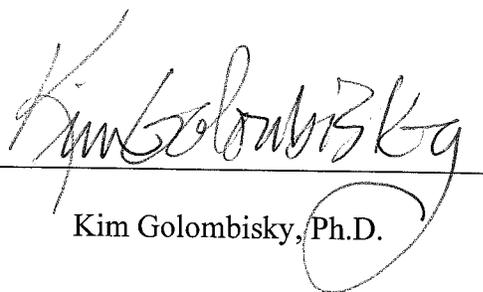
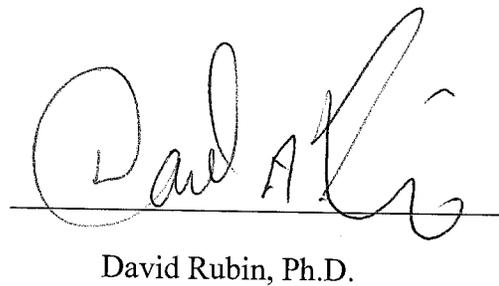


**Global Meets Local:
The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
& The United Nations Association of Tampa Bay**

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An internship narrative submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of
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Abstract

For the partial fulfillment of my master's degree in Women's and Gender Studies at the University of South Florida, I interned with the United Nations Association of Tampa Bay (UNA-TB) as an advocate and policy researcher for The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). (For the full text of CEDAW, please see <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm>.) Adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1979, CEDAW is the most comprehensive international resolution focused on improving gender equality by ending gender-based discriminatory policies and practices on a global scale. Currently, 187 of the 194 UN member-states have adopted CEDAW; the United States of America has not yet ratified this resolution.

The UNA-TB Advocacy Committee engages the Cities for CEDAW campaign to gain support for CEDAW at the local level so as to build momentum for ratification by the United States Senate. My responsibilities as an intern included researching elected officials' stances on CEDAW, participating in the UNA-TB board meetings, raising public awareness about CEDAW at the UNA-TB advocacy events, and developing the UNA-TB's CEDAW Advocacy Action Plan. This internship narrative addresses the purpose and design of CEDAW as well as the political tensions concerning ratification in the United States. Background information about the UNA-TB and its current advocacy efforts in the Tampa Bay area provide an overview of the organization's structure and purpose in relation to its involvement with Cities for CEDAW. Moreover, I provide a descriptive account of the tasks I carried out during my internship in order to offer my personal reflections on this experience.

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I. Introduction

For the partial fulfillment of my master's degree in Women's and Gender Studies at the University of South Florida, I interned with the United Nations Association of Tampa Bay (UNA-TB) as an advocate and policy researcher for The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). (For the full text of CEDAW, please see <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm>.) With my background in international relations, a commitment to redressing gender inequalities on a global scale, and an interest in advocacy and policy research, I believed this internship position and I were a perfect match. Yet, during my first conversation with the advocacy director of the UNA-TB, who would be my internship supervisor, I became unsure of my decision to pursue this position for several reasons. First, I realized I did not have any practical experience in politics or social advocacy. Second, after reviewing CEDAW through my transnational feminist lens, I had conflicting thoughts about the resolution's implementation on a global scale and the push for US ratification. This was due to CEDAW's foundation in global feminism as well as its focus on addressing discrimination against women rather than addressing discrimination against *all* marginalized gender identities, such as those who identify as trans*, gender non-conforming, or agender. Finally, the advocacy director emphasized that interns must be self-motivated, able to do excellent work with minimal direct supervision, and work independently. These aspects intimidated me.

Nevertheless, I decided to pursue this internship opportunity so as to gain first-hand experience in women's rights advocacy and political research during a US presidential election year. Happily, my initial hesitations dissipated over the course of my internship as my supervisor praised my work and provided positive feedback on my assignments and outreach

efforts. My internship responsibilities included researching elected officials' stances on CEDAW, participating in the UNA-TB board meetings, raising public awareness about CEDAW at the UNA-TB advocacy events, and developing the UNA-TB's CEDAW Advocacy Action Plan. Overall, I am confident that I succeeded in fulfilling my responsibilities as an intern while contributing positively to the UNA-TB's CEDAW advocacy efforts. This sentiment is not only evidenced by the positive feedback I received throughout my internship, but also by the "outstanding"—the highest mark possible—performance evaluation I received from my supervisor at the conclusion of my internship.

This internship narrative begins with the background of CEDAW followed by an explanation of how the convention aims to eliminate gender-based discrimination and inequalities through the establishment of international standards on women's rights. Then, a timeline of the complex history of CEDAW and an overview of arguments *against* ratification in the United States provides the framework for the purpose of the UNA-TB's current CEDAW advocacy efforts. Next, I detail the Cities for CEDAW campaign's plan-of-action for CEDAW implementation on the local level as well as its intent of achieving ratification by the US Senate. Afterwards, I provide a descriptive account of the tasks I carried out during my internship in order to offer my personal reflections on my experience as a CEDAW advocate and policy researcher during the summer of 2016. By offering the "next steps" for the UNA-TB's CEDAW Advocacy Action Plan, I hope to demonstrate that local and national CEDAW implementation is very possible through research, creativity, advocacy, and coalition building.

II. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women

In 1979, the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women drafted The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) using

the frameworks of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women of 1952, the Convention on the Consent to Marriage of 1957, and the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women of 1967 (US Congressional 2). Presently, 187 of the 194 UN member-states have adopted the convention.^{1,2} On July 17, 1980, the United States signed in support of CEDAW, but the US Senate has not yet ratified this resolution. Therefore, the United States is the only industrialized democracy in the United Nations that has not yet formally ratified this resolution (Koh 265). Additionally, Palau signed in support of CEDAW on September 20, 2011, but has yet to ratify the convention. Five UN member-states have not formally supported CEDAW at all: Tonga, Iran, Sudan, Somalia, and the Holy See (“Human Rights Bodies”).

International resolutions, such as CEDAW, are generally non-binding; thus, they are primarily considered formal expressions of the opinion or the will of an organization or state. Notwithstanding, CEDAW ratification by UN member-states serves to signify to the international community the “solemn, universal obligations” to protect women’s rights and eradicate gender discrimination worldwide, and it is also a tool for promoting women’s rights in countries that have ratified the convention (Koh 267-270).

The convention establishes universal language so as to eliminate misunderstandings of terminology central to its purpose. In Article 1, it defines “discrimination against women” as any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. (The United Nations art. 1)

The primary objective of the convention is broad but clear: to redress gender inequalities and eliminate gender-based discriminatory policies and practices by providing international standards for women's rights in economic, health, educational, legal, social, political, cultural, and domestic spheres (Koh 266; Keller 36). This includes women's right to equal pay and to choose their marriage partner, and it eliminates sex trafficking (US Congressional 2). Moreover, it addresses women's right to vote, to be elected to public office, and to represent their country in the international arena (Koh 267). Furthermore, CEDAW puts forth a woman's right to live free of violence, have equal access to education, and be provided maternity protections and parental rights (US Congressional 3, 20). Significantly, CEDAW is the only international resolution that affirms women's sexual and reproductive rights (Heyman 202). The convention is often referred to as the "international Bill of Rights for women" (Koh 266).

As mentioned, CEDAW ratification is a legally non-binding expression of states' opinion asserting women's full and equal rights. Nonetheless, countries that adopt the convention are still held accountable by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. The primary purpose of this committee is to ensure nations continually and actively address gender discrimination and gender inequalities after adopting CEDAW (Lozner 780). The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women is comprised of twenty-three "gender experts" from twenty-three countries.³ These committee members serve in their personal capacity rather than as ambassadors of their nations (The United Nations art. 17.1). Candidates are nominated by UN member-states that have adopted CEDAW, and those who are nominated must be of high moral character and competent in the issues outlined in the convention (The United Nations art. 17.1). The "nominees who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of the representatives of States Parties present and

voting” are elected to the committee (The United Nations art. 17.4). This committee is led by a chairperson, three vice-chairpersons, and a rapporteur (“Membership”). Each officer serves a four-year term and is eligible for reelection (“Membership”).

Every year, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women meets for a two-week session during which they review approximately seven to eight nations’ CEDAW reports (Jacobson 3).⁴ These periodic State Party CEDAW reports, popularly known as a “gender analysis,” must be submitted by the state to the committee within the first year after adopting the convention and at least every four years thereafter (“Reporting”).⁵ These reports address the “legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures that they [the countries] have adopted to implement the Convention” (“Reporting”). Typically, the countries’ departments dedicated to gender equality issues compile these reports. For example, the Gender Equality Division of the Department of Justice and Equality in Ireland is responsible for the preparation of these documents (*Gender Equality in Ireland*). In South Korea, the Lesbian Counseling Center of South Korea has prepared reports in previous years (“South Korea”).

Additionally, these CEDAW reports serve to reveal common themes of enduring gender inequalities among States Parties. Upon uncovering these “gender inequality themes” in the reports, the committee may issue a “General Recommendation,” which is a suggestion for how States Parties can continue to improve gender equality. These recommendations may include requesting states to conduct further research and/or gather more data on a specific topic (e.g. income inequality or teen pregnancy rates) as well as encouraging states to revise their legislation regarding that particular women’s rights issue. States Parties should take these recommendations under consideration for the purpose of reducing and eventually eliminating all forms of discrimination against women through the implementation and enforcement of new

antidiscrimination policies and practices. For example, if the committee unveils a high incidence of maternal mortality rates among States Parties' CEDAW reports, the committee may issue a recommendation asking countries to include more data on maternal mortality rates, compile information on the educational and health programs available for women and mothers, and implement or enforce legislative measures that provide women and mothers with comprehensive health care. Since 1986, the committee has adopted thirty General Recommendations ("General Recommendations").⁶

Furthermore, The UN General Assembly adopted the Optional Protocol in October 1999 to strengthen the convention (US Congressional 3).⁷ Nations that have not ratified CEDAW are still able to adopt the protocol since this agreement acts as a stand-alone treaty (US Congressional 3). Notable components of the protocol are the "communications procedure" and "inquiry procedure." These procedures allow individuals or groups to file grievances with the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and permits the committee to investigate "potential abuses of women's rights" in countries that have adopted the protocol, respectively (US Congressional 3).

In sum, UN member-states that ratify CEDAW agree to 1) incorporate CEDAW's principles of gender equality between men and women in their legal system; 2) abolish laws that discriminate on the basis of sex and gender; 3) adopt laws and policies that prohibit discrimination against women; 4) establish committees and institutions to resolve discrimination against women; and 5) ensure the elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organizations, or enterprises.

