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Human Security, Gender and Development

A Test-Case for Iceland's Assistance Policy

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to seek an understanding of women's human security in developing countries, and to ask whether the human security concept as such can live up to expectations as a practical guide to improving women's lot. Iceland's stance on aid provision and its promotion of gender issues is also examined, to see whether the country's efforts are being directed to the right targets and for maximum effect. The subject is approached by introducing a historical summary of the rise of 'human security' thinking followed by a theoretical discussion of the concept. This twofold introduction provides a clearer picture of the concept's utility and its limitations.

To see how different security threats may face women within developing countries, the seven categories of human security defined in the 1994 UNDP report are then used to give a non-exhaustive review of the problems. This approach is then narrowed down to focus on Uganda as a test case. The results show that there can be no human security without including the dimension of gender, as gender equality is a precondition for human security. The review also highlights that despite the concept's limits for framing practical policies, it does help in asking important questions.

Finally Iceland's international development efforts are shown to have increased considerably in recent years with many important steps taken to this end. In the same manner Iceland is shown to have increased its emphasis on issues of gender equality and women's security, despite still having much to learn in this and other aspects of aid. Many hopeful prospects are in sight for Iceland in future: as a donor, a partner, and in terms of mutual learning about the true inter-linkages of gender, security and development.

Útdráttur

Í þessari ritgerð er leitast við að varpa ljósi á öryggi kvenna í þróunarlöndum og svara þeirri spurningu hvort hugmyndin um mannöryggi geti uppfyllt væntingar um hentuga leið til að bæta stöðu kvenna. Einnig er litið til afstöðu Íslands í þróunarmálum og framlag þess í þágu kynjajafnréttismálefna og skoðað er hvort markmiðssetning sé rétt til að hámarka árangur. Viðfangsefnið er kynnt með sögulegri samantekt með hugmyndinni um mannöryggi, hvernig hún varð til og hvernig hún hefur þróast. Að þeim þætti loknum tekur við fræðileg umræða. Þessari tvískiptu umfjöllun er ætlað að gefa skýrari mynd af nytsemi og takmörkum hugmyndinnar.

Til að skilja betur það sem ógnað getur öryggi kvenna í þróunarlöndum er fjallað um sjö víddir hugmyndarinnar um mannöryggi eins og þær birtast í Þróunarskýrslu Sameinuðu þjóðanna frá 1994. Þannig er gefið nokkuð yfirlit yfir möguleg vandamál. Þessi nálgun er síðan þrengd enn frekar, þar sem Úganda er tekið sem dæmi. Niðurstöðurnar sýna að ekki verði hægt að koma á mannöryggi án þess að tekið sé mið af kyni og kyngervi, þar sem kynjajafnrétti er forsenda mannöryggis. Umfjöllunin sýnir einnig að þrátt fyrir vissar takmarkanir hugmyndarinnar við hagnýta stefnumótun, þá er hún engu að síður gagnleg til að varpa fram mikilvægum spurningum.

Að lokum er sýnt fram á að framlag Íslands til þróunarmála hefur aukist töluvert síðastliðin ár og mörg mikilvæg skref hafa verið stigin. Á sama hátt er sýnt fram á aukna áherslu Íslands í málefnum er varða kynjajafnrétti og öryggi kvenna, þrátt fyrir að ríkið eigi enn margt ólært í þeim efnum sem og öðrum. Það eru góðar horfur fyrir Ísland að þessu leiti í framtíðinni, hvað varðar þekkingu á innbyrðis tengslum á milli: hlutskiptis kynjanna, öryggis og þróunar.

Preface

This thesis is the final assignment in the MA studies of International Relations at the University of Iceland. It accounts for 30 ECTS credits and the instructor was Alyson Bailes, Adjunct Lecturer at the University of Iceland.

The reason for human security, gender and development becoming the research topic of this thesis can be traced back to my internship in 2008 for ICEIDA in Mozambique. There I was acquainted with numerous inspiring people who were glad to share their experiences and knowledge of the country, the culture and the world of development. During my time in Mozambique, I was also especially touched by the Mozambican women, whether it was through their hard work, learning, singing, dancing and living.

I would like to express gratitude towards the Icelandic Defence Agency and the Institute of International Affairs, for a valuable grant in aid of my studies. I also appreciate the contribution of a number of people who have played a part in the making of this thesis. First and foremost, appreciation and heartfelt thanks go to my supervisor, Alyson Bailes for her invaluable guidance, professional supervision and critique during the period of writing this thesis. I would also like to thank Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, Deputy Director General to ICEIDA for all her help. I am deeply indebted to my friend Sunna Kristín Símonardóttir for her immense support and editorial advice. Special gratitude goes also to my father, Ásgeir Beinteinsson, who has through the years always shown an interest in my studies and been willing to lend a hand. Finally I would like to thank my fiancé, fellow students, friends and family for their general support and discussions during the period of my studies.

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Introduction

Towards the end of last century with the post Cold War era, a different security agenda has become defined and widely accepted in international discourse. Among the innovations was a new security concept know as human security, and while this concept has been challenged both in theory and practice during institutional and theoretical debates, it is very far from dead today. Even though it has proved somewhat impractical as a direct guide for policy making, human security has already helped establish an international moral stand on the importance of the individual's security as opposed to focusing mainly on the interests of the state.

Human security provides the framework for this thesis in two ways. First, it offers a way of bringing together the previously different or even conflicting topics of security and development. Second, once the security of the individual becomes the focus, a new strong basis is provided for addressing the insecurity differences between men and women. Over the past twenty years or so, knowledge and awareness concerning women and violence has been on the rise and such violence has come to be considered one of the main obstacles to development and peace. Yet the connections between these various topics remain hard to establish both in theory and practice, and much greater and deeper effort is needed in all the stages of research, policy formulation, and implementation.

The ultimate aim of this dissertation is to seek an understanding of women's human security in developing countries, and to ask whether the human security concept as such can live up to expectations in guiding practical measures to improve women's lot. The subject will be approached by a brief examination of the concept's history followed by an analysis of relevant theories and their linkages. The focus then moves onto the specific agenda of women's human security; which is later narrowed down to a country analysis of Uganda. Finally, Iceland's stance on aid provision and the promotion of gender security will be examined – to see whether the country's efforts are being directed to the right targets and for maximum effect.

1.1. Human Security and Women's Security

One may ask why this subject is of theoretical and practical importance. One of many reasons to explore it is the lack of consensus on what has been loosely termed as human security studies. Dr. Fen Osler Hampson states in his informative summary on the topic that despite growing investment in research and interest in human security to date, there continues to be methodological, definitional and conceptual dissent and uncertainty about the real meaning of human security. He further states that there is great unevenness in both the breadth and depth of research on particular themes, and mentions specifically the problem of gender directed violence as an issue that has only recently begun to receive deserved attention as a symptom and source of human insecurity.[1] The same can be said for the related issue of defining the security-development nexus, where implications for policy intervention still require further investigation.[2]

But why deal with women's human security in developing countries in relation to Iceland's foreign policy? The main reason is that Iceland has already started to emphasise an agenda based on the importance of gender equality in several ways. One recent development that supports this claim would be the foundation of The Gender Equality Training Programme (GET Programme) a cooperative project between the University of Iceland and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It launched in October 2009 and will run as a pilot project throughout 2011. The project is part of the government's development cooperation efforts and will later undergo an external review, which will be used as a basis to apply for the project to become part of the United Nations University training programmes.[3] Another recent example is Iceland's emphasis on the role of gender, which it was applauded and praised for, during the Copenhagen Climate Conference in December 2009.[4]

Iceland is currently also among the group of sixteen countries that have developed and started implementing *National Action Plans on Resolution 1325*; Women, Peace and Security. Iceland launched its National Action Plan in March 2008, becoming the tenth country to do so.[5] The Icelandic foreign policy emphasis

[1] Hampson, 2008: 230.
[2] Rød-Larsen, Terje. 2010: viii.
[3] GET Programme, 2009a.
[4] Háskóli Íslands, 2010.
[5] Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2008a.

on UNSCR 1325 was further demonstrated with an international conference on this topic held in Reykjavík in June 2009.[6]

Former Minister for Foreign Affairs Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir stated in the spring of 2008 that Iceland's foreign policy would work for cooperation between countries based on international law and responsible participation within the international community, making use of three categories of Icelandic strengths, one of them being the advancement of the battle for gender equality and the strong image of Icelandic women.[7] Much has happened since this policy statement was put forth, including the Icelandic financial crash, Iceland losing out on a seat in the Security Council elections and the arrival of a new Minister for Foreign Affairs. There is however little to suggest that the policy outlined by Gísladóttir has changed extensively, as the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, Össur Skarphéðinsson has stated publicly that he intends to continue with the good work Gísladóttir started in this field.[8] Nevertheless, the conditions for policy success have been affected by drastic cutbacks in Icelandic foreign policy in general, inter alia in resources for development cooperation and Icelandic Defence and Security matters. This makes it all the more important to apply an objective analysis to Icelandic efforts – in the present case, concerning women and security in aid-receiving countries.

A further part of the background when assessing Icelandic effectiveness is that Iceland has only recently started to develop its own explicit overall security policy. The recent *Icelandic Risk Assessment Report* from March 2009 is the first step of its kind towards the formulation of a multi-functional security strategy for the nation in the 21st century. The same might be said for the founding of the Icelandic Defence Agency (IDA) in June 2008, as a body working under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and overseeing both practical and analytical efforts for national defence and security.[9] New arrangements are now being prepared for reallocating the IDA's work between other official bodies, as the Agency will be shut down. It remains to be seen if this will promote the further development and coherence of Iceland's security posture.

[6] 1325 Women Negotiating Peace, 2009a.
[7] Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir, 2008: 2.
[8] Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2009: 3.
[9] Varnarmálastofnun Íslands, 2008.

1.2. The Case of Uganda

Why is Uganda a country of interest? Several reasons explain this choice. Uganda is one of Iceland's five partner countries for bilateral developmental cooperation through the Icelandic International Development Agency (ICEIDA). The Agency is an autonomous agency under the Icelandic Ministry for Foreign Affairs and its main objective is to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life among the poorest. It emphasises sustainable economic and social development with gender quality, human rights, democracy and environmental sustainability as a frame of reference.[10]

Uganda is also a country of interesting contradictions. Uganda is a heavily aid-dependent country which has received international praise in recent years for high growth and decline in poverty. Uganda has demonstrated a high level of commitment to improving aid effectiveness and been claimed as a development success story. It has also been seen as a model in establishing policies, framework and legislation to advance gender equality.[11] Nonetheless the country has had its share of difficulties, including a long history of civil war and more recently a longstanding war with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda. The war with LRA displaced over two million people which created a humanitarian disaster still affecting the country today. The unstable countries along Uganda's borders such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Sudan and other countries recently plagued with conflict like Rwanda, added to the threat still posed by LRA to Uganda,[12] raise serious questions regarding future state stability. Since it faces such grave 'traditional' security challenges alongside the broader ones linked to human development, Uganda is an interesting country when considering human security related policies.

1.3. Goals, Structure and Method

In sum, this thesis aims to explore the emerging new security emphasis within the work of development, and to relate it further to the specific topic of women's insecurity. This involves combining three broad themes, which are all cognate, interdependent, interrelated, important and complex, and have all recently been identified in international debate as issues of concern. In the essay's challenge lies

[10] ICEIDA, 2007.
[11] Oxford Policy Management, 2008.
[12] Dagne, 2009.

also its limitation. In no way will it be possible to include all relevant aspects of the theoretical, practical or critical debate. This should not however prevent the honest attempt being made here at providing some important insight into the topic.

The thesis is organised into five chapters followed by a conclusion. The second chapter starts by giving a historical overview of the development of the human security concept and asking how it can help to explain the current situation within the field of security and development and to test the limitations and benefits of different policy approaches. In the third chapter, the relationship between security, development and concrete issues of women's security is explored in more detail. Along similar lines, the fourth chapter offers a more detailed review of how human security issues affect women within Uganda. The final and fifth chapter reviews Iceland's general approach to the range of challenges in aid-recipient countries and briefly assesses Iceland's experience of work in Uganda as such. It seeks lessons and conclusions on how Icelandic efforts could be optimized in this context and in similar cases in future.

The topic is approached by looking towards research, factual data, articles, reports, news and journals from a variety of different sources. Other notable references include lectures and interviews. Locating sources for the topic at hand did not prove problematic as a vast array of material exists. The challenge lay rather in limiting oneself and critically assessing which references were most reliable and best suited for the aim of this thesis.

2. Development and Security: Practice and Theory

Efforts for security and for human and economic development have for long been carried on separately both in terms of action and theory. If a link between them was recognized at all, it was of a sequential nature. As Sir Lawrence Freedman rightly puts it, the first focus was on conflict resolution and if successful, then started the work of development.[13] This approach has been challenged as it is now considered a better option to have conflict management and long-term sustainable development go hand in hand at each stage.[14]

Perhaps the most obvious and influential concept that has tried to bridge the security-development gap in recent times is that of human security. It provides the central focus of this chapter which will be presented in two parts. The first starts by giving a short historical summary of key points in human security's history which will then lead to a theoretical discussion of the concept. The historical overview is meant to highlight the concept's significance as a real world policy phenomenon and indicate the main issues that arise over translating it into practice. However, only a few core ideas relating to the concept will be covered, as an attempt to introduce all the different manifestations of how human security has been defined, portrayed, criticised or implemented would leave no room for any other discussion.

In the second part of the chapter, human security is supplemented with and related to a number of other theoretical frameworks that are relevant for this thesis's subject, including feminist theory and a gendered approach to security issues.

2.1 Human Security: History and Significance

Since the beginning of the post-Cold War era, a new security terrain has been established with the concept of human security. Not only has this idea sparked controversy, criticism and praise within the International Relations community, but also in an interconnected and related field - that of development. Before looking at the merging schools of thought on security and development, it remains

[13] Picciotto, Olonisakin and Clarke, 2005: iv.
[14] Newman, 2001: 249.

important to explain in detail the concept of human security and how it has laid the groundwork for the security-development nexus.

The end of the Cold War led to a new era in relations between states which resulted in changes within the theoretical discourse of International Relations. Wars and conflicts within states received more attention, while theorists struggled to explain why the Cold War had come to an end without being able to resort to their former popular theories of the realist tradition. When the concept of human security was brought to centre stage with the 1994 UNDP[15] Human Development Report, it challenged the older realist paradigm of security. The concept was however not primarily developed and popularized by academics, as realism was; instead it was promoted and explored by development institutions and the governments of several countries.[16] The 1994 UNDP report criticized the former state-centred view of security in the following words:

> ..security has far too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust… Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives. For many of them, security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards.[17]

The report divided human security into seven categories; economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political.[18] This definition of human security, though widely criticised for differing reasons, is the most frequently cited and is considered 'authoritative' to date[19] - perhaps simply because it was the first one. Nevertheless its continued validity remains an interesting fact in the light of later developments and criticism of the concept. The next passage will touch upon key developments in the history of the human security paradigm in an attempt to assess the concept's success.

The first point of mention is a statement from UN Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali at the UN Security Council Summit Meeting in 1992. There he made a call for an integrated approach to human security to address the

[15] United Nations Development Programme
[16] Nuruzzaman, 2006: 290.
[17] UNDP, 1994: 22.
[18] Ibid: 24-25.
[19] Paris, 2001: 90.

root causes of conflict, covering political, social and economic issues.[20] Connecting human security to addressing the root causes of conflict would later develop into one of the concept's most emphasised findings. It became one of the main topics of the UNDP report from 2005,[21] which will be discussed later.

The UNDP 1994 report, as previously stated, has become known as the debut of human security. The main considerations of the report have been summarised as dealing with freedom from fear and want as well as protection and empowerment.[22] The expression of freedom from fear and want in relation to human security dates back to the founding of the United Nations. What the 1994 report underlined and sought to correct was that the concept had latterly been tilted in favour of freedom from fear (i.e. violence and conflict) rather than want (i.e. the full range of basic human needs).[23]

In March 1999 the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS) was established by the Government of Japan and the United Nations Secretariat. Since its launch, the UNTFHS has funded more than 175 projects in approximately 70 countries.[24]

2001 was the founding year of the independent Commission on Human Security (CHS) under the chairmanship of Amartua Sen and Sadako Ogata. The Commission published its report *Human Security Now* in 2003, where a noteworthy definition of human security was formulated. The definition did not include the aforementioned seven categories of human security, but had instead been expanded;

> to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. ..it means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. [25]

In 2004 the UN Secretary General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, a group of leading figures set up to reflect on 21st century challenges, recognised in its report the interconnectedness of a range of designated human security threats, as well as threats to states, and the need for cooperation on a

[20] UNTFHS, 2009b: 55.
[21] UNDP, 2005.
[22] Matthew, 2010: 56.
[23] UNDP, 1994: 24.
[24] UNTFHS, 2009b: 57.
[25] Commission on Human Security, 2003: 4.

greater scale to address them. The report acknowledged that issues and forces within states are critical to the security of all states. The main threats to the global system were categorised into six clusters: economic and social, interstate conflict, internal conflict, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and transnational organized crime.[26] The report furthermore acknowledged a strong link between development and conflict.[27]

In 2005, building on the high-level panel's findings, the UN Secretary General's report *In Larger Freedom, Security and Human Rights for All* offered a series of proposals for institutional reform and policy priorities designed to achieve the three goals of "freedom from want", "freedom from fear" and "freedom to live in dignity".[28] Interestingly, while these aims of the report cover the primary core of human security, that concept as such is only mentioned once in the entire report. It is difficult to assess why that is, but it would seem possible to conclude that while the concept had already been established and recognised to a certain degree, the global consensus on human security was too weak for the Secretary-General to feel able to build his whole case upon it.

The UN *World Summit Outcome Document* adopted in September 2005 seems to confirm this assumption. In paragraph 143, Heads of States and Government affirmed the human security concept by recognizing that "all individuals, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential".[29] They also committed themselves to discussing and defining the notion of human security in the General Assembly.[30] In other words, the international community had not yet come to full agreement on what human security was or what action it entailed beyond the ideas of freedom from fear and want and the right to develop human potential. The Summit outcome thus attested to the concept's importance, yet also underlined its problems of definition.

