



Stabilization and Reconstruction series

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ABOUT THE REPORT

This report is based on a series of consultations under the auspices of the Working Group on the Role of Women in Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations, chaired by Harriet Hentges, former United States Institute of Peace executive vice president, and Harriet C. Babbitt, senior vice president of the Hunt Alternatives Fund. The Working Group on the Role of Women is part of the Institute's Filling the Gaps series of working groups, which aims to systematically address the causes of failure in specific areas in stabilization and reconstruction operations and to generate policy options for those in the U.S. government and elsewhere who lead and staff these missions. Filling the Gaps is directed by Daniel Serwer and managed by Beth Cole DeGrasse of the Institute. More than fifty experts from the U.S. government, and international and nongovernmental organizations were convened in 2004 and 2005 to identify best practices and select priority recommendations on the role of women in stabilization and reconstruction.

The author of the report is Camille Pampell Conaway, a researcher, writer, and expert on women, peace, and security.

The views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect those of the United States Institute of Peace, which does not advocate specific policy positions.

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The Role of Women in Stabilization and Reconstruction

Summary and Recommendations

- It is widely recognized that women and young people are primary victims of conflict. During war, women are displaced, subjected to sexual violence and HIV/AIDS by fighting forces, and assume the caretaking role for children and the elderly. They are vulnerable to exploitation, abuse, sexual slavery, disease, and forced recruitment into armed groups.
- Yet as the survivors of violent conflict, women also bear the burden of reconstruction. They return to destroyed communities and begin the process of rebuilding infrastructure; restoring and developing traditions, laws, and customs; and repairing relationships.
- Despite rapid progress within the U.S. government to recognize the importance of women's inclusion in stabilization and reconstruction operations, no overarching strategy, mandate, or program exists to ensure implementation. Initiatives, funding, and projects remain ad hoc; research and best practices have not been consolidated; and much depends upon the individual knowledge, commitment, and insight of relevant staff at headquarters and in the field.
- The challenge of the Working Group on the Role of Women in Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations and the purpose of this report is to present a comprehensive list of recommendations to the U.S. government, as well as highlight several critical action areas with the potential to significantly impact the protection and participation of women in postwar situations.
- An ongoing, at-the-ready capability must be institutionalized within the U.S. government to enhance and protect the role of women in stabilization and reconstruction operations. The steps taken prior to an intervention will make all the difference in the success of the mission. The U.S. government should undertake the following necessary actions to make this capability an integral part of the policy process.

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

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1. Provide specialized training on gender sensitivity to military and police forces and civilian staff in advance of deployment; training courses should be developed immediately and then specialized for a specific conflict area, as necessary.
2. Identify, assemble, and disseminate the best practices to enhance the role of women in past stabilization and reconstruction operations so that these become fully integrated into future planning; lessons learned should also form the foundation of a course within the standard curriculum of the Foreign Service Institute and other educational and training facilities of the U.S. government.
3. Require all actors in a given stabilization and reconstruction operation to submit plans to ensure that women are part of the reconstruction process; report regularly on the assembling of lists of women's organizations and women leaders; and evaluate the attendance of women leaders at all meetings, events, and conferences.
4. Ensure women's participation and the adoption of a gender perspective in international interventions; ceasefire and peace negotiations; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR); and security sector reform. As the survivors of violent conflict, women have not only the right, but relevant information and knowledge, to participate in the design and implementation of programs to re-establish security at regional, national, and local levels. The U.S. government should take the following specific steps:
 - Increase the recruitment of women as military observers, peacekeeping troops, and civilian police; incorporate gender perspectives explicitly into the mandate of international missions; and ensure gender units are established within the mission and are well resourced.
 - Protect women and girls under threat of physical violence by training the military and police to prevent and address gender-based violence, cooperating with local women's groups to provide safe havens for victims, and conducting public information campaigns. Condemn violations of their rights and call upon all parties to adhere to international humanitarian and human rights law.
 - In those conflicts where DDR is an important element in the stabilization and reconstruction mission, gender experts should be engaged to help design and implement DDR plans.
5. Support the adoption of a quota system to guarantee women's political participation in postwar transitions. In decision-making positions following war, research shows that women are leading efforts to promote good governance by fighting corruption, demanding accountability, and maintaining transparency in activities at national and local levels. Quotas can have the single greatest effect on the constitutional process, the election of local and national legislative bodies, the establishment of transitional justice mechanisms, and institutional reform. To jump-start women's economic and political decision making, it is necessary for the international community—with the U.S. government in the lead—to impose specific formulas for participation of women, provide the necessary support mechanisms for women, and provide training to build women's capacity, allowing them to play significant roles in defining the future of the country.
6. Engage women in justice and reconciliation efforts following war. This area is of particular concern to women, given widespread acts of sexual and gender-based violence committed in wartime. In addition to the need for justice, many women are key actors in conducting healing and reconciliation processes, not-

ing their concern for their children's future as a strong motivating factor. The U.S. government should take the following specific steps:

- Support women's equal representation in transitional justice processes at all levels: as designers, judges, commissioners, prosecutors, defense attorneys, investigators, witnesses, and observers. Draw on the expertise of women's groups to train international, national, and local staff who will implement transitional justice on gender issues, including rape and sexual assault.
 - After conducting a national review of existing laws, support legislative and policy reforms that guarantee gender, racial, religious, and ethnic equality. Support efforts to implement new laws addressing violence against women and providing them with equality in citizenship, in marriage and divorce, in property rights and inheritance, and in business ownership.
7. Promote women's socioeconomic development in postwar transitions by including a requirement in contracts with implementing agencies that mandates the participation of women in reconstruction projects. In 2004, the U.S. Department of Defense made the award fee of contractors operating in Iraq conditional upon demonstrated action to include women participants in reconstruction projects. Contracts with implementing agencies can move the peace process forward by addressing historical inequalities.

Introduction

It is widely recognized that women and young people are primary victims of conflict. During war, women are displaced, subjected to sexual violence and HIV/AIDS by fighting forces, and assume the caretaking role for children and the elderly. They are vulnerable to exploitation, abuse, sexual slavery, disease, and forced recruitment into armed groups.