The History of CEDAW in the US: 1980 to Present

The history of the pursuit of CEDAW ratification in the United States is undoubtedly complex. During the Second World Conference on Women, held in Copenhagen between July 14 and July 30, 1980, Sarah R. Weddington (a former member of the Texas House of Representatives) signed The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women on behalf of the United States (Jacobson 1). With President Carter's signature of approval, the US Senate received CEDAW on November 12, 1980, and passed the convention to the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee (S. Rep. No. 96th-096-53 V).^{8,9} This committee leads US foreign policy legislation and is the body of US government that reviews international resolutions for ratification. Nonetheless, CEDAW was *not* brought before the committee for review prior to the conclusion of President Carter's administration in 1981.

During the Reagan administration, CEDAW remained in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee without significant progress towards ratification. In fact, President Reagan has been the only president to *not* support CEDAW ratification with reservations since its introduction under the Carter administration (Jacobson 1). In 1988, the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics, and International Operations held a hearing on issues related to CEDAW, but this hearing did nothing to move the convention towards ratification (Heyman 198). The lack of progress towards CEDAW ratification in the United States throughout the 1980s can be credited to the staunch opposition of United States Senator Jesse Helms, a Republican representing North Carolina during the latter quarter of the 20th century (US Congressional, 16; Heyman 196). During his time in the US Senate from 1973 to 2003 and as the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1995 to 2001, Senator Helms argued against CEDAW ratification on the grounds that the resolution infringed on US sovereignty and

violated conservative American beliefs on family structure and abortion (US Congressional, 16; Heyman 198).

The convention again remained in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for review during President George H.W. Bush's administration from 1989 to 1993. Throughout his administration, several US congressional representatives introduced House bills that called on the president to review CEDAW and seek "advice and consent" from the US Senate and/or add reservations to the convention (Jacobson 2). These bills included:

- House Resolution 476 (not passed in the US House), introduced by US Representative Gus Yatron in September 1990, that called on President Bush to review CEDAW and seek "advice and consent" from the Senate.
- House Resolution 166 (passed in the US House), introduced by US Representative Gus Yatron in October 1991, that called on President Bush to review CEDAW and seek "advice and consent" from the Senate.
- House Resolution 261 (not passed in the US House), introduced by US Representative Christopher Smith in October 1991, that called for a reservation stating CEDAW could not be used to promote abortion.
- House Resolution 253 (not passed in the US House), introduced by US Representative John LaFalce in September 1993, that urged the Senate to approve CEDAW.
- House Resolution 38 (not passed in the US House), introduced by US Representative Lynn Woolsey in January 1993, that called on President Bush to review CEDAW and seek "advice and consent" from the Senate.

- House Resolution 2231 (not passed in the US House), introduced by US Representative Olympia Snowe in May 1993, which asked the Secretary of State to announce his position on CEDAW ratification. (Jacobson 2)

Unfortunately, these House bills did not move CEDAW towards ratification prior to the conclusion of President George H.W. Bush's administration.

In 1993, sixty-eight US senators sent President Bill Clinton letters of support for CEDAW ratification (Heyman 198). The Clinton administration then requested the US Senate's "advice and consent" on nine proposed reservations, understandings, and declarations (RUDs) regarding CEDAW (US Congressional 5). Reservations are "specific qualifications or stipulations that modify US obligations without necessarily changing the treaty language" (US Congressional 3). Understandings are defined as "interpretive statements that clarify or elaborate, rather than change, the provisions of a treaty" (US Congressional 5). Declarations are "statement[s] of purpose, policy, or position related to matters raised by the treaty in question but not altering or limiting any of its provisions" (US Congressional 5). These RUDs included the position that the US is not obligated to "regulate private conduct except as mandated by the Constitution and US law," and, under federal or state law, the US cannot guarantee paid maternity leave as recommended in the convention (US Congressional 5). Also, these proposals maintained that no new laws could be enacted as a result of CEDAW ratification, and that the US "may decide the nature of the health and family planning services referred to in the Convention, and may determine whether they are 'necessary' and 'appropriate'" (US Congressional 6). In 1995 and 1997, US Congresswoman Carolyn Maloney presented House bills supporting CEDAW ratification, but these did not move forward in the US House of Representatives (Jacobson 2). Similarly, Senator Barbara Boxer urged the US Senate to hold

hearings on CEDAW in 1999 and 2000, yet these bills did not progress CEDAW towards ratification (Jacobson 2). Then, Senator Jesse Helms called on the Senate to reject CEDAW altogether in May 2000; this also did not go forward (Jacobson 2). The congressional session ended without further actions towards CEDAW ratification at that time (Heyman 198).

In the early-2000s, President George W. Bush's administration supported the global elimination of discrimination against women but had hesitations regarding the implementation of CEDAW in the US. These issues included the vagueness of the convention's text and the concern that the convention would conflict with US laws. Thus, the Bush administration urged the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to wait until a full review of the convention had been completed before voting on ratification (US Congressional 6). On July 30, 2002, the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations *did* vote twelve to seven in favor of ratification, but the US Senate *did not* hold a hearing on the convention at that time (Heyman 198; Koh 265).¹⁰ Then, in July 2007, Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee presented House Resolution 970 in support of CEDAW, but once again a pro-CEDAW bill did not get a majority vote (Jacobson 2). Finally, in 2007 the Bush administration informed the US Senate that it did not currently support US Senate actions on CEDAW because of its previously stated hesitations (US Congressional 6).

President Barack Obama expressed his strong support for CEDAW ratification in May 2009 (US Congressional 4). Additionally, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton announced in May 2010 that the Obama administration would continue striving for CEDAW ratification (US Congressional 4). With the 2016 US presidential election, CEDAW ratification might continue to be a contested topic in the US House of Representatives and US Senate under the new presidential administration.

Popular Positions against CEDAW Ratification in the US

Since President Carter signed in support of CEDAW in 1980, opposition to CEDAW ratification in the United States has often relied on the largely unsubstantiated arguments that ratification will 1) diminish US sovereignty, 2) undermine the American family, and 3) promote abortions. Opposition groups and individuals in the United States claim the convention will supersede US federal and state laws, thus allowing the international community to have excessive control over US domestic issues (US Congressional 8). However, the nature and provisions of the convention make clear that this is not the case. First, unlike an international law, CEDAW is a legally non-binding international resolution that generally acts as States Parties' expression of agreement to the principle of eliminating all forms of discrimination against women. The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women "relies primarily on individual countries to fulfill their obligations under the Convention and that it has no established rules for enforcing its recommendations or addressing treaty non-compliance" (US Congressional 8). Therefore, CEDAW ratification would not significantly "burden" the United States' legal and governmental systems with mandates from the international community given that there are no legal methods of enforcement. Second, existing US laws regarding the illegality of discrimination based on gender, such as the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, are largely compatible with the intent and principles of CEDAW. This further demonstrates that the likelihood of excessive recommendations by and obligations to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women would be minimal. Third, since CEDAW is an international agreement, the United States has the right to express its reservations, understandings, and declarations (RUDs). These provisions are in place so that States Parties may address any conflicts between the convention

and existing national laws and customs. Regardless, CEDAW primarily calls on States Parties to take “appropriate measures” in addressing women’s rights issues, and this grants agency to States Parties when determining what is “appropriate” for their countries in relation to new anti-discrimination practices, policies, and laws (Koh 272-74).

Proponents of CEDAW ratification believe the argument that CEDAW violates US sovereignty may be tied to the popular belief in American exceptionalism. For instance, Heyman posits this resistance to implement CEDAW in the US is a “modern manifestation of the view that the laws of the United States are somehow not only better than everywhere else, but that the United States is exempt from laws that govern others in the international community” (Heyman 203). He maintains that the United States’ resistance to allowing the international community (in this case the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women) to enter the nation for the purpose of analyzing gender discrimination is acceptable for other countries, but the US need not subject itself to outsider evaluations. A prime example of this sentiment is the US’s fascination in collaborating with foreign governments and organizations to work towards securing women’s rights in Afghanistan while largely dismissing the continued gender inequalities within the US (Abu-Lughod 783; Heyman 198). In sum, arguments rooted in the notion that CEDAW ratification will supersede US federal and state laws are generally misleading and not firmly grounded in the provisions of the resolution.

Moreover, opponents to CEDAW ratification claim the convention is a calculated method of destabilizing the “traditional American family structure.” Like the concerns for US sovereignty, these allegations are generally unfounded. In all, the provisions outlined in CEDAW do not aim to “regulate any constitutionally protected interests with respect to family life” (Koh

272). The majority of these arguments stem from the language in Article 5 in the convention, where it calls on States Parties:

- a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;
- b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases. (The United Nations art. 5)

Those critical of CEDAW ratification often interpret this article to mean the resolution will force “governments, families, and individuals to adhere to a predetermined or artificial set of values, regardless of whether they align with national law, family traditions, or personal convictions” (US Congressional 12). As mentioned, the convention allows States Parties to take “appropriate measures” on these issues, thus giving national governments the ability to regulate the implementation and enforcement of new anti-discrimination policies so as to ensure they are in line with existing domestic laws and cultural values (United States Congressional 12).

Additionally, arguments related to the belief that CEDAW ratification will destabilize the traditional American family are also often tied to Article 16(d) of the resolution, which states women and men have:

(d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount. (The United Nations art. 16)

Again, some in opposition to CEDAW ratification hold that the language in this article will permit the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women to impose their “outsider” viewpoints on how children in the US should best be treated, thus undermining well-established US customs and practices regarding family life and parental rights and responsibilities (US Congressional 13). Once more, these claims are unfounded given that CEDAW primarily supports equal parental rights in responsibilities by generally calling for the “common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children” (United Nations Article 5). At the least, the United States Constitution protects individuals from government interference in private matters, including parenting; therefore, the fear that CEDAW ratification will permit the committee to interfere with parental rights and responsibilities that are already protected by the US Constitution is unsubstantiated (US Congressional 13).

