in conflict resolution to bear."*[7] Thus, women are expected to bring a gendered perspective to negotiations and bring out favorable terms for women in the peace agreements.

The following case studies have been undertaken to unravel the details about the degree and nature of development women's agency in the issue-area of peace and environmental protection in the US.

CASE STUDY 1

The Initiative for Inclusive Security and the Women Waging Peace Network: Hunt Alternatives Fund

Hunt alternatives Fund was established by Helen and Swanee Hunt in 1981 in Denver, Colorado. It was founded as a private foundation to provide grants as well as technical help for human development. Since its inception in 1981, the fund has made a contribution of 70 million dollars to bring about social change though their initiatives like The Sister Fund in New York, The Initiative for Internal Security and the Women Waging Peace Network. The Fund currently operates from Cambridge, Massachusetts. Core areas of its focus are 'strengthening youth arts organizations, supporting leaders of

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[6] A copy of Facts and Figures on Women, Peace and Security, Published by the United Nations Department of Public Information—DPI/2409—November 2005 has been enclosed in the annexure for a better understanding of the issue.
[7] Swanee Hunt and Christina Posa "Women Waging Peace" in Foreign Policy (May/June 2001)pg 46

social movements, and advocating for the full inclusion of all stakeholders in peace and security processes'.

This organization was chosen as a case study because the Initiative for Internal Security aims to fill the gaps "in research and policy literature, and to highlighting practical models and strategies for the inclusion of women in peace-building efforts worldwide"[8]. 'Inclusive Security is successfully broadening the base of support for women's participation by raising awareness about the roles they play in promoting security'

The Security Council as well as other international institutions gave a call for the 'inclusion of women in all efforts to prevent, manage, and resolve conflict' in their recent resolutions. Inclusive Security supports the realization of these international commitments by creating linkages among an extensive network of women peace builders and policy shapers. Consequentially, fresh, workable solutions to long-standing conflicts at local, regional, and international levels are initiated. The Women Waging Peace Network has worked in partnership with policy makers to develop specific recommendations for building sustainable, inclusive peace.

The Women Waging Peace Network is a part of the Initiative for Inclusive Security. It is a network of women peacemakers from conflict areas around the world, including Sudan, Sri Lanka, Colombia, Bosnia, the Middle East and Sierra Leone. The Network was initiated in 1999 to forge relationships among women peacemakers and with policy makers. Most of the members of the Waging Network are recognized leaders among women peace builders, are elected and appointed government officials, directors of non-governmental organizations and movements in civil society, scholars and educators, businesspeople, representatives of multilateral organizations, and journalists. With diverse backgrounds, perceptions, and talents, they bring a vast range of expertise to the peacemaking process.

Themes

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[8] http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/71_mission_history.cfm (8Dec 2007)

Inclusive security focuses on the following themes[9], which members of the Waging Network specialize in:

- Conflict prevention including nonviolent transformation; early warning indicators

- Conflict Resolution, including negotiations and mediation; confidence building measures; cross community dialogue

- Negotiation and mediation

- Security including demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration (DDR); peacekeeping; security sector reform

- Refugees and Internally displaced Persons (IDPs)

- Transitional Justice including reconciliation; truth commissions; tribunals; local transitional justice mechanisms

- Rule of Law including constitutional drafting; legislation; human rights; women's rights; access to judicial systems

- Democracy, Governance, and Political Participation including civil society development; elections; media; anti-corruption; formal governance

- Post-Conflict Reconstruction including social (health and education); economic (infrastructure, macro-economic and micro-economic Reform)

The Network works in Americas focus being Columbia, in Africa particularly on Rwanda, Sudan and Liberia, in Eurasia on Afghanistan, in Asia on Sri Lanka, in Europe on Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Middle East on Iraqi women's rights as well as inclusion of women in Arab Israel peace process.

The Network has worked in the following areas:

- Women's Contributions to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (February 2005)

- In the Midst of War: Women's Contribution to Peace in Columbia (2004)

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[9] http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/79_themes.cfm (8 Dec 2007)

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- Naga Women Making A Difference :Peace Building In Northeastern India (2005)

- Women's Participation in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY): Transitional Justice for Bosnia and Herzegovina (July 2004)

The Network has published the following **reports**:

- USIP Report: The Role of Women in Reconstruction and Stabilization
- Gender, Justice, and Truth Commissions
- Conflict Prevention and Transformation: Women's Vital Contributions
- More than Victims: The Role of Women in Conflict Prevention
- Winning the Peace Conference Report: Women's Role in Post-Conflict Iraq
- Preparing for Peace: The Critical Role of Women in Colombia

The network realizes the importance of partnerships and works in tandem with illustrious partners like the International Conflict group (ICG), the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the Organization of American States (OAS) and Refugees International (RI) etc.

CASE SRUDY 2

WIIS Women In International Security **WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**
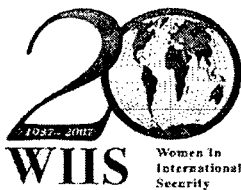
Women In International Security (WIIS) is a non-profit, non-partisan organization established in 1987. It is committed to "increasing the influence of women in the fields of foreign and defense affairs by raising their numbers and visibility, while enhancing dialogue about international security issues"[10]. This year WIIS is celebrating its twentieth

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[10] file:///D:/Chap%203/Women%20in%20International%20Security%20%20%20Media.htm 9Dec 2007

anniversary. This organization was chosen for this research because of the great emphasis being laid upon inclusion of women in policy formulations for international security.

Started by a small group of women experts in foreign and defense affairs, at the moment WIIS has 1,500 members—women and men—in 47 countries including people from academia, think tanks, the diplomatic corps, international organizations, the intelligence community, the military, government, the media, non-governmental organizations and the private sector.

Members explore and are concerned with various issues affecting international security like non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), terrorism, human rights, sustainable development, environmental security, and conflict resolution.WIIS proposes an extensive set of programs intended to encourage and support women in all fields linked to international security.

WIIS is a part of the Center for Peace and Security Studies (CPASS), in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. The School of Foreign Service is the oldest and largest school of international affairs in the United States.

Working of WIIS

WIIS organizes numerous **seminars, conferences and workshops** across the country and around the world. It brings together "professionals for high-level, substantive discussions on pressing issues in international security, including terrorism, conflict prevention and resolution, nuclear non-proliferation, drug trafficking, and human rights"[11].

WIIS is also a harbinger of the **Women in Peace Operations Project,** which will "identify the obstacles that prevent more women from attaining leadership positions in peace operations and develop mechanisms to facilitate the selection of highly qualified women to serve at senior levels in such operations"[12].

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[11] http://wiis.georgetown.edu/about/ 9dec 2007
[12] ibid.

Science Technology and Security activities "explore the technical aspects of emerging security threats, communicate security policy concerns to the scientific community, and facilitate the dissemination of scientific recommendations to policymakers and analysts through Congressional staff briefings, policy panels, and collaborative workshops"[13]. WIIS brings out a newsletter, **"WIIS Words"**. It is a crucial link for members around the world.

- ## Affiliates

WIIS realizes the importance of relationships and affiliations for a better understanding of issues involved and solutions required for inclusion of women in decision-making and policy formulations across the world. It is affiliated with a number of sister organizations across the world like Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP) in India as well as WIIS-Australia, -Belgium, -Estonia, -Greece and Women in Global Security (WINGS) in Russia.

Analysis of the achievements and working of the women's organization:

Feminists and women's groups have long been involved in peace work, and their analyses and action have contributed much to our understanding of the roots of conflict and the conditions for conflict resolution. The activities of groups such as Women Waging Peace Network, Women in International Security and others like Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Women Strike for Peace, are legendary, and their legacy lies in ongoing efforts to "feminize" peace, anti-militarism, human rights, and development.

At the Nairobi International Women's Conference in 1985, women decided that not only equality and development, but also peace, with its dark side of war, were their affairs. Despite the long existence of these groups that have worked to enable women to be considered legitimate participants and provide women's perspectives on peace, very few of the norms that guide this area reflect their contributions. This is in contrast to international norms regarding human rights (where feminists have made tremendous

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[13] ibid.

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gains) and, to a lesser degree, on social rights and justice (through the feminist critique of structural adjustment and the neo-liberal economic agenda). Peace and security issues have largely remained masculine, guided by patriarchal and capitalistic interests. However, this study clearly shows that the intersection of international women's groups is a significant movement dynamic that has contributed to the greater visibility of women's political presence in the global arena, which could alter the political terrain.

WOMEN AS AGENTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Women inherently are more concerned about their environment than men are. This is not a social construct, it is about genes. Mostly it is the women who take up the issues of environment whenever a community is threatened; often in isolation and to no avail. Environmental degradation will affect all of us as a whole however, it's impact on women and children is unique. Firstly, women are the first environment for the next generation, that is, many harmful chemicals and diseases they cause, are passed through the placenta to the foetus[14]. Thus, the next generation is affected. Secondly, there has been an increase in the women's health problems related to environment over a period[15].

Focus group data gathered in Seattle in 2002 indicates that women are more concerned about dangers posed by toxic chemicals than are men[16]. Women across party lines are concerned about environmental issues. Women generally look after the health issues of their families. A poll conducted by the federal Office of Women's Health found that nearly two-thirds of women indicated they alone were responsible for health care decisions for their family, and 83% had sole or shared responsibility for financial decisions regarding their family's health[17].

The above statistics make the potential for women's agency quite apparent. However, women still continue to be mostly absent from the decision-making structure on natural

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[14] A 2005 study by the Environmental Working Group revealed that at least 287 hazardous industrial chemicals pass through the placenta to the fetus.

[15] Over the last two decades, breast cancer rates have risen from a lifetime risk of one in 20 to one in seven.