In 2006, an informal and open-ended group called Friends of Human Security (FHS) was founded by representatives from international organizations

[26] United Nations, 2004: 23.
[27] UNTFHS, 2009b: 58.
[28] United Nations-General Assembly, 2005b
[29] United Nations-General Assembly, 2005a: 31.
[30] Ibid.

and certain UN member states.[31] In this context it is interesting to quote speeches made by Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator (USG-ERC), Mr. John Holmes and Ambassador Yukio Takasu of Japan, at the most recent meeting of FHS in December 2009. Mr. John Holmes emphasised the immense importance of 2010 for human security. He specifically mentioned climate change and recent global financial and economic crisis in this respect, and pointed to the upcoming UN Secretary–General's report on human security as an opportunity to further mainstream and define the concept within the UN system.[32]

Ambassador Yukio Takasu's speech was also informative in regards to the latest developments regarding human security. He listed important recent events in this context including the UN Security Council Resolutions on "Children and armed conflicts" (1882) and "Women, peace and security" (1888). Ambassador Takasu argued that while the term 'human security' was not included in these resolutions, they however reflected the spirit of human security thanks to the efforts of committed FHS members.[33] If one is to take the above statements at face value, they would seem to indicate that human security - though complex and difficult to define - has still been extremely influential in laying the groundwork for a changed mind-set within the UN. Such signs may even support the optimistic prediction of the 1994 Human Development Report drafters where they stated that that despite the concept's simplicity, it was likely to revolutionize society in the 21st century.[34]

The 2005 UNDP Report *International cooperation at a crossroads: Aid, trade and security in an unequal world*, deals with one aspect of human security: insecurities arising from conflict.

> The right to life and to security are among the most basic human rights. They are also among the most widely and systematically violated. Insecurity linked to armed conflict remains one of the greatest obstacles to human development.[35]

This aspect of human security, understandably some would say, has received more attention than the other dimensions mentioned in the original concept.

[31] UNTFHS, 2009b: 57.
[32] UNTFHS, 2009a.
[33] UNTFHS, 2009a.
[34] UNDP, 1994: 22.
[35] UNDP, 2005: 151.

Conflicts occurring today pose the most direct and immediate threat to humans, while other threats that are less immediate and visible, though perhaps equally important, may be left on the sidelines. A growing literature on the merging fields of security and development[36] deals precisely with this matter. Interestingly, although security and development are the two combined elements of human security, and both fields stress the importance of a conflict dimension, it does not necessarily mean that all discussion regarding the security/development nexus takes place in the light of the human security agenda and focuses on how both terms relate to it.

The history of human security supports the thesis that that the ideological basis of the human security discourse and the development/security merger came into being around the same point in time. Human security paved the way for a deeper look at possible merging of the fields; but in an apparent paradox, in some respect the security/development nexus has emancipated itself today from human security. As Ambassador Takasu stated, it is possible to continue addressing these issues on the foundation created by human security without having to mention the concept specifically.

The question remains unanswered as to why this emphasis on insecurities arising from conflict has prevailed and what may be the reason behind the two schools of thought that address the same or similar issues? Political scientist Asti Suhrke brings up interesting points regarding human security which may partly explain this.

Suhrke claims that the idea of human security has roots in the central principle of international humanitarian law which sought to civilize warfare and reduce suffering of individuals during armed conflict. She further claims that one important problem with the UNDP 1994 was its attempt to describe the relationship between human security and human development, which lacked differentiation.[37] The report presented human security both as an end-state of affairs and as a process. Human security was seen as vital for human development; if there was no security and stability in daily life, there could be no development (i.e. security as part of the process). However the contrary was also true, insofar as any long term development that betters economic and social life

[36] Security Dialogue, 2010. Tschirgi, Mancini and Lund, 2010. Lars, Jensen and Stepputat, 2007. Duffield, 2001 and more.
[37] Suhrke, 2007/1999: 128-129.

would eventually provide greater human security for the individual (i.e. security as part of an end-state).[38] However, these distinctions may be less important in practice than the question of whether development work can be and is specifically directed towards vulnerabilities in relation to conflict, which on any showing are central to the human security challenge. Critics have recently argued that development projects and programmes aren't designed to be responsive towards a conflict sensitive climate,[39] and later in the event of conflict, some development-focused actors may be quick to leave and then late in re-entering for post-conflict reconstruction. If the human security concept as such has not managed to solve this mismatch of agendas, perhaps partly because of its own roots in (conflict-related) international humanitarian law, one can see why policymakers might try to solve the security/development nexus in other and perhaps more direct ways.

In sum, what this short survey on human security tells us is that its impact has been wide and powerful in one sense, and has arguably led to a self-referential stagnation[40] and stereotyping in another. The number of programmes, commissions, reports and initiatives based on human security and its increasingly wide recognition, as seen in shifts in attitude among real-world actors, witness to the concept's influence. The story of fields of action that have developed out of the foundation of human security suggests that the concept seems to have maintained its relevance in some specific discourses, while being left behind in others. To illustrate this range, one may mention issues such as human security and the environment,[41] human security and conflict, and food security.[42] It is also possible to see the effects of human security through specific projects like abolition of anti-personnel landmines and control of small arms,[43] albeit these are more often placed within the older discourse of international humanitarian law.

2.1.1. Security within States and International Bodies

Human security's influence does not end here as the concept has been endorsed by states and other leading international bodies. That being the case, it seems only fair to the human security school of thought to briefly mention this manifestation.

[38] Suhrke, 2007/1999: 129.
[39] Irin: Humanitarian news and analysis. 2009, November 10th.
[40] Burgess and Owen, 2004.
[41] Matthew, 2010: 56.
[42] Devereux and Maxwell, 2001.
[43] Hampson, 2008: 230.

Canada and Norway are among the most prominent states to have adopted a human security stance within their policy agenda. Their adoption of the doctrine is based on a set of values informing foreign policy and state interests.[44] In defining their goals the nations have used human security as an umbrella term to incorporate the humanitarian agenda by associating the term with underlying values of the 1990s such as international humanitarian law, human rights and socio-economic development based on equity.[45]

A common *European Security Strategy* (ESS) providing a framework for the security policies and strategic identity of the European Union (EU) was adopted by EU leaders at the European Council in December 2003. The policy document specifies the security challenges at hand and how Europeans can meet them, but more importantly it was the first joint European security strategy.[46] The strategy did not include the concept of human security but it did incorporate many of the ideas associated with human security, e.g. a broader view of security threats, vulnerability of civilians, security being a precondition of development, and the importance of conflict and threat prevention.[47]

The European Union has therefore not implemented a specific human security policy, but has declared its intent to work towards building human security, by promoting good governance and human rights, by reducing poverty and inequality, assisting development and addressing the root causes of conflict and insecurity.[48] Many different reports to date, written for the EU by advisory groups of experts, have stressed the advantages of applying human security as a main security framework within European security policy. They have also underlined the appropriateness of the concept for the EU as it is said to be the best common descriptive denominator for the work within the Union today[495051].

The African Union has a somewhat similarly indirect relationship with human security as the European Union. Thomas Kwasi Tieku, an adjunct professor at the University of Toronto and a PhD candidate, claims in his article "African Union promotion of human security in Africa" that human security

[44] Hudson, 2005: 164.
[45] Suhrke, 2007/1999: 125.
[46] Council of the European Union. 2003.
[47] Ibid: 2.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, 2004
[50] Human Security Study Group, 2007.
[51] Saaf and Aliboni, 2010.

concerns informed the formation of the African Union (AU). Furthermore he asserts that almost all decisions, protocols and declarations adopted since the formation of the AU have had strong human security undertones. Tieku contends that the AU Commission is now engaged in the difficult task of trying to persuade a great number of actors in the African ruling elite and civil society to accept human security as the only security strategy.[52]

Both the European Union and the African Union seem to be facing a dilemma as to whether or not the human security concept provides the best denominator and an adequate guide for their members' common security policy agenda. The jury is out for the time being; but future developments on the role of human security in these contexts will undoubtedly be interesting.

To conclude the discussion on different manifestations of human security, introducing Iceland's stand on the issue seems an appropriate choice. A human security doctrine has not been adopted in Iceland's general domestic or foreign policy. International statements regarding Iceland's stand on the concept have however been made. The former Minister for Foreign Affairs; Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir, has amongst others, expressed the importance of human security. During a meeting for the Association for Western Co-operation in Reykjavík on November 27th of 2007, Gísladóttir may be seen as having offered Iceland's own interpretation of the concept. She states that the disputed 'out-of-area' missions of NATO must rest on a sound foundation of international law; which provide for the pre-eminence of human security. She further notes that;

> a rigorous assessment also needs to be made of the Alliance's capacity to intervene in courses of events and bring them to a successful conclusion – with primary emphasis on human security, i.e. the fate of civilians, families and children.[53]

This statement confirms the view that human security revolves around the importance of the individual within conflict/war and international interventions. Gísladóttir concluded her discussion by stating that the concept is new within international law and that Iceland has given it special attention as well as promoting it internationally.[54] This meeting took place a year before the Security

[52] Tieku, 2007: 27.
[53] Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2007a.
[54] Ibid.

Council elections, but no assumptions will be made here as to whether this statement may have been related to Iceland's candidacy in the elections.

Another example of Iceland acknowledging the concept of human security can be found in the above mentioned *Risk Assessment Report*. The report introduces the concept as referring to the security of individuals rather than states, and further notes that there is no agreement on whether it only applies to political violence or also economical and social factors. The recent developments within the security paradigm within the Nordic countries, other European countries and the United States are said to have affected the decision to adopt a broader definition of security as a basis for the report.[55]

When looking back at the human security concept's original message of providing security in people's daily lives one may wonder why it is that some issues have gained more general acceptance as a security issue, while others have not. There are doubtless numerous explanations - including practical and accidental ones - for this development. A partial explanation may have already been mentioned earlier, regarding difficulty in gaining a consensus on the definition of the concept. It may be interesting to also look towards theory in an effort to find more answers.

2.2 Human Security among Other Theories

Human security is not a theory, but is certainly supported by other social theories. Looking at it from a theoretical standpoint may thus help in understanding how it can best be used to formulate policies to be applied in real-life circumstances. Where does it fit in with other theoretical approaches, and can other theories within International Relations help explain the concept's benefits and limitations? Despite the broad scope the concept offers for possible analytical analysis, but only a few theories relevant to the focus of this thesis will be addressed here.

Theories of realism were situated at the centre of International Relations during the Cold War, and thus it is only logical to begin the theoretical discussion by addressing how human security came to challenge this tradition. Although there are significant differences among variants of realism, most share the belief that a state's behaviour is driven in pursuit of its own national interests, defined in

[55] Utanríkisráðuneytið, 2009a: 11.

terms of power and a general distrust of long-term alliance and cooperation. States can only rely on themselves under this condition of anarchy and the most important concern for each state is therefore to manage its own insecurity.[56] Because the realist paradigm bestows upon states a pre-given ontological status, they are naturally treated as the only referents of security.[57] Thus war or other forms of conquest, which translate to the most important threat to the individual within the state, is first and foremost a threat to the state itself.

Because human security is thought to have challenged this statist view, it may seem to imply that human security does not share any basic ideas in common with realism. That is however not the case, as rejecting all realist considerations would make human security policies extremely difficult to implement. As Edward Newman, a doctor in International Relations points out, human security is not in conflict with state sovereignty, since after all states are still the main providers of security in ideal circumstances.[58]

Furthermore, Newman argues that human security is not a coherent school of thought but has instead competing elements which reflect different cultural and geostrategic orientations. He introduces these competing elements by dividing the general discourse on human security into four groups; basic human needs, interventionist, developmental focus and new security. The basic human needs approach is essentially based on the ideas promoted in the 1994 UNDP Report, where human security is people-centred and a universal concern and human needs are best protected with early prevention. The interventionist approach holds that the traditionally conceived security of the state does not necessarily ensure security of its citizens and may therefore justify international actions taken against sovereign states in cases where they neglect or directly attack their own peoples.[59] The developmentalism and social welfare approach asserts the importance of taking into account the extreme diversity that is found in the world and supports local ownership of development. According to this stance, an attempt should be made to regulate the uneven and volatile effects of globalization to allow such local development strategies to succeed. The fourth and final group of issues, formulated for example in the New Security agenda or as Newman describes it,

[56] Mingst, 2004: 66.
[57] Nuruzzman, 2006: 294.
[58] Newman, 2001: 240.
[59] An idea perhaps most familiar when expressed in the language of Responsibility to Protect, R2P.

addressing the challenges of 'non-traditional' security and 'uncivil society', covers diverse dimensions of security such as health, drugs, terrorism, small arms, inhumane weapons, cyber-war and human trafficking. It recognizes that the same forces that allow market growth and free movement of goods also allow this negative type of transnational interaction.

According to Newman, analysis of the four groups and their prescriptions shows that the solutions proposed in the name of human security to these varied problems can be contradictory. The context of these problems is often to be found in weak state institutions and therefore the solution seems to lie in strengthening state capacity. This can however, as Newman points out, be in contrast to the basic needs approach and the social/development model, where the emphasis is put on the individual. The same can be said for the interventionist model, where any international action could be deemed controversial not just in terms of traditional sovereignty principles, but also in terms of whether local humans' lives (and their rights of 'ownership') experience a net benefit or not.[60]

One obvious and important finding from the above is that variants of human security are complex and can be contradictory both in their conceptual affiliations and their prescriptions. Clearly, the matter deserves further research and continuing debate.

2.2.1. Constructivism and Securitization

One of the theories which is believed to have influenced the human security approach is constructivism, which has since the late 1980s and 1990s become one of the major schools of thought within International Relations. One constructivist element in particular which is said to have influenced human security is that the theory supported a shift away from identifying the state with security.[61] What is important to note, is that like realism, constructivism is not a single unified movement. The fundamental argument within constructivism is that behaviour, interests and relationships are socially constructed and therefore capable of changing.[62] As the constructivist Alexander Wendt famously put it in 1992;

[60] Newman, 2001.
[61] Dannreuther, 2007: 41.
[62] Newman, 2001: 247.

"Anarchy is what States Make of it"[63], arguing specifically that the notion and nature of threats are constructed rather than inevitable and natural.

The broad movement of constructivism has been a useful framework for understanding the rise of human security as a force of ideology. It has for instance opened the way to the widespread realization, also crucial for human security, that conflict within states has an impact on the international system that leads to a disruption of political and economic interaction and thereby threatens everyone's security. Another example can be seen in specific values and norms being effectively shared as a minimum standard of cooperation.[64]

This short introduction on constructivist theory leads us to another related school of thought, that of 'securitization'. This concept as developed by the thinkers of the 'Copenhagen School' is largely a constructivist approach, sharing also a strong link to the real-world evolution of a wider post-Cold War security agenda.[65] One of the main theorists behind the concept of securitization is Ole Wæver, who adapted the theory drawn from linguistic philosophy. He argues that securitization may be defined as a process where an actor declares a specific dynamic, actor or issue to be an 'existential threat' to a particular referent object. If this is accepted by the relevant audience, it enables the suspension of normal politics and emergency measures which are used to respond to that perceived crisis. Security understood this way, is a site of negotiation between speakers and audiences, despite one being significantly conditioned by the extent to which the speaker enjoys a position of authority within a particular group[66].

The key idea of securitization is that by giving the name of a security to a challenge not included in the narrower traditional definition, one presents it as a possible threat, thereby making it more important. By labelling something as a security concern one is constructing an added meaning. Under securitization theory 'desecuritization' is also possible, i.e. an attempt to sideline an apparent security issue or classify it as something else.[67]

Another noteworthy aspect of the theory is the recognition that the final outcome is always a negotiation between the speaker and the audience, where the negotiation between the two is also a process of exercising or establishing

[63] Wendt, 1992.
[64] Newman, 2001: 247.
[65] Dannreuther, 2007: 42.
[66] Wæver, 2007/1995: 72-73.
[67] Ibid.

legitimacy. Seen through the securitization lens, one may argue that development thinkers who propounded the idea of human security may have – consciously or not – been undertaking exactly such a process. Thus Roland Dannreuther, a professor at the University of Westminister has argued that the UNDP's promotion of human security can be seen as an inspired political attempt to broaden the concept of security. The attempt as he puts it was carried out in a new less threatening post-Cold War period, where attention could be drawn to the profound insecurities of the poor and the powerless by contrasting them with the insignificant concerns of the powerful and wealthy.[68]

Against this background the human security concept can be seen as an attempt to convert longer-standing ideas of development and humanitarianism into specific security priorities. The ultimate purpose of securitizing is to bring a hierarchical change in policy making. The act of securitization is however not necessarily a simple deed. The audience needs to agree with the speaker, the one who performs the act of securitization, for without this agreement there can be no securitization. In order for the speaker to be able to securitize an issue, he will also need to possess capabilities and means to persuade, and – logically and ideally – to follow through the new realization with resource application and action.

Considering the theory of securitization, the earlier question as to why some dimensions of human security have been accepted and recognised as important aspects of people's security, comes to mind. Possible reasons for this may be that these aforementioned aspects are in fact considered to be of greater importance than others; they are rightfully more accepted as security concerns by the audience. A different explanation which is based on greater means and capabilities of the speaker in question to securitize an issue can also go some way in explaining this difference.

One popular criticism of human security states that the concept is too broad and vague and thus analytically uninteresting to some scholars.[69] Rita Floyd, a British academic, would disagree with this assertion. She has stated that human security may be inadequate in regards to analytical utility but has instead much to offer in terms of normative utility. She uses the theory of securitization to

[68] Dannreuther, 2007: 47.
[69] Matthew, 2010: 56-57.

prove her case, arguing that an act of securitization includes three steps: (1) identification of existential threats, (2) emergency action, (3) and effects on inter-unit relations by the breakdown of earlier rules. Floyd argues that human security has achieved only the first step, also know as the securitizing move, and that proponents of human security are only interested in this first step of identifying existential threats to individuals and/or groups. Furthermore, the act of securitization is not necessarily a top-down one nor an act of security analysis, so that the same individuals can be both securitizing actors and referent objects of security (as demandeurs). Equally, a voice may be given to those that lack one, if a speaker with means and capabilities performs an act of securitization on behalf of that individual or group. Floyd claims that the securitization tool is useful to detect securitizing moves and their initiators within human security literature; i.e. who does what and to what effect.[70] Furthermore Floyd states that successful securitizations in relation to human security have already taken place, among them being the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the high-profile ban on land mines in the Ottawa Convention of 1997.[71]

What this prior discussion confirms is that the concept of human security has demanded a shift in thinking on security priorities and by doing so produced significant new perspectives on most security issues. Its wide and innovative impact will undoubtedly continue, but to what extent and in what way is yet to be seen. It is equally important to the understanding of the concept to recognize not only its merits but also importantly, the criticisms that may be made of it. Feminist theories are among those that have been helpful at pointing out the limitations of human security.

