



# GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS



## Women and Girls Rising

Progress and resistance around the world

Edited by  
**Ellen Chesler and Terry McGovern**



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the world

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It is essential that we create a new normal—in our homes, in our nations, and in these United States—and that is what the dedicated and talented women and men whose voices are represented in this book are doing every day. The book is a treasure because it tells their stories.

*Gloria Steinem, author, lecturer, editor, and feminist activist*

Women and girls keep this world spinning; they are also the key to keeping it from spinning out of control. *Women and Girls Rising* moves smoothly between personal and particular accounts—stirring testimony from Brazil, Iran, Pakistan, China, Uganda, China, and the United States graces this volumes—and analysis, eschewing policy-speak without abandoning policy or politics. The result is humane and instructive, a data-driven but never arid defense of the feminism needed to promote social justice in a world in need. Read this book and see a vibrant and global movement placing women and girls at the center of agendas for health and human rights—and for social and economic progress that doesn't wreck our fragile and beautiful planet.

*Paul Farmer, M.D., Harvard University and  
Partners In Health*

# Women and Girls Rising

A growing body of evidence demonstrates that improvements in the status of women and girls—however worthy and important in their own right—also drive the prosperity, stability, and security of families, communities, and nations. Yet despite many indicators of progress, women and girls everywhere—including countries of the developed world—continue to confront barriers to their full and equal participation in social, economic, and political life.

Capturing voices and experiences from around the world, this work documents the modern history of the global women's movement—its many accomplishments and setbacks. Drawing together prominent pioneers and contemporary policymakers, activists, and scholars, the volume interrogates where and why progress has met resistance and been slowed, and examines the still unfinished agenda for change in national and international policy arenas. This history and roadmap are especially critical for younger generations who need a better understanding of this rich feminist legacy and the intense opposition that women's movements have generated.

This book creates a clear and forceful narrative about women's agency and the central relevance of women's rights movements to global and national policy-making. It is essential reading for activists and policymakers, students and scholars alike.

**Ellen Chesler**, Ph.D., is a senior fellow at the Roosevelt Institute, where she directs the Women and Girls Rising program.

**Terry McGovern**, J.D. is Professor of Population and Family Health at Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health.

## Global Institutions

Edited by Thomas G. Weiss

*The CUNY Graduate Center, New York, USA*

and Rorden Wilkinson

*University of Sussex, Brighton, UK*

### About the series

The “Global Institutions Series” provides cutting-edge books about many aspects of what we know as “global governance.” It emerges from our shared frustrations with the state of available knowledge—electronic and print-wise, for research and teaching—in the area. The series is designed as a resource for those interested in exploring issues of international organization and global governance. And since the first volumes appeared in 2005, we have taken significant strides toward filling conceptual gaps.

The series consists of three related “streams” distinguished by their blue, red, and green covers. The blue volumes, comprising the majority of the books in the series, provide user-friendly and short (usually no more than 50,000 words) but authoritative guides to major global and regional organizations, as well as key issues in the global governance of security, the environment, human rights, poverty, and humanitarian action among others. The books with red covers are designed to present original research and serve as extended and more specialized treatments of issues pertinent for advancing understanding about global governance. And the volumes with green covers—the most recent departure in the series—are comprehensive and accessible accounts of the major theoretical approaches to global governance and international organization.

The books in each of the streams are written by experts in the field, ranging from the most senior and respected authors to first-rate scholars at the beginning of their careers. In combination, the three components of the series—blue, red, and green—serve as key resources for faculty, students, and practitioners alike. The works in the blue and green streams have value as core and complementary readings in courses on, among other things, international organization, global governance, international law, international relations, and international political economy; the red volumes allow further reflection and investigation in these and related areas.

The books in the series also provide a segue to the foundation volume that offers the most comprehensive textbook treatment available dealing with all the major issues, approaches, institutions, and actors in contemporary global governance—our edited work *International Organization and Global Governance* (2014)—a volume to which many of the authors in the series have contributed essays.

Understanding global governance—past, present, and future—is far from a finished journey. The books in this series nonetheless represent significant steps toward a better way of conceiving contemporary problems and issues as well as, hopefully, doing something to improve world order. We value the feedback from our readers and their role in helping shape the on-going development of the series.

