United Nations’ Security Council Resolution 1325:
Celebrating Women Building Peace

Shawna L. Carroll
United Nation’s Security Council Resolution 1325: Celebrating Women Building Peace

Abstract: In October 2000, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325, a groundbreaking resolution on women, peace and security. Women around the world have embraced this resolution and are using it as a tool for empowerment. Although there is still a great deal of work to be done and progress to be made with regard to the implementation of the resolution, since its adoption women have made significant progress regarding their participation in government and the peacebuilding and reconstruction processes. This paper, using Rwanda and Afghanistan as case studies, seeks to acknowledge and celebrate the accomplishments women have achieved in this area.

On October 31, 2000, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. The resolution requires parties to a conflict to respect and protect women’s rights and to support women’s participation in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction. It recognises that women and girls have fundamental rights to security and equality, and focuses on the need to protect them against gender-based violence during armed conflicts as well as in refugee camps and settlements. Furthermore, the Resolution emphasises the special needs of women and girls in the post-conflict phase; during the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration processes. Most importantly, Resolution 1325 sees women not only as the victims of conflict, but as critical actors in peace-building processes and in peace negotiations. It urges states “to increase the representation of women at all decision-
making levels and to protect women’s and girls’ rights as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police, and the judiciary” (Binder, Lukas, and Schweiger 24-25).

The Security Council’s adoption of Resolution 1325 represents an important victory for women around the globe. It is considered a landmark resolution for several reasons. It marks the first time that international law has recognised that non-state actors have the right to be included in peace negotiations and the first time in its fifty year history that the Security Council acknowledged that, not only do women have a right to protection, but they also have a role to play in maintaining peace and security. Furthermore, the Resolution “provides a critical legal, and political framework through which, […], women worldwide can claim their space and voice their views on peace and security matters” (Anderlini, “Women Building Peace” 7).

Resolution 1325 came on the heels of several other important milestones in the women’s rights movement, which began decades earlier with the 1969 Report on the Commission on the Status of Women, the 1974 Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict and, most famously the 1979 adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). More recently, the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing introduced the concept of gender into the UN’s approach to conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The 2000 Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations acknowledged the need for equitable gender representation in UN peace operations. The Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations, both of which came into being in
May 2000, were also important steps leading to the creation of Resolution 1325 (Binder, Lukas, and Schweiger 24).

“You need us because we women are willing to sit together on the same side of the table and together look at our complex joint history, with the commitment and intention of not getting up until – in respect and reciprocity – we can get up together and begin our new history and fulfill our joint destiny” (Anderlini, “Women Building Peace” 53). This statement by Terry Greenblatt, former director of Bat Shalom, Israel’s national women’s peace organisation, speaking before the UN Security Council in May 2002, echoes a growing sentiment among scholars today. A substantial amount of research has been conducted evaluating the impacts of war and conflict on women and girls as well as women’s roles and impact on conflict resolution and peace negotiations. Researchers have concluded that women play a vital role in achieving sustainable peace and that, as women, they are able to bring something different to the negotiating table. The argument is not that women are better peacemakers than men, rather that the simple fact that they are women means they provide an alternative perspective to the negotiation process. Women communicate and understand conflict and peace differently than men and often come to the table with different motivations. Linguist Deborah Tannen’s research on the different communication styles between men and women suggests that women can be better at listening, they show more intuition and empathy, and they are often less assertive. Men on the other hand can be more dominating, they are less likely to pick up on indirect cues, and they are often quicker to make authoritative decisions. Tannen also argues that “women are often more process-oriented and men are more outcome-oriented” (Potter 15). Because women represent a large proportion of society and, in war torn societies women sometimes comprise the
majority of the community, the process of “reconstructing a society emerging from war requires
the equal contributions of men and women. Ensuring women’s participation in such negotiations
enhances the legitimacy of the process by making it more democratic and responsive to the
priorities of all sectors of the affected population” (Anderlini, “Women at the Peace Table” 5).