[16] http://www.womenandenvironment.org/aboutwve/whyawomensorganization(15 Dec 2007)

[17] http://www.womenandenvironment.org/aboutwve/whyawomensorganization(15 Dec 2007)

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resource management, conservation, and environmental protection. Thus, these organizations like the Women's Voices for the Earth (WVE) and Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) "aspire to support community-based women through mentorship, leadership trainings, networking, and linking them with technical and legal assistance - magnifying their voices into coordinated campaigns that change the policies that allow environmental degradation to occur"[18]. Thus, harnessing the incredible untapped potential and political influence within this issue-area that women accrue.

CASE STUDY 3
WOMEN'S VOICES FROM THE EARTH: *"working to create an ecologically sustainable and socially just society since 1995"*

"Is Albertsons holding up their end of the bargain?" asks the group WVE in the home page of its website. Evidentially this campaign, to alert and educate the community about the harmful effects of mercury in the grocery products, was launched by WVE one year ago. The campaign includes and educates women across America about the harms to women's health and the health of her fetus as a result of exposure to mercury when fish which is high in mercury content is consumed. They recommended that pregnant women and women of childbearing age as well as children should avoid consuming species of fish like swordfish, king mackerel, shark and tilefish. However, women should not completely give up eating fish as species like cod, salmon and selfish are very low in mercury content and provide essential fatty acids to the body.

This is but one example of the great service that organizations like WVE and WEDO have been providing by educating women about the relationship of a body with its environment. This prompted this researcher to choose WVE as a case study for the research on linkages between environmentalism and the women's movement. Some have referred to this as ecofeminism. This section of this chapter aims to highlight the work done by WVE.

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[18] http://www.womenandenvironment.org/aboutwve/whyawomensorganization (15 Dec 2007)

WVE was born in 1995 with the goal of creating a 'model organization that would more positively address leading environmental issues' as well as empower 'women to become more active in the environmental movement'.

WVE is a national women's organization, which has at its core the issues of environmental health and justice. It works to "eliminate or substantially reduce environmental toxics impacting human health and to increase women's participation in environmental decision-making".

WVE emphasizes that 'citizens have a right to live and work in a healthy environment'. It stresses that a truly democratic society should be sensitive to the issues of environmental health and should protect us from exposure to hazardous chemicals, for instance WVE's campaign informing and alerting people against the harmful effects of products rich in mercury like some species of fishes.

WVE with the help of women across America is trying to convince MNCs and policy makers that there is along list of hazardous chemicals in the consumer market, which contribute to deadly diseases including cancer, infertility and heart diseases. WVE believes that the corporations and policy-makers should protect the citizens. That they "can and should do better".

There programmes aim to create awareness about the linkages between human health and the health of the environment. The events that they have organized in the past have revolved around the issues of toxic chemicals in the consumer products of daily use like cleaning agents. Some of the events organized in the past are:

- Safe cleaning products initiative

- Campaign for safe cosmetics

- Mercury and reproductive justice

Accomplishments

WVE has worked primarily at the local and state levels for the last twelve years. However, in the last five years, it has increasingly worked at regional as well as national levels. Combining their twin goals of improving environmental health and advancing women's leadership, they have accomplished the following[19]:

- Closed down or scaled back incinerators, labs and power plants, in conjunction with women at the grassroots level in Montana, Idaho and other states;

- Participated in regional and national studies of women's breast milk to examine the presence of toxic flame retardants and PCBs;

- Formed a statewide mercury taskforce in Montana which aims to address pollution associated with mercury-containing products (i.e. thermometers, thermostats and other measuring devices) through legislative initiatives, collaboration with Montana businesses and consumer education;

- Organized state and national events and conferences focused on threats to women's environmental health;

- Co-founded and played an active role in the national *Coming Clean Collaboration*, a national network of more than 60 organizations working to change the practices of the chemical industry;

- Helped found and lead the national *Campaign for Safe Cosmetics*, a national coalition of organizations working to protect the health of consumers and workers by requiring the health and beauty industry to phase out the use of chemicals linked to cancer, birth defects and other heath problems, and replace them with safer alternatives;

- Founded and developed a young women's leadership program called Girls Using Their Strengths (GUTS!), now managed by the YWCA of Missoula, that enables hundreds of girls aged 11-17 to participate in a program designed to increase self esteem and develop a greater sense of personal purpose through environmental and social justice public activism;

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[19] http://www.womenandenvironment.org/aboutwve/accomplishments (7Dec, 2007)

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- Convinced one of the nation's leading supermarket chains to post visible warnings about mercury contamination in fish so that thousands of women have better access to information about how to eat fish safely;

- Helped found and lead the Montana Women Vote Project (MWV), which registers and educates new voters during election years.

As a part of its anti mercury, campaign WVE supports Senate Bill 906 and the House Bill counterpart, HR1534, aimed at reducing mercury pollution. This legislation intends to prevent the United States from selling excess elemental mercury to developing countries[20]. WVE encourages women to contact their Senator and Representative and convince them to support these bills.

CASE STUDY 4

WOMEN'S ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (WEDO)

WEDO is an international women's organization. It was founded in 1991. Over the years, it has been working in forums such as the UN as an advocate for women's equality in global policy. It 'seeks to empower women as decision makers to achieve economic, social and gender justice, a healthy, peaceful planet and human rights for all'[21] WEDO has identified the following as its **goals**[22]:

- Advance democratic, accountable and gender-balanced governance in decision-making processes and institutions at all levels.

- Challenge the current global economic system and promote a sustainable development model to achieve human rights, economic and social justice, gender equality and equity, and poverty eradication.

- Promote multilateralism and international cooperation to advance peace, human rights, human security, and human solidarity.

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[20] As of now, unregulated mercury from recycled U.S. products and excess US stockpiles can be sold to developing countries where artisanal miners use it in their gold mining process. More than 30% of these miners are women. These women are bearing children with severe developmental disorders, a result of mercury poisoning.(file:///D:/Chap%203/WVE%20legislation.htm 7Dec, 2007)

[21] http://www.wedo.org/aboutus.aspx (8Dec,2007)

[22] http://www.wedo.org/aboutus.aspx?mode=mission (8Dec, 2007)

For the achievement of the above goals, WEDO has identified four programme areas and three strategies. It accomplishes its work through the following **program areas:**

- Economic & Social Justice
- Gender & Governance
- Sustainable Development
- U.S. Global Policy

WEDO uses three interlinked **strategies** to achieve its goals[23], they are:

- Advocacy and monitoring in key global forums, particularly the United Nations.
- Support the advocacy efforts of women's organizations around the world and build broad strategic alliances to hold governments accountable for their international commitments.
- Engage U.S. women on foreign policy and global issues.

The above stated goals and strategies are an outcome of the hard work put in during the past decade and a half by this organization. The fact that this organization, which is based in the US, integrates women from 83 countries through its campaigns like the 16 DAYS CAMPAIGN, prompted this researcher to include it in this work. The history of WEDO provides evidential support to this argument.

HISTORY

Former U.S. Congresswoman Bella Abzug (1920-1998) along with feminist activist and journalist Mim Kelber (1922-2004) established WEDO in 1990. WEDO has been at the forefront of the environmental movement by integrating the issue of gender with the issue of environmental protection. For instance, as a build up to the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), WEDO organized the World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet. This Women's Congress brought together more than 1,500 women from 83 countries to work jointly on a strategy for UNCED. This resulted in **Women's Action Agenda 21.** It served as an "outline for a healthy and peaceful planet

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[23] http://www.wedo.org/aboutus.aspx?mode=mission (8Dec, 2007)

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that was the basis for introducing gender equality in the official UNCED final documents—Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration"[24]. The Agenda 21 was a remarkable achievement, which firmly established WEDO as a pioneer in international women's rights.

WEDO has capitalized on this experience and has been successful at organizing Women's Caucus at key UN conferences. This includes UN International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), Cairo, Egypt, 1994; UN World Conference on Social Development (WSSD), Copenhagen, Denmark, 1995; UN Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW), Beijing, China, 1995, and UN World Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT), Istanbul, Turkey, 1996.

WEDO also attended the **UNFCCC's** 13th conference of parties in Bali, taking place Dec. 3-14th. This conference was the first major stage of negotiations for governments, UN agencies and organizations to come up with a replacement for the Kyoto Protocol that will expire in 2012. WEDO is also at the core of the **Global Gender & Climate Alliance (GGCA)**, which brings together agencies like UNDP, UNEP and IUCN. While emphasizing that women are powerful agents of change and that their leadership is crucial in all aspects of sustainable development, environmental protection and peace and security, GGCA has undertaken to achieve the following[25]:

1. Provide support to UNFCCC and its bodies to ensure that the UN mandates on gender equality are fully implemented.
2. Ensure that UN financing mechanisms on mitigation and adaptation address the needs of poor women and men equitably.
3. Set standards and criteria for climate change mitigation and adaptation that incorporate gender equality and equity principles.
4. Build capacity at global, regional and local level to design and implement gender-responsive climate change policies, strategies and programmes.

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[24] http://www.wedo.org/aboutus.aspx?mode=history (8Dec2007)
[25] http://www.wedo.org/files/Global%20Gender%20and%20Climate%20Alliance.pdf (8Dec. 2007)

5. Establish a network for learning, knowledge exchange and advocacy on gender and climate change.

The Council of Women World Leaders (CWWL), the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) and the Heinrich Böll Foundation North America organized a high-level roundtable entitled "How a Changing Climate Impacts Women"[26] on September 21, 2007 at the Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations. The roundtable was a landmark event focusing on the linkages between gender equality and climate change. Its recommendation successfully highlights the importance of women as agents of change:

Gender equality is a critical component of responses to climate change at all levels— rather than isolating gender equality from other core development issues, it should be integrated in all aspects of climate change planning and decision-making. National and global policies should incorporate the gender aspects of climate change, guided by the many global agreements on gender mainstreaming and human rights treaties such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. This will require improved international environmental governance structures, cohesion between UN agencies, as well as tools such as gender-specific indicators to guide national reporting to the UNFCCC[27].