A complete list of titles appears at the end of this book. The most recent titles in the series are:

**Women and Girls Rising (2015)**

*by Ellen Chesler and Terry McGovern*

**The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (2nd edition, 2015)**

*by Julian Lindley-French*

**The African Union (2nd edition, 2015)**

*by Samuel M. Makinda, F. Wafula Okumu and David Mickler*

**Governing Climate Change (2nd edition, 2015)**

*by Harriet Bulkeley and Peter Newell*

**The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (2015)**

*by Turan Kayaoglu*

**Contemporary Human Rights Ideas (2nd edition, 2015)**

*by Bertrand G. Ramcharan*

**The Politics of International Organizations (2015)**

*edited by Patrick Weller and Xu Yi-chong*

**For: Celia Sloban Chesler, 1918–2000  
Belle Wechsler Mallow, 1908–1974  
Ann Walsh McGovern, 1932–9.11.2001  
in loving memory**



# Contributors

**Aala Abdelgadir** is a research associate for the Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy Initiative at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Prior to joining CFR, she was a Woodbridge Fellow at Yale University. Through this year-long fellowship, she worked on expanding university outreach and efforts in Africa and also established youth development projects in Sudan expanding access to higher education and professional enrichment. She has written for CFR blogs and external publications about political transitions, youth movements, and internet censorship. A Mellon Mays Fellow at Yale, Abdelgadir earned her BA with distinction in political science.

**Mahnaz Afkhami** is Founder and President of the Women's Learning Partnership, an international organization that empowers women to become leaders in politics, business, and civil society. She helped create the concept and mobilize support for establishing the United Nation's Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development and its International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW). She serves on the boards and steering committees of several organizations, including the Women's Rights Division of Human Rights Watch, the Freer/Sackler Galleries of the Smithsonian Institution and the Foundation for Iranian Studies. Among her publications are *Faith and Freedom: Women's Human Rights in the Muslim World*, *Women in Exile*, and *Victories Over Violence*. She has also co-authored manuals on leadership and political participation that have been translated into 20 languages. Prior to the Islamic revolution in Iran, Afkhami taught English literature at the National University of Iran, where she founded and directed the Association of University Women. She served as Secretary General of the Women's Organization of Iran (1970–1979) and Iran's Minister for Women's Affairs (1975–1978).

**Kalpona Akter** is Executive Director of the Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity (BCWS), one of Bangladesh's most prominent labor rights advocacy organizations, and is herself a former child garment worker. BCWS is widely regarded as among the most effective grassroots labor organizations in the country. Levi Strauss & Co. calls BCWS "a globally respected labor rights organization, which has played a vital role in documenting and working to remedy labor violations in the apparel industry in Bangladesh." Akter has traveled widely to speak about the deplorable conditions that Bangladeshi garment workers face every day. She has been interviewed extensively by local and international media, particularly following the Tazreen fire and the Rana Plaza building collapse.

**María Antonieta Alcalde** is Director of Advocacy for the International Planned Parenthood Federation/Western Hemisphere Region (IPPF/WHR) and Director of the IPPF UN Liaison Office. Originally from Mexico, she co-founded several regional organizations, including the Latin American Youth Network for Sexual and Reproductive Rights and the Youth Coalition and was the general coordinator of Balance, Promotion for Development and Youth in Mexico City. Alcalde is a member of the UN's High Level Task Force for ICPD and has served on the boards of the Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA), Fundación Mexicana para el Planeamiento de la Familia, and as the North America NGO representative of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS Coordinating Board. Alcalde has participated in several international conferences related to sexual and reproductive health and rights, including the 5-, 10-, and 15-year reviews of the Cairo and Beijing Conferences. She holds a degree in accounting from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

**Carol Bellamy** was Executive Director of UNICEF from 1995 to 2005. Under her leadership, UNICEF became a champion of global investment in children, arguing that efforts to reduce poverty and build a more secure world can only be successful if they ensure that children have an opportunity to grow to adulthood in health, peace, and dignity. In April 2009, Bellamy was appointed as Chair of the International Baccalaureate Board of Governors. Additionally, she recently completed a three-year term as Chair of the Global Partnership for Education. From 1993 to 1995, Bellamy served as director of the Peace Corps. In 1977, she was elected the first female president of the New York City Council. She holds a BA from Gettysburg College and a JD from the New York University School of Law.

