

**Report of the Civil Society Consultations
on the Development of the United States National Action Plan
on Women, Peace and Security (UN SCR 1325)**



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“Peace begins at home.”

– Participant of the U.S. civil society consultations

1. Executive Summary.

Between 23 September and 22 October 2011, the U.S. Section of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) held five civil society consultations with the Department of State’s Office of Women’s Global Issues on the formulation of the U.S. National Action Plan (NAP) on UN Security Council Resolution 1325, due to be finalized in December 2011. The consultations were held in Detroit, Michigan; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; San Diego, California; Portland, Oregon; and Boston, Massachusetts. As the U.S. government had not completed a draft NAP, the consultations depended upon an oral briefing without specific details as to accountabilities, timelines, benchmarks or indicators. Consultations validated the stated goal of the U.S. 1325 NAP to make “women equal partners in peace” while also stressing the centrality of both external and domestic applications to achieve this aim. Participants worked in roundtables and presented testimony and recommendations to strengthening the NAP.

The civil society consultations resulted in 64 concrete recommendations relevant to UN SCR 1325 implementation internationally, domestically, or both. In total, the recommendations provoke a rethinking of how, as a country, the U.S. defines peace and security, especially in terms of women’s experience of conflict and violence. If entirely adopted and implemented, the recommendations would necessitate a doctrinal shift in foreign and military policy to firmly situate women’s equality and protection, at home and abroad, at the center of long-term sustainable peace. As such, the findings call for a whole government approach in the development and implementation of a U.S. SCR 1325 NAP in order to address the complexity of women’s experiences of discrimination and inequality as directly linked to a continuum of physical, structural and armed violence.

First and foremost, the recommendations call on the U.S. to codify, and therefore be internationally accountable to, its commitment to gender equality through the ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Women’s representation and participation at any decision-making table is key, and comprehensive quotas are needed to reach that goal. Participants stressed the need to incorporate in the U.S. 1325 NAP immigration, refugee and asylum policies, and to address the specific challenges of women serving in the military and the families they leave behind and return to—sometimes debilitated by physical and mental trauma. Protection of women from violence must be at the forefront of the 1325 NAP, both at home and abroad, especially as it is directly linked to the impact of militarization, including environmental degradation, on community and family violence. Investments in peace, such as the establishment of the Department of Peace and peace and civic education in schools, are recommended as a means of converting a culture of violence into one that prioritizes human security and development. These recommendations, it should be noted, are unique for their domestic perspective at the grassroots level on how the U.S. must reorganize its domestic policy as a means of remedying a militarized foreign policy approach.

The interagency taskforce on the 1325 NAP development can benefit greatly from the perspectives of women civil society actors in the U.S. In setting its priorities for women, peace and security domestically and internationally, it is encouraged to exert its full leadership and leverage by adopting a human security approach that focuses on the health, economic security and education of women to the benefit of the global and local community.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY CONSULTATIONS

The U.S. National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (UN SCR 1325) should seek to:

Regarding the Process of the UN SCR 1325 NAP Development, Implementation, and Monitoring

1. Adopt a human rights-based, human-security framework, including international humanitarian law and human rights standards. To further integrate the NAP with other U.S. human rights commitments, monitoring progress on the U.S. 1325 NAP implementation should be included in reporting obligations for treaties to which the U.S. is a signatory and the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) process on human rights implementation across treaties.
2. Expand the current workgroup on NAP development and implementation to a wider circle of agencies, including those with globally-focused initiatives, for more coordinated and comprehensive domestic and international implementation. Department representation should include Justice, Homeland Security, Education, Health and Human Services, Commerce and Labor, Agriculture, Energy, and the Environmental Protection Agency, among others. Also include the domestically-focused President's Council on Women and Girls.
3. Include an affirmative responsibility to report on progress annually across governmental agencies and departments.
4. Create a taskforce within the NAP process to formally monitor and evaluate implementation. Membership should be comprised of one-third government; one-third civil society (domestic and international representation); and one-third experts on women, peace and security.
5. Promote transparency by including a comprehensive communications plan, including a campaign to educate the public about SCR 1325 and the effects of war on women and children. Organize annual/regular consultations as a follow-up to the present process in order to educate larger civil society and domestic audiences on the importance of SCR 1325 and implementation progress of the U.S. NAP.
6. Identify and replicate best practice models for implementation activities, and ensure the full spectrum of women (the poor, the disabled, and those marginalized by race, language, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or HIV/AIDS status, among others) participate and benefit from implementation.
7. Adequately fund the 1325 NAP, including its monitoring mechanisms, and include specific benchmarks, accountabilities and timelines. Adopt indicators, as based on the 26 global indicators, to track progress.
8. Mandate a gender impact analysis be completed for any project over a certain amount to be spent by the U.S. government, domestically or internationally. Institute gender-responsive budgeting for local, national and international expenditures.

Regarding Women's Participation at All Levels of Decision Making, Internationally

9. Ensure women's protection for participation in all peace processes, post-conflict negotiations, development, and political processes. Use best practices in this regard, including soliciting local NGOs to serve as liaisons for women's protection and security.
10. Systematize and benchmark women's participation in peace negotiations in critical mass numbers. Hold embassies accountable for the inclusion of women's priorities and representation, and mandate all U.S.-supported peace processes include a quota for participation of women civil society leaders.
11. Use best-practice models to support the inclusion of diverse and marginalized women, including the poor, rural women, women with disabilities, and the HIV/AIDS-positive, among others. Emphasize leadership, agency, and the fundamental rights of these women, rather than exclusively focusing on victim assistance and protection issues.

Internationally and Nationally

12. Support a Fifth UN World Conference on Women and create transnational global networks and clearinghouses on women's participation for shared resources and best practices.
13. Establish and enforce quotas for women's leadership in private and public sectors (including corporate boards, executive appointments and elected positions). Ensure women's adequate representation in the judiciary, the security sector, and in foreign relations.
14. Support women's grassroots organizing and leadership, providing networking and mentoring opportunities for women's transition from informal to formal engagement.
15. Support civic education, rights awareness, and empowerment, at all levels of education, using the media as necessary to combat negative stereotypes and inspire women to run for office with the support of men.
16. Support the strengthening—and as necessary (re)constitution—of safety nets and social supports necessary for women to participate, including funding for child/elder care, secure transportation, and capacity building which are vital for women's participation in decision-making roles.

Nationally

17. Support the immediate U.S. ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action.
18. Support the full funding of Commissions on the Status of Women at the federal and state levels with a mandate to promote women's political activity, raise awareness of rights, and rectify negative societal gender stereotypes. Use these mechanisms to monitor implementation of the U.S. SCR 1325 NAP.
19. Support electoral and campaign finance reform to encourage women and minorities to run for office, including subsidized training to run for office and a centralized database for networking and mentorship opportunities.

Regarding the Protection of Women and Women's Rights

20. Support the immediate U.S. ratification of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and serve as a model for ending impunity and strengthening transparent, impartial justice mechanisms.
21. Support the immediate U.S. ratification of CEDAW to ensure international human rights standards for women are implemented from the global to the national to the local and address family violence and violence against women as a human rights violation.

Internationally

22. Include explicit provisions in all status of forces agreements (SOFAs) for securing the rights of women and those affected by the presence of U.S. troops, military trainings, maneuvers, and off-duty activities. Women who are knowledgeable and concerned about women's issues—from the United States and nations that "host" U.S. bases—should be active participants in negotiating future agreements like SOFA/VFA, in line with the provisions of UN SCR 1325.
23. Eliminate diplomatic immunity in sex cases for private contractors and others, and enforce a zero tolerance policy for sex trafficking by private contractors and military personnel, including accountability for perpetrators. Secure additional funding for independent prosecutors.

24. Mandate the training of military personnel on gender and gender security issues before deployment. Tie gender responsiveness to performance reviews and include accountability measures and consequences for non-compliance. Use men to educate other men on these issues.
25. Ensure the full and equal participation of women in the formulation of the terms of social order that provide for the assurance of criminal responsibility for all gender crimes and crimes against civil populations.
26. Ensure transitional justice addresses crimes against women, especially but not exclusively sexual violence as acts of war/crimes against humanity, and ensure reparation programs are gender-sensitive.

Internationally and Nationally

27. Increase women in military and police, and improve gender ratios in peacekeeping forces.
28. In line with the City of Joy program in the Democratic Republic of Congo, provide holistic services, protection, and safe havens for survivors of sexual violence, including sex trafficking and prostitution, internationally and domestically, ensuring comprehensive services that address the trauma of violence and mitigate the financial impact of violence.
29. Engage men in ending violence against women, and create public awareness campaigns through media and information and communications technologies aimed at reducing the stigma of victims of sexual violence and redefining violent masculinities.
30. Include those most directly affected by violence at all decision-making tables, especially in regards to prevention and protection measures.
31. Recognize and address the link between small arms and light weapons proliferation, internationally and in domestic urban centers, and violence against women.

Nationally

32. Align the Uniform Code of Military Justice with the Palermo Protocol and ratify the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) to protect children forced into sex trafficking and situations of abuse.
33. Hold responsible parties accountable for the full implementation of the recommendations of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in regards to legislative and institutional reform to address the protection of victims of domestic violence and their children, and ratify the American Convention on Human Rights.
34. Raise awareness through school curriculums of multiple oppressions, including discrimination based on gender, race, class, sex, gender, sexual preference, HIV/AIDS status and disability status. Include attention to the status and treatment of refugees and immigrants.
35. Mandate training for police and law enforcement on racism, sexism, and on cultural sensitivity, as well as human rights generally and non-violent intervention techniques.
36. Support the reform of social systems to focus on rehabilitation in lieu of incarceration; provide rehabilitation for incarcerated women reuniting with children; and expunge female offenders' criminal records for nonviolent victimless offenses. Support the reform of criminal penalties to focus on consumers of prostitution, rather than prostituted persons themselves, and better identify and protect victims of forced prostitution and sex trafficking.

In Regards to Women in the Military and Military Families

37. Include more women in leadership positions in the military forces.

38. Protect all women in service from sexual assault and harassment. Reform the current internal lack of justice, and have resources to deal with immediate and long-term impacts on survivors, including the provision of civilian life skills to assist with reintegration.
39. Replicate successful programs, such as that in Portland, Oregon, for returning women veterans, especially survivors of sexual and domestic violence. Protect these programs from federal and state budget cuts.
40. Ensure survivors of sexual assault in the military are provided leadership positions in critical mass numbers in prevention efforts.
41. Recognize and provide social protection to women caregivers and the soldiers for whom they care.