GAINS OF THE ACTIVISM

In conclusion, it is evident that organizations like WWP, WIIS, WEDO and WVE had realized that participation of women in peace processes was crucial to sustainable peace and sustainable development and that issue of environmental protection needs to be challenged head on to secure a future for the coming generations. They were in the thick of action, were present in the broad multi lateral dialogues on peace making, and were brokering participation for women. For instance, In 2004, *"Inclusive Security: Sustainable Peace – A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action"*, was jointly produced with the

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[26] http://www.wedo.org/files/Roundtable%20Final%20Report%206%20Nov.pdf (8Dec 2007)
[27] http://www.wedo.org/files/Roundtable%20Final%20Report%206%20Nov.pdf (8Dec 2007)

US-based organization Women Waging Peace. This Toolkit is a resource for peace builders and practitioners – particularly women – to engage in peace and security issues. It provides critical information, strategies and approaches and aims to bridge the divide between the realities of peace activists in conflict, post-conflict or transition areas, and international practitioners and policy-makers with responsibility for designing and implementing programmes in these contexts. These groups were also the first ones to take up the issue of environmental degradation. Majority of ecofeminist women's groups were focusing on developing democratic representation at grass root levels against government inertia. As has been mentioned earlier, conflicts generally arise because of resources and lead to displacement of populations. These organizations have generally challenged men's perception of normative gender roles in conflicts and emphasized the fact that during conflicts gender roles are interchanged, as women become the head of the household and take up many responsibilities as such and as an equal sufferer of the conflict have an equal right to be present in negotiations for peace. They have internalized stereotypes and tried to change cultures of domination by changing behavior of the patriarchs. These organizations have formed international networks and have provided greater visibility to women's activism and sincerity in efforts, thus, ensuring a greater political presence at international level, which could alter the course of this century.

CHAPTER-4

IMPACT AND LEGISLATIVE PROCESSES

"After fifty years, the Council recognized that international peace and security is advanced when women are included in decision-making...and peace building," said Felicity Hill of UNIFEM[1]

The advocacy of agency of women was brought to the fore in the last chapter, with the emphasis on the advocacy of the issues like security, peacebuilding and environment by women through the organizations like WISS, WWP, WEDO and WVE. Women's agency is important for a better world because women have largely been neglected as a resource in issues of peacebuilding, sustainable development and environmental degradation. Often their efforts are isolated and ignored, however, women represent an untapped potential for political influence within the above-mentioned issue-areas. This chapter attempts to asses the impact of women's advocacy on the environmental protection movement as well as the issues of security and sustainable development.

This chapter would deal with the impact of women's advocacy on legislative process in the domestic politics as well as the international politics. The links between domestic legislations that were passed as a result of the activism of by women's group to the stances of the US government in international forum would also be examined. For this purpose, the chapter has been classified into two sections: peace and security and environmental protection.

PEACE AND SECURITY

The following lines from a report on the role of women in conflict prevention bring out the passion with which the agency of women in the issue area of security and peacebuilding should be advocated.

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[1] "More Than Victims: The Role Of Women In Conflict Prevention" A Conference Report September 12, 2002

"Stereotypical images of women as passive victims of war overshadow their agency and contributions to peacebuilding, and belie the complex reality of women's experiences in conflict situations. Women are victims, but they are also fighters. Women are survivors and they are protectors. Women are also peace builders "[2].

Despite limited resources and threats from their own community members, women across the world actively participate in peace marches and efforts for settlements across conflict lines. They should not be treated as victims solely as it not only "undermines their efforts and robs them of the opportunity to progress, but it also excludes a vast and untapped resource in terms of peacemaking and post-conflict recovery and transformation"[3]. Military and political leaders are incapable of achieving sustainable peace by themselves in case of civil wars and internal conflicts. They need the support of people who are in the thick of the action. Women, who support and provide security to the families when the men-folk have gone for the war, are largely ignored in the process of peace-making. This has been the trend through history, as we know it. However, if we continue with the same we will continue to loose out the immense potential of women in peace and security, since they have their fingers on the pulse of the society. They understand their needs and requirements better. They are the first society that a human being knows. Unlike international actors, and even local political and military elites, women in civil society at the grassroots neither have the option of, nor do they want to focus on exit strategies. Thus, they have a deep personal interest and commitment to building peace and reconciliation.

The impact of women's advocacy of agency for inclusion in peace and security issues can be addressed at two levels of analyses:

1. Peace and security in the US
2. Peace and security and the UN

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[2] "More Than Victims: The Role Of Women In Conflict Prevention" A Conference Report Sponsored by the Conflict Prevention, Middle East and Environmental Change and Security Projects of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and Women Waging Peace Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Washington, D.C. September 12, 2002
[3] Ibid.

1. WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE US

"...You still hear the advancement of women's interests in these situations described as the 'soft side' of American and other countries' foreign policy....There's nothing soft about preventing armed thugs from abusing women in refugee camps or holding warlords accountable for their abuses against women or insisting that women have a seat at the table in peace process or post-conflict governments."—Donald Steinberg[4]

A self-proclaimed "designated mainstreamer" of issues related to women and peace and security, Ambassador Donald Steinberg, believes that issues related to peace and security in general and the role of women in particular often get lost in the shuffle of crisis management. However, it is specifically in the middle of crises that these issues should be the priority. According to Steinberg, this is not just a question of equity or fairness, rather, **"Bringing women to the peace table improves the quality of the agreements reached and increases the chances that successful implementation will be achieved[5]."**

The US government has been undertaking specific activities in different countries to expand opportunities for women in the political and economic lives of their countries to give full meaning to UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The United States claims to be deeply committed to 'addressing issues that are important to American women and women throughout the world. Promoting women's political and economic participation is an important element of U.S. foreign policy and a key component of transformational diplomacy.' Global respect for women is a Bush Administration foreign policy priority. The United States Department of State's on the homepage of its website declares that it is in the 'forefront of advancing women's causes around the world, helping them become full participants in their societies through various initiatives and programs that help increase women's political participation and economic opportunities and support women and girls' access to education and health care.'

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[4] Principal Deputy Director of Policy and Planning at the U.S. Department of State, "More Than Victims: The Role Of Women In Conflict Prevention" A Conference Report pp13
[5] ibid.

The **Office of the Senior Coordinator for International Women's Issues** serves as the Department's coordinating body for all foreign policy issues related to the political, economic, and social advancement of women in democracy worldwide. It recognizes that for the full and equal participation of women in the political, economic, and social spheres of society is a key ingredient for democratic development. The directive of this Office is to 'mobilize concrete support for greater women's empowerment, promote greater awareness of gender-based violence and discrimination, and to ensure that women's human rights are considered along with, and not segregated from, other human rights in the development of U.S. foreign policy.'

In September 2002, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell reminded the delegates at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg that development programs perform to their optimum when they involve women as planners, implementers, and beneficiaries. Furthermore, he insisted on full accountability for actions against women during conflict; he believed it was essential to establish rule of law.

The U.S. government has recognized the failures of past peace processes to include women at the table, specifically Angola. When Angola relapsed into conflict in 1998, issues concerning women were de-prioritized. the Joint Peace Commission meeting comprised of the Angolan government, UNITA, the United Nations and the troika countries of Russia, Portugal and the United States omitted the presence of women. "In Angola, we soon realized and recognized that we were missing a real opportunity to lay the groundwork for post-conflict equality and reconstruction by bringing women to the table to plan for emergency assistance; by using women's non-government organizations to distribute relief; by assigning gender advisers to prevent domestic violence as ex-combatants returned to their homes; and, by ensuring women a seat at the table in the talks themselves.[6]"

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[6] Principal Deputy Director of Policy and Planning at the U.S. Department of State, "More Than Victims: The Role Of Women In Conflict Prevention" A Conference Report pp13

The U.S. government has learned from these experiences and in the current crisis in Afghanistan has made women's participation a high priority in all efforts, Steinberg said. The White House, in particular, pushed for full participation of women in the political conference in Bonn, in the reconstruction conferences in Washington and Tokyo and in the Loya Jirga in Afghanistan. Yet, Steinberg argued, "Words alone cannot ensure women a seat at the peace table." Thus, the U.S. government has begun a variety of practical steps to translate words into actions enhancing the political and economic participation of women around the world. Within the U.S. Department of State, the Office of International Women's Issues and the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor are assisting women's organizations and ministries of women's affairs to promote women's rights and involve women in peacebuilding and post-conflict political structures. The Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration is addressing women's and girls' education, psychosocial trauma, special feeding programs, mother-child healthcare and protection services for refugees and internally displaced persons. Training programs on these issues have been implemented for junior, mid-level and senior offices at the Foreign Service Institute. In addition, exchange programs sponsored by the Bureau for Educational and Cultural Exchange draw women from across the political, geographic and ethnic spectrum.

In addition, new U.S. partnerships with developing countries will place importance on women and girls. For example, the Africa Education Initiative will train 160,000 new teachers, mostly women, and provide scholarships for 250,000 African girls. The Global Food for Education program will provide school feeding programs for seven million children, with a particular emphasis on girls, while more U.S. development aid is supporting projects relevant to women, including maternal health, girls' education, HIV/AIDS, micro-credit and the strengthening of civil society, he said. Steinberg maintained that although much has been accomplished, the process of including women in conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts has only begun. "For every picture of a woman speaking to the Loya Jirga in Afghanistan or girls returning to schools in that country, there are dozens of countries around the world where women are systematically

excluded from peace processes and post-conflict governance and where girls' access to education, health and other social services is minimal."