**Ellen Bravo** directs the Family Values @ Work Consortium, a network of coalitions in 21 states working for policies such as paid sick days and family leave insurance. Previously, she was the director of the organization 9to5. Her most recent book is *Taking on the Big Boys, or Why Feminism is Good for Families, Business and the Nation* (The Feminist Press at CUNY, 2007). Bravo has served on several state and federal commissions, including the bi-partisan Commission on Leave appointed by congress to study the impact of the Family and Medical Leave Act. She has also taught women's studies at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, including masters level classes on family-friendly workplaces. She is on the boards of Working America and the National Domestic Workers Alliance. Among her commendations are the Ford Foundation's Visionary Award, the Francis Perkins Intelligence and Courage Award, and the Families and Work Institute Work Life Legacy Award. Bravo lives in Milwaukee with her husband; they have two adult sons.

**Judith Bruce** is a senior associate and policy analyst with the Population Council's Poverty, Gender and Youth program. Bruce leads the council's efforts to develop programs that protect health and well-being and expand opportunities for adolescent girls in the poorest communities. She was among the first to illuminate the scope and negative impact of child marriage, insisting on the term "child marriage" rather than "early marriage," as the latter suggests a desirable precocity, concealing the fact that the practice is a serious human rights abuse. Recently Bruce served as co-chair of the UN Expert Group Meeting on the elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against the girl-child. She has been a member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1977. In 1993 she received the Association for Women in Development's bi-annual award for outstanding contributions to the field. She is a graduate of Harvard University.

**Charlotte Bunch** is the Founding Director and Senior Scholar at the Center for Women's Global Leadership and Board of Governor's Distinguished Professor in Women's and Gender Studies, Rutgers University. Previously, she was a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in DC and a founder of Washington DC Women's Liberation and of *Quest: A Feminist Quarterly*. Bunch has been an activist, writer, and organizer in the feminist, LGBT, and human rights movements for over four decades. Her contributions have been recognized by many, including the National Women's Hall of Fame, the White House Eleanor Roosevelt Award for Human Rights, a

Nobel Peace Prize nomination as one of “1000 Women Peace Makers” in 2005, and an Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree from the University of Connecticut. Bunch is currently on the board of Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID) and the Advisory Committee for the Women’s Rights Division of Human Rights Watch, and serves on the Global Civil Society Advisory Group to UN Women.

**Roxanna Carrillo** worked for 20 years at the United Nations and is currently an independent consultant in the areas of gender, human rights, development, and peacebuilding, with a focus on issues related to equality and violence against women. She was the Chief of Policy and Planning in the UN Peacebuilding Support Office. She also served as head of the Conduct and Discipline Unit at the UN Peacekeeping Mission in Burundi. Prior to that she was at UNIFEM, where she started the women’s human rights program and led UNIFEM’s work at the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. She also set up the UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women. She co-founded the Center for Women’s Global Leadership at Rutgers University and worked for many years prior as an NGO advocate and a journalist in Peru. She holds an MA in political science from Rutgers University and a degree in Spanish literature and linguistics from Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima.

**Hannah Chartoff** is a research associate in the Women and Foreign Policy program at the Council on Foreign Relations, where she previously focused on issues of political Islam, radicalization, and terrorism. Prior to her work at the Council, Chartoff was a White House intern in Washington, DC and a Fulbright Scholar in Egypt. She holds a BA from Duke University.

**Wendy Chavkin, MD, MPH** is Professor of Public Health at the Mailman School and Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University. She is also co-founder of Global Doctors for Choice and previously served as chair of the board of directors of Physicians for Reproductive Choice and Health. In 2004–2005 she was a Fulbright New Century Scholar for her research on fertility decline and the empowerment of women. From 1994 to 2002, she was editor-in-chief of *the Journal of the American Medical Women’s Association*, and from 1984 to 1988, the director of the Bureau of Maternity Services and Family Planning in New York City’s Department of Health. She has written

extensively about women's issues, including the consequences of welfare reform for the health of women and children and conscientious objection to providing reproductive health care. She has received numerous awards from public health organizations for advocacy including the Jean Pakter and Allan Rosenfield awards.