2.2.2. Feminism and Gender

Feminist scholars are among those theorists that have greatly influenced the international security paradigm. As feminism is not a singular theory,[72] but a collection of perspectives, theorists have both praised and criticised human security. Not only have feminists added differing perspectives bringing important insights to human security, but the human security concept has also been

[70] Floyd, 2007: 41-42.
[71] Ibid: 44.
[72] Hudson, 2005: 158.

influenced by feminist theories in some respects, and there are important foundational similarities between the two.

Feminist theories and human security both arose from deep dissatisfaction with the realist security paradigm and its narrow interpretation of states as the only referents of security. Feminists as well as other theorists as early as the 1980s highlighted the necessity to consider individuals as the fundamental referents of security.[73] Another very important common feature is the interpretation of security. Feminist scholars view security not only as being an absence of political, social and economic threats, but also as the enjoyment of social and economic justice that aspires to making human fulfilment achievable.[74] The new reasoning that drew worldwide attention to the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report may be attributed to precisely the same ideas: that is, it emphasized individuals as the fundamental referents of security as opposed to states, and it focused on non-military sources of insecurity that both threatened individuals and undermined state structures in the long run.[75] Therefore it is clear that 'human security' was not the first attempt to present such ideas but rather, the first successful holistic approach to catch the attention of a wider audience.

Heidi Hudson in her article "Doing Security as Though Humans Matter" states that a feminist perspective can make security discourse more reflective of its own normative assumptions and political relevance. When using a feminist outlook, the danger of masking differences by using the term 'human' can be highlighted.[76] In reality, different groups of people and individuals have extremely differing security needs. When constructing a concept that is supposed to refer to all humans, it may prove difficult not to discriminate and to include all possible aspects.

Feminists have claimed that gender is an important tool for analysing human security.[77] What is meant by gender? Gender as a key concept on the international agenda emerged in the previously mentioned 1994 UNDP report. The concept refers to norms, rules, practices and customs by which biological differences between females and males are interpreted into socially constructed differences. This results in the two genders being valued differently and given

[73] Nuruzzman, 2006: 298.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid: 285.
[76] Hudson, 2005: 155.
[77] Hoogensen and Stuvøy, 2006, Hudson, 2005, Moussa, 2008, Stern and Öjendal, 2010.

unequal opportunities in life.[78] Gender therefore tells us more than what it is to be a man or woman, but additionally about the manipulation and construction of identities and how they relate to power. Gender as one of the primary identities people have, is not static or fixed, but in a state of constant change.[79] Gender can therefore be a subjective perspective which does not assume one view of the world.

By using the construct of gender, feminists have in the past been active in drawing attention to different types of relationships in terms of power. Hoogensen and Stuvøy have used this informative aspect of gender in relation to human security. They warn that human security within foreign policy can contain underlying ideas of the dominance of the global North,[80] notably when human security is used in terms of we the 'secure' will help you the 'insecure'. The problem here is that former elite-driven articulations of security from national governments and international organizations have often not addressed the real security needs of people, either in the South or the North. Gender analysis has helped highlight this failing in such cases as e.g. gender domestic violence or violence against indigenous peoples within 'safe' states.[81]

A combined usage of gender and the theory of securitization can thus bring a deeper understanding of the implications of applying human security to real-life issues, and also provides a warning against assuming the results must always be positive. By utilizing gender as a window into power relations, feminists would caution that the speaker who performs the act of securitization may not always be the rightful one. Similarly the audience that legitimizes the securitization may also be illegitimate. This issue of power dynamics is important for institutions, governments and agencies when deciding whether to implement policies that are based on human security. They should consider whether human security risks becoming a high-sounding slogan for a meaningless or damaging policy, or whether it will bring policy closer to a correct realization that insecurity exists in all spaces and times and the only proper solutions involve mutual learning and cooperation.

[78] Moussa, 2008: 82-83.
[79] Hoogensen and Stuvøy, 2006: 218.
[80] Ibid: 209.
[81] Ibid.

A related point is also highlighted by Heidi Hudson in her work cited above. She states that even though human security sets out to portray the interconnectedness of security, with security in one area depending on the security of people elsewhere, cases like the development of homeland security measures after 9/11 show that a person's security can depend on and be maintained by the cost of the insecurity of another. She therefore brings forth the question of whether the 1994 UNDP report message was truly universal or only represented Eurocentric values in disguise.[82]

Coming back to the concept of gender, it is important to note that it is not only about women. When using the construct of gender to challenge our understanding of women's security, it is possible to transform and generate new ideas concerning the security of men.[83] The same can be said for expressing the varied power relationships and security needs between women themselves. The inequality or differential agency amongst women when it comes to projecting their identity and security needs has been criticised by the Indian feminist Chandra Mohanty. She has drawn attention to how western feminists have often treated Third World women as a uniformly oppressed group.[84] Discrimination, unintended or not, can thus be found in all dimensions and aspects of both theory and policy. J. Ann Tickner, a feminist international relations theorist, agrees with this criticism but also warns that if women are not able to speak for other women, feminism will become paralyzed, thereby reinforcing the legitimacy of men's knowledge as universal.[85]

This warning by Tickner relates back to the act of securitization and the enabling capacity of human security in giving a voice to those who have none. It would seem desirable not to miss out on using this possibility to promote both human security in general and the special interests within it of women who have less of a voice of their own; but feminists might warn that this approach would need to be taken with caution and with the consent of those in question.

Having discussed the importance of critically viewing human security, before trying to formulate or implement policies based on the phenomenon, it is interesting to wonder whether or not human security policies can or will ever

[82] Hudson, 2005: 165-166
[83] Ibid: 156.
[84] Mohanty, 1991: 53.
[85] Tickner, 2001: 136.

incorporate all aspects of human insecurities including those pertaining to women. Without trying to portray women as only victims, as indeed they are not, - and feminists amongst others have been diligent in emphasising precisely their active agency and capabilities, - the fact remains that women have different security needs and agenda than men. This can be seen in numerous examples which will be brought to light in a later discussion; but this chapter will end with a brief illustration of how this security difference is manifested.

2.3. Why Women's Security?

What has been identified as the most pervasive threat to women's security is gender based violence in all its various forms.[86] This point of view has also been highlighted by the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM), which has declared that the fundamental issue in the continuing scale of violence against women lies in gender inequality. This is in turn paramount to their (in)security, which is then tied to global security.[87] It therefore comes as no surprise when gender-equality is declared a pre-condition for human security.[88] It is also an extremely wide- reaching problem, common to all countries and societies on earth. True, much the same can be said for poverty, as well as other threats to security. But what makes the gender aspects of insecurity extremely difficult and challenging for international institutions and governmental intervention is that the violence and oppression concerned often takes place within the sphere of the home, a space which is often considered the individual's sovereign sphere. An interesting fact regarding the above discussion on conflict and security is that this type of violence towards women is often exacerbated during and after conflict.[89]

Violence against women remains one of the most serious insecurities humans face, but what is interesting in the present context is to consider how the human security school of thought can address this issue of insecurity, and whether it is actually likely do so. Feminists have warned that to understand security issues facing women, the focus needs to be extended to include their specific gender-conditioned issues as well. If the term 'human' is used, there is always a danger of concealing the gendered basis of security practices, as previously mentioned. The underlying problem is that while the term 'human' in international discourse has

[86] Vlachova, Marie and Lea Biason, 2005.
[87] UNIFEM, 2003.
[88] Newman, 2001: 247.
[89] Sirleaf, 2002: 14.

been presented as gender-neutral, it is in fact very often an articulation of the masculine.[90]

2.4. Conclusion

The history of human security as well as theoretical analysis attests to the concept's far-reaching impact. It also underlines its many and various problems, in particular that of definition. What is important to establish for the following discussion is that human security needs are varied, complex and often interconnected. The difference in detailed issues and requirements lies not only between the genders but also within each gender. How are these security needs reflected? The next chapter deals with insecurities of women within developing countries, providing real-life examples in order to shed light on the real obstacles to framing a practical human security agenda.

[90] Hudson, 2005: 157.

3. Women's Human Security

Focusing on the position of women within development cooperation is currently considered an accepted norm. This acceptance can be traced back to a changed mindset in the past twenty-thirty years, where the spotlight has been directed towards the unequal position of women throughout the world as well as within developing countries. Despite considerable progress on many aspects of women's rights and empowerment through, inter alia, the 1948 UN *Universal declaration of human rights,*[91] the 1975-1985 UN Decade for Women,[92] and the 1979 *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW)[93] - plus numerous world conferences on women, most importantly 1995 The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing and notably the *Adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action,*[94] the establishment of the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs)[95] and much more - there still persists deep inequality and discrimination against women in all regions and spheres of the world.

The challenges facing women in developing countries remain truly profound, for here come together many different types of problems which are inextricably linked and often related to extreme poverty. Africa has not failed to realize this, as the continent's engagement to the cause is made visible in the African Union Assembly's decision to declare 2010-2020 the African Women's Decade.[96] The year 2010 also marks the six-year anniversary of the adoption of the *Solemn declaration on gender equality in Africa* (SDGEA).[97]

In an effort to highlight some of these difficulties and how they are seen in practice, the following section will report on different insecurities facing women. To simplify this complex task, the seven categories of insecurities identified in the aforementioned and somewhat criticised 1994 UNDP definition of human security will be used to give a non-exhaustive impression of the problems at hand. The

[91] Moussa, 2008: 82.
[92] United Nations, 2010.
[93] WEDO, 2008: 17.
[94] UNESCO, 1995.
[95] United Nations, 2008.
[96] Wandia, 2009.
[97] African Union, 2007.

UNDP approach aimed to treat these seven spheres of human security in an equal manner to avoid the trap of securitizing some areas while desecuritizing others. Some of the categories included are more often linked to development, like those of economic, health and food security, while others like the security of persons and to some extent of the community and the environment have more often been linked to mainstream security discourse.

As the following summary is meant to address different insecurities facing women, there is an ever-present risk of generalisations that lead to excessive doom and gloom and to women only being portrayed as victims. This is obviously not the case and the present author believes that such exaggerations all too often characterize the portrayal of the situation of women within Sub-Saharan Africa. The need for a balanced portrayal cannot be further pursued here but is of vital importance.

Concrete examples and statistical data will be used below to illuminate the issues, with some information applying in general to women around the world, other information applying to women in developing countries and yet other examples to Sub-Saharan Africa. Where the cited information on women within developing countries provides a wider sample than Sub-Saharan Africa it should be understood accordingly.

3.1. Economic Security

The 1994 UNDP Report provides short summaries on what features each category of human security is supposed to incorporate. The summary on economic security starts in the following words: "economic security requires an assured basic income-usually from productive and remunerative work, or in the last resort from some publicly financed safety net".[98] The summary also goes on to mention access to land, access to credit, income security, social security and homelessness.[99]

Looking at economic security and stability is interesting in the light of recent developments in the world. To what extent the economic crash will affect the worlds poorest is yet to be seen, but importantly women occupy 70 per cent of that group. In general terms the trend of declining economic and social conditions

[98] UNDP, 1994: 25.
[99] Ibid: 25-26.

for women relative to men's has been referred to as the feminization of poverty.[100] The sad truth respectively about the latest economic crisis is, as the UN has observed, that it is affecting all countries in Sub-Saharan Africa irrespective of their economic performance.[101]

Today it is considered an accepted truth that significant development gains can be acquired through ensuring women's equitable access to and control over financial and economic resources.[102] Public statements underline this view, like that of Ngozi Okonio-Iweala, a managing director at the World Bank and a former Foreign Affairs Minister of Nigeria, when she argued that investing in girls is smarter economics, for it means investing at the centre of development.[103] The present economic crisis is a driving force behind many development choices currently being made as well as possibly shaping approaches to development in the future. As women are considered the most negatively impacted by the crisis, but at the same time are seen as key development players in most communities around the world, these future policies must not overlook the gender dimension. Indeed, whether questions of women, gender equality and women's rights are included or not should arguably be taken as an indicator of the seriousness of proposed responses.[104] If policymakers do not address such aspects, it has been claimed that this could become the world's first fully feminised recession.[105]

Both women and men from low-income households can be disadvantaged by lack of education, skills, networks and assets in their quest for a better a life. What makes this situation even more difficult for women is that gender often intensifies the effects of other social inequalities by limiting access to opportunities and resources.[106]

Income security is of extreme importance for men and women. This type of security is even more interesting when considering how it can affect the next generation. Research has shown that women reinvest 90 per cent of their income in their families and communities, compared to men who reinvest only 30 to 40 per cent of their income.[107] This fact becomes even more serious in relation to

[100] Dennis and Zuckerman, 2006: 1
[101] Tsikata, 2009: 5.
[102] United Nations, 2009: iii.
[103] Plan International, 2009: 28.
[104] Tsikata, 2009: 2.
[105] Plan International, 2009: 28.
[106] United Nations, 2009: 6.
[107] OECD, 2008: 3.

employment security, where UNIFEM claims that eight out of ten women workers in Sub-Saharan Africa are considered to be in vulnerable employment.[108]

Women shoulder a great deal of the burden at the household level where their work is often on an unpaid basis. Most general care work in relation to the young, the old and the sick is carried out by women. Strong state infrastructure and technologies that could contribute to reducing this burden of work placed on women are often lacking in the developing countries. Besides women providing the care role, they also may spend considerable time on food preparation, food production, collection of water and wood, crop cultivation, income-generation, home gardening and livestock care.[109]

Women in many parts of the world continue to be discriminated against in relation to access to housing, property and land. This claim of substantial gender inequality is based on a number of studies and small-scale surveys from around the world, although relatively few countries have comprehensive data on the exact extent of inequality.[110] Different factors underpin this inequality, including unequal inheritance practices, gender-biased land reform - including the practice of registering land and houses in the name of the 'head of household' (most often a man) - and unequal access to land markets due to custom, tradition and unequal economic assets.[111] Despite some progress in legislative reform, implementation is hindered by women's lack of knowledge of their entitlements and by sociocultural norms.[112]

Inequality in property rights contributes to women's vulnerability to poverty compared with men. Development-related problems across the world including poverty, migration, violence, migration and HIV/AIDS have been increasingly linked to women's lack of property.[113] The consequences of lack of property ownership can have especially grave consequences in some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa where women farm independently of men. They normally acquire access to land through their husband, so that a husband's death may often mean the loss of land, house and tools to the husband's relatives.[114] The importance of this factor in relation to women within Sub-Saharan Africa is

[108] UNIFEM, 2009.
[109] United Nations, 2009: 9.
[110] Ibid: 42.
[111] UN Millenium Project, 2005a: 75.
[112] United Nations, 2009: viii.
[113] UN Millenium Project, 2005a: 75.
[114] Ibid: 77.

emphasized by the fact that the agricultural sector makes up more than 60 per cent of all female employment.[115] Calculations have shown that agricultural productivity in Sub-Saharan Africa could increase up to 20 per cent if women's access to resources such as land, seed and fertilizer were equal to that of men.[116]

Women's access to formal financial services remains limited in the developing countries. Problems in their access to formal financial services and therefore to credit can partly be explained by the fact that only less than half the population of the developing countries owns a bank account or its equivalent. This fact obviously affects both women and men, but research has shown that access to formal financial institutions in Kenya and Uganda was strongly associated with education, gender and government employment.[117] Another factor likely to have hindered women's access to financial services is the commercial banking sector's preference for well tried and tested borrowers and its focus on short-term lending. This arrangement has been shown to lead to a reduction of credit for small-farm and off-farm enterprises where poor and rural sections of the population were largely bypassed by formal credit.[118]

What of those factors that may affect the economic situation of women and thereby their economic security, but might not normally be deemed to belong to this category? The 1994 UNDP report does not, for example, mention education in this respect but it may still be relevant. An interesting concept of a girl's 'economic rights' is brought up in the report *Because I am a Girl: the State of the World's Girls 2009*, which argues that despite differing opinions, the definition of such rights should cover all matters that govern access to resources seen as essential for economic activities. On such a view, the right to possess and enjoy property, and adequate standards of living, social security, health, education and work are all fundamental to economic rights and thereby also vital for the empowerment of women.[119]

Education is an example of an issue which is important for the empowerment and increased security for women in general terms. Its omission under economic security in the 1994 UNDP report helps explain some of the criticism of the report's definitions, while others have questioned how a certain

[115] United Nations, 2009: 29.
[116] OECD, 2008: 3.
[117] United Nations, 2009: 55.
[118] Ibid: 56.
[119] Plan International, 2009: 25.

issue of insecurity can be determined as belonging rightfully to one category instead of another. The UNDP report itself admits that "among these seven elements of human security are considerable links and overlaps. A threat to one element of human security is likely to travel-like an angry typhoon-to all forms of human security".[120] No wonder heads of states and policy makers have found it difficult to use human security as a base for policy formulation.