A third popular argument against CEDAW ratification in the United States relates to the notion that CEDAW is pro-abortion, yet the convention does not once mention the term “abortion.” This leads to the assumption that CEDAW is in fact “abortion neutral,” a sentiment President Clinton agreed with in 1994 (US Congressional 14). The “pro-abortion” issue primarily arises from the language in Article 12 of the convention; it states:

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning. (The United Nations art. 12)

Proponents of ratification understand this article to mean the convention is neutral on abortion, and this permits States Parties to set policies in this area to ensure equal access for women and men to health care and family planning services as a way to encourage the reduction in the number of abortions (Koh 272). Once more, as an international agreement, CEDAW does not have the authority to supersede US federal and state abortion laws. Nonetheless, in the July 30, 2002 meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding CEDAW, Senator Jesse Helms succeeded in adding an understanding to the Convention stating it could not be used as a tool to promote abortion for family planning (US Congressional 16). Regardless, abortion was legalized in the United States in 1973, so CEDAW ratification may not drastically impact the United States' position on this issue. Admittedly, there are still countless barriers to safe, quick, and affordable access to abortion in most areas of the US, and political conservative coalitions have worked steadily toward a goal of making abortion illegal.

In sum, arguments that CEDAW ratification will diminish US sovereignty, undermine the traditional structure and rights of the American family, and promote abortions continue to be barriers towards implementation in the US. Proponents of ratification maintain that this opposition to the convention is largely due to the lack of understanding about how an international agreement actually impacts US sovereignty, misinterpretations of the text's purpose and intent, and repeated attempts to limit women's reproductive and sexual rights. Therefore, the United Nations Association of Tampa Bay seeks to raise awareness on the local level about these misunderstandings in order to garner local support for CEDAW and eventually national implementation.

III. The United Nations Association-Tampa Bay

Organizational Structure

Throughout my internship, the United Nations Association of Tampa Bay (UNA-TB) chapter consisted of fifteen members on the Board of Directors, one advisor, and thirteen interns.¹¹ The majority of those on the Board of Directors were educators, business professionals, lawyers, and/or political analysts in the Tampa Bay area. In addition to me, interns were primarily undergraduate students studying international relations or mass communication at the University of South Florida or the University of Tampa. The UNA-TB meets once a month, typically the first Monday of each month, at 6:30pm. Because the UNA-TB does not have a designated office space, meetings alternate between locations in Tampa and St. Petersburg to provide fair access to members on both sides of Tampa Bay. These monthly meetings are conducted parliamentary style and adhere to a set agenda so as to provide ample time for each director, or designated intern for that committee, to report on committee accomplishments and goals. Since board meetings were held infrequently and my internship spanned only several months, my supervisor and I communicated mostly via e-mail and phone calls every few weeks to “check-in” with one another.

The United Nations Association of Tampa Bay is a regional chapter of The United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA). The UNA-USA has its roots in The American Association of the United Nations (AAUN) (“About Us”). Clark M. Eichelberge, a prominent non-governmental, internationalist leader in the United States between the 1920s and the 1960s, established the AAUN towards the conclusion of World War II (Johnstone 1). This organization brought together like-minded private American citizens who sought to influence the United States’ foreign policy, promote internationalism among American

citizens, and urge the United States to join the United Nations so that it would become a leader in world affairs in the post-World War II era (Johnstone 1-5). In 1964, the AAUN and the US Committee for the United Nations merged to create what is now known as The United Nations Association of the United States of America (“About Us”).

The present-day UNA-USA aims “to inform the American public of the principles and activities of the United Nations, to engage the public to support these principles, and to encourage the United States to take an active leadership role in the United Nations” (“Our Mission”). To achieve these goals, the UNA-USA Steering Committee of the Council of Chapters and Regions publishes its “Advocacy Agenda” every two years (“Advocacy Program”). This agenda provides a list of “Core Focus Areas,” which are areas of advocacy the committee deems important at that time. Presently, the UNA-USA’s “Core Focus Areas” are: 1) UN funding, 2) Human Rights, 3) International Treaties/Conventions, and 4) Sustainable Development Goals (“Advocacy Agenda”). The 155 regional chapters of the UNA-USA are encouraged to select several initiatives from the Advocacy Agenda that they wish to pursue at the local level (“Advocacy Agenda”).

Presently, the UNA-TB chapter is concentrating on the following advocacy areas as outlined within the UNA-USA Advocacy Agenda: 1) public education programs, 2) sustainability, and 3) CEDAW ratification. The UNA-TB strives to implement the goals of the United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA) in the Tampa Bay area through “education, empowerment, and advocacy” (“Our Mission”). The education director of the UNA-TB supervises the public education programs, consisting of The Model United Nations, the Model Arab League, and the Human Rights Lecture Series. The Model United Nations provides opportunities for middle and high school students in Hillsborough, Pinellas, and Pasco

counties to gain political, cultural, debate, and research skills through a yearly mock-United Nations conference (“Model United Nations”). The Model Arab League (MAL) is similar in structure and purpose as The Model United Nations, but MAL focuses specifically on Arab nations, politics, and history (“Model Arab League”). Moreover, the UNA-TB’s Human Rights Lecture Series, which began in the fall of 2016, is a public monthly lecture and/or panel discussion focusing on group rights. For example, lecture topics include(d) 1) “Women’s Rights as Human Rights: Where Are We in 2016?” 2) “Local and Global Perspectives on LGBTQ+ Issues,” 3) “Human Rights and Children’s Rights,” 4) “Human Rights and Migrants’ Rights,” and 5) “Refugees and Human Rights” (“Human Rights Series”).

In addition to these public education programs, the UNA-TB chapter focuses on sustainability efforts. The UNA-TB’s Program Director and Committee is responsible for raising awareness in the Tampa Bay area about issues related to sustainability, such as affordable and clean energy, sustainable cities and communities, responsible consumption and production, climate action, and “life below water” (“Sustainability”). Methods of raising awareness about sustainability in the Tampa Bay area have included educational events at local elementary schools and distributing “sustainability car decals” at the UNA-TB events. Also, the UNA-TB planned a 2016 year-end fundraiser “showcasing the art exhibition of renowned nature photographers local to Florida” (“Sustainability”). The third area of the UNA-TB’s advocacy efforts is the US ratification of The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women through the framework of “Cities for CEDAW.”

The UNA-TB and Cities for CEDAW

In August 2015, the UNA-TB adopted the “Cities for CEDAW” campaign’s plan-of-action as a means of addressing women’s rights issues in the Tampa Bay area. “Cities for

CEDAW” is a US grassroots movement that simultaneously engages CEDAW’s framework as a means of addressing women’s rights and gender equality issues on the local level while continuing to raise awareness about the need for US Senate ratification (“Cities for CEDAW”). This movement began in 2013 when the NGO Committee on the Status of Women developed the campaign and subsequently linked with The Women’s Intercultural Network and The San Francisco Department on the Status of Women (“Cities for CEDAW”). Its slogan “Make the Global Local” captures the organization’s mission, which is to “protect the rights of women and girls by passing legislation establishing the principles of CEDAW in cities and towns across the United States” (“Cities for CEDAW”). By laying out a clear step-by-step guide, Cities for CEDAW enables local non-governmental organizations and individuals to take an active role in securing women’s rights in their cities, counties, and/or states through the pursuit of local anti-discrimination city resolutions or city ordinances (“Cities for CEDAW”). To clarify, a city resolution is a non-binding expression of opinion or stance of a particular government administration, whereas a city ordinance is a permanent and enforceable local law that is implemented through official legislative action (*Florida Municipal 72*).

There are three major requirements for the successful implementation of local CEDAW resolutions and/or ordinances: 1) a gender analysis of city operations, 2) the establishment of a committee to monitor the implementation of anti-discrimination ordinances, and 3) securing funding to support the continuation of CEDAW principles (“Cities for CEDAW”). First, a “gender analysis,” similar to a State Party CEDAW report as previously mentioned, provides the tools for investigating the “cultural, economic, social, and political relations between women and men” in a given city so as to identify gender discrimination and offer solutions for redressing gender inequalities (*Human Rights in Action 3*). This information is then used to assess city

operations such as city services, health services, public education, childcare facilities, the work force, and the city budget (Zeitlin et al. 6). The ultimate goal of a “gender analysis” is to “integrate gender considerations into the daily operations of local agencies so that citizens have equitable access to services, and employees are ensured fairness in the workplace, regardless of gender” (*Human Rights in Action* 3). It is important to note that demographic characteristics that are inextricably linked to gender—i.e. nationality, race, immigration status, ability, age, religion, and sexual orientation—are also evaluated in the gender analysis (*Implementing CEDAW*).

Second, the successful implementation of local CEDAW resolutions and/or ordinances includes the establishment of a local committee, or “oversight body,” comprised of local government and community leaders (*Implementing CEDAW*). This committee is generally responsible for the continuation of “gender analyses” and ensuring the enforcement of local anti-discrimination laws. In other words, the committees make sure local policies, practices, allocations of resources, and actions do not discriminate against women and girls (*Human Rights in Action* 2). The third aspect of successfully implementing local CEDAW resolutions and/or ordinances is to secure funding for both the committee and the city to carry out full implementation and enforcement of gender equality policies and practices. For instance, it is estimated that between \$0.10 and \$0.25 is needed per woman resident for municipalities to achieve this goal (*Implementing CEDAW*).

As previously stated, the Cities for CEDAW campaign provides a three-step plan-of-action for local non-governmental organizations and individuals to follow when seeking to implement local anti-discrimination resolutions and/or ordinances. In Phase One, the primary objective is to

advocate for support of CEDAW at a local level through educational programs, networking with like-minded organizations, and the establishment of a coalition to underlie all three phases; enhance political pressure at both a local and national level through the pursuit of letters of support by local mayors. (“Phases”)

Currently, the UNA-TB is in Phase One of this plan and has already accomplished several goals within the past year. For instance, the UNA-TB’s Advocacy Committee has hosted CEDAW educational presentations for local organizations that support women’s rights, such as the General Federation of Woman’s Clubs (GWFC), Woman’s Club of Tarpon Springs, and the United Nations Student Alliances at both the University of South Florida and the University of Tampa. The purpose of these educational presentations is to raise awareness about the need for CEDAW ratification in the US, outline the benefits of adopting local anti-discrimination ordinances, and build a coalition among Tampa Bay organizations in the pursuit of gender equality (“Phases”).