Yet as the survivors of violent conflict, women also bear the burden of reconstruction. They return to destroyed communities and begin the process of rebuilding infrastructure; restoring and developing traditions, laws, and customs; and repairing relationships. In government and through civil society, women worldwide are contributing to all pillars of stabilization and reconstruction operations: security, governance, justice and reconciliation, and socioeconomic development. Indeed, their leadership in the transition period can serve as a window of opportunity to empower women, promote gender equality, advance women's position in society, and bring wider benefits to many elements of society. A growing body of research has shown that capitalizing on the activities of women peacebuilders not only advances women's rights, but leads to more effective programs and, ultimately, to a more sustainable peace.

Only recently has the international community begun to recognize these issues and support the efforts of women to build peace and further development. In 2000, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325, mandating the participation of women in peace processes—a landmark decision for protecting and supporting women in armed conflict. It calls upon all parties to take action in four areas: (1) to promote the participation of women in decision making and peace processes, (2) to integrate gender perspectives and training in peacekeeping, (3) to protect women in armed conflict, and (4) to mainstream gender issues in UN reporting systems and programs related to conflict and peacebuilding.

Since the adoption of Resolution 1325, awareness of the importance of including women in peace and reconstruction processes has grown enormously. Yet implementation of its mandate remains sporadic and ad hoc.

As the survivors of violent conflict, women also bear the burden of reconstruction.

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As the U.S. government becomes increasingly focused on traditional and new threats to security—ranging from armed conflict to terrorism to HIV/AIDS—the time is at hand to ensure that the role of women in stabilization and reconstruction is a critical and integral component of policy, program design, and implementation.

To address the prevention and management of conflict more effectively, the U.S. government has begun to reorganize itself. The Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (CMM) was established at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in recent years, and in 2004 the administration created the Office of Stabilization and Reconstruction at the Department of State. Both are currently reviewing and developing strategies and policies to prevent and address conflict and have pledged to integrate women, peace, and security into their mandates. Representatives of these offices liaise frequently with the women's offices within their agencies and consult with relevant international and national-level nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to guide the process for implementation of their commitments.

At the policy level as well, the impact of war on women has been granted an unprecedented focus in recent years, in part as a consequence of the U.S. presence in Afghanistan and Iraq. In January 2001, the Afghan Women and Children Relief Act of 2001 was enacted by Congress, calling attention to the needs of the civilian population following the overthrow of the Taliban and mandating the provision of education and health care assistance for women and children.¹ In March 2004, a bipartisan group of members of Congress formed the Iraqi Women's Caucus to support women's access to education and training and encourage their participation in the political process and democratic transition. In March 2005, the focus of Congress expanded from specific conflicts to global concern, and the Women and Children in Crisis and Conflict Protection Act of 2005 was drafted and referred to relevant committees.²

The working group on the Role of Women in Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations met with the following objectives:

- To illustrate the critical role of women in stabilization and reconstruction operations
- To provide examples of best practices in supporting women
- To identify the existing gaps in U.S. policy and practice
- To offer concrete recommendations to begin to fill the gaps and institutionalize the role of women in stabilization and reconstruction operations within the U.S. government

Structure of the Report

- Part I addresses lessons and recommendations for the critical task of institutionalizing the role of women in these operations across the U.S. government.
- Part II addresses lessons and recommendations for priority tasks for the U.S. government to follow to enhance the role of women in its stabilization and reconstruction operations.
- Part III consists of a full matrix of action steps—generated by those within agencies across the U.S. government jointly with civil society representatives during the course of working group sessions.

A companion report, *Charting Progress: The Role of Women in Reconstruction and Stabilization Operations*, forms the basis from which these recommendations were drawn, detailing examples of women's contributions to the four pillars of postwar reconstruction as well as best practices of the international community, including the U.S. government, to support their efforts. This second report is forthcoming and will be available both in hard copy and for downloading from the United States Institute of Peace website www.usip.org.

Institutionalizing the Role of Women in Stabilization and Reconstruction

The steps taken prior to an intervention will make all the difference in the success of the mission. It is therefore necessary to take steps to institutionalize an ongoing, at-the-ready capability within the U.S. government to enhance and protect the role of women in stabilization and reconstruction operations.

Lesson: Build internal capacity. Provide specialized training on gender sensitivity to military and police forces and civilian staff in advance of deployment; training courses should be developed immediately and then specialized for a specific conflict area, as necessary.

Perhaps the most critical—yet logistically simple—task to institutionalize the role of women throughout the U.S. government is to build the capacity of relevant personnel on these issues. Although motivated individuals in key positions have made important contributions in policymaking and practice, staff are unlikely to address women’s needs in stabilization and reconstruction programming without educated leadership; a well-supported and publicized location for information; or the proper knowledge, tools, and mandate.

First, the U.S. government must take genuine steps to ensure that women are visible among the leadership of these operations as ambassadors, heads of missions, special envoys, senior staff, members of delegations to donor conferences, and leaders of negotiating and mediating teams. The mere presence of a woman at the table may allow the participation of local women in certain cultures and contexts. As of June 2005, there were two women leading stabilization and reconstruction missions, in Georgia and Burundi. Leading by example is a critical step the U.S. government can take to maximize its leverage to encourage women’s participation in postwar stabilization and reconstruction.

A second entry point to build U.S. capacity is to strengthen the offices devoted to women’s issues. At the Department of State, the Office of International Women’s Issues (IWI) is devoted to the coordination and integration of women’s issues throughout U.S. foreign policy, including the realm of peace and security. The office is staffed with highly focused and motivated personnel, yet similar to women’s ministries and offices in many countries, it does not control resources and is not always in the room at policy meetings. The mission of the office is further hindered by the fact that it does not operate programs nor have funds to distribute to programs. One notable exception is the recent \$10 million allocation from reprogrammed Coalition Provisional Authority funds to conduct an Iraqi women’s initiative. With these funds, IWI distributed seven grants to organizations on the ground in Iraq; the programs consist of training for coalition building, political parties, political participation, advocacy, economic empowerment, media, elections and candidacy, and constitution building. The grantees had trained more than 2,000 women as of August 2005. The distribution of grants for women’s initiatives is important and should be continued to promote IWI as a true authority and clearinghouse for U.S. policies and programming on women, peace, and security.