3.2. Food Security

"Food security means that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food".[121] The summary of what constitutes food security is very brief in the UNDP report. It does underline however that the availability of food is not enough to ward off famines, but also the 'entitlement' to food, either through purchase or by taking advantage of a public food distribution system. It furthermore comments on problems with purchasing power and on the limited success of past schemes by governments and international agencies meant to increase food security. Interestingly it specifically recognises women's inadequate access to food, as sometimes they are the last to eat in the household. In addition the report acknowledges the connectedness between food security and employment, assets and income security.[122]

These links were noted in the previous discussion on economic security and are not necessary to reiterate. What is important to stress in terms of food security is that women produce 80 per cent of food and provide 90 per cent of the water and fuel consumed by households in Africa. What seems in stark contrast to that is that women only own one per cent of land, receive seven per cent of agricultural resources and extension time, and obtain ten per cent of credit available to small-scale farmers.[123]

Another point that links food to health security is the biological need of women for proper nutrition. Women in their twenties and thirties in developing countries are pregnant on average for five years and lactating for ten years. This results in a significant increase of their nutritional requirements and can be seen as a physiological burden. Undernourishment of many women in childhood has resulted in them becoming short in stature when they mature. These women are

[120] UNDP, 1994: 33.
[121] Ibid: 27.
[122] Ibid.
[123] UN Millenium Project, 2005b: 93.

more likely to give birth to a baby of low birth weight. Furthermore, iodine deficiency and nutritional anaemia among women are linked to high rates of prenatal mortality and foetal loss. Yet another noteworthy risk factor is high risk of maternal death.[124]

3.3. Health Security

Health security in the 1994 report is connected to diseases, maternal mortality, health insurance, and spread of HIV/AIDS. The report also highlights that threat to health security is usually greater for those who are poor.[125]

Even though men and women face many similar challenges to their health, looking specifically towards women can be justified on the existence of a meaningful difference between the genders. Some of the important health complications women in developing countries have to deal with are pregnancy, maternal mortality, spread of HIV and proper nutrition, to name just a few. Among the relevant Millennium Development Goals,[126] even though some progress has been made in reducing the number of people living on less than one dollar a day, most of the other seven goals are off track. The fourth MDG has the most severe impact on women as it addresses the reduction in maternal mortality rate, but this goal is the farthest of all from being reached.[127] What is also very startling is that over half a million maternal deaths occur each year and 99 per cent of these largely preventable deaths happen in developing countries.[128] What these staggering numbers show is that pregnancy is not always a joyful event but can be a source of insecurity and fear for one's life.

Another important health issue is the steady increase of HIV. Recent estimates show that the proportion of women to men living with HIV has increased from 45 per cent to 50 per cent in the years between 1990 and 2007. Indeed, in Sub-Saharan Africa, this pandemic can be said to have become feminized, as the number of adult women living with HIV/AIDS has increased from 54 per cent to 60 per cent in the same years.[129] What is of exceptional

[124] Young, 2001: 233.
[125] UNDP, 1994: 27-28.
[126] MDGs: (1) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; (2) achieve universal primary education; (3) promote gender equality and empower women; (4) reduce child mortality; (5) improve maternal health; (6) combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; (7) ensure environmental sustainability; (8) develop a global partnership for development.
[127] Goets, 2008/2009: 14.
[128] World Health Organisation, 2009b: 2.
[129] Goets, 2008/2009: 128.

concern in this high prevalence environment is the HIV prevalence among young women, who are two to three times more likely to be infected with HIV than men in the same age group. One stated reason for this is the lower proportion of young women to men with access to correct and comprehensive knowledge on HIV/AIDS.[130] Such shortage of education stems from gender inequality. Another reason for women's vulnerability based on inequality is the stigma, discrimination and the threat of violence from intimate partners resulting from infected status. The World Health Organization (WHO) has claimed that violence is both a cause and consequence of HIV infection.[131]

These are just a few examples of how gender inequality is manifested in relation to health – without even mentioning unsafe abortions, infertility, cervical cancer, mental health or other common diseases such as malaria. What the above examples do show is that many factors including social and economic ones play a role in the less fortunate position of women compared to men. Not only lack of education is important here, but also low income, limited control over critical household decisions,[132] and unemployment.

3.4. Environmental Security

Environmental security has in recent years received greater attention through the discourse of climate change. Alongside this escalation of interest; there has also been a rise in research attesting to alarming findings for future developments. The UNDP report divides the subject of environmental security into two aspects, as an issue within countries and as a threat to the global system. The same approach will be followed here, where environmental security within states is addressed here, leaving the issue of global threats to be briefly touched upon in chapter five.

The report starts in general terms by recognising the wide and far reaching effect of man on nature through, industrialisation, poor conservation efforts, pollution, deforestation and desertification. The results are said to include an increase in natural disasters such as droughts, floods and cyclones. In relation to the developing countries, one of the greatest environmental threats is said to be that of water shortage and quality if water. Another issue is deforestation, and in Sub-Saharan Africa alone 65 million hectares of productive land were turned into

[130] Ibid.
[131] World Health Organisation, 2009a: 44.
[132] Goets, 2008/2009: 6.

desert in the past 50 years. Land shortages and poverty are said to have driven people onto more marginal territory exposing them to a greater degree to natural hazards.[133]

The report does not dig deep into describing the effects of environmental security on people, but that is precisely what is of interest here. It is now widely recognised that environmental degradation is inextricably linked to problems of poverty, hunger, gender equality and health;[134] it is therefore legitimate to enquire how environmental degradation may be/is affecting women in particular.

Unfortunately there is a scarcity of data on the impact of environmental degradation and climate change on poor women. What seems however clear, as mentioned earlier, is that women spend a great deal of time in ensuring food security by e.g. collecting water. In the case of floods, droughts, erratic rainfall or deforestation, collecting water becomes an even bigger time and energy consuming activity, especially in rural areas. It is estimated that women and children in Africa spend 40 billion hours each year in fetching and carrying water. This staggering figure is the equivalent of a year's labour for the entire workforce in France.[135] Improved access to water and energy could therefore reduce women's workloads in developing countries and increase productivity. In addition it leaves more time for income generation, political participation and leisure.[136] The same can be said for children or girls, where the time spent by them in hauling water could instead be used in education.[137]

Another sad truth is that poor women are more likely to become direct victims than men, either by death or injury, as a consequence of climate change disasters. To mention just a few factors that may explain this; women are not warned, cannot leave the house alone, or cannot swim.[138] The Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) report *Gender, Climate Change and Human Security*, states that 55-70 per cent of deaths resulting from the tsunami in the district of Banda Aceh in Indonesia 2004 were women. In the worst affected village in Indonesia in the district of North Aceh, women made up 80 per cent of victims. Another example is the French heat-wave in 2003, where

[133] UNDP, 1994: 29-30.
[134] UN Millennium Project, 2005c: 2.
[135] Goets, 2008/2009: 130.
[136] United Nations, 2009: viii.
[137] Plan International, 2009: 46.
[138] WEDO, 2008: 10.

women made up 70 per cent of the extra deaths. The U.S. Hurricane Katrina is also said to have entrenched poor African-American women into deeper levels of poverty.[139]

These examples from outside Africa can provide further insight as to how climate change could affect women in the future. One further point that does derive from the developing countries is that environmental risk factors are said to account for up to one-fifth of the total burden of disease.[140] It could therefore be said that the vulnerability of women in Africa to environmental change is based on their multiple roles as providers and food producers, as care givers and guardians of health, and as economic actors.

3.5. Personal Security

The fifth category of personal security as it appears in the 1994 report is the only one to incorporate specific sub-categories of insecurities, and it includes factors familiar among the "usual" threats of insecurity, namely war or conflict. As stated in chapter 2, these latter connections have received special attention both in general terms (e.g. with the 2005 UNDP report) and also in relation to women. Groundbreaking resolutions are a testament to that fact, such as the aforementioned UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security,[141] but also UNSCRs 1820,[142] 1888,[143] 1889[144] adopted in order to complement and expand on 1325. Though they are a watershed in the evolution of international women's rights and peace and security issues, work on implementing these prescriptions has only just begun. It is the issue of implementation and accountability that remains the biggest challenge. Words amount to nothing if they are not converted into action.

The following are the sub-categories of personal insecurities according to the 1994 UNDP report:

- Threats from the state (physical torture)
- Threats from other states (war)
- Threats from other groups of people (ethnic tension)

[139] WEDO, 2008: 10.
[140] UN Millennium Project, 2005c: 3.
[141] United Nations Security Council, 2000.
[142] United Nations Security Council, 2008.
[143] United Nations Security Council, 2009a.
[144] United Nations Security Council, 2009b.

- Threats from individuals or gangs against other individuals or gangs (crime, street violence)
- Threats directed against women (rape, domestic violence)
- Threats directed at children based on their vulnerability and dependence (child abuse)
- Threats to self (suicide, drug use)

Other issues included in personal security but not mentioned as a specific subcategory are traffic accidents, violence in the workplace, child slavery and homelessness of children. The report includes a specific acknowledgement of the position of women, when it declares that among the worst personal threats are those facing women. Their vulnerable status is further underlined when personal insecurity is said to shadow them from cradle to grave.[145]

As is apparent from the content description of personal security; this category deals with an extremely wide range of issues, grouping together all violent activity facing humans in their daily lives and/or during war/conflict. Needless to say, this category is very important in relation to women as there is no society in which women are secure and treated equally to men. In a report issued by the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) under the title *Women in an Insecure World*, violence against women is defined as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women".[146] The report goes on to explain that gender-based violence is directed against a woman because she is a woman and examples of this include domestic violence, rape, forced prostitution, sexual exploitation, forced marriage, sexual harassment and female genital mutilation.[147]

For the following debate it is important to touch briefly not only on insecurities facing women in their daily lives but also on issues arising during conflict. More than 3 million people have died in armed conflict since the year 1990 and as the 2005 UNDP Human Development report states; nearly all of these deaths are attributable to conflicts in the developing countries.[148] The number of fatalities rises much further when all deaths occurring as a result of the

[145] UNDP, 1994: 30.
[146] Vlachova and Biason, 2005: 4.
[147] Ibid.
[148] UNDP, 2005: 151.

conflict are taken into account. To mention just one factor, when human and financial resources are diverted away from public health and other social goods an obvious repercussion is the spread of disease. Indirect consequences of this sort may remain for many years after a conflict has ended.[149]

Domestic violence can be found in all societies, but only 45 countries in the world have legislation protecting women against such violence. While certainly important, having legislation is still not enough, as many of these laws are not regularly enforced. This applies especially to periods of conflict.[150] An independent expert assessment titled *Women, War and Peace*, made for UNIFEM, deals with this matter amongst others. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, current president of Liberia and co-editor and author of the assessment, states that until recently, the fact that domestic violence increased during and after conflict was generally overlooked. Many things contribute to this escalation including for example the violence male members have experienced, the availability of weapons, and the lack of basic services, jobs and shelter.[151]

What this shows is that violence against women during conflict does not solely arise out of the conditions of war. It is as Sirleaf puts it, directly related to the violence that exists in women's lives during peacetime. This debate seems to indicate that when addressing such atrocities as violence against women during or after war, it may not be efficient to think in terms of isolated incidents of war, as the problem seems to partially arise from an accepted norm formulated during peacetime. If violence against women goes largely unpunished during peacetime, it is bound to escalate during war when all types of violence increases.[152]

The impact of armed conflicts on women differs greatly from one context to the next and also between individual women. Some common characteristics have however been identified, namely widespread sexual violence and an extreme burden that war places on women in their effort to ensure their own survival and that of their children and the elderly. Only recently has attention been brought to the serious consequences of sexual violence during armed conflict, the repercussions being cultural, physical, social and psychological.[153]

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[149] Sirleaf, 2002b: 33.
[150] Sirleaf, 2002a: 15.
[151] Ibid: 14.
[152] Ibid: 10.
[153] Vlachova and Biason, 2005: 15.

What may add to women's suffering is their often limited ability to seek protection, support and justice. This access to redress from government entities can be hindered because of cultural and social stigma, as well as a woman's status in society. Rape survivors may be rejected by their husbands or unwed women may become unmarriageable.[154] Even children born of sexual violence may need particular assistance and protection.[155] The violence inflicted on women and girls during conflict does not always come from the hands of armed groups. They sometimes are left with little choice other than prostitution or to exchange sex for food, safe passage or shelter. Among those who are guilty of using women in this way are government officials, civilian authorities, aid workers and people from within the women's families.[156]

Women are not only victims during war, but they also become combatants, provide medical help, protect and feed armed groups. Some women choose such active roles, while others are driven into them in an effort to protect themselves and their families and better their lives. An active role during conflict can then later prove problematic during the period of reintegration after warfare. Female leaders or women who have managed homes and/or communities may experience a difficult transition period when the males return. The woman's authority is weakened and all attention needs to be placed on the returning male hero, while her experience during the war has a tendency to be minimized or denied.[157]

3.6. Community Security

Community security is defined as security which derives from a membership in a group. This group can be family, community, organization, a racial or an ethnic group that can provide a set of values or a cultural identity.[158] The community security of a group can be threatened by another group, but a group can also pose a threat to an individual within. The UNDP report mentions such examples of threats within groups as the breakdown of the extended family under modernization, and oppressive practices like employing bonded labour, the harsh treatment of women and genital mutilation. A security threat from outside a group can be visualised for instance in the case of disappearing cultures and languages

[154] Sirleaf, 2002a: 17.
[155] Vlachova and Biason, 2005: 16.
[156] Sirleaf, 2002a: 11.
[157] Handrahan, 2004: 434-435.
[158] UNDP, 1994: 31.

through the onslaught of mass media and ethnic clashes where ethnic cleansing and rape of women can take place.[159]

Despite having already touched upon the subject of sexual violence during conflict in the segment of personal security, is it important to note also how it relates to community security. When a community places great emphasis on ethnic purity and/or when ethnicity is inherited through the male line, this purity becomes a deliberate target during war/or conflict. As a result of this, women's bodies during war have been likened to a new battleground over which opposing forces struggle.[160] Women's sexual and reproductive capacities have become important markers of male-defined ethnic identity.[161] Several reasons may explain why women's bodies are exploited in this way, e.g. to humiliate husbands and/or family, to infect them with HIV/AIDS and sometimes to enforce pregnancy. The women who already are pregnant may be forced to miscarry through violent attacks.[162]

Another issue of importance related to community security is the practice of female genital mutilation or cutting. It is not exclusive to one religion or social class and it is linked to a restriction of female sexuality and rites of passage into marriage or womanhood.[163] Genital mutilation is practiced in at least twenty-eight countries, and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimates that more than 130 million girls and women are alive today who have undergone this procedure. These women are primarily situated in Africa, but also to a lesser extent in some countries in the Middle East.[164] Moreover, each year an estimated 2 million girls are at risk of being genitally mutilated.[165]

3.7. Political Security

The seventh and last category of human security is that of political security, which depends first and foremost on whether society honours people's basic human rights. Political security is also connected to each state's performance regarding freedom of the press, repression of individuals and groups, systematic torture and

[159] UNDP, 1994: 31-32.
[160] Sirleaf, 2002a: 10.
[161] Handrahan, 2004: 437.
[162] Sirleaf, 2002a: 10.
[163] Vlachova and Biason, 2005: 11.
[164] UNICEF, 2005: 1.
[165] Vlachova and Biason, 2005: 1.

control over ideas and information. In addition, these types of human rights violations are stated to be most frequent during periods of political unrest[166].

Men and women around the world suffer because of different types of state repression. Women's status in relation to political security may further be affected by their ability to participate in all levels of society. It depends among other things on gender equality legislation and on successful execution of the law and accountability.

Women's position in elections to parliament can be taken as an example. One of the targets set out in the 1995 *Beijing Platform for Action* was to reach a 30 per cent minimum of women's representation in national assemblies. Despite a great increase of women in such assemblies, from 11.6 per cent in 1995 to 18.4 per cent in May 2008, with this current rate of increase the 'parity zone' where neither sex holds more than 60 per cent of seats will not be reached by developing countries until 2045. In addition, the current rate is not expected to be sustainable unless countries establish quotas or other types of temporary measures.[167] That being said, it is important to note that four countries out of the top ten with the biggest female representation in parliament are countries within Africa, Rwanda being in first place with women making up 56.3 per cent in the lower house of the senate.[168]

For women to have the right to vote and be eligible for office is by itself not enough to guarantee women access to political and public life as was once believed.[169] Several things stand in women's way still today. Even if the law states that a woman can vote, that is not to say that she is necessarily able to. Many factors stand in the way of increased empowerment of women and their ability to participate in politics, including women's often lesser access to finance for their campaigns.[170] Another problem noted by Francoise Gaspard in her article "Unfinished Battles: Political and Public Life" is that today some may still try to blame the underrepresentation of women upon women's lack of interest in politics. There are similar claims that women choose not to vote for other women, but these claims have been proven wrong by many studies.[171]

[166] UNDP, 1994: 32-33.
[167] Goets, 2008/2009: 21.
[168] Inter Parliamentary Union, 2010.
[169] Gaspard, 2007: 15.
[170] Goets, 2008/2009: 25.
[171] Gaspard, 2007: 16.

The UK-based Fawcett Society has compiled a list of issues which may explain why political parties often fail to respond to barriers encountered by women standing for parliament. This list incorporates the "four Cs", of *confidence*, *culture*, *childcare* and *cash*. *Confidence* is said to derive from women's relatively late entry to apprenticeship in politics and their subsequent lack of experience. Barriers of *culture* stem from the style of political competition which is aggressive and confrontational. *Childcare* alludes to women's domestic responsibilities and the competing demands on the time of female candidates, and finally – as mentioned above - *cash* refers to the relative underinvestment in women's campaigns by political parties.[172] These issues play a significant role, but arguably there are many more answers to be found. So even though many governments may have the political will to improve matters, they may not have the capacity, the know-how and the resources to ensure that gender equality policies are followed through. As an example, while in fragile and weak states corruption and inefficiency can have a disastrous effect on both men and women, they often take a gender specific form that undermines political accountability to women in particular.[173]

3. 8. Conclusion

What this survey of women's insecurities, factual data and estimates shows is that whatever human security policies may be pursued and improved in future, one thing is certain; that there can be no 'human security' without the inclusion of the gender dimension. Even such a short summary confirms that there are spheres of women's insecurity which may be hard to capture within the UNDP's seven categories of human security, like the issue of education. More generally, this raises the question of where human security ends. The 1994 definition of human security seems to embrace most aspects of human life, but at the same time omits some issues that are hard to confine within a specific category. Even so, the effort of categorization is one way to help identify such problems and it does help in gaining a deeper understanding of the situation at hand. In the same way, while theories can be helpful in understanding the world around us, there is still no

[172] Goets, 2008/2009: 22.
[173] Ibid: 28.

single theoretical approach that captures all the complexity of contemporary world politics.[174]

Another problem with compartmentalising security issues is the search for the origins of specific insecurities. It has been noted above that many issues like e.g. health need to be mentioned in relation to other insecurities and not just in relation to the category of health security. When many different insecurities come together to make up a situation of insecurity, it may prove difficult to pinpoint one main source of insecurity. What can on the other hand be said to be common to most of the aforementioned insecurities facing women is gender inequality. So in a sense all work directed towards gender equality and women's empowerment is working towards human security as a whole. As Deputy UN Secretary-General Asha-Rose Migiro stated at the opening of the 54th Commission on the Status of Women in March 2010: "more and more people now understand that gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls is not just a goal in itself, but a key to sustainable development, economic growth, and peace and security"[175]. On the same note, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf stated that "not only women and men of today may suffer because of gender inequality, but also the next generation that follows".[176]

To conclude, it remains important to assert that even though this discussion confirms that there is the need to look specifically towards women when considering security issues, it does not take away the fact that not all women are the same or have the same needs. It is also important not to forget how placing a particular emphasis on women may affect men. When using the construct of gender in policy framing, it is better to take the opportunity of looking at power relationships in all shapes and sizes than to assume *a priori* a simplistic duality in the position of men and women. Nevertheless, the fact is that in today's world security concepts and processes are often male-biased and that creates an ever-present danger of women's complex situation being sidelined or forgotten. This is what must at all cost be avoided.