Additionally, making connections with local mayors is a vital aspect of Phase One. The UNA-TB’s Advocacy Committee strives to provide in-depth information about CEDAW for mayors who may be unfamiliar with the resolution, and the committee seeks to ensure every mayor understands the significance and positive effects that CEDAW ratification will have in her or his community. For the UNA-TB, this means connecting with the mayors of Tampa, St. Petersburg, Clearwater, Indian Rocks Beach, Tarpon Springs, and Temple Terrace. Mayoral letters of support function simultaneously to publicize mayors’ positions on women’s rights while urging their United States congressional representative to call CEDAW to the US Senate floor for a full vote for ratification. The mayors with whom the UNA-TB spoke with are under the jurisdiction of the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th United States Congressional Districts of

Florida.¹² All together, these districts cover most of the mid-Gulf Coast of Florida (Directory of Representatives).

Phase Two of the “Cities for CEDAW” initiative calls for local and/or regional non-governmental organizations to meet with “local City Councils to pursue the passing of the resolution in support of CEDAW” (“Phases”). The UNA-TB Advocacy Committee has already met with the city councils of Tampa, St. Petersburg, Clearwater, Indian Rocks Beach, Tarpon Springs, and Temple Terrace. The UNA-TB Advocacy Director has played a vital role in facilitating the Tampa City Council and the St. Petersburg City Council in implementing CEDAW resolutions in December 2015 (*Human Rights in Action* 1-2).

In the final phase of the Cities for CEDAW action plan, groups and individuals urge local elected officials to “pursue the enactment of City Ordinances that are consistent with the principles put forth in CEDAW to ensure greater gender equality is brought to our local communities” (“Phases”). In other words, local non-governmental organizations “advocate, communicate, and explain” the principles of CEDAW to city officials so that local legislators create and implement community-specific anti-discrimination city ordinances (“Phases”).

In its short time as a national campaign, Cities for CEDAW has succeeded in implementing local CEDAW ordinances in the following areas:

- Berkeley, California
- Honolulu, Hawaii
- Los Angeles, California
- Miami-Dade County, Florida
- San Francisco, California (*Cities...Local Activities* 1).

It is important to note that while Cities for CEDAW did not formalize until 2013, San Francisco was the first city to adopt a CEDAW ordinance in 1998 (Lozner 276). Moreover, as of May 2016, the following cities and states have passed local CEDAW resolutions¹³:

- Cincinnati, Ohio
- Daly City, California
- Edina, Minnesota
- Eugene, Oregon
- Kansas City, Missouri
- Kentucky (passed by the Kentucky House of Representatives)
- Lafayette, Colorado
- Long Beach, California
- Louisville, Kentucky
- Minneapolis, Minnesota
- New Orleans, Louisiana
- Salt Lake City, Utah
- Santa Monica, California
- St. Paul, Minnesota
- St. Petersburg, Florida
- Tampa, Florida
- University City, Missouri
- West Hollywood, California (*Human Rights in Action* 1-2)

Since the UNA-TB chapter implemented the Cities for CEDAW initiative in August 2015, the UNA-TB Advocacy Committee has received letters of support and public recognition

from the Zonta Club of Pinellas, the St. Petersburg chapter of Business and Professional Women, Tampa Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), and former University of South Florida President Betty Castor (“Quick Facts”).¹⁴ As it can be seen, “local governments are in fact responding to the demands of their citizens, who have become impatient at the lack of federal action to implement these universal norms [protections against the discrimination of women] into American law (Koh 274). As a CEDAW advocate and policy researcher with the UNA-TB, I participated in calling on local governments to respond to citizens’ demands for women’s rights protections.

IV. A Day in the Life: April to August

April

In order to review my internship contract with my supervisor and to familiarize myself with the organization, I attended my first UNA-TB meeting in early April. While my internship was not scheduled to begin until May, at that meeting I decided to get a head start in my new role as a CEDAW advocate and policy researcher by volunteering with the UNA-TB at the annual St. Petersburg Take Back the Night event in late April. This interactive event creates awareness and educates the community about sexual violence and aims to empower survivors of sexual violence. My duties at this event included handing out pamphlets about the UNA-TB and CEDAW as well as asking attendees to sign the online petition for United States Senate CEDAW ratification. Throughout the event, I spoke with approximately thirty attendees; of those, seven signed the online petition via their smart phones while speaking with me. Surprisingly, very few people knew about CEDAW. For instance, only one person had prior knowledge of the resolution. For the most part, those I interacted with at the event were highly interested in seeing CEDAW implemented on both a local and national level and agreed to share this information

with their family and friends. The evident lack of public awareness about CEDAW, combined with the overwhelming consensus that this resolution is needed to eliminate gender inequalities in Tampa Bay and the US, demonstrated to me that the UNA-TB's advocacy efforts play a central role in the pursuit of gender equality in the community.

May

On the Monday after the annual Take Back the Night event, I attended my second UNA-TB meeting. There, I had the opportunity to give a report on the event on behalf of the Advocacy Committee, which at that time primarily consisted of the advocacy director and me, because the advocacy director was unable to attend. Soon after that meeting, I received my first assignment from my supervisor. She requested a list stating the US representatives' of Florida (i.e. the US Senators and US Congresspersons of Florida) positions on CEDAW. To begin this task, I searched each Florida legislator's official website and public voting record for her or his position on CEDAW ratification. In particular, I looked for the representatives who had cosponsored House Resolution 19 and/or House Resolution 145.^{15, 16} A House Resolution is also known as a House Bill, which is a legislative proposal brought before either the US House of Representatives or the US Senate. House Resolution 19, brought before the 113th Congress by Representative Carolyn Maloney (D-NY-12) on January 4, 2013, put forth the US House of Representatives' position that the US Senate should ratify CEDAW. House Resolution 145, brought before the 114th Congress by Representative Carolyn Maloney (D-NY-12) on March 4, 2015, also urged the US Senate to bring CEDAW to the floor for a full vote towards ratification.

Of the two US Senators from Florida, Senator Bill Nelson and Senator Marco Rubio, and the twenty-seven legislators representing Florida in the US House of Representatives, this initial attempt resulted in finding only four legislators' stances:

1. US Congresswoman Corrine Brown (D-FL-5) cosponsored House Resolution 19 on January 4, 2013, and House Resolution 145 on May 12, 2015.
2. US Congressman Theodore Deutch (D-FL-21) cosponsored House Resolution 19 on February 26, 2013, and House Resolution 145 on October 22, 2015.
3. US Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D-FL-23) cosponsored House Resolution 19 on January 4, 2013, and House Resolution 145 on October 22, 2015.
4. US Congresswoman Ileana Ross-Lehtinen (R-FL-27) signed a letter to President George H.W. Bush in 1990 urging the administration to make CEDAW a priority. However, she has not cosponsored legislation regarding CEDAW ratification.

Since I was unable to locate the CEDAW positions for the remaining Florida federal congressional representatives online, I turned to electronically messaging each of these legislators. This soon became a tedious task. I had to fill out an online inquiry submission individually on each legislator's website, rather than being able to contact them directly. Frustratingly, after completing the required information on the websites, several legislators informed me via an immediate pop-up notice that they were unable to provide a written response because the UNA-TB and I did not work or live within their congressional district.

Therefore, the following day I attempted to contact each Florida federal congressional representative by calling her or his office in Washington DC. Close to half of these phone calls resulted in me leaving a voicemail on the main line or being connected to a legal aide's voice inbox; the other half of these phone calls concluded with me being informed by the assistant that my "concern would be addressed by the representative in a timely manner." I also reached out to the legal aides of Congresswoman Brown, Congressman Deutch, and Congresswoman Wasserman Schultz with the hopes of obtaining an official statement of their support for

CEDAW ratification. At that time, I began assembling a spreadsheet to document the results of contacting the representatives and my progress on this assignment, and I contributed to this document throughout my internship.

My second internship task involved arranging meetings with several Tampa Bay area mayors. This included Mayor Bob Buckhorn (D) of Tampa in Hillsborough County, Mayor Rick Kriseman (D) of St. Petersburg in Pinellas County, and Mayor George Cretekos (R) of Clearwater in Pinellas County. At these meetings, my supervisor intended to discuss the UNA-TB's CEDAW advocacy efforts as well as request mayoral letters of support for CEDAW. Unfortunately, at that time, areas of Hillsborough and Pinellas counties experienced severe flooding due to heavy rain, and each mayor's assistant advised me to reach out at a later date to arrange the meeting.

Towards the end of May, I again attempted to contact the US representatives of Florida at their Washington DC offices to obtain their positions on CEDAW. This second round of calling led to mixed results:

- The offices of eleven representatives informed me that I would be receiving a written response from the congresswoman or congressman within "one to two weeks." This included Congressman Jeff Miller (R-FL-1), Congresswoman Gwen Graham (D-FL-2), Congressman Ander Crenshaw (R-FL-4), Congressman John Mica (R-FL-7), Congressman Danial Webster (R-FL-10), Congresswoman Kathy Castor (D-FL-14), Congressman Dennis Ross (R-FL-15), Congressman Patrick Murphy (D-FI-18), Congressman Curtis Clawson (R-FL-19), Congressman Carlos Curbelo (R-FL-26), and Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL-27). I found this response to be frustrating;

the majority of the representatives' websites stated that a response would be available within three weeks after initial contact, and that timeframe had already passed.

- The office of Congressman Alcee Hastings (D-FL-20) enlightened me that the congressman had “like three hundred messages” ahead of my request and would respond in turn; the office of Congressman Alan Grayson (D-FL-9) and the office of Congressman Mario Diaz-Balart (R-FL-25) responded similarly.
- The offices of Congressman Richard Nugent (R-FL-11) and Congressman Theodore Deutch (D-FL-21) both informed me that the congressmen did not answer any inquiries made by individuals and organizations outside their congressional district.
- The office of Congressman Thomas Rooney (R-FL-17) replied that the congressman did not have an official stance on CEDAW and that I should not expect the congressman to have a position until after the US presidential election in November; I was unable to get an explanation for this timeline.
- The offices of Congressman Ron DeSantis (R-FL-6) and of Congresswoman Cathy Castor (D-FL-14) both simply verified my original message was received.
- The offices of Senator Bill Nelson (D-FL), Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL), Congresswoman Corrine Brown (D-FL-5), Congressman Bill Posey (R-FL-8), and Congressman Vern Buchanan (R-FL-16) all directed me to leave another voicemail.
- The office of Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Shultz requested that I submit a hard copy of my inquiry to her Florida office.
- The offices of Congressman Gus Bilirakis (R-FL-12), Congresswoman Lois Frankel (D-FL-22), and Congresswoman Frederica Wilson (D-FL-24) each provided the direct email address to the representatives' “special assistants” and directed me to contact them.