In Regards to the Environment, Weapons Use and Manufacture

42. Recommend the U.S. immediately sign onto the UN framework on climate change, the Kyoto Protocol.
43. Support the enactment of government subsidies for U.S. energy independence through renewable energy and green sources domestically, and invest in alternative energy sources in post-conflict reconstruction efforts.
44. Support a ban on the export of U.S. environmental toxins to countries with weaker environmental laws than our own.
45. Support the enforcement, through stronger regulations and penalties for non-compliance, responsibility for mitigating effects of weapons pollution and restoring—to the extent possible—the ecological balance of communities affected by armed conflict on parties responsible for the environmental degradation and damage.
46. Support the requirement that responsible parties track chemicals and toxins released into the environment and make this information widely available to the surrounding communities.
47. Support corporations, at home and abroad, with environmentally sustainable practices.
48. Explicitly link arms treaties—including land mines, cluster munitions, chemical and biological weapons, radiological weapons, and small arms and light weapons proliferation—with women's safety and health.
49. Support a fully funded and empowered EPA as an independent agency that is not influenced by political vagaries or corporate influence. Include representatives from the EPA and Energy Department on the task force for the 1325 NAP development. Require the EPA to publish and disseminate a full list of chemicals, contaminants, and pollutants determined to be detrimental to women's and girls' health.
50. Include the needs of women and girls for safe access to sanitation in the design of relief and recovery programs, domestically and internationally.

In Regards to Immigration and Refugee Asylum

51. Provoke an immediate review of the current deportation and detention immigration policies and reform of the process and eligibility for filing U visas as asylum seekers.
52. Mandate that law enforcement, judges, health care providers and other personnel be adequately trained on immigration policy and sex/human trafficking, stressing cultural differences that can put women in further jeopardy for their well-being and safety.
53. Establish mechanisms for abused women to report their experience of crime without fear of retribution by abuser, state violence, or deportation.

54. Educate police departments on how to deal with sex-trafficked persons so that those who do approach police can do so without fear, and make the system easier to report abuse for immigrants and asylum seekers.
55. Support the establishment of a central repository for resources and legal advocacy for coordination and support on immigration issues; to serve as a centralized liaison to homeland security, state department, and local police; to educate victims of exploitation and abuse on resources that do exist; and to educate the public on how to identify and respond to sex trafficking.
56. Provide comprehensive support and services, including psycho-social support, for refugees, especially those who were victims of abuse in their home countries. Include awareness on human rights and the U.S. laws meant to protect those rights.

In Regards to Prevention, Internationally

57. Ban practices and tactics questionable or in contravention to international law, including the use of drones, methods of enhanced interrogation, preemptive strikes, and arbitrary detention without recourse to legal representation and a fair and impartial trial, as these practices make the country less, rather than more, secure.
58. Rigorously examine the impact on women and women's local NGOs of counterterrorism approaches that have increased the role of military engagement in non-military areas. For example, examine how women are impacted by the military undertaking development work (such as building schools as a means of trying to change "hearts and minds") and focusing the work of USAID on counterterrorism strategic objectives (such as focusing development projects on potential/rehabilitated insurgents, with Department of Defense funding, at the expense of women-focused, women-led initiatives).

Internationally and Nationally

59. Promote employment paths for women that provide a living wage, paid sick days, unionization, and health and safety standards. Strategies should be employed to support the balance of paid work and unpaid care giving, such as paid family medical leave. Strengthen and enforce laws against sexual harassment and gender discrimination at the workplace domestically, and support the codification of such laws in international settings.
60. Support activities for education as a prerequisite to women's empowerment, implementing in foreign and domestic policy the full Beijing Platform for Action.
61. Promote policy and practice to close the wage gap for women's paid work as compared to male counterparts.

Nationally

62. Support the provision of human rights, conflict resolution and peace education in primary and secondary schools with funding and resource levels equal to those currently provided to support JROTC and the militarized Junior Cadets drug diversion program. Funding currently used to advertise military service to pre-teens and adolescents could be re-directed to teach real peace-building skills to our youth.
63. Support the rectification of the "opt out" policy to an "opt in" policy requiring parents' active consent to share children's information with military recruiters.
64. Support a shift in military spending to develop new approaches to nonviolent conflict resolution and the prevention of war, including by strengthening and fully funding the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) and creating a Department of Peace.

2. Introduction & Methodology

Between 23 September and 22 October 2011, the U.S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) held five civil society consultations with Susan Braden, Senior Policy Advisor in the Office of Women's Global Issues of the U.S. Department of State, on the formulation of the U.S. National Action Plan (NAP) on UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton had announced her commitment to the development of the U.S. NAP based on 26 global indicators during the Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security in the United Nation's Security Council on 26 October 2010, the tenth anniversary of UN SCR 1325. As Secretary Clinton stated during her announcement, "Countries are more peaceful and prosperous when women are accorded full and equal rights and opportunity." The U.S. will join 32 countries worldwide that have developed UN SCR 1325 NAPs as of the date of this report.

Upon hearing the announcement of the U.S. NAP development, the Committee on Advancing Human Rights of the U.S. Section of WILPF drafted a white paper to the Secretary of State, stressing the importance of a human-rights based approach to formulating a UN SCR 1325 NAP that links peace with equality and that examines both domestic and international applications. The white paper also emphasized the need to consult with women from civil society, internationally and domestically, in development of the NAP, in line with the principles of women's participation at all levels of decision-making of UN SCR 1325. The WILPF white paper received the endorsement of 16 individuals and organizations; an Executive Summary of the paper is attached as Annex A.

The Office of Global Women's Issues in the U.S. Department of State acknowledged the importance of the civil society consultations, and agreed to attend five events throughout the country. WILPF branches in the U.S. were requested to submit proposals for hosting the consultations with local partners, ensuring the most diverse and inclusive participation possible. Five U.S. WILPF branches were selected by the U.S. WILPF Advancing Human Rights Committee—Detroit, Michigan; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; San Diego, California; Portland, Oregon; and Boston, Massachusetts—to organize the consultations in September and October of 2011. A full listing of the dates and locations of each of the consultations is included in Annex B.

At the time of the consultations, the U.S. government had not completed a draft NAP. Therefore, the consultations depended upon an oral briefing by Ms. Braden, without specific details as to accountabilities, timelines, benchmarks or indicators. The NAP, as Ms. Braden's shared in her briefing, is to be finalized in December 2011. A summary of her briefing is included in Section 3 of this report.

A total of 332 individuals participated in the consultations, with representation from a broad range of nongovernmental organizations, academia and students, and individuals of diverse ages, races, ethnicities, and economic and social statuses. Constituencies not fully represented included HIV/AIDS-positive women and women with disabilities (although, for the latter, NGO representatives did bring forward relevant issues related to disabled women). Men also attended and provided input into each of the five consultations. Section 6 of this report presents the findings and recommendations brought out in the consultations.

The consultations were facilitated by Maria Butler, Director of the PeaceWomen Project of WILPF International. Theresa de Langis, Ph.D., an independent consultant with senior-level expertise on

women, peace and security issues, served as rapporteur and is the author of this report. Full biographies of Ms. Braden, Ms. Butler and Dr. de Langis are attached as Annex C.

The U.S. holds multidimensional accountability to SCR 1325: as party to conflict; as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council; as an international aid donor; as a troop contributor; as a peace broker; as a receiving country for refugees, asylum seekers, and victims of forced migration; and as a national government. Participants in consultations were asked to make specific recommendations related to these different roles with an eye on the global and domestic impact they might make. While some of the recommendations were focused on the international applications of UN SCR 1325 to protect and promote the rights of women in armed conflict, participants in the consultations most often focused on domestic applications of the resolution and how these might influence U.S. foreign policy and thereby have international impact. The consultations and resulting recommendations are unique in this perspective and make a distinctive contribution to the U.S. 1325 NAP development.¹

Participants in the consultations worked in roundtables organized by specific issues related to the formulation of the U.S. NAP. Each roundtable was provided a peer-facilitator and a discussion guide that encouraged analysis of an issue and formulation of solution-focused recommendations. Roundtable topics varied by local event, and in total covered protection, including issues related to violence against women; participation, including the role of women in decision-making (government/military/communities) and as peacemakers; conflict prevention, covering military spending, disarmament and the role of the private sector; justice, including addressing impunity, restorative justice and peace education; the environment, including weapons use and manufacture; immigration and refugee policy; the media; and the NAP formulation and ongoing monitoring processes.

The agenda of each of the five consultations followed a three-part structure: Part I was devoted to public statements from local leaders, as well as the briefing of the 1325 NAP by Ms. Braden. Part II was devoted to the roundtable discussions. Part III provided opportunity for roundtables to report back to the full plenary, as well as time for public testimony for emerging issues not covered in roundtables.

In order to protect the identity and vulnerability of civil society women participants – some of whom may be victims of domestic violence, or who may represent undocumented immigrant communities and other legally, socially and/or politically vulnerable populations – the Chatham House Rule was used for Part II and Part III of the consultation agenda, and statements made during these parts of the agenda were understood as not for attribution. Additionally, photos, video recording and tweeting with attribution were permitted only during Part I of the agenda. Confidential notes of each consultation were provided by the rapporteur for validation by organizers.

A selection of consultation participants volunteered to be video recorded in response to the question “What Does Security means to You?” and released these videos to be posted on a WILPF Facebook page at <http://www.facebook.com/pages/WILPF-The-Whistleblower-and-UN-Security-Council-Resolution-1325/196423803743401>. Additionally, 116 people filled out an online survey on women, peace and security, posted at <https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/womenpeacesecurity>. Finally, a “Uniform Testimony Sheet” was developed to allow for feedback from individuals who were unable

¹ See for example, Civil Society Expert Statement U.S. National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, dated October 2011, compiled by a sub-committee of the U.S. Civil Society Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, a “coalition of individuals and organizations dedicated to advancing the rights, security and participation of women in the prevention of and response to conflict.” The recommendations are exclusively for external, international application of UN SCR 1325 in conflict settings.

to attend consultations, or who otherwise felt unable to speak publicly during consultations. Two organizational reports were submitted in full to support specific recommendations put forward during consultations, and are cited in Annex D. Two letters of support were provided by national-level elected governmental officials, and are attached as Annex E.

The following report is a synthesis of these varied inputs. The views expressed are the responsibility of WILPF, U.S. Section and are not necessarily the views of the funders, partners, or every individual participant.

3. United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (UN SCR 1325)

Susan Braden, Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Global Women's Issues, U.S. Department of State, provided a briefing at each of the consultations. What follows is an approximate transcription of her presentation combined with personal interview by the rapporteur.