Women's Equality Day

The Republican government in the White House set a new tradition this year by commemorating 26 August as the Women's Equality Day. "On women's equity day, we commemorate the adoption of the 19th Amendment to our Constitution and the strong leadership of extraordinary women who have made America a more perfect Union by advancing women's suffrage[7]." President Bush in his proclamation on Women's equality Day said, "Our Nation is grateful for the bold leadership of American women who have opened doors of opportunity for women of future generations. On Women's Equality Day we honor the suffragists and all those who seek to expand equality in our world." The president called upon the 'people of the United States to celebrate the achievements of women and observe this day with appropriate programs and activities.'

The US government has been taking steps in the right direction, however, they are very few and very seldom. The phenomenon needs to be replicated and adopted at every level and more often. Inclusion of women in decision-making should be the mantra of the day, the talisman for a better world. The picture is far from the truth. The illustrious claims . made by the Department of State have not been achieved in reality. A lot more needs to be done.

2. WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE UN

The United Nations Security Council, the principal decision-making body on international issues of peace and security, unanimously passed **Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security** on October 31, 2000 in an important victory for women worldwide. It is the first Security Council resolution to recognize that women are not only victims of war but also active agents in building peace. Women activists pushed for the passage of Resolution 1325 and are now working to make sure that 1325 becomes a

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[7] GEORGE W. BUSH, A proclamation on Women's Equality Day August 26, 2007 http://www.state.gov/ (28 December 2007)

living document by holding the Security Council accountable for including women's voices in the arena of global peace and security. Resolution 1325 calls on the UN, member states and other parties to include women and women's organizations when they negotiate and implement peace agreements and reconstruction efforts, as well as protect the safety of women during conflict and post-conflict situations.

The key provisions are:

1. **Women's Participation in Decision-Making & Peace Processes:** this provision will make space for more women in decision-making positions relating to peace and security issues at all levels including national governments, UN high-level positions, civilian police and humanitarian personnel.

2. **Women's Participation in Conflict Resolution & War Prevention:** this provision implies that UN Security Council and member states will have to consult with women's organizations and to include a gender perspective when negotiating peace agreements, reconstructing post-conflict areas and preventing further conflict situations.

3. **Peacekeeping Operations to include Gender Training:** This provision denotes that the UN Secretary-General would have to provide training on the protection of women, their rights and needs and their participation in post-conflict peacekeeping operations. Member states would also have to increase funding to the UN for gender-sensitive training.

4. **Women Receive Protection:** Member states would have to treat sexual and gender-based crimes against women as war crimes. All groups involved in peace negotiations would have to protect the rights of women when making post-conflict decisions about the constitution,

electoral system, the police and judiciary. They would also be required to give special attention to the effects of gender-based sexual violence on women during conflict and to the unique impacts of disarmament, sanctions, and refugee camp conditions on women.

5. **UN Reporting & Implementation Mechanisms Incorporate Gender:** UN Secretary-General would have to study and report on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building, and gender in peace processes and conflict resolution. UN Secretary-General would have to report regularly on the implementation of gender in peacekeeping missions.

The UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security is a watershed resolution that calls upon states and all actors to ensure women's full participation in peace processes. The European Union and other regional and multi-lateral organizations have adopted the resolution in their charters also. However, around a decade has passed and the rhetoric is still not matched by reality. Not much has been done to implement 1325. "Experiences in Northern Ireland, South Africa, Guatemala and elsewhere show that bringing women to the peace table improves the quality of the agreements reached and increases the chances of better implementation. In Rwanda, where new structures to include women have been institutionalized, there is growing evidence of a qualitative difference in governance for peace.[8]"

Including the voices of women from the grassroots in decision-making should be an integral part of the reform in the UN that is so readily talked about, and infamously neglected. Introducing gender perspective will make policies more effective and aid will be more efficiently targeted. The varied experiences of women in wars gives them a

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[8] "More Than Victims: The Role Of Women In Conflict Prevention" A Conference Report Sponsored by the Conflict Prevention, Middle East and Environmental Change and Security Projects of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and Women Waging Peace Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Washington, D.C. September 12, 2002

unique 'ability to develop innovative strategies that create spaces for moderation and dialogue between adversaries in situations of intractable conflict and violence'[9].

Focusing on the "efficiency" argument, Swanee Hunt of Women Waging Peace emphasizes the numerous ways in which women contribute to peace processes and restates the notion that women in civil society are an untapped resource in the context of peacebuilding. "Women are often the stabilizing force in the societies in which they exist. This is certainly true in post-conflict settings where women represent essentially the backbone of reconstruction and rehabilitation and the reintegration of former combatants and the re-emergence of basic economic activity in a society, in a war-torn society, once a peace has been achieved[10]."

UNIFEM[11] identifies the following areas, which require immediate action:

1. **PREVENTION:** Information about and from women needs to be integrated into early warning mechanisms. For the Security Council to respond appropriately, systematic and regular information must be collected, analyzed and available.

2. **PROTECTION:** There is an enormous gap in the legal and physical protection offered to women during and after conflict. Impunity prevails for widespread crimes committed against women.

3. **HIV:** The enormous nexus between HIV and conflict has not been well documented. Hill quoted the Secretary General's Special Adviser on AIDS in Africa, Stephen Lewis, as stating that, "HIV/AIDS feasts on gender inequality and war."

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[9] Ambassador Swanee Hunt of Women Waging Peace at "More Than Victims: The Role Of Women In Conflict Prevention" Conference Washington, D.C. September 12, 2002
[10] ibid.
[11] http://www.unifem.org/ (25 DEC 2007)

4. **PEACE PROCESSES.** According to Hill, formal negotiations excluding half the population have little hope of popular support. Quotas have brought women into the political process in a variety of places, and have met with significant success.

5. **PEACE OPERATIONS:** Consideration of gender must begin in the assessment stages of peace operations.

6. **CODES OF CONDUCT:.** The Secretary General has thereby issued a report advocating a "zero tolerance" policy on such actions. Rules on how the international community should interact with the local populations must be more clearly articulated and implemented.

7. **REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:** Universal standards can be more easily implemented when a framework between regional organizations and the United Nations is firmly in place.

8. **DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILIZATION AND REINTEGRATION (DDR):** Women play a variety of roles within armed groups, whether as forced sexual slaves, carriers, cooks or combatants. "And," according to Hill, "no matter what role women played in armed groups, they, too, need to have programs and opportunities to be retrained and replaced in the community just as combatants do under DDR programs[12]."

WEDO and WWP were very actively involved in the passage of the Resolution 1325. In fact, these NGOs along with other sister associations helped in drafting the resolution and have been pushing for implementation of the same. It is also important to highlight the role of Hunt Alternatives Fund, which is behind the above NGOs. Led by Swanee Hunt, the fund has been an enormous support for the advocacy of agency for women through

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[12] Felicity Hill, "More Than Victims: The Role Of Women In Conflict Prevention" A Conference Report Sponsored by the Conflict Prevention, Middle East and Environmental Change and Security Projects of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and Women Waging Peace Woodrow Wilson pp8

initiatives like Women Waging Peace and WEDO. The websites of the organizations have enormous resources on the issues of women in governance and security. They create public opinion by educating the masses about the potential of women as agents of peace and security. The organizations take out peace marches and encourage members to write to their Congressional representatives about issues of importance, to make their voices heard. The following segment accounts for the impact of their advocacy.

Analysis of the impact of women's activism:

Understanding of the role of women as actors during war and conflict and as victims of war is essential to ensure full participation of women at all levels of decision-making and implementation in peace processes. As long as the power imbalance and the unequal distribution of resources between the genders remain unaddressed, there can be no lasting peace. Most conflicts ensue because of competition for political space and resources. The gross violations of civil and political rights that prevail in general, because of the political situation are often used as justification to disregard the violations of women's rights. These are either consequent upon discrimination against women that is sanctioned by the community or not addressed by the state.

Forced displacement from the repeated threats and attacks on local communities of armed conflict and political violence is also a gendered experience. In addition, the economic impact of armed conflict manifests itself in gender-specific ways. As mentioned earlier, women face several problems during war and conflicts like rape, sexual exploitation, physical violence, trafficking, displacement, and economic hardship and health problems.

During times of armed conflict and the collapse of communities, the role of women is crucial. They often work to preserve social order in the midst of armed and other conflicts and make an important but often unrecognized contribution as peace educators both in their families and in their societies, to foster a culture of peace that upholds justice and tolerance for all nations and peoples. It should include elements of conflict resolution, mediation, reduction of prejudice and respect for diversity.

International women's groups are a significant movement dynamic that has contributed to the greater visibility of women's political presence in the global arena, which could alter the political terrain. Many women's non-governmental organizations have called for reductions in military expenditures worldwide, as well as in international trade and trafficking in and the proliferation of weapons. Women's commitment to peace is crucial for ensuring sustainability of peace agreements signed by warring parties. In respect to peace and conflict resolution, domestic women's groups like Women Waging Peace Network and WIIS play a very important role of the tie that binds the national and international action. Their activism in US has a profound impact on US policies abroad and their links with other sister organizations in conflict ridden areas influences general global policy and leads to activism against exclusion of women and for inclusion of women in peace processes.

The challenges faced by these groups are that women lack the organizational force to have strategic plans to address the current situation of a country as also to present their plans in peace process. In this scenario it becomes extremely important to recognize the multifaceted relationship between men, women, violence, and peace. While women and women's groups undertake many informal activities that are supportive of peace processes, these efforts remain less well known, are not well publicized, and are rarely integrated or reflected in formal peace processes. Women continue to be largely absent from formal processes.

The number of women who participate in formal peace processes remains very small. Even when women participate or are included in formal peace negotiations, their role can be limited to a formal presence without having the capacity, or mandate to contribute to setting or shaping the agenda of such negotiations. Male negotiators may also simply be unwilling to consider gender issues and women's concerns due to customs and traditions, as well as stereotypes that limit or narrowly define the role of women in public life and decision-making.

Lack of a common voice or agenda with regard to peace negotiations due to the lack of time or resources, the particular geographical constraints of a country, language constraints make communications among women and women's groups difficult. Lack of gender awareness in peace negotiations further marginalizes women's needs and contributions to peace. Gender, social exclusion, and human rights are all too often relegated as secondary issues to be dealt with once peace accords are signed.

Women's participation is crucial from the outset of negotiations if there is to be a gender perspective at the negotiating table. Women are under-represented in conflict and post-conflict decision-making positions, peacekeeping bodies, defense and foreign affairs organisations. Mainstreaming gender into peacekeeping calls for gender balanced representation within all levels of peacekeeping operations. Feminist perspectives on peace, security, conflict resolution, and democratization draw attention to the gendered nature of these processes and give new meaning to the conventional concepts of international relations.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

The previous chapter had highlighted the inherent ascendancy of women's agency in relation with environmental issues. It had brought to the fore the working of two organizations: WEDO and WVE which are advocates of agency for women. The following section will take a firm look at the impact these organizations have had on the international community as well as on the domestic community. It would asses the changes, if any, that their advocacy has brought about in the legislative processes. The string that holds the research together would be the question, if women have been included in the decision-making process in this issue-area. This section would follow the schema of the previous section and would be divided into two:

1. Women, Environmental Protection in the US
2. Women, Environmental Protection and the UN

1. WOMEN, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION IN THE US

This study has attempted to understand the linkages between feminism and environmentalism, which has given birth to a new concept in the twenty-first century called "ecofeminism". Women's groups and their activism has advanced the cause of environment and environmental protection in US and universally, and these efforts have borne fruits across culture and political boundaries. It has been observed that women's contribution is regularly undervalued and ignored, even though they form about half of the world's population and are uniquely vulnerable to environmental degradation. For example, it is well established that environmental hazards are among the major causes of global death and disease, and that the burden falls disproportionately on women and young children, especially in less developed countries[13]. In case of environment, women's groups have focused on grassroot level and democratic and equitable participation of women and active protests against the various stances of the US government, nationally and internationally. Women's groups like WEDO and WVE have been active on domestic front and their 'agency' has borne fruits in terms of the US ratification of the "Bali Roadmap" and the Federal Mercury Legislation, for instance.

"Bali Roadmap"

Representatives from over 180 countries, together with intergovernmental, NGO, and media observers, finally arrived at compromise at the close of the UNFCCC's 13th Conference of Parties, which took place on December 3rd - 14th in Bali, Indonesia. The "Bali roadmap" was the first stage in coming up with a replacement for the Kyoto Protocol which will expire in 2012.

WEDO also participated in the Conference in Bali and consulted with government, UN and NGO representatives to strategize on gender & climate change adaptation advocacy project in developing countries. It co-hosted a side event with ActionAid and UNDP on Adaptation and Gender Equality: Experiences from the South. WEDO also facilitated a

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[13] http://www.unep.org/gender_env/About/index.asp 19 December 2007

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meeting of the Network of Women Ministers and Leaders of the Environment and the launch of the Global Gender & Climate Alliance (GGCA).

After marathon talks in Bali, Indonesia, the U.N. climate conference agreed on a roadmap for negotiations for a new treaty to combat global warming. The deal sets an agenda for negotiators working to find ways to reduce pollution and help poor countries adapt to environmental changes. The conference nearly broke down, but the U.S. dropped its last-minute demands and signed the new pact after an outpouring of outrage and disappointment from other delegations. Nations now have two years to design a legally binding treaty[14]. WEDO can rightly take some credit for the US signature on the "Bali Roadmap".

Federal Mercury Legislation

WVE supports Senate Bill 906 and the House Bill counterpart, HR 1534, aimed to reduce mercury pollution. This legislation is intended to prevent the United States from selling excess elemental mercury to developing countries. Presently, unregulated mercury from recycled U.S. products and excess US stockpiles can be sold to developing countries where artesian miners use it in their gold mining process. More than 30% of these miners are women. These women are bearing children with severe developmental disorders, a result of mercury poisoning. Recently the UN has started to educate these communities about the dangers of using mercury and is helping them learn how to use non-toxic alternatives (like sand, for example). Furthermore, mercury travels globally, so putting back into unregulated markets means it, will likely end up back in the environment and continue to contaminate globally[15]. WVE encourages members and masses to contact their Senator and Representative and ask him/her to support these bills. These domestic legislations and activism has an obvious international impact because of the network of women's groups globally. Grass-root level fights in US provide encouragement and inspiration to women across the world; in Europe, Africa and Asia etc. and them further the cause of environment.

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[14] http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=17288369 28 December 2007
[15] www.womenandenvironment.org/aboutwve/ 28 December 2007

2. WOMEN, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND THE UN

The UN is formally committed to gender mainstreaming within all United Nations policies and programmes. In all societies, in all parts of the world, gender equality is not yet realised. Men and women have different roles, responsibilities and decision making powers. This has consequences for the Climate Change process which make it important to integrate gender sensitivity into all mechanisms, policies and measures, and tools and guidelines within the climate debate.[16]

Women's activism in the domestic front makes waves internationally and affects women across cultural and political boundaries. Although the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, 1972, which also saw the establishment of the **UN Environment Programme (UNEP)**, officially linked the physical environment and society in its title, in the 1960s and 1970s social issues were still largely disconnected from environmental policies and programmes. When the World Conservation Strategy – living resource conservation for sustainable development (IUCN, UNEP, WWF) - was launched in 1980, the focus of that document on social-environmental linkages still was presented in a gender-neutral way.

It was only in the **Third UN Women's Conference in Nairobi in** 1985, that the international fora made explicit the linkages between sustainable development and women's involvement and empowerment as well as gender equality and equity. In the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies, 'the environment' was included as an area of concern for women. During the Nairobi conference in 1985, UNEP hosted a special Session on Women and the Environment, and UNEP's Senior Women Advisors Group (SWAG) was established to advice the organization on bringing a gender perspective in its environmental programme.

In preparing the groundwork of the **United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), held in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro,** the UN Secretariat for UNCED, UNEP and the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) as well as NGOs

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[16] http://www.gencc.interconnection.org/ (28 December 2007

such as WEDO and WorldWIDE, undertook a number of advocacy activities that reflected the conclusions reached at the 1985 Nairobi NGO-Forum workshops, that stated: "The growth of women's power and the sustainability of development are ecologically tied.[17]"(ELC, 1985). They emphasized that women not only bear the highest costs of environmental problems, but as managers of primary resources, also have the greatest potential for contributing to the solution of the crisis.

The advocacy activities during the UNCED process resulted in a reasonably engendered 'Agenda 21', not only including more than 145 references to the specific roles and positions of women in environment and sustainable development, but also a separate chapter 24 entitled 'Global action for women towards sustainable development'. This chapter acknowledges the need for a broad participation of women – as a major group – at all governmental levels and in all UN agencies related activities in sustainable development, as well as the need for the integration of a gender perspective on sustainable development planning and implementation[18].

The **United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995** identified environment as one of twelve critical areas for women. Section K of the Beijing Platform for Action, on women and the environment, asserted that "women have an essential role to play in the development of sustainable and ecologically sound consumption and production patterns and approaches to natural resource management" (paragraph 246)[19].

In the year 2000 at the **Millennium Summit in New York**, world leaders promised in the Millennium Declaration "to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable[20]". This vision was reflected in the Millennium Development Goals

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[17] http://www.unep.org/gender_env/Historical_background/index.asp 19 Dec 2007
[18] http://www.unep.org/gender_env/Historical_background/index.asp 19 Dec 2007

[19] http://www.unep.org/gender_env/Historical_background/index.asp 19 Dec 2007

[20] http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/ 19 Dec 2007

(MDGs), including MDG 1, eradicate extreme poverty, MDG 3 promote gender equality and empower women, and MDG 7 ensure environmental sustainability. However, governmental reporting on MDG 7 environmental linkages to gender equality is neglected, even today.

As input for the **World Summit on Sustainable Development,** women as major group prepared two documents (ECOSOC/UN, 2001 and 2002), in which progress on the implementation of Agenda 21 from a gender perspective was reviewed. It was concluded that at international, national and local levels important steps had been taken, but that these were rather scattered and that most had an ad hoc character. The review showed that there has been no real integration of gender issues into global environment and sustainable development policies and activities, let alone a thorough mainstreaming of gender concerns in these areas.

Instead of real implementation, more commitments were made. Principle 20 of the Johannesburg Declaration of the World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002) reads: "We are committed to ensure that women's empowerment and emancipation, and gender equality are integrated in all activities encompassed within Agenda 21, the Millennium Development Goals, and the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation." Among the 153 paragraphs of the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (JPOI) 30 refer to gender aspects. These deal with: benefits of sustainable development to women; the elimination of violence and discrimination; access to health services; access to land and other resources (particularly in Africa); the enhancement of the role of women in resources management; education for all; participation of women; gender mainstreaming; and gender specific information and data. Major advocacy efforts resulted in a decision by the Commission on Sustainable Development at its 11th session in 2003 to make gender a cross-cutting issue in all its upcoming work up until 2015[21].

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[21] http://www.unep.org/gender_env/Historical_background/index.asp 19 Dec 2007

UNEP'S ROLE AND CONTRIBUTIONS

For the past twenty years, UNEP has played a pioneering role in providing linkages between women and the environment. UNEP has been working to emphasize the important role that women play in sustainable development. It identifies gender as a transcendental priority, and works to promote women's participation in all environmental protection and sustainable development activities. Gender equality has now a been systematically integrated into all its programme design and implementation, along with measurable goals and indicators. UNEP has "adopted a high-level, sustained commitment to internal capacity-building on gender mainstreaming, utilizing various strategies, including organizational workshops and training, changes in policy and practice, and real accountability for implementation."