- I was unable to reach anyone at the office of Congressman Ted Yoho (R-FL-3) or Congressman David Jolly (R-FL-13), and their voicemail inboxes were full.

Overall, my efforts to contact the legislators demonstrated to me that US congressional representatives are not as accessible as I previously thought.

June

In June, my supervisor requested that I assemble a list detailing the US Congressional and US House committees on which each US representative of Florida served. The purpose of this assignment related to her, and several other UNA-TB board members', upcoming trip to the annual United Nations Leadership Summit held in Washington DC between June 12 and 14, 2016. At this event, representatives from the UNA-USA's regional chapters (such as the UNA-TB) meet to discuss their chapters' advocacy efforts with one another. Moreover, the summit provides the opportunity for the UNA-USA's regional chapters' ambassador(s) to meet with the elected official(s) and/or their legal aide(s) who represent their regional congressional districts. For the UNA-TB, this meant potentially meeting with representatives from the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th United States Congressional Districts of Florida.

More importantly, my supervisor requested a list of sub/committees related to the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee. As mentioned, the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee has kept CEDAW in ratification purgatory since 1980. This assignment proved much easier than my previous attempt to locate the CEDAW positions of the US representatives of Florida. Almost all of the representatives' websites provided a list of sub/committees on which they served, and those that did not have them posted could be found in the United States House of Representatives online directory. The most significant finding was that Senator Marco Rubio served as 1) the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere, Transnational Crime,

Civilian Security, Democracy, Human Rights, and Global Women's Issues; 2) a member of the Subcommittee on Near East, South Asia, Central Asia, and Counterterrorism; 3) a member of Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health Policy; and 4) a member of Subcommittee on East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity Policy.

Another assignment related to the advocacy director's United Nations Leadership Summit preparation involved contacting other UNA-USA regional chapters in Florida. The purpose of this task was to pre-network with their members who would be attending the conference. Presently, there are twelve UNA-USA regional chapters in Florida (UNA-TB excluded), in the following areas: Brevard County, Broward County, Cooper City, Gainesville, Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, Sarasota-Manatee County, Southeast Florida, the University of Central Florida campus, Volusia County, and Palm Beach. Of these Florida chapters, I connected with three chapter presidents through the information provided on their websites. The remaining chapters did not have a website, did not provide an email address or phone number on their website, or did not respond to my emails and phone calls.

Also in June, I attended my third UNA-TB meeting where my supervisor and the chapter president praised my work by stating the research I completed would be an asset to their mission at the upcoming summit. After the summit concluded, my supervisor emailed me to say that one of the legislators' legal aides had given me a "shout out" by stating that I was "very diligent about my work."

July

Due to the time-consuming UNA-USA Summit in conjunction with the Independence Day holiday, my supervisor did not assign any new tasks in the beginning of July. Therefore, I

continued to work towards obtaining the CEDAW positions of the US representatives from Florida. At the UNA-TB Board meeting in July, I reported my progress on this endeavor:

- A response from US Senator Bill Nelson stating his support for CEDAW ratification.
- A response from Congressman Curt Clawson stating that, as a House Committee on Foreign Affairs member, he will keep my “thoughts on CEDAW in mind.”
- A response from Congressman Alan Grayson stating that he “appreciated my thoughts and ideas.” Unfortunately, his response was not specific to CEDAW ratification.
- A response from Congressman David Jolly stating that, due to congressional rules, he could not contact me prior to November 9 unless I requested a response (which I had) or signed up for his e-newsletter.
- A response from Congressman Bill Posey stating that he appreciated my “support and kind words” and would keep my “views in mind should any relevant legislation come before (him) for consideration.” Unfortunately, his response was not directly related to CEDAW.
- A response from Congressman Dennis Ross stating that he is “opposed to discrimination in any form and (is) grateful for the contributions women make in all aspects of society.” Unfortunately, his response was not specific to CEDAW.
- A response from Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Shultz thanking me for contacting her and sharing my views. Unfortunately, her response was not directly related to CEDAW.

With the lack of responses from the legislators, my supervisor then requested that I assemble a list of contact information for these US representatives’ chiefs of staff (focusing on the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th Congressional districts) and their local office information. The purpose of this

task was to attempt to open communications with the congresspersons' local offices since contacting them through their Washington DC offices was proving to be difficult.

Shifting focus away from the US congressional representatives of Florida, I tried once more to set up meetings with the local mayors in the Tampa Bay area. This time, I succeeded in scheduling meetings with Mayor George Cretekos (R) of Clearwater and Mayor Rick Kriseman (D) of St. Petersburg for mid-July. Mayor Bob Buckhorn of Tampa was unavailable for public meetings until September. My supervisor, the vice president of the UNA-TB, and I planned to attend these meetings together. Unfortunately, when I called a few days prior to our meeting with Mayor Cretekos to confirm our appointment, I was informed that there had been a scheduling error and the mayor was no longer available to meet with us at that time. However, the meeting was rescheduled for a date later in July.

In the meantime, our UNA-TB group (my supervisor, the vice president of the UNA-TB, and I) met with Mayor Kriseman of St. Petersburg. During our thirty-minute time slot, Mayor Kriseman energetically brainstormed with our group for ways in which the UNA-TB could advance CEDAW in the US Senate while pursuing CEDAW initiatives in other areas of Tampa Bay. The following week, our UNA-TB group met with Mayor Cretekos of Clearwater. Prior to this meeting, my supervisor informed me that I should be prepared to explain to the mayor what CEDAW entails if he was unaware. So I began this meeting by stating the US is in the company of Palau, Tonga, Iran, Sudan, Somalia, and the Holy See for having not yet ratified CEDAW. Admittedly, this was a "shaming strategy" that Mayor Kriseman offered as a tactic to use with politicians regarding CEDAW. However, Mayor Cretekos did not appreciate this approach and began explaining why he was hesitant to support our request to push the US Senate to ratify CEDAW: 1) It would appear as if his local government was criticizing the US Senate, and he felt

that was inappropriate; 2) Clearwater already had non-discrimination policies in place; 3) He did not feel the need to make a public declaration in support of CEDAW when, according to him, the principles of CEDAW were essentially already in effect in Clearwater; and 4) He did not want to lean one way or another on CEDAW ratification until the US presidential election concluded.

While the mayor did not elaborate on this last point, I speculate that his position as a Republican mayor in Florida while Senator Marco Rubio campaigned for the US presidency played a factor in his reasoning. For the remainder of the meeting, my supervisor seamlessly addressed each of the mayor's questions about CEDAW and smartly steered the mayor into agreeing to review CEDAW for suggestions. Personally, these meetings with the mayors were the highlight of my internship experience because they provided a glimpse into the local political system as well as first-hand experience on how local politicians interact with non-governmental organizations and social change advocates.

August

I spent the last week of my internship following up with the legal aides whom my supervisor had met at the summit. This included verifying they had received her email containing information about CEDAW and the UNA-TB as well as answering questions they had about our initiative. Of the seven legal aides I contacted, only three responded to my emails and phone calls. Senator Nelson's aide informed me the senator "was in a quiet period during the summer Democrat and Republican primary conventions." The legal aide for Senator Rubio claimed the senator would not be moving forward on reviewing CEDAW until after the US presidential election. Congressman Ross's legal aide alleged she put CEDAW on the congressman's agenda for the following week, but at the time of writing I have still not received any updates from his office.

Overall, I calculate that during my internship I placed approximately 200 phone calls and sent around 300 emails as part of my CEDAW policy research and advocacy work. At the time of writing, I have still only received the seven aforementioned official replies from US Senator Bill Nelson, Congressmen Curt Clawson, Congressman Alan Grayson, Congressman David Jolly, Congressman Bill Posey, Congressman Dennis Ross, and Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Shultz. Unfortunately, of those seven replies, only two specifically addressed my inquiry regarding the representatives' position on CEDAW ratification.

Interning with the United Nations Association of Tampa Bay as a CEDAW advocate and policy researcher was a highlight of my graduate program. I gained experience relevant to Women's and Gender Studies within the field of advocacy and policy work, such as raising public awareness about women's rights issues and assisting in the implementation of a local, non-governmental organization's advocacy plan. My interactions with Tampa Bay area mayors and my research on elected officials' stances on CEDAW ratification prompted me to better understand the complexities and difficulties of pushing for positive social change and women's rights through the US government systems. Also, working with the advocacy director resulted in me gaining another role model who inspires me to actualize my feminist beliefs in campaigning for women's rights in the local community and the United States.

V. Critical Reflections

Privilege, Advocacy, and Policy Research

Throughout my internship, there were countless moments when I confronted the privileges granted to me due to my social identities and positionality while working towards CEDAW ratification. Social privileges are commonly known as unearned advantages by virtue of one's social identities, including gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, citizenship status,

class, religion, native language, and age. Oftentimes, these identities and their social implications become social norms, and those with privileges are not often forced to acknowledge how this social phenomenon provides countless advantages to them throughout life. As a white, heterosexual, able-bodied, cisgender woman with a college education and US citizenship by birth, I believe I did not experience any significant prejudices, discrimination, or social barriers in fulfilling my internship duties. Here, I will focus on the two main areas of my internship, contacting legislators and meeting with mayors, which demonstrate how my privileged social positionality enabled me to easily carry out my tasks as a CEDAW advocate and policy researcher with the UNA-TB.

First, my effort to contact elected officials to gather their stances on CEDAW ratification, albeit tedious, was not a particularly arduous task given my social privileges. For instance, as a middle-class American I had the means to afford both a personal cell phone and laptop with which to contact government representatives. This is significant because the UNA-TB is a volunteer-run non-profit group, and it does not have an official office that would have provided me access to a phone, internet service, or a copier, for example. Without my cell phone, I probably would have needed to rely on a public phone (if that even still readily exists) to make those approximately 200 phone calls to the legislators and be available for when they returned my calls. Access to a personal laptop enabled me to conduct research without relying on computers at public libraries or the University of South Florida library where computer use typically has time limits due to high demand and is unavailable when the libraries are closed. Also, I believe my class privilege facilitated my ease in speaking with government officials, expressing myself to others in a way they might perceive as amenable to assisting me, and knowing how to dress “appropriately” for professional business meetings.

Moreover, as a native-English speaker I did not encounter any difficulties when speaking with the legal aides or assistants in the representatives' office. All of the conversations I had with assistants and all of the emails I received from them were in English without any offer for selecting another language preference. After completing my internship, I called each office once more to ask if someone was available who spoke Spanish, Creole, or Arabic. Unfortunately, all of the offices informed me that there was either no one currently working in the office who spoke those languages, or they would need to call me back at a later time when someone became available. Knowing how difficult it was to connect with the legislators to begin with, I can only speculate how hard it would be for someone who is not proficient in English to connect with representatives when seeking information about legislators' positions on a matter or exercising the right to express one's opinion to a legislator. While these aspects of class and language privileges may seem frivolous to some, I hold that my social positionalities in these regards greatly benefited me in fulfilling my internship responsibilities as an advocate and policy researcher.

My racial privilege became apparent to me in the meetings with the mayors. All three of the mayors whom I contacted for meetings are white; the majority of US representatives of Florida are white as well ("Demographics"). This trend also reflects the demographics of the legislators in the United States House of Representatives. For example, in the US House of Representatives between 2013 and 2015, there were 301 white men, forty-two African Americans, twenty-eight Hispanics, and twelve Asians; of this group, eighty-one were women (Spurlock). These facts are significant because it is widely known that unconscious and conscious bias towards people of other races can lead to prejudicial practices, policies, and laws that disproportionately impact those of racial minority backgrounds. As a white woman, my race

afforded me the privilege of speaking with local government officials who shared the same racial background as me and perhaps eliminated any racial bias or prejudice they might have held in relation to my advocacy efforts. While this is obviously not an exhaustive evaluation of every way in which each of my social privileges played a beneficial role in my internship, this reflection is a minute representation of how my social identities and privileges facilitated the ease in which I attempted to contact legislators and communicate with local mayors.

CEDAW and Feminisms: Global and Transnational

Throughout my involvement with the UNA-TB as a CEDAW advocate and policy researcher, I struggled to reconcile my reservations about the ratification of the convention in the United States and its adoption on a global scale, but for very different reasons than the typical arguments put forth by staunch opponents of ratification. Foremost, I was hesitant to support this international resolution, even in the context of the US, because of the convention's foundation in global feminism. Global feminism typically operates under the assumption that there are commonalities among women's experiences of oppression worldwide and that the rights of *all* women can be realized by supporting international resolutions that seek to redress gender inequalities (Tong 244). Commonly, proponents of global feminism stress the importance of freedom and autonomy so that individual women have the capability to live a free, full, and productive life. Related to but distinguishable from global feminism, transnational feminism—informed by postcolonial feminisms, third world feminisms, and indigenous feminisms—criticizes global feminism as “narrowly Eurocentric in definition and scope” (Golombisky 405). Golombisky writes, “Transnational feminism critiques neoliberal endorsement of globalizing capitalism, free markets, and individual choice as the means for all people to achieve wealth, health, and happiness to the extent that failure to thrive is framed as

the fault of individuals, not systemic injustice or exploitation” (405). This critique is pertinent to global feminism since the primary values and goals of global feminism are (1) women’s right to freedom of choice, autonomy, and agency; and (2) the elimination of women’s oppression and inequality worldwide, such as “the denial of a general right [for women] to live one’s own life and control one’s own destiny,” violence against women, and women’s lack of reproductive justice (Tong 250).

To make the distinction between global feminism and transnational feminism more clear, I will engage Abu-Lughod’s 2013 article “Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others” as one example of a transnational feminist perspective on global women’s rights. While this article is about the United States’ involvement in and obsession with women’s rights in post-September 11 Afghanistan, Abu-Lughod’s framework provides the tools for deconstructing global feminist perspectives regarding women’s rights worldwide. In this article, Abu-Lughod questions “What are the ethics of the current ‘War on Terrorism,’ a war that justifies itself by purporting to liberate, or save, Afghan women?” (783). While Abu-Lughod asks this question specifically to challenge the West’s interest in Afghan women’s rights post-September 11, she essentially compels all global feminists to examine their presumptions that their Western frameworks and approaches to achieving women’s rights on a global scale are equally useful for and wanted by *every* woman, in *every* country, and in *every* historical period. By interrogating the foundations of these Western-centric conceptualizations of rights and freedom, Abu-Lughod necessitates a reconceptualization, historicization, and contextualization of these values. This reconceptualization thus begs the questions: Do all women strive for liberation? (and in the context of Abu-Lughod’s article) “Can we only free Afghan women to be like us [women in the

West] or might we have to recognize that even after ‘liberation’ from the Taliban, they might want different things than we would want for them?” (Abu-Lughod 787). In brief, Abu-Lughod posits that if global feminists acknowledge and appreciate the differences among women around the world by understanding how specific histories and borders shape(d) and create(d) divergent circumstances within which women express their lived reality, perhaps the elimination of global injustices through respectful transnational alliances could then be conceivable (787). Therefore, approaching women’s rights from a global feminist perspective, such as what CEDAW appears to do, may be problematic in that it may buttresses the presumption that women in the West have acquired *universally* desired women’s rights—access to formal education, equal opportunity employment, and free speech in a “secular” context.

While CEDAW does permit States Parties’ to take “appropriate measures” in addressing women’s inequalities so as to grant national governments the ability to implement and enforce anti-discrimination policies relevant to their nations, it is my concern that both States Parties’ governments and the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women may not be able to fully engage in building respectful alliances of women worldwide when advocating for women’s rights. This is largely related to the widespread failure of national governments, and some may argue the United Nations, to invite everyone to the table in order to evaluate international women’s rights measures to guarantee that they actually reflect the desires of women in their countries and communities. Specifically, indigenous peoples, “the subaltern,” and women and minorities, especially in the Global South, are generally excluded from governmental and decision-making roles.¹⁷ Moreover, I question the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women’s ability to engage in respectful transnational feminist alliances because the twenty-three gender experts on this committee may

not represent and/or understand all women's specific histories and circumstances when assessing States Parties' CEDAW reports and offering General Recommendations. Last, some may argue that the United Nations itself is a fully Westernized organization modeled on Western democratic ideals which, like global feminism, too often assumes the West knows best.

Nevertheless, by reflecting on my internship experience I solidified my position that CEDAW ratification is a significant and appropriate step—albeit still very problematic for the reasons mentioned—towards eliminating gender inequalities and securing women's rights in the United States. This is in part because of the United States' established national liberal policies and practices that are already in line with CEDAW principles and goals. Ratifying CEDAW would be a major step in eliminating gender inequalities in the United States provided that marginalized groups (e.g. Black women, indigenous women, Muslim women, Latina and Chicana women, rural women, poor women, and women with disabilities) are all invited to join this conversation.¹⁸

CEDAW and Discrimination against All Marginalized Gender and Sexual Identities

While understanding CEDAW is a product of the latter half of the 20th century, I was still critical of the convention's lack of definitions for the terms sex, gender, women, and men—an irony considering a main purpose of the text is to provide universal language to demystify what constitutes discrimination against “women.” To clarify, gender is commonly known as the socially constructed cultural norms and roles conferred on women and men that inform almost every aspect of society, such as who is stereotyped to be natural caregivers, a “breadwinner” of a family, suitable for domestic labor, or a natural leader. While this is popularly misunderstood as a binary, a categorization of exclusive opposites where all women are “supposed” to be feminine and all men are “supposed” to be masculine, gender also includes identities such as trans*,

agender, or gender non-conforming. Although “gender” and “sex” are often misused interchangeably, sex is typically understood as the biological differences among women (having a vagina) and men (having a penis), another false binary categorization. Like the gender-system dichotomy, this notion of a sex binary is untrue given that intersex represents individuals born with “‘atypical’ sex characteristics,” such as “specific chromosomal, hormonal, gonadal, genital, and/or internal or external morphogenic anomalies” (Rubin 51, 59).

In CEDAW’s Preamble (and within each Article) it can be seen that gender is inaccurately used interchangeably with sex when it states:

Noting that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the *equal rights of men and women*,

Noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, including *distinction based on sex*, (UN Women)[emphasis added].

By neglecting to include the definitions of these terms in the resolution, CEDAW seemingly reduces gender inequalities to those only between cisgender women and cisgender men.

Furthermore, by focusing on women in its attempt to address gender- and sex-based discrimination and inequalities, CEDAW fails to acknowledge and address the discrimination and inequalities that people who identify as trans*, agender, gender non-conforming, or intersex experience.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it is understandable that these terms are not clearly defined in the convention given the time, location, and context in which it was written as well as the

recognition that meanings and connotations of these terms are ever-changing over time and across diverse cultures.

Implemented in 2013, The United Nations Free and Equal Campaign may be seen as the UN advocacy initiative that engages the principles of CEDAW in the context of the 21st century. As a public education program, this campaign seeks to “raise awareness of sexual, gender and bodily diversity and promote equal rights and fair treatment for LGBT [lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans*] and intersex people everywhere” by engaging social media to dispel negative stereotypes of people who are LGBTI+ (*UN Free and Equal 2*).²⁰ While The United Nations Free and Equal Campaign may be seen as a positive step in ending gender- and sex-based discrimination worldwide by being more inclusive of marginalized gender, sex, and sexual orientation identities, some might argue that a social media campaign is trivializing given the complexity of other UN anti-discrimination conventions and initiatives, such as CEDAW.

VI. Conclusion

As a CEDAW advocate and policy researcher with the UNA-TB, my internship experience enabled me to put into practice the skills and knowledge I had acquired—including conducting extensive and quality research, speaking openly and critically about issues related to women’s rights and gender-based discrimination, and standing firm in my beliefs and passion for social, economic, and political equality for all people—in the Women’s and Gender Studies graduate program at the University of South Florida. From contacting US representatives for their positions on CEDAW ratification to meeting with mayors in the Tampa Bay area, this internship provided the opportunity to witness how difficult it can be to make connections with legislators and push for positive social change at the local and national level.

I am confident that advocates for women's and LGBT+ rights will continue to make meaningful impacts in the pursuit of eliminating sexual-orientation-, gender-, and sex-based discrimination and inequalities in the United States. Until more comprehensive anti-discrimination policies and practices are put into place, the "CEDAW Advocacy Action Plan" is a guide for the UNA-TB's Advocacy Committee to continue the push for local and national implementation of CEDAW. At my last UNA-TB meeting as part of my internship, my supervisor and I drafted sections of this action plan, and it has five major areas on which the UNA-TB will focus its CEDAW advocacy efforts in the near future. These areas are:

1) Awareness

- a) Create and implement a social media campaign using the hashtag "IStandWithCEDAW."
- b) Gather short videos of CEDAW supporters (e.g. mayors, council members, and community members) voicing their reason(s) for supporting CEDAW ratification.
- c) Post these videos with the "IStandWithCEDAW" hashtag on social media (i.e. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) with a link to the UNA-TB CEDAW ratification online petition.
- d) Implement a "CEDW Awareness Day" by calling on CEDAW supporters to wear a designated color shirt/ribbon for raising awareness about the initiative (similar to wearing orange on Gun Violence Awareness Day).

2) Mayoral Support for CEDAW Ratification and City Ordinances/Resolutions

- a) Schedule a meeting with Mayor Buckhorn of Tampa.
- b) Establish collaboration among local mayors for the "IStandWithCEDAW" social media campaign.

- c) Request the contact information of the United States Conference of Mayors President from Mayor Kriseman's legal aide.
- d) Revisit CEDAW with Mayor Cretokos when appropriate.
- e) Reach out to local mayors in Temple Terrace, Indian Rocks Beach, and Tarpon Springs to discuss writing letters of support.²¹

3) State-wide Actions

- a) Research the standings of other UNA-USA Florida regional chapters to see if they would make suitable partners for collaborating on CEDAW initiatives.
- b) Follow up with the UNA-USA Florida regional chapters' members from the UNA-USA Summit to discuss their support in the UNA-TB advocacy initiatives.

4) UNA-TB and CEDAW Public Service Announcement

- a) Design and place newspaper and radio ads providing information about CEDAW ratification.
- b) Create an informational/marketing video about the UNA-TB and CEDAW to show at the UNA-TB's meetings and events.

5) Coalition Building

- a) Connect with local, regional, and state women's- and human rights-focused organizations in the Tampa Bay area that share the UNA-TB's values for coalition building.

Finally, the UNA-TB continues to strive for CEDAW implementation in the Tampa Bay area through soliciting community members to sign its online petition titled "Bring Greater Gender Equality to the Tampa Bay Area through CEDAW." This petition:

Request(s) that the Mayors of the cities of Clearwater, Tampa, and St. Petersburg issue public endorsements of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Further, we ask that the Mayors ask their Florida Senators, the Honorable Bill Nelson and the Honorable Marco Rubio, to call for a CEDAW ratification vote by the full United States Senate. (*Bring Greater Gender Equality*)

At the time of writing, the UNA-TB was in need of approximately 150 signatures to fulfill its goal of 500 signatures on this petition. Therefore, I conclude my narrative by asking those who are able to log on to the United Nations Association of Tampa Bay website, click on the tabs labeled 1) "Advocacy," 2) "CEDAW," then 3) "Petition." This will direct you to sign the petition, which is also accessible at <https://www.change.org/p/the-mayors-of-clearwater-tampa-and-st-petersburg-and-their-city-councils-bring-greater-gender-equality-to-the-tampa-bay-area-through-cedaw>.

Notes

1. For a full list of current UN member-states, please see <http://www.un.org/en/member-states/index.html>. Also, while the United States does not officially recognize the sovereignty of The Republic of China (Taiwan), it is considered a member-state of the United Nations.
2. For a full list of nations which have ratified or acceded CEDAW, please see Appendix A.
3. For a full list of current and former Committee members (including the name of the member, their position, nationality, and term limit), please see <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/Membership.aspx>.
4. For access to the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commission's database that contains a comprehensive compilation of the periodic States Parties' CEDAW reports, please see http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/TBSearch.aspx?Lang=en&TreatyID=3&DocTypeID=29.
5. For the complete "Compilation of Guidelines on the Form and Content of Reports to be Submitted by States Parties to the International Human Rights Treaty," specifically the guidelines issued by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women for reports submitted after December 31, 2001, please see <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G03/417/51/PDF/G0341751.pdf?OpenElement>.
6. For a full list and access to the thirty General Recommendations documents set forth by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, please see <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/Recommendations.aspx>.
7. For the full Optional Protocol document, please see <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/OPCEDAW.aspx>.

8. For a list comprising the United States Senate of Foreign Relations Committee's and US House of Representatives' actions on CEDAW, please see <http://www.foreign.senate.gov/treaties/096-53>, US Congressional pg.24, and/or Jacobson 2.
9. For the original CEDAW document 096-93 introduced to the US Senate, please see http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/treaty_96-53.pdf
10. For the report detailing this hearing, please see Executive Report 107-69 at http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/executive_report_107-09.pdf.
11. For a full list of current board members, committee directors, and interns please see <http://unatampabay.org/board-of-directors/>.
12. For a full list of United States Congressional Representatives of Florida and the counties constituting each district, see Appendix B.
13. For a full list of cities, counties, and states that are “exploring” potential ordinances and resolutions, please visit http://citiesforcedaw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Landscape-Cities-for-CEDAW-Branded-for-Website_October-2016.pdf).
14. The Zonta Club of Pinellas is a non-governmental organization seeking to end domestic and sexual violence against women and girls, as well as all forms of human trafficking. For more information, please see <http://zontaclubpinellas.org/>.
15. For the full text of House Resolution 19, please see <https://www.congress.gov/bill/113th-congress/house-resolution/19/text>.
16. For the full text of House Resolution 145, please see <https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/house-resolution/145/text>.
17. For a more in depth conversation about who is typically left out of these conversations and the impact and implications this has on women's rights and lives worldwide, please see (a)

Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea edited by Rosalind C. Morris (2010); and (b) *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* by Jodi A. Byrd (2011).

18. This critique of CEDAW is limited and informed by my application of my graduate studies to my critical reflections of my internship experience. For more feminist critiques of international women's rights resolutions, please see (a) "Cultural Relativist and Feminist Critiques of International Human Rights--Friends of Foe?" by Oonagh Reitman; (b) *Knowledge, Ethics, and Power: Transnational Feminism in the United States* by Leela Fernandes; (c) "Feminism by Treaty: Why CEDAW is Still a Bad Idea" by Christina Hoff Sommers; (d) "African Feminism(s) and Women's Rights: An Igbo Critique of CEDAW's Conception of Equality" by Heather Swadley; (e) "The International Protection of Women's Human Rights: With Emphasis on UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women" by Bai Zhonghon; (f) "Feminist Interlegalities and Gender Justice in Sudan: The Debate on CEDAW and Islam" by Liv Tønnessen; and (g) "Feminist Constitutionalism: Global Perspectives" by Beverley Baines, Daphne Barak-Erez and Tsvi Kahana.
19. For information on the multiple ways that people who are intersex experience sex-based discrimination and harmful policies and practices, including but not limited to "corrective genital surgery," please see "Provincializing Intersex: US Intersex Activism, Human Rights, and Transnational Body Politics" by David Rubin (2015).
20. For an in-depth discussion on how intersex identities and intersex activism is understood through a transnational feminist perspective, which may be useful in informing UN resolutions that seek to end sex-based discriminatory policies and practices, please see

“Provincializing Intersex: US Intersex Activism, Human Rights, and Transnational Body Politics” by David Rubin (2015).

21. After the conclusion of my internship, the UNA-TB Advocacy Director and Committee succeeded in obtaining a proclamation in support of CEDAW by the City of Tarpon Springs in November 2016.

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Appendix A
Countries that have Ratified/Acceded CEDAW¹
(as of August 2016 in alphabetical order)

State	Signature Date	Ratification/Accession ² Date
Afghanistan	Aug, 14, 1980	Mar 5, 2003
Albania		May 11, 1994
Algeria		May 22, 1996
Andorra		Jan 15, 1997
Angola		Sep 17, 1996
Antigua and Barbuda		Aug 1, 1989

¹“Human Rights Bodies: CEDAW; Country Specific Information Reporting Status.” *The Treaty Body Database*. 2016. Web. 13 Oct. 2016.

<http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/SitePages/Home.aspx>

²“Accession” is defined as “the act whereby a state accepts the offer or the opportunity to become a party to a treaty already negotiated and signed by other states” (Glossary). A treaty adopted via accession has the same legal effect as a treaty adopted via ratification (Glossary). “Glossary.” *United Nations Treaty Collection*. The United Nations, 2016. Web. 21 Oct. 2016.

Argentina	Jul 17, 1980	Jul 28, 1983
Armenia		Sep 13, 1993
Australia	Jul 17, 1980	July 28, 1983
Austria	Aug 7, 1983	Mar 31, 1982
Azerbaijan		Jul 10, 1995
Bahamas		Oct 6, 1993
Bahrain		June 18, 2002
Bangladesh		Nov 6, 1984
Barbados	Jul 24, 1980	Oct 16, 1980
Belarus (as Byelorussian SSSR)	Jul 17, 1980	Feb 4, 1981
Belgium	Jun 17, 1980	Jul 10, 1985
Belize	Mar 7, 1990	May 16, 1990
Benin	Nov 11, 1981	Mar 12, 1992
Bhutan	Jul 17, 1980	Aug 21, 1981
Bolivia	May 30, 1980	Jun 8, 1990
Bosnia and Herzegovina (as Yugoslavia)		Sep 1, 1993

Botswana		Aug 13, 1996
Brazil	Mar 31, 1981	Feb 1, 1984
Brunei		May 24, 2006
Bulgaria	Jul 17, 1980	Feb 8, 1982
Burkina Faso		Oct 24, 1987
Burma		Jul 22, 1997
Burundi	July 17, 1980	Jan 8, 1992
Cambodia (as the People's Republic of Kampuchea)	Oct 17, 1980	Oct 15, 1992
Cameroon	Jun 6, 1983	Aug 23, 1994
Canada	Jul 17, 1980	Dec 10, 1981
Cape Verde		Dec 5, 1980
Central African Republic		Jun 21, 1991
Chad		Jun 9, 1995
Chile	Jul 17, 1980	Dec 7, 1989
China (extended to Hong	Jul 17, 1980	Nov 4, 1980

Kong and Macao)		
Colombia	Jul 17, 1980	Jan 19, 1982
Comoros		Oct 31, 1994
Congo	Jul 29, 1980	Jul 26, 1982
Cook Islands		Aug 11, 2006
Costa Rica	Jul 17, 1980	Apr 4, 1986
Croatia (as Yugoslavia)		Sep 9, 1992
Cuba	Mar 6, 1980	Jul 17, 1980
Cyprus		Jul 23, 1985
Czech Republic (as Czechoslovakia)		Feb 22, 1993
Democratic Republic of the Congo (as Zaire)	Jul 17, 1980	Oct 17, 1986
Denmark	Jul 17, 1980	Apr 21, 1983
Dominica	Sep 15, 1980	Sep 15, 1980
Dominican Republic	Jul 17, 1980	Sep 2, 1982
Ecuador	Jul 17, 1980	Nov 9, 1981
Egypt	Jul 16, 1980	Sep 18, 1981

El Salvador	Nov 14, 1980	Aug 19, 1981
Equatorial Guinea		Oct 23, 1984
Eritrea		Sep 5, 1995
Estonia		Oct 21, 1991
Ethiopia	Jul 8, 1980	Sep 10, 1981
F. S. Micronesia		Sep 1, 2004
Fiji		Aug 28, 1995
Finland	Jul 17, 1980	Sep 4, 1986
France	Jul 17, 1980	Dec 4, 1983
Gabon	Jul 17, 1980	Jan 21, 1983
Gambia	Jul 29, 1980	Apr 16, 1993
Georgia		Oct 26, 1994
Germany (as West and East Germany)	Jul 17, 1980	Jul 10, 1985
Ghana	Jul 17, 1980	Jan 2, 1986
Greece	Mar 2, 1982	Jun 7, 1983
Grenada	Jul 17, 1980	Aug 30, 1990

Guatemala	Jun 8, 1981	Aug 12, 1982
Guinea	Jul 17, 1980	Aug 9, 1982
Guinea-Bissau	Jul 17, 1980	Aug 23, 1995
Guyana	Jul 17, 1980	Jul 17, 1980
Haiti	Jul 17, 1980	Jul 20, 1981
Honduras	Jun 11, 1980	Mar 3, 1983
Hungary	Jun 6, 1980	Dec 22, 1980
Iceland	Jul 24, 1980	Jun 18, 1985
India	Jul 30, 1980	Sep 4, 1984
Indonesia	Jul 29, 1980	Sep 13, 1984
Iraq		Aug 13, 1986
Ireland		Dec 23, 1985
Israel	Jul 17, 1980	Oct 3, 1991
Italy	Jul 17, 1980	Jun 10, 1985
Ivory Coast	Jul 17, 1980	Dec 18, 1995
Jamaica	Jul 17, 1980	Oct 19, 1984

Japan	Jul 17, 1980	Jun 25, 1985
Jordan	Dec 3, 1980	Jul 1, 1992
Kazakhstan		Aug 26, 1998
Kenya		Mar 9, 1984
Kiribati		Mar 17, 2004
Kuwait		Sep 2, 1994
Kyrgyzstan		Feb 10, 1997
Laos	Jul 17, 1980	Aug 14, 1981
Latvia		Apr 14, 1992
Lebanon		Apr 16, 1997
Lesotho	Jul 17, 1980	Aug 22, 1995
Liberia		Jul 17, 1984
Libya		May 16, 1989
Lichtenstein		Dec 22, 1995
Lithuania		Jan 18, 1994
Luxembourg	Jul 17, 1980	Feb 2, 1989

Macedonia (as Yugoslavia)		Jan 18, 1994
Madagascar	Jul 17, 1980	Mar 17, 1989
Malawi		Mar 12, 1987
Malaysia		Jul 5, 1995
Maldives		Jul 1, 1993
Mali	Feb 5, 1985	Sep 10, 1985
Malta		Mar 8, 1991
Marshall Islands		Mar 2, 2006
Mauritania		May 10, 2001
Mauritius		Jul 9, 1984
Mexico	Jul 17, 1980	Mar 23, 1981
Moldova		Jul 1, 1994
Monaco		Mar 18, 2005
Mongolia	Jul 17, 1980	Jul 20, 1981
Montenegro (as Serbia and Montenegro)		Oct 23, 2006
Morocco		Jun21, 1993

Mozambique		Apr 21, 1997
Namibia		Nov 23, 1992
Nauru		Jun 23, 2011
Nepal	Feb 5, 1991	Apr 22, 1991
Netherlands	Jul 17, 1980	Jul 23, 1991
New Zealand (extended to Tokelau and Niue)	Jul 17, 1980	Jan 10, 1985
Nicaragua	Jul 17, 1980	Oct 27, 1981
Niger		Oct 8, 1999
Nigeria	Apr 23, 1984	Jun 13, 1985
North Korea		Feb 27, 2001
Norway	Jul 17, 1980	May 21, 1981
Oman		Feb 7, 2006
Pakistan		Mar 12, 1996
Palestine		Apr 2, 2014
Panama	Jun 26, 1980	Oct 29, 1981
Papua New Guinea		Jan 12, 1995

Paraguay		Apr 6, 1987
Peru	Jul 23, 1981	Sep 13, 1982
Philippines	Jul 15, 1980	Aug 5, 1981
Poland	May 29, 1980	Jul 30, 1980
Portugal	Apr 24, 1980	Jul 30, 1980
Qatar		Apr 29, 2009
Romania	Sep 4, 1980	Jan 7, 1982
Russia (as Soviet Union)	Jul 17, 1980	Jan 23, 1981
Rwanda	May 1, 1980	Mar 2, 1981
Saint Kitts and Nevis		Apr 35, 1985
Saint Lucia		Oct 8, 1982
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines		Aug 4, 1981
Samoa		Sep 25, 1992
San Marino	Sep 26, 2003	Dec 10, 2003
Sao Tome and Principe	Oct 31, 1995	Jun 3, 2003
Saudi Arabia	Sep 7, 2000	Sep 7, 2000

Senegal	Jul 29, 1980	Feb 5, 1985
Serbia		Mar 12, 2001
Seychelles		May 5, 1992
Sierra Leone	Sep 21, 1988	Nov 11, 1988
Singapore		Oct 5, 1995
Slovakia (as Czechoslovakia)		May 28, 1993
Slovenia (as Yugoslavia)		Jul 6, 1992
Solomon Islands		May 6, 2003
South Africa	Jan 29, 1983	Dec 15, 1995
South Korea	May 25, 1983	Dec 27, 1984
South Sudan		Apr 30, 2015
Spain	Jul 17, 1980	Jan 5, 1984
Sri Lanka	Jul 17, 1980	Oct 5, 1981
Suriname		Mar 1, 1993
Swaziland		Mar 26, 2004
Sweden	Mar 7, 1980	Jul 2, 1980

Switzerland	Jan 23, 1987	Mar 27, 1987
Syria		Mar 28, 2003
Tajikistan		Oct 26, 1993
Tanzania	Jul 17, 1980	Aug 20, 1985
Thailand		Aug 9, 1985
Timor-Leste		Apr 16, 2003
Togo		Sep 26, 1983
Trinidad and Tobago	Jun 27, 1985	Jan 12, 1990
Tunisia	Jul 24, 1980	Sep 20, 1985
Turkey		Dec 20, 1985
Turkmenistan		May 1, 1997
Tuvalu		Oct 6, 1999
Uganda	Jul 30, 1980	Jul 22, 1985
Ukraine (as Ukrainian USSR)	Jul 17, 1980	Mar 12, 1981
United Arab Emirates		Oct 6, 2004
United Kingdom (extended	Jul 22, 1981	Apr 7, 1986

to British Virgin Islands, Falkland Islands, Isle of Man, Turks and Caicos, and South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands		
Uruguay	Mar 30, 1981	Oct 9, 1981
Uzbekistan		Jul 19, 1995
Vanuatu		Sep 8, 1995
Venezuela	Jul 17, 1980	May 2, 1983
Vietnam	Jul 29, 1980	Feb 17, 1982
Yemen (as South Yemen)		May 30, 1984
Zambia	Jul 17, 1980	Jun 21, 1985
Zimbabwe		May 13, 1991

Appendix B
United States Congressional Representatives, Florida¹

	District	Congressional District Area by County
Bill Nelson	Florida Senator	
Marco Rubio	Florida Senator	
Jeff Miller	1st	Northwest: Escambia, Holmes, Santa Rosa, Okaloosa, and Walton
Gwen Graham	2nd	Northwest: Bay, Calhoun, Franklin, Gadsden, Gulf, Jackson, Jefferson, Leon, Liberty, Taylor, Wakulla, Washington, Holmes and Madison
Ted Yoho	3rd	North Central: Bradford, Columbia, Dixie, Gilchrist, Hamilton, Lafayette, Levy, Suwannee, Union, Alachua, Clay, Madison, and Marion
Ander Crenshaw	4th	Northeast: Baker, Nassau, Duval
Corrine Brown	5th	Northeast: Duval, Clay, Putnam, Alachua, Marion, Lake, Seminole, Orange
Ron DeSantis	6th	Northeast: St. Johns, Flagler, Putnam, Volusia
John Mica	7th	Central Atlantic Coast: Seminole, Orange, Volusia
Bill Posey	8th	Central Atlantic: Brevard, India River, Orange
Alan Grayson	9th	Central: Osceola, Orange, Polk

¹ “Directory of Representatives.” *United States House of Representatives*. US. House of Representative, 2016. Web. 16 Oct. 2016.

Daniel Webster	10th	Central: Orange, Lake, Polk
Richard Nugent	11th	Central Gulf Coast: Sumter, Citrus, Hernando, Marion
Gus Bilirakis	12th	Central Gulf Coast: Pasco, Pinellas, Hillsborough
David Jolly	13th	Central Gulf Coast: Pinellas
Kathy Castor	14th	Central Gulf Coast: Hillsborough, Manatee
Dennis Ross	15th	Central Gulf Coast: Hillsborough, Polk
Vern Buchanan	16th	Southwest: Manatee, Sarasota
Thomas Rooney	17th	Central: Hardee, Desoto, Highlands, Okeechobee, Glades, Charlotte, Polk, Manatee, Hillsborough, Lee
Patrick Murphy	18th	Southeast: St. Lucie, Martin, Palm Beach
Curtis "Curt" Clawson	19th	Southwest: Lee, Collier
Alcee Hastings	20th	Southeast: Henry, Palm Beach, Broward
Theodore Deutch	21st	Southeast: Palm Beach, Broward
Lois Frankel	22nd	Southeast: Palm Beach, Broward
Debbie Wasserman Schultz	23rd	Southeast: Broward, Miami-Dade
Frederica Wilson	24th	Southeast: St. Lucie, Martin, Palm Beach
Mario Diaz-Balart	25th	South: Collier, Miami-Dade, Hendry, Broward
Carlos Curbelo	26th	South: Monroe, Miami-Dade

Heana Ros- Lehtinen	27th	Southeast: Miami-Dade
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