[174] Walt, 1998: 30.
[175] UNFPA, 2010.
[176] Plan International, 2009: 28.

4. Uganda

The previous chapter presented a general view of how women's insecurities within developing countries may be categorized. The following chapter seeks to narrow down this approach and provide specific examples for the analytical model by looking at women within Uganda. Importantly, women within Uganda, or any other country for that matter, are not a uniform group: so even though the following account may offer more specific examples than before, the information revealed does not necessarily express the lived experience of all women within the country. This is not only for the simple reason that no two women's experience is alike, but more because of the country's civil war history. Some have even gone so far as to describe the conflict-ridden northern part of Uganda as being so different that it seems like a separate country.[177] This actuality is important to keep in mind when the succeeding information is presented. The chapter will give examples based on the seven categories of human security, but each category will start by giving some brief general information on Uganda, firstly by situating the country in its broader geographical and historical context.

Uganda is a landlocked country in East Africa, and borders the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, and Tanzania. Uganda's economy is primarily rural, with about four-fifths living off farming. Roughly eighty-five per cent of people subsist on less than $1 a day.[178] It has a population of 30.6[179] million consisting of 56[180] recognised ethnic groups, the largest of which is Baganda, making up17 per cent of the population.[181] Life expectancy is 52.4 years for women and 51.4 for men[182] and Uganda is ranked 157 out of 177[183] in the United Nations Development Index.

Uganda gained independence from Britain in 1962, but for over two decades the country has suffered from a brutal civil war between the Ugandan government and the rebel Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). For the duration of the

[177] MacDonald, 2010.
[178] Plan International, 2009: 180.
[179] UNDP, 2009: 193.
[180] Uganda Online Law Library, 1995: 186-187.
[181] The Fund for Peace, 2006.
[182] UNDP, 2009: 183.
[183] Ibid: 145.

war, tens of thousands have been killed and two million displaced.[184] What has become one of the best-known features of the war is the forced recruitment and abduction by the LRA of tens of thousands of young adults and adolescents, both boys and girls.[185]

In November 2003, the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, Jan Egeland, claimed northern Uganda to be "the biggest forgotten, neglected humanitarian emergency in the world"[186]. Following his statement the presence of international agencies increased, as well as projects aimed at providing basic services in the overcrowded government-run camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs).[187] Nonetheless this increase of international support does not seem to have been particularly rapid or effective, for as an Oxfam briefing paper states, northern Uganda's transition period from insecurity towards relative stability was characterised by avoidable institutional confusion and weak leadership. The confusion in the government's and the UN's efforts resulted from lack of clarity as to how recovery activities were to be defined, financed, co-ordinated and implemented. At the same time, donor funding for recovery was not forthcoming, partly because the Ugandan government had for a long time been reluctant to acknowledge and respond to the humanitarian crisis in the north. Proof of this reluctance was the late launching of the Emergency Humanitarian Action Plan for the region, which only took place after the UN Security Council discussed the situation in early 2006. Furthermore the Oxfam paper notes that because of reductions in poverty and the relatively impressive national economic growth rates, the international donor community consistently commended Uganda as a success story despite the facts of conflict, displacement and marginalisation in the North.[188]

Interestingly Uganda's case has been a real test for the concept of human security. The concept of human security arose out of an environment where the idea of interventionism was regarded as potentially justified. The tragedy of the Rwandan genocide can partly explain this, as it resulted in the international community being shamed for its lack of action. In the aftermath of the genocide, the idea of the *Responsibility to Protect* was born, providing – as noted above - a

[184] The Fund for Peace, 2006.
[185] Survey of War Affected Youth. 2008: 1-2.
[186] OXFAM International, 2008: 5.
[187] Ibid: 5.
[188] Ibid: 17.

rationale for preventing mass atrocities with all means possible including military force as a last resort. Interventionism was therefore justified under specific circumstances, but as noted earlier by Edward Newman, constitutes just one of four competing elements in the human security discourse overall.

One can wonder why during a human-security-influenced era, ideas concerning action or intervention in Uganda weren't brought to light earlier by the UN Security Council. It seems as if the international community may have been happy to praise Uganda's recent success in poverty reduction at the expense of the situation in the northern part of the country. Not everyone would agree with this critique, however. Erin Baines, a research director at the University of British Columbia, argues that it was precisely because of the evolving norm on human security that attention was finally drawn to the conflict, by highlighting the high number of child soldiers forcibly recruited into the LRA.[189] In a way, both arguments hold some truth and are not necessarily contradictory.

What Uganda's case does in effect do is to disprove an otherwise logical assumption that immediate insecurities arising from war and conflict always receive more attention than other indicators of insecurities associated with development. This was not the case in Uganda's situation which was characterized by overall economic growth.

What needs to be remembered is that the international community and individual states have an obligation in terms of how they conduct themselves in relation to other states. History and even recent history of development policy and projects has shown time and time again how institutions and states can fail this duty. In this respect timing, implementation and accountability can mean everything, for as a senior UN official stated in relation to northern Uganda, "if we don't achieve certain things with the potential benefit of both humanitarian and development money in the LRA-affected North, in the coming years we won't be talking about the needs of IDP's or returnees, but the needs of a very poor population, by which time attention may have moved elsewhere".[190]

As for the stability of the situation within Uganda today, no concrete peace agreements have been signed, even though they were close to being finalised in April and November 2008. The most recent news of the LRA activities came

[189] Baines, 2005: 27.
[190] OXFAM International, 2008: 24.

towards the end of last year. During the period from 14th and 17th of December 2009, the LRA killed 321 villagers and abducted between 200-400 people, including 80 children, in the northern part of the DRC. Most of those killed in the attack were adult men.[191] Furthermore the LRA is said to have killed at least 1,800 civilians in DRC since 2008.[192]

4.1. Economic Security

Chapter three outlined that women in developing countries and in Sub-Saharan Africa, work mainly within agriculture while also bearing primary responsibility for all chores that ensure social existence. The situation of the majority of women within Uganda seems to mirror this trend. Agriculture is Uganda's most important livelihood, with a almost 80 per cent of all Ugandans working in this sector. Approximately half of all produce is cultivated through subsistence farming, and women occupy 80 per cent of all those involved in agricultural production.[193] Likewise they have the primary responsibility of care giving and fulfilling most other household activities. Interestingly though, unemployment rates are similar across gender groups for the western, northern and eastern regions of Uganda. The exceptions are central Uganda and Kampala; treated as a separate region. More than half of the country's unemployed are in the central region, where women are more than twice as likely as men to be unemployed. The same goes for Kampala, the country's capital city and site of the highest unemployment rate; which is about 17 per cent higher than any other region. Women are there again twice as likely as men to be unemployed.[194]

As women in Uganda rely mostly on farming as way of subsistence their access to land and credit is important to their economic security, but women have limited access to both spheres. Women in Uganda own only five per cent of land, and their tenure is highly insecure.[195] Similarly, women in Uganda only have 9 per cent of available credit, declining to one per cent in rural areas.[196]

When considering the position under Ugandan law, women's position does not improve greatly. *The Ugandan Land Act of 1998, Succession Act* and the *Domestic Relations Bill,* are all attempts to protect equal rights and access to land

[191] Morgunblaðið, 2010, March 28th .
[192] Irin: Humanitarian news and analysis, 2010, March 29th .
[193] Hulda Proppé, 2003: 33.
[194] FESS, 2006: 34.
[195] Goets, 2008/2009: 40
[196] United Nations, 2009: 62.

and property. They have however proven inadequate as they are often over-powered by traditional and cultural practices. *The Land Act of 1998* states that before a man may sell his family land, he requires consent from his spouse and adult children. But what can weaken the position of the woman is that the law also states that consent may not be denied 'without a good reason or reasons', thus giving the man the ability to challenge any refusal[197] and begging the question of who defines a good reason. *The Succession Act* protects the interests of wives, children and dependent relatives in family property in the event of the owner's death without a will. What is problematic with the act is that it only protects legal wives and does not cater for cohabiting wives. The passing of the *Domestic Relations Bill,* which largely addresses the issue of domestic violence, would seek to solve the problem of the *Succession A*ct by recognising parties who have co-habited for over ten years as having entered into a marriage.[198] This Bill, which would provide a groundbreaking legal instrument for women in many aspects, has however been shelved on numerous occasions and has yet to be signed.[199]

To conclude the discussion on economic security, statistics on education can offer further insight on the position of women within Uganda. At the time of Uganda's independence, the country had one of the best educational systems in Sub-Saharan Africa. Education is one of the cornerstones of President Yoweri Museveni's policies with a special emphasis on Universal Primary Education (UPE)[200]. In one year alone (1996-7), primary school enrolment rates increased from 3.1 million to 5.3 million and by 2003, enrolment rates had increased to 7.6 million[201]. This speedy increase in pupils has however proved troublesome in relation to availability of teachers. Another problem within the secondary education system is that too few schools exist to cater for the rapidly increasing number of primary school graduates. Likewise the few secondary schools that do exist are mostly situated in urban areas, making them inaccessible to most rural students.[202]

A survey conducted in northern Uganda underlines this rural disadvantage but also an existing gender gap. Nineteen per cent of women between the ages of

[197] Kabumbuli, Mubangizi, Kindi and Ssebuliba, 2008: 2.
[198] Ibid: 7.
[199] Ibid: 2.
[200] Hulda Proppé, 2003: 38.
[201] FESS, 2006: 32.
[202] Ibid: 6.

14 and 30 were reported to have never attended school, compared to just one per cent of males the same age. Those young women who did attend primary school were more likely to drop out than young males, which results in young women in average having had only 4.9 years of schooling compared to 7.0 for young men.[203] When focussing on women aged 26-30, levels of under-education and illiteracy were even more dramatic. Women that reported never having attended school were 38 per cent and only 18 per cent stated that they could read a book or a newspaper.[204] Despite these findings, the primary school system in northern Uganda is said to be achieving high levels of enrolment and basic literacy among adolescents, both female and male.[205]

4.2. Food Security

Uganda is blessed with resources such as fertile soils, regular rainfall and deposits of copper, cobalt, fish and now recently oil.[206] As previously mentioned, agriculture is the country's largest sector, not only employing a majority of the workforce but also accounting for approximately 90 per cent of export earnings and 23.4 per cent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).[207]

Despite fertile soils, however, Ugandans are not all food-secure. An estimated 1.1 million Ugandans are food-insecure with 81 per cent of this population living in the Karamoja Region in northeaster Uganda. The remaining insecure population are in northern and eastern parts of the country.[208] This food shortage has been recognised by the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the number of people dependent on hand-outs in some areas has doubled amid reports of persistent crop failure and adverse effects of climate change. Percy Misika, the FAO country representative, confirms this severe situation, claiming a recent increase from 86,000 insecure households to 124,000 in the Acholi region in the north, and from 12,000 to 32,000 in Teso in the east. Listed reasons for this situation of food crisis are said to be prolonged drought, the drying up of water sources, high population growth, frequency of floods and the rules of land tenure. Additional explanatory factors are low agricultural productivity, the rise of prices by 52 per cent pertaining to agriculture,

[203] Survey of War Affected Youth. 2008: 18-19.
[204] Ibid: 19.
[205] Ibid: 17.
[206] United Press International. 2010, April 13th.
[207] Dagne, 2009: 7.
[208] USAID, 2010: 1.

and low investment in agricultural research.[209] The conflict in the north, which also relates to the category of personal security, can partly explain the situation of low agricultural productivity. Long periods of conflict have resulted in forced displacement which has disrupted agricultural productivity in the region. This could however be changing as USAID reports have claimed that recent security improvements have allowed a number of farmers to return home and recommence cultivation.[210]

The World Food Programme (WFP) states in relation to food security that social structure of Ugandan culture is likely to create a gender-poverty bias. This is because women participate less in the labour market and earn lower wages than men.[211] An important indicator of food security is also related to who is the head of the household. Female-headed households in Uganda were on average 28 per cent of the total population. However this number gives a very inaccurate picture, as great differences exists between regions. In Karamoja, the largest food-insecure region in Uganda, female-headed households constitute a majority. Moroto district is reported to having 63 per cent of households female-headed, Nakapiripirit district 69 per cent and Kaabong district 85 per cent, and all these belong to the Karamoja region. The World Food Programme states that this may be a reflection of the pastoralist/agropastoralist lifestyle that dominates this particular culture.[212] If that is the case, it shows in effect that a majority of women within the region rely on agriculture and livestock for their subsistence. It also shows that women incorporate a majority of those who are food-insecure.

The issue of food security is very closely related to health security and this connection is easily visualised within Uganda. Studies have shown that the households most vulnerable to food insecurity are those that are affected by HIV/AIDS and are headed by a woman. This connection is two-way. In a study on women's landownership and food security within Uganda, 76 per cent of respondents living with HIV believed that it had an effect on their agricultural production with a reduction in spending on food and cash crops.[213] Conversely, those who are food-insecure are also in danger of contracting the disease. Young girls are said to be at a particular risk in their quest for food because of the

[209] Mukasa and Kalyango, 2009, September 24th.
[210] Dagne, 2009: 7.
[211] World Food Programme, 2009: 26.
[212] Ibid: 27.
[213] Kabumbuli, Mubangizi, Kindi and Ssebuliba, 2008: 52.

inability to make independent and informed decisions because of male dominance. That may in turn lead them to unwanted sex in exchange for food, exposing them to HIV infection.[214]

4.3. Health Security

An African saying goes; every pregnant woman has one foot in the grave. This saying rings true, as Uganda alone loses 16 women in childbirth and pregnancy daily. Surprisingly this staggering number represents progress, as in recent years maternal mortality measured against every 100.0000 live births has moved from 527 to 435 deaths per year.[215] Amnesty International made a note of this situation within its annual report on Uganda in 2009. It quoted the findings of the UN Special Rapporteur to the effect that important health rights such as sexual and reproductive rights were not fully captured in Ugandan government policies. Regular reports on cases of maternal mortality have supported this claim.[216] Another important point to note in this respect is that Uganda has one of the highest fertility rates in Africa with an average of seven births per woman.[217]

Dr. Eva Nakabembe from the Association of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists of Uganda (AOGU) has claimed that up to 60 per cent of women dying in childbirth could be saved with basic interventions. Furthermore Dr. Olive Sentumbwe connects this state of affairs to poverty levels, training of available staff, bad roads and the ability of facilities to provide the much needed care. More importantly this can be attributed to the fact that Uganda spends just nine per cent of its national budget on health care, where maternal health is said to suffer the most. This is despite the Ugandan Government having signed the Maputo Protocol which requires all members to commit 15 per cent of their budgets to health.[218]

Another serious health security matter facing women in Uganda is HIV/AIDS. The country was in the 1980s and early 1990s one of the African countries most devastated by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. However significant progress has been made in the last fifteen years with the prevalence of HIV

[214] Ibid: 11.
[215] Nabusoba, Irene. 2010, March 7th.
[216] Amnesty International, 2009.
[217] OXFAM International, 2008: 8.
[218] Nabusoba, Irene. 2010, March 7th.

dropping over 50 per cent.[219] As a result of this progress, the country has often been referred to as a model for Africa in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Different reasons are said to have contributed to this development such as strong government leadership, broad-based partnerships and effective public education campaigns. However, the HIV statistics show not only a fall in the number of new infections but also a rise in the number of AIDS-related deaths.[220]

Women are particularly affected by the epidemic as seen in the age class of 15-24 year olds, where for every one HIV-infected man there are four infected women.[221] Of those estimated 940.000 people living with HIV in Uganda, women represent 59 per cent. A number of factors are thought to have contributed to this development, among them being Ugandan women marrying and becoming sexually active at a younger age than their male peers.[222]

Education, as stated in chapter three, is also relevant to a higher prevalence among women; in Uganda men scored on average 35 for their knowledge on HIV while women scored only 30.[223] Conversely, women's and girls' education may also suffer because of the spread of the disease, as a Ugandan study revealed that approximately 40 per cent of primary and secondary students linked dropping out of school to the need to look after sick relatives.[224] The HIV/AIDS epidemic in Uganda needs continued attention and the country's progress so far should not detract from the gravity of the situation at hand. Furthermore it is feared that HIV prevalence in Uganda may be rising again.[225]

4.4. Environmental security

Uganda's natural environment has changed significantly in the past several decades. The country has undergone severe deforestation, extreme land degradation, loss of wetland and population displacement. Furthermore its soil nutrient depletion is among the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa, and Uganda's forest coverage which stood at 52 per cent about a century ago now stands at 24 per cent. The estimated rate of deforestation stands at 2.2 per cent a year. Another

[219] Dagne, 2009: 8.
[220] AVERT, 2010.
[221] Goets, 2008/2009: 128.
[222] AVERT, 2010.
[223] Goets, 2008/2009: 129.
[224] Plan International, 2009: 28
[225] AVERT, 2010.

important resource is the country's wetlands which account for 10 per cent of total land surface area. Losses of wetland have been significant; taking Jinja district as an example where 80 per cent of the wetlands have been converted to agricultural use.[226]

The most recent environmental hazards Ugandan's have suffered are massive landslides in the Mount Elgon region in the eastern part of the country. The landslides were caused by heavy rains over a period of few days in the beginning of March 2010 when it is believed 250-350[227] people died and hundreds of thousands were left in need of shelter, food, safe water and proper sanitation. Today the biggest danger at hand is the increased risk of the spread of water-borne disease such as cholera and typhoid. Other possible health risks are malaria, acute malnutrition and psychological disorders. Several days after the floods and mudslides took place, at least 104 people, mostly children, were reported to suffer from diarrhoea at the Bukalsi Health Centre in Bududa.[228]

The landslides have had a devastating affect on the region and will continue to do so for some time to come. The outcome and effect on the genders is difficult to predict, but what seems to be a likely occurrence is that children and adults alike who suffer from diseases or injuries are likely to become the responsibility of women. Those within the region who rely on farming as a way of subsistence will also become negatively affected by the recent events. State minister for environment Jennipher Namuyangu did however claim that the rains would bring some benefits for agricultural activity. Farmers should be advised to make use of the rains and soil moisture to plant enough food which could also cater for the drought stricken areas.[229]

4.5. Personal security

According to Amnesty International, violence against women and girls in various forms is widespread in Uganda. The types of violence women suffer are rape, marital rape, domestic violence, forced and early marriages, and these acts are rarely treated as a criminal offence.[230] Statistics from the 2007 Uganda Law Reform Commission confirm this prevalence as 78 per cent of women are said to

[226] FESS, 2006: 6.
[227] Monitor. 2010, April 6th.
[228] AllAfrica. 2010, March 10th.
[229] Mugisa, Kamahoro and Magara, 2010, March 4th.