At USAID, the Office of Women in Development (WID) was established in 1974 to integrate women’s needs and concerns into U.S. aid and development programs. Its current projects, generally operated through partner organizations, address gender equality in education, women’s economic opportunities, women’s legal rights, and antitrafficking. In addition to these issues, WID mainstreams a gender perspective in USAID programming through its technical expertise, research, outreach activities, and grant programs. Ensuring

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The U.S. government's own policies, mandates, and commitments to protect and support women must be widely publicized.

ing that WID is well supported and closely connected with the CMM office will further its mandate and goals.

A third and final recommendation for building U.S. capacity to address women, peace, and security is systematic training for personnel—civilian and military—operating in conflict-sensitive areas or addressing issues related to postwar reconstruction. The U.S. government's own policies, mandates, and commitments to protect and support women must be widely publicized. The legal framework—beginning with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and culminating in UN Security Council Resolution 1325—should be standard curricula in basic training at the Foreign Service Institute, at military war colleges, and in orientation and predeployment exercises for all civilian and military foreign policy personnel. More extensive training on the impact of war on women, the gendered nature of war and peace, and the role of women in stabilization and reconstruction is equally important. Tools, mechanisms, and best practices must be made easily accessible to all relevant staff to ensure that lessons are learned, and innovative, successful programs can be replicated.

Lesson: Improve information gathering. Identify, assemble, and disseminate the best practices that have enhanced the role of women in past stabilization and reconstruction operations so that these become integrated into future planning; lessons learned should also form the basis of a course within the standard curriculum of the Foreign Service Institute and other educational and training facilities of the U.S. government.

Throughout the working group sessions, numerous government representatives noted a lack of documentation on these issues, ranging from sex-disaggregated data in needs assessments and other reports to models and best practices for supporting women in stabilization and reconstruction operations. Improvements are needed in both the collection and the dissemination of materials to make the most effective use of existing information.

Several simple steps are required across the board to improve information collection.

Without knowing the number of female-headed households in the mission area, programs for income generation and microcredit may not be targeting the appropriate parties.

1. *Sex-disaggregated data should be a component of any and all statistical collection for project design and implementation.* Without knowing the number of female-headed households in the mission area, for example, programs for income generation and microcredit may not be targeting the appropriate parties.
2. *Gender budget analyses should be conducted annually to determine the percentage of U.S. funding for postwar countries with stabilization and reconstruction missions that directly benefits women or supports their priorities.* Understanding exactly what is spent may lead to budget adjustments in the subsequent years to be consistent with overall aid and development priorities.
3. *Women must be among those consulted and interviewed when conducting needs assessments, designing projects, and monitoring program impact.* Their knowledge and experiences may add valuable information to the report and lead to more effective programming.
4. *All reporting mechanisms should seek out and include information on women's experiences.* In this way, best practices and examples can be gathered to inform future projects.
5. *A monitoring mechanism should be established to ensure these actions are occurring.* It has been noted, for example, that although USAID contracts require sex-disaggregated data from partner organizations, not all comply. Without a system to ensure information is gathered that is gender sensitive and addresses women's experiences, programs may be rendered less effective.

Although a shortage in statistical information and quantifiable data remains, documentation on the role of women in stabilization and reconstruction has dramatically increased in recent years, primarily as a result of the research and analysis of NGOs. Various offices within the Department of State and USAID also conduct research, publish reports and press releases, and disseminate documentation on these issues. IWI, for example, regularly updates fact sheets on U.S. assistance to women in Afghanistan and Iraq. At the time of this publication, the CMM was preparing to release a gender and conflict toolkit—one in a series of thematic guides.

It is unclear, however, if and how such information is disseminated to relevant staff within the agencies—many have expressed difficulties accessing documentation on these issues. Many reports are available online at individual NGO agency websites, which requires staff time and resources to research. For example, one must navigate the web fairly carefully to locate USAID gender assessments, analyses, and action plans for individual postwar countries. Establishing a clearinghouse, perhaps in the women’s office of relevant agencies, for information on women in stabilization and reconstruction operations would serve the needs of staff and facilitate more innovative and effective postwar programming. An action as simple as designing a one-stop website for best practices supporting women in postwar reconstruction, for example, would accomplish this goal, while exhibiting the government’s commitment externally, as well.

Lesson: Establish connections with women’s organizations. Require all actors in a given postwar operation to submit plans to ensure that women are part of the stabilization and reconstruction process; report regularly on the assembling of lists of women’s organizations and women leaders; and evaluate the attendance of women leaders at all meetings, events, and conferences.

Another critical step toward institutionalizing the role of women in the U.S. government is ensuring that personnel have access to local women leaders in peace and security—in the field and at headquarters. These links should be created not only in times of crisis in a particular country or region, but should be established as part of standard databases. Resources would thus be pre-positioned, facilitating the flow of information as tensions escalate and providing an entry point for intervention and reconstruction.

Women’s organizations have often expressed difficulty in accessing key personnel in embassies, missions, and delegations. They are often not on government lists for meetings, conferences, events, or social gatherings. Without meeting with women leaders face to face, it is less likely that staff will consider their needs and experiences as they design and implement programs. Formulating a contact list of women’s organizations, fostering contact and relationships with them, and building their capacity during peacetime will go a long way toward ensuring that women are engaged in the peace process and supported during reconstruction. This can be accomplished by

- *Reaching out to other international actors.* Nongovernmental organizations, humanitarian aid agencies, UN offices, multilateral organizations, and other bilateral donors may already have well-established contacts among women.
- *Connecting with international women’s organizations.* United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) regional offices maintain lists of relevant women’s groups, as does the nongovernmental organization Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, available online at www.peacewomen.org.
- *Seeking out women’s groups in the field.* Civil society leaders will know about key women’s organizations and can provide the mission with initial contacts. In many cases, the networks of women’s groups at the national level extend to the grass roots. If not, national-level women are generally able to provide names and contact information for locally based groups.

Another critical step toward institutionalizing the role of women in the U.S. government is ensuring that personnel have access to local women leaders in peace and security.

Inviting women to key meetings at headquarters or to testify before Congress as experts is an important means to publicly demonstrate U.S. commitment to women.

These contacts will prove useful in the field, but will also be valuable in Washington and New York. Inviting women to key meetings at headquarters or to testify before Congress as experts, when security conditions permit, is an important means to publicly demonstrate U.S. commitment to women, while gaining information directly from those to whom U.S. aid and policy is directed. It also raises the profile of women leaders when they return to their countries, providing a measure of protection in some cases and opening doors at national and local levels that may have been previously inaccessible.

Once strong contacts have been established with women's organizations and they are viewed as critical allies in reconstruction, the U.S. government must be sure that they receive funding and technical support. Some creativity may be necessary, given various constraints on women's ability to fulfill the requirements of grant applications and other obstacles. In some cases, women face literacy and language barriers and may be unfamiliar with official procedures related to the grant process. Their organizations are often locally based, and women leaders may lack high-level contacts in government or aid agencies. Specific outreach by international staff is required to overcome these challenges and ensure support for women's initiatives.

Enhancing Women's Role in Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations

Beyond institutionalizing the role of women within U.S. government structures and mechanisms, specific actions must be taken within each stabilization and reconstruction phase to guarantee an effective women's role.

Provide Gender-Sensitive Security

The realm of security is where women are traditionally the most marginalized, as so-called "hard" issues are frequently deemed irrelevant to women. In general, women are brought into discussions on security primarily as victims in need of protection and assistance. Yet, as the survivors of violent conflict, women have not only the right, but relevant information and knowledge, to participate in the design and implementation of programs to reestablish security at regional, national, and local levels.

Lesson: Increase the recruitment of women as military observers, peacekeeping troops, and civilian police; incorporate gender perspectives explicitly into the mandate of international missions; and ensure that gender units are established and well resourced within the mission.

Women participate in peacekeeping missions in far fewer numbers than men. At the end of 2003, women made up 25 percent of civilian staff, 4 percent of police, and 1.5 percent of military personnel in UN missions.³ According to research, women bring specific knowledge and capacities to the table as peacekeepers, particularly in reaching out to local communities.⁴ In Rwanda, an association of demobilized female combatants is actively lobbying the government to participate on Rwandan delegations to African Union peacekeeping missions, specifically in Darfur. The women note that they have the necessary combat experience and that because they have suffered similarly, they will be able to reach out to Sudanese women in a way that male troops cannot.⁵

Specific structures and mechanisms have been established within the UN system to encourage women's participation and to address women's needs on the ground, including gender advisers, gender focal points, and gender units within missions; these should serve as an example to U.S. and international efforts. The first gender affairs unit was established in the UN mission in East Timor and was accompanied by training for peacekeeping

forces, civilian police, and the East Timor Police Service. The gender affairs unit conducted myriad activities with concrete results, including

- Advising the constitutional commission (women would compose 40 percent of the commissioners and special hearings would be held for women)
- Supporting and organizing nationwide consultations with women on constitution drafting (the final constitution contains a number of protections for women)
- Training potential women political candidates (women won 27 percent of seats in the Constituent Assembly)⁶

Lesson: Protect women and girls under threat of physical violence by training the military and police to prevent and address gender-based violence, cooperating with local women's groups to provide safe havens for victims, and conducting public information campaigns. Condemn violations of their rights and call upon all parties to adhere to international humanitarian and human rights law.

As far back as 1949, the Geneva Conventions and Optional Protocols outlined protection mechanisms for civilians during wartime, including the prohibition of violence, rape, and deportation of civilians. Despite the international mandate to protect the most vulnerable, the presence of foreign militaries and UN peacekeepers has in some cases led to additional abuse of women and young people affected by conflict. Reports of sexual violence and misconduct by peacekeepers in the eastern regions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo have been particularly disturbing.⁷ In response, the UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations is developing new guidelines to prevent and address sexual violence and exploitation by troops, and in 2005, the secretary-general requested a special report on the matter.

To prevent sexual and gender-based violence during transitions from war to peace, international actors can enact a variety of measures, including education and information campaigns; installation of heightened safety measures such as lighting, security patrols, and safe locations of facilities; training for community leaders, police, and judges; and enforcement of policies and laws against violence. Increasingly, campaigns and programs are targeted at the broader community to promote long-term change. In Burundian refugee camps in Tanzania, for example, the International Rescue Committee pioneered an awareness-raising campaign to protect women from gender-based violence. Despite initial resistance within the community, the program gained momentum and support—so much so that the Tanzanian government added mobile court services to enforce laws regarding gender-based violence. The community now runs the program on its own, offering awareness training, a reporting and referral system, counseling and health services, and a twenty-four-hour drop-in center.⁸

Lesson: In those conflicts where disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) are an important element in the stabilization and reconstruction mission, gender experts should be engaged to help design and implement the DDR plans.

When women are not involved in decision making for DDR, their needs and concerns—and even their presence and participation as former combatants—remain frequently unrecognized. In Sierra Leone, women and girls were not defined as fighters and were therefore not eligible to participate in DDR programs or receive benefits packages, including vocational training and stipends, available to their male counterparts. In Mozambique, women combatants were included in DDR programs, but were offered training only in traditional women's activities, such as sewing or clerical work. In El Salvador, however, women leaders at the negotiation table and in implementation committees ensured that the names of women, as well as noncombatant supporters of the opposition movement, were included in beneficiary lists for land.

The UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations is developing new guidelines to prevent and address sexual violence and exploitation by troops.

When women are not involved in decision making for DDR, their needs and concerns—and even their presence and participation as former combatants—remain frequently unrecognized.

As awareness of the need to provide for women increases, the United Nations and other implementing agencies have begun to integrate a gender perspective in DDR planning. In Haiti, due to a consultative process that included the donor community, UN agencies, the women's ministry, and women's organizations, the UN mission incorporated women's priorities directly into its mandate, including the establishment of a DDR program. In 2004 in Liberia, some DDR assembly points met the requirements of Resolution 1325: the site was fenced; separate compounds were provided for women, men, girls, and boys; gender-specific assessments were taken; and counseling services were offered.⁹

Guarantee Women's Political Participation

Given the window of opportunity, the transitional period serves as an important entry point for women.

Given the window of opportunity, the transitional period serves as an important entry point for women. As noted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in 2004, "the last five years have seen postwar countries feature prominently in the top 30 of the IPU's world ranking of women in national parliaments."¹⁰ When women reach decision-making posts in these governments, research shows that they are leading efforts to promote good governance by fighting corruption, demanding accountability, and maintaining transparency in activities at national and local levels. Women are also using their leadership positions to continue their peacebuilding work, reaching out across conflict divides to form coalitions of women of all backgrounds and maintaining their stand for democracy and respect for human rights.

Lesson: Support the adoption of a quota system.

The most-discussed and most-effective, yet often controversial, mechanism to promote women's leadership is through quotas that reserve seats for women.

The most-discussed and most-effective, yet often controversial, mechanism to promote women's leadership is through quotas that reserve seats for women. These include quotas at the national or subnational level mandated by constitutions, legislated by parliaments, or adopted by political parties. In nearly all cases, they are designed as temporary mechanisms to promote women's participation.

The adoption of temporary quotas for women remains controversial, as some policy-makers argue that elections should be equally open to all candidates and not favor any particular group. However, quotas—at least as temporary mechanisms—remain essential to pressure power holders into relinquishing some control and to allow a critical mass of women leaders to step forward. Even if some artificiality exists in the process, the long-term benefits will outweigh the short-term tensions. Quotas can have the single greatest effect on the constitutional process, the election of local and national legislative bodies, the establishment of transitional justice mechanisms, and institutional reform. To jump-start women's economic and political decision making, it is necessary for the international community—with the U.S. government in the lead—to overcome its reluctance to impose an artificial requirement, provide the necessary support mechanisms for women, and provide training to build women's capacity, allowing them to play significant roles in defining the future of the country.

Afghanistan mandated a quota in Article 83 of its 2004 constitution and passed electoral laws stipulating that at least two of each province's representatives to the lower house of parliament be women—reserving more than 25 percent of the seats for women. The constitution also mandated that the president appoint one-third of the seats in the upper house, of which 50 percent must be women—a quota of approximately 17 percent.¹¹ In the September 2005 parliamentary elections, 68 of the 249 seats in the lower house were required to be filled by women.¹² Women on the general ballot who received the most votes obtained the reserved seats.

Engage Women in Justice and Reconciliation

Despite attracting a relatively minor focus by most actors in the peace process, transitional justice and reconciliation are fundamental to the success of all aspects of stabilization and reconstruction. These issues are of particular concern to women, given widespread acts of sexual and gender-based violence committed in wartime. While women need more effective justice, they are active in conducting healing and reconciliation processes, noting their concern for their children's future as a strong motivating factor.

Lesson: Support women's representation in transitional justice processes at all levels: as designers, judges, commissioners, prosecutors, defense attorneys, investigators, witnesses, and observers. Draw on the expertise of women's groups to train international, national, and local staff that will implement transitional justice on gender issues, including rape and sexual assault.

The participation of women in official positions within international tribunals—as judges, investigators, lawyers, and staff—and the inclusion of gender expertise has led to significant advances for women in international law. At the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, women judges drafted rules of procedure to protect and counsel victims of sexual violence; furthermore, a woman judge was on the bench in every court case that resulted in significant redress of sex crimes (against men as well as women).¹³ However, not all tribunals are as welcoming of women and women's issues. In fact, gender-based crimes continue to be underrepresented at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Although Rwandan women parliamentarians played a key role in denoting rape as a “category one” crime—requiring trial by the international tribunal or national courts—few trials have been conducted, as many women continue to fear testifying.

At the national level, countries emerging from conflict implement a variety of mechanisms to address transitional justice, including national legal systems, truth commissions, reparations, amnesty, and lustration. Approximately twenty-five postwar countries have convened a truth commission with varying degrees of women's participation. In only two instances have women chaired commissions: in East Timor and Sri Lanka. In recent years, truth commissions in Sierra Leone and East Timor have held special sessions for women and actively sought to include their testimony. In addition, in Sierra Leone, a Women's Task Force was established to create an atmosphere in which women could participate in the design of the truth commission and the special unit to investigate war crimes; it was made up of representatives from UN agencies, the police force, women's organizations, and other civil society groups.¹⁴ The participation of women at this early phase led to several important advances, including a witness protection program for victims of gender-based crimes, witness choice of venues (private or public), and submissions by women's organizations to the truth commission.

Although local judicial systems vary by country and region, in most cases women are not leaders in these fora and they may be reluctant to come forward as witnesses, particularly with regard to sexual violence. Rwanda provides a unique example, however, as women were elected to fill 35 percent of judge positions in the *gacaca* courts, which is a system of community-based conflict resolution and justice that was adapted to address genocide.¹⁵ In many conflict areas, however, women informally act as mobilizers for reconciliation, reaching across conflict lines in support of peace. In El Salvador, women's organizations conducted psychosocial programs for all members of the population because the formal postwar assistance did not address trauma. In Sierra Leone, women conducted healing rituals for returning child ex-combatants to facilitate their acceptance into the community.

While women need more effective justice, they are active in conducting healing and reconciliation processes.

In many conflict areas, however, women informally act as mobilizers for reconciliation, reaching across conflict lines in support of peace.

During the peace process and transition period, the opportunity arises to revise or rewrite laws to guarantee women's equality.

Lesson: After conducting a national review of existing laws, support legislative and policy reforms that guarantee gender, racial, religious, and ethnic equality. Support efforts to implement new laws addressing violence against women and providing them with equality in citizenship, in marriage and divorce, in property rights and inheritance, and in business ownership. In constitution building, provide technical assistance to women's groups to enable them to play an active role in the process.

Discrimination against women often occurs through the letter of the law, as well as through its application. During the peace process and transition period, the opportunity arises to revise or rewrite laws to guarantee women's equality, particularly in the areas of domestic violence, citizenship, marriage and divorce, and property and inheritance. The rape law in Croatia after the war, for example, was amended to expand the definition to include spousal rape. In 2003, Mozambique passed a law to set the marriage age at eighteen and allow women who live with partners for more than a year to inherit property. Women's organizations are often the catalyst behind these advances, and the international community can play an important supporting role as local groups call for these changes. In Rwanda, for example, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) partnered with the new government and women's groups funded by the Rwandan Women's Initiative to jointly draft new legislation to secure women's rights to inheritance.

Promote Socioeconomic Development

The influx of donor funds and technical support can move the peace process forward by addressing historical inequalities and root causes of conflict. Data show that income in the hands of women benefits families and communities significantly more than income in the hands of men. Experts note, "Increases in female income improve child survival rates 20 times more than increases in male income. ...Likewise, female borrowing has a greater positive impact on school enrollment, child nutrition, and demand for healthcare than male borrowing."¹⁶ In addition to benefiting the community, measures to uplift the social status of women, themselves, improves as they control resources. They begin to participate in the economic and political life of the community, become increasingly aware of their rights, and are more involved in decision making in the home. Similarly, partnering with women's organizations helps to ensure that funds will reach the target community while meeting the goal of women's empowerment.

Lesson: Promote women's socioeconomic development through stabilization and reconstruction operations by including a requirement in contracts with implementing agencies, mandating women's participation in reconstruction projects.

An important, and only recently used, tool to prioritize women's participation in socioeconomic development is that of contract language and vehicles.

An important, and only recently used, tool to prioritize women's participation in socioeconomic development is that of contract language and vehicles. In 2004, the U.S. Department of Defense required that all contractors in Iraq ensure participation of local women in its projects and tied this mandate to the award fee the contractors would receive.¹⁷ Specifically, a clause in the award fee for the corporation requiring capacity development to ensure sustainability included language on ensuring the participation of Iraqi women.

One contractor noted that the exact language in their agreement was vague; they were required to "maximize opportunities for Iraqi women in reconstruction." But the contractor also noted that they were forced to carefully clarify their obligations and goals regarding women, the benchmarks for their progress, and what would constitute good performance—activities not previously standard to their process.¹⁸

Reportedly, contractors subsequently began to request information on how to find women to include in their work, which resulted in a lesson learned for all involved. Although USAID had constructed a database of Iraqi businesses for subcontracting,

nowhere was it noted which employed women or were women-owned. Thus, the Department of Defense is building a database to track the training of women and their employment to determine if contracts are meeting its requirements.

Conclusion

These select recommendations are meant to serve as a blueprint to assist U.S. government agencies and bureaus in prioritizing the next steps on the role of women in stabilization and reconstructions operations. A comprehensive matrix of action points that addresses all phases of the stabilization and reconstruction environment follows to aid in the institutionalization of these issues. They are not intended solely for the U.S. government since it will not be the only, or necessarily the most appropriate, actor in each case. For further details, see the online companion article, *Charting Progress: The Role of Women in Reconstruction and Stabilization Operations*, which is forthcoming and will be available at www.usip.org.

Matrix of Recommendations

<i>INSTITUTIONALIZING WOMEN, PEACE, AND SECURITY</i>	
1. Build Internal Capacity	a. Ensure women's leadership as ambassadors, heads of missions, special envoys, senior staff, delegations to donor conferences, and leaders of negotiating and mediating teams.
	b. Provide ample funding and internal support for women's offices and gender focal points.
	c. Ensure that women, peace, and security are not only addressed in a single office or through a gender focal point, but are integrated into all aspects of intervention and reconstruction.
	d. Train staff on international mandates to promote women's participation in peace and security and the rationale of the efficiency of women's involvement; provide them with implementation tools, mechanisms, and best practices. Institutionalize this training as part of the standard curriculum of the Foreign Service Institute at entry, mid-, and ambassadorial levels.
	e. Build the internal capacity of the U.S. military, in particular, to recognize and address gender issues during war and in postwar reconstruction. Provide human rights and gender training, including the mandates of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, to all members of the armed forces through the war colleges and as a component of standard military training prior to deployment.
	f. Extend the mandate of women's participation to contracting agencies and funding recipients in all aspects of stabilization operations, including aid disbursement, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs, elections planning and monitoring, the design and implementation of transitional justice mechanisms, the rebuilding of physical infrastructure, and the re-establishment of education and health care systems.
2. Improve Information Gathering	a. Collect and utilize gender-disaggregated data and information on women's experiences in conflict and postwar situations in needs assessments, fact-finding reports, initial appraisals, situation reports, program designs, implementation plans, status reports, and monitoring mechanisms for all sectors.
	b. Conduct gender budget analyses of humanitarian assistance and postwar reconstruction programs to ensure that women benefit directly from resources mobilized through multilateral and bilateral donors, including donor conferences.
	c. Conduct a baseline literature review to determine the existing resources within the U.S. government on women, peace, and security.
	d. Fund the collection of best practices and utilize, disseminate, and share relevant information and experiences with other international agencies and branches in order to develop solid institutional memory on women, peace, and security. Develop a coordination mechanism to serve as a clearinghouse for this information.

3. Establish Connections with Women's Organizations	a. Require field staff to foster contact with local women's organizations by inviting them to relevant meetings, events, and conferences. Formulate a contact list and maintain regular updates on their activities; ensure that this information is transferred to relevant offices at headquarters.
	b. Invite key women leaders to headquarters to provide direct input at critical decision-making points.
	c. Make such meetings public, when appropriate, to provide women with a measure of protection and raise their profile in their home countries.
	d. Connect with other bilateral and multilateral agencies and donors to gather and share information on women's organizations.
	e. Ensure that women's organizations are equally represented as recipients of financial and technical resources during times of war and peace.
SECURITY	
1. International Intervention	a. Provide training on human rights and gender, including the requirements of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, to international military forces and civilian staff in advance of deployment.
	b. Increase the recruitment of women as military observers, peacekeeping troops, and civilian police.
	c. Incorporate gender perspectives explicitly into the mandate of international missions; ensure that gender units are established and well resourced within the mission.
	d. Recognize and address sexual violence and exploitation by international and regional troops with aggressive policies of zero tolerance, justice appropriate to international law, and support to victims.
2. Protection of Civilians	a. Protect women and girls under threat of physical violence by training the military and police to prevent and address gender-based violence, cooperating with local women's groups to provide safe havens for victims, and conducting public information campaigns. Condemn violations of their rights and call upon all parties to adhere to international humanitarian and human rights law.
	b. Consult with women's organizations to collect information on the impact of armed conflict and address the specific needs of women and girls.
	c. Include women in the design and implementation of aid programs.
3. Ceasefire and Peace Agreement	a. Ensure that women leaders are involved throughout the peace process—in donor conferences, in formal and informal negotiations, and in implementation mechanisms and structures.
	b. Provide technical and financial resources to women's organizations to maximize the impact of their initiatives and their access to all major actors.
	c. Support the creation of a women's monitoring commission to oversee and promote gender equality in the implementation of all aspects of the peace agreement with access to all relevant actors.
4. Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR)	a. Include gender experts to work with agencies designing and implementing DDR programs.

4. Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) (Continued)	b. Assume that women and girls are part of fighting forces—as combatants, supporters, and family members—and plan for their participation accordingly by creating secure housing centers for women and girls, addressing reproductive and psychosocial health care, and providing child care during training and educational courses.
	c. Ensure the security of women and girls in assembly areas through regular patrols, fences where appropriate, and awareness-raising programs on violence prevention.
	d. Consult with women’s networks to devise incentives and strategies to encourage people to surrender their weapons.
	e. Include women leaders in training and education on weapons safety and responsibility.
	f. Support women’s efforts at the community level to design creative weapons collection programs, educate their families about the dangers of weapons and landmines, rehabilitate victims, and educate youth and community leaders in conflict resolution.
	g. Specify the percentage of women’s involvement in reintegration programs in the terms of reference for contracting organizations; the figure should be appropriate to the estimated number of women and men engaged as combatants and supporters to the fighting force.
	h. Increase resources and training for community groups to ensure sustainability of reintegration programs.
5. Security Sector Reform	i. Prepare communities, through awareness-raising projects, for the issues that former combatants, particularly women, child soldiers, and girls, may face upon their reintegration; support local efforts to reconcile and re-establish relationships.
	a. Ensure that new defense ministries and police forces promote women’s full participation, and consult with women’s organizations to include gender-sensitive training for forces and a gender perspective in new mandates.
	b. Provide training to the police force specifically on the prevention and treatment of gender-based violence.
	c. Encourage open forums to ensure that public opinion regarding security threats is addressed and the security sector begins to gain legitimacy and credibility with the public; ensure that the priorities of women for safety and security are voiced through consultations with women’s organizations.
	d. Conduct capacity-building programs at national, provincial, and community levels to enable women to participate effectively in security sector reform.
GOVERNANCE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	
1. Transitional Administration	a. Ensure that women’s organizations are consulted regarding the design of a transitional administration, including its laws, mechanisms, and mandate.
	b. Identify and support means and mechanisms to ensure that women participate equally in all committees, commissions, temporary ministries, and other structures of the interim administration, and that they participate in all relevant meetings with international mediators and representatives overseeing the process. Tools may include quotas, reserved seats, political parties, women’s advisory committees, or other innovative mechanisms.

	<p>c. Recognize that this interim period is a “window of opportunity” to advance the role of women in society; utilize the platform to encourage their participation, advance women’s rights, and promote gender equality.</p>
2. National Constitution Process	<p>a. Ensure that women participate in all mechanisms related to the formulation of a new constitution, including constitutional commissions, constituent assemblies, national conventions, and public consultations.</p>
	<p>b. Encourage the “engendering” of the constitution to ensure equality between men and women, drawing from international legal instruments such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.</p>
	<p>c. Recognize and support women’s creative solutions to merge traditions, beliefs, and customs with legal guarantees of women’s rights.</p>
3. Executive Branch and Ministries	<p>a. Ensure that women’s networks are consulted to determine how their needs and concerns are best addressed: by a women’s ministry, by mainstreaming throughout the executive branch, a combination of both, or through other innovative mechanisms. Fully support whatever system is chosen.</p>
	<p>b. Promote the appointment of women to high-level positions within the new government.</p>
	<p>c. Promote the institution of “gender budgeting” to develop the national budget based on a system of expenditures responsive to the needs of women and men.</p>
	<p>d. Train women for employment in public service.</p>
4. Legislative Branch	<p>a. Provide national, provincial, and local fora for women’s organizations to convene and formulate a strategy to ensure their participation in legislative assemblies: through a quota, reserved seats, political parties, indirect elections, or other innovative mechanisms. Support their efforts for equal political participation.</p>
	<p>b. Consider the possibility that women candidates may face gender-based threats to their participation and provide security as required to facilitate their involvement.</p>
	<p>c. Support the creation of a cross-party women’s caucus or committee.</p>
	<p>d. Fund and develop capacity-building and mentoring programs to train women candidates on issues including leadership, decision making, public speaking, and campaigning.</p>
	<p>e. Provide training for all legislative members on critical issues of concern to women and what legal provisions are needed.</p>
5. Local Governance	<p>a. Promote the participation of women leaders in local governance structures by encouraging political parties, instituting quotas or reserved seats, and/or training candidates.</p>
	<p>b. Conduct training for women on municipal legislation, budgeting and taxation, service delivery systems, poverty alleviation methods, community and environmental management, and communication skills.</p>
	<p>c. Support the efforts of civil society to encourage women candidates, including the establishment of women councilor associations, mentoring and exchange programs, and capacity-building projects.</p>

6. Forming Political Parties	a. Encourage political parties to put forth women candidates from among their ranks for national and local elections and to develop initiatives to allow women to participate fully in all internal policymaking structures and appointive and electoral nominating processes.
	b. Promote a party platform that endorses gender equality and women's rights.
7. Planning Elections	a. Consider creative means to qualify women as voters, as many may be internally displaced or may not have access to legal identification and citizenship documents.
	b. Plan the polling sites and voting hours with women's safety and security needs in mind.
	c. Ensure that women participate fully as election administrators, poll workers, election observers, and members of a national election body through quotas, reserved seats, political parties, women's advisory committees, or other innovative mechanisms.
	d. Conduct sex-segregated voter education training to ensure that women are fully apprised of the process.
8. Strengthening Civil Society	a. Support a constitutional and legal framework that enables the establishment of a vibrant civil society, including the right to assembly, free speech, and freedom of the press.
	b. Target resources at mass-based women's groups and gender-sensitive mainstream organizations engaged in non-violent conflict resolution and peace education, particularly those that represent and reach across ethnic, religious, or party lines. In addition to financial resources, technical training should be offered in management principles, budgeting, fundraising, grant applications, human resources, media outreach, networking, and advocacy.
	c. Within the international mission, establish a well-resourced civil society liaison office.
	d. Encourage civil society-government dialogue to ensure informed policymaking on issues of critical importance in the postwar period, such as the new constitution, transitional justice mechanisms, and security sector reform.
9. Media	a. Fund newspapers, magazines, and radio programs to educate and inform citizens of their rights and responsibilities and to highlight women's contributions to society, emphasize human rights, and present role models for women.
	b. Facilitate women's ownership of media and support the establishment of women's radio networks, TV, and mobile media.
	c. Train women leaders in media strategies and the basics of media, including press releases, public speaking, interviews, and electronic media.
	d. Connect local women's groups to international women's media networks.
	e. Support women's efforts to utilize media creatively to establish a culture of peace.

JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

1. Community Rebuilding	a. Recognize and support local groups, including women, who serve as links from official transitional justice and reconciliation processes to the grassroots level.
	b. Financially and technically support women’s organizations that promote reconciliation and psychosocial healing at national and local levels, particularly those that work across conflict lines.
	c. Encourage and support local mechanisms for dispute resolution, confidence building, dialogue, healing, and reconciliation.
2. Transitional Justice Mechanisms	a. Conduct a national consultation process that includes women’s organizations and gender-sensitive analysis to determine the most appropriate form of transitional justice mechanism: international tribunal, national courts, truth commissions, amnesty, reparations, lustration, institutional reform, traditional options, or a combination of these.
	b. Ensure women are equally represented in all processes at all levels: as designers, judges, commissioners, prosecutors, defense attorneys, investigators, witnesses, and observers.
	c. Document and monitor violations of women’s human rights and institutionalize a process within the transitional justice system to address them. Ensure that crimes against women are addressed consistent to international standards.
	d. Design mechanisms to gather evidence, protect witnesses, and report proceedings that meet the specific needs and concerns of women.
	e. Draw on the expertise of women’s groups to train international, national, and local staff that will implement transitional justice on gender issues, including rape and sexual assault.
3. Ensuring Human Rights	a. Encourage the formal recognition by new governments of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.
	b. Support women’s groups in their efforts to monitor and defend human rights and to educate the public on their rights.
	c. Translate and disseminate key international and national human rights instruments to the general public as part of an awareness-raising campaign to transform the culture of violence.
4. Reform of the Judicial System	a. Ensure that civil society, including women, is included in consultations regarding judicial, legal, police, and penal reform.
	b. Train judges, lawyers, and court personnel specifically on international and national laws and processes that affect women.
	c. Ensure that prison staff is adequately trained on the specific needs of female perpetrators and that they are separately housed with appropriate facilities.
	d. Conduct information campaigns to educate the public on their legal rights, specifically reaching out to women in rural and remote areas and to local authorities and leaders who enforce rights and responsibilities.

5. Rewriting Laws	a. Ensure that violence against women, including domestic violence, is prohibited under criminal law, punishable with the same severity as other crimes, and does not require additional evidence or testimony. Support the establishment of witness protection programs and the provision of adequate legal redress and support services for victims.
	b. Conduct a national review of existing laws to ensure gender, racial, religious, and ethnic equality throughout legislative and policy reforms. The principles of nondiscrimination, equality, freedom, and security should be reaffirmed.
	c. Ensure that women are granted equal rights in new laws regarding national and citizenship and that they can pass these rights on to their children.
	d. Encourage formal family laws to articulate the equality of men and women in marriage, provide voluntary consent of both parties to enter a marriage agreement, require the same minimum age for marriage, and ensure equal rights of divorce and fair divorce proceedings.
	e. Support efforts to monitor the implementation of new laws.
<i>ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELL BEING</i>	
1. Management of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)	a. Ensure that women are leaders in camp design and management.
	b. Provide security for women and girls in camps through regular patrols, fences where appropriate, separate and safe facilities, and awareness-raising programs on violence prevention.
	c. Consult with women when designing plans for repatriation and resettlement.
2. Physical Infrastructure	a. Ensure that women's priorities for infrastructure are included in early discussions and throughout the life of the project.
	b. Explore creative mechanisms to include women in public works projects, such as partnering with women's organizations or the women's ministry to recruit women as laborers or cooks.
3. Food Security	a. Consult with women regarding the design and implementation of emergency food aid programs.
	b. Ensure that the food provided is complementary to the cultural and traditional context and recognize that women are often agricultural workers.
	c. Include adequate provisions for women's ownership and participation in land reform and reallocation.
4. Public Health	a. Ensure that reproductive health supplies and equipment are part of the emergency medical package.
	b. Train medical staff to address sexual violence and adequately equip facilities to provide reproductive health care.
	c. Ensure that HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment programs include women and girls and address their specific needs and concerns.
	d. Consult with women regarding water and waste management and capitalize on their knowledge and skills to implement projects.

5. Educational System	a. Ensure that girls are recruited into new classrooms equally with boys. Provide adequate security and offer incentives to families and communities for girls' attendance.
	b. Develop a curriculum that respects diversity and promotes gender equality.
	c. Develop an adult literacy campaign that targets women as well as men.
	d. Support women's groups that are promoting peace education to youth at local and national levels.
6. Labor and Employment	a. Support the reform of labor laws to ensure that women have equal access to employment opportunities.
	b. Conduct vocational training programs for women; select the project or field based on the input of women, rather than cultural or traditional assumptions.
	c. Prioritize the recruitment and employment of women in international development programs. Design innovative mechanisms to transfer the trained and knowledgeable personnel back into the national system as the international community departs.
7. Property Rights	a. Support legal reforms to ensure that women have equal legal rights to attain, own, transfer, and inherit land and personal property.
8. Business Ownership	a. Support the reform of business ownership laws and statutes to ensure women's equal access.
	b. Target women with micro-enterprise loans and grants as well as more substantial projects, including funds and training for small, medium, and large-scale businesses.
9. Long-term Development	a. Ensure that economic policymaking includes women's input and that national budget processes reflect women's needs and concerns.
	b. Encourage macroeconomic policies that prioritize the public provision of food, water, sanitation, health, and energy—the key sectors in which women provide unpaid labor.
	c. Include a requirement in contracts with implementing agencies that mandates women's participation in reconstruction projects.

NOTES

1. Full text of S.1573 is available at <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d107:s.01573>. (Accessed July 18, 2006.)
2. In the Senate, the bill is called the *Protection of Vulnerable Populations During Humanitarian Emergencies Act* (S. 559). Full text of H.R. 1413 is available at <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d109:H.R.01413>: (Accessed July 18, 2006.)
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