**Ellen Chesler, Ph.D.**, is a senior fellow at the Roosevelt Institute, where she directs the Women and Girls Rising program. She is author of *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America* (1992), which remains in print in a new paperback edition released in 2007. She is co-editor with Wendy Chavkin, MD MPH of *Where Human Rights Begin*, a volume of essays that emerged from a fellowship program they directed for the Open Society Foundation. Chesler has also written extensively for academic and public policy anthologies, journals, newspapers, magazines, and blogs. Over a 40-year career, she has held positions in government (chief of staff to New York City Council President Carol Bellamy, 1978–84); philanthropy (Open Society Foundation, 1997–2006, and the Twentieth Century Fund, 1992–1997); and academia (Hunter College of the City University of New York, 2007–10, and Barnard College, 1988–9, 1992–3) and is widely respected for both the intellectual and practical perspectives she brings to her work. She is currently a member of the advisory committee of the Women's Rights Division of Human Rights Watch and of the Council on Foreign Relations. She served for many years on the board of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America and as chair of the board of the International Women's Health Coalition. She has three times been a member of the US delegation to the UN Commission on the Status of Women. She holds a BA from Vassar College and an MA and PhD, with distinction in history, from Columbia University.

**Hillary Rodham Clinton** After nearly four decades of public service as an advocate for children and families, First Lady, Senator, and US Secretary of State, Hillary Rodham Clinton is currently a candidate for President of the United States. Until recently, she helped lead the Bill, Hillary & Chelsea Clinton Foundation, with a special interest in women and girls and in helping young people get the skills they need to find good jobs and participate in the global economy. She is also the author of the new book, *Hard Choices*, which chronicles her efforts to restore America's leadership after eight years in which it was badly eroded. Thanks in large measure to Hillary's leadership, people were finally able to say: America's back. She championed human rights, internet freedom, religious freedom, and rights and

opportunities for women and girls, LGBT people, and young people, and went to bat for American workers and companies around the world, as she has her entire career.

**Isobel Coleman** was recently confirmed as the US Representative to the United Nations for Management and Reform. She was previously a senior fellow and director of the Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy Initiative at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) where she also directed the Women and Foreign Policy Program. Her areas of expertise include democratization, civil society, gender, and economic development. She is the author or co-author of numerous books, including *Pathways to Freedom: Economic and Political Lessons from Democratic Transitions* (CFR, 2013) and *Paradise Beneath Her Feet: How Women are Transforming the Middle East* (Random House, 2010). Coleman's writings have also appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Financial Times*. A Marshall scholar, Dr. Coleman holds a BA in public policy and East Asian studies from Princeton University and MPhil and DPhil degrees in international relations from Oxford University. In 2011, *Newsweek* named her one of "150 Women Who Shake the World."

**Sonia Correa** Since the late 1970s, Sonia Correa has been involved in research and advocacy activities related to gender equality, health, and sexuality. Between 1992 and 2009 she was the research coordinator for sexual and reproductive health and rights at Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN). In that capacity, she closely followed United Nations conferences like the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994) and the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) and also the five- and 10-year review processes of those conferences. Since 2002, she has co-chaired Sexuality Policy Watch, a global forum engaged in analyzing global trends in sexuality-related policy and politics. Correa's publications include (with Rebecca Reichmann) *Population and Reproductive Rights: Feminist Perspectives from the South* (Zed Books, 1994), and (with Rosalind Petchesky and Richard Parker) *Sexuality, Health and Human Rights* (Routledge, 2008).

**Jan Eliasson** currently serves as the UN Deputy Secretary General. His career began in 1982 as Diplomatic Adviser to the Swedish Prime Minister before moving to New York to serve as the Swedish Ambassador to the United Nations. As ambassador from 1988 to 1992, he was part of the UN mediation missions in the war between

Iraq and Iran. He has since served as the first UN Under-Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs (where he was involved in numerous operations in Somalia, Sudan, Mozambique, and the Balkans), Swedish State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Swedish Ambassador to Washington, and President of the UN General Assembly. Prior to taking office as Deputy Secretary General, Eliasson was the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy for Darfur from 2007 to 2008.

**Annabel Erulkar** currently heads the Population Council in Ethiopia and has programmatic, financial, and administrative leadership responsibilities for the country office. She was the principal investigator for the Berhane Hewan program, named best UNFPA "good practice" for adolescents and youth, and is currently principal investigator for a multi-country study testing efforts to delay the age of marriage in multiple hotspots across Africa. Erulkar has authored numerous reports and journal articles related to adolescence in Sub Saharan Africa, including gender-based violence, early marriage, and child domestic work. Before joining the Council in 1995, Erulkar was responsible for research at the Family Planning Association of Kenya, the country's largest non-governmental family planning organization. She holds a BA in anthropology from Bryn Mawr College, an MSc in population sciences from Harvard University and a PhD in social statistics from the University of Southampton, United Kingdom.

