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HUMAN SECURITY IN UGANDA

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I declare in lieu of oath that I wrote this thesis myself. All information derived from the work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

Tachov, 2011

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Signature

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Table of contents

| | |
|---|----|
| List of abbreviations..... | 2 |
| Abstract | 4 |
| Abstrakt | 5 |
| 1. Introduction | 6 |
| 1.1 Objective..... | 7 |
| 1.2 Structure..... | 7 |
| 1.3 Methodology..... | 8 |
| 2. Prologue..... | 10 |
| 3. Resume of findings from Human Security in East Africa..... | 10 |
| 3.1 Competing visions | 11 |
| 3.2 Proponents of human security..... | 11 |
| 3.3 Reports..... | 12 |
| 4. Human security today | 14 |
| 4.1 Efforts to promote human security | 14 |
| 4.2 Main attributes of human security | 16 |
| 4.3 Human security as an operational tool..... | 18 |
| 4.4 Human security, human rights and development..... | 20 |
| 4.5 Weak points of human security concept | 21 |
| 4.6 Strengths of human security concept | 23 |
| 4.7 Narrow vision of human security..... | 24 |
| 5. Human security in Uganda | 26 |
| 5.1 Uganda at a glance..... | 26 |
| 5.1.1 Geography | 26 |
| 5.1.2 People..... | 27 |
| 5.1.3 History..... | 27 |
| 5.1.4 Lord's Resistance Army..... | 28 |
| 5.2 Menaces to human security..... | 29 |
| 5.2.1 Community security | 29 |
| 5.2.2 Food security | 31 |
| 5.2.3 Environmental security | 33 |
| 6. Uganda-Rwanda comparative study | 35 |
| 6.1 Economic security | 36 |
| 6.1.1 Agricultural Challenge..... | 38 |
| 6.1.2 National Economic and Development Plans | 39 |
| 6.2 Health security | 43 |
| 6.2.1 Population health..... | 43 |
| 6.2.2 Health system..... | 45 |
| 6.2.3 Past trends and future challenges | 47 |
| 6.3 Political security | 48 |
| 6.3.1 Political organization and administration divisions..... | 49 |
| 6.3.2 Political participation and process of decentralization | 50 |
| 6.4 Résumé | 53 |
| 7. Conclusion | 55 |
| List of references | 58 |

List of abbreviations

| | |
|---------|---|
| ABHS | Advisory Board on Human Security |
| ASEAN | Association of South East Asian Nations |
| AU | African Union |
| BICC | Bonn International Center for Conversion |
| CHS | Commision on Human Security |
| DCAF | Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces |
| DENIVA | Climate Change Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| EDPRS | Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy |
| EIA | Environmental Impact Assessment |
| EU | European Union |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations |
| FESS | Foundation for Environmental Security and Sustainability |
| FEWSNET | Famine Early Warning Systems Network |
| GDP | Gross domestic product |
| HDI | Human Development Index |
| HDR | Human Development Report |
| HIPC | Highly Indebted Poor Countries |
| HSC | Human Security Centre |
| HSN | Human Security Network |
| HSRP | Human Security Report Project |
| HSU | Human Security Unit |
| IDP's | Internally Displaced People |
| IRIN | Integrated Regional Information Networks |
| LAS | League of Arab States |
| LGBTI | Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex |
| LRA | Lord's Resistance Army |
| MDG's | Millenium Development Goals |
| NAADS | National Agricultural Advisory Services |
| NAP | National Agricultural Policy |
| NDI | National Democratic Institute |
| NDP | National Development Plan |

| | |
|--------|--|
| NRA | National Resistant Army |
| NRM | National Resistant Movement |
| NURC | National Unity and Reconciliation Commission |
| OAS | Organization of American States |
| OCHA | United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs |
| PEAP | Poverty Eradication Action Plan |
| SFU | Simon Fraser University |
| SG | Secretary General |
| SMUG | Sexual Minorities Uganda |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNAIDS | Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNEP | United Nations Environment Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNGA | United Nations General Assembly |
| UNTFHS | United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |
| WB | World Bank |
| WFP | World Food Programme |
| WHO | World Health Organization |

Abstract

The master thesis provides the readers the information about the relevant concept of human security first introduced in 1994. The first part, containing two chapters, summarizes findings about the concept from bachelor thesis entitled ‘Human security in East Africa’ (defended in 2007) and provides some new information while the concept is seen and introduced from different perspectives and in various contexts. The readers are acquainted with the main attributes of the concept, efforts to promote it, its strengths and weaknesses, narrow vision and human security is also introduced as an operational tool and in connection with human rights and development.

The second part, corresponding with the third chapter, comprises two sub-chapters. The first one introduces the brief presentation of the country of Uganda, its geography, people, and history including the issue of the Lord’s Resistance Army. The second sub-chapter draws readers attention to the events that recently threatened the Ugandans feeling of security. There is an outline of the lamentable situation of gay community, recapitulation of the causes of food shortage that has occurred in northern Uganda in March 2011 and the description of three menaces to environmental security: droughts, lax law enforcement and loss of pollinators.

The last part of the thesis deals with the comparative study based on an analysis of recent development in the two neighbouring countries of Rwanda and Uganda. The study is focused on a comparison in the frame of economic security, health security and political security which are integral parts of the overall human security.

Key words: human security, Uganda, HSU-OCHA, Human Security Report, UNDP, community security, food security, environmental security, political security, economic security, health security, Rwanda, threats

Abstrakt

Předkládaná diplomová práce čtenáři podává informace o konceptu 'human security' (do češtiny překládaném jako koncept lidské bezpečnosti), který byl prvně představen v roce 1994. První část práce se skládá ze dvou kapitol, přičemž první z nich shrnuje poznatky o konceptu human security z bakalářské práce pojednávající o lidské bezpečnosti ve Východní Africe obhájené v roce 2007, a druhá přináší informace nové. Koncept human security je nově představován z různých perspektiv a v rozličných souvislostech. Čtenář je seznám s hlavními charakteristikami konceptu, se snahami o jeho prosazování, se silnými a slabými stránkami, které jsou konceptu přisuzovány, s verzí konceptu v tzv. užším pojetí. Koncept je dále představen jako nástroj použitelný při řešení konkrétních problémů v praxi, a také je rozebrána souvislost mezi lidskou bezpečností, lidskými právy a rozvojem.

Druhá část práce, odpovídající třetí kapitole, čtenáři ve zkratce představuje východoafrický stát Ugandu, jeho geografii, obyvatelstvo a historii včetně zmínky o nechvalně známé Armádě Božího odporu, a především informuje o událostech, které v současnosti ohrožují obyvatele Ugandy a narušují jejich pocit bezpečí. Je zde nastíněna znepokojivá situace Ugandské gay komunity, shrnuty příčiny vedoucí k vyhlášení potravinové krize v severní části země letos v březnu, a popsána vybraná ohrožení pro životní prostředí, konkrétně sucho, laxní dohled na dodržování zákonů v oblasti životního prostředí a úbytek opylovačů.

Poslední část diplomové práce se zabývá srovnáním úrovně rozvoje ve dvou sousedních státech, Rwandě a Ugandě. Srovnávací studie je založena na analýze stavu a vývoje v oblasti ekonomické bezpečnosti, zdravotní bezpečnosti a politické bezpečnosti, přičemž fungující ekonomika, dostupná kvalitní zdravotní péče a politická stabilita jsou mezi primárními předpoklady pro zabezpečení celkové lidské bezpečnosti.

Klíčová slova: lidská bezpečnost (human security), Uganda, HSU-OCHA, Human Security Report, UNDP, komunitní bezpečnost, potravinová bezpečnost, environmentální bezpečnost, ekonomická bezpečnost, zdravotní bezpečnost, politická bezpečnost, Rwanda, ohrožení

1. Introduction

Peace is not just the absence of war and the absence of war and violence does not mean that people are safe and secure. There are a lot more things than war that make people feel insecure and threaten their lives. That is what I have learned from work on my bachelor thesis and verified it by myself while I was travelling through developing countries such as Samoa, Tonga, Brasil, Kenya, Tanzania or Cambodia where people had suffered from tsunami, polluted environment, poverty, malaria or political repression.

Four years ago I wrote that it was no wonder that people had for long time the perception of security conected mainly with national security which could be threatened by war if we realized that in the previous century two World Wars and one Cold War took place. During this time the superpowers threatened each other by using nuclear and mass destruction weapons and the national security was the priority and the main national interest. National security still has its importance but since the end of the Cold War we have witnessed the lives of millions of people being threatened not only by international wars and conflicts but also by deadly infectious diseases and epidemics, transnational terrorism, chronic poverty and hunger, environmental disasters and degradation, civil violence and internal conflicts, illiteracy, exploitation or organised crime. And this evolution of threats has considerably altered our understanding of insecurities.

Since 2007, when I defended bachelor thesis focused on human security, the perception of security threats in policy and the academic world have evolved. New reports and booklets were released. Today all security discussions demand incorporation of the human dimension. Human security is increasingly included in the agendas and the policy debates of intergovernmental and regional organisations such as the G7/G8, the African Union (AU), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), or the European Union (EU). At the same time, a growing number of governments, non-governmental and civil society groups have also incorporated human security into their programme and policy priorities.

It is obvious that human security is an evolving concept that in the past years gained certain significance in the development debate. The human security concept also offers an opportunity for elaboration from different perspectives and use of various methods and approaches. Moreover, the concept enables processing of a wide range of topics from famine to floods, from HIV/AIDS to terrorism, from poverty to economic crisis, from illegal restraint to autocratic ruler and so on. Recency and possibility to choose conception and topic were among the main reasons why I decided to write about this concept again.

1.1 Objective

‘Freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from fear’ have become the catch phrases of an approach to security called human security. The concept of human security has been widely accepted as well as criticized and deprecated since its first introduction in ‘1994 Human Development Report’. The first objective of this master thesis is to summarize and elaborate on my bachelor thesis in which readers became familiarized with the concept of human security and to bring more information about main criticism of the concept, about its practical application. The thesis also wants to inform readers about what is new in the security debate, and about new reports focused on human security that have been released recently.

The second objective has two segments. Firstly, concisely introduce the East African country of Uganda, its geography, history, and touch upon the big issue of the past, the Lord’s Resistance Army, that for more than twenty years retarded development of the country. Secondly, inform about the latest threats to human security in Uganda. The latest does not necessarily mean the worst or the most noted. The aim of this part of thesis is to draw attention to the issues which has been in news and held author’s interest at the time of creation of the thesis. The intention is not to analyze menaces in details but rather outline contemporary events threatening people’s feeling of security from different perspectives, be specific from the perspective of community security, food security and environmental security.

Last but not least objective is to compare the recent development in Rwanda and Uganda concerning another three dimensions of human security – economic, health and political, and conclude which of the two countries is performing better. In contrast to the second objective, the third part is intended as detailed analysis of longer-range development in three different areas that are contributing to the overall human security.

1.2 Structure

Like any other thesis this paper contains list of abbreviations, introduction (including objectives, structure and methodology), short prologue, main body, conclusion, summary, summary in Czech and requisite list of reference.

The main body of the thesis is divided into three distinctive parts according to its three objectives. These three parts are composed of four chapters and sixteen sub-chapters whereas some sub-chapters are also further divided. The first part deals with human security concept as such. The second one is focused on state of security in chosen country of Uganda and the last part offers a Rwanda-Uganda comparative study assessing different elements of human security.

The first part consists of a résumé of theoretical findings from bachelor thesis ‘Human Security in East Africa’ and detailed identification of the concept. Therefore the first part comprises two chapters due to the separation of information from bachelor thesis and the new ones. Findings from the thesis are divided into three sections summarizing different visions, proponents of these visions and fundamental reports. New information are structured in seven sub-chapters whereas each of them regard the concept from different angle. One addresses main attributes of the concept, another is focused on its strenghts/weaknesses, the other one deals with narrow version etc.

The purport of the second part is to briefly present the country of Uganda and to bring readers’ attention to the issues recently threatening Ugandans’ feeling of security. This third chapter is called ‘Human Security in Uganda’ and comprises two sub-chapters. The first one deals with Uganda’s geography, people, history and sum up the activity of notorious LRA. The second sub-chapter is structured in three sections and is focused on menaces to the people regarding community security, food security and environmental security.

The third part brings together analysis of the recent development in neighbouring countries of Rwanda and Uganda regarding the economic, health and political dimension of human security. This part is identical with the fourth chapter and according to the different dimensions it is divided into three sub-chapters and résumé.

1.3 Methodology

The objectives of this master thesis are to sum up findings from bachelor thesis, provide new information about the concept of human security from different perspectives, introduce the country of Uganda including the threats people has to face recently and compare the recent development in neighbouring countries of Rwanda and Uganda. The thesis comprises four chapters and each of them has been work up by different method – résumé, theoretical compilation, selection of the latest events and comparative study based on analyses. Particular chapters also intentionally vary in extent and could be treated as an independent units. This fact could be seen as both the strenght and the weakness of the thesis. However, from my point of view it is a strength because it shows variability and flexibility of the concept.

The first chapter is based on data dealing with the theory about human security concept derived from bachelor thesis called ‘Human Security in East Africa’ and therefore can be seen as a résumé of the theoretical part of this bachelor thesis. The bachelor thesis was the only source of information for this part.

The second, explicitly theoretical chapter which describes concept of human security from different points of view is a compilation based on the broad qualitative literature survey. As the main sources of information reports and articles published by respected international organizations were used, such as European University Institute, Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Shanghai Institute for International Studies or The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and its Human Security Unit (HSU-OCHA), and by respected journals, such as Global Governance, Global Review and Security Dialogue, written by researches and experts who are concerned with the concept of human security. One document was published by The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA).

The third part deals with the country of Uganda and presents the current menaces Ugandans has to cope with. As the sources of information about country itself served data from CIA's World Factbook 2011, website infoplease.com (© 2000-2011 Pearson Education), BBC and website of RESOLVE. For the part about recent threats were used the latest¹ articles published by international papers, such as BBC, The New York Times, The Guardian, The Telegraph and two national papers The Daily Monitor and The Monitor (available from website allafrica.com)² and the reports and articles published by respected international organizations, such as The World Food Programme (WFP), The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). In addition, the news from Reuters and The Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), and the information from websites of The Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG), The Foundation for Environmental Security and Sustainability (FESS), and The Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWSNET) were used.

The last part, comparative study, stands on analyses of long-term development in three areas related to human security in Rwanda and Uganda. The analyses are also based on the broad qualitative literature survey. The chosen framework for collation was inspired by a related chapter from Potter's (at al.) 'Geographies of Development'. As the sources of information for this part served the studies published by another respected international organizations and various national bureaux, ministries and committies. The data were assumed from reports of The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), The World Bank (WB), The World Health Organization (WHO), The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), The National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS), The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) etc.

