Chapter 1

Women's Voices

Perspectives on Violence, Environmental Threats, and Human Security

GUNHILD HOOGENSEN GJØRV, RICHARD A. MATTHEW,
TERA DORNFELD, AND PATRICIA A. WEITSMAN

For much of the twentieth century, the field of international relations (IR) was shaped in large measure by questions about war and peace, stimulated or amplified by the experience of World War I and World War II. The field developed largely within the English-speaking world, and an Anglo-American perspective came to dominate understandings of IR globally. During the Cold War, as the field grew rapidly, a close relationship developed between several IR scholars and the national security practitioner community around the shared aspiration of developing strategies that would make a third world war unlikely but also winnable should deterrence fail. An enormous amount of research focused on war and peace at three levels of analysis—individual, state, and system—an approach advocated by Kenneth Waltz in his highly influential study *Man, the State and War*. Even as the field expanded to encompass important areas such as trade

and development, human rights, and international organization and governance, security was widely perceived as its most foundational concern, its raison d'être. Moreover, very influential students of Waltz, such as Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer, along with many other realists, argued that restricting the concept of security to war and issues related to war was important because it made possible useful, cumulative research and effective policymaking.[1]

Other perspectives—liberal, Marxist, critical—incrementally created space within the discipline to provide alternative approaches to thinking about IR that were—and continue to be—increasingly embraced. The conversations among these schools of thought has become the core of many IR textbooks and survey courses. From these ongoing conversations, a set of preponderant (but not uncontested) prescriptions have emerged: prevent war, build peace, encourage trade and development, promote human rights, protect the environment, preserve sovereignty, and invest in international institutions.

While the familiar debates among realists, liberals, Marxists, and critical theorists of multiple persuasions have been fruitful and insightful, the field of IR has been simultaneously disrupted and challenged by scholars who have focused on ideas, practices, and values largely excluded from mainstream IR. Mainstream prescriptions, rooted in an Anglo-American worldview, have been revised, interrogated, and challenged by critical feminist, ecological, postcolonial, and militarist perspectives questioning the dominance of neoliberal structures and priorities.[2] Although echoes of these disruptive discourses can be found in any period of human history, and they appeared in compelling and influential forms in the 1970s even as the Cold War seemed a virtually permanent condition, they began to gather considerable support and momentum only after the Cold War had come to a muddled conclusion. Throughout the 1990s, as the international system experienced dramatic transformations, *a theoretical turbulence* emerged in the field. Latent and critical voices that were previously forced to the margins took advantage of the opportunity the end of the Cold War provided to rethink security and other topics and to disrupt the theoretical landscape of IR.

Prominent among these disruptive discourses are feminism, postcolonialism, environmentalism, and human security. They have often been considered in straightforward terms of the particular issues and insights

they bring into IR. For example, an environmental perspective has been integrated into mainstream IR themes, yielding a revised set of themes: *sustainable* development, *environmental* security, *environmental* rights, and so on. Such revised themes are critical elements in global environmental politics, a subfield of IR. These couplings are very productive for both theory building and policy impact. We believe the field of IR has been enriched in this way, and much remains to be achieved by continuing this work. Increasingly, however, scholars are noting and embracing the importance of intersectionality in their analyses, where, for instance, a "strictly environmental" lens provides an incomplete picture and needs to be expanded through discourses of gender, race, ethnicity, orientation, age, and religion that expose power dynamics and inequalities related to the environment that otherwise might remain unnoticed.

These intersecting discourses are in illuminating ways in dialogue with each other, and we believe this dialogue is important to continually capture and reflect upon. Indeed, some of the contributors to this volume have been engaged in earlier attempts to do this, producing *Landmines and Human Security* (2004), *Global Environmental Change and Human Security* (2009), and *The Social Ecology of the Anthropocene* (2016). A similar volume was generated through a workshop at the Arctic University of Norway exploring the relevance of human and environmental security through engagements with gender and indigenous analyses of power in the Arctic setting: *Environmental and Human Security in the Arctic* (2014). These volumes all seek to explore the rich and varied interplay between global phenomena such as climate change and war and the rich local contexts and complex power dynamics through which they are experienced. Hence, climate change, for example, is a statistically significant change in global weather patterns identified and validated through big data extending over centuries and simultaneously a phenomenon experienced in very different ways by indigenous people in the Arctic, communities displaced by drought, investors assessing new mining opportunities, women tending small farms, and so on.

Research has demonstrated that people engage in diverse strategies to ensure human security.[3] This volume contributes to understanding processes of women's agency and presents diverse examples of people taking measures—even within limited or restricted capacities—to mitigate human insecurity. Traditionally, women are characterized as those who have no or little agency, those who are victims, those who are deserving of protection

and are the "beautiful souls."[4] Women's agency is a core focal point of this book, illustrating the various ways and contexts in which women operate to increase security. Their actions can range from efforts to avoid physical violence to remain neutral in conflict settings to being cooperative or collaborative.[5] Civilian agency and women's agency within is often strategic, ranging from survival to intentions of influencing specific interests and agendas that may favor one side or another in a conflict or crisis situation.[6] One of the challenges in understanding women's agency is to nuance what the term "woman" means and the diverse experiences embodied within this category influenced by gender, ethnicity, race, class, orientation, and so on.[7]

This volume contributes to this ongoing exploration of global phenomena, the contexts in which these phenomena are experienced, and the intersectionalities that shape vulnerability and power in those particular contexts. It has its roots in a workshop held years ago at the University of California, Irvine, organized by Patricia A. Weitsman with support from Richard A. Matthew. Women researchers, including many early career scholars, were invited to the workshop to share their perspectives on the varied experiences of (in)security of women in relation to both conventional security threats and to the threats being explored through two other disruptive discourses: human security and environmental change and security. The results were intriguing, and a book was planned—but abandoned as Dr. Weitsman was compelled to shift her attention to a more personal struggle. Then, years later, after Dr. Weitsman's tragic death, the early papers were rediscovered, a new editorial team was assembled, old authors agreed to update their work, new authors were added, and this new volume was produced.

A FOCUS ON WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES

This new volume contributes to an understanding of the experiences and contexts of women in relation to conventional and unconventional threats and the growing repertoire of solutions to these threats that women are creating, demanding, and sharing. Reflecting a foundational premise of human security, across chapters we see arguments supporting the importance of understanding security from the bottom up, in direct opposition to so-called traditional, state-based security studies. Starting "locally" makes visible the different power dynamics that exist between women and men, and between

women themselves, as well as other factors or identities that come into play in local contexts. Of course, there are many conceivable ways of investigating security in relation to these differences. For example, human rights discourse has evolved in part by examining the particular forms of vulnerability and indignity experienced by some of humankind's most marginalized communities and subgroups: certain religious and ethnic groups, the poor, children, indigenous peoples, farmworkers, migrants, refugees, and others. Within this global complex of identities struggling for dignity and freedom, women as a "category" still occupy a remarkable and unique position. Distributed relatively evenly across the earth's settled domains, constituting half of the human family, they exist as a group in positions of marginalization across a range of well-documented variables—from property ownership and political representation, through participation in the informal economy and living on the front lines of environmental disasters and epidemic outbreaks, to being the preferred target of particular forms of organized violence such as systematic rape campaigns and sex trafficking.

Current data on literacy, violence, and trafficking help demonstrate these disadvantages and insecurities:

- In almost all regions of the world, women's literacy rates are lower than men's. Indeed, adult global literacy levels reveal that 89 percent of men but only 81 percent of women are literate.[8] Viewed from a different angle, nearly two-thirds of all illiterate adults are women. This gap is not uniformly distributed across the planet but varies enormously from one country to the next. For example, the literacy rates for men and women over age fifteen in the Philippines are 96 percent for men but 97 percent for women; in China, 98 percent for men but 95 percent for women; in India, 81 percent for men but 61 percent for women; in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 78 percent for men but 50 percent for women; and in Afghanistan, 52 percent for men but 24 percent for women.[9] Differences in literacy rates reflect particular histories, cultures, and power relationships, but in every case illiteracy is clearly a disadvantage from almost every perspective imaginable—including income, health, and freedom.

- Approximately 49 percent of trafficked persons are grown women, another 21 percent are underage girls (totaling 70 percent females), 12 percent are boys, and 18 percent are men.[10] When sexual and

labor trafficked persons are disaggregated, it becomes clear that the majority of sex-trafficking victims are women. However, it should be noted that a fully reliable global estimate of the total number of trafficked persons is not available due to the difficulty of obtaining data on a "hidden population."

⬦ One in three women has experienced physical and/or sexual violence, most likely at the hands of a close partner, and over half of the homicides of women are committed by intimate partners.[11] Further, and important considering the fluid and evolving understanding of what it means to identify as a woman, 21 percent of TGQN (transgender, genderqueer, or nonconforming) college students have suffered sexual assault.[12]

As long as women are still globally placed in positions of marginalization, they will be subjected to insecurities as a category called "women," whether individuals identify as such or not. We acknowledge—as do Holly Dunn, Joana Cook, Tera Dornfeld and Nina M. Flores, Vandana Asthana, and Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørv in this collection—that the notion of women, as a single group, is a contested concept. While such identity-based insecurity is not in any sense restricted to women, the scale here is unique, and it embodies much variation. In this volume, the category "woman" is not used as a closed predetermined category but one of many identities and experiences that have been subject to discrimination, diverse inequalities, and lack of power. Moreover, the conditions experienced by women, both in terms of identifying as a woman and facing identity-based insecurities, is in constant flux. What it means to be and to identify as a woman also fluctuates; we see today how appropriate it is for "woman" to be defined by an individual herself rather than a societal constraint imposed upon her. Nonetheless, the social construction of women as a category exists and becomes institutionalized in policy leading to empirical vulnerabilities. As with other marginalized groups, as one form of oppression is successfully challenged, others emerge. But the converse is true as well: new forms of empowerment continually emerge and take root and scale. While much work has been done in the past several decades, it remains theoretically interesting and practically important to understand women in relationship to security—especially given the deepening inequalities, rapid pace of change, and new threats ranging from drug-resistant disease to cybercrime to workplace inequality and

sexual harassment (which is being given a long-awaited focus at the time of publication) that are shaping the early decades of the twenty-first century. The numbers behind these vulnerabilities are significant, and this volume aims to present some of the stories next to these numbers to share the lived experiences of complex gender-based vulnerability and empowerment.

With so much focus on women's security, some argue that men and/or other gender identities are sometimes left on the sidelines, with little gender analysis examining the assumptions about security that men's lives embody.[13] There is much work to be done to examine the ways in which men are both tools and targets of war by virtue of the fact that they are men, the forms in which men's sexuality and the taboos associated with heteronormative assumptions play significant roles in the ways in which men experience and participate in violence, and why.[14] Such analyses are often very useful in support of increased women's security. But as much as these analyses are and will be increasingly important, this volume is informed by the sentiment that an explicit focus on women's experiences of security is still warranted.

The chapters in this multidisciplinary volume come from a diverse range of authors and contexts focusing on the relationship of women to, and the perspectives of women on, (1) the security contexts of violence, war, and postwar situations as well as (2) questions within environmental and economic security, including natural resource management, climate change science, and sustainable development (see Asthana, Dornfeld and Flores, and Martha Márquez-Salaices and Manuel Ángeles, this volume). These works contribute to the crucial processes behind expanding our understanding of IR and security in general. We need to be cognizant of the changing ways in which women have been understood as a category, subjected to insecurities (contributing to insecurities), made to be victims, and have empowered themselves and/or others, and within what sorts of limitations. We need to recognize the many ways in which women provide powerful and transformative change through local and incremental insights as well as a more comprehensive understandings of security. We understand these insights as the critical elements of disruptive discourse.

DISRUPTIVE DISCOURSE

There are many origins and watersheds in political thought. In terms of the focus of this volume, the late twentieth century provided many

examples of efforts to insert the voices and experiences of women and the environment into global discourse. Some particularly influential examples include the United Nations (UN) International Women's Year and Conference in 1975, the UN Decade for Women in 1976–85, the 1987 Brundtland Commission report, and the Beijing Conference of 1995. The early years after the Cold War were, insofar as these forms of disruptive discourse are concerned, notably creative and energetic. In 1992, the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, fueled by science, placed the environment at the top of the global agenda and with it a vocabulary that is now universally employed: "sustainable development," "climate change," "earth rights." That same year, J. Ann Tickner published *Gender in International Relations* (1992), and V. Spike Peterson published the edited volume *Gendered States: (Re)Visioning International Relations* (1992), both studies introducing gender perspectives into mainstream IR that quickly wove themselves into undergraduate and graduate programs across the United States and eventually to many other countries around the world. Two years later, in 1994, the United Nations Human Development Report introduced an approach to operationalizing the concept of human security. Suddenly a vast space was visible within the academy receptive to new voices, research agendas, courses, aspirations, and policy recommendations. This did not transform the intricate architecture built over decades around a conventional understanding of war and peace, but it placed this problematic in a much richer and more inclusive context, unsettling its authority and eroding its dominance, engaging relevant insights while simultaneously broadening the purview of security.

FEMINIST DISCOURSE

Jean Bethke Elshtain wrote that femininity is often connected to life giving, masculinity with life taking.[15] IR grew up around the experiences and perspectives of men, the life takers. As Tickner and Cynthia Enloe argued, while both traditional realist and liberal idealist paradigms are highly patriarchal, they have hidden this bias behind the language of a universal, rational, utility maximizing "human." The problem is that this universalized human inevitably excludes the variety of ways women experience war and peace. Hence, the particular forms of violence and vulnerability associated with women's experiences had been ignored, and the concept of security left

incomplete. This universalization also prevented the understanding of how women's (and men's) experiences are influenced by intersections with race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender identification, where it is possible "to speak of the simultaneity and mutual co-constitution of different categories of social differentiation and to emphasize the specificity of the experiences shaped by these interactions."[16]

Women's security and insecurity are dependent upon complex intersections of context, history, gender, and power. This complexity is well illustrated by experiences of women in Afghanistan, whose disempowerment and, thus, insecurity Western audiences have heard much about. While stories of insecurity are often widely disseminated, without actually learning from these same women about their own perceptions of security and power in a particular context, it is not possible to know all the ways in which their experiences are unique and also how these particular women have adapted to and even shaped changes in power structures. Though Afghanistan has been ranked as one of the harshest countries in the world for women to live in,[17] the experiences of women in and across Afghanistan differ remarkably depending on the region in which they live, the ethnic group they belong to, and their political/economic status, among other things. For example, women's experiences can differ if they are in urban or rural environments, making it difficult to generalize about all "Afghan women." Some women and girls, with the assistance of local and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), have been able to learn to read and write in the safety of each other's homes. In addition, in a small but increasing number of cases, particularly at the local level, women possess knowledge about important political leaders and activities. Although not part of the dominant public space, they may be able to influence decision-making in their communities.[18] Many, however, continue to face enormous hurdles, from various forms of violence and lack of general and maternal health care, education, and mobility.[19] But it does demonstrate that we really need to know the specifics of power, of lack of power, and of needs in specific contexts and support activities where women are able to make a difference. In this case, feminist and gender security studies increase the recognition of women as nonstate security providers, even when confronted with large challenges such as limited political power.[20] As we see, from difference arises identities intersecting with oppression to produce unique conditions to which women are adapting to gain or regain power.

Exploring (in)security through the experiences of women has become an important trend in scholarly literature as well as in practice and policy, including the programs and initiatives of the UN's Women, Peace and Security agenda. Such research and analysis confirm again and again the importance of consulting with women to learn what power structures they depend upon and which are imposed upon them, what power they contribute to these structures, and what empowerment is further needed within a given context. It is an uphill battle, but the importance of women being "at the table" in peace negotiations, conference meetings, and presentations is gaining widespread support. As Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau stated when asked why he sought gender balance and adequate female representation in his cabinet: "Because it is 2015."[21]

Recent UN analyses of women and poverty, as one example, demonstrate the positive impact that would result if more women contributed equally to the economy, increasing gross domestic products around the world.[22] The nature of the power that women have, as well the ways in which further empowerment is possible and necessary, have been the focus of much gender/feminist security literature. And there have been concrete gains. United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 helped to put the role of women and security on the international map: women's perceptions of security constituted an issue important enough for the Security Council to recognize as essential to international peace and security. This resolution not only identified women as victims of armed conflict but also emphasized that women need to be at the table to effectively create peace and security.

HUMAN SECURITY DISCOURSE

The development-assistance programs crafted after World War II focused largely on helping to grow the economies of the many countries emerging from colonialism or otherwise marginalized in the global economy, through programs of trade and investment in infrastructure. By the 1960s, this economic focus had become the source of considerable contention. One particularly influential line of thinking is associated with the work of Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum, and their many colleagues and focuses on linking human development to capabilities and opportunities. A core idea that emerged from this was that economic growth and income generation may

be important elements to support human development but that our focus should be on helping people increase their capabilities, expanding the opportunities available to them, and enabling them to have the freedom to make choices in their own best interests. This set of linkages has come to be known as human development and in the 1980s began to have a broad and deep influence in the UN and development communities. For example, it led to the creation of the Human Development Index, a measure of life expectancy, educational attainment, and income that is now used worldwide as a measure of development progress. It was also the platform for the Human Development Reports that are produced by the United Nations Development ment Programme (UNDP) annually as an assessment of where the world stands, where progress has been made, and where challenges remain.

The concept of human security, which is often attributed to the Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq, emerged from this broader discussion about human development. Ul Haq, along with other economists such as Sen, were key contributors to the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, which introduced the idea of human security to the global community. This report organized human security into two domains: "It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life."[23] The authors of the report continued to identify four key dimensions of human security: it is universal, its components are interdependent, it is easier to protect through prevention than intervention, and it is people-centered.[24] And the report listed seven areas of concern: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political.

A decade after the popularization of the term "human security," the Commission on Human Security contributed to further solidifying the concept by arguing that a core concern of international politics was to protect "the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment."[25] This definition embodies ideas associated with one of its members, Sen, who has linked development to freedom and defined the conditions for development in terms of "economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education, and the encouragement and cultivation of initiatives."[26]

The academic response to the concept of human security has been mixed, as one might expect from any disruptive discourse. Tariq Banuri, for example, contends that "security denotes conditions which make people feel

secure against want, deprivation, and violence; or the absence of conditions that produce insecurity, namely the threat of deprivation or violence. This [the 1994 UNDP report] brings two additional elements to the conventional connotation (referred to here as political security), namely human security and environmental security."[27] In contrast, many argue that its all-encompassing nature and inclusivity tends to "hobble the concept of human security as a useful tool of analysis."[28] However, Roland Paris also notes that "definitional expansiveness and ambiguity are powerful attributes of human security. . . . Human security could provide a handy label for a broad category of research . . . that may also help to establish this brand of research as a central component of the security studies field."[29]

In the policy arena, the concept has been ignored by some countries, such as the United States, which prefer to maintain state security as the appropriate focus of their foreign and defense policy. On the other hand, it has contributed to the articulation of both the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and been embraced and operationalized by some countries. For example, in the 1990s and early 2000s, in response to these goals, Canada focused some of its foreign policy on protecting people from extreme forms of violence. At various times, it has invested in humanitarian assistance, peacebuilding, and conflict prevention and played a leadership role in campaigns to improve human security through banning land mines, human trafficking, and child soldiers. Most notably, Canada played a critical role through its support of the 1997 Mine Ban Treaty. Japan provides a rather different example of a country linking foreign policy to human security, investing in strategies and projects that focus on capacity building and development assistance and on achieving the MDGs and SDGs, all areas in which Japan has been a major contributor.

The concept of human security has also been invoked in efforts to protect and empower women. For example, in 2000, the international community passed UNSCR 1325, which specifically acknowledged the fact that many women experience security differently, that these experiences need to be recognized and addressed when understanding conflict (including sexual violence against women during times of conflict), and that women need to be participants in peacemaking efforts.[30]

One example of peacemaking efforts lies in a story of an Iraqi woman who has provided shelter to Iraqi widows, honor-killing escapees, rape survivors, and runaways whose lives became qualitatively and quantitatively

worse after the 2003 intervention. This service has been increasingly central to the creation of security for individuals in the region.[31] Such cases make it clear that a better understanding of, and interest to protect, women's security has geopolitical repercussions. In this case, power in Iraq was uncritically relinquished to extremely conservative and violent forces that both set back women's freedom and security and have given rise to such forces as Daesh (otherwise known as the Islamic State).[32] Respecting and abiding by UNSCR 1325 and its subsequent related resolutions is not just a matter of using the right rhetoric at the right time but also has implications on the ground for peace and reconciliation processes.

Feminist security studies also has been critical of human security literature, questioning assumptions about what constitutes "human" in human security.[33] Moreover, the human security agenda has relied heavily on Sen and Nussbaum's "capabilities approach."[34] As Natasha Marhia argues, the notion of "human" has often assumed the capacity to make a choice, to actively engage in a particular, political manner, to which not all individuals have access.[35] The universalized properties of "human" have often reflected a "universal man" who embodies heteronormative assumptions, which is acontextual and ahistorical—existing in the same manner for all places for all time. Feminist security studies contest these and other assumptions embodied within particularly liberal assumptions of the "human," exposing the importance of context, history, and power in how we have determined what is quintessentially human and what is not.

Several chapters in this volume address the unique roles women play within diverse local contexts and discuss the nuances that undergird the identities of "women." For example, Asthana, Márquez-Salaices and Ángeles, and Dornfeld and Flores all highlight the multiple forms of knowledge women possess about nature and natural resources—knowledge that is unique to their local context. Rachel Stohl's work reveals the layers of complexity that exist with the dichotomy of the role of victim versus agent within the home when she examines how women are not only harmed by small arms and light weapons but also navigate challenging circumstances to fight for political change. Elissa McCarter LaBorde champions the value of women's contextual knowledge and the nuance of lived experiences after disasters or in the midst of recurrent conflicts. She presents stories of women in Iraq, Jordan, and several other contexts as financial agents whose decisions have far-reaching impacts for their families. The authors within reflect women's

experiences as curators of their own knowledge and advocate for use of this data to strengthen human security policy. Critically, Dunn reminds us to be cautious in regards to the use of women's data and collection of data "from" women, showing how research agendas may or may not faithfully portray the identity those same women have created for themselves.

Gender and feminist studies have contributed more than four decades' worth of scholarship on the concept and theorizing of peace and security, while human security research arrived on the global stage later.[36] These two bodies of scholarship developed somewhat independently in the 1990s,[37] and it was not until more recently that these two streams of security thinking began engaging one another.[38] In many respects there are very natural linkages between the human security and the gender and feminist security literatures in that both have attempted to reorient the focus of security toward the individual or community level, making visible the experiences of insecurity and production of security occurring among nonstate actors. Whereas gender and feminist security literature has often been criticized for being too theoretical and distant from concrete policy agendas, human security literature has often been criticized for being very policy-focused and lacking theoretical substance. A core strength of much of the gender and feminist security literature has not only been theoretical, however, but also its empirical basis, examining "real life" issues relevant to individuals and developing theory through bottom-up, individual-experience-based analyses.

In short, human security discourse has catalyzed different policy agendas, triggered resistance, and received mixed reviews from academics, including feminist scholars. However, over more than two decades, it has become a part of the theory and practice of IR, challenging, reshaping, and supplementing more traditional views of security. Today much of human security scholarship and practice (although by no means all) has moved along a trajectory similar to that of feminism, confronting values of inclusion and equality and advocating freedom from violence in all forms. While women's diverse experiences of human insecurity linked to conflict and violence have been the most common focus, as illustrated by the efforts of UNSCR 1325, insecurity in relation to poverty, health and education deficits, and the environment have also attracted attention. Similar to feminist research, today's human security agenda seeks among other goals to eradicate extreme poverty, promote gender equality, empower women and other marginalized groups, combat disease, achieve environmental security, forge global

partnerships for development, design global strategies to combat threats, emphasize peacekeeping and peacebuilding, strengthen democracy and the rule of law, and protect human rights.

ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY DISCOURSE

Environmental issues have played an important role as a disruptive discourse challenging the content of IR theory and practice and changing the way people think about war, trade, and development—but the environment is rarely considered as an important intersection with human and feminist security approaches. Environmental security emerged mainly in response to the 1987 Brundtland Commission report, *Our Common Future*, and the first Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992—two events that dramatically elevated environmental change on the global agenda. Intellectually it builds on a problem familiar to earlier generations—establishing an equilibrium between human needs and behavior on the one hand and ecological constraints and processes on the other. Some past societies achieved a satisfactory balance—but others, famously, did not. At the same time, the challenges of balancing these two variables today is unlike any earlier challenge by virtue of the sheer enormity of anthropogenic environmental change. The unprecedented character of our current challenge is well captured in the trending concept of the Anthropocene.[39]

Since the early 1990s, environmental security scholars have explored many of the processes through which human behavior leads to environmental stress, along with the adverse social effects of this stress, including great demands for support in response to disasters; the displacement of tens of millions of people by drought, flood, and fire, many into protected areas and across borders; the scale of corruption in sectors such as agriculture, energy, mining, forestry, and water; the rapid mobilization of desperate people into actions such as rioting; and the escalation of the differential social impacts of climate change and other forms of environmental stress into tension and violent conflict. While there is still considerable controversy around arguments linking environmental change to insecurities, the general trend of increasingly sophisticated research connecting big data to local histories and geographies is growing support. The intuition connecting environmental stress and various security outcomes, including violent conflict, is validated, widespread, and increasing.

This research has informed considerable policy activity along with many other forms of civic engagement in critical sectors including human security; economic development; water, agricultural, mining, and energy policy; public health policy; conflict mediation and peacebuilding activities; and poverty-reduction programs. It is noted throughout the many security assessments and policy statements produced by countries, institutions, and regional bodies of all sizes—from China to Norway to Fiji and Sri Lanka—and including the European Union, the World Bank, the UN environment and development programs, and many NGOs, such as the International Institute for Sustainable Development, Conservation International, and Oxfam.

As women represent the majority of the world's poor, they are disproportionately affected by climate change and its negative health impacts.[40] Indeed, the daily burden on women worldwide to acquire water, food, and energy for survival demonstrates their unique direct relationship and dependency on natural resources, a detailed case of which is documented in this volume (see Asthana). Adding to work that has introduced intersections between environmental and human security, such as the environmental consequences of war and in particular intersections with feminist approaches, documenting, for instance, the role of women in environmental preservation, chapters in this volume by Márquez-Salaices and Ángeles and Dornfeld and Flores tackle questions regarding the formal and informal participation of women in the development of sustainable economies and climate change science.[41]

CHAPTER-BY-CHAPTER OVERVIEW

There are significant gender dimensions to traditional questions in IR and human security. Several chapters in this volume focus on the diverse impacts on women's lives and well-being manifest in conflict and postconflict situations and the corrective measures that can be taken from a human security perspective. In line with other recent work, this volume highlights traditional questions related to women's experiences and human security, such as how women and girls are victims of gender-based violence in conflict and postconflict situations (see Stohl, Hoogensen Gjørv, Weitsmann, Cook, and Dunn within).[42] Similarly, both this volume and others works have documented women's agency in policymaking and peacebuilding (see Stohl, Hoogensen Gjørv, and Cook within).[43] Across the chapters in this volume,

the ways in which women can be or are powerful contributors to a broader and more comprehensive understanding of security are presented. Several chapters reflect upon policy implications and solutions and how women can create these solutions through historical and future roles. This text further adds novel solutions to this discussion, such as the analyses of the potential of citizen science and microfinance (see Dornfeld and Flores and LaBorde). The contributors bring a variety of disciplinary backgrounds to these issues, listening to, learning from, and systematically documenting women's diverse experiences using a variety of empirical methods, including action-based, participatory, and feminist research practices (Asthana, Dunn) and developing novel approaches such as social ecology and informal scientific opportunities (Asthana, Márquez-Salaices and Ángeles, Dornfeld and Flores).

The first section of the volume contributes insights and research on the impacts of violence against women and the continued challenges to altering patterns of conflict and violence that specifically target women in different contexts.

Patricia A. Weitsman analyzes how identity politics explicitly uses gender constructions as well as ethnicity, race, or religion to affect policies of sexual violence in wartime. She examines policies that range from forced impregnation to gendered forms of torture and assesses those ideas in the context of the mass rapes in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s and Rwanda in 1994, with the goal that improved analysis about these processes can assist in ensuring a better quality of life for those who have suffered from these policies.

Rachel Stohl analyzes the negative effects of small arms and light weapons on the lives of women in a range of environments. These effects include murder, sexual violence, intimidation, and loss of opportunities. Stohl argues that gender perspectives and gender-mainstreaming initiatives based on continued data collection are necessary in small arms legislation nationally and internationally to help prevent violence against women.

Mia Bloom investigates further the relationship between women and violence in the context of rape and war and its effect on promoting suicide terrorism, which exploits stereotypes of women as passive and nonviolent, explores women's motivations to participate in violence, and examines the ways in which masculinist organizations debate and justify women's recruitment. Thus, the role of women in the issue of suicide terrorism captures the unique position of women as both targets and perpetrators of violence.

Joana Cook's chapter focuses on the ways in which the role of women is underestimated in countering violent extremism. Cook looks at the ways in which women who are active in civil society are working toward alleviating poverty and illiteracy and increasing access to education and health care, which among other activities contribute to building security and reducing extremism.

Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørv examines women's activities in peace and security by focusing on the ways in which the role of gender advisers developed within the militaries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2014. Using feminist security studies theories, she exposes the tensions inherent in assumptions about what the category "woman" brings to military operations and to the communities impacted by these operations. She draws on recent evaluations of attempts to implement UNSCR 1325 in NATO and Norwegian military operations in the Afghanistan context, as well as from her own interviews and discussions conducted in Afghanistan with a select number of Afghan women.

Holly Dunn turns our attention to sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where she argues that it is important to further unpack what we mean by concepts such as "wartime rape" and "gender-based violence" as well as examine more closely methodologies in sexualized violence research, claiming that more in-depth or "immersive" fieldwork is needed, integrating positionality and reflexivity into research designs.

The second section contains several chapters that address environmental and economic security. These chapters focus on environmental threats to women's lives from a public policy perspective and navigate the relationship between environmental and economic development.

On the basis of such uncritical assumptions about who is human and who is not, human security discourses have been used to support political agendas where Western security becomes dependent upon non-Western security—or, rather, "our" security relies on "their" development and security.[44]

Vandana Asthana's work based on case studies in India exposes the vulnerabilities women face in light of climate change, where their food and economic security is highly dependent upon the environment and possibilities for agricultural development. Their vulnerability is increased when access to education, political power, and land management is socially constructed in favor of masculine paradigms. At the same time, being responsible for both

indoor and outdoor work, women are responsible for the survival of their families, for food, water, and economic security.

Tera Dornfeld and Nina M. Flores build on the characterization of climate change as a "superwicked problem" and claim that the tool of "citizen science" can provide much-needed data, which can serve to provide a more complex and complete picture regarding the contextual effects of climate change as well as possible mitigation measures. The authors examine citizen science in both theoretical and practical terms, including insights from critical pedagogy, proposing concrete approaches to ensuring that citizen science is more inclusive for particularly disadvantaged women who have insights that would normally go unheard.

Martha Adriana Márquez-Salaices and Manuel Ángeles use theories and methods of social ecology to examine the interrelations between economy and nature. They investigate the development of sustainable economies in northwestern Mexico, calling for a better integration of input from local stakeholders. Through social ecology, the authors show how local interactions with the environment and nature inspire different actions that potentially transform communities into equitable and sustainable spaces.

Elissa McCarter LaBorde's chapter uniquely draws upon traditional questions of security in war-torn areas alongside emerging financial tools and technologies. Specifically, advancing the analysis of women's economic vulnerabilities and potentials, LaBorde analyzes microfinance, or "financial inclusion," as a development tool and the possibilities for women in situations of perpetual poverty, war-torn areas, and postdisaster situations. She finds that women borrowers have been the principal drivers behind the developmental impact of microfinance—women as agents of change, rather than the victims, requiring savings. The author nevertheless calls for more research into why women are still very vulnerable to poverty and have reduced access to financial measures to provide for their own, their family's, and their community's economic security.

NOTES

———

1. Walt, "Renaissance," 213.

2. Parashar, Tickner, and True, *Revisiting Gendered States.*

3. Jose and Medie, "Understanding Why"; Rubin, "Rebel Territorial Control"; Parashar and Shah, "(En)Gendering"; Hoogensen Gjørv, "Virtuous Imperialism."

4. Elshtain, "On Beautiful Souls."

5. Baines and Paddon, "This Is How."

6. Smith, "Remaking Scale."

7. Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins"; Vastapuu, "Hope Is Not Gone."

8. UNESCO, "Adult and Youth Literacy."

9. CIA, *Literacy*.

10. UNODC, *Global Report on Trafficking*.

11. UN Women, "Progress."

12. Cantor et al., *Report on the AAU*.

13. Carpenter, "Recognizing Gender-Based Violence."

14. See, e.g., Duriesmith, "Manly States."

15. Elshtain, *Women and War*.

16. Lutz, Vivar, and Supik, "Framing Intersectionality," 2.

17. See, e.g., GWIPS and PRIO, *Women and Peace Security Index*.

18. World Bank, *Citizens' Charter*.

19. Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, "Seeking Out"; UNAMA/OHCHR, *Injustice and Impunity*.

20. UNDP, *Human Development Report 2015*.

21. Ditchburn, "'Because It's 2015.'"

22. UN Women, "Progress."

23. UNDP, *Human Development Report 2015*, 23.

24. UNDP, 22.

25. Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*.

26. Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 5.

27. UNDP, *Human Development Report 1994*, 163–64.

28. Krause, "Key"; Paris, "Human Security."

29. Paris, "Human Security," 102.

30. UNSC, "Resolution 1325."

31. Sengupta, "Finding a Path."

32. Sengupta.

33. Hudson, "'Doing' Security"; Marhia, "Some Humans."

34. Sen, *Development as Freedom*; Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development*; Sen, "Development."

35. Marhia, "Some Humans."

36. In this collection, we also at times refer to "gender and feminist theories and studies," as not all analyses examining genders are necessarily feminist nor are processes of gendering. Feminist approaches can be distinguished by not only a focus on gender (which historically has been focused on the category of women narrowly conceived) but also by a political interest and agenda for change in favor of gender equality.

37. Blanchard, "Gender."

38. Hoogensen and Rottem, "Gender Identity."

39. Matthew et al., *Continuity and Change*.

40. UNFPA, *State of the World Population*; World Commission on Environment and Development, *Gender, Climate Change, and Health*.

41. Reardon and Hans, *Gender Imperative*.

42. Boyd, *Search*; Reardon and Hans, *Gender Imperative*; Truong, Wieringa, and Chhachhi, *Engendering Human Security*.

43. Boyd, *Search*; Reardon and Hans, *Gender Imperative*.

44. McRae and Hubert, *Human Security*; Duffield and Waddel, "Securing Humans"; Marhia, "Some Humans"; Hoogensen Gjørv, "Virtuous Imperialism."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, Sippi. "Seeking Out Their Afghan Sisters: Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan." CMI working paper. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute. 2014.

Baines, Erin, and Emily Paddon. "'This Is How We Survived': Civilian Agency and Humanitarian Protection." *Security Dialogue* 43, no. 3 (2012): 231–47.

Banuri, Tariq. "Human Security." In *Rethinking Security, Rethinking Development,* edited by Nauman Naqvi, 163–67. Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute, 1996.

Barnett, Jon, Richard Matthew, B. McDonald, and Karen O'Brien, eds. *Global Environmental Change and Human Security.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009.

Blanchard, Eric M. "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 41 (2003): 1289–312.

Boyd, Rosalind, ed. *The Search for Lasting Peace: Critical Perspectives on Gender-Responsive Human Security.* New York: Routledge, 2016.

Cantor, David, Bonnie Fisher, Susan Helen Chibnall, Carol Bruce, Reanne Townsend, Gail Thomas, and Hyunshik Lee. *Report on the AAU Campus Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2015.

Carpenter, R. Charli. "Recognizing Gender-Based Violence against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations." *Security Dialogue* 37, no. 1 (2006): 83–103.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). "Literacy: Country Comparison to the World." Data file. CIA World Factbook, 2015. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/download/download-2015/index.html.

Commission on Human Security. *Human Security Now.* New York: Commission on Human Security, 2003.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99.

Ditchburn, Jennifer. CBC News. Politics, November 4, 2015. "'Because It's 2015': Trudeau Forms Canada's 1st Gender-Balanced Cabinet." http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-trudeau-liberal-government-cabinent-1.3304590.

Duffield, Mark, and Nicholas Waddel. "Securing Humans in a Dangerous World." *International Politics* 43, no. 1 (2006): 1–23.

Duriesmith, David. "Manly States and Feminist Foreign Policy: Revisiting the Liberal State as an Agent of Change." In *Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations,* edited by Swati Parashar, J. Ann Tickner, and Jacqui True, 51–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Elshtain, Jean Bethke. "On Beautiful Souls, Just Warriors and Feminist Consciousness." *Women's Studies International Forum* 5, nos. 3–4 (1982): 341–48.

———. *Women and War.* New York: Basic Books, 1987.

Garcia-Moreno, Claudia, Christina Pallitto, Karen Devries, and Naeemah Abrahams. *Global and Regional Estimates of Violence against Women: Prevalence and Health Effects of Intimate Partner Violence and Non-Partner Sexual Violence*. Geneva: World Health Organization (WHO), 2013.

Georgetown Institute for Women Peace and Security (GIWPS) and Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). *Women Peace and Security Index 2017/2018: Tracking Sustainable Peace through Inclusion, Justice, and Security for Women*. Washington, DC: GIWPS, and Oslo: PRIO, 2017.

Hoogensen, Gunhild, and Svein Vigeland Rottem. "Gender Identity and the Subject of Security." *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 2 (2004): 155–71.

Hoogensen Gjørv, Gunhild. "Virtuous Imperialism or a Shared Global Objective? The Relevance of Human Security in the Global North." In *Environmental and Human Security in the Arctic*, edited by Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørv, Dawn R. Bazely, Marina Goloviznina, and Andrew Tanentzap 58–79. London: Routledge, 2014.

Hudson, Heidi. "'Doing' Security as Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security." *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 2 (2005): 155–74.

Jose, Betcy, and Peace A. Medie. "Understanding Why and How Civilians Resort to Self-Protection in Armed Conflict." *International Studies Review* 17, no. 4 (2015): 515–35.

Krause, Keith. "The Key to a Powerful Agenda, if Properly Delimited." *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 3 (2004): 367–68.

Lutz, Helma, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar, and Linda Supik. "Framing Intersectionality: An Introduction." In *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, edited by Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar, and Linda Supik, 1–24. Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.

Marhia, Natasha. "Some Humans Are More Human than Others: Troubling the 'Human' in Human Security from a Critical Feminist Perspective." *Security Dialogue* 44, no. 1 (2013): 19–35.

Matthew, Richard, Jon Barnett, Bryan McDonald, and Karen O'Brien, eds. *Global Environmental Change and Human Security*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009.

Matthew, Richard, Connor Haron, Kristen Goodrich, Bemmy Maharramli, and Evgenia Nizkorodoz. *Continuity and Change in Global Environmental Politics: The Social Ecology of the Anthropocene*. Vol. 2 of *The WSPC Reference Set on Natural Resources and Environmental Policy in the Era of Global Change*, edited by Ariel Dinar. Hackensack, NJ: World Scientific, 2016.

Matthew, Richard, Bryan McDonald, and Kenneth Rutherford, eds. *Landmines and Human Security: War's Hidden Legacy and International Relations*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2004.

McRae, Rob, and Don Hubert, eds. *Human Security and the New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace*. Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press, 2001.

Nussbaum, Martha C. *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Parashar, Swati, and Janet Andrew Shah. "(En)Gendering the Maoist Insurgency in India: Between Rhetoric and Reality." *Postcolonial Studies* 19, no. 4 (2016): 445–62.

Parashar, Swati, J. Ann Tickner, and Jacqui True, eds. *Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Paris, Roland. "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26, no. 2 (2001): 87–102.

Peterson, V. Spike. *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

Reardon, Betty A., and Hans, Asha, eds. *The Gender Imperative: Human Security vs State Security*. New Delhi: Routledge, 2010.

Rubin, Michael A. "Rebel Territorial Control and Civilian Collective Action in Civil War: Evidence from the Philippines." PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2017. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330263723_Rebel_Territorial_Control _and_Civilian_Collective_Action_in_Civil_War_Evidence_from_the_Philippines.

Sen, Amartya. "Development, Rights and Human Security." *Human Security Now* (2003): 8–9.

———. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Knopf, 1999.

Sengupta, Somini. "Finding a Path Back to Iraq, and toward Securing Women's Freedom." *New York Times*, November 27, 2015.

Smith, Neil. "Remaking Scale: Competition and Cooperation in Pre-national and Post-national Europe." In *State/Space: A Reader*, edited by N. Brenner, B. Jessop, M. Jones, and G. MacLeod, 227–38. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003.

Tickner, J. Ann. *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

———. "What Is Your Research Program?" *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (2005): 4–10.

Truong, Thanh-Dam, Saskia Wieringa, and Amrita Chhachhi. *Engendering Human Security: Feminist Perspectives*. London: Zed Press and Women Unlimited, 2006.

United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). *Injustice and Impunity: Mediation of Criminal Offences of Violence against Women*. Kabul: UNAMA/OHCHR, 2018.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP). *Human Development Report 1994*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

———. *Human Development Report 2015: Work for Human Development*. New York: United Nations, 2015.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics. "Adult and Youth Literacy." Data file. 2015. http://uis.unesco.org/sites /default/files/documents/adult-and-youth-literacy-national-regional-and-global -trends-1985-2015-en_0.pdf.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). *Global Trends Forced Displacement*. Geneva: UNHCR, 2014.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2014*. New York: UNODC Global Report on Trafficking in Persons Unit, 2014.

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). *State of the World Population: Women, Population and Climate Change*. New York: UNFPA, 2009.

United Nations Security Council (UNSC). "Resolution 1325: Resolution 1325 on Women and Peace and Security." October 31, 2000. www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps.

United Nations Women. "Progress of the World's Women 2015–2016." Data file. 2015. http://progress.unwomen.org/en/2015/.

Vastapuu, Leena. "Hope Is Not Gone Altogether: The Roles and Reintegration of Young Female War Veterans in Liberia." PhD diss., University of Turku, 2017.

Walt, Stephen M. "The Renaissance of Security Studies." *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (1991): 211–39.

Women in the World Staff. "No Women Seated around the Table at Syria Talks in Paris." *New York Times*, December, 2015.

World Bank. *Citizens' Charter Afghanistan Project.* Washington, DC: World Bank Group, 2016.

World Commission on Environment and Development. *Gender, Climate Change and Health.* Geneva: World Health Organization, 2011.

———. *Our Common Future.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

———. *Trends in Maternal Mortality: 1990 to 2013.* Geneva: WHO, United Nations Children Fund, United Nations Population Fund, World Bank, and UN Population Division, 2014.