**Adrienne Germain** is President Emerita of the International Women's Health Coalition. She has worked for women's health and human rights for 43 years. Following 14 years with the Ford Foundation, she led IWHC's work on international health and population policy with the UN system, governments, and NGOs. Germain was a pivotal member of US government delegations to the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) and the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. She has published widely, including edited volumes and many articles in peer-reviewed journals, such as the *WHO Bulletin*. In November 2012, she was a Menschel Senior Fellow in Health Policy at the Harvard University School of Public Health. Germain advises the US State Department and UNFPA, as well as other United Nations, corporate, foundation, and NGO leaders. She holds a BA from Wellesley College and an MA in sociology and demography from the University of California at Berkeley.

**Anne Marie Goetz** joined New York University's Center for Global Affairs, in January 2014, where she teaches international relations. She worked before this as Chief Advisor on peace, security, and

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**Devaki Jain** graduated in economics from Oxford in 1963 and taught at Delhi University for six years. She is one of the founders of a wide range of institutions including Development Alternatives for Women for a New Era (DAWN), a Third World network of women social scientists who provide an alternative framework for understanding and advancing the cause of poor women of the South. She was a member of the Advisory Committee for the UNDP Human Development Report on Poverty, 1997 and the Eminent Persons group associated with the UN's Graca Machel Committee on the Impact on Children of Armed Conflict. She has also served on the National Preparatory Committee convened by the Government of India to prepare for the UN World Conferences in Nairobi, 1985; Cairo, 1995; and Beijing, 1995. Currently, she is a member of the South Commission headed by Julius Nyerere.

**Rob Jenkins** is Professor of Political Science at the Roosevelt House Public Policy Institute and Senior Fellow at the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies of CUNY. He specializes in international and comparative development politics and post-conflict peacebuilding. He is also an editorial board member of several publications, including the *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*. Previously, Jenkins was a Senior Consultant at the United Nations Secretariat's Peacebuilding Support Office and lead author of the 2010 Report of the Secretary General on Women's Participation in Peacebuilding. Prior to that, he was Professor of Political Science at the University of London. Jenkins holds a BA from Harvard University and a DPhil from the University of Sussex.

**Naila Kabeer** is Professor of Gender and Development at the Gender Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science. Prior



to that, she was Professor of Development Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University and Professorial Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex. She has also worked as a Senior Research Fellow at the Department for International Development, UK. Her research interests include gender, poverty, social exclusion, labor markets and livelihoods, social protection, and citizenship. Her publications are numerous, including *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. She has carried out extensive training and advisory work with national and international NGOs, as well as for a number of international development agencies. Kabeer is currently on the advisory editorial committee for the journals *Feminist Economics*, *Development and Change*, and *Gender and Development* and on the board of the Feminist Review Trust.

**Bohong Liu** is a professor at the China Women's University, former Senior Research Fellow and Deputy Director of the Women's Studies Institute of China and former Coordinator for the Chinese Women's Health Network. She is also the Deputy Secretary General of the Chinese Women's Research Society and a professor at Beijing Foreign Studies University, teaching Gender and Development. Since the 1995 UN conference in Beijing, she has worked with the Chinese government system to teach leaders about the relevance of gender to laws and policies. She has participated in formulating national programs that implement the 1995 UN Platform for Action and CEDAW, and currently, in activities on Beijing+20 in China.

**Wanjira Mathai** is Project Leader at the Wangari Maathai Institute for Peace & Environmental Studies (WMI) in Kenya. Prior to this she directed international affairs at the Green Belt Movement (GBM), where she managed international outreach and resource mobilization. For six years prior to joining GBM, she worked as a senior program officer at the Carter Presidential Center in Atlanta, Georgia. Since 2002, Mathai has directed International Affairs at GBM, which was founded by her mother, the late Nobel Peace Laureate Wangari Maathai. Today, she directs the new Partnership for Women's Entrepreneurship on Renewables Hub at the Wangari Maathai Institute. She is also a World Future Councilor, Advisory Council Member (Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves), a member of the Global Restoration Council and a member of the Earth Charter International Council. Mathai is a graduate of Hobart & William Smith Colleges. She earned graduate degrees in public health and business from Emory University's Rollins School of Public Health and the Goizueta School of Business (USA).