In a global context in which gender inequality proves to be one of the most pervasive forms of inequality (UNDP. 2005), the international community during the 10 year Review of the Beijing Platform for Action at the 49th session of the Commission of the Status of Women (CSW) in March 2005, and the 2005 World Summit in September 2005, recommitted itself to the global goal of gender equality and the empowerment of women[22].

In conclusion, it is evident that women's exclusion from peace building and conflict resolution has a negative impact on the sustainability of the agreements reached. For worse, it leaves states to mediate who generally have a gender-neutral understanding of peace making. Women's rights to representation are denied as they have a right to be present at the peace table as half of the population. Conflictual interests often govern civil society and voluntary agencies. Hence, unless the negotiating groups include women and their opinions, and specifically focus on their interests; women are not in position to assert themselves and tend to be ignored or neglected. In developing countries and conflict zones, separation between public and private denies space to women

Exclusion of women's perspectives will not lead to sustainable peace rather it may lead to negative and positive peace. Female consciousness has to be incorporated, as gender

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[22] http://www.unep.org/gender_env/ 19 Dec 2007

blindness in peace negotiations will hamper mediation of the cultural and ideological dynamics of conflict. In terms of environmental protection also, there are varied opinions on the general premise of ecofeminism that men tend to ignore environmental issues, which are dearer to women because of their nurturing nature. This concept of biological determinism has been highly debated and varied postulates have been offered as explanation. However, this chapter has clearly brought to fore the importance of environmental activism by women and their impact globally. Environment and peace are issues that need to be dealt with special care, as they are not short-term problems; they have an impact on our future.

CHAPTER-5

CONCLUSION

American women's movement began with amateurish and peripheral participation of women in political life and has evolved into very sophisticated and highly organized activity at every political level, in many cases also taking the centre stage. This study is a modest attempt to understand the nature and direction of American women's movement with reference to peace and conflict resolution and environmental protection. It has attempted to link the contemporary themes of sustainable peace and development with the dynamics of women's organizations in US. The study begins with the theoretical formulations and conceptual basis of American feminism, traces the history of the movement in order to understand the contemporary relevance of the women's movement. It undertakes four case studies to examine whether the women's movement has moved beyond focusing on "well being" to "agency".

Women around the world are insisting that their voices be heard, on the streets, in civil society organizations, and in the meeting halls of the multilateral organizations. Since the 1980s, when women activists formed networks to work more effectively on local and global issues, transnational feminist networks have engaged in dialogues and alliances with other organizations to make an impact on peace, security, and conflict resolution. These women's groups use the concept of gender as an analytical tool to the way in which gender differences are constructed and conveyed in social groups, institutions and media. They insist on women's inclusion in negotiations so that gender perspective is present during the process of peace making. By 'gender perspective' they means that various questions should be analyzed and elucidated from the perspective of both men and women so as to focus on both genders rather than one and bring about a women friendly sustainable peace rather than a gender neutral peace. Central dimension of this perspective is the notion of power distribution between men and women.

"Many women's non-governmental organizations have called for reductions in military expenditures worldwide, as well as in international trade and trafficking in and the proliferation of weapons.... During times of armed conflict and the collapse of communities, the role of women is crucial. They often work to preserve social order in

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the midst of armed and other conflicts. Women make an important but often unrecognized contribution as peace educators both in their families and in their societies.... Education to foster a culture of peace that upholds justice and tolerance for all nations and peoples is essential to attaining lasting peace and should be begun at an early age. It should include elements of conflict resolution, mediation, reduction of prejudice and respect for diversity."

Beijing Platform for Action[1] (para. 138-40)

The Platform for Action, adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, identified the effects of armed conflict on women as one of 12 critical areas of concern requiring action by governments and the international community, and stressed the need to promote the equal participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels. The Beijing Platform for Action draws attention to the special impact of armed conflict on women, pointing out that although all sections of society are affected women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society and their sex.

Scholars agree that as long as the power imbalance and the unequal distribution of resources between the genders remain unaddressed, there can be no lasting peace. Scholars like Benson, Nakaya believe that understanding of the role of women as actors during war and conflict and as victims of war is essential to ensure full participation of women at all levels of decision-making and implementation in peace processes.

This study found that the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which is the prime example of global effort of more than 200 women's groups, was a point of departure in contemporary women's movement. International Alert launched the global campaign *Women Building Peace: From the Village Council to the Negotiating Table* in May 1999, with the support of over 200 organizations worldwide, to respond to women's concerns about their exclusion from decision-making levels of peace, security, reconstruction and development processes. The campaign was successfully completed in October 2000, when its focus on international policy development to promote women's role in peace building led to the unanimous adoption of United Nations Security Council

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[1] Platform for Action, adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995,

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Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Since then, the need for greater clarity and more empirical information on women's peace building expertise has been highlighted. What exactly do women do? How do they do it? What challenges do they face? What lessons do they learn? How do they measure impact? While these questions involve a larger more universal context of all women, this study focuses on the women in the US and the linkages their organizations have from the local to the global level. In particular, the study has focused on the evolution and growing impact of the women's movement as a whole, while delineating the case studies: Women Waging Peace Network, Women in International Security, Women Voices from the Earth and Women's Environment and Development Organization, in order to probe the argument that women's organizations play a unique role in advancing and advocating the cause and goals of the movement. Specific attention has been given to the themes of peace building and ecological conservation as the groups involved in these areas provide critical information, contexts, strategies and approaches to international and national policy makers.

The central premise of this work is that the women's movement has moved beyond focusing on 'well-being' of women to 'agency' of women. In the past, the well-being aspects of women in women's movements were the exclusive concentration, however, today it is fair to say the agency aspects are beginning to receive more attention. Therefore, an agent-oriented approach to the women's agenda is necessary because such 'agency' can play a crucial role in removing the iniquities that are rampant across cultural and political boundaries. The study concludes that the action that a rational agent takes depends on the agent's past experiences; information of her environment; the actions, duties and obligations available to the agent and the estimated benefits and the chances of success of the actions. Women as ratioanl agents have been catalystic in the emergence of welfare states in liberal societies across the world. Suffering during wars gave women a better understanding of the needs of the society and an insight into the working of the same; therefore, they form an important link between sustainable and longlasting peace. This study found a lack of sensitivity in dealing with "unique" experiences of women among policy making circles, domestically and globally. Culture of domination and

patriarchy holds women back. There is a need for greater sensitivity in framing of research to the diversity of women's experience and to the importance of local conditions in determining the status and needs of individual women and the role they can play as agents to bring about social change.

In the second chapter, it is evident from the discussion on evolution of American feminism by the metaphor of "waves" that the three waves of feminism in the US have maintained a steady trajectory of progress of women. The study found well-documented evidences that each of these waves drew from the previous one, and yet developed unique features that morphed into a very different "wave". By examining them through this metaphor of 'waves', which basically lays out a structural idea of formation and reformulation of action, understanding the changing role of women in US has been enhanced.

The second chapter also clearly explained the conceptual basis of feminism by endorsing the contention put forward by many feminist scholars that feminism is more than an ideology or a philosophy. In fact, the analysis on the "third wave" brought forth the notion that for the present women feminism is a part of every day life; it is a way of life. Thus, differentiating it from the "second wave", which was more about theoretical formulations and "angry feminists".

The third chapter presented the case of women as agents of peace and environmental protection with the help of four case studies. The case studies were women organizations which have been actively participating in international and national forum and have also been working at the grass root level. Two organizations Women Waging Peace Network (WWP) and Women in International Security (WIIS) specialized in the issue-area of peace and security and the others, Women Voices from the Earth (WVE) and Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) in issues related to environmental protection.

It was found that peace and security issues have largely remained masculine, guided by patriarchal and capitalistic interests. However, this study clearly shows that the intersection of international women's groups is a significant movement dynamic that has contributed to the greater visibility of women's political presence in the global arena, which could alter the political terrain. However, women's organizations face major challenges for action. Although various initiatives of Governments and civil society have focused on supporting and increasing the representation of women in peace negotiations and in peacekeeping operations, much needs to be done to broaden the focus from women's presence at the peace table to consistent and systematic attention to gender issues in all aspects of peace processes, including in post-conflict reconstruction. The peace process is mostly seen only in the context of women as victims of war and conflict, but not as women playing a proactive role in the process of peace negotiations, peace building and post conflict activities. Women need to be included in peace negotiations for equitable representation. The study's focus on the groups that work in this field in the US has brought out that if progress is to be made towards building more peaceful, cooperative and just societies where human security is valued as paramount, building peace must more deeply involve women and women's approaches. As documented throughout this study, women's roles in, and contributions to, peace building have been underutilized and lacking in recognition at community, national, and international levels. Despite women's marginalization outside the mainstream, peace and international security arenas, their work in peace building is substantial.

Women's organizations such as WWP and WIIS working on the issue of peace and conflict resolution have generally focused on an equitable and democratic representation at national and international level, while those working on issues of environmentalism such as WVE and WEDO have generally worked at the grass root level and have protested against US government's policy on Kyoto Protocol, among others. However, as mentioned earlier, the links between women's organizations across the world have formed crucial linkages and networks, which are significant during negotiations at international level. For instance, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and the

Bali Climate Conference, 2007, where women's activism, patience, and struggle paid off and forced the primary decision makers to relent and incorporate the gender perspective.

One of the major challenges faced by women's groups is that they often lack the organizational force to have strategic plans to address the current situation of the country as also to present their plans in peace process. However, it is important to recognize the multifaceted relationship between men, women, violence, and peace. These have been seen as predominantly male domains; women and gender issues have generally been excluded from discussions and interventions for conflict and peace.

The number of women who participate in formal peace processes remains very small. Even when women participate or are included in formal peace negotiations, their role can be limited to a formal presence without having the capacity, or mandate to contribute to setting or shaping the agenda of such negotiations.

However, this study found that women's participation is crucial from the outset of negotiations if there is to be a gender perspective at the negotiating table. Women are under-represented in conflict and post-conflict decision-making positions, peacekeeping bodies, defence and foreign affairs organizations. International women's groups are a significant movement dynamic that has contributed to the greater visibility of women's political presence in the global arena, which could alter the political terrain.

While focusing on the impact and legislative processes in the fourth chapter, the study found that organizations like WWP, WIIS, WEDO and WVE had realized that participation of women in peace processes was crucial to sustainable peace and that issue of environmental protection needs to be challenged head on to secure a future for the coming generations. They were in the thick of action, were present in the broad multi lateral dialogues on peace making, and were brokering participation for women. They were also the first ones to take up the issue of environmental degradation. Majority of ecofeminist women's groups were focusing on developing democratic representation at grass root levels against government inertia.

The study concludes that women's exclusion from peace building and conflict resolution has a negative impact on the sustainability of the agreements reached. For worse, it leaves states to mediate who generally have a gender-neutral understanding of peace making. Women's rights to representation are denied as they have a right to be present at the peace table as half of the population. Exclusion of women's perspectives will not lead to sustainable peace or sustainable development. In terms of environmental protection also, there are varied opinions on the general premise of ecofeminism that men tend to ignore environmental issues, which are dearer to women because of their nurturing nature. This concept of biological determinism has been highly debated and varied postulates have been offered as explanation. The third chapter has highlighted the importance of environmental activism by women and their impact globally. Environment and peace are issues common to both men and women and need to be dealt with special care, as they are not short-term problems; they have an impact on the future of the earth.

It is evident from this study and the case studies undertaken that, there is a lively and robust constituency of women in the US that is working in the field of peace and environment. Some of the contributions of these women groups either in the form of the toolkit developed by WWP or the "third wave" portrayal by the media fitting policies to reality have already been very path-breaking within US and internationally.

They have not only exploded stereotypes and myths, but have also suggested alternatives that would usefully incorporate all voices in order to have sustainable peace as well as sustainable development. Most importantly, starting from the feminist movement and going through the works of these specific organizations it is clear that exclusion of women will be severely contested, both theoretically and in policy.

ANNEXURES

The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, two American activists in the movement to abolish slavery called together the first conference to address Women's rights and issues in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Part of the reason for doing so had been that Mott had been refused permission to speak at the world anti-slavery convention in London, even though she had been an official delegate. Applying the analysis of human freedom developed in the Abolitionist movement, Stanton and others began the public career of modern feminist analysis

*The **Declaration** of the Seneca Falls Convention, using the model of the US Declaration of Independence, forthrightly demanded that the rights of women as right-bearing individuals be acknowledged and respectd by society. It was signed by sixty-eight women and thirty-two men.*

The Declaration of Sentiments

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer. while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future

security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled. The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyrranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men-- both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizedn, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master--the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardles of the happiness of women--the law, in all cases, going upon a flase supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most homorable to himself. As a teacher of theoloy, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a suborinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her conficence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation--in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

(From Elizabeth Cady Stanton, A History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 1 (Rochester, N.Y.: Fowler and Wells, 1889), pages 70-71).
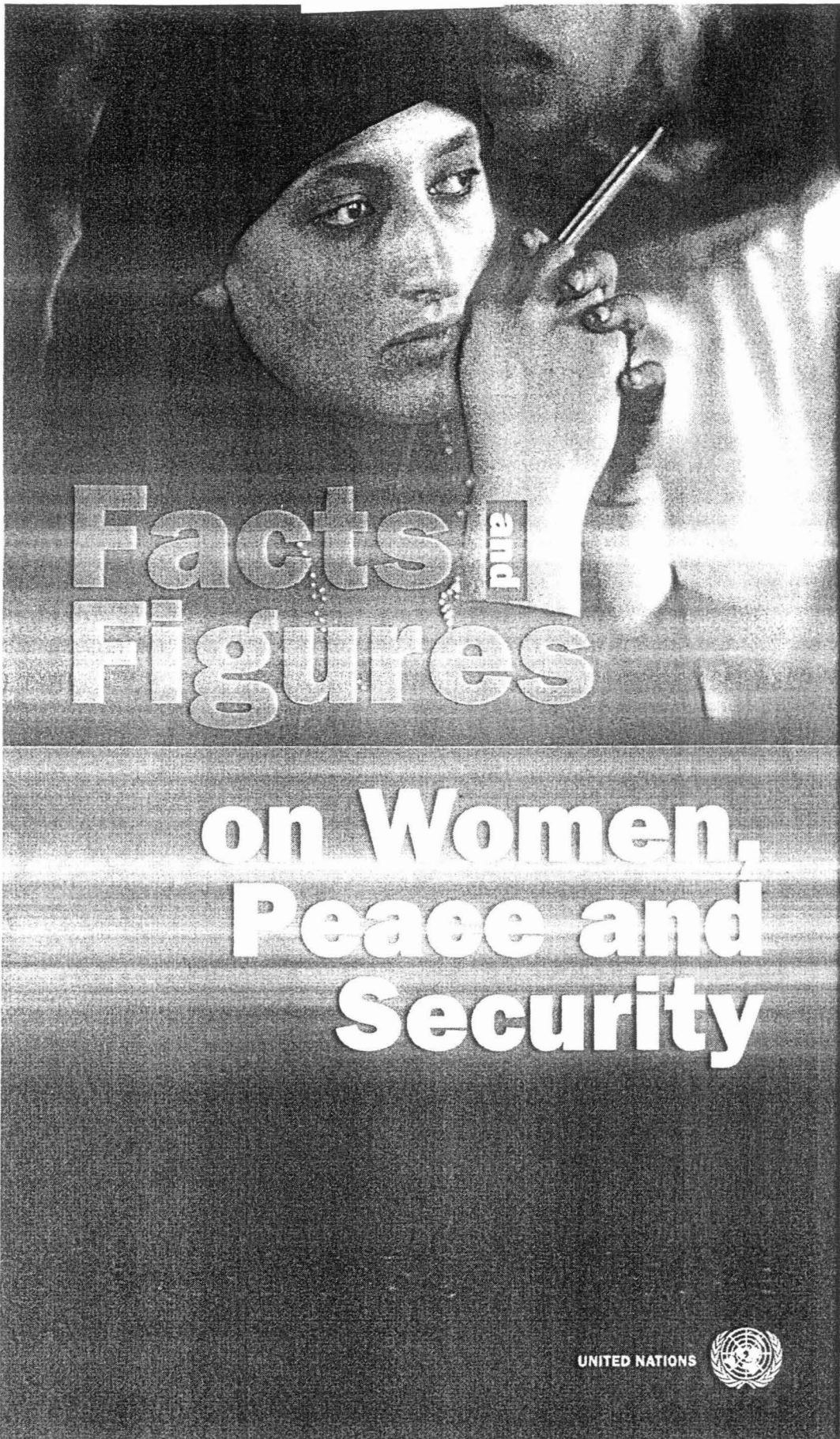
Facts and Figures on Women, Peace and Security

UNITED NATIONS

Since its adoption,

Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) has served as a catalyst for women all over the world to mobilize in their efforts to achieve equal participation. Women at the grassroots level in countries as diverse as Afghanistan, Burundi, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq and Sudan have used this resolution to lobby for their voices to be heard in peacebuilding processes, in post-conflict elections, and in the rebuilding of their societies.

Five years later, here is a glimpse of where things stand.
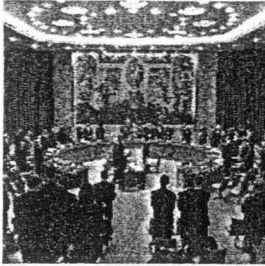
Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)

» Only after the adoption of Security Council resolution 1325 in 2000 have Gender Advisors in peacekeeping operations become the norm.

» Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) has been translated into 70 languages with 10 more translations currently underway (Bengali, Croatian, Dioula, Gujarati, Hausa, Krio, Nepali, Polish, Sierra Leone, Creole and Ukrainian).

» Following the adoption of Security Council resolution 1325 at the UN, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the European Union and the Organization of American States all adopted resolutions endorsing it.

» Israel is the first country to adopt 1325 as national law.

» Many national and local women's organizations — including in Canada, Democratic Republic of the Congo, El Salvador, Fiji, France, Germany, Kosovo, Sweden, Uganda — have used resolution 1325 as an advocacy and training tool.

» A few countries are developing national action plans on implementation of resolution 1325.

» During the period from July 2004 to July 2005, 47.1 per cent of reports to the Security Council included multiple references to gender issues. During the same period, 9 out of 63 resolutions and 15 out of 62 presidential statements included gender issues.

Resolution 1325 (2000) holds out a promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected and that barriers to their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed. We must uphold this promise.

—UN Secretary-General's report to the Security Council on women, peace and security, 2004
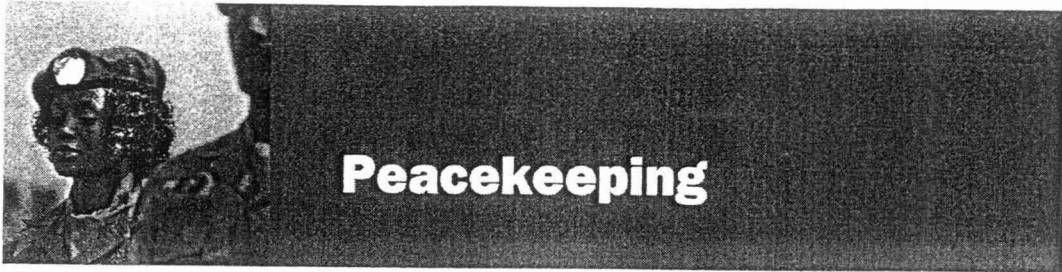
Peacekeeping

» As of September 2005, 10 out of 18 peacekeeping and political missions have a dedicated full-time gender advisor: **Afghanistan** (UNAMA), **Burundi** (ONUB), **Côte d'Ivoire** (ONUCI), **Democratic Republic of the Congo** (MONUC), **Haiti** (MINUSTAH), **Kosovo** (UNMIK), **Liberia** (UNMIL), **Sierra Leone** (UNAMSIL), **Sudan** (UNMIS) and **Timor-Leste** (UNOTIL).