[230] Amnesty International, 2009.

experience domestic violence annually. The Ugandan Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS) from 2006 reveals that more than 60 per cent of women between the ages of 15-49 had experienced physical violence, 39 per cent experienced sexual violence and 16 per cent experienced violence during pregnancy. In addition 68 per cent of women that had been married at any given point in time had experienced domestic violence.[231]

A number of proposed laws on issues such as domestic violence, sexual violence, domestic relations and trafficking in persons remain pending. A previously mentioned bill on domestic violence, which will bring legal protection to people in abusive relationships for the first time, has been passed by parliament, but President Yoweri Museveni has yet to give the bill assent and has been criticised for this as the cabinet approved the bill more than a year ago.[232]

Rita Aciro Lacor, the national coordinator for the Ugandan Women's Network, an umbrella organization for all womens' NGOs in the country, stated that economic dependence, culture and impunity are major causes of domestic violence. Some instances are based on the empowerment of women where men have a hard time accepting it and try therefore to control the women by bringing them down.[233]

One study in rural Uganda showed widespread acceptance of domestic violence, where 70 per cent of men and 90 per cent of women felt that beating a female partner or wife was justifiable under specific circumstances.[234] However, these findings seem to be in stark contrast to the outcome of a different survey named "The State of Female Youth in Northern Uganda" conducted by The Survey for War Affected Youth (SWAY). The respondents were between the ages of 14 and 35 and the vast majority of the female youth, or over 70 per cent, believed that clan leaders or husbands did not have the right to beat them. Furthermore, over 80 per cent stated that their husbands did not have the right to sex on demand. In addition, younger females overall showed lower rates of acceptance of violence against females compared to their older counterparts.[235] There is therefore hope that changed attitudes may be on the horizon. An important step for Uganda in this respect is the fact that the country is one of the

[231] Kiwawulo, Chris. 2010, April 5th.
[232] Malinga and Ford, 2010, March 18th.
[233] Kiapi, 2009, July 17th.
[234] John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. 2003, January 22nd.
[235] Survey of War Affected Youth, 2008: 61.

sixteen countries to date that have adopted a national action plan for implementing UNSCR 1325, which was released in December 2008. What makes the Ugandan Action Plan unique is the fact that it incorporates provisions from all three relevant documents, UNSCR 1325, UNSCR 1820 and the Goma Declaration, a feature which aims to improve the coordination and comprehensiveness of the plan.[236]

The examples of gender violence given above are a testament to the importance of the plan: while with regards to women's representation in peace processes, it may be noted that during the peace negotiations in Northern Uganda in 2007-2008 there were never more than two women out of 17 negotiators on the delegations of either the LRA or the governments.[237]

4.6. Community Security

In a country like Uganda which recognises 56 different ethnic groups and has different religions such as Catholicism (42 per cent), Protestantism (42 per cent), Muslim (12 per cent), to name the most prominent groups,[238] there are bound to be numerous topics of interest in the field of community security. However, as space is limited, genital mutilation, violence during conflict, forced marriage and bride price have been chosen to provide a brief summary of the topic.

The practice of female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM) is not widespread within Uganda as statistics show that one per cent of the total population are said to practise the custom.[239] These groups which are situated in rural Uganda are the Sabiny, some Karamojong sub-groups, Pokot in eastern Uganda and Nubi people of West Nile. Recent events may result in the diminishing of the practice or possibly its disappearance altogether, and an important first step was taken by the Ugandan parliament in December 2009 when female genital mutilation was outlawed. Anyone caught performing FGM will face 10 years in prison or a life sentence if a victim dies.[240] It is difficult however to predict whether the law will eliminate the custom completely, as a number of African nations still practice FGM despite it having been outlawed earlier.[241]

[236] Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2008.
[237] Goets, 2008/2009: 99.
[238] The Fund for Peace, 2006.
[239] Population Reference Bureau, 2008: 2.
[240] BBC. 2009, December 10th.
[241] Boswell, 2009, December 11th.

In the section on community security in chapter three, the issue was presented as covering both protection coming from a community and the need for protection from a community. The act of rape during conflict was described as an instrumental tool used by one group against another. Uganda's case is an example where rape has been used during the civil war, but not in the same way as described in chapter three. The conflict in Uganda has been between the LRA and the Ugandan army or the Uganda People's Defence Force, not between two ethnic groups. The LRA is not drawn from or backed by a single ethnicity and lacks community support, not surprisingly given that its fighters have mostly attacked people belonging to their own ethnic group and have targeted the most vulnerable, i.e. children and women.[242]

The types of brutal actions that have persisted during the war include physical, sexual and mental torture, unlawful arrest and detention, sexual abuse, mutilation and disfigurement and forced cannibalism and more. A specific type of tactic used by the LRA is that the abducted are forced to attack and carry out actions against their own neighbours, families and villages. If they do not comply, the abductees can face death by torture or mutilation. The purpose of this violence is twofold, to initiate the abducted into the rebel force and destroy the link between the captive and his or her family and community.[243] The war tactic used by the LRA is then systematically aimed at breaking down the sense of community and destroying these linkages. The long lasting conflict in the north can therefore be seen to a certain degree as an attack on the community's security and the destruction of it, even though the attackers do not incorporate a different ethnic group or a community in themselves.

Another example of a community breakdown and war tactic used by LRA is the act of forced marriage. A report based on in-depth investigation on LRA forced marriages revealed that crimes committed against the females forced to marry were not accidental, but instead methodically organized by senior LRA leaders. The leadership exercised strict control over the sexuality of abducted girls and women through violence, intimidation and discrimination; but the women's presence served to bolster fighter morale and support the systems which

[242] FESS, 2006: 50.
[243] Mckay and Mazurana, 2004: 28

perpetuated the course of killing, looting, raiding and abduction.[244] This act of forced marriage has chronic ongoing consequences long after conflicts have formally ended. Some formerly abducted women experience rejection by their family or community; others see no other option than to continue with the marriage forced on them in captivity. But the study found no evidence to support Acholi leaders claim that Acholi girls wished to continue with these marriages after they were released from captivity.[245] Furthermore the report mentioned how many former abducted women expressed their extreme dissatisfaction with being asked to take part in a traditional ceremony for the purpose of cleansing them of their guilt and experiences of rape, forced impregnation and child-bearing in captivity.[246]

Lastly the issue of bride price touches community security on two levels. The abolition of it can be seen as a threat to old traditions upheld by communities, but the continuance of it may also sustain gender inequality and ill treatment of women. A recent ruling by the Ugandan Constitutional Court in April 2010 rejected the petition to abolish the practice. The Tororo-based lobby group had argued that bride price was degrading and caused domestic violence, and cited cases such as refusal to bury a woman at her parents' burial ground when bride price had not been submitted and the refunding of bride price in case of a divorce[247]. In this light bride price can make it impossible for a woman to opt out of a bad marriage. It can also be seen to degrade the woman to a commodity of trade. Despite the court's ruling, the matter has not ended as the lobby group stated that it would appeal the ruling to the Supreme Court.

4.7. Political Security

Uganda's status in terms of performance on upholding human rights, freedom of the press, repression of individuals and control over ideas and information varies depending on which aspect one decides to focus on. As for the strengthening of Uganda's democratic practices, much progress has been made in the last decade. A testament to this progress is the fairness of the presidential elections in 2001 and the advent of a multi-party national election in 2005. Nonetheless much more

[244] Carlson and Mazurana, 2008: 4.
[245] Ibid: 5.
[246] Ibid: 7.
[247] Kiwawulo, 2010, April 5th.

needs to be done and recent events seem to underline this claim, such as the arrest of journalists and the related constraining of press freedom.[248]

Other noteworthy happenings are the recent amendments to the constitution which enable the president to run for three consecutive terms in a row. If president Museveni will be elected he will have presided as President longer than any other leader in eastern Africa.[249] Corruption remains a wide and far reaching problem within Uganda, as the 2009 Global Corruption Barometer indicates. Acts of petty bribery are reported to be growing in some areas and the police are mentioned as the most likely recipient. Uganda has the dubious honour of being part of the 8 countries with most prevalence of bribery.[250] Likewise Uganda's judiciary sector is listed in the national ratings among the single institutions or sectors perceived to being most affected by corruption.[251]

The status of women in Uganda also gives room for improvement, and the UNDP gender-related development index for 2009 ranked the country 131 out of 155 countries listed – one rank higher than in the previous UNDP report.[252] Despite this, women's position in Uganda can be defined as somewhat stronger than its neighbouring counterparts in eastern Africa. This is for example evident from the fact that women in Uganda occupy 30 per cent of parliamentary seats and the proportion of female ministers is higher than in most countries, at 23 per cent.[253] This is in part due to the fact that Uganda was one of the first countries to use the kind of affirmative policies prescribed in the Beijing recommendations.[254] However these numbers do not tell the whole story, as there is still a long way towards achieving gender equality in all spheres.

A recent doctoral thesis by Ruth Nalumaga from the University of Gothenburg claims that female parliamentarians in Uganda are still disadvantaged despite their social position having improved. Nalumaga interviewed female and male representatives of parliament as well as representatives from women's councils out in the constituencies, and her thesis addresses the issue of what happens after women get into parliament. Her findings were that what seemed to

[248] World Food Programme, 2009: 15.
[249] Gunnar Salvarsson. 2010, February 3rd.
[250] Transparency International, 2009: 3.
[251] Ibid: 6.
[252] UNDP, 2009: 183.
[253] Gunnar Salvarsson. 2010a, March 10th.
[254] Wokuri, 2009, August 8th.

be an equal access of the genders to information from the parliamentary organisation turned out to show men's advantaged position. Male members were better prepared as they hired information assistants for summarizing documents and they subscribed to additional information resources. In addition, men, who on average have more experience and free time, maintained communication sources and contacts to solve the problem of locating information. Women MPs were still expected to attend to domestic chores for their families and relatives, despite their status having changed. The thesis thus showed that positive discrimination is not enough to deliver real power, even if 80 per cent of women in the Ugandan Parliament are said to have attained their seats by such discrimination.[255]

What seems positive, however, for the future of women in Uganda is that the country has a strong women's movement. It had an important role during colonial times and received added importance during the rule of Milton Obote from 1962-1971. Sadly the women's movement was repressed during Idi Amin's reign, but became important again under Obote in 1980-1985. Another important fact that underlines women's improving and empowered position is the election of Dr. Speciosa Wandira Kazibwe as Uganda's Vice President in 1994; Uganda being the first African country to take such a step.[256]

The strength of Uganda's women's movement is further illustrated in a study showing that 29 per cent of Ugandan women belong to a party or a women's group.[257] Furthermore, Ugandan women's movement and related organisations have been recognised for their effectiveness in building pressure for peace,[258] and also for incorporating groups of women from different ethnicities, nationalities and religions.[259]

This active engagement can be further viewed in women's recent protests in relation to the aforementioned upcoming elections in 2011. In January 2010, 50 women were put in prison after demanding the resignation of the executive of the election board. Their protests were based on the women's doubts about the election board's ability to guarantee free and fair elections to presidency and parliament. Furthermore the government of Uganda has declared that it will

[255] University of Gothenburg, 2009.
[256] Hulda Proppé, 2003: 33: 28.
[257] Goets, 2008/2009: 19.
[258] Ibid: 20.
[259] Hulda Proppé, 2003: 33: 28.

handle all protests in the run up to the elections in a serious manner.[260] In sum, this short summary has shown the fertile and active environment for women' political involvement in Uganda, but also some of the many limitations and hindrances women may face.

4.8. Conclusion

The specific examples given here of women's insecurities in Uganda show a high correlation to the general difficulties women in developing countries are facing, as analysed in chapter 3. It would seem that Ugandan women face every type of security threat belonging to the human security scale. That of course is not the reality for all, as this account can only manage to scratch the surface of this debate and to offer extreme generalisations. What it does show is that women in Uganda are resilient, strong, independent and active and should therefore not be understood purely as victims of insecurity. At the same time there is still great room for improvement and much needed work to be done. Some issues could benefit from outside assistance, but most changes still need to originate and be empowered from within. It is within the power and the right of Ugandan women themselves to lead the way forward for those who want to help in the process. It is against this background that the next chapter will look at relevant aspects of Iceland's foreign policy and how the country has conducted its development cooperation in general terms.

[260] Gunnar Salvarsson. 2010, January 20th.

5. Iceland

What can a small, remote but rich state with no armed forces like Iceland do to help another state with human/gender security issues, and what can it not do? The first thing to keep in mind is of course to the difficulty in definition and the problematic nature of what constitutes human security. Iceland has not placed particular emphasis on the concept itself, even though it has recognised its existence as well as its controversial nature. It would however be possible to argue that Iceland through its different projects and policies has already for some time worked along the lines of human security in practice. In an era so influenced by human security, many countries have undertaken projects that relate in some way to the concept – especially given its broad initial focus and close links with development. Any country taking part in multilateral or bilateral aid might be seen as having worked towards providing e.g. economic security or health security, which of course belong to the human security spectrum. Definitional efforts aside, it is now a general recognition that development and security can be interdependent and states should begin to approach the matter accordingly. This need for coherence applies especially to larger countries that are providing e.g. development aid, diplomatic aid, military aid and foreign policy aid to the same countries. If the interplay between all these is not at least considered, it could result in lack of coordination, duplication of efforts or possibly inconsistency.

Another context in which states' contributions might be assessed is that of *global* human security. The 1994 UNDP report presented this issue specifically in a section following the seven development-linked categories on which this thesis is based, and defined global human security as the need to tackle threats to humanity spilling over national frontiers. The real threats in this context for the 21st century were said to arise from the actions of million of people rather than from aggression by a few nations. They included unchecked population growth, disparities in economic opportunities, excessive international migration, environmental degradation, drug production and trafficking, and international terrorism.[261] Today one could add on a similar note: the transnational spread of

[261] UNDP, 1994: 34.

disease, human trafficking,[262] cyber-security threats,[263] nuclear threats from and terrorists.[264] This agenda has been less explored here since it is less of sphere for individual countries than for new forms of international cooperation. Even so, and although many of the challenges involved are ones shared by rich states or even caused for rich states by poor ones, any new regulations or actions adopted as a result will alter the context for international development cooperation as well. What this mention of global human security does yet again underline – besides widening the range of theoretically relevant Icelandic choices and contributions - is the extreme complexities when considering a human security based policy approach.

Putting the issue of defining human security briefly aside and before reviewing what Iceland has been doing so far, it may be asked in general terms what means Iceland possesses to participate in work across the range of human/gender security needs. It would seem obvious, at this point in time, that a small country with no army would not be able to offer any assistance in terms of militaristic interventions, training of military personnel or contributing armed forces to a peace mission. Iceland's focus would have to be on those fields where it can make an input, either through bilateral aid, multilateral aid, short term humanitarian aid, civilian experts and services for peace missions, disaster relief or peace building.

Whatever the chosen focus of assistance will be, one thing is for certain: that donors working on any aspect of the development and security nexus must be aware of the gender impact of what they are doing. They must avoid negative or contradictory impacts and do what they can to target gender insecurities directly either through mainstreaming this aspect into broader security/development programme, or by separate gender-targeted actions. If gender implications are ignored or misunderstood, but also if different donors trying to influence gender conditions follow contradictory lines - as has all too often happened in the past - the donor effort can easily become part of the problem. The general history of development aid shows that it is all too easy to make bad decisions, as the present situation of many developing countries can be said to be the fruit of decades of

[262] Picciotto, Robert, Funmi Olonisakin and Micheal Clarke. 2005: 21.
[263] Bronk, 2009, August 13th.
[264] Condon, 2010, April 13th.

unsuccessful past aid efforts. Development cooperation has been and still is today a learning process where, despite the negative points just cited, much has been achieved as well as lessons drawn from previous mistakes.

How do some of the problems with development work take concrete shape? An interesting example is provided in Guðrún Haraldsdóttir's article "Gendered aspects and development cooperation in the fishing industry". She claims that today's gendered division of labour in the fishing industries of developing countries can often be traced back to the former work of international development agencies. Their past assistance has been based on the view that the fishing industry was the sphere of men. This emphasis resulted in women's losing any role within the industry, with the consequence that women had a difficult time in taking advantage of the new opportunities presented in a changed environment.[265] It is interesting to note that problems of this nature are being more openly addressed today in development cooperation; which suggests donors do realize the need to correct their former wrongdoings.

A different, controversial and a possibly very harmful example of the same sort is illustrated by the HIV/AIDS campaigns in Uganda. The first AIDS control programme in Uganda was set up in 1987 and it promoted the ABC approach (abstain, be faithful, use condoms); later recognised as one of the key features in an early and successful response to AIDS within the country. Nevertheless, abstinence has always been a controversial area of Uganda's HIV prevention campaign and has come under particular scrutiny with PEPFAR's[266] programmes launched in 2003. PEPFAR, the American government initiative, has been in recent years channelling large sums of money through pro-abstinence and even anti-condom organisations that are faith-based, and believe sexual abstinence should be the central pillar of the fight against HIV. Along these lines, Ugandan teachers are reported to have received instructions not to discuss condoms in schools because the new policy is abstinence only. Sadly, PEPFAR's efforts are believed to have shifted the whole focus of prevention in Uganda away from its earlier ABC approach. This has been confirmed by the UN Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa, Stephen Lewis, who has claimed that this approach has disrupted the preventive apparatus and undoubtedly caused unneeded

[265] Guðrún Haraldsdóttir, 2005: 26.
[266] U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief

infections.[267] This example shows clearly the serious and harmful effects donors can have by enforcing bad policy based solely on donor values.