Maha Abu Dayyeh Shamas, executive director of the Jerusalem-based Women’s Legal
Aid and Counseling Service, believes that women’s participation in the peace process in Israel
and Palestine is necessary in order to maintain a connection to the realities of the two societies.
Furthermore, she believes that women have demonstrated that they are more willing to reach out
to one another regardless of differences. Women want to approach peacebuilding in a way that
promotes long-term stability. Shamas stated that women “want to explain to each other what it is
like to live in Israel and Palestine, to develop transparent procedures so that any peace will be
one between individuals and not politicians...If we leave it only to men we get Israeli generals
and Palestinians who will not be defeated and there is no room to negotiate” (Anderlini, “Women
Building Peace” 53-54).

The international community is progressively acknowledging the importance of including
women in all areas of peacekeeping and peacebuilding. At an October 2003 Security Council
open debate on Women, Peace and Security in the Context of Peacekeeping Operations, several
UN ambassadors said the following:

“Women are not just victims of violence. They are often the driving force for peace…In
our view, only the full participation of women in global affairs can open up greater
opportunities for achieving global peace…No approach to peace can succeed if it does
not view men and women as equally important components of the solution...Peace is inextricably linked to equality between women and men” (Cohn 8).

Security Council Resolution 1325 is a reflection of the international community’s acknowledgment of the important roles women play with respect to peacekeeping and peacebuilding. As the resolution specifically states, its goals are “reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution” (SCR 1325).

Nonetheless, despite the adoption of Resolution 1325 and the abundance of research stressing the need to include women in peace negotiations, women continue to be marginalised and underrepresented in the peacebuilding process. As with many other UN resolutions, significant problems with Resolution 1325 exist. Its implementation cannot be enforced and noncompliance cannot be penalised. Since its initial passage in October 2000, several in-depth studies that highlight the deficiencies and failures of the resolution emerged. The Women’s National Commission held an event in 2004 entitled “1325 on Trial,” after which they concluded that, despite the words of commitment from world leaders, little concrete action was being taken to implement the Resolution. In their article “Empty Words or Real Achievements? The Impact of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women in Armed Conflict,” Binder, Lukas and Schweiger suggest that although Resolution 1325 emphasises the significance of women’s participation in reconstruction processes, it fails to address the root causes of their absence. It also ignores the structural problems women face in society such as lack of access to economic
and financial resources and education (25). Furthermore, Binder, Lukas and Schweiger point out that “the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in Security Council Resolutions remains haphazard, and...the requirements of Resolution 1325 have not been implemented in a systematic or ongoing manner by the Security Council” (27).

However, despite all the pessimism surrounding Resolution 1325, it is also important to note that since its implementation women have made significant accomplishments that deserve applause. Women around the world have embraced this Resolution, are finding ways to harness the power it has granted them, and are coming up with creative ways to use it in their own countries. Notwithstanding the many inadequacies of Resolution 1325, it serves an important purpose for women around the world.

One of the reasons Resolution 1325 is so unique is that it is both the product of and the driving force behind a massive mobilisation of women’s political energies. The passage of this Resolution was the result of years of active involvement and advocacy by women’s organisations. Indeed, non-governmental organisations and international women’s organisations played an important role in the creation and passage of Resolution 1325, and they continue to play a crucial role in its promotion and implementation. Civil society organisations and women activists have been using the Resolution as a tool for advocacy. They have translated it into ninety-six different languages and new translations are in the works. Additionally, women’s organisations continue to distribute and explain the Resolution in workshops around the world. In the Balkans and across Africa, for example, women’s groups have come together to produce documentary films, mimes, and cartoon versions of the resolution in order to train illiterate populations (Anderlini, “Women Building Peace” 73). Several organisations such as the Peace
Women Project (www.peacewomen.org) and Women War Peace (www.womenwarpeace.org) have been created to monitor and track the progress of the implementation of Resolution 1325. These organisations likewise provide information to researchers, policy makers, analysts and NGOs with the hope of encouraging these groups to make women, war and peace a more important aspect of their agenda.

States such as the United Kingdom, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and the Fiji Islands have adopted national action plans to implement Resolution 1325. They are also part of a group of 28 countries called “Friends of 1325,” a group that globally advocates for the implementation of the resolution and promotes the principles of women, peace and security within the United Nations and other intergovernmental bodies (Binder, Lukas & Schweiger 27). Resolution 1325 has become an important tool for empowering women. It has enabled them to mobilise internationally and to assert their demands for a seat at the peace table (Anderlini, “Women Building Peace” 7).