Ms. Braden stressed that women's equality is at a "tipping point," where gains can be consolidated and challenges overcome. While Secretary Clinton views the subjugation of the world's women as a moral question, she also sees it is central to national security and relevant to U.S. foreign policy interests. She asserts that where women are disempowered, extremism and other anti-democratic forces are more likely to lead to security challenges for the U.S. The Secretary has often repeated that securing the rights of women and girls is the unfinished business of the 21st century.

In her overview, Ms. Braden noted that:

- A senior-level interagency task force is taking responsibility for putting the U.S. NAP together. The taskforce is comprised of the Department of State, the Department of Defense and USAID, with the National Security Council serving a coordination role. The document will be focused on countries affected by conflict. The NAP will be launched in December 2011, thereafter reviewed every year and revised as needed every three years.
- The White House will coordinate a yearly review with roles for civil society and a growing circle of agencies. The task force will adopt the spirit of the UN indicators, with a focus on including those which are most "aspirational." Implementation of the NAP will largely use existing funds as a means of encouraging the mainstreaming of gender concerns across relevant agencies.
- The goal of the U.S. 1325 NAP is to elevate women in areas of conflict to be equal partners in peace and security. The U.S. NAP is organized in two sections: internal and external.
- The internal focus is on personnel, policy, planning and training, with the aim of putting women's lives and progress at the center of U.S. diplomatic and aid efforts. There will be emphasis on ensuring U.S. policy is informed by the views of women as well as men by having our embassies consult with women; including coverage of women's issues in embassies' development and resource plans; ensuring accountability through, for example, including these issues on employee performance evaluations; and training of personnel in Defense, State and USAID on gender issues.
- Externally, in the international arena, we will undertake bi- and multi-lateral action to advance the four pillars based on the UN's Women, Peace and Security Agenda: participation, protection from violence, conflict prevention and equal access to relief and recovery.
- Where the U.S. has influence, the government will use that influence to insist that women be consulted, that they be present in negotiations, and that their presence be supported through funding for childcare or transportation, for example.
- Women cannot participate in peace when not protected from physical violence. We will continue to support comprehensive protection services in conflict settings, such as the City of Joy in the Democratic Republic of Congo. We are also advocating for the UN to have a strong protection mandate, and is working to strengthen the policy of military and police contributing to UN peacekeeping forces to be sure they are equipped to protect women in conflict settings.

- Women are an untapped resource in ensuring sustainable, long-lasting peace. Presently there are 30 active conflicts in the world. Of the 39 conflicts in the last decade, 31 represent repeated cycles of violence with disproportionate impact on women and children. There is a correlation between a return to violent conflict and lack of health care, economic opportunity and education for women. As part of the prevention focus, we want to see an increase in the capacity to promote and implement policy to enhance women's rights—advocacy campaigns on family violence and diplomatic support for access to health care, education, and economic development. That will include working with men and reaching out to tribal and religious leaders.
- Women often are unaware of their own rights, and in a recent speech Secretary of State Clinton stressed the link between the rise in women's economic status and other status increases. War-torn countries will not reap benefits of development without including women, especially in terms of improving their economic status—and thereby improving their status overall. Countries are more peaceful when women are afforded equal rights, and countries are more prosperous when women fully participate.
- For relief and recovery, we want to be sure women's unique needs are met and that they have equal access to food, water, health care and shelter.

4. Findings and Recommendations

The consultations validated the stated overall goal of the U.S. SCR 1325 NAP to make “women equal partners in peace” while also stressing the centrality of both external and domestic applications to achieve this aim. For ease of reference, the findings and recommendations from the consultations are organized into four categories, three of which directly relate to the pillars as identified in the U.S. SCR 1325 NAP and adopt the definition of the resolution as such: Participation; Protection (subdivided into violence against women; women in the military and military families; the environment; and immigrant and refugee asylum); and Prevention, including human security and militarization, economic security, and education. A fourth category is Process, including monitoring implementation of the NAP. When relevant, recommendations have been broken down into “International,” “International and National” and “National; in all contexts, participants felt the U.S. should lead by its founding principles of human rights for all, whether acting in domestic or international settings.

A. Process: 1325 NAP Development, Implementation, and Monitoring

The UN Security Council —of which the U.S. is a permanent member—has encouraged member states to develop national-level action plans or strategies as means of facilitating UN SCR 1325 implementation. While the U.S. is late in developing its NAP (joining 32 countries that have already completed the process), consultations pointed to the importance of process as much as to the final product. The NAP development, participants stressed, is an opportunity to raise awareness around the link between gender equality and peaceful communities at home and globally, as well as to mobilize strategic champions and civil society constituencies for its implementation. Above all, participants stressed, the U.S. 1325 NAP must do more than “make war safer for women,” and it must leverage to the fullest extent transformative opportunities to disrupt gender hierarchies that directly feed into a propensity to wage armed conflict. Ms. Braden’s briefing emphasized that the NAP was a “work in progress” and a “working document” that was aimed at real-time application and action. While the NAP is currently an effort undertaken by a small circle of stakeholders (Departments of State and Defense and USAID), the consultations revealed the need for more comprehensive involvement, including from civil society, in order for the NAP to meaningfully address the multivalent complexity of women’s experiences with insecurity and armed conflict and to ensure a “whole-government” approach to mainstream rather than to marginalize women’s issues. While every federal agency, including the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Health and Human Services, Commerce and Labor, has a global arm that oversees projects in post-conflict areas and places hit by natural disasters, these efforts are not coordinated and have not been included in the NAP development process. Both the domestically-focused home departments and their globally-focused agencies have a role to play in 1325 NAP implementation, at home and abroad. Consultation participants discussed the need to include agencies and departments responsible for justice, education, the environment, commerce, labor and trade, and homeland security in the implementation process. In addition, participants acknowledged the need for a more formalized role for civil society in the development, review, and ongoing monitoring of the NAP. As one participant said, “We need a follow-up meeting, because this cannot be the last time we talk about these issues, and we will want to organize in order to monitor implementation.” As with any National Action Plan, the 1325 NAP will be successful only if adequately funded, with timelines and delegated authority for specific accountabilities.

Recommendations:

The U.S. 1325 NAP should seek to

- Adopt a human rights-based human-security framework, including international humanitarian law and human rights standards. To further integrate the NAP with other U.S. human rights commitments, monitoring progress on the U.S. 1325 NAP implementation should be included in reporting obligations for treaties to which the U.S. is a signatory and in the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) process on human rights implementation across treaties.
- Expand the current workgroup on NAP development and implementation to include a wider circle of agencies, including those with globally-focused initiatives, for more coordinated and comprehensive domestic and international implementation. The agencies involved should include the Departments of Justice, Education, Health and Human Services, Commerce, Labor, Agriculture, Energy, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the President's Council on Women and Girls, among others.
- Include an affirmative responsibility to report on progress annually across governmental agencies and departments.
- Create a taskforce within the NAP process to formally monitor and evaluate implementation. Membership should be comprised of one-third government, one-third civil society (domestic and international representation), and one-third experts on women, peace and security.
- Be more transparent by including a comprehensive communications plan, including a campaign to educate the public about 1325 and the effects of war on women and children. Organize annual/regular consultations as a follow up to the present process in order to educate larger civil society and domestic audiences on the importance of SCR 1325 and implementation progress of the U.S. NAP.
- Identify and replicate best-practice models for implementation activities, and ensure the full spectrum of women (the poor, the disabled, those marginalized by race, language, ethnicity, and sexual orientation, and the HIV/AIDS-positive, among others) can participate and benefit from implementation.
- Adequately fund the 1325 NAP, including its monitoring mechanisms, and include specific benchmarks, accountabilities and timelines. Adopt indicators, as based on the 26 global indicators, to track progress.
- Mandate a gender impact analysis be completed for any federally funded project over a certain amount, domestically or internationally. Institute gender-responsive budgeting for local, national and international expenditures.

B. Participation of women at all levels of decision-making. SCR 1325 recognized the undervalued and underutilized contributions women make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peace-building and the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security.

“Women’s leadership is central. How can we have solutions for women from a male-exclusive perspective? Women need a seat at the table for accountability.”

Women in the U.S. comprise 16.6 percent of seats in Congress² and 23.6 percent of seats in state legislatures³, and they are ranked 69th in the world for women's leadership by the Inter-Parliamentary Union.⁴ In 2010, the number of women in Congress dropped for the first time since 1979, while the number of women in the Senate remained level.⁵ Participants at consultations were aware of these numbers, and noted the serious lag in women's political participation in the U.S., especially among minority women and other marginalized communities. As a result, participants reported, “women are losing ground on their rights domestically,” pointing to ongoing threats to reproductive rights, slashes to social safety nets such as welfare and child/elder

² See http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/Current_Numbers.php (accessed November 5, 2011).

³ See http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/state_legislature.php (accessed November 5, 2011).

⁴ See <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> (accessed November 5, 2011).

⁵ See http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/press_room/news/documents/PressRelease_11-23-10.pdf (accessed November 5, 2011).

care, and seemingly intractable pay inequity between men's and women's earnings. While many women are interested in running for public office—and many are already deeply involved in community-level, often informal, efforts—women need to be supported and encouraged to take on formal leadership positions. Marginalized women, in particular, must be encouraged to participate in public life so that commitments and implementation are relevant to a diverse spectrum of women's experiences. As one participant stated, “We need to move beyond process, beyond plans and begin setting accountable standards. We begin that by looking at who is sitting at the table, and it needs to be civil society, the marginalized, the poor and traumatized.” Government has a role to play here; yet, state-level Commissions on the Status of Women have been defunded or eliminated in many instances, and most participants were unaware of efforts made by the U.S. at the national level to implement its gender equality commitments. Additionally, participants pointed out that U.S. audiences know little about women and war generally and SCR 1325 in particular, expressing real interest in being better informed and engaged in foreign and domestic policy around these issues. Participants resoundingly supported consultation with women in conflict settings, as described in the U.S. NAP briefing, while also noting that safety and security of women who have contact with U.S. personnel—and therefore can be targeted for violence—must be paramount. Women play a vital role in promoting pro-democracy shifts—as happened in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya this spring—and women's meaningful participation in post-conflict negotiations and transitional justice and peace processes must be more aggressively supported, participants said. Development and “security,” participants pointed out, mean different things to women and men, and embassies must be accountable for balancing all perspectives. U.S. policy should explicitly support women's quotas across elected and appointed positions, as well as constitutionally enshrined gender equality—recommendations participants suggested for inclusion in the NAP for both foreign and domestic policy.

Recommendations:

The U.S. 1325 NAP should seek to

International

- Ensure women's protection for participation in all peace processes, post-conflict negotiations, development, and political processes. Use best practices in this regard, including soliciting local NGOs to serve as liaisons in this matter.
- Systematize and benchmark women's participation in peace negotiations as a critical mass. Hold embassies accountable for the inclusion of women's priorities and representation, and mandate all U.S.-supported peace processes include a quota for women civil society leaders' participation.
- Use best-practice models to support the inclusion of diverse and marginalized women, including the poor, rural women, women with disabilities, and others. Emphasize leadership and rights of these women, rather than exclusively focusing on protection issues.

International and National

- Support a Fifth UN World Conference on Women and create transnational networks and clearinghouses on women's participation for shared resources and best practices.
- Establish and enforce quotas for women's leadership in private and public sectors (including corporate boards, executive appointments and elected positions). Ensure women's adequate representation in the judiciary, the security sector, and in foreign relations.
- Support women's grassroots organizing and leadership, providing networking and mentoring opportunities for women's transition from informal to formal engagement.

- Support civic education, rights awareness, and empowerment, at all levels of education, using the media as necessary to combat negative stereotypes and inspire women to run for office with the support of men.
- Support the strengthening—and as necessary (re)constitution—of safety nets and social supports necessary for women to participate, including funding for child/elder care, secure transportation, and capacity building which are vital for women participation in decision-making roles.

National

- Support the immediate U.S. ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action.
- Support the full funding of Commissions on the Status of Women at the federal and state levels with a mandate to promote women's political activity, raise awareness of rights, and rectify negative societal gender stereotypes. Use these mechanisms to monitor implementation of the U.S. SCR 1325 NAP.
- Support electoral and campaign finance reform to encourage women and minorities to run for office, including subsidized training to run for office and a centralized database for networking and mentorship opportunities.

C. Protection of women's rights and elimination of sexual violence in conflict, taking into account the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women and thus the international community's responsibility to end sexual violence in conflict.

Violence against Women, Trafficking and Women's Rights. *“If you are living in fear or terror of violence everyday of your life, then you are not free, even if you live in the United States of America. The war we are living may be a different kind of war, but U.S. women are living in terror.”*

One in four women in the U.S. will experience gender-based violence at some point in her lifetime, with most of these incidents never being reported to police. Additionally, 17.6 percent of women have reported surviving a completed or attempted rape, and of these, 21.6 percent were younger than age 12, and 32.4 percent were between the ages of 12 and 17.⁶ An estimated 50,000 women and children are trafficked into the United States annually for sexual exploitation or forced labor, according to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The National Research Council has found that sexual violence victims exhibit a variety of psychological symptoms that are similar to those of victims of other types of trauma, such as war and natural disaster.⁷ As one participant said, “The level of violence against women and children in the U.S. is so pervasive an entire industry has developed around it, including the criminal justice system, programs and services for batterers and survivors, Ph.D. programs. One in four women will be violently assaulted or physically assaulted at some point in the United States. This means we need deep changes, structural changes in our society and also changes around social norms and views of violence, including engaging men and changing masculinities that stress violence.”

Violence is learned behavior, participants noted, and young children in violent households grow up being victims and victimizers, as part of a cycle of multi-generational violence. Additionally,

⁶ Tjaden, Patricia & Thoennes, Nancy. National Institute of Justice and the Centers of Disease Control and Prevention, “Extent, Nature and Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey,” (2000). See also [http://www.ncadv.org/files/DomesticViolenceFactSheet\(National\).pdf](http://www.ncadv.org/files/DomesticViolenceFactSheet(National).pdf) (accessed November 5, 2011).

⁷ See <http://www.feminist.com/antiviolence/facts.html> (accessed November 5, 2011).

violence against women is intricately linked to oppression, and women associated with marginalized groups—based on class, race, ethnicity, disability status, immigration and refugee status, and HIV/AIDS status, among other markers—experience violence as multiple oppressions in unique and specific ways. As one participant said, “We live in a sea of violence, and a violence that perpetuates itself from one generation to the next. And the more marginalized the community—Latinos, African Americans, the poor—the more vulnerable you are, and less protection you have against, this sea of violence.” Violence against women disempowers women economically, physically and psychologically, and yet in the U.S., participants reported, there is a great need for stronger and wider network of legal advocates and safe shelters for women who are survivors of violence across the country. This is especially true for survivors of forced prostitution and human trafficking—two alarming issues brought up at every one of the consultations.

Domestically and internationally, participants stressed, more funds are needed to support transitional housing, vocational training in trades, and psycho-social supports as part of a holistic response to violence against women in order to mitigate the financial and other costs of violence and to support victims in becoming leaders. Domestic sex trafficking of children as young as 8 years old, participants reported, must “come out of the shadows.” Women who have been encouraged or pushed into the sex trade industry often have long personal legacies of abuse, trauma and multi-generational poverty. While many of these women are victims, they are charged as sex workers, a felony offense, which further constricts future options and success by eliminating access to services for subsidized housing, education, and other welfare entitlements based on poverty and dependent children. The “collateral damage,” as one participant put it, is the children. “Our children are in a war zone, and people are taking advantage of our children and buying them off with new sneakers, candy. The war is here at home. Children are selling sex; women are turning to sex work as a way of living out the trauma from their own childhood of abuse. And yet new legislation will let employers know they are not required to hire felons, closing employment opportunities. With these kinds of policies, victims and survivors are criminalized, caught in a no-win situation.” Participants discussed the need to reform social systems to focus on rehabilitation in lieu of incarceration as a means of stopping the cycle of violence against women and intergenerational poverty of families. Domestically, more support is needed for rehabilitation for women coming out of prisons and reuniting with children, and where appropriate, criminal records should be expunged.

Indeed, as one participant shared, rather than being a global leader on domestic and sexual violence issues, the U.S. was recently found lacking in meeting international standards. The ruling of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) on the case of Jessica Lenahan (formerly Gonzales) found the U.S. Government in violation of the American Declaration of Rights and Duties of Man, to which the U.S. is obligated under the Organization of American States (OAS) Charter. The case, which resulted in the murder of an abused woman’s three children by her estranged husband after police failed to enforce a court issued restraining order, was brought to the IACHR in response to a 7-2 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court finding that the police or other state actors bore no affirmative duty to prevent the commission of individual crimes by private actors.⁸ The IACHR’s recommendations include providing full reparations to the victim and her next of kin, revamping legislation to mandate the enforcement of protection of women and children in the context of domestic violence, providing training to law enforcement and justice system officials, and promoting the eradication of discriminatory socio-cultural stereotypes of domestic violence victims.

⁸ See <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/04-278.ZS.html> (accessed November 1, 2011).

Participants made explicit links between militarization and violence against women. As one participant shared, “We are a military town, and military towns give rise to sex trafficking and prostitution. The Palermo Protocol, which the U.S. has ratified, specifies that children under 18 years of age cannot consent to sexual activity, yet the age of consent inside a military camp is 16 years of age.” Internationally, other participants pointed out, there is a correlation between the initial presence of UN peacekeepers, U.S. military and private subcontractors and an increase in prostitution and sex trafficking. Consultations revealed that women residents of communities hosting military bases have suffered many threats to their daily human security that include environmental damage inflicted through such practices as live-fire drills, emotional stress recounted by many who endure constant landings and takeoffs of military aircraft, and physical harm that results from these conditions and the experience and constant threat of sexual violence such as that documented by Okinawan women activists. These and other crimes are rarely prosecuted. The availability of small arms—many of which are of U.S. manufacture—increases sexual violence against women, and yet gender-based violence is rarely mentioned in international discussions on the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT).

Recommendations:

The U.S. 1325 NAP should seek to

- Support the immediate U.S. ratification of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and serve as a model for ending impunity and strengthening transparent, impartial justice mechanisms.
- Support the immediate U.S. ratification of CEDAW to ensure international human rights standards for women are implemented on global, national and local levels, and address family violence and violence against women as a human rights violation.

International

- Include explicit provisions in all status of forces agreements (SOFAs) for securing the rights of women and those affected by the presence of U.S. troops, military trainings, maneuvers, and off-duty activities. Women who are knowledgeable and concerned about women’s issues—from the United States and nations that “host” U.S. bases—should be active participants in negotiating future agreements like SOFA/VFA, following the provisions of UN SCR 1325.
- Eliminate diplomatic immunity in sex cases for private contractors and others, and enforce a zero-tolerance policy for sex trafficking by private contractors and military personnel, including accountability for perpetrators. Secure additional funding for independent prosecutors.
- Mandate the training of military personnel on gender and gender security issues before deployment. Tie gender responsiveness to performance reviews and include accountability measures and consequences for non-compliance. Use men to educate other men on these issues.
- Ensure the full and equal participation of women in the formulation of the terms of social order that provide for the assurance of criminal responsibility for all gender crimes and crimes against civil populations.
- Ensure transitional justice takes up crimes against women, especially but not exclusively sexual violence as acts of war/crimes against humanity, and ensure reparations are gender-sensitive.

International and National

- Increase women in military and police, and improve gender ratios in peacekeeping forces.
- Emulate the City of Joy program in the Democratic Republic of Congo and provide holistic services, protection, and safe havens for survivors of sexual violence, including sex trafficking and prostitution, internationally and domestically, ensuring comprehensive services that address the trauma of violence and mitigate the financial impact of violence.
- Engage men in ending violence against women, and create public awareness campaign aimed at

- reducing the stigma of victims of sexual violence and redefining violent masculinities.
- Include those most directly affected by violence at all decision-making tables, especially in regards to prevention and protection measures.
- Recognize and address the link between small-arms and light-weapons proliferation, internationally and in domestic urban centers, and violence against women.

National

- Align the Uniform Code of Military Justice with the Palermo Protocol and ratify the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) to protect children forced into sex trafficking and situations of abuse.
- Hold responsible parties accountable for the full implementation of the recommendations of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in regards to legislative and institutional reform to address the protection of victims of domestic violence and their children, and support ratification of the American Convention on Human Rights.
- Raise awareness through school curricula of multiple forms of oppression, including discrimination based on gender, race, class, sex, gender, sexual preference, HIV/AIDS status and disability status. Include attention to the status and treatment of refugees and immigrants.
- Mandate training for police and law enforcement on racism, sexism, and on cultural sensitivity, as well as human rights generally and non-violent intervention techniques.
- Support the reform of social systems to focus on rehabilitation in lieu of incarceration; provide rehabilitation for incarcerated women reuniting with children; expunge female offenders' criminal records for nonviolent victimless offenses. Support the reform of criminal penalties to focus on consumers of prostitution, rather than sex workers themselves, and better identify and protect victims of forced prostitution and sex trafficking.

Women in the Military, Military Families. *“We have lots of money for war, but how about money to take care of the people coming back from it?”*

A 2003 survey of women using the Veterans Administration health care system reports that 28 percent experienced at least one sexual assault during military service.⁹ A 2011 survey finds one in five women serving in the U.S. Air Force are victims of sexual assault.¹⁰ At home, spousal abuse rates are higher in the military than in civilian life. A report by the Defense Department's Family Advocacy Program found that the number of reports of family violence within the military, which had been in decline over several years, has been rising over the last two years, with reports of abused children and spouses increasing significantly in 2010.¹¹ While recruiting more women into the military is necessary, participants said, it is essential to have complementary protection and prevention measures against sexual assault and abuse. As one participant, who runs a homeless shelter for women veterans, stated, “Every young woman we deal with has been a victim of sexual assault by battle buddies. So they come out of service with PTSD, many with kids, no jobs, no civilian skills, and having been raped. As veterans they don't have access to (male) veteran's shelters, to rehab and substance abuse services that come with those shelters or services that deal with sexual abuse.” Military service also impacts women who do not serve. The care of soldiers returning from combat with debilitating injuries that require intense and constant attention often falls to their wives and mothers, many of whom do not have adequate means or the requisite medical services to carry these burdens. Children are also affected. One participant stated, “An estimated 18,000 children in Michigan have parents in the military and that leads to constant disruption as parents leave and re-enter children's lives. Our

⁹ See <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=15005484> (accessed November 5, 2011).

¹⁰ See <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Military/2011/0317/Exclusive-1-in-5-Air-Force-women-victim-of-sexual-assault-survey-finds> (accessed November 5, 2011).

¹¹ See <http://www.military.com/news/article/reports-of-family-violence-abuse-within-military-rise.html> (accessed November 7, 2011).

military troops are all over the world and we have not yet heard about reducing military spending. But if we are to bring all the military home, then we don't have enough jobs to support them. This is the system we have created.”

Recommendations:

The U.S. 1325 NAP should seek to

- Include more women in leadership positions in the military forces.
- Protect all women in service from sexual assault and harassment. Reform the current internal lack of justice, and have resources to deal with immediate and long term impacts on survivors, including the provision of civilian life skills to assist with reintegration.
- Replicate successful programs, such as that in Portland, Oregon, for returning women veterans, especially survivors of sexual and domestic violence. Protect these programs from federal and state budget cuts.
- Ensure that survivors of sexual assault in the military are provided leadership positions in critical mass numbers in prevention efforts.
- Recognize and provide for the social protection of women caregivers and the wounded soldiers for whom they care.

The Environment, Weapons Use and Manufacture

Consultations emphasized that the environment must be considered as part of collateral damage of war. The U.S. is the largest exporter of weapons in the world, and the largest export of the U.S. is weapons. In Massachusetts alone, one participant noted, four percent of the state economy is based on defense and weapons contracts. And yet, the U.S. is one of five countries that do not track its use of depleted uranium and white phosphorous, both toxic substances used in the wars in Iraq. Participants reported that arms production, deployment and military bases are huge polluters. The chemicals, explosives, radioactivity, and waste produced in the manufacture, storage and use of weapons poses on-going health exposures for women living in affected areas, increasing their body burden and resulting in chronic illness and genetic changes. The communities thus affected exist both inside occupier and occupied countries. As one participant, a resident of New Bedford, Massachusetts, said, “Around 50 years ago, my town was a dumping ground of 70 toxic chemicals from manufacturers. Later that site was turned into a housing project with schools, children, families. The EPA is involved with clean-up, but residents are not being moved. Now residents are getting environmentally related diseases, unusual cancers, and there is no support from the state or from polluters.” Low income women organizing in Boston have thus far prevented the opening of a Level 2 biological weapons laboratory in their urban neighborhood, but plans for its eventual operation as a high security Level 4 lab have not been modified or withdrawn. Community grassroots organizers see this as an environmental justice issue as well as a security concern as evacuation in such a densely-populated setting would be impossible. Internationally, safe access to sanitation and clean water are central to survival, with women risking rape and death in order to access latrines or access drinking water at refugee and internally displaced persons camps.

Recommendations:

The U.S. 1325 NAP should seek to

- Encourage the U.S. immediately to sign onto the UN framework on climate change, the Kyoto Protocol.
- Support the enactment of government subsidies for U.S. energy independence through renewable

energy and green sources domestically, and investment in alternative energy sources in post-conflict reconstruction efforts.

- Support a ban on the export of U.S. environmental toxins to countries with weaker environmental laws than our own.
- Support the enforcement, through stronger regulations and penalties for non-compliance, of regulations on mitigation of the effects of weapons pollution and restoring—to the extent possible—the ecological balance of communities affected by armed conflict on parties responsible for the environmental degradation and damage.
- Support the requirement that responsible parties track chemicals and toxins released into the environment and make this information widely available to the surrounding communities.
- Support corporations, at home and abroad, with environmentally sustainable practices.
- Explicitly link arms treaties—including those covering land mines, cluster munitions, chemical and biological weapons, radiological weapons, and small arms and light weapons proliferation—with women’s safety and health.
- Support a fully funded and empowered EPA as an independent agency that is not influenced by political vagaries or corporate influence. Include representatives from the EPA and Energy Department on the task force for the 1325 NAP development. Require the EPA to publish and disseminate a full list of chemicals, contaminants, and pollutants determined to be detrimental to women’s and girls’ health.
- Include the needs of women and girls for safe access to sanitation in the design of relief and recovery programs.

Immigration and Refugee Asylum. “*We have created an underground population of abused and exploited women living in the shadows.*”

In 2010, there were an estimated 15.4 million refugees around the world, with the leading countries of origin being Afghanistan and Iraq. Approximately 80 percent of all refugees are women and children.¹² That same year, an estimated 12.6 million legal permanent residents were living in the United States, with an estimated 8.1 million eligible to naturalize.¹³ More recently, aggressive immigration policies have led to a dramatic rise in the deportation and detention of undocumented immigrants. Yet, while nearly 200 allegations of abuse from immigration detainees in detention facilities across the nation have been fielded by government officials since 2007, the Department of Justice has recently proposed a rule that explicitly excludes immigration detention facilities from coverage under the Prison Rape Elimination Act.¹⁴ The Applied Research Center investigation, “Shattered Families: The Perilous Intersection of Immigration Enforcement and the Child Welfare System,” finds there are at least 5,100 children currently living in foster care, who are prevented from uniting with their detained or deported parents.¹⁵ Immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, consultation participants stressed, are human beings whether documented or not, and they are protected under universal human rights standards. They are especially vulnerable to physical and sexual violence, and human trafficking and slavery.

While undocumented immigrants who are victims of violent crimes, including rape and domestic violence, are eligible for a special “U visa,” a backlog points to the complexity of filing the visa as well as an epidemic of violence against undocumented women in the U.S. In San Diego alone, one participant reported, there are 263 open cases for U visas, with another 300 women on a waiting list. Refugees, who come to the U.S. under extreme circumstances, have other challenges. Those coming from acute conflict (including being survivors of rape as a weapon of war),

¹² See <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/get-involved/helpful-facts-%2526-figures> (accessed November 7, 2011).

¹³ See http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ois_lpr_pe_2010.pdf (accessed November 7, 2011).

¹⁴ See <http://www.aclu.org/sexual-abuse-immigration-detention> (accessed November 7, 2011).

¹⁵ See http://www.democracynow.org/2011/11/10/report_thousands_of_us_born_kids (accessed November 1, 2011).

participants stated, are not provided the psycho-social support and comprehensive refugee settlement assistance they need to succeed. In those countries where gender inequality attitudes are entrenched, the culture is transplanted and women continue to be disempowered and controlled by men, making assimilation difficult if not impossible. Participants pointed out those refugees are faced often with racism in the U.S., exponentially impacting their already marginalized status.

Recommendations:

The U.S. 1325 NAP should seek to

- Provoke an immediate review of the current deportation and detention immigration policies and reform of the process and eligibility for filing for U visas as asylum seekers.
- Mandate that law enforcement, judges, health care providers and other personnel be adequately trained on immigration policy and sex/human trafficking, including cultural differences that can put women in further jeopardy for their well-being and safety.
- Establish mechanisms for abused women to report their experience of crime without fear of retribution by abuser, state violence, or deportation.
- Educate police departments on how to deal with sex-trafficked persons so that those who do approach police can do so without fear, and make the system easier to report abuse for immigrants and asylum seekers.
- Support the establishment of a central repository for resources and legal advocacy for coordination and support on immigration issues; to serve as a centralized liaison to the Department of Homeland Security, State Department, and local police; to educate victims of exploitation and abuse on resources that do exist; and to educate the public on how to identify and respond to sex trafficking.
- Provide comprehensive support and services, including psycho-social support, for refugees, especially those who were victims of abuse in their home countries. Include awareness on human rights and the U.S. laws meant to protect those rights.

D. Prevention, including the need for a gender perspective in work carried out to attain sustainable peace and security, including work pertaining to conflict prevention.

In the words of one participant, “Militarization has impacted our communities here at home. I see it in our drug enforcement policy, in our schools-to-prison pipeline, our immigration policy, in so many areas. I see a shift from being citizens to being consumers as our highest contribution, as part of the corporatization of America, with the wealthiest exerting the most political power. Corporations benefit from the perpetuation of war. Weapons are our major export. As soon as the U.S. occupies a country and controls it militarily, our support is invested in building up that military to ‘fend for itself.’ We prioritize militarism at the expense of the human needs of health, education, justice. Let’s be clear, the U.S. is not exporting democracy, but war and militarization.”

Consultation input pointed to the effect of militarization on virtually all aspects of the U.S. experience—from how the country approaches its foreign relations, to the vast amount of resources that are diverted from international development and domestic social services in order to fund counter-terrorism efforts, to a post-9/11 “police state” characterized by infringement on privacy, racial profiling, and Islamophobia. Rather than make the nation more safe, participants commented, militarized approaches and counter-insurgency have made the U.S. less safe—including U.S. exceptionalism in the form of the preemptive strike doctrine, the use of drones (challenged by some participants as illegal under international law), “enhanced interrogation techniques,” refusal to sign onto the International Criminal Court or ban cluster munitions, and

other tactics. As one participant said, “I don’t feel secure in the U.S. or anywhere else because the invasion of Iraq—under the misconception that we were making the U.S. more secure—has put us in a negative light for our brothers and sisters in the Arab world especially. We need to be more humane and more humble in what we do in other countries.”

While framing SCR 1325 and the U.S. NAP as a war and security issue may elevate it on the agenda of relevant partners in the Pentagon and other departments, participants insisted the NAP stress the link between human rights and sustainable peace. Participants urged a doctrinal shift from militarized security to one of human security, defined in terms of environmental sustainability, guaranteed livelihood for all, respect for persons and cultures, and protection from avoidable harm. U.S. military spending should be radically reduced and redirected to meet the needs of women and children at home and abroad, to repair and reinvest in public infrastructure and public education at all levels, to rebuild damage caused by wars, and to sustain the environment globally. Instead, many participants stressed, war has become a profit-making venture, with large corporations carrying disproportionate political clout and national deficits, in the words of one participant, “burdening two and three generations with a legacy on war.” As another participant stated, “Stop participating in wars is one of the most important recommendations we have. The U.S. should explore every other avenue, rather than arming, to assist countries through development.”

Participants agreed with the 1325 NAP briefing that women's economic security is a huge priority in advancing the status of women both in our local communities and globally. The economy is increasingly global, and standards for workplace rights should begin to reflect the growing need for protections and standards at the workplace to encourage women’s full participation in—and benefits from—economic productivity. Globally, according to UNICEF’s Gender Equality – The Big Picture¹⁶, women perform 66 percent of the world’s work and produce 50 percent of the food, but earn 10 percent of the income and own 1 percent of the property. Yet, industries dominated by women workers too often remain without a path to a living wage, paid sick days, unionization, and even some basic health and safety standards. In virtually all industries, women face sexual harassment at the workplace. Additionally, participants said, job preservation strategies for women in the workplace must recognize the important role of women as both paid workers and unpaid caregivers and providers for their family, and finally must close a seemingly intractable wage gap—currently at 77 percent in the U.S.

Poverty is a source of the structural violence that women face worldwide, participants stressed. Numerous participants shared their personal histories of receiving welfare assistance in the U.S. as children and as adults, and many had been traumatized by a cycle of child abuse, domestic violence and rape. In the U.S., the current crisis in sub-prime lending and foreclosures on mortgages have left many women and children homeless, with the poor and women of color especially hard hit, participants said. One women participant who works with her city government reported that she receives 10 calls a day for emergency assistance for housing. In Boston, designated a ‘human rights city,’ welfare rights are now being linked to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as part of a grassroots push to ratify CEDAW.

Education was stressed as a prerequisite priority both for enhancing women’s status and for preventing future wars by converting the U.S. to a culture of peace. One participant said: “Educate, educate, educate if we hope to keep people away from criminality and substance abuse, to take on leadership roles in communities, to become informed decision makers, to get jobs and

¹⁶ See <http://icpd2015.org/assets/pdf/Gender%20Equality.pdf> (accessed November 7, 2011).

support themselves and their families, to have hope for the future. Education is central for prevention of abuse, of conflict, of poverty.” Participants familiar with the Fourth World Conference for Women expressed particular frustration, noting that the Beijing Platform for Action, if implemented, would address the issue of education and women’s empowerment and, as a result, sustainable peace. Again and again, participants said that peace is not secured by domination and strength, “by who has the biggest weapons and guns,” but rather by building a culture based on social justice (including environmental justice). Most often, elementary and secondary schools were cited as vital entry points for making this shift in the inclusion of human rights, conflict prevention and peace education. Indeed, as one participant noted, the U.S. Department of Defense spends about \$350,000,000 each year subsidizing military training in civilian secondary schools.¹⁷ Schools that accept federal dollars are required to allow military recruitment on campus. Why not also require peace education in the curriculum when federal dollars are used, one participant asked. In kindergarten to grade 12 schools, student information is automatically provided to military recruiters if parents do not opt out. These same programs—where federal dollars are attached to military recruitment—should be open to peace and human rights education, participants said. Yet, the one quasi-governmental institution that does exist in the U.S. focused on peace, the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP), was recently jeopardized by drastic budget cuts. Additionally, the USIP mandate precludes it from having “opinions,” effectively silencing any voice for rigorous peace and nonviolent conflict resolution, participants pointed out. The media has a prominent role to play as well. Not only does mainstream media ignore or trivialize women’s issues, participants felt, but it also is the venue in which children are exposed and socialized by violent media images, further promoting a culture of violence in the U.S.

Recommendations:

The U.S. 1325 NAP should seek to

Internationally

- Ban practices and tactics questionable or in contravention to international law, including the use of drones, methods of enhanced interrogation, preemptive strikes, and arbitrary detention without recourse to legal representation and a fair and impartial trial, as these practices make the country less, rather than more, secure.
- Rigorously examine the impact on women and women’s local NGOs of counterterrorism approaches that have increased the role of military engagement in non-military areas. For example, examine how women are impacted by the military undertaking development work (such as building schools, as a means of trying to change “hearts and minds”) and focusing the work of USAID on counterterrorism strategic objectives (such as targeting development projects on potential/rehabilitated insurgents, with Department of Defense funding, at the expense of women-focused, women-led initiatives).

Internationally and Nationally

- Promote employment paths for women that provide a living wage, paid sick days, unionization, and health and safety standards. Strategies should be employed to support the balance of paid work and unpaid care giving, such as paid family medical leave. Strengthen and enforce laws against sexual harassment and gender discrimination at the workplace domestically, and support the codification of such laws in international settings.
- Support activities for education as a prerequisite to women’s empowerment, implementing in foreign and domestic policy the full Beijing Platform for Action.

¹⁷ See <http://www.wilpf.org/files/CRCHRC9ChildSoldiersSept2008.pdf> (accessed November 10, 2011).

- Promote policy and practice to close the wage gap for women's paid work as compared to male counterparts.

Nationally

- Support the provision of human rights, conflict resolution and peace education in primary and secondary schools with funding and resource levels equal to those currently provided to support JROTC and the militarized Junior Cadets drug diversion program. Funding currently used to advertise military service to pre-teens and adolescents could be re-directed to teach real peacebuilding skills to our youth.
- Change the "opt out" policy to an "opt in" policy, requiring parents' active consent to share children's information with military recruiters.
- Support a shift in military spending to develop new approaches to nonviolent conflict resolution and the prevention of war, including by strengthening and fully funding USIP and creating a Department of Peace.

5. Background to the U.S. SCR 1325 NAP Consultations

While the consultations with domestic civil society on the formulation of the U.S. SCR 1325 NAP were historic, they were not unprecedented. In fact, federal representatives had systematically consulted U.S. women on matters of international relations in 1994-95, when the Department of Labor organized ten regional consultations in preparation for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China, in September 1995. It was in Beijing that First Lady Hillary Clinton addressed the Conference in what she later described as a “declaration of American values when it comes to women.” Before a crowd of delegates of some 180 countries, Clinton stated:

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women’s rights and women’s rights are human rights once and for all. As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace everywhere in the world, as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled, subjected to violence in and outside their homes—the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.¹⁸

Today, Hillary Clinton is the Secretary of State, and it is under her leadership that the U.S. is developing its first National Action Plan on women, peace and security to implement its commitments under UN SCR 1325. Indeed, if the U.S. 1325 NAP development process were to be attended with the same resources, political will, and mechanisms as the Beijing Conference, the process and product could have dramatic transformative possibilities for realizing gender equality both in the U.S. and in the countries around the world with which it has bilateral and multilateral relations.

For example, as a follow-up to the Beijing Conference, a Presidential Interagency Council on Women was established by President Bill Clinton and chaired by Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, with First Lady Hillary Clinton as honorary chair. The governmental body was composed of high-level representatives from each federal agency and charged with policy development and public outreach to implement the Platform for Action adopted at Beijing, including the U.S. commitments announced at the conference. The council established several interagency groups to work toward policy development and organize around specific strategies or cross-cutting themes in the Beijing Platform for Action. The workgroups included “Women and the Global Economy,” “Women and Prisons,” “Rural Women,” “Trafficking in Women and Girls,” “Gender and Institutional Change,” and “Microenterprise Development.”¹⁹ Each of these is directly relevant to the formulation and implementation of a U.S. 1325 NAP, and yet no such attendant infrastructure exists.

¹⁸See <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2011/03/06/the-hillary-doctrine.html> (accessed November 1, 2011)

¹⁹ Council members included representatives from the White House and the Departments of State, Treasury, Defense, Justice, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Health and Human Services, Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, Energy, Education, Veteran’s Affairs, Environmental Protection Agency, the Council of Economic Advisors, the U.S. Trade Representative, the Small Business Administration, the Central Intelligence Agency, Office of Personnel Management, U.S. Information Agency, General Services Administration, Social Security Administration, USAID, Comptroller of the Currency, Peace Corps, EEOC, National Endowment for the Humanities, U.S. Mission to the UN, the World Bank, Office of Management and Budget, and representative from the Security Council (see <http://www.feminist.com/resources/artspeech/wword/ww1.htm> and <http://secretary.state.gov/www/picw/index.html>, accessed November 1, 2011).

The council and its workgroups discontinued work in 2001, when the Clinton administration ended. While a revitalized version was reestablished by executive order in 2009 under President Obama as the White House Council on Women and Girls, its mandate and resources are dramatically abridged. The new council is meant to provide a coordinated federal response to the challenges confronted by women and girls domestically, including developing comprehensive federal policy to meet these challenges.²⁰ During the U.S. NAP consultations, only a handful of participants knew of its existence.

Better known is the Office of Global Women's Issues within the Department of State, overseen by Melanne Verveer, Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues. The department coordinates foreign policy issues and activities relating to the political, economic and social advancement of women globally and works to ensure women's rights are fully integrated with human rights in the development of U.S. foreign policy. The Department of State also oversees the President's Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, and in 2011 created the new Office of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment within USAID, its foreign aid and development arm. The department has also created accountability mechanisms to measure the impact of its work concerning women internationally—in the first instance, by tracking women-focused dollars in its budget; in the second, by developing the first-of-its-kind Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, which establishes strategic priorities over a four-year horizon, including initiatives aimed at empowering women and girls²¹. The U.S. SCR 1325 National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, once completed, will likewise serve as an important accountability tool for advancing women's human rights in conflict settings and in relation to peace and security issues.

These efforts—in some instances a clear outgrowth of the U.S. women's movement following the Beijing Conference, which served to situate U.S. women's advancements within a global women's movement—are focused entirely on international women's issues. Indeed, domestically, women's information about governmental efforts to implement its gender equality commitments at home or abroad was extremely limited, with participants pointing to the defunding and closure of state-level Commissions on the Status of Women as part of deep budget cuts across the country. Despite continuing gaps and challenges, the level of investment and resources to address gender inequality in the U.S. during the 1990s stands in marked contrast to the governmental infrastructure that exists today.

As a case in point, in March 2011, the White House Council on Women and Girls released a flagship report, "Women in America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being," measuring progress on People, Families and Income; Education; Employment; Health; and Crime and Violence.²² Relevant findings, some of which were echoed and brought to life during public testimony at the 1325 NAP consultations, show that women are more likely than men to live in poverty and that female-headed families have the lowest family earnings among all family types. Additionally, while women's gains in educational attainment have significantly outpaced those of men over the last 40 years, a substantial pay gap persists between men's and women's earnings.

The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap for 2011 situates the findings of the "Women in America" report within an international perspective, as it compares and ranks progress on the gender gap in 135 countries worldwide. Improving its overall rank from 31 in 2009 to 17 in 2011, the U.S. was ranked first in the world for women's education and professional attainment, and the country was

²⁰ See <http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/cwg> (accessed November 1, 2011).

²¹ See <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2011/03/06/the-hillary-doctrine.html> (accessed November 1, 2011).

²² See http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/Women_in_America.pdf (accessed November 1, 2011).

ranked sixth for women's economic participation. In other areas, U.S. rankings lag far behind peer nations: the U.S. ranks 29th for women's health and survival (with a sub-ranking of 54 for women's life expectancy) and 39th for women's political empowerment (with a sub-ranking of 72 for women's representation in elected positions). The country ranks 68th for wage inequity between men and women, directly contributing to women's life-long economic fragility.²³

Today, in the midst of a global economic crisis, U.S. women's tentative gains are in jeopardy. In July 2011, the U.S. released the 2010 Census results, the first to measure impact on families of the current economic crisis. The Census estimates that one of every seven Americans is living in poverty, the highest number in the 52 years the bureau has been publishing figures. Minorities have been especially affected, with African Americans experiencing the highest poverty rate at 27 percent, and Hispanics at 26 percent, as compared to whites at 9.9 percent.²⁴ Yet, it is single women raising children who make up the most dismal picture in the 2010 Census, with nearly one third (29.9 percent) of female-headed households with children living below the poverty line.²⁵

Coupled with state and local cuts to staff and to budgets for social programs in response to the economic crisis, the current economic downturn in the U.S. is likely to continue to move economically fragile families closer to poverty. Such was the reality shared during the U.S. SCR 1325 NAP consultations, with participants reporting that many U.S. urban centers resemble war-like settings due to high levels of violence and extreme living conditions. This was an issue across the spectrum, with older women, women of color, and women on welfare expressing palpable frustration, fear and anger at the impact of slashed social services on their everyday lives. In some instances, the consultations revealed, families have turned to desperate measures, and all consultation events pointed to a rise in women's sex trafficking, sexual exploitation and forced prostitution. More and more families are without health insurance, participants reported, and an increasing number of women are being entangled in a cycle of incarceration and multi-generational poverty. For women who are further marginalized by race, sexual orientation or language, or are living with HIV/AIDS, disabilities, or as undocumented immigrants, the situation is particularly grim.

Milwaukee is a case in point. The city is ranked fourth in the country in the 2010 Census for a poverty rate of 27 percent (in contrast to 11th in the nation in 2009).²⁶ The city is also ranked as one of the ten most segregated in the U.S., an indicator of the slow progress of residential, economic, and social advancement for black Americans.²⁷ The African American infant mortality rate in Milwaukee, for example, is worse than the rate in Jamaica, the Ukraine, Costa Rica and 56 other countries. Unemployment rates for African American males in that same city stand at 53 percent. Meanwhile, participants said, vital services and social supports are being stripped by deep budget cuts. In Detroit, where the poverty rate of 36.4 percent is the highest in the country, the NAP consultation was colored by the impending implementation of state legislation that would drastically reduce the number of recipients of welfare cash assistance, cutting about 41,000 Michigan residents, including an estimated

²³ See <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-2011/> (accessed November 1, 2011).

²⁵ See <http://womenslawproject.wordpress.com/2010/09/20/new-census-figures-on-poverty-paint-a-bleak-picture-for-women/> (accessed November 1, 2011).

²⁶ See <http://www.jsonline.com/news/wisconsin/103929588.html> (accessed November 1, 2011).

²⁷ See <http://kathmanduk2.wordpress.com/2011/04/22/u-s-2010-census-the-10-most-segregated-cities-in-america/> (accessed November 1, 2011).

29,000 children, with the family unit also losing insurance and food stamps.²⁸ As one welfare recipient stated at the consultations, “We don’t trust state government to protect families, and we don’t feel the federal government is listening to us.”

The other cities visited for the consultations stressed myriad concerns, all related to women’s security in the U.S., and therefore directly relevant to the formulation of the U.S. 1325 NAP. In San Diego, for example, where participants were primarily of the highly educated middle class, the effects of serving as a hub for a military base led to concerns over prostitution, domestic violence, and sexual abuse of women service members, as well as the status of undocumented women living as a shadow population in fear of police and immigration authorities in this border city. In Boston, Massachusetts, women traveled from Cape Cod to attend the consultation and expressed concern over the environmental consequences of the use of live ordinances in military exercises on the military base there, and a participant from another part of the state shared her experience of multiple cancers due to toxins in her community resulting from weapons manufacture. In Portland, Oregon, a state that has closed both its military bases and its nuclear reactors, participants spoke to the need to see women as a diversified constituency, subject to multiple oppressions and discrimination, including racism and ageism—and yet, ready to lead and to serve as agents of change in their communities.

Security for women, the 1325 NAP consultations demonstrated, is often adversely affected by the U.S. stress on militarized security—whether that be in the form of a militarized masculinity contributing to rampant violence against women and violation of their rights, or in subsidizing a militarized economy that depletes investment in basic human services to pay for war. “Poverty,” one participant pointed out, “is a kind of violence, and the poor experience very real trauma.” As another participant claimed, speaking to the high levels of poverty, violence and incarceration in her community, “We are living in a war zone with third world conditions right here in the United States. Where is the rule of law? Where are human rights?” As the U.S. exerts its influence in developing its SCR 1325 NAP, participants pointed out, it must begin by exerting leadership domestically by developing a model clearly linking sustainable peaceful communities to women’s full equality. “It is time,” in the words of one participant, “for the U.S. to ‘walk its talk,’” at home and globally. To do so, it must muster the political will to finally and fully implement its commitments to the Beijing Platform for Action, from ratifying CEDAW to revamping its approach to violence against women and closing the gap of pay inequity. These and other recommendations from the consultations are included in this report. All lead to a conclusion that, while the U.S. must support the full equality of women globally, peace begins at home.

²⁸ See <http://detnews.com/article/20110825/POLITICS02/108250420/Michigan-Legislature-approves-4-year-cap-on-welfare#ixzz1bFn4EU8Y>, and <http://voiceofdetroit.net/2011/07/14/michigan-to-throw-12600-families-off-welfare-who-will-be-next/>, and <http://www.tellusdetroit.com/city-gov/state/welfare-law-hurts-detroit-most-093011.html> (accessed November 1, 2011).

6. Acknowledgements

A special thanks is extended to Susan Braden, Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Global Women's Issues, U.S. Department of State. As oft repeated in introductory comments at the consultation events, Ms. Braden is a “true pioneer” for venturing beyond the beltway to hear firsthand the concerns of domestic civil society around women, peace and security issues.

The consultations would not have been possible without the tremendous work of the organizers for regional events, who responded quickly, allowing plans to be made within an eight-week window. We also thank the institutional hosts for the consultations: Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan; the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, University of San Diego, San Diego, California; First Unitarian Church, Portland, Oregon; and University of Massachusetts-Boston, Boston, Massachusetts, for the use of their sites, resources and logistical support.

Funding for the consultations made possible the contracting of a professional facilitator, Maria Butler, Director of PeaceWomen, a project of WILPF, and an official rapporteur, Theresa de Langis, Ph.D., senior expert in women’s human rights in conflict settings. Funding provided, among other needs, travel and accommodation to ensure the continuity of the facilitator and rapporteur for each event, as well as the synthesis and distribution of findings presented in this report. Funding was provided by Cynda Collins Arsenault, the Open Society Foundation and the Channel Foundation , and thanks is extended to their vision and commitment to the importance of raising awareness of UN SCR 1325 to a domestic constituency in the U.S.

Most importantly, thanks to the many women and men who participated in the consultations in person, or otherwise communicated inputs into the process by email, video interview, or the online survey. These contributions demonstrated the desire of civil society to be more engaged in the processes of our government, especially around those issues related to women’s human rights, peace and security at home and internationally.

Thanks are extended to the U.S. Section of WILPF, and in particular the Sub-Committee on UN SCR 1325 of the Advancing Human Rights Committee, for its unwavering commitment to raise the awareness of domestic applications for UN SCR 1325 in the U.S. context.

7. Annexes

Annex A: “The White Paper”: Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S. Statement on U.S. SCR 1325 National Action Plan. Executive Summary.

The UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) unanimously in October 2000 in recognition of the importance of including women in matters of peace and security. Its basic premise is that a just and lasting world peace cannot be achieved without the full and equal participation of women. Broadly applied, Resolution 1325 extends to all stages of peace building, peacemaking, peacekeeping and conflict prevention. SCR 1325 has been reinforced and expanded by follow-up Security Council Resolutions: 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), and 1960 (2010) that discuss sexual violence, women in conflict, and women’s participation in government and peace processes. SCR 1325 combined with its follow up resolutions form the Women, Peace and Security policy agenda (WPS). Internal implementation is key to realizing the goals and spirit of SCR 1325. Recognizing this, the Security Council called on all UN Member States to develop national action plans (NAPs) to ensure domestic applications of SCR 1325 within each country. As a permanent member of the Security Council, the U.S. is an important player in the development of global policy on Women, Peace and Security. Under its Security Council Presidency, the U.S. presented three of the four follow-up resolutions to SCR 1325, exemplifying its active participation in the establishment of the WPS.²⁹ Additionally, the U.S. has unique responsibilities and opportunities to provide leadership on SCR 1325 implementation as a major donor to conflict-affected countries, as a contributor of armed forces to conflict settings, and as a mediator and stakeholder in a variety of peace processes.

At the international level, there are a number of systems currently being developed to monitor implementation of SCR 1325, including a set of 26 global indicators that will be used to track the results of efforts to engage women in participating in peace talks, building security, and promoting recovery. Examples of these indicators include: prevalence of sexual violence, women’s political participation in parliaments and ministerial positions, and an index of women’s and girls’ physical security and maternal mortality rate. A ten-year strategic framework to guide the UN’s implementation of SCR 1325 has also been outlined.

On October 26, 2010 - the 10th Anniversary of SCR 1325 - U.S. Secretary of the State Hillary Rodham Clinton announced her commitment to developing a U.S. 1325 national action plan (NAP), including the 26 global indicators. To ensure that the U.S. 1325 National Action Plan (NAP) adheres to the fundamental goals of SCR 1325—as means for preventing and resolving armed conflict and establishing sustainable peace through the increased status and participation of women—this paper calls for: *(i.) a human security framework; (ii.) an internal/domestic and external application of SCR 1325; and (iii.) civil society consultation during the development and implementation of the NAP.* This paper explores how: An *internal* and *external* framework, inclusion of civil society participation, and U.S. domestic application of SCR 1325 are necessary to realizing the full transformation potential of the Women, Peace and Security agenda.

U.S. SCR 1325 NAP: An Internal and External Framework.

The U.S. SCR 1325 NAP must include both an *internal* and *external* framework in its application. An *internal* framework focuses on the domestic application of SCR 1325 to advance the status of women and girls for peace and security within U.S. borders. An *external* framework seeks to address the impact of U.S. foreign policy decisions on women and girls in areas of armed conflict. SCR 1325 and the global indicators do not distinguish between a developed, occupier nation and one that is developing and/or occupied: both are equally considered countries in conflict.

²⁹ S/RES/1820 (2008), S/RES/1888 (2009), and S/RES/1960 (2010).

Emerging Best Practices for SCR 1325 NAPs: The Role of Civil Society

In accordance with SCR 1325 and its follow-up resolutions, developers of the U.S. 1325 NAP must engage civil society women's organizations and partners in its creation and implementation. The inclusion of civil society – particularly women's organizations and organizations working on human rights and peace issues – ensures both that women's priorities and perspectives are reflected in the final plan, and that the NAP will be effectively implemented because the NAP will be based on the actual needs of U.S. society.

Domestic Applications of the U.S. SCR 1325 NAP.

In broad terms, domestic applications of SCR 1325 in the U.S. should include an emphasis on:

A. Women as Agents of Change and Leadership: The U.S. lags behind the world average for women's political participation (16.7 percent in the U.S. compared with 19.5 percent worldwide, 27.7 percent in Afghanistan and 25.2 percent in Iraq). The U.S. 1325 NAP must create opportunities to recruit and retain women seeking to serve in elective office or in security and police forces.

B. An International and Human Rights Legal Framework: The U.S. SCR 1325 NAP must recognize domestic policy applications of compliance with international treaties and human rights conventions, as well as the foreign policy implications.

C. A Human Security Approach: A "human security" approach, one that defines security as freedom from basic insecurities based on minimum core aspects of human rights and human development, such as the right to engage meaningfully in political processes and to have access to social services such as education, justice and health, should be applied as a means for framing the development of a U.S. SCR 1325 NAP.

D. Rethinking the Military-Industrial Complex—Weapons Proliferation, International Arms Trade and an Overburdened National Budget: The U.S. supplies arms or military technology to more than 92 percent of the conflicts under way. The costs to the families and communities afflicted by this violence are immeasurable; the costs of attempting to repair the damage caused by this violence drains public sector resources that could be better spent for education and other services that would serve proactively to prevent armed conflict.

Conclusion and Recommendations

A U.S. SCR 1325 NAP can and should make a difference in the lives of women around the world, including women in the U.S. itself. The process of creating a National Action Plan offers our government an unparalleled opportunity for raising awareness among its population about the relationships among women, peace and security and enlisting civil society partners in realizing a foreign policy agenda based on principles of human security.

Endorsing Individuals and Organizations:

9 to 5 National Association of Working Women, Milwaukee Chapter

Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury

Betty A. Reardon

Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights (<http://genderandsecurity.umb.edu/>)

Center for Women's Global Leadership (<http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/>)

Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson

Feminist Peace Network (www.feministpeacenet.org)

Feminist Scholar-Activist Network on Demilitarization (FeDem)

Gender Action (www.genderaction.org)

Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (www.gnwp.org)

International Action Network on Small Arms Women's Network (www.iansa-women.org)

International Institute on Peace Education

National Peace Academy (<http://www.nationalpeaceacademy.us/>)

Peace x Peace (<http://www.peacexpeace.org/>)

United States Human Rights Network (www.ushrnetwork.org)
Women's Action for New Directions (www.wand.org)

Annex B: Dates and Locations of Consultations

Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Organized by the Milwaukee Branch, U.S. Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Peace Building Certificate Program at Mount Mary College, Friday, Sept. 23, 2011, 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.

Detroit, Michigan. Organized by the Detroit Branch, U.S. Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in partnership with the Center for Social Justice and Community Engagement at Marygrove College and the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies at Wayne State University, and convened at Marygrove College, September 24, 2011, 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.

San Diego, California. Organized by Anne Hoiberg, at-large member of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in partnership with the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice, Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, University of San Diego, October 8, 2011, 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.

Portland, Oregon. Organized by the Portland Branch, U.S. Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and convened at the First Unitarian Church, October 10, 2011, 5:30 to 8:30 p.m.

Boston, Massachusetts. Organized by the Cape Cod and Boston Branches, U.S. Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in partnership with the Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, UMass-Boston, and convened at UMass-Boston on Saturday, October 22, 2011, 9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.

Annex C: Biographies

Susan Braden is the Senior Policy Advisor for women affected by conflict in the Secretary's Office of Global Women's Issues at the State Department. In this capacity, she works with other agencies to promote sustained peace and development by empowering women around the world and combating violence against them. Formerly, Ms. Braden spent five years at one of the world's largest relief organizations advancing the rights and well-being of vulnerable populations, particularly women and girls. As Save the Children's Senior Director for Policy and Advocacy on Humanitarian Response, she travelled to and advocated on behalf of women in countries affected by conflict including Sri Lanka, Burma, Northern Uganda, Pakistan, Indonesia, Ethiopia, Nepal, Georgia, Armenia, Lebanon, Jordan and the West Bank/Gaza. Prior to joining Save the Children, Ms. Braden spent almost two decades in the United States government at the National Security Council, Defense Department, and the CIA, focusing on the Middle East and Central Europe. In 2003, she received the Knight Cross Order of Merit from the Republic of Poland for her efforts to improve U.S.-Polish relations and assist Poland's entry into NATO. She also received the Secretary of Defense's Medal for Excellence and Medal for Exceptional Civilian Service. Ms. Braden has a bachelor's degree in history from Dartmouth College and a master of philosophy degree in international relations from Oxford University.

Maria Butler is the Director of the PeaceWomen Project of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). In this role, Ms. Butler manages the monitoring, advocacy and outreach work of WILPF's project at the UN office in NY. She was the lead author of the "Women, Peace and Security Handbook", a ten year analysis of the Security Council's resolutions published in October 2010. Maria is an Attorney-at-Law and a member of the New York State Bar. She holds a Masters in Human Rights from the London School of Economics. Prior to WILPF, Ms. Butler worked for the Permanent Mission of Ireland to the UN, with Realizing Rights: The Ethical Globalization Initiative, led by Mary Robinson

(former President of Ireland; former High Commission for Human Rights), and chairs a development organization working in rural Kenya.

Theresa de Langis specializes in the field of women’s human rights in conflict settings. She has served with UN Women (formerly UNIFEM) as Interim Acting Country Program Manager for Papua New Guinea and as Chief Technical Specialist as the Deputy Country Director of Programs in Afghanistan, and as specialist facilitator in Cambodia. Before working internationally, she served as the Executive Director of the New Hampshire Commission on the Status of Women, an executive branch state agency with a mandate to influence policy and legislation to advance the status of women and women’s human rights. She received her doctoral degree from the University of Illinois in Chicago, and she has served as part of the adjunct faculty at the University of New Hampshire and the University of Southern New Hampshire in the areas of race studies, gender studies and theory, human rights, peace studies and conflict resolution. Dr. de Langis carries advanced expertise in the areas of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325, won women, peace and security, and 1820, on sexual violence during conflict, as well as CEDAW, the human rights treaty for women, and non-violent civil resistance. She is a published author and frequent speaker at conferences and symposia on women in conflict/post-conflict in the U.S. and internationally. Currently she works as a private consultant on ensuring civil society participation—especially women—in peace negotiations and transitional justice mechanisms.

Annex D: Supplemental Reports

1. “Precarious Progress: UN Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security.” An International Working Conference on UN Security Council Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889. September 29-October 1, 2010. Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice, Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, University of San Diego.
http://catcher.sandiego.edu/items/peacestudies/2010_IPJ_Conference_Report.pdf
2. “Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, A Decade Lost: Locating Gender in U.S. Counter-Terrorism.” New York University School of Law, 2011.
<http://www.chrgj.org/projects/docs/locatinggender.pdf>

Annex E: Letters of Support

1. Eddie Bernice Johnson, 20th District (TX), Congress of the United States. “Support the Women’s International Leagues for Peace and Freedom’s Statement on U.S. SCR 1325 National Action Plan.”
2. Gwen Moore, 4th District (WI), Congress of the United States. “Statement of Congresswoman Gwen Moore.”

Annex F: Participating Organizations

Alternatives for Girls
American Association of University Women, San Diego and Cabrillo Branches
Amikas
Asha Family Services
Bilateral Safety Corridor Coalition
The Black Health Coalition of Wisconsin
Boston Women’s Cooperative
Casa Cornelia Law Center
Center for Community Solutions
Center for Human Rights and Global Justice

Center for Progressive Leadership
Citizens for Peace
Coalition Against Poverty (New Bedford, MA)
Coalition for Social Justice (Fall River, MA)
Congo Action Now
Consortium on Gender Security and Human Rights
Corporation for National Services
Empowered Living Human Services
ERAmerica Michigan
Foundation for Women
Freedom House
Girl Scouts of Wisconsin
The Grail
Gray Panthers of Michigan
Iraq Veterans Against the War
Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, University of San Diego
Kappa Gamma Pi, Detroit Branch
League of Women Voters of San Diego
The League of Young Voters
Marygrove College Center for Social Justice and Community Engagement
Metropolitan Organizing Strategy Enabling Strength
Michigan Peace Team
Michigan Women's Foundation
Mount Mary College
NAACP, Boston Branch
North Farmington High School Model UN
Older Women's League
Pax Christi
Planned Parenthood
Royal Oak High School Model UN
Run Women Run!
Safety Net
Save Our Children Coalition
Sojourner Family Peace Center
Soka Gakkai International
Survivors, Inc.
Survivors of Torture International
United Nations Association of Detroit
United Nations Association of San Diego
Urban Network/All of Us or None
Urban Underground
Wayne State University Center for Peace and Conflict Studies
Welfare Rights Organization
Women, Media, Revolution! Conference
Women PeaceMakers Program at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice
Women's Empowerment International
Women's Museum of California
YMCA of Metro Milwaukee
Youth Policy Initiative