5.1. Icelandic Official Actors and Policies

An independent assessment done on behalf of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA) in February 2008 claimed that Icelandic Development Cooperation had reached the goal of becoming one of the cornerstones of Icelandic foreign policy. At that point in time, contributions to development cooperation were more than one third of the Foreign Ministry expenditure as well as being the single largest item of expenditure. Iceland was still not among the nations providing most funds to development relative to GDP, but the assessment underlined Iceland's goal to join that group.[268] This plan for progress has come to a standstill as result of the Icelandic financial crash, with future plans now looking very uncertain.

Official development cooperation in general follows two lines: bilateral aid; given by one country directly to another; and multilateral aid, based on contributions by the donor country to an international organisation which then distributes it among the developing countries. Bilateral aid normally constitutes the majority of funds given by industrialized states compared to multilateral aid, but this has been the opposite in Iceland's case.[269] Organizationally Iceland's MFA is in charge of multilateral aid and the Icelandic International Development Agency (ICEIDA) deals with bilateral aid.

The multilateral support supervised by the Directorate for International Development within the MFA consists of a wide range of instruments and projects: the Icelandic Crisis Response Unit providing personnel for peace and humanitarian missions; payments to different UN institutions, the World Bank, Icelandic NGOs, the United Nations Universities in Iceland; the reception of refugees, emergency relief support, and other types of multilateral aid.[270] What is especially interesting for the present context is the proportionate increase the MFA has made in recent years in its contributions and working costs devoted to the field of gender equality within development. For the present year (2010), funds allocated to this sphere will amount to 13 per cent of total expenditure, whereas six years ago it was only 1.4 per cent. That makes 207 million Icelandic

[267] AVERT, 2010.
[268] Sigurbjörg Sigurgeirsdóttir, 2008a: 3.
[269] Hermann Örn Ingólfsson og Jónas H. Haralz, 2003: v.
[270] Utanríkisráðuneytið, 2007.

krona allocated to gender equality in 2010 as compared to 14 million in the year 2004. In 2009, 281 million were contributed to these same projects but because of the recession the impact was in fact lower (when converted into other currencies). These increases result from a policy shift in 2005 when total contributions to development cooperation were increased as a result of a decision made by the government. Contributions directed to gender equality started their relative higher growth at the same time.[271]

The first holistic policy for Icelandic Development Cooperation was developed for the years 2005-2009. At that point in time, ICEIDA was an independent agency attached to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, yet complying with the general development policy of the Icelandic Government.[272] The new development policy stressed four pillars: (1) human resources, equality and economic development, (2) democracy, human rights and governance, (3) peace, security and development and (4) sustainable development.[273] No evaluation or assessment of the success of this policy has so far taken place or is likely to take place, as what is now recognised as a shortcoming of the 2005 document is its lack of measurable outputs.[274] Hermann Örn Ingólfsson, director general for the Directorate for International Development, has also commented that the policy could have been further improved with an added gender focus.[275] Nevertheless, this policy document was an extremely important document of its time for Icelandic development cooperation[276] and can be viewed as one of the precursors for other significant steps taken in recent years.

Arguably the most important of these steps was the enactment of the first comprehensive laws on Iceland's development cooperation. The *Act on Iceland's International Development Cooperation*; No.121 entered into force on October 1st 2008, amended with Act No. 126/2008, from October 23rd. Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir, the former minister for Foreign Affairs, described these laws as entailing a thorough administrative reform. Their texts emphasize effective,

[271] Gunnar Salvarsson. 2010b, March 10th.
[272] Utanríkisráðuneytið, 2005: 29.
[273] Ibid: 14-21.
[274] Hermann Örn Ingólfsson og Elín R. Sigurðardóttir, 2010.
[275] Ibid.
[276] Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, 2010.

transparent and responsible governance, clear strategy and an increased involvement of Parliament.[277]

An example of a positive reinforcement can be found in article three, act. No.121, as it provides a solution to the aforementioned lack of measurable outputs. The article states that the Minister for Foreign Affairs shall submit every other year a parliamentary proposal for implementing the government's four-year plan on international development cooperation. This plan should report on contributions made and how they should be allocated on the basis of Iceland's policy in the long and short term. Lastly but perhaps most importantly the plan should stipulate how the Minister intends to achieve the plan's objectives.[278] The next policy plan to be presented for Iceland will therefore be quite different from the previous 2005-2009 plan and will constitute more of a policy plan of action.[279] It is currently expected to be submitted in autumn 2010.[280]

Another positive advance for Iceland's international development cooperation is the plan to become a member of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Iceland applied first for membership in 2004[281] but then later withdrew the application. Again in February 2008, Minister Gísladóttir stated she had submitted an application for Iceland to become a member of DAC[282] and recent news confirms that this time the application process will be followed through.[283] Iceland's membership to DAC would provide the country with information and direct access to others' experience for the policy planning of development work. Moreover, DAC four-yearly peer reviews can be seen to enhance the quality of development cooperation as well as imposing important professional discipline.[284] The benefits of entering DAC are also cited in *ICEIDA's Gender Equality Policy*, which mentions the DAC's already established gender mainstreaming methodology[285] as well DAC's paper *Working on Gender Equality* which was the source for the publication of guidelines on how to achieve the goals of the Beijing Platform for Action.[286] Within that context it is interesting

[277] Utanríkisráðuneytið, 2008.
[278] Utanríkisráðuneytið. 2009b.
[279] Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, 2010.
[280] Gunnar Salvarsson. 2010, April 14th.
[281] The Icelandic International Development Agency, 2005: 15.
[282] Alþingi. 2008, February 28th.
[283] Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, 2010.
[284] Alþingi. 2008, February 28th.
[285] The Icelandic International Development Agency, 2005: 29.
[286] Ibid: 15.

to note that work is already underway within ICEIDA to set up an Icelandic development assistance database along similar lines as those held by DAC and other leading development institutions. This database will among other things give information regarding the gendered angle of projects.[287]

Before concluding this discussion on policy, it is important to note that ICEIDA also follows the prescriptions of the aforementioned Act on development cooperation.[288] More importantly, the agency has a specific gender policy launched in August 2004 which aims to promote gender equality within the agency and its partnering countries. This is carried out by mainstreaming gender and gender equality perspectives into the agency's projects. The policy is based on two principal elements: the understanding that gender equality is a human rights issue, and recognition that the affirmation of gender equality, i.e. equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for men and women, is a prerequisite for effective development.[289]

5.2. Multilateral Contributions

Among the multilateral aid initiatives supported by the MFA are donations to UNIFEM, where Iceland is one of the fund's most dedicated supporters. Other noteworthy support is given to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), which works to promote the rights of mothers and children to health, the protection of infants, distribution of contraceptives, and sex and family education. Likewise the MFA supports the World Bank's four-year Gender Action Plan which is aimed at increasing women's economic power and thereby economic growth in developing countries.[290]

Among other supported projects, the aforementioned GET Programme is a prominent one in terms of gender and security. The programme is in its initial pilot period so assessment of its future role is difficult at this stage. Nevertheless, the programme's set-up and ambitious mission statement seem to indicate that if proven successful, its acquired knowledge could be shared with the entirety of Iceland's development cooperation structure as well as the international community. The programme's objective is to contribute to social and

[287] Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, 2010.
[288] ICEIDA, 2007: 2
[289] The Icelandic International Development Agency, 2005:7.
[290] UNIFEM, 2010a.

economic welfare in developing and post-conflict countries by promoting gender equality, increasing women's empowerment and encouraging participation of women in decision-making processes at all levels.[291] The programme targets professionals working for government and civil society organisations in developing countries and post-conflict societies undergoing reconstruction, offering them a 20-week training course in Iceland. In addition, short courses and seminars are to be held for professionals from both developed and developing countries.[292]

The GET Programme's possible future interaction with other development entities is not a coincidence, as the programme builds on the experience and follows the structure of the other United Nations University (UNU) programmes conducted in Iceland, namely the UNU Geothermal Training Programme, the UNU Fisheries Training Programme and the Land Restoration Training Programme. The different programmes now plan to work together, and according to Sjöfn Vilhelmsdóttir one important aim will be to develop methods of mainstreaming gender into the training on utilization of natural resources. This cooperation will boost gender mainstreaming within Iceland's development cooperation work more generally.[293]

The UNU Fisheries Training Programme has cooperated closely since 1998 with ICEIDA,[294] which has supported over 20 students from its partnering countries to attend the programme. The GET Programme could follow suit, and already an official request has been sent from the MFA to ICEIDA to introduce the programme in its partnering countries.[295]

On the above showing the GET Programme could prove to be an important instrument for Iceland's future input into work on the issues of women and security. In cooperation with the other programmes, it will not only work along the lines of promoting gender equality and adapting gender approaches to natural resource sectors, but also introduce the prescriptions of UNSCR 1325 on women's role in peace processes.[296] Bearing in mind the remarks above about the abilities of empowered Ugandan women, it is good to note also that the GET

[291] GET Programme, 2009b
[292] GET Programme, 2009a.
[293] Sjöfn Vilhelmsdóttir, 2008: 45.
[294] Björn Dagbjartsson, 2005: 8.
[295] Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, 2010.
[296] GET Programme, 2009b

Programme does not see itself as a one-way conveyer of information and knowledge production. Rather it stresses a two-way transnational dialogue, disseminating cross-cultural ideas and information exchange.[297] The programme can therefore be seen to benefit not only future participants, but equally those working within development cooperation in Iceland and those working on equality in Iceland – who can test their own ideas and draw fresh lessons from abroad.

To continue on the path of gender and security, gender quality issues have increasingly played an important role within Iceland's (civilian) peace-keeping efforts and the country's support to projects by international organisations. One example of this is the ICRU secondment of Icelandic specialists to work for UNIFEM in conflict-stricken areas since 2000 and also the financial support given to UNIFEM projects in both Palestine and Afghanistan.[298] Without wanting to go much deeper into the workings of the ICRU, it is interesting to note that by the end of 2007, a significant change had been made in the gender distribution of ICRU positions compared with previous years. By that time the total proportion of women among personnel deployed abroad was 40-45 per cent, which is one of the highest percentages of women peacekeepers in the world.[299] This is accredited partly to a shift in projects and priorities which resulted in the positions on offer appealing to both men and women. At the same time this policy change echoes the spirit of UNSCR 1325.[300]

As mentioned previously, Iceland has emphasised internationally the importance of UNSCR 1325, by launching its National Action Plan and by hosting an international conference on the topic in 2009. Many interesting ideas and proposals were brought up during the conference on UNSCR1325, including the notion that women and men holding positions of power e.g. in governments, international organisations and NGOs could use their positions to facilitate women's empowerment elsewhere. Another suggestion was that twinning or cross-learning should be used to increase the number of UN member states with a National Action Plan.[301] Iceland could thus, for example, use its National Action

[297] Annadís Rúdólfsdóttir. 2010, April 16th.
[298] Gunnar Salvarsson. 2010b, March 10th.
[299] Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2007b: 18.
[300] Ibid: 7.
[301] 1325 Women Negotiating Peace, 2009b.

Plan as a basis to raise the issue of UNSCR 1325 within those countries where it has a diplomatic presence either through embassies or consulates. ICEIDA could also use its presence within its partner countries to raise the issue of UNSCR 1325 or establish links or networks where information could be exchanged. The type of information which would be of interest to share with partner countries includes the outcome of the 2009 conference and proposals made there. In Uganda's case the exchange of information could be established with ease as Uganda has already established a National Action Plan as was noted earlier.

5.3. Bilateral contributions

Iceland's vehicle of bilateral aid; ICEIDA, has five partner countries at present: Malawi, Mozambique, Uganda, Namibia and Nicaragua[302]. However, the agency's cooperation with Namibia will finish in the end of 2010 and Nicaragua in 2012, mainly due to the cutbacks resulting from the financial crash.[303] The agency's policy is to place particular emphasis on a few countries and a few sectors where Icelandic expertise is of greatest value. Most ICEIDA projects are related to capacity building and training in the fisheries, health, energy and adult education sectors.[304] They agency has not placed a particular emphasis on specific gender projects, but instead on acquiring a good balance of different projects which are then gender mainstreamed.[305]

Iceland's partnership with Uganda was initiated with the signing of a general agreement for development cooperation in 2000 and was further reinforced with the opening of an Icelandic Embassy in June 2004. ICEIDA's projects are in the fields of adult literacy, rural development, entrepreneurship training programmes and fisheries.[306]

Given the focus in this thesis on Uganda as a test-case, it is apposite that the agency's present largest supported programme concerns the Kalangala District Development Programme (KDDP) in Uganda.[307] ICEIDA has supported this district since 2002 with assistance to its Functional Adult Literacy Programme (FALP). Good progress in FALP led the local authorities to ask ICEIDA for an additional support specific to the district's development programme. The

[302] ICEIDA, 2007.
[303] ICEIDA, 2010a.
[304] ICEIDA, 2010b.
[305] Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, 2010.
[306] ICEIDA, 2010c.
[307] Þróunarsamvinnustofnun Íslands, 2010: 1.

Agency's official support of the KDDP started in 2006 and will continue until 2015. The programme support is divided into four spheres: governance, education, health and the fishery sector. In order to ensure programme ownership by the locals, all the planning and execution of the KDDP was done in cooperation with the local authorities and district employees.[308] According to ICEIDA's project manager in Uganda, Drífa Hrönn Kristjánsdóttir, the KDDP support has already in its fourth year started to show results. This can for example be seen in terms of the support to education, with more children enrolling and fewer dropping out. Furthermore, they have better accommodation and their grades have gone up.[309]

This approach of supporting districts has not been the typical method of approach for ICEIDA in the past. ICEIDA was established by law in 1981, and the laws and their interpretation at that time led the agency to adopt a method of project support. This is the approach most often used within development cooperation and involves providing funding for defined goals within a specific time frame. This approach has been criticised for the lack of a long-term and comprehensive overview and for being designed more to suit the donor's objectives and circumstances.[310] The laws from 1981 did not actually stand in the way of ICEIDA's supporting the KDDP, even if it remains true that the aforementioned new laws from 2008 did open up new possibilities for different approaches and methods.[311]

An easily grasped merit of the new district development approach, which has also been used by the agency in Malawi, is that when focusing on a particular locality over time, a deeper understanding of the complexities at hand can be gained. In the same manner, gender mainstreaming, measuring output and general assessment of the programme is made easier. What should always be a given, but sadly is not always the case, is the emphasis that the KDDP places on local ownership and connection with the grass roots That way, the local community and the individual have a voice and are active participants in the whole process. The idea of emphasising the individual and his needs is precisely what the human security concept set out to bring attention to.

[308] Þórarinna Söebech, 2008: 52.
[309] Þróunarsamvinnustofnun Íslands, 2010: 2.
[310] Sigurbjörg Sigurgeirsdóttir, 2008b: 10.
[311] Ibid.

Another point to note is that ICEIDA, by supporting KDDP, is being faithful to its policy of improving the conditions of the poorest. Overall living conditions in this district are among the worst within Uganda, with a 30 per cent prevalence of HIV/AIDS, well above the national average of 6.7 per cent. There are also problems of domestic violence, prostitution and high levels of alcohol consumption.[312] This type of situation, as was shown in the preceding chapters, affects the position of women and men in different ways. This fact has not gone unnoticed by ICEIDA, and project leader Kristjánsdóttir has stated in a recent interview that while the project has affected and improved the position of women and children in Kalangala in many ways, this part of the programme could be even more strengthened when the next phase is planned.[313]

It can be claimed that many positive advances are on the horizon for Icelandic development cooperation in relation to gender issues. According to the Deputy Director General of ICEIDA, Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, the first gender audit of a bilateral project will take place in 2010. The agency chose to assess an Adult Literacy Project in Malawi which has been supported since 2001. ICEIDA itself will be in charge of the assessment, but the methods used to perform the audit are still being developed and tested as an audit of this kind has never been done before. More generally, Sigurðardóttir has stated that a greater emphasis will be placed on monitoring the implementation of gender mainstreaming in ICEIDA's work, as a clause has been included in each country director's job description detailing their responsibilities in this respect.[314]

Lastly it is noteworthy to mention the issue of Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB), and the possible involvement of ICEIDA. The Icelandic government decided in 2009 to adopt a GRB approach to the national budget in 2011. Iceland's Minister of Finance, Steingrímur J. Sigfússon, formed an advisory committee for the policy formulation and preparation of GRB which will introduce the government's first GRB projects in 2011.[315] But what is GRB? According to a manual published by the Council of Europe, and translated and issued in Icelandic in March 2010, GRB involves mainstreaming gender and gender equality into the budgetary process. That entails identifying and assessing

[312] Þórarinna Söebech, 2008: 51.
[313] Þróunarsamvinnustofnun Íslands, 2010: 4.
[314] Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, 2010.
[315] Fjármálaráðuneytið. 2010a, March 13th.

the budget's gender-differentiated impacts, which then can be used to restructure revenue and expenditure on the basis of gender equality. GRB is not about dividing the budget between the genders but about analysing circumstantial needs for each and every aspect of expenditure. Besides contributing to the advancement of gender equality and the fulfilment of women's rights, the application of GRB can entail added transparency and goal setting.[316]

According to Sigurðardóttir, a meeting was held in March 2010 where among discussed topics was the assessment of how ICEIDA could better follow through with the agency's gender equality policy and how it could use GRB in its own projects.[317] An application of GRB in ICEIDA's projects would undoubtedly improve and further assist in the mainstreaming of gender equality within the agency's work. It is important however to note that this idea is not new in the field of development or international affairs, but originates from the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 where governments pledged to "adjust budgets to ensure equality of access to public sector expenditures".[318] Likewise it is interesting to note that UNIFEM is one of the world's leading supporters of GRB efforts, having since 1997 supported GRB initiatives in more than 40 countries.[319]

5.4. Nordic Cooperation

According to the website of the Icelandic Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Nordic countries have worked closely in many ways in multilateral development assistance. Among other things they have established the Nordic Development Fund (NDF) which is funded by the countries' development aid contributions.[320] In this context it is interesting to note a recent international meeting held in Oslo in November 2009 by the governments of Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden within the context of their partnership on gender equality, democracy, women's rights and development.[321] The logic of a gathering of this kind seems self-evident, as the Nordic countries share a common history and ancestry and similar values, leading them i.a. to place a special importance on gender equality.