¹ By latest is meant the most up-to-date at the time of creation of the chapters

² The online versions

2. Prologue

The quest for security, perhaps the main concern of our time, is as old as the human society. For centuries it was essential to ensure security of people mainly against external aggression and notions of security were concerned mainly with a state's ability to counter external threats. Threats to international peace and security were also usually perceived as threats from outside the state. But this traditional concept of state or national security which stands on premises that most threats come from the outside and that these threats are primarily of military nature had only the real purpose during the Cold War. Today, this concept is surely out-of-date. [Debiel, 2004, p. 52]

Since the 1990s it has been apparent that not only hostile armies menace lives of millions of people around the world and so it has been inevitable to expand the concept of security, which had *„for too long had been interpreted narrowly, as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust.“* [Human Development Report, 1994, p. 22] New concept of security was thus meant to convert the referent object of security *„from an exclusive stress on territorial security to a much greater stress on people's security.“* [Human Development Report, 1994, p. 24] There was need to shift attention from the security of the state to the security of people – to human security. [Ogata, Sen (eds.), 2003, p.2]

3. Resume of findings from Human Security in East Africa

Before I go to what is new in the human security debate I would like to briefly summarize what we have learned from bachelor thesis entitled 'Human Security in East Africa' released and defended in June 2007.

The first mention of the idea of human security can be found in reports of global commissions such as The Brand Commission, The Brundtland Commission and The Commission on Global Governance in the 1970s and 1980s. But it was not until the 1994 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) that the human security was used for the first time in a serious way. In this report the concept of human security was introduced as a distinctive new concept. Since then the concept has been refined by many subsequent reports and several more or less diverse concepts of human security have been created.

The concept of human security was born in the policy world, not in the world of academics or analysts and the policy debate had a direct impact on the academic debate where after more than ten years no common definition on human security has emerged. Although there is no universal, by all accepted definition, we can define two competing visions of human security – the narrow one and the broad one, whereas both of them place human beings at the focal point of security considerations. Consensus breaks down over precisely which threats should people be protected from. [Hrčková, 2007, p. 9-10]

3.1 Competing visions

As mentioned above we can define two competing visions of human security – the broad vision, closely linked to the original UNDP formulation, which sees human security as the ‘freedom from want’ and narrow vision which associates human security with ‘freedom from fear’. According to the broad vision human security is about ensuring basic human needs in economic, food, health, environmental and social terms and is focused on broad range of threats to individuals. Proponents of narrow vision claim that there are already several reports describing and analyzing threats embraced by the broad vision but there is missing report about trends in the incidence, severity, causes and consequences of global violence. Within the frame of narrow vision, human security is about removing the use of, or threat of, force and violence from people’s everyday life and is focused on violent threats to individuals. [Hrčková, 2007, p. 10;15]

3.2 Proponents of human security

United Nations Development Programme founded in 1965 as the global development network within United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) played key role during the formation of the concept as it was in its 1994 Human Development Report (HDR) where human security was introduced as a distinctive new concept. Since then UNDP has been an influential advocate of broad vision of human security and has inspired formation of various groups focused on human security.

In March 1999, the Government of Japan and The United Nations Secretariat launched The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS). The UNTFHS started its activities under the management of The UN Controller. The majority of funding was directed towards developmental concerns including key thematic areas such as health, education, agriculture and small scale infrastructure development.

At the 2000 UN Millennium Summit, the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, called upon the world community to advance the twin goals of ‘freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from

fear'. Thanks to his intervention, initiative and support of the Government of Japan and as a contribution to this effort, in January an independent Commission on Human Security (CHS) was established. The Commission consisted of twelve prominent international figures, including Mrs. Sadako Ogata (former UN High Commissioner for Refugees) and Professor Amartya Sen (1998 Nobel Laureate in Economics).

In May 2003 the CHS submitted its report to The UN Secretary-General. Based on recommendations of the CHS The Advisory Board on Human Security (ABHS) was established, which on its first meeting on 16th September 2003 agreed on new priorities for the UNTFHS. The new priorities were formulated on the basis of illation of CHS report. [Hrčková, 2007, p. 12]

In May 2004 The Human Security Unit (HSU) was established around the initiative of The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). Overall objective of HSU is to integrate human security in all UN activities. By combining the management of the UNTFHS with the dissemination and promotion activities of the ABHS, the HSU has played a pivotal role in translating the concept of human security into concrete activities and highlighting the added value of the human security approach as proposed by the CHS. [Hrčková, 2007, p. 14]

All above mentioned groups are the advocates of a broad vision of human security. Among the proponents of the narrow vision The Human Security Centre (HSC) based at The Liu Institute for Global Issues at The University of British Columbia in Vancouver is the most notable. The HSC was established in 2002 with the mission to make human security-related research more accessible to the policy and research communities, the media, educators and the public. The HSC undertakes independent research and works with a large network of collaborators at research institutions around the world. [Hrčková, 2007, p. 15]

3.3 Reports

The annual HDR in 1994 took name 'Human Development Report – New Dimensions of Human Security' and introduced human security as a concept which equated security with people rather than territories and with development rather than arms. The report identified four essential characteristic of human security:

Human security is an universal concern – it is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and poor.

The components of human security are interdependent.

Human security is easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention – it is less costly to meet these threats upstream than downstream.

Human security is people-centred. [Hrčková, 2007, p. 11]

And finally defined human security as:

„Safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression.”

„Protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in jobs, homes or in communities.” [Human Development Report, 1994, p. 23]

‘Human Security Now’, report released after two years of work of the CHS, defines human security as the protection of *„the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.”* [Ogata; Sen (eds.), 2003, p. 4]

To attain the goals of human security it is advised to follow two basic strategies: protection and empowerment, which are mutually reinforcing and they are required in most situations. Protected people can exercise many choices and empowered people can demand respect for their dignity when it is violated, to address many problems locally in order to avoid some risks and also to require improvements in the systems of protection. Moreover they can mobilize for the security of others. [Hrčková, 2007, p. 13] The ‘Human Security Now’ is comprehensive, deals with many issues and comes up with policy conclusions in the areas such as protecting people in violent conflicts, supporting the security of people on the move, empowering all people with universal basic education, encouraging fair trade and markets to benefit the extreme poor etc. According to the authors, human security could serve as a catalytic concept that links many already existing initiatives. [Hrčková, 2007, p. 14]

‘Human Security Report: War and Peace in the 21st Century’, flagship publication of HSC published in 2005, provides a comprehensive and evidence-based portrait of global security. Report identifies and analyzes major trends in global political violence, asks what factors drive these trends and examines some of the consequences. The main goal of the report is to provide the data and the analysis to displace myths and misunderstandings by evidence. [Hrčková, 2007, p. 16] Since 2005 HSC has published ‘Human Security Brief 2006 and 2007’ and also ‘Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and The Shrinking Costs of War’, which is going to be mentioned later.

This was a brief summary of the information about human security that was available while I was working on my bachelor thesis. Now we can turn to what has happened within security debate during the past four years and to have a look at new released reports dealing with human security.

4. Human security today

“Like all concepts of security, its meaning is constructed through the various efforts of institutions and individuals, and in today’s world, human security is a powerful concept around which practical policies and concrete initiatives have been, and can be, developed and promoted.” [Krause, 2007, p.18]

In the following seven sub-chapters the concept of human security will be investigated from different points of view. Human security will be introduced as an operational tool, it will be presented in association with human rights and development, its strengths and weaknesses will be outlined and its main attributes will be described too. Last human security will be examined in its narrow version. But first of all the efforts made in past few years to promote human security will be explored.

4.1 Efforts to promote human security

“The human security concept not only highlights the institutional gaps that may hinder our common objective to address current and emerging threats but it also remind us of the added value of a people-centred approach that instils a sense of ownership and duty by all involved, including Governments, private citizens, regional organizations and the international community.” [UNGA, 2010, p. 13]

In September 2005, eleven years after UNDP published its 1994 Human Development Report and two years after CHS released its ‘Human Security Now’,³ UN Secretary General (SG) Kofi Annan edited a report entitled ‘In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all’.⁴ The report was meant to be a guideline for global reforms (including the principles of human security) required to *„face the pressing challenges of today”* and apart from familiar ‘freedoms from fear and want’ Anan added a third pillar of human security, namely ‘freedom to live in dignity’ referring to democracy, human rights and the rule of law. [Estrada-Tanck, 2010, p. 7]

In the United Nations some significant efforts were made in advancing the human security concept as the UN has the strongest mandate to address human security issues. [UNGA, 2010, p.17] In October 2006 an open-ended forum called Friends of Human Security was established with central aim to enhance an understanding of human security concept and its application through cooperation among Member States. In May 2008 there was an informal thematic debate

³ Up to present day two crucial reports dealing with broad vision of human security [Estrada-Tanck, 2010, p. 3]

⁴ Publication of the report was closely linked with the 2005 World Summit where the General Assembly recognized that a further discussion of the notion of human security is critical in raising awareness and interest in the concept [UNGA, 2010, p. 2]

on human security held by General Assembly. The Human Security Network (HSN) has continued to be a fundamental actor in highlighting the added value of the concept and in drawing particular attention to the cases of insecurities all around the world since it was established in May 1999.⁵ These attempts to promote the concept of human security at the global level were also reflected in the agendas and policy debates among intergovernmental organizations such as the African Union (AU)⁶, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)⁷, the European Union (EU), the League of Arab States (LAS) and the Organization of American States (OAS)⁸. At regional level, due to the challenges like economic crisis, volatile food prices, armed conflicts, terrorism or climate change, there was also obvious that comprehensive, integrated and people-centred approaches were needed. [UNGA, 2010, p. 2-3] This need was reflected among the others in the activity of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) that has organized a series of conferences called ‘Promoting human security: ethical, normative and educational frameworks’ and has published accompanying bulletins that emphasized the region-specific and yet the universal nature of human security. [UNGA, 2010, p. 15]

Almost all of the Member States have made some effort to place human security in their national and foreign policies. Worth noting are the cases of Thailand, Mongolia or Ecuador. Thailand was the first country with a ministry especially dedicated to human security, Ecuador included human security in the constitution, trying to improve the response to its most urgent and critical threats to people. Mongolia has made human security a priority area already in 2000 and since then Government has reinforced its commitment to incorporate the basic principles of human security into the Mongolian domestic policies. [UNGA, 2010, p. 14] Furthermore, since the issuance of the 1994 Human Development Report more than 20 national human development reports on human security⁹ have been issued and have displayed how to use the concept for promoting responses and policies that can better address the threats. [UNGA, 2010, p. 15]

⁵ The Human Security Network (HSN) is a group of like-minded countries from all regions of the world that, at the level of Foreign Ministers, maintains dialogue on questions pertaining to human security. The Network includes Austria, Canada, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, Slovenia, Thailand and South Africa as an observer. The Network has a unique inter-regional and multiple agenda perspective with strong links to civil society and academia. The Network emerged from the landmines campaign and was formally launched at a Ministerial meeting in Norway in 1999 [Human Security Gateway]

⁶ The importance of human security was reflected in decisions such as AU Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact, the AU Constitution Act and the Statement of Commitment to Peace and Security in Africa [UNGA, 2010, p. 14]

⁷ Joint Declaration of ASEAN Defence Ministers drew attention to non-traditional threats to security and the role of Association in advancing integrated responses to such threats [UNGA, 2010, p. 15]

⁸ OAS adopted the Declaration on Security in the Americas which acknowledged that „*the conditions for human security are dependent upon respect for people’s dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms.*” [UNGA, 2010, p. 15]

⁹ Among the latest were national reports ‘Investing in Human Security for a future state’ (Occupied Palestinian Territory, 2009-2010), or ‘Human Security, Today and Tomorrow’ (Thailand, 2009) [UNDP, 2010]

Indispensable contribution to promotion of human security has had over the past ten years the UNTFHS that has been a key actor in redistributing of financial resources to field-based projects on the application of the human security concept within the UN system. By December 2009, the UNTFHS has allocated about 323 millions USD to 187 project in over 60 countries. These projects focused on multi-sectoral issues of the prioritized regions where threats were most pervasive and severe. [UNGA, 2010, p. 16]

4.2 Main attributes of human security

The UNDP 1994 Human Development Report has described human security as people-centred universal concept whose components are interdependent and which is easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention.¹⁰ The HSU-OCHA elaborated on these characteristics and in 2009 issued report called ‘Human Security in Theory and Practice - Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security’ in which it has been concluded that human security is characterized by being: (i) people-centred, which means that human beings are placed at the centre of analysis and takes into account a wide range of threats to survival, dignity and livelihood, (ii) multi-sectoral, which means that it is based on a broadened understanding of threats,¹¹ [Tadjbakhsh, 2009, p. 7], (iii) comprehensive, which means that it includes approaches that focus on the importance of cooperative responses, (iv) context-specific, as such prefers contextualized solutions that response to particular situations they seek to address, and (v) prevention-oriented, trying to identify threats in advance and explore their root causes. [Tadjbakhsh, 2009, p. 8] The last but not least feature of human security is its „*dual policy framework which rests upon the two mutually reinforcing pillars of protection and empowerment.*” [Tadjbakhsh, 2009, p. 10]

Protection and empowerment have been already defined as the tools for achieving the goal of human security and bi-parts of any human security policy framework by CHS in its report ‘Human Security Now’ in 2003. The protection refers to the strategies set up by countries, NGO’s, private sector or international organizations, to protect people from fulminations. Empowerment refers to strategies that enable people to develop their resilience to difficult situations. [Ogata; Sen (eds.), 2003, p. 10] That means that protection and empowerment imply both, a top-down and bottom-up approach. The protection recognizes that people meet threats that are often beyond their control. Human security therefore requires „*protecting people in a systematic, comprehensive and preventative way,*” and the states should have the main responsibility to implement such a protective structure. Empowerment aims at „*developing the capabilities of*

¹⁰ These characteristics have been already mentioned in the first chapter

¹¹ See table below

individuals and communities to make informed choices and to act on their own behalf. Empowering people not only enables them to develop their full potential but it also allows them to find ways and to participate in solutions to ensure human security for themselves and others.” [Tadjbakhsh, 2009, p. 8]

The table below shows the particular type of security and broad range of threats and adds proposed strategies, which might enhance the protection-empowerment framework, and necessary capacities.

Strategies & capacities needed for addressing different types of threats

| Type of security | Examples of main threats | Strategies to enhance protection and empowerment | Capacities needed |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|
| Economic | Unemployment, persistent poverty | Access to basic income Government financed social safety nets Diversification of economy | Economic capital Human capital Public finance Financial reserves |
| Food | Famine, hunger | Entitlement to food, enable people to grow it, purchase it or use a public food distribution system | Diversified agriculture and economy Local and national distribution systems |
| Health | Harmful food and water, infectious diseases, malnutrition, lack of access to basic health care | Access to basic health care Risk-sharing arrangements Community based insurance schemes Interconnected surveillance systems to identify disease outbreaks at all levels | Universal basic education and knowledge of health related matters Traditional health practices Access to information |
| Environmental | Pollution, natural disasters, resource depletion, environmental degradation | Early warning and response mechanisms for natural hazards and disasters at all levels Sustainable practices | Natural resource capital Biodiversity Natural environmental recovery processes and natural barriers to disasters |
| Personal | Crime, terrorism, child labor, physical violence, domestic violence | Rule of law Explicit and enforced protection of human rights and civil liberties | Coping mechanisms Adaptive strategies Memory of past disasters |
| Community | Religious, inter-ethnic and other identity based tensions and attacks | Protection from oppressive traditional practices, harsh treatment towards women, or discrimination against ethnic/indigenous/refugee groups | Same as above + Social capital Local non-governmental organizations or traditional organisms |

| | | | |
|------------------|---|--|--|
| Political | Human rights abuses, political repression | Protection of human rights Protection from military dictatorships and abuse Protection from state repression, torture, ill treatment, imprisonment | Good governance Ethical standards Local leadership Accountability mechanism |
|------------------|---|--|--|

Table 1

Strategies & capacities needed for addressing different types of threats

Adapted from Tadjbakhsh, ‘Human Security in Theory and Practice - Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security’, based on the UNDP Human Development Report 1994 and the HSU-OCHA [Tadjbakhsh, 2009, p. 7; 16]

4.3 Human security as an operational tool

“Human security is increasingly being adopted as a doctrine to guide foreign policies and international development assistance, as well as a policy tool for programming in the fields of security, development and humanitarian work.” [Tadjbakhsh, 2009, p. 9]

The strength of human security as an operational tool for analysis and programming is justified by several facts.

1. Human security has introduced a hybrid approach¹² which:

- combines top-down norms, processes and institutions with bottom-up focus in which democratic processes enhance the importance of individuals and communities as actors in defining and implementation of their fundamental rights
- tries to find the ways how to minimize the impacts of gaps in existing security infrastructure
- strengthens the resilience of the people to threats and their ability to act on their own behalf
- supports the sustainability of programs and policies and encourages participatory processes

2. As being able to address a wide range of insecurities and recognize the multi-dimensional character of threats, human security:

- assigns the same importance to economic, political, cultural, social and civil rights
- renders a framework for the identification of a full scope of threats and addresses them both within and across borders

¹² By operationalization of its dual policy framework for protection and empowerment [Tadjbakhsh, 2009, p.9]

- maintains the regional and multilateral cooperation

3. Human security has also developed a multi-sectoral agenda which:

- provides a practical framework for assessing positive and negative externalities of interventions supported by policies, programs and projects
- reinforces policy coherence and coordination
- captures an impact of development and relief interventions on human welfare and dignity
- supports knowledge-sharing and result-oriented learning

4. Human security is broad and flexible concept which allows:

- addressing various threats in specific contexts
- identification of concrete needs of populations under stress and application of appropriate solutions embedded in local realities
- building on processes that are based on human own perceptions of fear and vulnerability
- capturing of the rapidly evolving international, regional and domestic security environments

5. Human security puts emphasis on prevention and therefore:

- addresses root causes of risks, hazards and threats
- prefers early prevention to later intervention which is more cost-effective
- proposes strategies for the development of mechanisms for prevention, mitigation of harmful effects and helps victims cope with downturns

The last argument why human security might be used as an operational tool is that „*analysis based on human security can be of widespread importance. By providing a holistic and contextual account of peoples' concrete needs and the factors endangering their security, the information obtained through such analysis can be used in assessing existing institutional arrangements and policies as well as a benchmark for impact evaluation.*” [whole chapter is adapted from Tadjbakhsh, ‘Human Security in Theory and Practice - Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security’, 2009, p. 9-11]

4.4 Human security, human rights and development

“No country can enjoy development without security, security without development, and neither without respect for human rights. This triangular relationship heightens the recognition that poverty, conflict and social grievances can feed one another in a vicious circle.” [UNGA, 2010, p.]

Human security has brought together the ‘human elements’ of security, rights and development.¹³ [Tadjabakhsh, 2009, p. 7] In past few years the attention of some academics, mainly with legal background, has been focused on deeper comprehension of the relationship between human security and human rights viewed from International Law. There were also efforts to analyze further the connection between human security and development.

Human security and human rights, two concepts related to each other, both constructed and advocated in the international arena, both internationally relevant, both serve common purposes and can be seen as ‘mutually reinforcing’. [Von Tigerstrom, 2007, p. 39] Human security and human rights *„share common values, they overlap and coincide in their interest of placing human beings at the center of concern.”* The main distinction is in legal matter as *„human rights have a normative basis expressed through a strong legal architecture while human security is more of an orienting notion, a unifying or transformational concept that contributes to the interpretation of such normative legal framework.”* Human security, however, plays certain role in national and international institutional arrangements which are often related to the legal dimension of human rights. [Estrada-Tanck, 2010, p. 16] Due to the interconnection between human security and human rights and due to the influence that the evolution of human rights has had on the evolution of modern International Law, we can observe that human security has featured a notable challenge to International Law. [Oberleitner, 2005, p. 186] Nevertheless, International Law has been long time reluctant to respond somehow to the rise of human security. It was important to inquire into relevancy of *„the notion of human security for the understanding and practice of human rights under International Law.”* [Estrada-Tanck, 2010, p. 2]

Human security have had and might have in the future impact on transformation of International Law in some key areas such as: 1) general understanding of security in international law, 2) position of human security in the UN Charter, 3) role of Security Council, state sovereignty, humanitarian intervention, 4) creation of new norms, 5) place of non-state actors in International Law etc. [Oberleitner, 2005, p. 195] Von Tigerstrom has specified and studied four areas in which human security was and could be used in International Law. These are: humanitarian intervention, forced displacement, small arms control and global public health. [Von Tigerstrom, 2007, p. 91-192] She is also convinced that human security might be essential

¹³ Recall Anan’s ‘freedom to live in dignity’ linking human security with democracy, human rights and rule of law

for International Law in the determining and evaluation of the participants encompassed in a legal matter. Due to its people-centred approach human security can suggest how to deal with the actors whose presence is relevant in security matters and which would probably not be considered in traditional security strategies, e.g. transnational corporations or non-state armed groups. [Von Tigerstrom, 2007, p. 60] Moreover, some components of human security have already been attached in one way or another by international principles and norms. For example, the fundamental element of insecurity – existence of risks and vulnerability – is included in International Law through „*instruments directed to different groups, e.g. women victims of discrimination or violence, or more recent concerns in the international arena, such as children in armed conflict.*” [Estrada-Tanck, 2010, p. 13]

The conclusion made by Oberleitner in 2005 sc. that „*human security – as both an academic concept and a political agenda that takes up, reinforces, and underlines ongoing developments in international law – has the potential to become a new organizing principle of international relations. In this respect, human security seems to be a natural step in further moving international law beyond being concerned with national security toward including the fate of individuals as the ultimate beneficiaries of law. As a value-based approach to security with a focus on the individual as the ultimate beneficiary of international law, human security will continue to contribute to normative changes in the international legal order*” is still in force. [Oberleitner, 2005, p. 198]

Unity between human security and development can be observed in focus on human well-being. Human security is driven „*by values relating to security, stability and sustainability of development gains.*” One of the goals of development is so called ‘growth with equity’ and human security concept has added to it an important dimension of ‘downturn with security’. Human security deals with the fact that due to the downturns such as economic crisis, natural disasters, lack of food and potable water, conflicts, etc., people are exposed to a risk of sudden deprivations and insecurities which „*not only undo years of development but also generate conditions within which grievances can lead to growing tensions.*” [Tadjbakhsh, 2009, p. 9] Addressing security threats within the human security concept might help to overcome the obstacles to development. [UNGA, 2010, p. 4]

4.5 Weak points of human security concept

The human security concept has been widely accepted and praised but this did not make it immune to critical scrutiny. The following paragraph comments on the main discords over the values of human security. Despite of an appreciation of human-oriented value of the concept and its power to interpret and meet the challenges of new security, it has been deprecated over and again. In his article ‘Contention on the Value of Human Security’ Zhijun has appointed

fundamental criticisms on the concept (broad version as seen by UNDP).¹⁴ Firstly the concept has been criticized for its overmuch broad and vague definition which fails in providing a „*coherent construction with a single and integrated concept.*” There is also a sufficient order of priority missing with a range of issues included in the concept. Seven dimensions of human security threats allegedly imply the issue of development and so must be distinguished from human security. Last but not least admonition equate concept of human security to concept of sustainable development – „*everybody supports it, but no one knows the exact meaning*” which leads to a weakening of the concept as a guideline for policy decision making and academic research as some of the supporters of human security keep its fuzziness on purpose for sake of their self-interests. [Zhijun, 2006, p. 81-82]

Secondly, lack of functionality is reproached. This is, i.a., connected with the fact that different elements of human security may come to contradiction. For example in the frame of personal security: improving minority ethnic rights might lead to reduction of integrity of state and nation. Within the UNDP definition is difficult to make right decision when different aspects contradict. In addition, there are questions like: „*environment versus economy – whose security is to protect?*” or „*who – state, private sector, civil society – and under what state of affairs, is responsible for the security of people?*” [Zhijun, 2006, p. 82]

The third point is that there is a risk of confusing the pursuit of the interests of human security with the pursuit of traditional security concerns. The concept might be misused by the actor, mainly by state, to enhance its legitimacy and international prestige. In brief, representatives of a state accept the idea of human security but make no effort to systematize relevant concerns in its political practice. Canada is a typical case as its acceptance of the idea of human security „*did alter the political nature of intervention – so the government remains to have choice to intervene in the name of human security anytime anywhere.*” [Zhijun, 2006, p. 84]

The key number four is called a ‘paradox of universalism coupled with the culture-centrism’. Some people complained that the concept stands on the values of developed world, that is based on Western democracy and commitment to free market, hence is limited as a security theory for the whole world and for everybody. Moreover, the basic social, economic and cultural rights (written in 1994 Human Development Report) are beyond compare because different nations may have different notions of the composition of those rights. [Zhijun, 2006, p. 85]

The last problem of the concept is seen in being too idealistic to take into account the rapid changing geopolitical power in the international system. [Zhijun, 2006, p. 82]

¹⁴ Zhijun drew from the work of many different experts such as King & Murray, Chen & Narasimhan, Maclean, Waisova, Suhrke, Basch, Oberleitner, Krause & Williams, Burke, Newman or McDonald

In his paper for Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) Krause has raised another issues. In his opinion policies based on principles of human security can lead to a strengthening of the state although the state is diagnosed to be a source of much human insecurity. On the other hand an attempt to promote good governance with lower military spending might leave a state „*prey to lawlessness and anarchy.*” He pointed out that the potential dilemmas or unexpected implications of assertion of human security in practice must be recognized. Next problem lies in the fact that the majority of concrete policy initiatives has been derived from states and not from civil society. [Krause, 2007, p. 18] The more inclusive dialogue between states and civil society is desirable but non-governmental actors are rarely perceived and treated as equal partners and the people to whom human security matters are still usually passive subject in the human security discourse. [Krause, 2007, p. 19]

According to Ryerson, human security has lost any true critical potential and has become a new orthodoxy. He said that although the concept may still have some value in highlighting particular issues and may enable short-term gains, it is not able to provide basis for a substantive change of the system of international security. [Ryerson, 2010]

4.6 Strengths of human security concept

Almost ten years ago Matt McDonald wrote that human security had been seen as a response to the „*growing situation of the insecurity of security*”¹⁵ and was convinced that one of the main contributions of the concept would be only the fact that it had implied critique of this ‘insecurity of security’ and that it had offered a political agenda that was opened to non-state actors. [Zhijun, 2006, p. 85] Recently Estrada-Tanck has confirmed that human security implies a strong political potential to incite a renewal in security debate. [Estrada-Tanck, 2010, p. 7]

Promotion of human security calls public attention to quantum of essential threats today’s world has to face and cope with and so it serves as an ‘excellent mobilizing slogan’ for politicians, NGO’s and conscious activists. [Krause, 2007, p. 19] Human security accentuates primacy and universality of all previously mentioned freedoms and as such can tackle security threats in multi-dimensional and comprehensive manner. [UNGA, 2010, p. 7] Moreover, human security points out linkage between underdevelopment and poverty, violence, human rights and insecurity and possibly may help „*give new direction or energy to some parts of the development community.*” [Krause, 2007, p. 19]

¹⁵ It referred to the situation that, in the conventional security conception and practice, the prolonged concern about military affairs on the state level had made people less safe, and had failed to respond effectively to the most emergent menaces faced by people across the world [Zhijun, 2006, p. 85]

Human security is also priceless due to its inclusion of women. Since traditional approaches (mainly economic) has failed in addressing women issues there has been a need for framework in which these issues can be analysed and problems solved. Human security offers framework like this. [Zhijun, 2006, p. 87]

4.7 *Narrow vision of human security*

All the findings, critiques and implications mentioned above refer to human security in its broad conception propagated by UNDP. Nevertheless, the proponents of the narrow version were also active recently. For them human security means ‘freedom from violence and from the fear of violence’ and threats to security of the people associate with ‘war, genocide, and the displacement of populations’.

In May 2007 HSC formerly located at the University of British Columbia changed name to the Human Security Report Project (HSRP) and became an independent research centre affiliated with Simon Fraser University (SFU) in Vancouver, Canada. The HSRP aims at tracking global and regional trends in armed conflicts and other forms of organized violence, mainly their causes and consequences. The HSRP employees team consists of eleven people¹⁶ from various academic backgrounds whose analysis and conclusions are regularly published in the Human Security Reports, Human Security Brief series and the miniAtlas of Human Security. These are created mainly with an intention to offer governments, international agencies and NGO’s the data and analysis that are a necessary condition for evidence-based security policy. These publications have also received notable attention in the international media with coverage in more than 50 countries and some 20 different languages. The HSRP is also a provider of Human Security Gateway, an online research portal containing over 27,000 resources on human security, versions both narrow and broad. [HSRP, 2010]

The last Human Security Brief, published in 2007, was divided into four chapters and focused on three main topics. Firstly, Brief challenged the pronouncement of experts that the threat of terrorism (particularly Islamist terrorism) was increasing. Secondly, it analyzed the notable decrease in the amount of armed conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa since the beginning of the new millennium. Lastly, it updated the global trend data on armed conflicts, battle-deaths, coups d’état, and human rights abuses that were presented in the ‘Human Security Report 2005’ and ‘Human Security Brief 2006’. [Mack, 2008, p. 1] Brief also investigated a new feature of

¹⁶ Andrew Mack (director), Zoe Nielson (executive director), Mai Bui (research officer), Tracy Carmichael (senior manager, e-resources), Emina Dervisevic (research officer, e-resources), Gwendolin Echlin (research assistant, e-resources), Wendy Fehr (development director), Shawna Korosi (human resources manager), Sebastian Merz (data research manager), Marko Pajalic (research officer, e-resources), Lindsey Ridgway (research assistant, e-resources) [HSRP, 2010]

governments in Africa. Some of the new governments were neither fully democratic nor fully autocratic. This new type of mixed regime was named anocracy.¹⁷ It was observed that between 1988 and 1999 the number of anocracies increased fifteen times, from 2 to 30. Anocracies are associated with a higher risk of armed conflict than other regimes, so it was no surprise that the increase in number of anocracies was followed by the increase in number of armed conflicts. [Mack, 2008, p. 5]

The latest Human Security Report entitled ‘Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and The Shrinking Costs of War’ was released on 2nd December 2010. Report is divided into three parts called: ‘The Causes of Peace’, ‘The Shrinking Costs of War’ and ‘Trends in Human Insecurity’. The first part investigates the terms that have brought down the amount of international conflicts and war deaths since the 1950s, and the number of civil conflicts since 1990s. The second one explores the *„paradox of mortality rates that decline during the overwhelming majority of today’s wars, as well as the challenges and controversies involved in measuring indirect war deaths – those caused by war-exacerbated disease and malnutrition.“* The purpose of the last part is to examine recent trends in conflict numbers and death tolls around the world. [Mack, 2010]¹⁸

¹⁷ Anocracy is mentioned because it is a ruling regime also in Uganda which is investigated later on

¹⁸ For the time being numbering of pages is missing, report is complete but it is still in a form of pre-publication text

5. Human security in Uganda

Before I step up to an analysis of issues recently connected with human security in Uganda there is a brief set of basic information about the country.

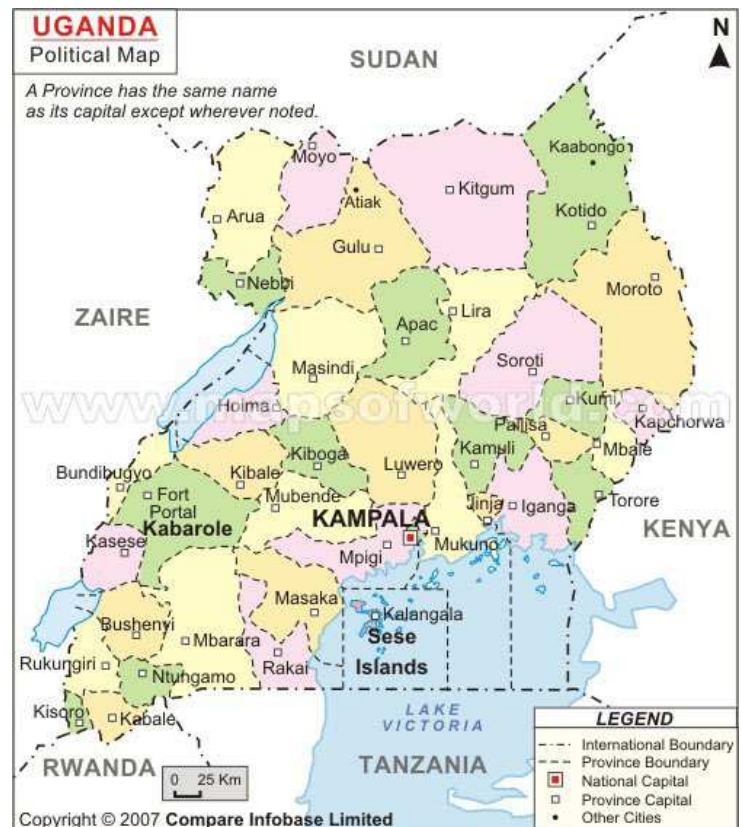
5.1 Uganda at a glance

5.1.1 Geography

The Republic of Uganda is a landlocked country located in East Africa in the heart of the Great Lakes region and is surrounded by Lakes Albert and Edward on the west and Lake Victoria on the southeast. The total area of 241,038 sq km ranks Uganda on 80 position in the world. Country, slightly smaller than the United Kingdom, is bordered by Sudan on the north, by Kenya on the east, by Tanzania on the south, by Rwanda on the southwest and by Democratic Republic of Kongo (DRC) on the west.

Climate is tropical, generally rainy with two dry seasons. Despite lying on the equator Uganda is more temperate than the bordering countries due to its altitude – country is located on plateau averaging about 1,100 metres above sea level. This also makes country more convenient for agriculture than other countries in the region. Except the semi-arid Karamoja region on the northeast with harsh climate and low annual rainfall the most of Uganda is fertile and well watered. [Ottův nový atlas světa, 2003, p. 114]

The most important cash crop is coffee which is followed by cotton, tea, raw sugar or tobacco. For daily consumption mainly cassava, sweet potatoes, bananas, millet, sorghum or corn are produced. Country is dependent on agriculture, the only significant natural resources are copper, cobalt, limestone, salt, gold and hydropower. [World Factbook, 2011]



Map 1 – Uganda

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5.1.2 People

The population of 33,398,682 ranks country at the 37th position in the world. According to the latest estimation the population growth rate is the second highest in the world, only in Nigeria it is higher than in Uganda. No wonder that 50 % of Ugandans are younger than 15 years. More than 80 % of the population professes Christianity, whereas half of them are Roman Catholics and half Protestants (Anglican, Pentecostal, Seventh Day Adventists), and about 12 % of the population are Muslims. Uganda is the home of many different ethnic groups, most numerous are Baganda, Banyakole, Basoga etc. The official language of the Republic of Uganda is English, widely used are also the Niger-Congo languages of Ganda and Luganda, Swahili and Arabic. Literacy is higher among men than women and in total population it is over 66 %.

Although the country is less prone to tropical diseases due to its altitude than other countries in the region, the risk of various infectious diseases is still very high. Uganda is hit hard by HIV/ AIDS epidemic, malaria is the main cause of child mortality, people are also threatened by typhoid fever, trypanosomiasis, schistosomiasis or bacterial diarrhea. [World Factbook, 2011]

5.1.3 History

The first settlement of an area known today as Uganda is dated back to the 5th century B.C. when Bantu-speaking people came from the area of today's Nigeria and Cameroon. First Europeans and Arab traders started to explore Uganda about 1844 and fifty years later Uganda was proclaimed as the British protectorate. On 9th October 1962 Uganda gained independence and the former king of Buganda, Edward Mutesa, was elected the first president. After four years the prime minister Milton Obote deposed him with the help of an army officer Colonel Idi Amin. On the 25th of January 1971 a reign of terror was launched by Col. Amin who seized control of the state and became notorious for human right abuses and on account of hundreds of thousands tortured and killed opponents of his regime. Obote went into an exile in Tanzania. Amin's terror ended in 1979 after a combined force of Tanzanian troops and Ugandan exiles loyal to former president Obote invaded Uganda and chased him into an exile in Saudi Arabia. Obote came back from Tanzania and ruled the country until the military troops of General Tito Okello staged a coup in 1985. Gen. Okello was in charge of Uganda only for six months. On the other hand his successor Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, who seized the power on 29th January 1986 when the National Resistant Army (NRA) operated under his leadership seized the capital Kampala, has ruled the country for more than 25 years and has transformed „*the ruins of Idi Amin and Milton Obote's Uganda into an economic miracle, preaching a philosophy of self-sufficiency and anti-corruption.*” [infoplease.com, 2011]

After an accession to the office, Museveni resisted domestic and foreign pressure to introduce a multiparty system, arguing that this was a recipe for tribal conflict. The restriction on political parties was officially lifted by the government in 1996. Despite of it West lauded Museveni as a member of the ‘new generation of African leaders’. His presidency has been damaged, however, by the involvement in the civil war in the DRC, and other conflicts in the region, as well as by over 20 years of persisting fight against the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in the north of Uganda. Multiparty politics was reinstated after 19 years, in July 2005, by a constitutional referendum. The same referendum approved a constitutional amendment which scrapped presidential term limits and Museveni was afterwards declared the winner in the elections in February 2006. Despite technically democratic elections, harrasment of opposition had started months earlier in the form of detention of activists, disturbing of opposition campaigns, false allegations against other candidates and the use of state funds for Museveni electoral campaigning. [Hrčková, 2007, p. 21-22]

5.1.4 Lord’s Resistance Army

When talking about Uganda, the infamous Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and its leader Joseph Kony have to be mentioned. LRA was founded in 1987 by ‘prophet’ Joseph Kony, who claimed that northern part of the country was marginalized and exploited by the government and President Museveni, with the aim to take over Uganda and run it according to his vision of Christianity. For 19 years Kony’s rebels were fighting to overthrow Museveni. During that time 10,000 Ugandans were killed and more than 60,000 children were abducted. Boys were turned into soldiers and girls into sex slaves. Up to 1.5 million people in northern Uganda have been displaced and many people have been maimed and mutilated. In 2006 the LRA was driven out of Uganda into neighbouring Sudan, DRC and the Central African Republic where it continued in plundering and spreading fear. Uganda got permission to chase LRA leaders into DRC but the only result was an accusation that soldiers *„have been involved in plundering some of the DR Congo’s valuable natural resources and their presence has more to do with self-interest than fighting the LRA.”* Uganda’s army officers denied all accusations. Moreover, the country’s forces are expected to leave DRC soon to reinforce Uganda’s peacekeeping forces in Somalia where they are the part of the African Union troops. [Thomson, 2011; infoplease.com, 2011] In May 2010, after one year of an effort of thousands of activists and champions within US Congress, President Barack Obama received and signed a document entitled ‘LRA Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act’. This bill was aimed at stopping Joseph Kony and might help to end the conflict by *„mandating President Obama to devise an interagency strategy to prevent LRA violence”* whereas the strategy has included a multilateral plan to *„apprehend top LRA leaders, encourage defections of*

rebel commanders, demobilize child soldiers, and protect civilians from rebel attacks.” [RESOLVE, 2011] Unfortunately, according to the latest information from RESOLVE the LRA continues to carry out attacks in Central African Republic and overall it has been recently more active than at the time of signing the ‘LRA Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act’. [RESOLVE, March 2011]

5.2 Menaces to human security

Conflicts, violence, crop failure, persistent drought or sudden floods, expensive food, lack of potable water, deadly diseases, locust infestation, autocratic ruler, poor income and much more. There are many things that can come to your mind if we are talking about causes of insecurity in Uganda. Some of them will be mentioned later on. However, I decided to start this chapter with the topic that is not often identified with Africa but in Uganda directly influences lives of many people and threaten community security. The objective of all three sub-chapters is to bring the most recent information available at the moment of their commencement.

5.2.1 Community security

“It is unfortunate that laws that criminalise people on the basis of their sexual orientation exist in some countries. They should be reformed...When our fellow humans are persecuted because of their sexual orientation or gender identity, we must speak out...” [Ban Ki-Moon, 2010]¹⁹

Sexual orientation and gender identity raise sensitive cultural issues in many countries around the world. Uganda is not an exception as many of its inhabitants remain opposed to gay rights. It has been seven years since Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG) was founded as a coalition of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) human rights organizations and started to work on its vision *„to liberate LGBTI people of Uganda.*” SMUG is non-partisan and as a network does not have any political affiliation. There are estimated to be more than 500,000 homosexuals in Uganda who cannot feel secure and whose rights as a community are constantly violated. [SMUG, 2011]

Few years ago three events connected to each other drawn attention to the situation of gay community in Uganda and raised awareness of world public. In October 2009, MP from ruling NRM David Bahati proposed *„the death penalty for those having gay sex with disabled people, under-18s or when the accused is HIV-positive.*” Homosexual acts were already illegal but Bahati’s Anti-

¹⁹ Part of an opening remarks of the UN Secretary-General on the occasion of the High panel Discussion on ‘Ending Violence and Criminal Sanctions On the Basis of Sexual Orientation And Gender Identity’, 10/12/2010, New York [Norway – Mission to the UN, 2011]

Homosexuality Bill suggested widening the definition of these acts and wanted to fine or imprison anyone suspected of promoting homosexuality. Members of parliament, including President Museveni, were supporting that bill. The International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission proclaimed it violated several international agreements that Uganda had signed up and that it also contradicted the country's own constitution. In December Bahati said that „homosexuality it is not a human right. It is not in-born. It is a behaviour that is learned and it can be unlearned” and that his bill was intended to „protect the traditional family by prohibiting any form of sexual relations between persons of the same sex.” [BBC, 2009] He was accused of calling for ‘death penalty’ for gays and Uganda came under international pressure over the bill which President Obama called ‘odious’. Two months later, in February 2010, President Museveni proclaimed that the bill had never represented the opinions of his government. [BBC, 2010] On 9th October 2010 a weekly tabloid ‘Rolling Stone’ in Kampala published on a front page an article titled ‘100 Pictures of Uganda’s Top Homos Leak’ that included names, addresses and pictures of the gay people and also yellow banner proclaiming ‘Hang Them’. The tabloid said homosexuals „were raiding schools and recruiting children”, a belief that is quite widespread in Uganda and has helped drive the homophobia. [Gettleman, 2011] The article triggered criticism from human rights activists around the world who said that many Ugandans have been attacked since the ‘appeal’ was published. In the beginning of November the Ugandan High Court banned activity of Rolling Stone after SMUG sued the tabloid and called for justice. The managing editor Giles Muhame commented on verdict by following: „...the war against gays will and must continue. We have to protect our children from this dirty homosexual affront.” [Reuters, 2010] Situation escalated this January when the prominent gay activist David Kato was murdered. The gay rights campaigner who was working for SMUG, lead the campaign against the Anti-Homosexuality Bill and was signed under the petition against Rolling Stone was beaten to death with a hammer in his neighbourhood. [BBC, 2011; Chivers 2011] Val Kalende, radical Ugandan LGBTI activist living in Cambridge Massachusetts, was convinced that his death was a result of „the hatred planted in Uganda by U.S. evangelicals in 2009.” She was referring to March 2009 when a group of American evangelicals held workshops in about ‘how to turn homosexuals straight’ or ‘how gay men sodomize young boys’.²⁰ [Gettleman, 2011] According to Kato’s colleagues from SMUG he was receiving death threats since his picture was published in Rolling Stone. They added that his death came directly after the resolution of the Supreme Court of Uganda which said that „people must stop inciting violence against homosexuals and must respect the right to privacy and human dignity.” Since the tragedy SMUG has been calling on Police and the Government to properly investigate the circumstances of the Kato’s death. SMUG also calls on media, political and

²⁰ The Anti-Homosexuals Bill was drafted shortly after their visit in Uganda [Gettleman, 2011]

religious leaders to „*stop demonizing sexual minorities in Uganda since doing so creates a climate of violence against gay persons.*” [SMUG, 2011] However, the standpoint of the police has been that it was a robbery gone wrong not a hate crime and the anti-gay bill is still on the table. Despite international pressure and threats from few European countries to cut assistance and also Museveni’s past promise to scrap the bill analysts supposed that the bill could be passed after Museveni has retained the presidential office after February elections. [Chivers, 2011; Gettleman, 2011] Situation may change after US legislators calling for fundamental aid cut of Uganda and other countries where people are persecuted because of their sexual orientation. This is the first time the US legislators are officially proposing an aid cut because of assumed persecution of homosexuals. [Oluka, 2011] However, the attitude of the majority of Ugandans regrettably still remains identifying with opinions like the one of former Ethics and Integrity Minister James Nsaba Buturo who declared that „*homosexuals can forget about human rights. Uganda will not be forced to legalise practices that are illegal, unnatural and abnormal.*” [Njoroge, 2011]

5.2.2 Food security

“The World Food Summit of 1996 defined food security as existing “when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life”, whereas the concept of food security is built on three pillars: food availability, food access and food use.” [WHO, 2011]

Food security or rather food insecurity is a topic often connected with the adverse weather condition, crop failure and rising food prices. Uganda is one of the countries potentially prone to the state of food insecurity. What was the situation like in past two years and what is the prediction of scientists for the future is the subject of the following sub-chapter.

In July 2009 the Ugandan government announced that in some parts of the country the food shortages had reached famine level. As the main reason of that food crisis there were labeled small subsistence farmers who because of lack of other income-generating activities sold their crop for cash. Some farmers even sold their food production before the harvest period because they were so attracted by high prices in neighbouring Sudan. [Kelly, 2009] Although over 2 million people were facing hunger and concerns grew about dry conditions in the northern parts of the country, predictions for the year 2010 were rather optimistic. [Anyangwe, 2009] According to the World Food Programme (WFP) food security has generally improved over the last years mainly because of pacification in northern Uganda where after more than two decades Ugandan internally displaced people (IDP’s) have moved back to their land and the refugees from neighbouring countries have moved back home. And also marginalized region of Karamoja which is still the most vulnerable to the food insecurity has been receiving more attention and

assistance from central government. [WFP, 2010] However, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nation (FAO) has indicated that despite the progress in northern Uganda there still have been over 1.6 million people in need of assistance because coping mechanisms of households are being distorted by soaring food and input prices. [FAO, 2010] In the Food Security Outlook Update for Uganda released in February 2011 by Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWSNET) one could find the information that *„food stocks from the second season of 2010 in addition to market purchases will enable the majority of households to meet their basic needs through June 2011. Moderate food insecurity is persistent in northern Uganda where the population, previously displaced by prolonged conflict, is rebuilding their livelihoods.”* In addition, FEWSNET referred to the fact that prices of some food commodities were above the five-year average and also warned that the impact of current La Nina on the first season rains was uncertain but *„the potential for below-average rains is likely to reduce crop performance in bimodal areas leading to below-average harvests in June/July.”* [FEWSNET, 2011] In March 2011, UN Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) has brought the information that thousands of Ugandans in 36 of country's 112 districts were at the risk of serious food and water shortages due to the period of drought caused by La Nina phenomenon. Musa Ecweru, the Minister for Disaster Preparedness said that situation required immediate action and proclaimed that *„the government was working out ways of securing money for relief food and identifying the worst-hit families.”* At the same time he confirmed that some families have already experienced serious lack of food. [IRIN, 2011] The food shortage has also led to the rise of food prices, in some northern districts prices have been doubled and households have been forced to cut their food intake to a single meal a day. [Eriku, 2011] Moreover, meteorological department has prognosticated a long period of drought. Although some rains may occur they would not be sufficient to support agricultural production in some areas mostly in northern Uganda. [IRIN, 2011] The Karamoja region is expected to be influenced the most and the worst by that situation caused by La Nina despite of long-lasting efforts of FAO, OXFAM or WFP to ending the hunger. WFP, as the humanitarian agency with the largest and longest presence in Karamoja, reached over 730,000 people in 2010 and has shifted its focus from food aid towards greater self-sufficiency while *„stressing the importance of more lasting solutions through building community assets.”* These assets were meant to help people surpass lack of food and reduce malnutrition and at the same time help to enhance their natural environment. In co-operation with the government WFP established a number of surface dams, several acres of vegetables, staple food crops, orchards or tree farms. Nevertheless, Karamoja is still the most food-insecure region in Uganda and even in the absence of a specific crisis many people there are struggling with chronic hunger. The region is fragile and even relatively small shock can lead to acute malnutrition. Considering the current situation looming

with an escalation is gratifying that WFP has resources to continue in providing humanitarian relief to the most affected. Unfortunately the aid will be needed. [Wamala, 2011]

5.2.3 Environmental security

“As nations in the developing world face growing problems of food insecurity, water and forest conflicts, energy shortages, and community protests against extractive industries, it has become apparent that linkages between the environment and security are becoming progressively more powerful. Environmental security is defined as a condition in which a nation or region, through sound governance, capable management, and sustainable utilization of its natural resources and environment, takes effective steps toward creating social, economic, and political stability and ensuring the welfare of its population.”
[FESS, 2004]

Climate changes, global warming, adverse weather conditions, deforestation, overgrazing, soil erosion, air and water pollution, natural disasters, poaching, poor management of natural resources, poor waste management etc. These are only few matters often mentioned in connection with fragile environment in Africa, all of them can also be seen as a problem or imperilment in Uganda. The following part will focus only on matters recently discussed in media but it does not mean that the others are less serious or important.

Since the beginning of March 2011 when the impact of current La Nina has become apparent the word drought has appeared in news hundred times as it was a contributing cause to the state of food insecurity mentioned above. The periods of drought are cyclic and inevitable part of climate of Uganda’s dry lands which often lead to a kind of panic despite a fact that they are quite easy to predict. Government and NGO’s can and should be prepared in advance for time when it occurs. The first step towards greater and better preparedness for drought made by government was an acceptance of the fact that reliable monitoring and early warning systems are essential as well as an efficient communication. Enhancement of water source mapping in districts prone to drought and operational water management are also needed. On a local level the community participation is necessary as organized people who are familiar with possible problems and complications can better deal with the emergency. [Kyagaba, 2011] The Climate Change Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations (DENIVA), one of many NGO’s trying to help Ugandans cope with the drought, went into action in the begging of March by promoting new drought-resistant crops. DENIVA’s programme assistant said that farmers *„should rethink their approach now to avoid shortage in the near future”* and claimed that the introduction of resistant crops was the best way how to fight the looming droughts. [Mafabi, 2011]

Potential threat for Uganda's environment could be weak legislation or its lax control and observance. The Lutembe Bay wetland reserve, that has helped in conservation of water bird species, has recently become a victim of evasion of legislation and could be soon extinct. The wetland protected by several laws used to have 98 hectares whereas over 40 hectares has been destroyed as flower companies fenced-off parts of wetland and reclaimed it and as real estate developers created plots in the middle of it. Neither the flower firms nor the developers asked for the permission although the 'Wetlands Policy 1995' has provided guidelines for sustainable use of wetlands and clearly stated that *„all proposed modifications on wetlands must be subjected to an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), the result of which will determine whether such modification should proceed.”* The management of Lutembe Bay wetland reserve as well as environment conservationists have expressed worry about future of water catchment and other protected areas if *„the law does not start biting soon.”* According to some people the problem lies in the fact that even if the law is good and meaningful it is not been given its *„due attention in a country where impunity is often blamed on people with higher connections in government.”* [Ssebuyira, 2011] Lutembe reserve, gazetted Ramsar site, forms backwaters of the Victoria Lake and serves as natural filter for the wastewaters and sewerage from the capital Kampala as well as the source of water for the city. The wetlands are also essential source of water for livestock and helps to purify the surface water and preserve the natural and clean water conditions for breeding and survival of fish stocks in the Victoria Lake. [Daily Monitor, 2011]

Air pollution, use of chemicals in agriculture or decline in flowering plants are among factors causing emerging decline of bee colonies across the world, a report of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has revealed in the beginning of March. [UNEP, 2011] The UNEP findings seem to be more than relevant for Uganda as a week after publication main country's newspaper informed about the report and confirmed its conclusions. [Lanyero, 2011] UNEP experts has warned that *„without profound changes to the way human-beings manage the planet, declines in pollinators needed to feed a growing global population are likely to continue.”* Report said that the increasing use of insecticides and pesticides was found to be damaging and toxic for bees and, at the same time, excessive use of chemicals has affected the ability of flowers to attract pollinators. Moreover, changes in the flowering times of plants and in the rainfall patterns caused by climate change can affect the quantity and quality of nectar supplies. The report has also indicated bees as a kind of *„early warning indicators of wider impacts on animal and plant life”* and has concluded that increase in amount of bees, and other pollinators, could not *„only improve food security but the fate of many other economically and environmentally-important plants and animals.”* [UNEP] Lanyero in her article about UNEP report has highlighted i.a. suggestion of experts that the farmers and landowners should be motivated by incentives to restore pollinator-friendly habitats and key flowering plants in crop-producing fields. [Lanyero, 2011]

6. Uganda-Rwanda comparative study

In this part of the thesis I would like to touch on three more issues crucial to ensure human security – economic security, health security and political security. This time within a frame of comparison of two bordering countries of Rwanda and Uganda.



Map 2 – **Rwanda**
© CIA – World Factbook



Map 3 – **Uganda**
© CIA – World Factbook

Uganda is much bigger than Rwanda, with nearly ten times the geographical size and with a population of 33.398 million, compared to Rwanda's 11.055 million people. The growth rates are 3.563 % (Uganda) and 2.818 % ²¹ (Rwanda). [World Factbook, 2011]

Both countries have similar pasts and present challenges. Both Uganda and Rwanda were colonized and the colonial legacies have left trace marks on the countries' economy, political organization, health system, educational system etc.. Both countries are considered developing countries within the international system. The UN Human Development Index (HDI) ranked Rwanda and Uganda on number 152 and 143, respectively. [Human Development Report, 2010]

The objective of this part is to examine the recent development in Rwanda and Uganda in terms of economic, health and political security and conclude which country is performing better. In answering this question, Amartya Sen's definition of development - the removal of instrumental unfreedoms that constrains peoples' lives, together with a bottom-up approach - will be applied, as this perfectly aligns with the human security concept. [Potter et al., 2008, p. 12-13] One essential similarity is that it neither measures development nor security in material growth

²¹ 2010 estimation of population growth rates [World Factbook, 2011]

but human possibilities and opportunities. The unfreedoms and fears that prevent human development and security can according to the bottom-up approach advocates only be overcome by tailored local development strategies. The aim of the bottom-up approach supporters is to shift focus from international ties that arguably have created negative dependency and enforced unfreedoms for the poor and to promote self-sufficiency and self-reliance of the people. [Potter et al., 2008, p. 117]

6.1 *Economic security*

“Economic growth, alone, is not sufficient to bring about the necessary rise in the standard of living of the population. Growth must be Pro-poor, giving all inhabitants the chance to gain from the new economic opportunities.” [Vision 2020, p. 3]

The following part will investigate whether Ugandans and Rwandans have the chance to benefit from potential economic growth of their country, whether they have the opportunity to get proper income for their work and how much they are threatened by poverty.

Right at the beginning I have to admit that the data necessary for a deep and detailed paper about the situation on a local level are lacking. The bottom-up approach will be observed mainly by investigating whether national economic and development plans are reasonable for the whole country and whether they are implemented and spread in an equal way within the country.

Firstly, basic economic indicators will be presented to show main deuces and differences between Rwanda and Uganda. Then the focus will be put on agriculture as the main source of income for the majority of people in both countries. The last part will deal with national economic and development plans and will include examples of bottom-up approach development project at the local level.

Economic indicators of Rwanda and Uganda

| | Rwanda | Uganda |
|--|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| GDP per capita (2008 PPP) | 1,101 USD | 1,250 USD |
| GDP – annual growth rate | 1.1 % (1990-2007) | 3.5 % (1990-2007) |
| GINI index | 46.7 (1992-2007) | 42.6 (1992-2007) |
| Population living below the national poverty line | 60.3 % (2000-2006) | 37.7 % (2000-2006) |
| Urban population | 18.9 % | 13.3 % |
| Unemployment rate | 0.6 % (of total labour force) | 3.2 % (of total labour force) |
| Employment in agriculture | 90 % | 69 % |
| Employment in industry | 3 % | 8 % |

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|--------|--------|
| Employment in services | | 7 % | 22 % |
| GDP composition by sector | Agriculture | 41.7 % | 24.3 % |
| | Industry | 14.1 % | 24.7 % |
| | Services | 44.2 % | 51 % |

Table 2

Economic indicators of Rwanda and Uganda

Sources:

CountrySTAT Rwanda: unemployment rate 2008

CountrySTAT Uganda: unemployment rate 2008

Rwanda - Country profile, 2010 Human Development Report (data from 2008)

Uganda - Country profile, 2010 Human Development Report (data from 2008)

Rwanda - World Factbook 2011: GDP composition by sector (2009 estimation)

Uganda - World Factbook 2011: GDP composition by sector (2009 estimation)

From the above mentioned indicators we can deduce few facts. In both countries agriculture employs a majority of population, but still we can see a big difference of over 20 % in agricultural employment rate which points out that economy of Uganda is more diversified. It is interesting that although Uganda has a smaller proportion of population living in urban areas more people are employed in services and industry and that these sectors also contribute to GDP more than in the case of Rwanda. On the other hand industry and services in Rwanda are more effective when with a smaller employment can contribute to GDP almost as much as in Uganda. The next fact is that Uganda has a higher unemployment rate than Rwanda but less proportion of the population is living below national poverty line in Uganda than in Rwanda. The last findings are about the inequality of income distribution. According to GINI index Uganda is performing slightly better than Rwanda but both countries have a bigger inequality of income distribution than other countries in region. [Human Development Report, 2010]

According to The World Bank (WB) Uganda has one of the fastest growing economies in Africa with GDP growth accelerated from an average of 7 % per year in the 1990s to over 8 % during the seven years to 2007/08. The country has established a strong record of prudent macroeconomic management and since 1980s it has maintained a stable macroeconomic environment and sustained private-sector oriented reforms. Due to this fact growth was sustained despite recent global financial crisis. However, the rapid population growth has caused that real GDP growth per capita averaged only 3.4 % in the 1990s and around 4 % in the 2000s. Recently Rwanda was also performing well. Rwanda's economy remained resilient over the five years to 2009, sustaining macroeconomic stability and average annual GDP growth of 7.5 %. But in contrast to Uganda, and against initial estimation that the impact of the global financial crisis on Rwanda's economic performance in 2009 would be small, recent data show that the crisis has a

significant negative impact. GDP growth dropped from 11.2 % in 2008 to 4.1 % in 2009. For 2010, the GDP growth is projected to be 5.4 %. [The World Bank, 2010]

Though both countries has made tremendous strides in recovering from years of economic breakdown in the 1970s in Uganda, and the country's collaps in 1994 in Rwanda respectively, to ensure a sustainable economic security a lot still needs to be done. What can be done within the agricultural sector is the subject of the next chapter.

6.1.1 Agricultural Challenge

Experience from emerging economies has shown that *„the agricultural sector is, if not the engine of long-term economic growth, at least a necessary condition.“* [Rwanda HDR 2007, p. 6] Especially in countries where majority of people are living in rural areas and agriculture it is still the main source of income for them. Rwanda and Uganda are aware of the fact that even if agriculture is unlikely to be the the most important source of their national income and source of long-term growth, it is necessary to increase agricultural capacity to provide for the vast majority of their population who are dependent upon agriculture for their livelihoods. People have to have food security and the various agricultural institutions strengthened to provide adequate services to the rural population. [Rwanda HDR 2007, p. 5; Uganda HRD 2007, p. 2]

So, further development of both Uganda and Rwanda in the agricultural sector is still crucial. Thus, the key natural resource for both countries is fertile soil, or more precisely arable land. Unfortunately development of those countries is recently endagered by increasing pressure on land resource that consequently undermine the capacity of the rural dwellers to produce enough food for both domestic consumption and the market. On one hand fertile land is fragmented and over-ultivated and so less productive, on the other the lack of land force farmers and livestock keepers in both Rwanda and Uganda to invade margine land or areas preserved for nature conservation. [Rwanda HDR 2007, p. 3; Uganda HDR 2007, p. 7]

In both countries agriculture production is mainly in the hands of smallholder subsistence farmers who in Uganda own an average farmland area of 2.5 hectares [FAO 2003] whereas in Rwanda a substantial number of rural families who depend on agriculture own even less than 1 hectare [Vision 2020, 7] which is too small to earn a living. In the case of northern Uganda, there is an interlinked land ownership and access issue, particulary related to the communal ownership, resettlement of the population and, again, the growing pressure resulting from its growing population. That means that some families can not even grow food crops for themselves and so are unable to earn some money from agriculture producion. [Uganda HDR 2007, p. 8]

The next big problem agriculture is facing in both countries is its dependency on rain-fed crops as coffee, cotton, tea, and livestock farming whereas pastureland is again mainly of a poor

quality. Last, but not least, a common challenge is the lack of adequately trained people in agriculture that hampers modernization of this sector, while a shortage of technicians and competent managers severely constrains the expansion of the secondary and tertiary sectors. [Vision 2020, p. 8; Uganda HDR 2007, p. 11]

Rwanda is facing mainly intensive exploitation of the land, with no simultaneous application of corrective measures, most notably through fertilizer use. The result of this is a decline in land productivity and massive environmental degradation that can contribute to rampant malnutrition amongst Rwandan population, especially when drought or other climatic risk occurs. [Vision 2020, p. 7] Uganda's biggest challenge regarding agriculture is a lack of well established land use policy and proper management of the fragile ecosystems. The country also should develop and adopt irrigation and water harvesting technologies that would reduce the country's dependence on rain-fed agriculture. [Uganda HDR 2007, p. 8]

Both Rwanda and Uganda should invest more in its agriculture if they want to improve the standards of living of their population. But this not necessarily means to invest in farming. For both economies would be better to be more diversified. In Uganda we can recently observe an increase in the amount of people involved in fishery, flower and cotton production, fruits and vegetable production, forestry and other non-farming and also non-agricultural rural activities. [Uganda Investment Authority 2010] In Rwanda we can see a slow shift from subsistence farming to waged farming and non-farming work. Every year more and more people set up small business or move to cities. [National Agriculture Survey 2008, p. 3] In the following section focus will be put on whether people dependent on agriculture were important for governments of Rwanda and Uganda during the creation of national economic and development plans.

6.1.2 National Economic and Development Plans

According to 'Uganda Human Development Report 2007'²² the main problem in Uganda is the absence of a comprehensive National Agricultural Policy to guide prioritization of investments and resource allocation. [Uganda HDR 2007, p. 8] Currently there are rural development interventions guided by the 'Plan for Modernization of Agriculture', but the Plan only provides the strategy and operational framework for modernizing the country's agricultural and rural development sector. In addition, all agriculture interventions in Uganda remain largely program or project type and even 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers' (Poverty Eradication Action Plan, PEAP) are without any concrete plan or actions for agriculture. [Uganda HDR 2007, p. 10]

²² Report tried to connect human development mainly with agriculture and rural development

The brand new 'National Development Plan (NDP) 2010/11 – 2014/15' pays attention to agriculture on 22 pages (including forestry sector) from total amount of 418 pages and defines 16 constraints to the performance of the agriculture sector. It concedes that agricultural sector policies were developed, implementation of programs was not consistent with specific Government policies and strategies though. This created „*uncoordinated interventions which are not guided by a robust policy and legal framework and systems that have resulted into ineffective and inefficient use of resources in the sector. This is manifested by poor harmonisation of donor support and lack of coordinated implementation of interventions.*” [NDP 2010/11 – 2014/15, p. 82] And again, NDP brings no concrete plan or action for agriculture.

On the other hand The National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) established in 2000, with the objective to promote market oriented farming by increasing the availability of appropriate technologies, technical advice and information to farmers, can be proud of its positive impact on poor farmers in Uganda. In 2005/06 over 500,000 households in 49 districts (64 %) of Uganda were benefiting directly from the NAADS program [NAADS 2005/06, 1] and by the end of the year 2007 it was even more than 700,000 farming households in 64 (81 %) districts involved in NAADS programme. [NAADS 2006/07, p. iv; 2]

NAADS vision is a „*decentralised, farmer-owned, and private sector serviced extension delivery system that targets the poor farmers and contributes to the realisation of the agriculture sector development objectives.*” A key principle of NAADS is the empowerment of farmers to demand and manage advisory services and so increase farmers access to information, knowledge and technology for profitable agricultural production. NAADS tries to increase participation in and ownership of its program through foundation of farmer institutions such as farmer groups and forums, community based facilitators or parish committees. Empowerment is evidenced by the fact that 88 % of NAADS groups have greater ownership of the advisory service system compared to 30 % of non-NAADS groups. Greater ownership then means better yield, access to technology and market, more money etc. [NAADS 2005/06, p. 2; NAADS 2006/07, p. v]

The existence of NAADS is a good sign for future development of agriculture but the government should expedite the formulation of a National Agricultural Policy (NAP) that would address „*the key issues of access to and utilization of land, soils, irrigation, research, financing, marketing, mechanization and accelerated orientation towards new farming systems.*” NAP should enable achievement of positive interface between agricultural performance and rural development with human development then.²³ [Uganda HDR 2007, p. 10]

²³ Special attention should be focus on northern Uganda, which has been affected by war for last 20 years and is now lagging behind the rest of the country. This part of the country needs an appropriate development strategy to revitalize and rehabilitate enterprises that are suitable within the agricultural environment. [Uganda HDR 2007, p. 10]

In spite of the fact that around 90 % of its population is still dependent on agriculture you can find in Rwanda's official national development plan Vision 2020 following statements: „Rwandans can no longer subsist on land and ways and means need to be devised to move the economy into the secondary and tertiary sectors” and „Even if Rwanda's agriculture is transformed into a high value/ high productivity sector, it will not, on its own, become a satisfactory engine of growth. There has to be an exit strategy from reliance on agriculture into secondary and tertiary sectors.” [Vision 2020, p. 7; 9] According to the UNDP and its report about human development in Rwanda, even a successful agricultural strategy will not guarantee economic success because, as long as the majority of the population is dependent on agriculture for livelihoods, the economy will not be able to „free up sufficient human and financial resources to enable the development of non-agricultural sectors.” [Rwanda HDR 2007, p. 9] Moreover, according to experts, the most important issue retarding Rwanda's agricultural development is not land size, but traditional peasant-based subsistence farming that has a low productivity. This is the main reason why long term vision for Rwanda is to replace this kind of farming by a fully monetized, commercial agricultural sector by 2020. On the other hand addressing chronic hunger and the vulnerabilities of rural population remains a public policy priority. Addressing this issue means to support subsistence farming too. [Vision 2020, p. 18]

The government of Rwanda is aware of the requirement for massive investments in the agriculture sector even if this sector will not be the engine of future development of Rwanda. [Rwanda HDR 2007, p. 10] Viable economic strategy for Rwanda requires diversification away from the agriculture sector. [Vision 2020, p. 18] In ‘National Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers’ (Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, EDPRS)²⁴ restructuring agriculture and increasing productivity of agriculture sector, as well as creating of non-farm employment, are emphasized as fundamental challenges that need to be addressed. All priorities that are vital for Rwanda's development are incorporated into the one of three flagship programs called Sustainable Growth for Jobs and Exports, Vision2020 Umurenge, and Governance. Transforming the agriculture sector away from subsistence, modernising agriculture by introducing improved land administration, land use management practices and adopting techniques to reduce soil erosion and enhance soil fertility are mentioned among them. [Biksten; Isaksson 2008, p. 8-9] But that is all. As in the case of Uganda's NDP and PEAP there is no concrete plan or action for agriculture in Rwanda's EDPRS.

²⁴ EDPRS should provide a medium-term framework for achieving the Rwanda's long term development objectives, as embodied in Rwanda's Vision 2020 and the Millennium Development Goals. As such, the wider goal of the EDPRS is to achieve sustainable economic growth and social development, ultimately improving the quality of life of all people in Rwanda [Biksten; Isaksson 2008, 5]

But there are concrete actions in reality. As an example of local development in Rwanda there is a Rural development support project in Eastern Province - district Nyagatare (2006 - 2009) which should have helped the people of the district in their efforts to improve their living conditions through supporting local authorities in the implementation of their development plans. Beneficiaries were participating actively and were providing regular bottom-up feedback. The project contributed to the enhancement of food security and promoted various income generating activities. A total of 1,022 participants were trained in different topics such as fertilization, crop disease control, animal traction, agro-forestry, irrigation, seed multiplication, processing and marketing, cooperative management etc. Thanks to this new knowledge people can generate income not only from agricultural activities, they have more chances to earn money and so they are not so vulnerable. [Gatera, 2009, p. 3-7]

Just before the end of this part there is a brief comparison of the ideas of one of the biggest NGO's in the world about development of Uganda and Rwanda with the above mentioned ideas of their governments. United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is focusing mainly on agriculture, in both Rwanda and Uganda, but in different ways. In Rwanda, USAID tries to expand agri-business opportunities, especially in the coffee and dairy sectors, also for vulnerable groups by involving orphans or people living with HIV/AIDS. Annual revenue from coffee export has grown, thanks to USAID intervention, from zero in 2000 to 8 million USD in 2008, and Rwandan specialty coffee has been labeled as the 'best of the best' by Starbucks and Green Mountain Coffee. USAID technical assistance for the dairy industry has intensified its competitiveness through the use of more efficient and profitable value chain for quality milk, dairy products, and related inputs and services. USAID activities in Uganda are more diverse. Besides reducing poverty through improved agricultural productivity, improvement of the dairy market chain and increased food security USAID programmes seek dissemination of improved production technologies, development of the rural financial sector, and strengthened rural infrastructure. In addition, USAID protects biodiversity in the Albertine Rift and some areas of northern Uganda through training people in biodiversity monitoring, land use planning and environmental laws. Programmes also increase capacity to manage buffer zones and supports the establishment of key wildlife regulations and community revenue-sharing policies for sustainable use of resources. [USAID, 2010]

6.2 Health security

Three of the eight²⁵ Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) of the UN concern health issues. Hence, the world's leading development institutions agree that health security is fundamental for development. Poor health greatly limits the opportunities people have to shape their lives and contribute to local and national development. In accordance with Sen's definition of development and the bottom-up approach, the emphasis is put on presenting and comparing the health situation of the whole population of Rwanda and Uganda. The possibilities for the poorest to meet their health needs, and community health solutions are the main focus of this part.

The chapter is divided into three parts. Part one compares the common health status of the two populations. Part two investigates the health systems and the national policies which they are governed by. Finally, the third part questions the sustainability of the health conditions in Rwanda and Uganda in the light of past trends and future challenges.

6.2.1 Population health

Different sets of indicators may be used to assess the health status of the two populations. This assessment is based on the three MDG's that relate to health, namely child mortality, maternal mortality and HIV/AIDS. They are the most appropriate indicators because they are universally recognized as health problems that prevent development.

Health indicators of Rwanda and Uganda

| | Rwanda | Uganda |
|--|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Under-5 mortality per 1,000 live births | 112 | 135 |
| Maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 live births | 1,300/ 540 (newest estimation) | 550/ 430 (newest estimation) |
| HIV/AIDS – adult prevalence rate | 2.8 % | 5.4 % |

Table 3

Health indicators of Rwanda and Uganda

Sources:

Rwanda - Country profile, 2010 Human Development Report (data from 2008)

Uganda - Country profile, 2010 Human Development Report (data from 2008)

UNAIDS, 2008 (2007 estimation)

²⁵ Goals number four, five and six – child health, maternal health and combat HIV/AIDS

According to the newest HDR statistics child mortality is a bigger challenge in Uganda than Rwanda. Interesting is that according to the latest comprehensive World Health Organization (WHO) Rwandan and Ugandan factsheets published in 2006 the situation was the other way around. WHO recorded that Rwandan under-5 mortality per 1000 live birth was 203 and Ugandan 138. Unfortunately there is no recent evidence that could explain the tremendous progress Rwanda has made. In 2006 WHO said that neonatal causes explain between one fourth and one fifth of the deaths in both countries. Pneumonia and diarrhoeal diseases also account for much the same figures. Malaria has the biggest impact on child mortality rates in both Uganda and Rwanda, where it accounts for 23 % and 37 % of the deaths respectively. Child mortality rates are much higher in the rural areas of Rwanda and Uganda, where households are poor and maternal education is lacking. In terms of spatial diversity of child mortality, both countries show the same trend. [WHO, 2006]

Regarding maternal mortality Rwanda is worse than Uganda in the statistical records. Yet, both countries are performing much better according to the newest data/estimation than ten years ago when the maternal mortality ratio in Rwanda was 1,400 and in Uganda 880 per 100,000 live births. As the statistics confirms, maternal health depends mostly on the amount of midwives. That is why the maternal mortality is much lower in Uganda than in Rwanda which has almost twice as many nurses and midwives. [WHO, 2006]

The HIV/AIDS can and does include people of both genders and all age groups and in both Rwanda and Uganda is the major cause of death, HIV/AIDS accounts for 18 % and 25 % of the deaths by disease respectively. Purely according to the statistics we can state that Rwanda is performing better than Uganda because adult prevalence rate in Rwanda decreased from 5.1 % to 2.8 % whereas in Uganda increased from 4.1 % to 5.4 %. [WHO, 2006]

Child mortality, maternal mortality and spread of HIV/AIDS have a bogged impact on the health status of Rwanda and Uganda. Largely due to these three issues life expectancy at birth in Rwanda is 51 and in Uganda only slightly better – 54. [HDR, 2010] According to the WHO data there is great spatial diversity in terms of health in both countries. [WHO, 2006] Therefore, as this chapter now turns to assess and compare the health system and policies that serve to reduce and reverse the mortality ratios in Rwanda and Uganda, special attention will be paid to the bottom-up perspective in which one of the aims is to reduce spatial diversity.

6.2.2 Health system

“In many poor developing countries health facilities are inaccessible to a large proportion of the population, especially those living in remoter rural areas. (...) Many developing countries still cling to a top-down style of health care inherited from the colonial period.” [Potter et al., 2008, p. 208]

This is somewhat the case of both Rwanda and Uganda, and the colonial legacy in the health sector is usually used as the explanation for the spatial diversity of health status. Yet, both countries have in the last decade initiated the decentralization of their health systems to increase the health care accessibility and conditions of their entire populations and not just of the urban ones.

In Uganda, decentralization was introduced through the ‘1995 National Constitution’. The ‘Health Sector Strategic Plan’ aims to utilize the existing district and county structure of the country for the future health delegation and infrastructure. However, on parish level it is expected that the facilities for the immediate health needs will continue to be minimal. In 2001, only 49 % of the Ugandan households has access to health care facilities, due to the limited infrastructure in the rural areas where the majority of the population lives. Though various programmes are implemented to see the decentralization of the national health system through, the process is still in its early stages and it will take time for government just to build the human resource base that is needed for the process. [WHO, 2006]

Rwanda too began a process of decentralizing the health sector in the mid-1990’s. In 1996 the ‘Health Strategic Plan’ was introduced after much of the existing health system was shattered by the genocide in 1994. [WHO, 2006] Since then, Rwanda has put in enormous efforts to improve the country’s health care system. According to WHO, an explicit goal of the ‘1996 Health Strategic Plan’ is to increase community participation in health care. Therefore, Rwanda has decentralized 60 % of the government resources into districts. In addition, the government has started a social insurance scheme to make services available to the communities. WHO commends this scheme for being very successful in the serving the poor. Yet, the HDR for Rwanda stress that the country, in spite of the optimistic development during the last couple of years, still severely lacks qualified health personnel. This especially affects the rural health service delivery, as 82 % of the skilled health professionals live in the cities and only 18 % work in the rural parts of the country where the majority of the population lives. [Leander, 2007, p. 33]

Through the process of decentralization, both Uganda and Rwanda has in the past decade made use of the bottom-up approach in their health sectors. According to the bottom-up theorist Walter Stöhr, development strategy needs to be related to the specific social, cultural, historical and institutional conditions of the target territorial unit. In the context of health in Uganda and

Rwanda, this means that past colonial structures should be replaced with a system fitted for the agricultural infrastructure of the two countries, that traditional methods and resources should be mobilized, and communal decision making should be encouraged. [Potter et al., 2008, p. 117-118] The bottom-up approach is based on the assumption that development is achieved through the improvement of people's lives and not simply by increased production and national income. Below there are examples of how bottom-up measures have contributed in meeting the three MDG's of health.

Uganda is not only the country hit hard by HIV/AIDS, but it was also one of the first hit by the epidemic. In 1986, four years after AIDS was first recognized in the country, a massive AIDS awareness campaign was initiated. „*The campaign has been remarkably open in attempting to demystify AIDS, involving religious and traditional leaders and being reinforced in schools,*” and it has resulted in a decline in the overall prevalence of HIV/AIDS from 14 % to 6.7 % between 1990 and 2005. [Potter et al., 2008, p. 217] The success of the programme is reflected in the 22.8 % contraceptive prevalence rate, recorded in 2000. [WHO, 2006] In Rwanda however, the rate that same year was only 13.2 %, suggesting that Rwanda may have come shorter in campaigning awareness through the bottom up means. Yet, according to the Rwandan HDR it is not awareness but gender equality that is the main obstacle in reducing and reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS in Rwanda. The report reveals that 96 % of the Rwandan women knowingly expose themselves to risk of transmission by not using protection. [Leander, 2007, p. 31] Such a situation just confirms the need for bottom up approaches; the local traditions need to be on board with the health policies imposed from above, improved equipment does not help the situation itself.

In both countries, traditional medicine, religious groups and NGO's play a significant role in the health system. In Rwanda, 40 % of the primary and secondary health facilities were run by non-profit organizations in 2001 that work closely together with the Ministry of Health. [Leander, 2007, p. 32] This is reflected by the number of community health personnel in the country. According to WHO records, the density of community workers in Rwanda is more than three times larger than that of the AFRO region, and community workers constitute the largest group of health personnel in the country. [WHO, 2006] Unfortunately, there are no comparable statistics on Ugandan Community Workers. This does contribute somewhat to WHO's statistics on total health personnel, where the density in Uganda is only 1.328 per 1000 people. In Rwanda, this number is 2.173, but that is still less than the AFRO region average of 2.626 per 1000. Thus, it seems Rwanda compared to Uganda, has a better starting point from which it can reduce the child and maternal mortality rates. In reaching these two MDG's, the number of health personnel is of a great importance. [Potter et al., 2008, p. 210]

6.2.3 Past trends and future challenges

Both Rwanda and Uganda have in many respects experienced health progress over the last ten years, and they have reorganized and decentralized their health sectors in an effort of doing so. The question is only whether the progress and the effort are sustainable or not. Some sense of sustainability is necessary in terms of deciding on development. The tables below indicate trends in four areas important for health security.

Life expectancy at birth (years)

| | 1990 | 2000 | 2005 | 2007 | 2008 | 2010 |
|---------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Rwanda | 32.7 | 43.1 | 48.4 | 49.7 | 50.2 | 51.1 |
| Uganda | 47.9 | 46.3 | 50.3 | 51.9 | 52.7 | 54.1 |

Table 4

Life expectancy at birth

Source:

2010 Human Development Report - International Human Development Indicators

Under 5-mortality (per 1,000 live births)

| | 1990 | 2000 | 2005 | 2007 | 2008 |
|---------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Rwanda | 174 | 186 | 136 | 181 | 112 |
| Uganda | 186 | 158 | 143 | 130 | 135 |

Table 5

Under 5-mortality

Source:

2010 Human Development Report - International Human Development Indicators

Public expenditure on health (% of GDP)

| | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 |
|---------------|------|------|------|
| Rwanda | 4.5 | 4.7 | 4.9 |
| Uganda | 1.9 | 1.8 | 1.6 |

Table 6

Public expenditure on health

Source:

2010 Human Development Report - International Human Development Indicators

People living with HIV/ adult prevalence rate (%)

| | 2001 | | 2007 | |
|---------------|-----------|-----|---------|-----|
| Rwanda | 190,000 | 4.8 | 150,000 | 2.8 |
| Uganda | 1,100,000 | 7.9 | 940,000 | 5.4 |

Table 7

People living with HIV/ adult prevalence rate

Source:

UNAIDS, 2008

Regarding life expectancy Uganda is performing slightly better than Rwanda but in both countries the trend in past ten years is promising. Under 5-mortality is a more tricky category. In Rwanda numbers went up and down and according to the latest data, Rwanda has made enormous progress between 2007 and 2008. In Uganda child mortality has been decreasing since 1990 but between 2007 and 2008 has increased and was more prevalent than in Rwanda. In case of public expenditure on health two different trends could be observed. In Rwanda has been slowly increasing, in Uganda the other way around. In 2007 Rwanda spent almost 5 % of its GDP compared to Uganda where it was only 1.6 %. Also HIV/AIDS evidence looks better in case of Rwanda. Yet, both countries have recorded decrease in adult prevalence rate and amount of people living with HIV.

In terms of future challenges, HIV/AIDS is still a pressing issue even though the evidence in both countries shows noticeable progress. For Uganda it is also relevant decrease in the amount of financial flows in health care and increase in the child mortality rate. Rwanda should try to avoid future ups and downs in child mortality rates and to continue in increasing health expenditures.

6.3 Political security

“Decentralization has been a key development goal since the 80’s, but the process has been problematic and progress has been slow, with an enduring discrepancy between what governments decentralize de jure and de facto.” [UNDP, 2010, p. 6]

The opportunities for people to be part of a decision making process within their village or municipality are of the same importance for development of the country as governmental efforts to improve living standards of population. Development from below can be successful only on the condition that people have ‘freedom to participate’ on local level issues. To what extent are Rwandans and Ugandans ‘free’ concerning the participation in political life is the theme of the following part.

According to Dauda there is a general need for competent decentralization and coordination from central governments and also for will of the governments to agree to local autonomy and political participation. Also the local authorities have to answer back by offering transparent and accountable administration. [Dauda, 2006, p. 292]

The last part of this small comparative study is divided into two parts, first part investigates how democratic governance is organized in Uganda and Rwanda (on national and local scale), second focuses on political participation and decentralization.

6.3.1 Political organization and administration divisions

In Uganda there has been some change towards greater political stability since the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came into government in 1986 but there were also voices criticizing the concentration of power this system had resulted in. Rwanda has reached a relative political security after the genocide in 1994, and recently also an outstanding participation of women, but it is still struggling against structural tensions. Both Uganda and Rwanda are republics with a presidential multiparty governmental system. The multiparty system was introduced in Uganda through amendments made in 2005 of the original constitution from 1995. The country now has seven political parties.²⁶ Rwandan constitution was passed by referendum in May 2003. There has been nine political parties but two of them are officially banned now.²⁷ Every citizen above the age of 18 is allowed to vote in elections in both countries. The presidents are elected by popular vote and elections are held every five years in Uganda and every seven in Rwanda. Ugandan president Yoweri Kaguta Museveni has ruled country since 1986 when his NRM seized power and in February 2011 was re-elected again. In Rwanda, Paul Kagame has been in office since 2000 and in August 2010 was elected to a second term as president. [World Factbook, 2011]

Regarding parliaments Rwanda and Uganda differ. Rwandan parliament is bicameral, consists of Senate and Chamber of Deputies and has 106 members. These members are elected in several different ways (some are elected by local councils or popular vote, some are appointed by president, some are selected by youth and disability organizations, and some represent institutions of higher education) and serve eight (in case of Senate) and five-year terms (Chamber of deputies). In Uganda, there is an unicameral National Assembly with 332 seats. 215 members are voted by popular vote, 13 are ex-officio members and the rest is nominated by special interest groups such as women, disabled, labor, the youth and the army. All members of the National Assembly serve five-year terms. [World Factbook, 2011]

Both Rwanda and Uganda have Ministry of Local Government. In Rwanda its main mission is formulated as: „*Promoting the well-being of population by good governance, community development and social affairs.*” [MINALOC, 2010] In case of Uganda the mission of the Ministry is to „*coordinate and support local governments in a bid to provide efficient and sustainable services, improve the welfare of the people and eradicate poverty.*” [Ministry of Local Government Uganda, 2010]

²⁶ Conservative Party; Democratic Party; Forum for Democratic Change; Justice Forum; National Resistance Movement; Peoples Progressive Party; Ugandan People's Congress

²⁷ Centrist Democratic Party; Democratic Popular Union of Rwanda; Islamic Democratic Party; Liberal Party; Rwandan Patriotic Front; Social Democratic Party; Solidarity and Prosperity Party; officially banned: Party for Democratic Renewal; Democratic Republican Movement

The Republic of Rwanda is divided into Intara (provinces), Uturere (districts), Imirenge (sectors) and Utugari (cells). The basic administrative unit of the country is district which was created as the centre for the delivery of services that directly concern the well-being of the local population. There are 30 districts within five provinces (capital region of Kigali, eastern, western, northern and southern) that serve as a coordinating organs to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of Central Government in the planning, execution and supervision of the decentralised services. The smallest administrative unit is the so-called Akagari (cell) and it is the one closest to the people. All citizens above the age of 18 are members of the Akagari council where problems of the territorial unit are discussed and decisions taken. Therefore, this is the unit through which the problems, priorities and needs of the people at a grassroots level are identified and addressed. [MINALOC, 2010]

The local government in Uganda is different. As in the case of Rwanda the administrative system is based on districts, but also on municipalities and town councils. Under district there are lower local governments and administrative unit councils. Local Government Councils which are accountable to the people consist of persons directly elected to represent each village, disabled persons, the youth and women councilors forming one third of the council. The Local Government Council is the highest political authority in its area of jurisdiction. The councils have both legislative and executive powers. They have power to create local laws and enforce implementation. On the other hand Administrative Unit Councils serve as political units to advise on planning and implementation of services. They assist in the resolution of disputes, monitor the delivery of services and assist in the maintenance of law, order and security. In July 2010 new division of the country was made, now there are 112 districts, 22 municipalities and 174 town councils. [Local Government of Uganda, 2010]

6.3.2 Political participation and process of decentralization

This part will attach to the chosen bottom-up approach by asking to what extent there has been a development in the local frameworks for individual political participation in the last 15 years. Research questions are: to what extent can people of Rwanda and Uganda express their opinion in the public policy? Do their expressed opinions affect the policy making? Is there a functional method for the accountability of the governors? The last concern is put on whether there are any differences when it comes to gender.

As the larger part of the population of both Rwanda and Uganda live in the rural areas while the political elite is clustered in the urban areas the issue of communication could affect the flow of information within the countries and therefore the individual political participation.

[Klugman et al., 1999, p. 103] In Rwanda this is certainly the case since the banning of party activities at local level by the political party law in 2003. [NDI, 2003, p. 7]

Regarding the relation between decentralization and accountability, Dauda highlights two problems. She emphasizes that the poor majority in local municipalities is practising informal living and working activities and therefore live in the margins of legality, and by that states the problem of legitimacy is at the local level. The other dimension of decentralization processes and legitimacy is the problem of representation of these people, living at the margins. Given the historical political relationships in former colonies and the neediness of the people, there is a tendency on the local level of asking local councilors, as patrons, for favors. This opens fore for the request for a development from personal accountability towards a more public and universal. [Dauda, 2006, p. 294]

In a case study of the Ugandan city Jinja, Dauda found the evidence of the efficiency of the local government multiple layer system and that the local councils were establishing legitimacy for the village people. This was shown by the people's dependence on the local committees for the communication of their desires and on the councilors for those needs to be supplied. Dauda described one case where the allocation of housing was legitimized when the local municipal council made the current occupants legitimacy granted and formed a new system for the future allocations, with the residents participating along the way. She also described the limitations of the influence from the lower local layers in a matter concerning water supplies. In this case the National Water and Sewage Cooperation put a final peremptory demand for the collection of money for local water infrastructure project in the hands of the local member of the national parliament (who was also member of National Water and Sewage Board), if not, they would not continue the cooperation. These cases show evidence of both good and poorer outcome of the local governance in Uganda and also confirm that there are some actual opportunities, as a result of decentralization process, for the individuals to participate in decision making that concern their everyday life, but that these opportunities are constrained by corruption and depend on the system working smoothly. [Dauda, 2006, p. 295]

It is not possible to write about Rwandan political participation without mentioning the genocide and its wounds that still linger in the society. After the war different actions were made towards a functional social cohesion. Community based courts called Gacaca and The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) were set up in 1998 to restore unity among Rwandans and make measures to remove divisions between different groups in society. [NURC, 2008] This action has resulted in over 60 grassroot associations emerging on local levels and the members of the Commission argue that this has been the most thriving programme for national unity. In most cases the associations has appeared and grown by their own and been adopted by

the governmental NURC, which could be seen as a character of bottom-up initiatives. Some argue that this adaptation may result in the larger part of the population participating in government-driven ideas of reconciliation instead of honestly analyzing the current situation of the country. The constitution from 2003 presents a system of a multiparty democracy; however it also contains paragraphs that limit freedoms of expression, association, and political participation. One article also bars parties from organizing political activities at the local level, which could counteract the policy described below. [NDI, 2003, p. 6]

The Ministry of Local Government in Rwanda adopted a decentralization policy in 2000 with the written intentions to empower its people to determine their own future through increase the local individual participation in decision making and implementations considering the special needs related to the local circumstances and priorities by transferring power and authority from central to local levels. It also wanted to strengthen the accountability and the transparency by making local governors and leaders directly accountable to the communities. [MINALOC, 2010] In 2008 an opinion survey was made by NURC to among others investigate individual Rwandans trust in government action and decentralization reforms. The outcome of this survey showed that the majority of the Rwandans (90 %) were confident that the government had been working with the best interest of the people in mind. [NURC, 2008, p. 38] Considering the opinion on the decentralization reforms the outcome of the survey was more ambiguous. People reported that participation in decision making had increased but also that they had a more sceptical considering that actual achievements at local level would be made without pressure from the government. There was a tendency in the answers that the engagement of citizens in community matters depended on pressures from above. Regional differences in this matter showed a stronger belief in participation without this pressure in the capital Kigali and southern regions. [NURC, 2008, p. 50-51] However, the Commission that carried out the survey was appointed by the government. An assessment carried out by NDI in 2003 showed strict government control down to the cell level, the unit most close to the people. So the question is whether the attitude of the government has changed and if the survey is credible or not. [NDI, 2003, p. 7]

The Republic of Uganda experimented with a decentralized system of local governance in the early 1960s but it was soon abolished. In the early 1990s country just emerged from a series of cruel regimes and civil wars and all structures related to local governance were destroyed. Neither officials nor citizens had any experience of participation in decision making. Nevertheless Ugandan leaders were determined to build a new democratic and decentralized system of governance and embarked on its ambitious decentralization path. [USAID, 2002] Decentralization was legislated under the 'Local Governments Act of 1997', a framework act directing decentralization processes which further entrenched decentralization as a main system

of local governance. A key policy objective of Uganda's decentralization policy has been the „empowerment of local populations via democratization, participation, accountability, responsibility, efficiency and effectiveness” for the long-term goal of improving conditions of life for the population. Country went through some milestones such as financial and administrative decentralization which introduced delivery of funding from the central to locals governments, or human resources decentralization which caused de-linking of local government staff from their parent ministries and placed them under the authority of local government. However, despite strong political commitments to decentralization and great successes in its implementation, country still lacks an elaborate program for decentralization reforms. [PDM, 2007, p. 2-4] The main challenges are that civil society is not equipped with adequate information to participate and that lacks the skills and knowledge to adequately contribute, the interaction is restricted to adhoc consultations and usually is a one-time-off event rather than a continuous process. [PDM, 2007, p. 10]

Women's representation in Rwandan political life has shown an impressive increase after the genocide, even in the international context. This is a result of initiatives from government which link women's participation to nationalism. However considering the authoritarian policies implied by the government, this increased participation has not had a corresponding impact on women's ability to influence decision making. [Burnet, 2008, p. 26] In Uganda, women's political participation, in form of women associations, has increased since the NRM came into office in 1986. The 'National Gender Policy' from 1997 has resulted in an inclusion of women in planning committees at sub-county levels and also in non traditional areas. There must be a representation of 30 % women in local councils. This has changed attitudes towards women in leadership position, but women participation is still held back through gender roles such as scepticism from men and women's heavy workload. [Saito, 2002, p. 8-9]

6.4 Résumé

Which country is performing better in terms of economic, health and political security, Rwanda or Uganda? Purely according to the available statistical data we can state that Uganda is performing better than Rwanda regarding economic indicators. In Uganda there is a higher GDP per capita (PPP), lower GINI index, less people living below national poverty line. Economy in Uganda is also more diversified in the sense that more people are working in the secondary and tertiary sector than in Rwanda.

The majority of the population is depending on the backward subsistence farming, growing pressure on soil and pasture land because of the enormous population growth,

dependency on weather, lack of trained people, and lack of technology. These are main common challenges for Rwandan and Ugandan agriculture. Both countries have national Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers which present strategy how to deal with these challenges. Both are aware of the requirement for massive investment in agriculture, because they know that it remains a crucial sector for their future development. But in Uganda there is no coherent National Plan for the overall development of agriculture and in Rwanda it seems that government would rather prefer quick shift from agriculture to other sectors.

On the other hand, in nearly all matters connected with the health security, Rwanda performs better than Uganda. According to the latest available data there is a lower child mortality and HIV/AIDS adult prevalence rate in Rwanda than in Uganda. And Rwanda also spends more as a part of its GDP on health than Uganda. Yet, regarding maternal mortality and life expectancy Rwanda is worse than Uganda in the statistical records. The importance for both countries is to keep up at promising trends and try to reverse the adverse ones.

In both countries persistent spatial diversity undermined much of the recent development. Spatial diversity is high and the health conditions and care is much worse in the rural areas than in the cities. Thus, possibilities for the poorest to meet their health needs are still not sufficient, but decentralization processes and the use of bottom-up approaches in local health care attempt to remove this division and may very well succeed in doing so in the future in both Rwanda and Uganda. Both governments are willing to improve living conditions of their inhabitants and seek solutions for better and accessible health care.

The Rwandan and Ugandan national political systems are quite similar in the way that the president and parliament are elected. Parliaments are both partly elected by popular vote and partly appointed by organizations. Only five years ago the multiparty system was introduced in Uganda, before that no parties were allowed. In Rwanda restrictions on party organization at the local level are established in the constitution. The territorially organized structures and the organization of the local political system is crucial for political participation of the people and works in similar ways in both countries.

The decentralization process in Uganda has been proven working through the passing of legal guarantees to the local level of authorities and making those guarantees permanent and difficult to take back. In Rwanda government also tried to transfer power from central to local levels, but while people report an increase in participation in decision making, they are more sceptical about actual achievements at the local level. The intension from the policy has not yet shown sufficient proof of development in the life of the individual Rwandans to the same extent as in Uganda. In Rwanda and Uganda political efforts and achievements were made considering women's participation, however women are still held back by traditional gender roles.

7. Conclusion

The master thesis 'Human Security in Uganda' was written with the intention to clarify the concept of human security and introduce various possible approaches to it.

The first part of the thesis summarized basic informations about the human security concept, it reminded the reader why it was necessary to change traditional paradigm of state-centred security, and presented the concept from different perspectives such as in relation to the human rights and development or as an operational tool. Herein I would like to take the liberty of quoting from Ryerson and Krause who have hit the message from the first theoretical part of this thesis by saying that „*Narratives of human security have been widely adopted and adapted within both academic and policy communities. Despite debates over its meanings and uses, the concept has proven to be remarkably resilient. In particular, there has been a surprising willingness by critical scholars not only to analyse and critique human security, but also to embrace it as a means of furthering political goals.*” [Ryerson, 2010] According to my opinion one of the most important contributions of the concept is that „*it provides an intellectually strong foundation for innovative and focused policy initiatives.*” [Krause, 2007, p. 19] First two chapters has illustrated that the human security is evolving concept which is respected and used in various contexts by people from different spheres of interest. As many other concepts it has both the strong and weak points but more important than academic discussions is that the human security has gained relevancy and it has been increasingly included in the agendas and the policy discussions of relevant international organizations and incorporated into programmes and policies of NGO's and civil society organizations.

The second part of the thesis presented the country of Uganda as the landlocked country in East Africa with the dark past and ideal conditions for agriculture and also with the impediments for development of its full potential. However, the main matter of this part was to outline the threats people in Uganda has to face in three areas of security – community security, food security and environmental security.

The situation of gay community and, also the position of the other sexual minorities in society in Uganda, is very lamentable. Attitude of the majority seriously threatens community security of homosexuals and feeling of being secure and free in their own country. Homosexuality is illegal in the country and people can be jailed for up to 14 years for engaging in gay acts. There were even attempts to legalize gay-sex death penalty bill. The Anti-Homosexuality Bill brought Uganda under the international pressure and President Museveni

promised to scrap it but after he won election in February 2011 the Bill has been back on the table. For a long time being gay or even speaking up for gay rights could be lethal in Uganda which was illustrated by the case of David Kato who was beaten to death in January this year. Hope for a change may bring an aid cut because of assumed persecution of homosexuals proposed in US Congress.

Regarding food security, the situation is that Uganda as a whole has enough food to feed its people but problem remains in access to it and use of it that are inadequate in many locations. Because of the lack of other income-generating activities the subsistence farmers often sell crop intended to be a food just because they need cash. This together with adverse weather conditions make Uganda prone to the state of food insecurity. It was proved in March 2011 when impacts of the period of drought caused by current La Nina phenomenon became evident and people in 36 from 112 country's districts found themselves at the risks of serious water and food shortages.

Concerning environmental security, three different menaces were mentioned. The drought was the first in spite of the fact that it is a natural and cyclic part of the climate in northern Uganda (where it often causes problems) and therefore it is quite easy predictable. The problem is not the drought itself but the poor and inadequate prevention of the impacts that it may cause. Government in cooperation with NGO's and UN agencies should make an effort and be better prepared which assume mainly an upgrade of early warning systems, better monitoring and enhancement of water sources mapping. As the second threat for environmental security the poor environmental legislation and lax control and law enforcement were identified. Lutembe Bay wetland reserve which is a home for many bird species, natural filter for the wastewaters and sewerage, and also the water source is threatened by developers and owners of flower plantations who shamelessly ignore the laws without being punished. The last was the issue of decline of bee colonies due to the air pollution, use of chemicals in agriculture and loss of flowering plants. A decrease in amount of pollinators may influence crop production and cause food shortage.

In the last part the development of the neighbouring countries of Rwanda and Uganda has been measured by looking at three different aspects of human security which are the economic, political and health security. There were some limitations to this comparative study that can be recognized as a valid criticism. Partial conclusions were derived from a specific framework - another framework could have produced another result. The main criticism can be raised against deep and selective use of data which unfortunately was forced by the limited comparable sources that were at disposal.

Taking the economic indicators into consideration, Uganda is performing better than Rwanda in all aspects except for the unemployment rate. Uganda's economy is also more

diversified than economy of Rwanda where 90 % of population depends on agriculture. But it has to be stressed that for both countries the agricultural sector remains crucial and that both Rwanda and Uganda are facing many challenges connected with it such as the pressure on land resources, lack of trained and educated people or backward technologies. National plans for development focused on agriculture seem to be, however, too abstract and general to improve directly opportunities for people to be economically secure within an agricultural sector. On the other hand in both countries we can find projects or programmes implemented on local level which have improved living condition of people in rural areas. This can be a good sign for future development if the bottom-up approach remains in existence.

Regarding the findings arising from health indicators we can state that in terms of health security Rwanda is more developed than Uganda. Rwanda has recorded notable success in reducing child mortality and HIV/ AIDS adult prevalence rate and has also advanced public expenditure on health in past years. Uganda, on the other hand, has lowered public expenditure on health which is probably not a good sign for the health sector if the trend would continue in the future. Yet, Uganda still has higher life expectancy and lower maternal mortality than Rwanda. In both countries the high spatial diversity persists and the health conditions and care are much worse in the rural areas than in the cities. Thus, possibilities for the poorest to meet their needs are still not sufficient, but both governments are willing to improve the situation.

The territorially organized structures and the organization of the local political system is crucial for political participation and ensuring political security and works in similar ways in both countries. Wars and following political instability left fragmented political and administrative systems in both countries but it is still more visible in Rwanda. This could be seen in the Rwandan political law restricting party organization on local level that has counteracted the decentralization of the decision making and individual opportunities for taking part in political debate in the country. Corruption is a problem in both Rwanda and Uganda. Anocracy as well. Yet, in Uganda there has been a larger and more successful implementation of the governmental decentralization policy made from above which has opened more possibilities for the local individual initiative at local level. Thus, in spite of the fact that Uganda's president Museveni is seen as a dictator, conclusion is that in terms of political security Uganda is performing better than Rwanda.

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