One of the most notable examples of the progress made by women is seen in communities that are recovering and rebuilding from conflict. Post-conflict areas represent a special case. The process of rebuilding after conflict opens up the prospect for societal change and new perspectives, and as a result, provides women as well as other marginalised or excluded groups the chance to become more active and involved in political and decision-making processes. There is the opportunity to strengthen and create laws, policies and practices that support gender equality, women’s rights and human rights. “In post-conflict countries from Mozambique to East Timor to Afghanistan, there is an incipient record of experiences that sheds light on ways in which the international community and national policy-makers can create an
enabling environment for gender equality and women’s empowerment in post-conflict situations and shape, political, economic and social reconstruction toward equitable justice and sustainable peace” (UNIFEM 1).

What has happened in Rwanda since the genocide of 1994, in which over 800,000 people were killed as a result of tensions between the Hutu and Tutsi tribes, provides a model of the result of women’s participation in political and peace processes and the transition to democracy. This genocide has deeply affected the country’s social fabric and economic system. In its attempts to rebuild the country, significant efforts have been made by the Rwandan government to promote and incorporate gender equality and women’s human rights in the fabric of the newly established institutions. “The Rwandan transitional government was perhaps the first national government to view women as new voices and conduits for moderation and peace. The government viewed women’s full participation as a political imperative that would draw in a previously excluded sector of society and shift away from the culture of political extremism” (Anderlini, “Women Building Peace” 126). It is estimated that women constituted 70% of the post-genocide population in Rwanda. In 2001, 54% of the population was female and 34% of households were female-headed. Because women represented the majority of the population in Rwanda after the genocide, it only made sense for women to be more actively involved in its reconstruction. Furthermore, it was understood that the general population in Rwanda trusted women more than men in positions of leadership. Indeed, women were considered more effective at forgiveness and reconciliation than men, mostly because women were less implicated in the genocide and the killings. A village official in the Ruhengeri province of Rwanda believed that “women are less prone to corruption than men; they offer services without embezzlement as
men tend to do.” One farmer stated that “men in power tend to be corrupted.” This same sentiment is echoed by a woman farmer who concluded “women render complete services, they are empathetic…and never corrupt” (Anderlini, “Women Building Peace” 131).

Since the genocide in 1994 Rwanda has focused on reconciliation and women have been at the forefront of the issue. Immediately following the genocide, women across the country came together to pick up the pieces and build a future for their country; they started rebuilding communities, and they took on agricultural and household roles that were previously considered to belong to men. Women from both tribes came forward en masse to adopt the country’s 400,000 orphans, regardless of their ethnicity, demonstrating their desire to look past ethnical barriers and move forward with peace.(UNIFEM 11).

Women in Rwanda have had a tradition of representation and grassroots organisation even prior to the genocide. Their long history of organising was a critical factor in creating an environment conducive to promoting women’s empowerment and gender mainstreaming in the aftermath of the genocide. The number of women’s associations increased dramatically after the genocide. Many of these organisations were created in response to the needs of the survivors, who constituted an extremely vulnerable and isolated group just after the events of 1994. Others focused on alleviating the difficult situation of the many widows of the genocide. Most organisations centered on humanitarian assistance. Eventually a number of organisations turned their focus toward promoting women’s rights and securing their recognition as leaders and policy makers. Grassroots community-based, non-governmental and government women’s organisations alike have come together to generate a critical mass of women in positions of leadership and influence who are willing to work and collaborate with governmental institutions
and address the many challenges of reconstruction, all the while promoting women’s empowerment. Likewise, the existence of a number of organisations that promote women’s human rights and gender equality in a range of different fields “has raised the visibility of women’s human rights issues as well as highlighted women’s capacity to organise and contribute to the national political dialogue” (UNIFEM 10-12).

The government of Rwanda has likewise pursued equitable development policies aimed at empowering women. It has undertaken a number of measures to remove the traditional and legal obstacles that get in the way of women’s full participation and freedom of choice. Rwanda is a signatory to the Beijing Platform for Action and is a State Party to most of the major international instruments, including CEDAW, which condemn discrimination and promote gender equality (UNIFEM 14). In 1999 the Minister of Gender, the Family and Social Affairs was converted to a Ministry of Gender and Women in Development with a clear mandate to promote gender equality and equity in the country’s development processes.

Further, women played an integral part in drafting Rwanda’s new constitution which was adopted by referendum in May 2003. “Rwandan women were active in the twelve-member constitutional commission that organised the consultative process. The women’s movement, comprising civil society organisations and leading political figures in government and parliament, was pivotal in ensuring effective outreach to women at all levels. […] Women from all social, economic and ethnic backgrounds participated in a national forum. […] The women introduced issue statements pertaining to women’s rights, to inheritance and education, the inclusion of CEDAW in national law, and the establishment of a 30 percent quota for women in parliament” (Anderlini, “Women Building Peace” 136-137). The most fundamental principles of
the constitution are equality for all Rwandans, the eradication of ethnic and regional divisions, and the promotion of national unity.

Rwanda currently holds the first place worldwide when it comes to women’s representation in parliament. After the parliamentary elections in September 2008, women made up 56% of the representatives. In the first elections after the 1994 genocide, in 2003, women broke international records winning 48.8% of the seats in the lower chamber of parliament (AllAfrica.com). These women parliamentarians formed a cross-party caucus named the Forum of Women Parliamentarians (FFRP); its purpose is to review laws to ensure gender equality and offers amendments to discriminatory statutes. It also holds meetings and training sessions for women’s groups to sensitize, educate and advise them about legal issues (Anderlini, “Women Building Peace” 140). In February 2009, the FFRP held a retreat to strengthen the partnership between its members to develop gender empowerment on a political level, to improve the knowledge and understanding of leadership, to share ideas on political responsibilities for gender equity and to look at ways to improve the lives of Rwandan women. Parliamentary Member Faith Mukakarisa explained that the FFRP members’ role in parliament is to “focus on the impact of women in representing their particular issues and concerns, the willingness to work together as women for women and also ensuring strategic partnership with their male counterparts.” Furthermore, speaking on behalf of the FFRP, Mukakarisa asserted that their goal is to create a positive social transformation and to promote a positive political culture that encourages accountability and good governance. “We want to be the agents of political representation change” Mukakarisa stated (AllAfrica.com). In February 2009, the Rwandan government published a special law against gender based violence. The new law defines and
punishes different forms of gender based violence that were not provided for in past laws. It is specifically designed to protect women and children from violent behaviors often afflicted upon them. In January 2009, Rwanda appointed three officials to a new government body called The Gender Observatory. The observatory’s goal is to put gender equality at the forefront of government planning and to ensure that all necessary and relevant information is available to inform policy decisions. The new Chief Gender Monitor, Oda Gasinzigwa, stated that their goal is to “cut across all sectors of the economy, identify gender performance and give reports that reflect the gaps in the development system which will be a basis for decision making” (AllAfrica.com).

Although women still face many problems in Rwanda, they have come a very long way. Rwanda is now seen as a model for countries rebuilding after conflict. As stated above, Rwanda currently occupies the first place worldwide when it comes to women’s representation in the government: 56%. In the United States women hold less than 17% of seats in Congress. In Canada and the United Kingdom women make up 24.4% and 19.5% of political representatives respectively. Rwanda likewise remains far ahead of Sweden, which came in second place with 47% representation (CBC). Women continue to make great strides in achieving gender equality in Rwanda.

A 2002 UNIFEM report on gender mainstreaming and women’s empowerment strategies in Rwanda found four critical factors that contributed to Rwanda’s success. First of all, the Rwandan government has proven that it is committed to addressing all types of discrimination, including gender-based discrimination. Furthermore, the President, the highest level decision-maker, has demonstrated his commitment to gender equality, which is crucial in a culture where
authority is respected. Additionally, women took on a highly visible role and remained involved in rebuilding the country. They also demonstrated their willingness to reach out across ethnic lines by caring for orphans and prisoners regardless of ethnicity in the aftermath of the conflict. Finally, “specific funds made available by donors for gender equality programming, and the availability of organised groups of women to take on advocacy and direct service projects” were essential to Rwanda’s success (UNIFEM 3-4). Women have been involved at every step of the way during the reconstruction and post-reconstruction phases. The Rwandan government saw the period following the atrocities of the genocide as an opportunity to do things differently and to eliminate divisions based on gender and ethnic lines in hopes of achieving reconciliation and sustainable peace.

Rwanda serves as an important and positive example of the advancements women have made since the implementation of Resolution 1325. “Many women were involved in the peace process and nation building directly after the genocide of 1994, and their experiences of the conflict were crucial in the formulation of 1325. Rwandan women continue to dedicate themselves to a platform of peace today” (WEDO 3).

Afghanistan also serves as a notable example of how women are attempting to use Resolution 1325 as a tool for empowerment. The situation in Afghanistan is very different from that of Rwanda. As we have seen, Rwanda is considered a model of women’s participation in political and peace processes. On the other hand, despite recent efforts and progress, Afghanistan continues to have one of the worst records worldwide when it comes to the status and treatment of women. Indeed, during the reign of the Taliban from 1995-2001 women in Afghanistan were severely repressed; they had few basic human rights and violence against women was
commonplace. Although it acknowledges that since the fall of Taliban in 2001 women have been making slow progress, CountryWatch, which provides up-to-date information on each of the recognised countries of the world, points out that women’s education in Afghanistan remains limited. Domestic violence against women, forced marriage and sexual abuse continue to be rampant. Additionally, CountryWatch’s reports stress that women’s liberties continue to be severely compromised: women are required to dress in burkhas, remaining completely covered, and are unable to travel freely.

Nonetheless, Afghanistan set a precedent with regard to the issue of women’s political participation in the aftermath of war. The Afghan peace talks in Bonn in 2001 marked a watershed for women’s inclusion. It represented the first time that major international actors, specifically the United States, had explicitly called for the inclusion of women at the start of the reconstruction process. Similar to the example of Rwanda, “the push did not come in a vacuum. It was the result of years of concerted lobbying on the part of US-based organisations such the Feminist Majority Foundation” (Anderlini “Women Building Peace” 71). This organisation as well as others, such as the National Organization for Women and the Revolutionary Association of Afghan Women, continuously pushed for the plight of Afghan women to be at the forefront of the political agenda. This is exactly what happened. “Afghan women, virtually enslaved and covered in billowing blue burkhas, were suddenly catapulted to the forefront of the US and, by extension, the international community’s policy agenda”. Support for women’s political participation in post-conflict and Islamic states became an important part of the Bush administration’s agenda and women’s inclusion “became a strategy not only to promote
democracy but also to counter extremism and, by extension, terrorism” (Anderlini “Women Building Peace” 122).

Since the passage of Resolution 1325 in October 2000, advocates have used it to promote women’s rights, equality and participation within the reconstruction of Afghanistan. The Afghan peace talks mentioned above led to the Bonn agreement, which established a framework for the transitional government in Afghanistan. It called for a new gender-sensitive Afghan government and established a Ministry of Women’s Affairs. The Bonn agreement was followed in December 2001 by the Afghan Women’s Summit for Democracy which brought together 40 Afghan women leaders to discuss women’s participation in the economic, political and social reconstruction of Afghanistan. Joint advocacy efforts between the Afghan Ministry of Women’s Affairs and women’s organisations in Afghanistan provide evidence of the Afghan government’s attempts to implement Resolution 1325. Similar to Rwanda’s post genocide constitution, Afghanistan’s 2004 constitution recognises that women and men have equal rights and establishes quotas for women’s representation in government. Afghanistan has also recently become a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (WEDO).