The Nordic meeting aimed to compile a list of recommendations for action, which would encourage the Nordic governments to move towards a joint

[316] Fjármálaráðuneytið, 2010b: v.
[317] Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, 2010.
[318] UNESCO, 1995.
[319] UNIFEM, 2010b.
[320] Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2010.
[321] NORAD, 2009, November 20th.

agenda on gender equality and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR).[322] Many notable recommendations were made, including the call for all Nordics to continue to promote gender equality and SRHR as issues of priority within the international community, including UN agencies, bi-and multilateral agencies, civil society, corporate society and the International Financial Institutions.[323]

Other recommendations include the recognition of the power of ownership. Social change is said to be best supported from within communities by supporting community networks, mass media, involvement and empowering of women and men at the grass-root level. The requirements for transformative impact and sustainable improvement are leadership, national ownership, partnership and conducive legal frameworks. Equally, donors, the government, civil society, international NGOs and the private sector need to collaborate more closely.[324] Furthermore the Nordic states are urged to pay special attention to SRHR, gender equality and women's special needs in conflict, post-conflict and humanitarian situations.[325] This listing provides only a brief insight to the many ambitious and instructive recommendations brought together during the meeting. From Iceland's viewpoint as the smallest Nordic state, joint efforts of this sort are likely to be even more important and provide particular added value.

On April 12th, a conference was held in Oslo under the name of "What happened to the Nordic development model?" organised by the Nordic Council and the foreign policy researcher Asle Toje. The Norwegian web magazine, *Internationalle Udviklingsspørsmål,* drew attention to the belief that the Nordic nations as well as the governments of Canada and Netherlands had very similar approaches to development and foreign policy: and it was this that the Oslo meeting sought to address and challenge. What its findings revealed was that there is still today much critical debate as to how best to conduct development cooperation and that the solutions adopted by the states mentioned can be very different.[326] Given today's growing emphasis on cooperation between states and joint efforts, formally brought to the forefront with the signing of the *Paris*

[322] Ibid.
[323] The Ministries of Foreign Affairs in the Nordic Countries, 2009: 6
[324] Ibid: 6
[325] Ibid: 7.
[326] Internasjonale utviklingsspørsmål. 2010, April 9th.

Declaration in 2005,[327] such Nordic divergence is not positive and calls for more joint efforts like the recent international meeting.

5.5. Possible Critiques

At a conference on Africa hosted by UNIFEM in September 2008, Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir said that Icelanders recognise that implementation and assessment of the GRB approach are not only challenging but also the most effective way to ensure active participation of women within development. More generally and most importantly, she stressed how true it is in the context of gender equality that getting things done is much more difficult than stating what should be done.[328] This remains the big and simple truth for international development cooperation. It is hard to find anyone within the development field today who would contest the great importance of empowering women. Yet when all is said and done, the looked-for successes are often elusive. The recently reported news and debates on the great difficulty encountered in trying to set up a special UN agency for women can perhaps provide an example of how tricky related matters can be.[329] This situation makes critiquing any particular nation's gender mainstreaming efforts almost seem unfair in a sense: yet it remains vital to assess whether things can in fact be improved.

One way of assessing ICEIDA's success in its gender equality policy is to review the agency's annual reports from the years of publication in 2001- 2008. Putting things in simple terms, in the years 2001-2007, gender mainstreaming is just mentioned once, referencing a project supported by DANIDA.[330] Although that does not prove that gender mainstreaming has not taken place in any shape or form, these findings suggest that the matter was not a priority. A great change is witnessed in 2008, when each and every partner country has a specific gender mainstreaming section.[331] This is certainly a step forward, but not an outstanding performance overall.

Another point to note regards the review arrangements for ICEIDA's policy on gender equality. Chapter seven of the policy document states that a review should take place on a regular basis pursuant to the decision of the

[327] Sigurbjörg Sigurgeirsdóttir. 2008b: 8.
[328] Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2008b.
[329] Deen, Thalif, 2010, March 4th.
[330] ICEIDA, 2001-2007.
[331] ICEIDA, 2008.

ICEIDA Board of Directors.[332] The trouble with this statement is that it does not mention a specific point in time of when the review ought to take place - which may partly explain why this has not yet occurred. This same problem does not apply to the Icelandic National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325, which stipulates that a review should take place in 2011. This can be seen as a lesson learned and a positive model for Iceland in the future.

Some further interesting ways of judging Iceland's efforts in terms of policy and implementation can be found by comparing Iceland to Norway, Sweden and Denmark. This too of course has an element of unfairness, as there is a huge disparity between funding, staff and the countries' relative sizes. Reviews of the UNSCR 1325 action plan take place more often within the other Nordic states, with Norway[333] and Sweden[334] pledging early evaluations or reviews, and Denmark having already reviewed its plan once since its adoption in 2005 and updated it with lessons learned from 2005-2007.[335]

Another notable difference between Iceland and the above mentioned countries is that the Norwegian[336], Swedish[337] and Danish[338] action plans specifically mention their country's bilateral international development cooperation agencies: i.e. NORAD, SIDA and DANIDA, respectively. The Icelandic plan does not specifically mention ICEIDA, but instead states that "gender perspectives will be integrated into all projects, operations, policy making and legislation regarding peace, security and development issues".[339] Having ICEIDA also entrusted with specific responsibility under UNSCR 1325 could help further the aims of the resolution, as the discussion above has shown.

Another more specific example concerning the relationship between ICEIDA and MFA may be added here. One of the Oslo recommendations from the Nordic meeting on SHRH urged the participants to arrange meetings and events with civil society organizations to report on and share the Expert Meeting's outcome.[340] To this end it would seem important, at the least, to share the news

[332] The Icelandic International Development Agency, 2005: 43.
[333] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006: 19.
[334] The Swedish Government, 2009: 24.
[335] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense and Danish National Police, 2008.
[336] Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006: 6.
[337] The Swedish Government, 2009.
[338] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense and Danish National Police, 2008: 31.
[339] Ministry for Foreign Affairs. 2008a: 4.
[340] The Ministries of Foreign Affairs in the Nordic Countries, 2009: 10.

with the entirety of the official development community. However, by the time of writing this, ICEIDA had not received any formal notice of the meeting's outcome from the MFA.[341] No assumptions will be made here as to why this has not happened or whether it will. But this difficulty with the sharing of information between the MFA and ICEIDA was highlighted as a problem in the aforementioned independent assessment of Iceland's development cooperation. That assessment underlined the great importance of the two entities' informal and formal communication for all policy development, as lack of it could lead to duplication of efforts and loss of important information. The assessment claimed unfavourable working conditions, with employees divided between buildings, to be the main cause.[342]

This problem was partially addressed in the aforementioned new Law on Iceland's development cooperation, and in more detail in the specific regulations concerning the law's implementation. The regulations set up a special steering group on development cooperation with members of both entities, which are required to meet on a regular basis.[343]

To conclude the discussion on possible critiques, it would seem unfair to give the impression that the other Nordic countries are doing everything as they should and Iceland should therefore follow in their footsteps uncritically. Iceland should be able to stand alone and assess its own success and goals while also being able to critically evaluate others' experience. This should be kept in mind, whether it is Iceland acting alone or within a group of states, and whether the context of comparison concerns north vs. south, west vs. east or even the Nordic states vs. the UN. There has, for instance, reportedly been some criticism of the Nordic countries within the UN system for assuming that their situation on gender equality is so far ahead of the rest, they do not need to work as hard as others on promoting measures like the CEDAW Convention.[344] This is a good reminder that all the Nordics, in their policies and implementation, need to be careful to address their gender equality missions with humility as well as with credibility.

[341] Þórdís Sigurðardóttir, 2010.
[342] Sigurbjorg Sigurgeirsdottir, 2008a: 23.
[343] Utanríkisráðuneytið, 2009b.
[344] Kristín Ástgeirsdóttir, 2009.

5.6. Recommendations

An overall view of Icelandic International Development efforts, especially noting recent advances, shows that many important steps have been taken which are likely to provide professional discipline and improvement in the overall quality of implementation - including preparation, execution and assessment. Professional discipline is furthered for example by the arrival of new laws, which require a more focused engagement in policy formulation with the active participation and cooperation of all development actors and parliament. For the present context, there is also no denying that an added focus on women can be traced across various different Icelandic development efforts. The main examples covered here are a proportional increase in funding for multilateral contributions, the added inputs involved in the founding of GET and hosting of the international conference on UNSCR 1325, the rising numbers of female peace keepers in ICRU, and lastly several aspects of ongoing work in ICEIDA with the first gender audit, preparation of a database and possible future implementation of GRB.

Nonetheless, what may put all of this at risk are the recent cut-backs made as a result of the financial crash. It is therefore vital that what has been achieved is not lost, and that the march forward does continue, despite occurring at a somewhat sluggish speed. Likewise, a self-critical view should be maintained at all times, as the above discussion shows there is still much room for improvement. Notably, efforts to improve the present overall level of cooperation, policy formulation and exchange of information between all actors within Iceland's official development community should continue. Likewise, the importance of formulating action plans with specific inputs designed to achieve specific and measurable outputs cannot be over-stressed. Officials must be ready to make bold decisions in terms of setting a strict timeframe for evaluation of both policy and programmes, and then following through with action. That is the most effective way to draw lessons from what has and has not been achieved and to find the possible reasons for such results.

Despite Iceland being a small donor, it must not be discouraged by its size and often limited means from taking a more active part in the joint international dialogue on the evolution of development cooperation. Iceland can only benefit from a richer and more active external cooperation in general, perhaps especially with the other Nordic countries, as they share a common history and similar

values and are among the largest state donors of aid in the world relative to GDP. Credibility is yet another important factor. Before Iceland lost out on a seat to the Security Council, the country stressed its adherence to the Nordic tradition of being a committed and active partner in development cooperation. Though this statement may be easily contested on the grounds that a great difference lies between Iceland's efforts and that of its neighbours, the fact still remains that if a country seeks to project a certain image of itself within the international community, actions must be taken to uphold that image, even or perhaps especially after the UNSC elections have passed. A similar claim can be made about gender equality and women's security, as that was another Icelandic 'comparative advantage' emphasised before the Security Council elections took place.

If the path of development cooperation is followed with attention to these lessons, and with a continued and perhaps increased focus on gender equality and women's security, then there are already many hopeful prospects in sight for Iceland: as a donor, a partner, and in terms of mutual learning about the true inter-linkages of gender, security and development.

6. Conclusion

The concept of human security emerging from the post Cold War era has become one of the best known attempts to establish a different security agenda in international discourse. It sought to challenge the traditional notion of national security and promote the idea of a people-centered view; where the rightful referent of security was the individual rather than the state. Human security also highlighted the fact that people face threats from more sources than just those pertaining to states and the military. These attributes can be viewed as the concept's main strengths and its main usefulness, as they have refocused security discussion from the formerly emphasised state-centric approach to asking questions like 'security for whom?' and 'what kind of security?'.

Despite having helped establish an international moral stand on the importance of the individual's security, the concept has faced its share of critique and debate, and perhaps rightfully so. It has been criticised for its vagueness and for being an impractical guide for policy making. Even so, the concept's present position within the international community is illustrated by all UN member states having signed the *2005 World Summit Outcome Document*, where they committed themselves to the continued discussion and analysis of human security within the General Assembly. In general terms, the concept is therefore still very much alive today, whether it is being directly debated, criticized and applied e.g. in operational programmes by leading international bodies or nation states; or indirectly influencing debate and ideas on how best to secure human beings and their livelihood.

One of the many important and critical questions regarding the concept, for international bodies, organisations or even states like Iceland, is how human security can be applied in practice and whether the concept on its own can live up to its prescription of providing human security for all. Different theorists have pointed to the concept's shortcomings, but also to how it might be better applied and understood by combining it with other constructs such as securitization and gender. The concept of securitization or desecuritization involves asking who is the speaker asking for recognition of a given security threat, who are the audience

and whether they have the choice to agree or dismiss the definition. Are these actors indeed the rightful ones at each given time and what are their reasons for securitizing or desecuritizing? With similar benefits, feminists have pointed out that using the concept of gender one can help shed a light on the construction of identities and how they relate to relations of power. This is in turn beneficial to all, since when the understanding of women's security is challenged new ideas are generated and transformed which also cast a light on the security of men. The same can be said for examining the security needs of all types of groups of individuals, whether it be differences within a group or between groups.

In an effort to illuminate how different security threats may face women within developing countries, this thesis has used the seven categories of human security defined in the 1994 UNDP report to give a non-exhaustive review of the problems. The results show that, no matter what limits human security may have as a basis for framing practical policies, it does help in asking the important questions. The review also highlighted that there can be no human security without including the dimension of gender; as gender equality is a precondition for human security. It showed that there are additional spheres like education that are difficult to capture within the UNDP's seven categories of human security but that still greatly affect people's economic security, among others. Further, even such a limited review demonstrates that the interconnectedness of security threats can result in the difficulty of locating a singular source of insecurity. Correspondingly, empowering women and addressing one source of insecurity does not necessarily result in an overall empowerment and stability. Women may be, for example, threatened by domestic violence within the locality of their own homes, as a direct result of their empowerment outside the home. A purely human security approach that fails to look at power relations through gender roles is unlikely to cast a light on this situation. Addressing this source of insecurity, whether it is done within a state or through international cooperation, is obviously a difficult task, but nevertheless something that should be strived for.

Another reality important to stress is that the effort to tackle gender security issues is not just about the well-being of women, it is about the well-being of all. Addressing sources of insecurity and locating spheres that affect women's position naturally translates and transcends into benefits for all of mankind. In societies where a great emphasis is placed on the notion of

masculinity; men may also be hindered from entering the sphere of women. It is for this reason that the discourse of masculinity also needs to be further explored to gain an understanding of the current state of affairs and the power relationship between the genders.

The human security approach was further narrowed down in the following chapter by using conditions in Uganda as a test case. What this revealed was yet again the interconnectedness between sources of insecurity, but also the great complexities and differences which are to be found within just a single country. This creates often immense challenges for those who seek to assist through international development cooperation and raises the question of how much international actors can really do to affect the situation at hand. This is without even raising the issue of when international cooperation crosses the fine line of assistance and support to play a role basically of external interference in state and/or cultural affairs.

The general survey of Uganda showed that despite the vast array of security threats facing women and men, many women are active and empowered within the country. An international dialogue and exchange of ideas and experience with them could benefit and be fruitful for all parties.

Many important steps have been taken within Uganda that may better the position of women within the country. Women themselves are undoubtedly to thank for many if not most of these important advancements, as shown by their active agency today and throughout history. There is nonetheless much room for improvement, and creating gender-sensitive laws is just a first step in a long journey for seeking equality and justice.

Asking how Iceland and its aid efforts relate to the new human security agenda is not an easy question to handle. As a small state with no military and no clearly defined security agenda for the time being, Iceland might find it interesting and possibly beneficial to adopt such a ‘little guy’s’ philosophy which stresses the importance of non-military problems and non-military solutions. Nonetheless, a wholesale Icelandic conversion to or advocacy of human security looks unlikely at present, given the unclear position of the concept in guiding the international bodies Iceland relates to such as the UN, EU and African Union. What Iceland can be advised to do is draw lessons from what human security can teach, and

how it may used to tease out important questions including at the operational level.

Iceland's international development efforts have increased considerably in recent years and many important steps have been taken to this end. The country is just a small donor, but government officials in recent years have expressed a commitment to raise its GDP share. Iceland can also be viewed in recent years as having increased its emphasis on issues of gender equality, women's security and the importance of women's participation for sustainable development. This added focus can be traced both to the liveliness of the gender debate within Iceland, and to an overall recognition by international donors that gender mainstreaming and an added effort to assure women's security and gender equality are goals needing to be taken more seriously. The gender issue has become more than a fancy slogan for special occasions, but rather an issue which needs serious effort, real actions, increased follow-up and overall increased accountability by all.

Iceland has much to learn in this and other aspects of aid and should look towards added international cooperation, as already demanded by international agreements it has joined. This is the obvious way for a small country to truly mature within the field of international development and possibly gain courage to share its own input more readily with the international community.

If one is to single out and assess from afar Iceland's efforts within Uganda, compared to the picture given in this thesis on the state of affairs within the country, it would seem that the latest approaches by ICEIDA and others are likely to result in a good overall outcome. The review of Ugandan conditions showed a vast array of different types of security threats people could possibly face. An Icelandic approach that increasingly recognises the inter-linkages of vulnerability by supporting different levels of society seems to indicate an understanding of the local environment. In the same way, the local people are encouraged to take an active part in formulating their future thus strengthening their ownership of development.

For future reference it will be interesting to see what lessons can be drawn from ICEIDA's support to the district programme and whether this could be applied within different settings and be used to further build on. Likewise it will be interesting to follow whether an added input aimed at bettering the position of women within the Kalangala district has really been made and whether this type

of district programme will result in making gender mainstreaming more feasible and productive.

What Icelanders need to do now is assess their position within the international community and go on a journey of self exploration. They need to answer questions regarding their future stand within the community of nations and what they want to be known for. Presently there are many positive things occurring within Iceland in terms of enhanced gender equality. Will Iceland want to share its experience and continue to project an image of emphasising the strong position of its women as other Nordic states do? Does it want to be a dedicated partner both for recipient countries and other donors in international development cooperation? These are questions too big for this thesis to answer: but considering the country's limits, its assets and its current reputation, this type of identity projection followed through with concrete actions and credibility seems like a very feasible choice for the way ahead.

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Annex: List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AOGU	Association of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists of Uganda
AU	African Union
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CHS	Commission on Human Security
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DCAF	Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
FALP	Functional Adult Literacy Programme
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FHS	Friends of Human Security
GET	Gender Equality Training Programme
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
ICEIDA	Icelandic International Development Agency
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICRU	Icelandic Crisis Response Unit
IDA	Icelandic Defence Agency
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
KDDP	Kalangala District Development Programme
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFA	Ministry for Foreign Affairs
NDF	Nordic Development Fund
NGO	Non-Governmental Agency
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
PEPFAR	U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SDGEA	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
SWAY	Survey for War Affected Youth
WEDO	Women's Environment and Development Organization
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	The World Health Organization
UDHS	Ugandan Demographic Health Survey
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNTFHS	United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security
UNU	United Nations University
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USG-ERC	Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief