5-16-2018

Security in Conflict and Peace: Gendered Approaches to Human Security by Women's NGOs

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Government Major Senior Honors Thesis

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Defended on May 16, 2018

Overview of Chapters

The first chapter gives a brief overview of human security and gender informed security as well as their critiques and the rationale behind combining the two frameworks. It also describes why women's empowerment NGOs have the greatest capacity to actualize gender informed human security approached. To determine the success of women's empowerment organizations implementing gender informed human security approaches in different political contexts, the second chapter reviews the operational history of the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq, an Iraqi women's empowerment organization. And, the third chapter analyses the operational history of TATU, a Tanzanian women's empowerment organization. The conclusion compares the similarities and differences between the two cases as well as summarizes the theoretical interest of the cases for gender informed and human security.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1:

Introduction

After the Cold War, growing concern for the security of marginalized groups led to the popularization of theories defining the primary subject of security as the individual rather than the state. Gender informed security and human security theories emerged as frameworks for individual security. Separately, both gender informed and human security approaches have been appropriated and narrowed to serve state-centric security agendas. However, this chapter considers how, when combined, the two have the potential to close the gaps between theory and practice. A gendered human security approach increases the agency of women and other marginalized individuals in peace building and government processes, and considers and protects the physical and non-physical securities of individuals including personal, community, political, health, economic, food, and environmental security. Gendered human security approaches find success through their ability to address the insecurities of individuals while also connecting the insecurities to broader regional and global political structures and processes. Arguably, women's empowerment organizations throughout different socio-political contexts have a greater capacity than other kinds of actors to apply gendered human security approaches. The proceeding chapters explore how two women's NGOs, one in Iraq and one in Tanzania, actualize such gendered human security approaches.

Realist Security Challenged

At the end of the Cold War, an increased attention to ethnic conflict, intrastate violence, humanitarian disaster and gross human rights violations of marginalized groups led to the growth

of movements to rethink the meaning of security.[1] Before then, the most widely accepted definitions of security had incorporated the realist logic that war and armed conflict encompass the purpose of national security. In International Relations (IR) theory, the continuing popular agreement on realist definitions demonstrates how deeply the realist concept of national security is rooted in society. In realism/neorealism, one of the main obligations of a state is to provide security from threats to its citizens; however, the implementation of realist security objectives neglects the status of marginalized groups. Following realist logic, threats to the state largely, but not exclusively, come in the form of military threats and acts of physical violence towards citizens. To address those threats, national security objectives evolve to include fighting wars, deterring enemies, engaging terrorists, and protecting political leaders (Steans 2013, 116). Because of the focus on the maintenance of the state to ensure security, those protected by military and police forces include the forces themselves, government officials, and other leaders that give the state agency. This often leaves marginalized groups unprotected, which leads to further marginalization.

Due to growing concern for the security of marginalized groups after the Cold War, a growing interest in making the primary subject of security the individual rather than the state arose among academic and policy circles (Hudson et. al 2013, 24).[2] Human security and gender informed security emerged as two of the perspectives and operational frameworks that began presenting and engaging with definitions of security and foreign policy issues. Separately, both gender informed and human security theories have been appropriated and narrowed to serve state-centric security

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[1] A broad definition of security that many scholars agree upon is "a state of being secure, safe, free from danger, injury, or harm of any sort" (Steans 2013, 116). Another classic definition describes security as the preservation of a group's core values (McDonald 2013, 65). In practice, such expansive definitions of security prove unhelpful, and different branches of IR theory seek to define security in more specific terms.

[2] Human security and gender informed IR theorist are not alone in attempting to rethink state-centric definitions of security. Theories from liberalism, constructivism, critical theory, and global governance also offer relevant insights (Tsai 2009).

agendas. However, combined the two approaches have the capacity to recognize the constraints of a state-oriented security perspective and emphasize the importance of security at non-state levels. In addition, the combination of the two frameworks allows for the linking of the interdependencies between development, human rights, and national security.

A gender informed human security framework applies a gendered approach to action plans, integrates a gendered perspective into policy, increases the agency of women and other marginalized individuals in peace building and government processes, and considers the physical and non-physical securities of individuals including personal, community, political, health, economic, food, and environmental security. Such an approach functions through the ability to address the insecurities of individuals while also connecting the insecurities to broader regional and global political structures and processes.

In order to connect to political structures and processes, gendered human security strategies must work within the hegemonic state-centric structures of governments while also attempting to prevent the strategies from morphing to serve state-centric rather than individual security objectives. Organizations that connect individuals to local, national, and international political structures have the capacity to balance latent agendas of their partners in order to actualize a gendered human security strategy while maintaining its goals (DeMars 2005). Women's empowerment NGOs, with their focus on elevating the agency of marginalized groups, already successfully implement gendered human security approaches.

Human Security

In order to make the primary focus of security the individual, the human security concept incorporates a variety of disciplines in an attempt to move IR studies away from its fixation on

military security. Human security scholars seek to understand the holistic security of everyday life, rights, and interests of humans as affected by multifaceted and intersecting economic and social relations embedded in global structures (Hudson 2005, 163-4; Tsai 2009, 21). Studying and applying human security deepens and widens security thinking by incorporating the interests of persons, not only states, and by conceptualizing insecurities stemming from issues other than physical violence (Gasper and Gomez 2015, 102). Going beyond traditional state-centric definitions of security, in 1994 the UNDP outlined seven dimensions of human security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security (UNDP 1994, 24-5). By identifying physical and non-physical insecurities of individuals, not states, a human security approach has the potential to recognize and give agency to marginalized individuals within regions and states as well as larger global structures.

Misappropriations of Human Security

At the conception of human security, and especially after its adoption as a framework for the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the approach received an array of critiques from across the field of IR, mostly because of its broad undertakings. Some of the harshest critiques characterize human security as a vague and logically inconsistent slogan that attempts to be so all-encompassing that it is rendered meaningless (Hudson et. al 2013, 29). Due to vague definitions, as well as contestation of the framework's scope and utility, human security can quickly turn into a concept that leads states and state-based institutions, like the military and the police, to further control communities and individuals, having the opposite effect of human security's initial goal. Over time, the use of "human" security by states has in fact shifted from the initial all-encompassing phrase.

Since 1994, both states and scholars have aided in the reduction of the UNDP framework of "human security" from seven dimensions to one dimension – "personal security."[3] Personal security extends from security from physical violence to regular or irregular armed conflict, crimes, and even to consider self-abuse as a threat to security (Gasper and Gomez 2015, 103). To address physical violence, crime, and armed conflict, states can utilize and even strengthen military and police structures in place rather than attempting to resolve underlying structural causes of the violence. Focusing on any of the other security dimensions would require an in depth evaluation of the presence or absence of services offered by a state to its citizens. The emphasis on personal security, rather than the other six dimensions pertaining less directly to physical forms of violence, demonstrates the tendency of states and realist IR scholars to take ideas like human security, intended to increase the security of individuals, and reframe the ideas in order to serve state-centric purposes like strengthening military and police forces. Following this rationale, many feminist and gender informed scholars also raise concerns over the potential for state-based security approaches to use the label "human security" to create a false sense of inclusiveness while continuing to marginalize groups (Hudson 2005, 157; Hudson et al. 2013, 31; Marhia 2012, 32).[4] Because human security attempts to apply a security approach universally to all individuals, even when individuals begin at different levels of the various dimensions of security, the concept needs additional framework to address and present ways to overcome these differences.

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[3] Japan and Canada are two countries that have created human security initiatives that primarily focus on the dimension of personal security (Gasper and Gomez 2015; Tsai 2009).

[4] UN and other organizations imposing goals for human security somehow implicates people of less developed countries are less human (Marhia 2012).

Gender Informed Security

For gender informed and feminist scholars, the narrowing of the human security framework to focus on personal security arises from state-based security thinking being a manifestation of masculinist, hegemonic structures that narrow the definition of security to only one constricted position (Hoogensen and Stuvoy 2006, 211). To expand from the one constricted position, feminist and gender informed IR scholars began to analyze and define how gender influences and operates in war, conflict, and global security.[5] In the process of re-conceptualizing security, gender informed scholars attempt to rework the standard definition of security in a way that reflects the experiential world and realizes the voices of those who experience insecurities in all variations and manifestations (Hoogensen and Stuvoy 2006, 211).

Using gender as an analytical and political tool to understand women and men as identity groups allows for a deeper understanding of claims about femininity and masculinity that informs and transforms the conceptualization of both women's and men's security (Hudson 2005, 156). To go beyond femininity and masculinity and encompass the variety of insecurities faced, gender informed scholars view gender within the context of intersectionality. Through the consideration of intersectionality– the interconnections between conceptualized social categories such as race, class, and gender as applied to a given individual or group– scholars can better understand overlying and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage that lead to insecurities. In other discussions of security, intersectionality is often overlooked due to the complications that arise from including multiple interworking categories (Steans 2013, 121). Expanding gender theory to analyze how intersectionality affects security allows the theory to go beyond analysis of

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[5] Starting in the mid-1980s and through the mid-1990s, feminist scholars began laying the groundwork for gender informed IR theory. These works include: Elshtain 1987, Enloe 1988, Peterson 1992, Tickner 1992, and Sylvester 1994.

identities to the study of broader relationships of power, informing security theory on structural

relations that largely go unrecognized (Hoogensen and Stuvoy 2006, 216).

Feminist scholars investigate people's lives within states and international structures, and

how those structures themselves present threats, and then use gender theory to suggest how to

positively reconstitute those structures to create secure spaces (Hoogensen and Stuvoy 2006, 221).

Through studying security with the broader concept of gender, the idea that the security of a state

is homogenous in respect to economic, political, and social well-being of its citizens breaks down.

The unveiling of different levels of security within a state creates space to empower individuals

often silenced in discussions of security, like women, to use their voice to express the insecurities

that traditional concepts of security do not address (Moussa 2008, 82). With the knowledge that

security is a fluid concept, gender informed scholars conceptualize new notions of what it means

to gender mainstream, participate, and protect, and how to utilize those notions in pragmatic

security actions (Moussa 2008, 97).[6] Women's activists and scholars have relentlessly integrated

gender into IR, bringing international attention to the multitude of ways armed conflict affects

women. They have also emphasized the need for the inclusion of women in the peace building and

peacekeeping processes. As a result, in 2000 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325

on Women, Peace, and Security (Steans 2013, 123; Radu 2015, 108; Olsson and Gizelis 2013,

427).

Although the initial "system wide action plan" for the resolution outlined twelve areas of

action, those areas were then narrowed down to five, and then to the four pillars still used today:

prevention, participation, protection, and relief and recovery (Kirby and Shepherd 2016b, 379).

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[6] Gender mainstreaming is an approach to policymaking processes that evaluates the implication of policies on those who identify as a certain gender in an attempt to improve gender equality (Steans 2013, 14).

Through the prevention pillar, the UN aims to integrate a gender perspective into mainstream policy as a means to achieve positive outcomes. Through the participation pillar, the UN intends to increase women's participation in peace building and government processes as well as ratios of women's participation in the UN among member states. With the protection pillar, the UN seeks to call attention to differences in how security and protection are considered during war and peacetime. The relief and recovery pillar seeks to apply a gendered approach to humanitarian action plans. UNSCR 1325 and the subsequent resolutions of the Women's Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, serve as a framework for the UN and its member states on gender informed security strategies.[7] Implementation of the strategies rests on the actions of actors inside the UN system, UN member states, and women's civil society organizations (Olsson 2013, 427).

Critiques of the Impact of UNSCR 1325 on Gender Informed Security

Since adoption, UNSCR 1325 has received and continues to receive critiques both in terms of its conception and execution. In a 2013 review of articles reflecting on UNSCR 1325, scholars suggest that due to lack of political pressure and resource scarcity, the resolution has only been sparsely and inconsistently implemented throughout UN member states (Olsson and Gizelis 2013, 425). Also, although the term "pillars" brings to mind an equal distribution of importance, some pillars have received more attention than others. For example, more comprehensive understandings of how to increase women's participation are needed (Radu 2015, 108). However, the participation pillar has received less attention than the other pillars. Despite a wide consensus on the importance of women's participation in peace and security governance, of the eight WPS resolutions including

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[7] Since 2000, work done by international organizations, member states, and civil society has resulted in seven follow-up resolutions: UNSCR 1820 in 2008, 1888 in 2009, 1889 in 2009, 1960 in 2010, 2106 in 2013, 2122 in 2013, and 2242 in 2015 (Olsson and Gizelis 2013, 427; Kirby and Shepherd 2016b, 251).

UNSCR 1325, six focus on the pillars of prevention and protection—the prevention of violence and the protection of women from violence (Kirby and Shepherd 2016a, 380).[8]

Focusing mainly on the prevention of physical violence and the protection of women from the risks of physical violence undermines attempting to understand insecurities outside of physical violence. Also, the focus on prevention and protection limits opportunities for women's social and political empowerment through their participation in peace and security governance (Kirby and Shepherd 206a, 383). Emphasizing prevention and protection rather than balancing them with the enhancement of women's participation leads to planning without a gendered perspective. This, in turn, allows the Women's Peace and Security agenda to be co-opted for state-centric goals that utilize military and police responses to address on the surface insecurities rather than seeking to solve structural causes.

Integrating Gender and Human Security

While separately, both gender informed security and human security frameworks have been appropriated and narrowed to serve state-centric security agendas, together the two have the potential to close the gaps that both concepts encounter between theory and practice. Therefore, a gendered human security approach brings the focus of security to the level of the individual by recognizing the constraints of a state-oriented security perspective and emphasizing the importance of security at non-state levels (Hoogensen and Stuvoy 2006, 210). Additionally, a gendered human security approach links the interdependencies between development, human rights, and national security (UNHSU 2009, 5). Through linking the interdependencies between individual, national, and global security, a gendered approach to human security connects people's everyday

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[8] Only Resolutions 1889 and 2122 primarily address participation. Resolution 2242, the most recent WPS resolution, balances issues across the four remaining pillars of the agenda (Kirby and Shepherd 2016a, 380).

experiences with broader regional and global political structures and processes (Hudson 2005, 164). Both frameworks, when combined, form the capacity to give agency to individuals, even traditionally marginalized individuals like women, and to work towards solutions to both physical and non-physical insecurities at a variety of scales.

Rather than condensing human security into one compartment like traditional security has done, gender informed security works to emphasize how understanding and promoting people's security necessitates a complete consideration of the intersections of their lives. By emphasizing the importance of intersections, a gendered approach lends human security both the theory and language needed to operationalize engagement with all seven dimensions of security outlined in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report. For example, a traditional security approach to domestic violence would solely consider increasing access to police. A gendered human security approach would consider the economic security and health security of the abused individual, consider how larger social structures contributed to the situation, and develop a strategy to improve the security of the individual while also addressing structural challenges (Gasper and Gomez 2015, 106; Pain 2014, 531). Thus, a gendered approach paves the way for more context-adaptable interpretations of human security (Hudson 2005, 158). A gendered human security approach has the potential to maintain the integrity of both theoretical frameworks when operationalized by the human security framework giving an understanding of both violent and non-violent insecurities and the gender informed security framework providing the vocabulary to identify the intersections of insecurities.

Although definitions of both human security and gender informed security remain contested in their scope and utility, this thesis defines gendered human security as a framework that applies a gendered approach to action plans, integrates a gendered perspective into policy,

increases the agency of women and other marginalized individuals in peace building and government processes, and considers and protects the physical and non-physical securities of individuals including personal, community, political, health, economic, food, and environmental security. Such an approach functions through the ability to address the insecurities of individuals while also connecting the insecurities to broader regional and global political structures and processes.

NGOs and the Gender Informed Approach to Human Security

To connect the localized insecurities of individuals to broader regional and global political structures and processes, a network of human security organizations, many of which are development and rights based agencies, already exists (Hudson et al. 2013, 26). Because of the ability of NGOs to connect with individuals locally while also networking globally, they have the most potential in assisting in actualizing a gendered human security agenda. NGOs foster gendered security by resolving local issues of individuals through connecting those issues to national, regional, and global structures. Arguably, within the human security NGO network, women's NGOs have the greatest ability to orchestrate an implementation of a gender informed approach to human security. With their use of gender lenses, women's organizations lead the way in implementing a gendered human security approach by establishing a grounded understanding of community knowledge and needs through periodically scanning for insecurities and then focusing on the most pressing issues for a particular time and location all while enhancing the agency of individuals. Through considering how those immediate needs intersect with larger structural insecurities, women's organizations can then inform their networks how to approach both similar and broader insecurities (Gasper and Gomez 2015, 113). While women's empowerment

organizations have the network and ability to implement gendered human security approaches, the success of such approaches also depends on the dynamics amongst the actors that the organizations attempt to engage.

For NGOs to fully recognize insecurities at a local level requires the involvement of a variety of actors, including, but not limited to governments, policymakers, activists, and academics. Since broader political situations directly impact the ability of NGOs to work, the approach women's empowerment organizations take to engaging with governments is extremely important. As noted above, in order for organizations to effectively implement a gender informed approach to human security, the approach must apply gender informed human security strategies within the hegemonic state-centric structures of the government while also preventing the strategies from morphing to serve state-centric rather than individual security objectives. Based on their location and amount of engagement with research and action, each of the actors that different women's NGOs engage with have different mandates, resources, and interests, which affect their positions and activities (Krystalli 2014, 593). For example, if a government is limiting services in order to control individuals, making those individuals marginalized and insecure, an NGO attempting to alleviate the needs and strengthen the agency of those individuals threatens the government's agency. In such a situation, the government may attempt to hinder NGO actions. However, in other instances, governments may seek out NGOs to work with in order to meet international standards. For either case, the ability of women's NGOs to garner support locally and globally factors into their success in implementing gender informed human security approaches. Thus, while women's empowerment organizations do not make explicit claims of being capable of addressing human insecurities, through the services and network of support they provide

utilizing gender informed human security approaches, women's empowerment organizations work to cultivate agency among women and their communities to meet security needs.

Cases

In order to better understand the success of gender informed security approaches when applied in the everyday lives of people through NGOs, and how that expands to inform security for broader structures, the thesis will analyze the operation of women's empowerment NGOs in two cases. To confirm this generalization of women's empowerment NGOs, the thesis explores what Seawright and Gering define as "most different" cases. Most different cases provide the strongest basis for generalizations (Gering and Seawright 2008, 298).

To understand the capacity of women's empowerment NGOs to operate in various political contexts, the first case considers an NGO operating within a country during a time of national conflict, and the second case considers an NGO operating within a country during a time of relative national peace. The first case study will review the operations and history of the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq (OWFI), a women's NGO operating in Iraq since 2003. The second case study will review the operations and history of TATU, a women's NGO operating in Tanzania since 2013. Being located in two world regions, one being in a condition of internal war and the other a condition of relative peace, OWFI in Iraq and TATU in Tanzania are "most different" cases of NGOs operated by women to serve primarily women. But they are similar in the causal variable of interest (NGOs founded and run primarily by women), and in the outcomes of interest (promoting women's agency and the protection of women's security).

Both case study chapters begin with a brief profile of the NGOs, to describe the founders, years of operation, scale, and footprint of the organization. The chapters then go into the histories

of the organizations. Then the chapters go on to consider the organizations' utilization of global connections to enhance women's agency, and also draw attention to how through empowering women the organizations work to address and overcome challenges to human security.

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Chapter 2:

The Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq

This case study shows a cosmopolitan Iraqi woman exercising bold agency to link international and grassroots women's groups to enhance the security of Iraqi women from both physical and non-physical threats, and to organize women's participation in the efforts to construct a new, egalitarian, government for Iraq. While the 2003 US invasion of Iraq made these initiatives possible, Iraqi women with their international women's NGO partners had to struggle against constant efforts by the American occupiers to capture and coopt the agenda of gender security to legitimize a failing occupation. The Iraqi women's organization also faced the national government presenting constant challenges to undermine the organization's agency. Despite the barriers before them, the Iraqi women in the organization exercised their own agency to protect their sisters in Iraq from a range of physical and non-physical threats. They did so by linking their grassroots efforts with international women's organizations.

NGO Profile: The Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq

This case study examines the operations of the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq (OWFI). Since 2003, OWFI has coordinated a network of women's activists as well as network of women's shelters throughout Iraq. The Iraq operations have almost entirely been led by Yanar Mohammed and implemented through the assistance of a dynamic group of Iraqi women including around 20 employees and numerous volunteers. Through work on the ground by Iraqi women, OWFI operates 10 women's shelters offering a variety of services across four cities in Iraq. Additionally, OWFI and its volunteers maintain a network of smaller shelters—"safe rooms"—In

the homes of volunteers throughout Iraq (OWFI 2018). In addition to women working in Iraq, OWFI receives much assistance from MADRE, a well established women's NGO based in Manhattan. For fundraising through both donors and grants, OWFI has depended almost entirely on the assistance of MADRE's 10 full time employees working remotely in New York. While OWFI holds almost weekly demonstrations in Iraq, over the years the organization has had the most influence through correspondence with the UN and interacting with international media, and these interactions were all initially facilitated by MADRE. During 2016 MADRE spent $266,505 on its programs in the Middle East (MADRE 2016a). MADRE does not further disaggregate the spending by country. However, with the knowledge that MADRE partners in initiatives in Israel, Syria, and Iraq, it may be inferred that the budget of OWFI with funds from MADRE alone ranged between $100,000 and $200,000.

The Beginnings: The Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq and MADRE

Yanar Mohammed, a returnee to Iraq, founded OWFI after the U.S.-led invasion in 2003. A native of Baghdad, Mohammed had previous experiences with women's NGOs before starting OWFI. In 1992, before leaving Iraq with her family to live in Canada in 1993, Mohammed had founded the Independent Women's Organization (IWO). IWO promoted women's rights through active involvement in advocating for political change. In 1998, Mohammed founded Defense of Iraqi's Women's Rights (DIWR), a committee headquartered in Toronto, to oversee international activity of IWO. DIWR absorbed IWO, and the organization also established groups in England and Australia. When Mohammed returned to Iraq in June 2003, she incorporated DIWR into her new organization OWFI. Mohammed claims to have returned to her home country from Canada with the mission to attain "full equality between women and men in Iraq under the egalitarian

secular constitution and defend women's human-rights" (OWFI 2015). To achieve this goal, through OWFI Mohammed led educational campaigns and demonstrations to actively protest the major failure to include women in the emerging Iraqi political structure (Ryden 2009). The end of Saddam Hussein's regime left many government buildings empty, so OWFI used one of the empty buildings, a burned out bank in Baghdad, as the headquarters for organizational activities. In addition to leading campaigns, OWFI utilized the location of its headquarters to meet the growing humanitarian needs of refugee women of al'Huda, a poor neighborhood in Baghdad (Dessaux 2005, Yerman 2011). The scale and reach of OWFI quickly expanded from there.

International support, much of that coming from Mohammed's earlier international NGO activity with DIWR, helped keep OWFI operating when other organizations struggled. Soon after the founding of OWFI, Mohammed formed a long-lasting close partnership between OWFI and MADRE, an international women's rights organization based in Manhattan. MADRE began in 1983 after a group of women from New York City, including the organization's future director Vivian Stromberg, traveled to Nicaragua to deliver aid to people afflicted by the Nicaraguan Revolution (Grimes 2015). While in Nicaragua, the group met with women who showed them day care centers, schools, and clinics that had been bombed by Contra troops trained and funded by the US government. These women returned to the US with a mandate from the women of Nicaragua: to share the stories of Nicaraguan women and children with people in the US and mobilize US citizens to advocate for a change in US foreign policy. Inspired by the strength of the mothers in Nicaragua, the women decided to call their group MADRE. The organization's first initiative acted as a sounding board for a withdrawal of US support of Contra rebels and at the same time raised awareness for the needs of Nicaraguan communities. In 1990, with the electoral defeat of the Sandinista government, many US-based Central America solidarity organizations

crumbled. However, MADRE understood the war in Nicaragua as a larger issue of the use of US policy to control the political systems and economic resources of people around the world, and the organization continued on with efforts to highlight the injustices that women not only in Central America, but across the globe, faced as results of US foreign affairs. As director of MADRE, Vivian Stromberg utilized the demonstrated success of assisting women to organize in Nicaragua, as well as the connections she and other members of the MADRE team had at the UN headquarters in New York, to continue aiding women's organizations across the globe. She took a bilateral approach by partnering for social change at a grassroots level, and advocating for human rights on the international stage. After Nicaragua, one of the first countries MADRE worked in was Iraq.[9] During the Gulf War, MADRE provided necessities including milk and medicine to Iraqi families, and in 2003 MADRE partnered with UNICEF Iraq to provide supplies and emergency aid (Moghadam 2009, 219). As of 2015, MADRE had directed around $34 million in humanitarian aid globally and created long-term partnerships in eight countries, one of them being with OWFI (Grimes 2015).

Because of Yanar Mohammed's involvement in women's rights advocacy in Iraq before leaving in 1993, and her decade of experience in international lobbying in the 1990s, 2003 was likely not the first time Mohammed and MADRE personnel interacted. Throughout the organization's history, MADRE has served as OWFI's primary international partner. Ongoing success in international lobbying and networking within Iraq has led OWFI to develop a variety of provision services and humanitarian assistance (Al-Ali 2008, 129). Since the founding of OWFI,

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[9] During the summer of 2016 I worked as the Humanitarian Aid Campaign Intern at the MADRE offices in New York. The campaign I worked on focused on raising in-kind donations for women's clinics serving indigenous communities in northwestern Nicaragua. As an intern, I learned of the history of the organization. I found and applied to the internship in the fall of 2015 while writing a paper on women's NGOs in Iraq.

OWFI and MADRE have frequently released joint statements denouncing the invasion and occupation, and together have led campaigns addressing issues such as women's participation in government, honor killings, and humanitarian needs (MADRE 2017).

Through the partnership with MADRE, OWFI has connected to the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace, and Security (NGOWG on WPS). NGOWG on WPS serves as a link between senior policy-makers at UN Headquarters in New York and the women's human rights defenders, like OWFI, working in conflict-affected situations. Members of the working group include major players in the NGO community including Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and Oxfam. The members of the NGOWG on WPS actively partner with 75 networks of civil society actors and over 200 NGOs in over 50 countries that have been affected by conflict (NGOWG on WPS 2017). MADRE, being one of the smaller and lesser known NGOs, has fewer partners than the others, which means MADRE can direct more time and energy towards the partners that it does have, like OWFI. Partnering with MADRE has often given OWFI, specifically the organization's founder Yanar Mohammed, an integral spot at the table at important UN Security Council WPS agenda meetings. Partnering with OWFI has increased MADRE's international presence. Through OWFI, MADRE has disseminated information on one of the most critical world regions of the past fifteen years. Working together OWFI and MADRE have persistently elevated issues of the status of women and human rights violations in Iraq to an international stage. The spotlight has led to actions that support the localized operations of OWFI as well as influenced the WPS agenda of the UN.

Because of Mohammed's internationally recognized voice and the mission of OWFI for Iraq to have an egalitarian secular constitution, OWFI is linked to the Worker's Communist Party of Iraq due to its leftist, feminist, radical secular politics (Al-Ali 2008, 129). Since the mission of

OWFI linked the organization to an unpopular political party, even with its claims of promoting universal human rights and opposing government parties, those claims have the potential to be considered undesired "western" norms. While OWFI receives criticisms for carrying the western agendas of international NGOs and intergovernmental agencies, OWFI is also considered one of the most outspoken organizations against occupation. After the invasion, 85 new publications began circulation, including Equal Rights Now, a regular newsletter published by OWFI that delivers up to date information on the organization's programs and progress to both Iraqi citizens and global activists. The publication was made possible by the newly established freedom of the press resulting from the end of the Ba'athist regime. However, OWFI used the newsletter to condemn US occupation, expressing frustration with the degradation of women's place in society along with US support of religious political parties (Stanski 2005, 214). This was only one episode in an ongoing struggle between a gendered human security agenda and a state security agenda.

US Foreign Policy and Feminist Rhetoric

During President George W. Bush's administration, notions of women's security, influenced by the passing of UNSCR 1325 in 2000 were used to obscure actual motives behind military interventions in Iraq for traditional security purposes. Through the adoption of women's rights rhetoric, the Bush administration explicitly equated the struggle for women's rights with the war on terror. For example, in a radio address given by First Lady Laura Bush in 2001, she said, "The fight against terrorism is also a fight for the rights and dignity of women" (Wallace 2013). The language of respect engineered by the Bush administration created the conceptualization of a chivalrous masculine protector, the US government, going to rescue women who were vulnerable victims of the Hussein regime (Ferguson 2007). Using women's issues as a platform reinforced

the Bush administration's creation of a contrast between the "civilized" US and the "barbaric" Hussein regime. Creating differences between "over here" and "over there," employs the "us vs. them" argument, which then became folded into the basic chivalrous understanding that was perpetuated in the mainstream media.

Through this logic, the Bush administration manufactured a simplistic decision tree which stipulated that, if something is for women's rights and security then it must be against terrorism (Ferguson 2007). This distortion made women's rights instrumental in securing US national security. Using the logic that women's rights signal women's political, social, and economic participation. And, participation lays a basis for democracy, so for the Bush administration democracy and women's rights became synonymous.

Conceptualizing the US as a protector and instiller of democracy obscured the many ways that military actions in Iraq to install democracy magnified and added to insecurities of Iraqi women. Not only did the administration's use of rhetoric create agency for the US to define women's issues in a way that allowed for intervention in Iraq, the rhetoric also established the false logic that even in a democracy domestic women's issues do not exist (Ferguson 2007). The state-based security thinking utilized by the administration disregarded the multitude of ways armed conflict would affect women, overlooked non-violent insecurities, and undermined the meaningful inclusion of women in the processes of both peace building and peacekeeping. What resulted from the beginnings of the invasion was the rule of conservative parties in Iraq utilizing the government to silence women and control their bodies in order to maintain power rather than constructively contribute to women's participation in society and general welfare.

As the rhetoric of of UNSCR 1325 was honed to garner support for US action in Iraq, Iraqi women as well as global women's networks organized to respond with their own agency to the

devolving situation and contribute to the participation of women in political activities, the protection of women's rights, the prevention of violence against women, and the distribution of humanitarian aid to provide relief and recovery to women in crisis. This case reviews the impact that the security methods of the government of Iraq as well as the US had on the human security of Iraqi women. The case then analyses the contribution of a civil society organization with the goal of establishing and maintaining rights for Iraqi women to the human security of women both locally and globally.

Human Insecurities after the Invasion

After the invasion of Iraq, the US continued to claim the liberation of Iraqi women as a factor in its foreign policy decisions. In 2004, Deputy Secretary of State Paul Wolfowitz wrote an article "Women in the New Iraq" that described US efforts to improve Iraqi women's livelihoods such as supporting education programs and women's groups as well as training women to serve as prison guards, police officers, and security officers. His article also put an emphasis on creating a democracy to serve both women and men; he quotes President Bush saying "the aim (in Iraq) is a peace founded upon the dignity and rights of every man and woman" (Wolfowitz 2004). Yet, although the Bush administration claimed to pursue the protection of Iraqi women and the prevention of harm to them, the military intervention in Iraq broadened and deepened the extent of vulnerabilities and insecurities experienced by Iraqi women. From the onset of the invasion, women experienced increased physical violence. The number of women and girls exposed to sexual violence, abductions often related to sex trafficking, honor killings, and suicides began to rise (Wajid 2009; Davis 2015). Additionally, in terms of non-physical violence, although the narrative of the US government that mimicked UNSCR 1325 demonstrated a desire to encourage

women's participation in the new government, women were all but excluded in the interim government between the invasion and the first elections, whose members were handpicked by US officials, with only three of the 25 members being women (Moghadam 2009, 219).

Underrepresentation of women in the interim government, the Iraqi Governing Council (IGC), created barriers to women pursuing political security and also directly threatened the rights already established for Iraqi women. For example, lack of female representation and participation in the IGC led to the introduction of Resolution 137. Resolution 137 was introduced by conservative members of the IGC and meant to replace secular family law, the 1959 Personal Status Law, with laws following stricter Shari'a interpretations (Stanski 2005, 211).

With the leadership of Hanna Edwar, founder of the Iraqi Women's Network, a group of Iraqi women activists and NGOs, along with international NGOs, lobbied and demonstrated for months. Finally, the US officials in the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) that oversaw interim government repealed the resolution (Al-Ali et al. 2008, 134; NGOWG on WPS 2005). The repeal of Resolution 137 marked the first instance of international women's NGO networks coming together and exercising collective agency to transform Iraqi women's policy. However, the passing of Resolution 137 indicated the rough road to women's equality in both society and government that lie ahead, especially when the IGC, whose international governmental components received influence from large international NGOs, no longer had any control. To prevent more laws like Resolution 137, women's NGOs and activists organized to demand for a quota for the number of women elected into the new government. Leading Iraqi women's activists like Yanar Mohammed and Hanna Edwar utilized the UNSCR 1325's call for participation of women in government in order to lobby with the IGC and CPA for the quota. Iraqi women's activists and organizations were met with more success. Before the 2005 elections, the IGC, with the guidance of the CPA,

established a quota instating that 25% of parliament must be composed of women (Stanski 2005, 215).

2005 Election Results

Pre-existing norms and strategies had been used to dismiss women's participation and lack of political pressure from within the IGC or from the CPA and other influential international actors. As a result, the women elected for the National Assembly of Iraq to write the constitution in January 2005 and the parliamentary election in December 2005 were seen only as puppets of men in conservative religious parties (Ryden 2009). Jinan Al Ubaedey, one of the elected officials, admitted that women with no past experience in public affairs, such as herself, were selected by leaders of conservative Islamist political parties to run in the elections. She also disclosed that while a few women like herself hoped to find the best way to reform the personal status code to align with Islamic law, the majority of women simply voted with the male leaders of their party (Al-Ali et al. 2008, 132). Thus, even though women were present at discussions covering conflict resolution and the improvement of the status of women, they still had no real participatory input to the matter. This arrangement, rather than preventing and protecting women from insecurities that were believed to be solved by adding women to the debate, instead allowed the insecurities to be perpetuated by a group of socially conservative men with a strong desire to maintain power.

Because Saddam Hussein's regime had oppressed civil society into non-existence, when the regime was removed, Islamic religious leaders were the only group of people prepared to take control of the government. After the invasion in 2003 religious organizations were the only civil society organizations with the support and infrastructure already in place to deliver relief to families in need of assistance (Al-Ali 2008, 123). Thus in 2005, utilizing a pre-existing system and

funds, which allowed them to meet humanitarian needs and thus garner public support, conservative religious parties won the elections.

Despite this setback at the national level, Iraqi women exercised their agency at the grassroots and international levels. By the end of the election, non-religiously affiliated NGOs such as OWFI had begun to create local systems and international networks in place that also allowed for effective outreach and humanitarian aid. The need for women's shelters became clear early on in OWFI operations when Mohammed and volunteers worked in al'Huda, a poor neighborhood in Baghdad, to meet the needs of refugee women (Dessaux 2005; Yerman 2011). In late 2003 into early 2004, OWFI began using its headquarters to provide asylum, creating two safe rooms to shelter to three women. The safe rooms evolved into the organization renting homes to use as safe houses ran by volunteer activists (Dessaux 2005, Yerman 2011, OWFI 2018).

With the dismantling of the CPA and the establishment of the new government in 2005, appeal to international intervention on legislative matters was made more difficult. Influences of the conservative parties elected into office were reflected in the new constitution, which prominently displayed an increase in religious authority over the daily lives of Iraqi citizens. So, while the number of activists in support of Iraqi women's NGOs against the conservative articles of the constitution grew, improvements to laws in regards to women stagnated and existing laws were considered with even more conservative interpretations (Ryden 2009; Al-Ali et al. 2008, 121). With the suppression of civil society, the government attempted to restrict the agency of women to influence government decisions directly related to women's bodies and well-being. The newly elected government started exerting more authority over NGOs by issuing new regulations. One new law mandated that local women's shelters must be approved by at least five ministries (DePaul 2007). Creating barriers to civil society organizations like OWFI to successfully providing

humanitarian aid gave winning political parties and supporters control over the welfare of citizens. However, government services only reached areas that supported the parties in power, and essential services for women surviving violence and abuse were often not provided. By enforcing socially confining laws and limiting access to aid and services, the new government attempted to protect itself by consolidating power. However, the insecurities caused further fracturing among communities. Building tensions and escalating numbers of killings resulted from ongoing conflicts between resistance fighters and foreign troops, as well as both the campaigning for and results of the elections (Stanski 2005, 219).

Human Insecurities

Worsening of living conditions due to the increasing of violence and social-conservatism caused a loss of social and political spaces for women, further decreasing their participation from activities outside of domestic life. During the US occupation militant opposition groups arose from both Sunni and Shi'i communities; however, the groups also fought amongst one another. With the installment of the new government putting a majority of Shi'i in power, and building on an array of poor socioeconomic conditions, sectarian violence developed at an exponential scale from 2006 to 2008, years referred to as "the bloodbath" (Badday 2013, 89). Extremist forces on both sides increasingly targeted women's activists who remained in Iraq. In Southern Iraq, political Islamic groups practiced using financial support from Iran to enforce strict interpretation of laws and women became targets for doing tasks outside the home such as driving cars (Jamail and Rahman 2010; Al-Ali et al. 2008, 160). The lack of control in other aspects of life led men to seek to control the actions of women as well as threaten women with perceived power in order to

establish their own dominance. With the suppression of civil society, women had little agency in influencing government decisions directly related to their bodies and welfare.

Women faced the threat of being secretly murdered, kidnapped, publically shot or executed by either police or militant forces, and mutilated by their neighbors for suspicion of shameful acts (OWFI 2015). As violence increased, women's resources became more and more strained as deceased, missing, or injured fathers, husbands, and sons led to limited household income. The war led to a lack of essential services such as electricity and water as well as unreliable access basic necessities such as food and shelter (Enole 2009, 34). The household-level insecurities also contributed to a stark rise in domestic violence (Stanski 2005, 219). Although women took on more responsibilities and abuse in their lives at home, women had almost no influence in the public sphere. Growing inaccessibility to life outside the home, combined with negative stigmas surrounding women with private sector jobs and the shrinking number of positions in the public sector, led to a drastic decline in women's employment (Enole 2009, 34). The rapidly expanding dichotomy between women's private and public lives driven by government policies made seeking outside help extremely difficult. At the same time, domestic instability fueled the dramatic escalation of militant groups that utilized violence against women as a weapon of war (Stanski 2005, 219). The threat of militants breaking into homes blurred the dichotomy between public and private spaces. However, to the detriment of women and their households, government policies continued to emphasize the maintenance of constructed private and public spheres, offering little assistance to women and restricting the actions of organizations that had the ability to assist in the relief and recovery of women and women's households.

Protection and Relief and Recovery

Despite pressures from the government, as well as public disapproval for assisting women with negative social stigmas related to sexual assault and abuse, OWFI continued to operate successfully, aiding thousands of women (Badkhen 2009). Women who had once sough solace in OWFI shelters began operating shelters in the network themselves. With support from other Iraqi women's activists and organizations as well as international support, OWFI developed an intricate network of shelters for women threatened by domestic and community violence now known as the Underground Railroad for Iraqi Women (MADRE 2017). The term "underground" emphasized the secretiveness of the network. For women to find out about the shelters they had to either have access to OWFI's quarterly newsletter or hear of the services through word of mouth (Sarhan 2007). The clandestineness protected women escaping abusive family situations and also masked the discovery of the shelters by unsupportive government agents. By 2008 a group of 35 activist women worked together in Iraq to operate the network of shelters (Badkhen 2009). The shelters covered the costs of immediate needs such as medical care, and food (OWFI 2017c). Annual expenses of one shelter equated to around $60,000, which covered the costs of providing several women access to basic necessities, a psychiatric nurse, and doctors (Badkhen 2009). OWFI shelters also prepared women, who had often not had access to a stable educational environment, for an independent future by providing training in basic job skills such as the use of a computer (OWFI 2017c). In sum, OWFI shelters provided women a space that protected them from their personal insecurities as well as harsh treatment and discriminatory practices that were not prosecuted in the women's communities, and OWFI shelters also provided relief and aided in the women's recovery by meeting immediate health, food, and economic security needs while also preparing the women for a future of independence.

US Interventions

In response to the escalating violence between militant groups, the US sent two surges of troops, one in 2007 and the other in 2008 (Badday 2013, 90). In 2010, the situation had de-escalated enough for the US to have a plan to remove all combat troops by the end of the year, leaving 50,000 American military personnel in non-combat roles to support and train the Iraqi military (Enegel 2010). Although US involvement reduced violence, the reduction of sectarian violence reinforced a paradigm in which the Iraqi government could look to military intervention to settle civil uprising without considering the individual level insecurities that compounded to spur collective unrest. The US assisting Iraq in training its military reinforced this paradigm and state-centric security thinking, which gave further power to the government and military to silence opposing civilian voices if desired.

At the end of 2007 offices of US policymakers began receiving an influx of reports from NGOs such as Amnesty International, Humans Rights Watch, and MADRE that outlined the troubling circumstances that increased violence had inflicted on the civilians, especially the women, of Iraq (Ryden 2009). These reports on issues such as domestic violence and reproductive health came from information collected on the ground by OWFI (Chynoweth 2008; WRC 2011; Badkhen 2009). Through the women reporting to the shelters, OWFI received and documented firsthand accounts of the general status of women's health in different communities as well as reports of human right's violations. OWFI then shared the information with international NGOs that then used the information to create reports to prompt other nations and intergovernmental bodies to provide relief and put pressure on the Iraqi government. By providing information for the reports, OWFI contributed to increasing the political participation of Iraqi women at an

international level as well as the demand for the prevention of violence against women and the protection of women's rights globally. In return, international NGOs supported OWFI in providing relief and recovery to women at the local scale of the organization's operations.

In addition to international NGOs and intergovernmental organizations, throughout the history of OWFI, international journalists and media outlets served as important partners for the organization. For news articles, magazine articles, and documentaries, OWFI provided data and connected journalist with the women to interview (Sarhan 2007, Badkhen 2009, Ryden 2009). Through captivating headlines and imagery, the international media coverage of the status of women in Iraq increased public interest, which led more funding to OWFI to assist and document the assistance of more women, which led to more activity from international NGOs, and more documentation and humanitarian aid, which fed back into media attention. From this cycle, media outlets got eye-catching stories while OWFI got exposure to potential new supporters.

For example, through support of the Dick Goldensohn Fund, which is a grant from the Center for Investigative Reporting, Anna Badkhen went to Iraq in late 2008 and reported extensively on women in Iraq, producing both articles and video documentaries. "Baghdad's Underground Railroad," based on OWFI's network of shelters, was published in multiple magazines, including The UTNE READER, a quarterly magazine headquartered in Topeka, Kansas, and Ms. Magazine, the oldest and one of the most distinguished feminist magazines. MADRE's influence on OWFI can be seen in the naming of the network of women's shelters "the Underground Railroad for Iraqi Women." The name immediately draws attention to a US reader and suggests a connection of Iraqi women escaping abuse to slaves escaping to freedom in the Antebellum South, which influenced the attractiveness of documenting OWFI's programs in provocative news stories. In the article, Badkhen implicitly suggests needs for donations by going

into financial issues such as the cheap apartment being all the organization can afford in order to have quiet money and the annual expenses of one shelter being around $60,000. Badkhen's journalism is just one example of how OWFI used its' connections with internationals women's NGOs to network with journalists with international influence that raised funds for and awareness of women's issues in Iraq in places like Topeka, Kansas.

Political Security and Participation

US military involvement that reinforced the control of the conservative government also reduced violence and generated international attention in a way that created more space for women's political voices. The decline in violence prompted by surges of US troops in 2007 and 2008 increased women's sense of security. An example of the newly found perception of safety came at the beginning of 2010 when it was reported women who wore the hijab for security rather than religious reasons felt safe while not wearing the garment and women had also started feeling less targeted while driving cars (Leland and Mohammed 2010). Declining violence and increasing personal security allowed women a renewed sense of political security, giving them time and space to politically organize.

While violence waned, by the parliamentary elections in March of 2010, seven years of conflict had left 700,000 widows struggling during a time of global financial crisis. Ready to take action, a group of 12 women activists came together to form their own party with the platform supporting women's rights. Jenan Mubark organized the slate because of the marginalization she and her peers had experienced within their own political parties (Leland and Mohammed 2010). Overall of over 6,000 candidates competing for the 325 seats, nearly 2,000 were female. However, Basma al-Khateeb, of the Iraqi Women's Network, found frustration in the practice of political

parties supporting women candidates who she claimed would simply do the will of the male leadership (Evans 2010). Even women who desired to have an active role in the government, decreased their political activity due to barriers put in place by male leadership. For example, in 2010 Shatha al-Musawi did not seek re-election because during the preceding five years the male leadership in her party actively excluded her from decision making session. Thus, many women activists shared concerns that women were being blocked from decision making sessions, which diluted the success of the 25% quota and the increase of women who ran for seats in parliament (Leland and Mohammed 2010). Exclusion of women members in parliament being involved in significant discussions arose from an overall mentality from both conservative and independent male members that women wanting to focus on gender issues were pushing a Western agenda and the idea that more important issues needed to be addressed first.

Many of the activists who worked with OWFI in demonstrations and day to day operations included women who had once sought asylum with OWFI (Yerman 2011). For example, Jannat Al Ghezi went to an OWFI shelter to escape domestic abuse, and now Al Ghezi works for OWFI to coordinate the organization's network of shelters (US DOS 2017). The continued involvement of women such as Al Ghezi in the organization highlights the success of OWFI in meeting the immediate security needs of women in the short term and political empowerment in the long term, even without the support of local governments.

In the face of such barriers, women increasingly found avenues to attempt to participate in and influence the national government as well as local governments. At the beginning of 2011 in the wake of the Arab Spring, Iraqi women's activists were prepared to demonstrate. Along with other demonstrator's demands of an end to corruption, an increase in job opportunities, and fair access to public services, Iraqi women's activists tacked on the demand for women's freedom

(Stites 2011). While the majority of demonstrators were men, Iraqi women's NGOs encouraged Iraqi women to also go out and protest. Every Friday following the beginning of the protests, the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq, OWFI, had a group of women present in Baghdad's Tahrir Square (Yerman 2011). Women demanding and gaining agency in the demonstrations served as an indication of the leadership of conservative parties in the government waning. However, the men in power responded to the shifts in agency through encouraging violence against demonstrators, women in particular, as well as introducing laws to further reduce women's agency.

Another example of the success of OWFI programs is demonstrated by the women who protested during the Arab Spring. Many of the demonstrators who joined OWFI in Tahrir Square to demand an end to corruption, an increase in job opportunities, fair access to public services, and women's rights, were women who had once sought asylum in OWFI's network of underground women's shelters. The shelters had not only provided women with protection, but also with political empowerment, so the women were ready to participate in political conversations and protest for change (Yerman 2011). The women previously served by the shelter enhanced their community security by serving as an on-the-ground network to share and generate an understanding of the missions and services provided by OWFI within their communities.

In June of 2011, after months of protests, OWFI demonstraters did not receive the change they demanded, but instead were assaulted by a large group of pro-government men brought to the site on charter buses that women's NGOs claim to have been government funded. Women protestors were explicitly targeted by the men and were severely beaten, cut with knives, and groped (Stites 2011). Activists from Iraqi women's organizations continued to protest and demand their rights, and women protesters continued to receive anonymous death threats and also be attacked and detained by government officials (Susskind 2011). The attacks came as a response of

government officials embarrassed of being confronted by women, and the government's response further undermined women's recently founded political security. This was a setback to Iraqi women's NGOs, like OWFI, that had campaigned for years to encourage women to stand up and advocate for their rights.

After the OWFI representatives were attacked by government-hired agents while demonstrating, Yanar Mohammed made videos with multiple international women's NGOs including MADRE and the Center for Women's Global Leadership that shared the experiences of the demonstrators. In the videos Mohammed thanked the global viewers for their solidarity and support. Additionly, Mohammed made a statement asking for US civilian intervention in the form of support and empowerment of Iraqi women (Stites 2011). In another effort of support, MADRE created a letter condemning the attacks signed by other women's activists and NGOs including WLUML, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Code Pink (MADRE 2011). American media outlets supporting OWFI, like Ms. Magazine, suggested that readers write their senators and congressmen to ask why forces supported by the American government attacked peaceful activists in Baghdad and demand US support for women's rights in Iraq (Stites 2011).

Jaafari Personal Status Law

As the protests continued, Prime Minister Maliki's government became increasingly closed off. As women raised their voices, insiders from the Office of the Ministry of Women's Affairs disclosed that the existence of the ministry was a façade and that nothing was being done to improve the welfare of Iraqi women (Hakim 2013). Thus, while some privileged women were able to speak out, many women continued to struggle with day to day insecurities and injustices. As a response to the rising political voice of women, in October of 2012, the next step to reduce

women's rights, the Jaafari Personal Status Law, was introduced to Iraq's Council of Ministers (Evers 2014, Mamouri 2013). The draft law followed conservative Shi'i Islamist parties' interpretations of Sharia law that would restrict women's rights of employment, divorce, and inheritance, as well as negate the notion of the need for sexual consent when married, allow for men to have multiple wives, and allow for the marriage of girls as young as nine years old (Evers 2014).

Instead of its desired effect of silencing women, the proposed law reinvigorated women's sense of political activism and an increased acceptance of that activism. General backlash against the Jaafari Personal Status Law led many parties and coalitions to re-orient political positions in order to attract more women voters. The ratio of women to men running in the 2014 elections almost paralleled that of the 2010 elections with a slight increase in women candidates. Women activists noted a change in civil society with more openness to women participating in politics. Campaign posters promoting women in semi-conservative parties not wearing hijabs demonstrated this change (Al-Ameri 2014). In the 2014 elections, some women's candidates out-performed their male peers, giving women activists hope for future executive positions in government, but others remained skeptical (Nader 2014). Because of resistance to the Jaafari Personal Status Law from regular citizens, journalists, religious leaders, and newly elected members of parliament, the bill did not move forward (Evers 2014).

Rise of the Islamic State and Human Insecurities

Although one result of the response to the draft bill was increased openness to women engaging in politics as well as lessening restrictions on women's day to day lives, the draft bill in combination with the elections led to to intensified sectarian divisions and the to calcification of

allegiance to political parties. As tensions amplified various Sunni quarters calling to separate themselves from the Shi'i dominated government and establish their own state (Mamouri 2013). While the threat of the Jaafari Personal Status Law further devaluing the autonomy of women lingered, sectarian combat in the Anbar Province, including the non-stop mortar shelling of the city of Fallujah created a humanitarian crisis (Evers 2014).

Soon after the elections, the attention on the bill was quickly redirected to the June 2014 invasion of Mosul by the Islamic State (GFW 2014). This quote from Yanar Mohammed, founder of the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq, highlights the rapid degradation of the status of women**:**

> *"We cannot speak of women's rights now unless we are speaking of the livelihood of those who are totally jeopardized, such as women who lost families and young girls who are vulnerable to corrupt officials or clerics. We went from legal work and improving rights of women to working in a state of emergency and trying to find the lowest chain in society and get them to safety"* (GFW 2014).

Actions by the Islamic State led to increasing numbers of women facing insecurities both inside and outside the home throughout Iraq. Once again, the marginalization of communities without power led to individual insecurities and civil instability that degraded the status of women. Once again, the instability led to US military intervention, which just as before reinforced the power of the conservative government and attempts to mute voices calling attention to the structural challenges contributing to the unrest. With the spike in sectarian conflict, women faced the threat of being kidnapped and traded into sex trafficking, raped, murdered, publically shot or executed by militant forces, and exiled or even mutilated by their neighbors for suspicion of shameful acts (OWFI 2015).

Shelter

Although international agencies like the United Nations Population Fund attempted to use mobile units to responds to immediate health services to women and girls fleeing conflict-affected areas, those units remained the most overextended and underfunded components of UN humanitarian efforts (Oyarzun and Roycroft 2016, 2). Also, while Iraq's Combatting Human Trafficking Law of 2012 mandated that the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs establish women's shelters, the government had not opened adequate government shelters to serve those in need even before the rise of the Islamic State. Government shelters that did exist were empty and unstaffed due to lack of funding. Women also mistrusted the government shelters because government officials often encouraging or even forcing women seeking asylum to go back to their families (Davis 2016). The idea behind the law was to establish government shelters to prevent women from being transferred from private residence to private residence and therefore protect women from being trafficked. However, the wording of the 2012 legislation led to central bureaucrats to deem only government operated women's shelters legal; with exceptions made possible for international aid agencies, like the UN Population Fund, with the government's approval (Davis and Barbo 2014).

Despite the interpretations of the law, locally operated women's shelters continued to reach women in need, but some government agents used the law as a justification to harass and hinder the efforts of local organizations providing comprehensive services to women (Davis 2016). The wording and interpretations of the law demonstrate the lack of genuine women's participation in the government. Such participation would have the potential to understand and correct the underlying factors of the mistrust in government shelters as well as utilize existing systems of trusted women's shelters. Stream lining, rather than expanding, the legal standards for operating

for women shelters would have positioned local women's NGOs to better meet humanitarian needs in areas inaccessible to international agencies. Thus, instead of capitalizing on the ability of local groups to have the community connections and trust to overcome barriers, the Iraqi government limited the abilities of local organizations to provide relief and assist communities in recovering.

Although the interpretations of the law by mid-level government officials would have closed the locally operated shelters, the drive of the women operating the havens in combination with the coorporation of local governments and international support allowed for the locally operated women's shelters to promptly responded to the crisis. OWFI, played a particularly integral role in providing shelter, services, and support to women. In the face of the rising number of challenges with the Islamic State and the strains it placed on the system, OWFI managed to create relationships with some local governments to circumvent the law.

For example, in Samarra, a city in central Iraq torn apart by war, local government officials realized that due to the risks, international relief workers would not serve the city. With that realization, officials permitted OWFI to use shelter programs in order to meet the needs of families escaping Islamic State controlled areas. Although officials in Samarra cooperated with OWFI to provide women necessary services, in many communities in which OWFI operated, the organization had to frequently relocate shelters due to harassment (Davis 2016). While government officials harassed the shelters and looked the other way when shelters were vandalized, officials also demonstrated an understanding that the methods of OWFI worked.

In the autumn of 2015, when asked about the availability of shelter by the UN Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights Committee (ESCR), Iraqi government representatives replied that OWFI, continued to meet the needs of survivors in central and southern Iraq (UNCESCR 2015). Within the first three months of a shelter opening in 2016, Fairoz and Awaz Sharref, two Iraqi

women trained in social work that run the shelter, reported the shelter had helped 119 women (MADRE 2016b).[10] As of the spring of 2018, OWFI operated nine other shelters in three other large cities operating at similar capacities, offering basic necessities as well as medical services, psychosocial support, literacy classes, and skill building. In addition to the shelters, OWFI manages a large network of safe rooms in the homes of OWFI volunteers throughout Iraq (OWFI 2018). The ability of OWFI to provide a wide variety essential services in the face of crisis arose from Yanar Mohammed and countless other Iraqi women working and volunteering with the organization for over a decade to contribute to the participation of women in political activities, the protection of women's rights, the prevention of violence against women, and the distribution of humanitarian aid to provide relief and recovery to women in crisis.

While OWFI and its activists made significant contributions to the protection of women's rights and bodies and the relief and recovery as well as the short term prevention of further violence towards women in its shelters, the organization could not have pursued its initiatives alone, especially with the Iraqi government's opposition to OWFI's operations. Utilizing cosmopolitan connections, Yanar Mohammed and other representatives of OWFI managed to continue operations through an extensive network of partners including women's activists in Iraq, Iraqi women's networks, international NGOs, and international media. Ongoing success in international lobbying and networking within Iraq led to the development of the variety of OWFI programs of provision services and humanitarian assistance.

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[10] The shelter, funded through donations to MADRE, started operations at a time when it was logistically difficult for MADRE and other organizations to deliver in-kind humanitarian aid to Iraq. Still, OWFI managed to organizing aid and support to women seeking assistance.

Conclusion

For fifteen years, from 2003 to 2018, Yanar Mohammed and OWFI did not achieve their maximalist goals in Iraq. However, they articulated those goals on behalf of women, organized Iraqi women to enact or demand them, and adjusted with great tenacity and resilience to every setback and attack that came their way. They demonstrated heroically women's agency on behalf of women's security and welfare, confronting both physical and non-physical threats. With a vision to empower women at several levels being made difficult in the context of political, military, and sectarian conflict, OWFI met the immediate needs of women experiencing physical violence by providing shelter and health services. While providing those services, OWFI raised the voices of Iraqi women and worked with women seeking shelter to enhance their agency by offering human rights workshops as well as opportunities to demonstrate. By following a gendered human security approach; empowering women to take control of their personal, political, and community security at local levels, and then sharing the stories of those women, OWFI succeeded in connecting local issues to global structures. Through navigating within the hegemonic state-centric structures with the assistance of global connections and the voices of empowered women, OWFI continues to relieve, protect, and empower women to overcome both physical and non-physical threats to security in Iraq. By raising the voices of Iraqi women to an international stage, OWFI has also contributed to driving the global push for women's rights.

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Chapter 3:

TATU

This case study examines how a group of 85 women in a small Tanzanian community partnered with three European volunteers who were frustrated with the lack of agency of Tanzanians in projects involving international organizations. Together, they created a NGO with the vision of community members having complete agency over the organization within a fifteen-year time frame. Through following a gendered human security approach—empowering women to take control of their security at a local level and then sharing the stories of those women through international connections—the NGO is succeeding in connecting localized issues to global structures. Various global connections made through international professionals and volunteers have enabled the NGO to create projects in pursuit of its mission to increase the participation of women in the sustainable development of a local community. The leadership initiatives taken by members of the local women's group in the first five years of operations highlight the NGO's success at generating agency rather than dependency among community members. Through projects and capacity building, the NGO has already enhanced the ability of the community to confront threats to the seven dimensions of human security outlined in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report: political, economic, personal, health, environmental, food, and community security (UNDP 1994).

NGO Profile: TATU

This case study examines the operations of TATU, a women's empowerment organization working in the community of Msitu Wa Tembo, Tanzania.[11] Since 2013, TATU has utilized international employees and volunteers as well as Tanzanian employees in order to facilitate community development projects. While the organization began as an idea of Daniela Troisi, Jaume Pau Vicenz, and Albane Gaudissart, three European volunteers working in Tanzania, from the inception of their idea, the three founders have sought for the organization to take direction from community members. For operations, the three TATU founders, one French and two Spanish, in addition to the director of the Afya Program, who is also Spanish, oversee weekly, monthly, and quarterly reports remotely while living in Europe. The founders visit Tanzania for one to three month periods when their schedules permit. In addition to the four foreign professionals remotely overseeing the organization's operations, other foreign professionals work in the TATU offices in Moshi. To keep operational costs low, foreign professionals hired on to serve the TATU team sign either three-month, six-month, or year-long contracts agreeing to either work voluntarily or for wages comparable to TATU's four Tanzanian managers. For example, a candidate for the assistant general manager's position was offered a salary of $200 per month, $2,400 for a year of working 40 hours per week (Williams 2018). Although the number of foreign professionals either employed or volunteering for TATU fluctuates based on operational needs, as of 2018, nine foreign professionals work in the TATU offices. During 2016, TATU operated on a budget of €47,111.00,

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[11] I worked as the Interim Project Coordinator of TATU's MASAA Jewelry Project during the summer of 2017. During that time, I became well acquainted with many of the programs and people discussed in this chapter. Upon my arrival at the TATU house, Daniela Troisi gave me an overview of the organization's history, and I had many opportunities to speak with her and other members of the TATU team about the evolution of the organization.

or $56,418.34 (TATU 2017f), which is a little over the average European's annual household income.

The Beginning: TATU

In 2012, Daniela Troisi, Jaume Pau Vicenz, and Albane Gaudissart, three European volunteers for NGOs in Tanzania, became frustrated with the inefficiencies of the organizations for which they worked. Daniela, Jaume, and Albane often talked to each other about their frustrations. Despite the work they did for their respective employers, the three young volunteers did not see the results they desired. They felt surrounded by organizations that developed and implemented projects did not enhance, but instead took agency from community members. The three all grappled with how the organizations they worked for did not engage directly with the communities to identify needs (Troisi 2017, Garcia 2017).

Issues identified by Daniela, Jaume, and Albane have roots in the proliferation of NGOs in Tanzania over the past three decades. Since the end of the Cold War, Tanzania, has experienced an influx of both local and international NGOs. In 1993, 224 registered NGOs operated in Tanzania, but within seven years, 8,499 Tanzanian NGOs existed (Lange et. al 2000, 6). According to the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children, the ministry charged with overseeing NGOs, around 52 NGOs seek to register in Tanzania each month (TNNC 2017). That does not account for the multitude of international operations. Yet, even with actively engaged and localized work of NGOs in Tanzania for over three decades, the country continues to have weak governance and high poverty (PeaceWomen 2017). Instead of enhancing the autonomy of community members, the rise in NGOs has chipped away at the agency of community members and created a cycle of dependency. On one end of the spectrum, organizations operate in communities for decades making little to no progress; on the other end, organizations go into

communities for a few weeks to build a school without addressing larger structural issues such as school attendance and the affordability of education, all while taking away the opportunities of local workers to secure local materials and build schools.

From the conversations that Daniela, Jaume, and Albane shared with one another about their frustrations, they generated a new idea. The three European volunteers envisioned an organization created through collaboration with a specific community to meet community identified needs. They imagined an organization that would start programs to meet community needs, and would turn them into sustainable community ran operations within a 15-year period. At the end of 2012, after weeks of talking and dreaming, Daniela, Jaume, and Albane stepped down from their positions at the NGOs where they worked and began utilizing their already developed local networks to connect with a community that actively sought partnerships (Troisi 2017, Garcia 2017).

During their search, the trio met with community members from Msitu wa Tembo. Located in the Simanjiro District of the Manyara Region of Tanzania, Msitu wa Tembo is a rural community of around 6,500 residents that lies between the urban centers of Moshi and Arusha (TATU 2017a). One of the draws of TATU's founders to the community was that Msitu wa Tembo already had a group of women who came together fairly regularly and who were seeking out how to become a more active civil society organization. From the initial meetings between the three founders and the women's group, Daniela, Jaume, and Albane knew that the women would play a key role in successfully developing enough agency within the community to carry out the 15-year plan. In February of 2012, Daniela, Jaume, and Albane formally presented their intentions and possible projects to the community members of Msitu wa Tembo.

A women's empowerment organization resulting from the vision of a local women's group and three change seeking European volunteers was formed. TATU (three in Swahili), has a mission based on three pillars of sustainability: empowerment, education, and environment. Through its mission, TATU seeks to "facilitate equal and sustainable development projects together with the community members of Msitu wa Tembo" (TATU 2017a). With the approval of community members and the local government, TATU registered for Tanzanian NGO status and was approved in March of 2013 (Garcia 2017). After receiving NGO status, the dynamic organization quickly began utilizing local and international resources to develop programs with the community. From the beginning, the projects sought to empower the women of the community and enhance their ability to address both physical and non-physical threats to the security of individuals.

During multiple workshops held over four days, the group of 85 women participated in 15 hours of discussion facilitated by TATU. The discussion led to the creation of a constitution for the women's group that defined the intentions of the group, leadership positions, how leaders would be elected, and other group norms. Group members collectively decided to name the group Kazi na Sala (Work and Pray) (TATU 2014d). Feedback from and engagement with members of the Kazi na Sala group continues to shape the formation and operation of TATU programs.

As of 2018, the projects of TATU include WeGrow seminars, WeThrive programs, the Afya Program, and Research and Development programs. Through WeGrow seminars and WeThrive programs, members of the TATU team work with Kazi na Sala to plan for the community's future. WeGrow team members meet every Saturday with the Kazi na Sala group to do a variety of trainings intended to assist the women in increasing their agency at individual, relational, societal, and institutional levels. WeThrive seeks to empower the members of Kazi na Sala economically by reinforcing savings habits and entrepreneurship through skill building

workshops and capital to invest in small businesses (TATU 2017b). Working with the women of Kazi na Sala to enhance their personal, community, and economic security also strengthens the women's agency in making decisions at household and community levels.

While WeThrive and WeGrow put an emphasis on elevating the agency of women in the community, the Afya program along with the Research and Development programs seek to further integrate all of the community members of Msitu wa Tembo in fulfilling TATU's mission. Through implementing both short-term and long-term community sustained projects through research and development, the TATU team seeks to create projects that relieve immediate insecurities while also preventing the insecurities from arising again in the future. The Afya program works to make immediate and long-term improvements to community health. The program meets immediate needs through medical caravans and establishes long-term health security by encouraging healthy lifestyles for children and strengthening the agency of the local healthcare network. Research and development programs include water research conducted to understand access to water and assist in improving that access for the long-term by procuring water filters and establishing wells. Together, all of the TATU programs create a web that increases the ability of community members to work toward improving the seven dimensions of human security, political, economic, personal, health, environmental, food, and community, for residents of Msitu wa Tembo.

Global Linkages: Employees, Volunteers, and Partners of TATU

To operate the programs, TATU employs a diverse staff that contributes to the organization's local success and relatively large global network. Bringing the diverse staff into the rural community of Msitu wa Tembo raises concerns surrounding the cultural shifts caused by the

presence of TATU representatives, and the attitudes of community members towards those shifts. At weekly meetings, TATU employees and volunteers evaluate their impact on the community, and all international employees and volunteers receive training in cultural competency. Without the efforts of TATU to enhance the agency of women and Msitu wa Tembo as a whole, the community sitting in the middle of two major urban centers still faces increased foreign influences and cultural change.

Through TATU's programs, if the vision of the founders is brought to fruition, within the next ten years, community members will have the tools to work with local government officials as well as other NGOs to collaborate and work toward desired future outcomes. However, the initial phases of operations of TATU would not have been possible without the knowledge and support of TATU employees and volunteers as well as resources from global connections. The employees and volunteers of TATU have and continue to play an integral role in maintaining the organization's operations by connecting the localized issues of Msitu wa Tembo to an international audience.

TATU employs four Tanzanian project managers. The managers, Alice Mato, Sarah Ngina, Sam Mshiu, and Godwin Urio, all live in Moshi. Alice oversees the Bicycle Shop and the micro-lending program. Sarah oversees Kilipads, MASAA Jewelry, and the WeThrive Seminars. Sam Mshiu oversees the Afya Program, and Godwin Urio coordinates with the research and development director while also maintaining communications with local government officials. Being Tanzanian, Alice, Sarah, Sam, and Godwin have the greatest capacity to form connections and trust with community members and government officials. The managers use their local connections and greater capacity to build trust in order to bridge together other members of the TATU team with community members and government officials. By forming long-term

connections with short-term TATU team members through platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp, the Tanzanian managers also form their own international networks to utilize in the future of TATU as well as in their own personal endeavors.

While, Tanzanian facilitators can more quickly establish a connection with community members than a foreign volunteer (Bouta et. al 2005, 129), a Tanzanian facilitator embodies the NGO's ideal of a developed person (Mercer and Green 2013, 112). Use of the educated Tanzanian urban elite by NGOs as either employees or volunteers to implement projects in rural areas highlights the marginalization between urban and rural areas that the early stages of development caused. Often, Tanzanians who choose to work for NGOs use the employment experience as a stepping stone into a more professionalized sector. NGOs hire the Tanzanian facilitators to transmit notions of identity, values, and worldview to their fellow Tanzanians (Mercer and Green 2013). Each of TATU's four Tanzanian managers has a secondary education, while some have university degrees. The arrival of an educated facilitator to the rural community on a bus or motor bike, the facilitator's ownership and usage of a smartphone, as well as the dress, hairstyle, and overall health of the person visibly highlight the differences between the visitor and the local people. The differences also highlight the commonalities between Tanzanian and international workers in the community who share a comradery from working together, which legitimates the Tanzanian managers as agents of development (Mercer and Green 2013).

Therefore, while TATU saliently works to assist in developing the community while preserving culture, the very presence of international volunteers and urban Tanzanian professionals challenge and transform local cultures through the projects and influences they bring with them into the communities. To attempt to address the challenge of balancing development with respect for the community and culture, TATU internally conducts quarterly surveys for each

program to assess the attitudes towards community members for each project. Additionally, each project has links to the local government to prevent unexpected roadblocks for projects from arising.

While cultural differences exist between community members and TATU's Tanzanian managers, even more differences exist between TATU's international employees and community members. At TATU, foreign professionals fulfill roles such as office manager, assistant office manager, fundraising director, research and development director, and project coordinators for the WeGrow and WeThrive projects. All TATU employees and volunteers work in the Moshi-based office at least twice per week. All four of the Tanzanian project managers along with the foreign professionals and volunteers with roles related to the WeGrow and WeThrive programs visit the community from one to three times per week. The TATU founders as well as the organization's employees understand the potential issue of pushing cultural norms too far or too fast. Therefore, they hold office-wide workshops to discuss issues such as what type of technology, if any, should be used by employees and volunteers while in the community, as well as what sort of attire team members should wear into the community.[12] However, even within the organizational structure, different employees and volunteers have various opinions on to what extent bringing new culture into the community matters.

Because two of the three founders are from Spain, many of the foreign professionals have come from Spain; however, other countries represented in TATU's past staff include Belgium, Canada, France, India, the US, the UK, and Poland. The diverse group of international workers

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[12] At one point during my time working for TATU, another Wofford student working for Global Bike (an NGO partner of TATU) brought a laptop to Msitu wa Tembo. This incident sparked a debate on how much technology should be brought into the community. The debate had Tanzanian managers and international workers on both sides.

and volunteers have contributed to the structuring of the organization as well as established TATU within a dynamic international network. While TATU is a small NGO with a limited operational budget and does not have any significantly deep-rooted partnerships with a large international NGO that would spur any type of international media attention, the organization has an expansive international reach. TATU's international reach arises from its success at maintaining an online presence to sustain relationships with past professionals and volunteers. Many individual contributions as well as job applications come from family and friends of previous employees and volunteers who have learned of TATU either through word of mouth or social media. Additionally, since the end of 2015, Laia Po, a Spaniard with a degree in graphic design, has served as the communications director and contributed greatly to improving TATU's website and other forms of online activity. The enhanced internet presence of the organization has equipped past volunteers to continue to keep up with and share the status of TATU, and the website and social media pages have also generated new individual donations as well as applications from international volunteers (Po 2017). The connections of the founders, Tanzanian managers, and international staff, have led to a diverse group of partnerships with small NGOs over the years, which has contributed to the organization's success at procuring funds in the midst of the various other NGOs working towards development in Tanzania.[13]

Of TATU's partners over the past four years, six of the organizations have also had operations in Moshi; however, all of those organizations were founded by non-Tanzanians. Those organizations include Anza (founder from UK), Femme International (founder from UK), C-re-

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[13] I learned of the opportunity to work with TATU through Curt McPhail, founder of Global Bike who now serves as the executive director of Wofford College's career center. Curt McPhail knew of TATU through connections with Albane Gaudissart, a TATU founder, as well as from his organization partnering with TATU on a project involving a bike rental and repair shop operated by members of the Kazi na Sala women's group.

aid (founder from Belgium), Global Bike (founder from US), Tusaidiane Gender Equality (founder from US), and Pamoja Tunawza (founded by Canadian organization in partnership with a Tanzanian organization). TATU has received operational assistance from non-Tanzania based NGOs including Translators without Borders (founded in France but headquarters in the US) and Dorothy's Well (founded in the UK). Sources of funds for TATU include Colony Fundacio Guillem Cifre (Spain), Action Benevole Communavtaire (Canada), Rotary International (US), and Rotaract Club Paris (France).

Although the TATU has an established 15-year plan, even when TATU stops bringing foreign professionals into the community, the introduction of a wide variety of international partners and volunteers will likely keep NGOs laced into the community. For example, partners of TATU that do not have exit strategies, such as Global Bike, will likely continue to serve Msitu wa Tembo. Additionally, foreign volunteers working in the community could bring in international connections from outside of Tanzania. Additionally, with 52 NGOs registering to operate Tanzania each month, and a plethora of young foreign professionals and volunteers wanting to assist "Africa," a community member could easily invite another internationally involved NGO to work in the community.

Even without the efforts of TATU or other NGOs to improve the quality of life for the community, the cultures of Msitu wa Tembo are already on the periphery of foreign influence and change. The goals of the national government involve aggressive resource driven development (MVENA 2016). An example of such development lies outside of Msitu w Tembo, where TPC, a foreign owned sugar cane grower and manufacturer, owns large swaths of land. TPC injects resources into the surrounding communities, and Msitu wa Tembo lay right outside of its main

sphere of influence.[14] Thus, TATU working with the community members and building their capacity to define the direction of that change is important.

Through TATU's capacity building, community members will have the tools to work with local government officials as well as the NGOs to collaborate and work toward desired future outcomes. A notable amount of agency has already been developed amongst women in the Kazi na Sala women's group. Through the integration of local action and global awareness, TATU has linked the local issues of Msitu wa Tembo to regional, national, and global scale. The various partnerships have enabled TATU to pursue its mission of increasing the participation of women in the sustainable development of Msitu wa Tembo, and in doing this, TATU has in some way aided in the improvement of all seven dimensions of human security outlined in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report. The rest of the chapter considers how TATU projects have already began to address political, economic, personal, health, environmental, food, and community security challenges for residents of Msitu wa Tembo.

Political Security

In 2000, the Tanzanian Parliament passed a bill to ensure women hold 33% of seats in the local government councils and 20% of the seats in the Union Parliament, and this was successfully implemented in the 2005, 2010, and 2015 general elections. Since the passage of the bill, the government has put forth an effort to establish a 30% occupancy of women in leadership positions throughout government structures (Msoka 2015, 116). Although women's representation has increased, relatively few women in Parliament actually contested in elections; instead, the majority of women member in Parliament were placed through special seats in order to meet the set quotas

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[14] For more on the impact of resource driven international development in less developed countries on women see Simons 2016.

(Msoka 2015, 124). Thus, it remains difficult for women to incite political change in the male dominated government spaces. Combined with Tanzania's weak power of governance, the social pressures on women that cause them to not actively participate in government even as representatives. In effect, the achievement of increasing women's representation in the government has translated into minimal significant changes made by the government to influence the norms and structural inequalities most deeply affecting women of low socioeconomic status.

In rural communities such as Msitu wa Tembo, due to barriers such as lack of education, participation in government, especially at a national level, is difficult for women. Each week the WeGrow workshops focus on topics developed from suggestions made by the women in the group. Overall, the goal of the seminar is to empower women by fostering abilities and personal resources that increases the agency of women to make decisions for themselves. Through empowering women and focusing on personal and relational empowerment, TATU reasons that the WeGrow Seminars have the potential to improve a woman's decision-making power within her family, her ability to participate in economic and political spheres, and her access to resources, and her access all of her rights (TATU 2017b).

Economic Security

In Tanzania, poverty is more concentrated and widespread among women than among men. Women have less access to wage employment in the non-agricultural sector, and wage poverty is higher among rural women than urban women. Also, women represent over 60% of labor in the agricultural sector, yet women face more challenges regarding access to land and credit to fund agricultural operations. Overall, in addition to limited access to credit, the agricultural sector faces a variety of challenges to income generation such as high competition, climate change, and poor infrastructure for storage and distribution (Msoka 2015, 113). A variety of other factors influence

the dependence on women on the volatile agricultural sector and women's limited access to wage employment and income generating opportunities, and those factors reinforce women's inability to make decisions that could potentially increase access to more influential job opportunities.

Both the WeGrow seminars and the WeThrive projects improve economic security for the women of Kazi na Sala and their families by fostering saving habits and enhancing entrepreneurship. For the WeGrow seminars and workshops, topics most suggested by the women of the group involve issues related to economic advancement. Focuses of workshops range from how to make value added products like soaps and canned goods to how to save and invest (TATU 2017b). Through WeGrow seminars the Kazi na Sala women developed a strategy for savings and loans. TATU utilizes the WeThrive Program to facilitate the women's utilization of the savings and loans program to invest in and lend to businesses operated by other members of the group, which reinforces saving habits and entrepreneurship among women who desire to participate.

Four years of seminars, trainings, and discussions have evolved into the Kazi na Sala group having its own micro-lending panel that works in conjunction with the TATU micro-lending manager, Alice. Many of the women in the Kazi na Sala group operate businesses on their own such as farms, prepared food stands, produce stands, and garment making operations, and these smaller operations have access to group micro-loans. For business developed by the group that require larger investments, TATU assists in the research and development process of the businesses through WeThrive projects (TATU 2017c). Current WeThrive projects facilitated by TATU include the Kazi na Sala Wholesale Shop, MASAA Maasai Jewelry Business Development Program, Kilipads, and the Bicycle Shop. The level of autonomy from TATU differs for each project.

Kazi na Sala Wholesale Shop

One of the most successful WeThrive projects to date is the Kazi na Sala Wholesale Shop. Before the opening of the wholesale shop, residents of Msitu wa Tembo had to travel to larger town centers to secure basic items such as cooking oil and rice as well as supplies like notebooks and pencils. The Kazi na Sala group devised the idea of the Kazi Na Sala Wholesale Shop in order to reduce travel time for themselves and other community members as well as to create wage employment opportunities for group members and income generation to fund other group projects and activities.

To build the shop, TATU partnered with C-re-aid, an NGO that had assisted TATU with smaller construction projects in the past. C-re-aid was founded by Freya Candel, a Belgian architect. The organization has a mission to advance responsible building practices in communities surrounding Moshi and in Zanzibar by hosting architectural student interns from around the world that bring their knowledge to contribute to projects in Tanzania and then take the knowledge from those projects to apply in their future careers. C-re-aid, TATU, and community members of Msitu worked together to build the wholesale shop by utilizing locally sourced materials and sustainable building techniques such as building the structure using two-litre bottles.

After construction was completed, the Kazi na Sala Wholesale Shop officially opened in May of 2016 with a loan with a 10% interest from TATU that totaled, 1,700,000TZS or 777USD, that assisted in stocking the inventory and paying shop employees (TATU 2016c). TATU secured funds for the loan through a donation made by the Rotaract 'Les Fous Du Roy' Club of Paris, France (TATU 2016). The committee that led the daily operations of the shop included four members of the women's group, Hamida Kawilo, Luice Stephano and Asha Moses. Hamida,

Lucie, and Asha worked together with little support from TATU team members to track sales and report the progress of the loan repayment to the 85 members of the Kazi na Sala women's group during their Saturday meetings. By August of 2016 sales of the shop totaled 1,452,050TZS (TATU 2016c). Through leadership of Hamida, Luice, and Asha the shop paid off its loan by May of 2017. TATU no longer facilitates the management of the Kazi na Sala Wholesale Shop, and it is instead a business solely operated by the shop committee members in coordination with the Kazi na Sala group. Proceeds from the shop go towards funding the group's operations and investing in more entrepreneurial projects through the micro-lending fund. The shop that began with various assistance from international connections such as TATU foreign professional and C-re-aid, volunteers as well as funding from a French chapter of Rotary International, became a fully operated by the women's group within one year. Thus, the small business envisioned by a women's group in rural Tanzania was brought to fruition through a network of global connections and the agency of local women.

Success stories like the Kazi na Sala Wholesale Shop work as proof that TATU programs have the potential to become fully operated by the community during the 15-year time frame that the three founders envisioned. Small businesses like the Kazi na Sala Wholsale Shop and other businesses funded by micro-loans that generate income for the women of the Kazi na Sala group also generate respect for the group from community members as a whole. Additionally, the businesses garner respect from local government employees whose image to upper-level officials is advanced with the advancement of the town. The Kazi na Sala group has plans to allow other members of the community, including men, to participate in the savings and investment program, which demonstrates how the women's empowerment mission of TATU extends past women to the broader enrichment of the community (TATU 2017c). The confidence of the women in the

group to involve men in the investment program demonstrates the confidence the women have gained since the founding of the group to work out equitable business negotiations. Thus, income sources created through TATU's WeThrive programs paired with the WeGrow program's seminar trainings enable women of the Kazi na Sala to have more assertiveness in both their community and household relationships as well as their financial decisions.

MASAA Jewelry Project

For projects that do not have a clear path to autonomy, the three founders of TATU see a path to the projects gaining independence before the end of the 15 years by increasing the agency of the women of Kazi na Sala as well as the women's children through educational advancement. In Tanzania, the attainment of even a secondary education is challenging, especially for girls. Coupled with social practices limiting opportunities for professional growth, domestic demands of women and high poverty levels among female-headed households factor into the low level of enrollment of girls in school (Bouta et. al 2005, 114). Globally, Tanzania has one of the lowest enrollment rates of women in higher learning, even with government strategies to increase access to education and efforts made by international NGOs to empower women. Over one-third of Tanzanian women 15-45 years of age do not know how to read, and 40% of Tanzanian women have inconsistent access to the news in the form of print, radio, and television (UNICEF 2010, 8). In particular communities, the disparities between the education of girls and boys is even greater.

During one of the first meetings between the women's group and the founders of TATU to plan programs in 2013, Albane Gaudissart, one of the founders, says that the women made clear "they were sick of working hard without having a say on their children's future" (TATU 2016g). Through participation in the WeThrive programs and the WeGrow seminars, members of the group

have developed both the communications skills as well as the financial capacity to protect and prioritize the education of their children. This is especially true for the WeThrive MASAA Jewelry Project. The MASAA Jewelry Project began in 2013 with 15 Maasai women who desired to develop the knowledge and skills to turn their tradition of jewelry making into a business to support their families as well as contribute to the Kazi na Sala Group.

Many of the women of MASAA had experience selling jewelry in Moshi and Arusha but faced barriers such as operational costs, high competition, and dependence on seasonal demand. Together with the TATU founders, various international professionals, and the project manager, Sarah Ngina, the women of MASAA have worked to overcome those challenges. To overcome the challenge of operational costs and seasonal demand, the women now have a savings system. Additionally, TATU buys the jewelry from the group at an agreed upon fair wage and works to create partnerships with hotels and hostels in Moshi, local NGOs, international NGOs, and international fair trade shops to sell the jewelry year round. The selling of MASAA jewelry has been a great success. However, unlike other TATU projects, the employees of the organization struggle with creating a clear vision of how the MASAA Project will be sustainable within the 15-year exit strategy.

Of the 15 women, only two, Agatha Hamisi and Sabina, have completed their secondary education due to the prioritization of boy's education over girls. Each week TATU international professionals along with Sarah work to develop the women's business management skills by doing weekly workshops on numeracy and literacy. However, the women often return the next week and do not remember the lessons from the previous week. Household demands as well as the demand of making the jewelry take away from time to study, and some women who have participated in the weekly lessons for five years still cannot write the numbers one through ten on a chalkboard

on their first try. This has raised concerns about the ability for the group to maintain international partnerships that aid in successfully overcoming the challenge of seasonal demand whenever TATU leaves the community.

Current ideas of how to address the issue include building the group's capacity to hire an employee to manage international partnerships or preparing one of the women to manage international operations. Another idea includes training Agatha and Sabina to conduct the meetings and financial operations by the end of the 15-year period. However, one of the strongest hopes of TATU employees is that even if the women are not able to continue selling the jewelry at the scale that working with TATU provides, the women will have gained skills and made investments that will better their future. An investment that the women have put their MASAA earnings toward since the founding has been in their children's education. Through home visits and interviews conducted in 2015, TATU found that the majority of the group members' earnings that were not put into the savings fund for the project were being directed toward their children's school fees. Daniela Troisi, a founder of TATU, says that during a visit one of the members confided that she had negotiated with her husband to keep their daughter in school by leveraging her MASAA income. Other women reported being able to send their children to boarding school with the increase in household income (2016d). The children's education will allow them to continue to help their families and pursue the development of the community into the future. Improving the financial security and negotiating capabilities of women serves as only one portion of TATU's vision of the sustainable development of Msitu wa Tembo.

Personal Security and Health Security

In Tanzania, lack of education, access to alternative sources of knowledge, and economic influence combined with the prevalence of sexual harassment and violence limits women's agency in making healthcare decisions. Limited agency in making healthcare decisions makes receiving adequate healthcare assistance difficult for a woman, even when healthcare providing NGOs operate in her community. Approximately 38% of married Tanzanian women report that their husbands executively make decisions about their healthcare and the healthcare of their children (UNICEF 2010, 36). Because of social stigmas, a woman or girl experiencing sexual violence has even more limited healthcare options and limited forms of assistance, which restricts educational and professional choices. Sexual harassment and violence widely contributes to the elevated school dropout rate of Tanzanian girls (UNICEF 2010, 21). Additionally, day-to-day barriers to success like a lack of access to healthcare and healthcare supplies prevent women from fulfilling their full potential. Due to lack of access to water, housewives, and hospitals, Tanzania has one of the highest maternal mortality rates in the world (UNICEF 2010, 35). Whether women cannot participate in education and employment opportunities due to the inability to afford tools to manage menstruation, if those opportunities are limited due to unplanned pregnancies, or if a woman's life is brought to an early end or forever changed due to pregnancy complications, an understanding of health and access to healthcare play an integral role in the overall success of women and their families.

In addition to health specific to female bodies, women also have traditionally fulfilled the role of providing care to members of their families with medical ailments. Combined, these challenges all feed into cyclical poverty, which reinforces the social and economic marginalization of low-income women. In the first five years of TATU's operations, the organization has worked to enhance the agency that women and girls of Msitu wa Tembo have over their health, and with

assistance of TATU, members of the Kazi na Sala women's group have raised awareness about women's health locally, regionally, nationally, and globally.

During WeThrive workshops members of the TATU team work with members of Kazi na Sala to have confidence and autonomy over their bodies as well as provide the women with the knowledge and resources to understand what to do if that autonomy is violated. For example, a WeThrive workshop held in July 2017 went over procedures on how to file police reports as well as reinforced the idea of the group as a support system that each woman could find someone to confide. Members of the group have taken initiative to provide such workshops to other women's groups as well as workshops for girls in school. The workshops arose from another of TATU's WeThrive programs, Kilipads, in coordination with the Afya program.

Kilipads

Kilipads is a social enterprise operated by two members of the Kazi na Sala group, Mariam and Magreth**,** with support from the TATU team. The business plan involves making affordable reusable menstrual pads for women around the region. Business development started in 2013, and the first shop for manufacturing and sales opened in 2015 (TATU 2017k). While Kilipads was able to sell regionally, the business could not market in the rest of Tanzania and receive a quality seal until it registered with and was approved by the Tanzanian Board of Standards in 2017 (TATU 2017i). Sarah Ngina, the Tanzanian manager that works with Mariam and Magreth to operate Kilipads, played an integral role in securing the quality seal. The creation of the idea by local women and the production of the pads by local women using locally sourced materials prevents a dependency on expensive imported feminine hygiene products, empowering the local women and economy.

In addition to selling the pads at a fair price for the region and nationally, with TATU's support Kilipads sells to NGOs as well as receives support from international donors. Partners connected to the Kilipads project through TATU include Femme International and Anza, which are Moshi based NGOs whose founders Sabrina Rubli and Krupa Patel are from the UK. International social enterprises also donate a portions of their proceeds to Kilipads. For example, Freda, a UK based menstruation product company, founded by Affi Parvizi-Wayne, donates a portion of the proceed from every product sold to organizations like TATU working to improve women's menstrual health in developing countries. Additionally, She's Here, a social enterprise started by Wofford College student Ella Patrick, plans to purchase MASAA jewelry to sell for a profit and return a portion of that profit to Kilipads.

From the support of NGOs and individual donors, Kilipads has the capacity to donate the reusable pads to girls throughout the Simanjiro District of the Manyara Region. Access to the pads allows girls who cannot afford hygiene products to attend school year round. In addition to donating the pads, members of the Kilipads team go to the schools to lead workshops to increase knowledge of menstrual health and decrease social stigma surrounding it while also working to raise awareness around other women's health issues. In early 2016 led their first school workshop, reaching 45 girls. Throughout the rest of the year Kilipads workshops and pads reached over 200 more girls, and the progress continues (TATU 2016a, TATU 2017k). During the same year, Kilipads team members also piloted the first women's group workshop by presenting to their fellow Kazi na Sala members, and now members of the Kilipads team travel to women's groups across the region to hold similar workshops (TATU 2017k). Thus what began as TATU's WeGrow seminars on women's empowerment led to the evolving agency of women operating a social enterprise directly impacting women and girls throughout the Manyara Region and beyond.

Local and regional interest combined with the far reaching global interest in and support of Kilipads demonstrates the capacity of women's NGO networks to connect local and global issues and generate solutions. The localized work of Mariam, Magreth, and Sarah along with other members of the Kazi na Sala group to make feminine hygiene products and to empower women and girls to take agency of their health has captured international attention. Thus, a small social enterprise in rural Tanzania has generated numerous conversations about women's health globally.

The Afya Program and Health Security

Even with agency to make healthcare decisions, inadequate infrastructure, lack of trained health workers in remote areas, and limited availability of medical supplies all also pose barriers to women's health and community health overall (CSIS 2015). While the WeGrow Seminars and WeThrive seminars focus on empowering the women of the community to have control in their healthcare choices, the Afya program reaches further into the community to also directly involve men and children. Through the Afya program TATU improves health security by meeting immediate needs through medical caravans and establishing long-term health stability by encouraging healthy lifestyles for children and strengthening the agency of the local healthcare network.

Community Health Facilitators

Throughout the year, the Afya program operates the Kucheza ni Afya Project with the three primary schools in Msitu wa Tembo and Londoto to have after school sports activities as well as in class activities on a variety of subjects including safe eating and drinking habits. However, the projects of the Afya program reach far beyond the school. Additionally, the Afya program works

with the local government dispensary and community healthcare workers to strengthen the network of healthcare providers in the area. For example, over the course of ten months from 2015 into 2016, Afya's Nina Jali Program, funded by the Rotary Club of Toronto, Canada, orchestrated the training of 17 women to become certified community health facilitators (TATU 2015, TATU 2016b). The women trained as facilitators were members of Kazi na Sala and another women's group, Tusaidiane, who lived in the neighboring community of Newlands (TATU 2015). Members of the Kazi na Sala Group that continue to serve as community health facilitators include Hamida, Betila, Maines, Neema and Bituni (TATU 2018). The certification of the women as community health facilitators not only improved access to healthcare, but also further increased the women's groups participation and agency in their own communities.

Home Based Care Volunteers

After completing the community health facilitator trainings, TATU began planning how to further enhance the local healthcare network by assisting Home Based Care volunteers. The Home Based Care, HBC, program is a government program that organizes volunteers to visit patients who are too sick to go to the dispensary or who are suffering from chronic diseases which reduce their mobility. In 2017, TATU started working closely with the five HBC volunteers in Msitu wa Tembo, Herman, Neema, Lightness, Rose and Veronica. Rose has served as a volunteer since 1998 and has up to 35 patients in her care at a given time, and she shared that the HBC volunteers struggle with a lack of resources as well as social stigmas connecting witchcraft and disease (TATU 2016f). TATU supports Rose and the other volunteers through trainings, buying equipment, and providing other forms of support for the HBC volunteers in Msitu wa Tembo (TATU 2017h). For example, in March of 2017 and 2018, volunteers from the Belgian nursing

school CPSI came to Tanzania to train the HBC volunteers (TATU 2017i; TATU 2018). By equipping the HBC volunteers with supplies and training, TATU enhances the health security for the entire community. Through improving community health overall and establishing a strong core of trained health care professionals through the community health facilitators and HBC volunteers, TATU alleviates some of the pressure of women in households to provide healthcare while also providing women with consistent opportunities to access healthcare. Through continuing successful trainings of community health facilitators and HBC volunteers, by year 15 of the TATU project, the healthcare network of Msitu wa Tembo should be strong enough to meet basic community health needs.

Health, Environmental, and Food Security

Through new research and development projects, TATU plans to create more programs dealing specifically with environmental security, for the community faces a wide range of environmental challenges due to the areas semi-arid climate and shifting population dynamics.

Water

One of the greatest challenges facing the community as a whole is access to clean water. For women and girls, travelling multiple hours each day to collect water from distant wells takes away time from educational and economic opportunities. The extended periods of travel alone also make women and girls more vulnerable to acts of physical violence. In general, limited access to clean water leads to waterborne illnesses such as cholera, which the Msitu wa Tembo community struggles with. And, access to water is the main topic discussed for less developed countries in the environmental security section of the UNDP 1994 Human Development Report (UNDP 1994, 29).

In order to address these issues, TATU works with government officials and international NGOs, like US based Rotary International and London-based NGO Dorothy's Well, to establish wells (TATU 2016).

After establishing the first well in Msitu wa Tembo, TATU brought together representatives of the schools, parents of the school children as well as members of the village executive office, the dispensary, and the water association, and parents to form a water committee. The water committee operates autonomously and has the responsibility of maintaining the well and collecting payments for the water (TATU 2017e). If managed responsibly, the water from the well should last well into the future. Through assisting in the organization of a water committee, TATU aided in equipping the community to pursue responsible water management. However, water management is not the only threat to environmental and health security that the community faces.

Food

In a research project done by TATU to identify the challenges farmers faced, farmers reported increasingly unpredictable weather, expensive agro-inputs, lack of training to use agro-inputs, difficulty getting fair prices for products, and lack of access to credit and land, especially for the women farmers. Another issue that farmers brought up was cattle owned by the Maasai often graze on the crops of other farmers (TATU 2017g). The semi-arid climate in combination with drought poses challenges for Maasai people, traditionally pastoralists, in raising their cattle, and these challenges often lead to the cattle either grazing on a farmer's crops or dying. When cattle die from lack of grazing land, Maasai often make the choice to farm in order to grow feed for their cattle; however, this leads to more land degradation and often a cycle of debt related to

buying seed and fertilizer. TATU is in the early stages of working with the community and connecting with indigenous peoples' networks as well as farmers' networks to develop ways to overcome these challenges. How this will play out in the organization's 15-year vision is yet to be determined.

Community Security

Maintaining and enhancing community security involves protecting people from the loss of traditional values and relationships while also preventing sectarian and ethnic violence. TATU's projects foster community security across Msity wa Tembo by attempting to resolve issues like Maasai cattle grazing on the crops of farmers and unequal water access.[15] Through WeGrow seminars, TATU directly works with the women of the Kazi na Sala group to enhance their ability to reconcile such community challenges. TATU assists in building a stronger more resilient community by bringing together a diverse group of women each Saturday. Tribes represented within the Kazi na Sala women's group include Maasai, Waarusha, Wapare, Wachagga and Wanyiramba (TATU 2018). WeGrow seminars often incorporate aspects of women in the Kazi na Sala group sharing their culture and also work with the women to develop skills in conflict resolution. Through the Saturday meetings, the women of Kazi na Sala come to better understand each other as well as support one another and their individual goals.

Conclusion

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[15] For more on the threat of changing weather and migration patterns caused by climate change see Reuveny 2007 and Warner et al. 2010.

As TATU goes into its five-year milestone, the founders have begun seeking to hire foreign professionals to outline how to fulfill work requirements within its operational structure. After training, the foreign professionals will then hire and collaborate with Tanzanian natives to determine how to best shape their role to continue in the future (Williams 2018). Although the path for the next ten years is not strictly outlined, the successes of operations like the Kazi na Sala Wholesale Shop and Kilipads demonstrate that TATU has made significant progress towards its mission of facilitating equal and sustainable development projects together with the community members of Msitu wa Tembo. The leadership initiatives which members of Kazi na Sala have taken also highlight TATU's success at generating agency rather than dependency among community members. In the future, even after the 15-year TATU experiment is over, community members will have the tools to work with local government officials as well as the NGOs to collaborate and work toward desired outcomes.

For operating less than five years, the progress of TATU is notable towards its 15-year plan of autonomy. TATU has utilized the networks of the organizations founders, Tanzanian managers, and international professionals to operate with the community and local government successfully at a localized scale while also receiving support from individuals and NGOs across the globe. By following a gendered approach to human security—empowering women to take control of their personal, political, economic, health, and community security at a local level and then sharing the stories of those women—TATU succeeds in connecting localized issues to global structures.

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Chapter 4:

Conclusion

In the preceding chapters, the thesis gives a brief introduction to human security and gender informed IR theory and then utilizes a gendered human security analysis to examine the impact of the actions of two women's empowerment NGOs. Separately, both gender informed and human security frameworks arose with other individual-focused security frameworks after the Cold War. Gender informed IR theory emphasizes the importance of increasing the agency of women and other marginalized individuals in peace building and government processes. Human security theory outlines physical and non-physical securities of individuals including personal, community, political, health, economic, food, and environmental security. Combined, the two theories work to identify insecurities of individuals and connect those insecurities to broader regional and global political structures and processes.

Using a gendered human security framework to analyze the efforts of women's NGOs demonstrates the ability of NGOs that focus on women's empowerment, like OWFI and TATU, to directly address insecurities at both local and international levels. TATU and OWFI have tailored initiatives that both meet pressing short-term insecurities of women, and also work to positively reconstitute social structures that present long-term threats to community, national, and global security. Because of the different contexts of the organizations, the operations of both NGOs differ greatly. However, important similarities lie behind the differences of size, geographic region, political climate, and global partnerships. Those similarities—uncovered through a gendered human security analysis—demonstrate how women's NGOs can make advancements towards gendered human security. Women's NGOs, like TATU and OWFI, can enhance the

agency of women to engage with intersecting dimensions of security, including political, economic, personal, health, environmental, food, and community security.

A surface level comparison of the two organizations does not go much further than the realization that OWFI functions in a country that has recently experienced years of conflict and TATU operates in a country known for its peace and stability. However, using a gendered human security lens for analysis draws out notable parallels between the organizations and the insecurities the two confront. Since the founding of OWFI, the organization has operated throughout ongoing conflict between armed groups. In contrast, since the founding of TATU, the organization has not had any concerns with armed groups. Thus, OWFI has operated in a time of prolonged national conflict and TATU has operated in a time of prolonged national peace. However, the work that both NGOs do demonstrates the ability of women's empowerment organizations to realize that insecurities occur in both public and private spheres, in times of "peace" and in times of conflict.[16] A gendered human security lens not only seeks to understand insecurities that arise between militaries or armed groups, and between armed actors and civilians, but also between civilians themselves and between intimate partners or within a household. Studying the two cases through a gendered human security analysis leads to the realization that the success of OWFI and TATU in navigating different political landscapes to improve the security and agency of marginalized people arises from the vision of the founders, the tenacity of the women participating in the organizations, and the support of global partners.

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[16] Feminist theory critiques western culture's traditional understanding of relationships of power as normative concepts through fixed binary oppositions that categorically assert the meaning of masculine and feminine (Tickner 1992, 7). Additionally, by focusing on the individual, human security works to unweave binary assumptions concerning public and private, protector and perpetrator, in situations of states of conflict and states of peace (Hudson et al. 2013, 36).

Initiatives of OWFI and TATU would not exist without the founders and their global connections. Baghdad native, Yanar Mohammed, had previous experiences founding and participating in women's NGOs before starting OWFI. Mohammed returned to her home country from Canada with the mission to attain "full equality between women and men in Iraq under the egalitarian secular constitution and defend women's human-rights" (OWFI 2018). The operations of OWFI faced several barriers throughout its history, starting with the limited number of women the US Coalition Provisional Authority appointed to the Iraqi Governing Council. To confront the drastic broadening and deepening of vulnerabilities and insecurities experienced by Iraqi women, Yanar Mohammed gained agency for herself and OWFI through strengthening and leveraging international partnerships from her past in the Iraqi diaspora. OWFI's partnership with MADRE connected OWFI to the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace, and Security. That connection in combination with Mohammed being an Iraqi woman led to her status as an expert, which then led to her lending her expert opinion in UNSC meetings on the Women, Peace, and Security agenda. Because of her connection to Iraq, when foreign NGO representatives felt increased hostility and fled, Mohammed utilized her local contacts to stay and use OWFI to generate reports for the NGOs that could no longer maintain a local presence, which enhanced her international relationships. At the same, Mohammed's ever-growing cosmopolitan network enabled her to travel between Iraq and the US as well as other international destinations at a time when international travel for most Iraqis was unimaginable. Mohammed's known international status both aided and created barriers to OWFI operations.

Because of Mohammed's internationally recognized voice and her organization's mission for Iraq to have an egalitarian secular constitution, she and OWFI became linked to the Worker's Communist Party of Iraq due to leftist, feminist, radical secular politics. Since the mission of OWFI

linked the organization to an unpopular political party, to opposing government parties, OWFI's claims of promoting universal human rights had the potential to lead to undesired "western" norms. Mohammed's association with political parties that oppose those in power contributed to the national government exerting authority over NGOs by issuing new regulations like the one putting restrictions on the operations local women's shelters. By enforcing socially confining laws and limiting access to aid and services, the Iraqi government attempted to protect itself by consolidating power. Mohammed utilized personal relationships with people who shared a similar vision as well as people who OWFI served in order to generate local agency and support for the organization despite efforts at the national and local level to undermine the power of both NGOs and women. Utilizing those local relationships, OWFI met women's immediate security needs through providing shelter while also addressing more long-term structural issues through counseling and education programs as well as training to enhance women's economic and political agency. At the same time, Mohammed developed more agency for herself and other women linked to OWFI by utilizing international partnerships to share their stories at a global scale. The global voice Mohammed and OWFI gained by amplifying local experiences gave OWFI the ability to become known as one of the most outspoken organization against the US occupation and the results of the occupation on the quality of life of Iraqis. The work highlighted how conflict between armed groups increases physical and non-physical threats to security both inside and outside the home.

Through empowering women to take control of their personal, political, and community security at local levels, and then sharing the stories of those women, OWFI succeeded in connecting local issues to global structures. And, by navigating within the hegemonic state-centric structures with the assistance of global connections and the voices of empowered women, OWFI

continues to relieve, protect, and empower women to overcome both physical and non-physical threats to security in Iraq. Raising the voices of Iraqi women to the international stage of the UNSC, OWFI has also contributed to driving the global push for women's rights. The success of OWFI operations directly impinged on the workers and volunteers of the organization to steer through the traditional security agendas of the Iraqi government, ethnic militias, and American foreign policy, and the overall instability caused by shifting political landscapes.

In the OWFI case study, the US government operating under the Bush administration explicitly co-opted feminist rhetoric to justify state-centric agendas. OWFI also faced the challenge of the exploitation of women's bodies being used as a weapon of war. While TATU has not encountered equivalent challenges, the organization still faces the implicit co-opting of both human security and gender theory language by development initiatives of the Tanzanian government and intergovernmental organizations. In those development initiatives, rural women are most often the ones left behind and further marginalized.

To confront these challenges, TATU, like OWFI, enhances the long-term security of individuals through projects aiming to increase women's economic and political agency. Also, although TATU does not directly shelter women from physical abuse like OWFI, through workshops with the Kazi na Sala women's group, TATU does work to enhance women's agency and capacity to respond to physical violence. Just as the connections and experience of Yanar Mohammed contribute to the ongoing operations of OWFI, the connections and experiences of the three founders of TATU lend to the effective projects of the organization.

Before founding TATU, Daniela Troisi, Jaume Pau Vicenz, and Albane Gaudissart all worked for international organizations operating in Moshi, Tanzania. Because of their previous experience with NGOs in Tanzania as well as other countries, Daniela, Jaume, and Albane had the

knowledge of how to generate funds and set-up an NGO-like structure. The combined experiences of the founders also fostered the frustrations that led to vision of the experiment that became TATU: an organization created through collaboration with a specific community to meet community identified needs. Being foreign with the intention and funds to improve the community instantly generated a level of agency for the founders and the organization itself. However, actively seeking to understand community needs, being able to communicate in Swahili as well as Maa, employing community members, and working with community organizations as well as the local government all generated a new level of respect for TATU's founders amongst community members not gained by many NGOs operating in the area. Through the founder's mission of enhancing the agency of all community members to make development decisions, TATU as an organization gained its own agency within the community, which became reinforced as more community members participated. Also, as more projects gained autonomy from TATU, instead of the organization loosing agency, it gained a greater operating capacity because more community members came to trust the organization's mission.

While the growing autonomy of TATU's projects and the commitment of the founders to leave the community in full control of the organization after the completion of a 15-year period have contributed greatly to successfully gaining the respect and involvement of the community, the initial phases of the NGO relied on foreign partnerships and professionals. The variety of countries represented by the foreign employees and volunteers over the first five years after TATU's founding has diversified the organizational culture in addition to leading to a variety of global partnerships. Financial assistance from internationally based organizations like Colony Fundacio Guillem Cifre (Spain), Action Benevole Communavtaire (Canada), Rotary International (US), and Rotaract Club Paris (France), helped to fund the initial salaries, equipment, and facilities

of TATU. Additionally, receiving assistance from other Moshi-based NGOs founded by foreigners has assisted in TATU's goal of equipping community members to collaborate with the NGOs on projects that work towards long-term community needs rather than serving as short-term band aids. For example, Anza and Femme International assisted in developing the business plan for Kilipads, and Tusaidiane Gender Equality assisted in orchestrating trainings for the certification of community health facilitators. Partners like Global Bike led to a source of volunteers from Wofford College and to the social enterprise She's Here. These global connections operate on a much smaller scale than those of OWFI. Yet, the various partnerships have still enabled TATU to pursue its mission of increasing the participation of women in the sustainable development of Msitu wa Tembo. The success of the many connections to individuals and small NGOs, in contrast to OWFI's lofty connections to the UN and large NGOs, arises from the ability of many foreign volunteers and tourists to move in and out of Tanzania due to the country's stability, which leads to individual connections that compile to create an international presence.

Because of the relatively stable political climate, members of the TATU team can expect for projects supported by the community to not face major government barriers. Through the registration of the NGO, the registration of businesses started by Kazi na Sala members, and the visa applications of foreign employees, TATU navigated through agendas of national and local government as well as government influencers.[17] Local and national government officials have

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[17] Tanzania's constitution recognizes women's equal capacity and right to participate in politics, and the social and economic life of the country. Since 1985, when Tanzania signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) Tanzania's the political and societal transformation agenda has involved gender equality and women's rights (Mentan 2014, 364). Following the signing of CEDAW, Tanzania adopted the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), Resolution of the Worlds Summit, the third International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), and each of the World Conferences on Women. The government also signed regional and sub regional instruments including the South African Development Community's Declaration on Gender and Development, the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR), and the Constitutive Act of African Union (MKUKUTA 2010). Tanzania also supported the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000; however, the country

cooperated with TATU through meetings with the founders as well as Tanzanian managers and members of the Kazi na Sala group. While TATU has encountered some minor difficulties with the government officials, those difficulties pail in comparison to the struggles of OWFI. A gendered human security lens lends to the analysis of the micro-level challenges that arise between members of local government and foreign professionals, members of local government and community members, and community members and foreign professionals; however, such an analysis would require more in-depth community focused research.

While for OWFI, the immediate threat to security of individuals arose from government instability and physical violence towards women connected to years of conflict played out and closely watched on the international stage, the insecurities confronted by TATU arose from the non-physical conflict between culture and development. Seeing what they considered to be a lack of true progress made by organizations going into communities and implementing projects without community input, the founders of TATU wanted the functions of the organization to be completely community driven. Together Daniela, Jaume, and Albane along with the rest of TATU's employees over the past five years have worked painstakingly to balance utilizing their international experience to prepare members of the Msitu wa Tembo community to work with the government, businesses, and other NGOs in future pursuits of development with creating projects appropriate for the current cultural context. This has been done through keeping a constant conversation open between community stakeholders, TATU's Tanzanian managers, TATU's partners, and TATU's foreign employees and volunteers. In TATU's capacity building initiatives, the organization collaborates with community members to develop a toolbox of projects and skills that will enable the community to work with local government officials as well as NGOs to achieve

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has not finalized a National Plan of Action for Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women (PeaceWomen 2017).

desired future outcomes. Amongst women in the Kazi na Sala women's group, a notable amount of agency has already been developed as demonstrated in the examples of the Kazi na Sala Wholesale Shop, Kilipads, MASAA, and the community healthcare workers and volunteers. Over the past five years, TATU and the community have worked together to implement projects that in some way cover all seven dimensions of human security outlined in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report: political, economic, personal, health, environmental, food, and community security.

Through empowering women to take control of their personal, political, economic, health, and community security at a local level and then sharing the stories of those women, TATU and OWFI both succeed in connecting localized issues to global structures. Although the two organizations work within different socio-political contexts and operate at different scales, both OWFI and TATU share similarities that shape their successes in actualizing projects. The founders of both organizations started with visions focused on the empowerment of women to address immediate insecurities and the structures from which those insecurities arise. Both OWFI and TATU introduced projects and methods that increased the agency of women and other marginalized individuals to confront both physical and non-physical insecurities. The active involvement of women who benefitted from both organizations within the organizations demonstrate the successes of the NGOs.

Additionally, both OWFI and TATU utilized international connections to gain agency for the organizations themselves as well as the women participating in the organizations. The global partnerships in combination with the enhanced agency equipped both TATU and OWFI to navigate the hegemonic state-centric structures of the government in a way that prevented their gendered human security strategies from morphing to serve state-centric security objectives more than those

of individuals. Using the partnerships to raise the voices of Iraqi and Tanzanian women to an international stage, both OWFI and TATU contributed to driving the global push for women's rights. With the integration of local action and global awareness, TATU and OWFI have linked local issues to regional, national, and global scales. The similarities drawn between OWFI and TATU serve as examples of how studying women's NGOs through a gendered human security lens deepens and widens security thinking by incorporating the interests of not only states, but all persons, and by conceptualizing insecurities stemming from issues other than physical violence. Accomplishments of OWFI and TATU in their missions to enhance women's agency and implement structural changes despite the obstacles of working within hegemonic state structures emphasize the importance of understanding how to implement similar initiatives and how those initiatives can expand to inform security for broader structures.

Topics for Future Study

As demonstrated from the case studies, a gendered human security lens can be utilized to analyze the relationships between individuals and larger social and political structures as well as the relationships between individuals. This line of research could be extended in a number of ways by grappling with questions like: How do the social and political relationships of the people working in TATU and OWFI impact operations? How do other women's NGOs in Tanzania compare to TATU? What insights could economic development literature add to the TATU case study? How do other women's NGOs in Iraq compare to OWFI? Do women's NGOs in other countries share the same characteristics? What insights could peace building literature add to the OWFI case study? What is the real significance of women-focused initiatives by states and

intergovernmental organizations given the high degree of hypocrisy and distortion of women's

agendas for other political purposes?

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