However, despite the many efforts that have been made by Afghan women and advocacy groups toward obtaining greater political representation and equal status for women, it remains an uphill battle. In spite of the international community’s good intentions of helping improve women’s rights in Afghanistan, their involvement often did more to impede progress than to advance it. Outsiders, for example, placed too much importance on changing the laws regarding
the wearing of the hijab or burkha. The burkha is often seen by international actors as a way to oppress women even though the issue is not as black and white for women in the Islamic world. More importantly, it was not the principle issue in their eyes. Although Afghan women “warned against this blatant and cosmetic approach to women’s rights,” their warnings were ignored and the international community’s focus on the burkha created a backlash that ended up jeopardising women’s ability to meet their more basic needs. As a result, “issues of health, education, income generation, and security, which were foremost in the minds of Afghan women, did not receive the requisite attention or resources” (Anderlini “Women Building Peace” 122). Unfortunately, the overall security situation in Afghanistan has worsened recently. The Taliban has regained momentum and its emboldened forces threaten the still fragile peace as well as the status of women. “Outspoken Afghan women are often fighting lonely battles as they struggle to be heard [and] peaceful democratisation in Afghanistan is being sorely tested on numerous fronts” (Karuna Center). At a September 2007 training seminar in Kabul organised by the Karuna Center for Peacebuilding and the Initiative for Inclusive Security, participants indicated that problems such as “illiteracy, poverty, lack of awareness of legal rights, inadequate enforcement of laws, inaccurate interpretations of Islamic values, traditions of male dominance, women’s lack of confidence, and fear of reprisals” contribute to maintaining the ongoing oppression of women in Afghanistan (Karuna Center).

Notwithstanding the difficulties Afghan women are faced with today, they are not throwing in the towel. “Despite endemic gender discrimination, including lack of education and access to resources, women have spoken out against extremism.” Women involved in both civil society and in policymaking, tread a fine line between their struggle for rights and the potential
risk of violent backlash. They have, nonetheless, “helped ignite the national debate within
government and civil society over a variety of issues relating to democracy, religion and freedom
of expression” (Anderlini “Women Building Peace” 122). Organisations such as the Karuna
Center for Peacebuilding and the Initiative for Inclusive Security have been working in
Afghanistan since 2005, providing training seminars for women in government ministries and
parliament. The Afghan Women’s Network, a prominent umbrella organisation for over 90
Afghan NGOs, continues to work toward empowering Afghan women and ensuring their equal
participation in Afghan society. They may have a bumpy road ahead of them but women in
Afghanistan are by no means giving up.

The Rwandan and Afghan case studies provide us with some very valuable lessons with
regard to Security Council Resolution 1325. First and foremost it is important to reiterate that
this Resolution was essentially created by women for women. Women were the driving force
behind its passage and continue to be the driving force pushing for its implementation. Since the
Resolution was adopted by the Security Council in October 2000, Resolution 1325 has faced a
great deal of problems and skepticism, particularly with regard to implementation. However,
women around the world have proven that they will not let it fall by the wayside and be
forgotten. They are finding ways of working around the United Nations and international
institutions in order to implement the Resolution in the context of their own countries. These
efforts need to be celebrated and applauded and must not be lost amid the international
community’s relentless pessimism. Rwanda and Afghanistan provide powerful examples of how
the process of rebuilding a country after war or conflict creates an opportunity for social change.
Rwanda serves as a model for the international community of how a government and its people
were able to channel that opportunity for the betterment of their people. In the Afghan case study we have seen how the international community often plays a vital role in setting international standards, which can be an important way to bring international attention to a particular issue. However, it also demonstrates the need for these international actors to be sensitive to the cultural context of the country at hand, as well as to collaborate with, listen to, and respect those whom they are trying to help. Moreover, Afghanistan provides us with interesting insight into how, despite the international community’s opinion of women and their situation in a particular country, women are doing everything in their power, within the social constraints imposed on them, to improve their rights. These case studies were chosen because of the impressive, but also very different, insights they offer with regard to the important yet very difficult work of women peacebuilders. However, any number of countries would have provided an ample amount of research and could have served as compelling and persuasive case studies.

As the 10 year anniversary of the adoption of Resolution 1325 approaches, it is important to look at where the international community stands with regard to its implementation. And, although it is imperative to consider the ways in which implementation is lacking and needs to be improved, it is also important to take a moment to consider everything that women have accomplished over the past 10 years and celebrate these achievements. Yes, a lot of work still needs to be done but women around the world are working hard to get the job done.
Works Cited