» Missions without full-time Gender Advisors have Gender Focal Points, who are full-time mission staff that are assigned additional gender-related responsibilities.

» The first Gender Offices were established in UNMIK (**Kosovo**) and UNTAET (**Timor-Leste**) in 1999 prior to the adoption of the Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security in 2000.

» The first Gender Adviser was appointed at the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) at UN Headquarters, in 2004.

» Out of 26 UN peace operations, there are currently two women serving as heads of mission: the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General in **Burundi** and **Georgia**. There is one female deputy head of mission in **Afghanistan**.

» As of July 2005, 3,190 women were serving in UN peacekeeping missions out of 12,869 civilian personnel — equal to 25 per cent of the total.

» Approximately 4.4 per cent of civilian police in peacekeeping missions were women as of June 2005. Women make up about one percent of military contingents.

» DPKO has implemented a number of measures to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse and to enforce UN standards of conduct in this regard:

- In 2003, the UN Secretary-General issued a bulletin (ST/SGB/2003/13) setting out the UN's zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and sexual abuse.

- From January 2004 to September 2005, investigations of sexual exploitation and abuse were completed against more than 221 peacekeeping personnel in all missions, resulting in the summary dismissal of 10 civilians, repatriation of 2 members of Formed Police Units and 86 repatriations/rotations home on disciplinary grounds (including 6 commanders) of military personnel.

- As of July 2005, training on sexual exploitation and abuse is mandatory for all categories of personnel in peacekeeping missions.

- To facilitate the receipt of complaints of sexual exploitation and abuse, all peacekeeping operations have appointed a Focal Point and special measures have been put in place in many missions such as telephone hotlines, confidential e-mail accounts and cooperative arrangements with civil society.

Post-Conflict Elections and Political Participation

Compared to the global average for women's participation in national parliaments of 16 per cent, many post-conflict countries rate considerably higher due to affirmative measures and legislation, as well as other factors such as fewer men available to fill positions after a devastating war.

As of September 2005:

» In **Rwanda**, women held nearly 50 per cent of the seats in the Lower House and nearly 35 per cent in the Upper House of Parliament. In Timor-Leste, women represented 25 per cent of the National Parliament.

» Women's representation in both the Kosovo Parliamentary and Municipal Assemblies equaled 28 per cent, a positive step towards the targeted quota of 33 per cent.

» **Burundi** included a quota of 30 per cent for women's political representation. Following the elections in 2005, women represent 30 per cent of the National Assembly which also has a woman President, 34 per cent of the Senate and 35 per cent of ministerial posts, including portfolios such as Foreign Affairs, Justice and Commerce and Industry.

» Although the Elections Law in **Liberia** included a target of 30 per cent women candidates, only 14 per cent of the total election candidates in the October 2005 elections were women.

» Ms. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf became Africa's first ever elected female leader when she won the presidential run off in **Liberia** in November 2005.

» The Prime Minister of **Mozambique** (elected in 2004) is a woman.

» Since the fall of the Taliban in **Afghanistan**, every government has included a Minister of Women's Affairs. A woman ran for president in 2004 and came out sixth ahead of 12 other male candidates.

» In **Iraq**, women obtained 31 per cent of the seats in the National Assembly in the 2005 elections.

Case Study

Afghanistan's First Parliamentary Elections, September 2005

» Twenty-five percent of the total number of seats in Wolesi Jirga and Provincial Council are reserved for women. This quota places Afghanistan 20th in the world for women's representation in Parliament.

» Women actively participated in the Wolesi Jirga and Provincial Council elections held on 18 September 2005 both as candidates and as voters.

» Forty-four per cent of voters who registered in 2005 are women and 41.6 per cent of the total 12.5 million registered voters, including those who registered in 2004 and 2005, are women.

» Out of a total of 26,243 polling stations throughout Afghanistan, 11,387 were for women and in many provinces women outnumbered men in voter turn-out. Overall, 43 per cent of the women registered to vote actually cast a ballot.

Humanitarian Protection and Assistance

Approximately 75 per cent of the estimated 60 million displaced persons from conflict and disasters worldwide are women and children, who often face considerable hardships in situations of displacement, including sexual violence and abuse.

» The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) issued its policy on refugee women in 1991 and has deployed regional advisors on refugee women and children in Africa (3) and Europe (1).

» Guidelines for responding to gender-based violence in emergency situations were developed and issued in 2005 by the UN's Inter-agency Standing Committee's Taskforce on Gender and Humanitarian Assistance.

» In 2005, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) hired its first gender adviser and issued its policy and action plan on gender equality.

» The World Food Programme's Gender Policy mandates that at least 70 per cent of food-assisted training activities must be targeted to women and adolescent girls and that women participate equally in food distribution committees.

» In 2003, the Secretary-General issued a Bulletin on special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse related to personnel working for or affiliated with the United Nations and its partners, including both civilian staff and uniformed peacekeeping personnel.

» **Women faced some restrictions during the campaign regarding mobility and the opportunity to campaign in public. Nonetheless, they devised innovative methods and opportunities to deliver their message.**

» **For example, 73 per cent (or 397 of 541) of female candidates took advantage of the sponsored advertising campaign. This meant they were able to reach voters through TV and radio at no cost to themselves. This is higher than the percentage of male candidates who used this donor-funded media advertising program managed by the Media Commission.**

» **Campaign posters of female candidates, along with their male colleagues, were evident in villages, towns and cities throughout Afghanistan.**

Peace Negotiations

» Drawing on Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), women's groups in **Colombia** are leading new efforts since the 2002 collapse of the dialogues to raise awareness of the human costs of the conflict in that country and to call for peace negotiations to include women and civil society.

» Women were marginally present in the **Sudan** North-South Peace Negotiations that culminated in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement on 9 January 2005. They are, however, altogether excluded from the Peace Negotiations on Darfur that are ongoing in Abuja, Nigeria.

» In **Liberia**, women were included as Observers in the peace negotiations.

» Since 1901, the Nobel Peace Prize for the recognition of peace efforts and courage in war situations has been awarded to men on 80 occasions, to organizations on 20 occasions, and to women on just 12 occasions.

» In October 2005, there was one female Ambassador, H.E. Ms. Ellen Margrethe Løj from **Denmark**, represented on the Security Council which is made up of fifteen Member States.
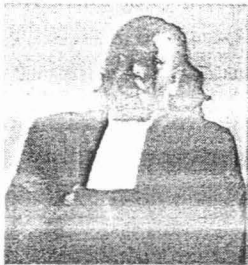
Constitutional Processes and Justice Systems

» Many post-conflict countries or countries currently in conflict are signatories to the CEDAW Convention, often coined the "international bill of rights for women". These include **Burundi, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Liberia, Nicaragua, Rwanda and Sierra Leone** as well as **Timor-Leste** and **Afghanistan**, who both ratified the Convention in 2003.

» The Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government in **Kosovo** includes CEDAW as a guiding instrument on women's rights. Gender equality objectives such as increasing women's participation in political and decision-making bodies and eradicating violence against women have also been included into the Standards for **Kosovo**, whose fulfillment will determine the final status of the territory.

» The Head of the Constitutional Court in **Burundi** is a woman.

» Thirty per cent of the Gacaca judges in **Rwanda** are female and the President of the Supreme Court of **Rwanda** is a woman.

» In 2003, seven women were elected to be among the 18 judges of the International Criminal Court.
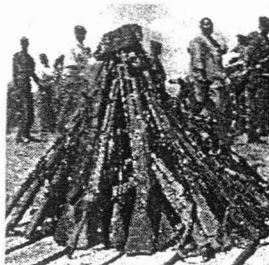
Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration [DDR]

Gender perspectives are increasingly being integrated into UN-directed DDR efforts in many war-torn zones globally.

» In **Haiti**, the Great Lakes region of Africa and Sudan, women and gender perspectives have been included in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes;

» A Gender and HIV/AIDS officer in the DDR Unit of the UN Mission in **Sudan** has supported the work of gender coordinators within interim authorities in Northern and Southern Sudan from the outset of the programme.

» In **Liberia**, female supporters were identified as "Women Associated with the Fighting Forces" rather than as camp followers so as to be included in the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and reconstruction process. Women represented 24 per cent of those demobilized.

» In **Sierra Leone**, only 6 per cent of DDR participants were women and 0.6 per cent girls, despite making up an estimated 12 per cent of combatants; the low rate of participation was attributed in one study to women and girls being classified as followers, slaves, and domestics, even when they had engaged in active combat.

» Thirty percent of the **Eritrean** People's Liberation Front were estimated to be female but only 4,500 soldiers of the 26,000 demobilized in 2003 (17 per cent) were women and 91 per cent of the loans distributed to ex-combatants were given to men.

» In **El Salvador**, women ex-fighters held 40 per cent of leadership and 30 per cent of combat roles, yet were neglected during the DDR process with 70 to 80 percent of female combatants estimated to have received no benefits under the Government's land transfer programme; women were also absent from the UN-supervised formation of both a new National Civil Police and the Armed Forces Reserve System.

For more information on Security Resolution 1325:
http://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/5years1325

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