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# Good practices in addressing human security through Human Development Reports

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### **Foreword**

I am honoured to be asked to write the foreword for this important study.

Human security—the protection of people from a diversity of threats by a range of national and international actions as opposed to the guarding of a country's borders by military means—is an important concept gathering increasing attention. It is still less than 20 years since the 1994 Human Development Report launched the concept of Human Security. During this time, the concept has made major advances:

- Intellectually, the concept was the focus of a major report, *Human Security Now*, overseen by a commission co-chaired by Mrs Sadako Ogata and Professor Amartya Sen. There have also been additions to the concept in the 1999 Human Development Report and in some of the national and regional reports reviewed in this study.
- ▶ Operationally, the concept was used by the UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. This resulted in the Report, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, in 2004. A year later, Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary-General incorporated the concept in his own report, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All.*
- ▶ Politically, the interest and support of governments over this period has moved from debate about the relevance, risks and value-added of the concept, and from initial doubts and uncertainties, to more positive and widespread recognition recently, including agreement on a General Assembly Resolution passed in 2012. Some governments have no doubt been influenced by the national and regional reports dealing with these issues in their own countries.

All this represents a notable change in perspective and sometimes of policy, much faster than in other cases where deeply held traditional concepts have been challenged—such as in the cases of gender equality, environmental protection and possibly human rights and human development themselves. Not surprisingly, in each of these cases, acceptance of the new concepts has been patchy and limited, differing widely in different parts of the world and in the consistency with which the concepts are understood, accepted and adopted as serious parts of national policy. Notwithstanding the relative speed of evolution of perspective in the case of human security, its serious adoption certainly remains similarly patchy and limited.

This review study has the potential to help carry much further the adoption and implementation

of human security perspectives in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, nationally, regionally and internationally. The study makes clear and practical suggestions about how this can be done, presenting guidelines about the process which needs to be followed and the issues which need to be explored in preparing a national study of human security, relating it to the concept of human development. These recommendations are based on some 20 National Human Development Reports and 3 regional ones, covering experience in every region of the world. It shows how there is now considerable valuable experience to draw upon.

The potential benefits of shifting further from traditional concepts of security to human security need to be underlined. The above mentioned High Level Panel's report identified six clusters of threats in the contemporary world, all of which required preventive action and for only a minority of which was military force a major requirement. Yet traditional approaches to security still dominate thinking in many countries and in 2010 world spending on the military amounted to \$1.8 trillion. In other words, a shift in focus could release resources for better means for ensuring security for a country's people. The chapter on nutrition from the African regional report that is discussed in this volume, for example, compared defence and agriculture expenditures, and shows how much is gained from a modest investment in micronutrients, nor is this sort of change unthinkable. Many developing countries spend less on the military today than in the mid-1990s and some which have relatively high levels of human development spend significantly less than others at similar or much lower levels of human development. Restructuring towards promoting human security can thus be a move towards both greater economic efficiency and higher levels of human development.

The concept of human security has so far been met with more operational interest from governments, diplomats and international groups than it has from academics, including from those in international relations and political science. In some ways this parallels the attitude to human development thinking amongst conventional economists and many others in the development field. Although this neglect no doubt reflects weaknesses of detail and analysis in some of the work that uses the concepts of human security and human development, it also reflects some narrowness in the academic fields and a too conservative concentration on concepts and writings in the mainstream of their own literatures.

In 2006 my colleague Deepayan Basu Ray and I took an initial step to address this narrowness, in a review of relevant National Human Development

Reports. Our review covered both academic concerns and emerging operational experience. The present report goes further in this direction, especially in its review of detailed practical application, showing the intricacies and potential of human security ideas through the experience of National and Regional Human Development Reports. I strongly hope that this excellent and careful study, produced by academics of standing in their own various disciplines, will attract the attention of many others in research and academia. For supporters and doubters alike, the study makes clear that human security is a concept and approach worthy of attention, not only in the abstract but in relation to both academic and policy-oriented studies of security problems in countries and regions and to the policies which are needed to tackle them. I commend it to all interested in this important topic.

Professor Sir Richard Jolly

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## **Acknowledgements**

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HDR	·	Report Office		ИЦГ	\D	Economic Analysis (Benin, in French)	
HDI	in the UNDP Human Development II	ndex		NHC RHD		National Human Development Report Regional Human Development Report	
HSI	•			UNE		United Nations Development Program	me
HSU	•			UNT		United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security	

## **Executive Summary**

In 2012, for the first time, the United Nations General Assembly agreed on a common understanding of the essence of the human security concept. This is a major advance in the mainstreaming of the concept, proof of the increasing recognition it has gained in the international community. The agreement also brings implicitly the need for progress in clarification and consolidation of the relevant means for operationalization of the concept. One of those means is human security reporting, as illustrated especially by the many assessments framed in terms of human security that have been prepared in the UNDP series of global, regional, national and sub-national Human Development Reports. Each of these reports offers a window into the intricacies of generating insights through the contextualization of human security principles while engaging different actors into the conversation. An important step in the clarification and consolidation was the work of Jolly and Basu Ray (2006, 2007) who reviewed a large set of UNDPsponsored studies and concluded that they confirmed the approach's ability to add value, through situationally-responsive identification and exploration of what are relevant threats.

The present study expands the work of Jolly and Basu Ray, through a systematic and detailed review of National and Regional Human Development Reports (HDRs) on human security. It is divided in two parts: the first part examines the *process* of reports conception, elaboration and dissemination, following the experience of four reports partially funded by the UN Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS) between 2009 and 2012; the analysis is complemented with a casestudy of the Latvian human security report published in 2003. The second part focuses on the *contents* of the reports, analysing a sample of sixteen Regional and National Human Development Reports, plus one non-NHDR report.

### Part One

The UNDP country teams examined in the first part are Benin, Djibouti, Pakistan and Uruguay. The cases are constructed from phone interviews and email exchanges with leaders of the teams, as well as with supporting practitioners in central and regional offices of UNDP and the UNTFHS.

The four cases provide insights on alternative arenas for the application of human security ideas, from the process of nurturing a critical mass of local support to the devising of country-specific tools for capturing the human security situation. Especially the study in Benin presented methodological improvements in quantitative analysis,

through a very large survey and a Human Security Index, and the Djibouti study illustrates insightful bottom-up more qualitative mapping of vulnerable populations.

Good practices and lessons learned from these four cases are summarized as follows:

### Focus

- ► Ensure broad consultation around strategic choices in study orientation and design
- Involve strategic partners
- ► Ensure that the report has a distinctive profile and/or rationale

## Study design and methods

- ▶ Allow flexibility on the choice of methodology
- ▶ Include primary data collection activities
- Examine both subjective and objective insecurities
- Consider preparation of an HS Index, to focus discussion and attention
- Avoid dividing the focus of the report
- ▶ Use visual aids like cartoons in reporting

## Details of process

- Assure inclusive structural ownership of the report process
- ▶ Match the budget and the methodology selected
- Promote horizontal learning across human security reporting teams
- ▶ Include a mid-term peer review
- ▶ Make the links to human development analysis and human rights approaches clear, as part of the One UN approach
- Provide training of study teams in human security analysis, and the options therein, when needed
- ► Employ a long time-frame perspective on the processes of having impact
- Nurture the technical support network, so that it will continue and grow after the current report
- ▶ Allow fuller use of international consultants for reports in small countries or that tackle more innovative themes

The study includes an analysis of the support for the country teams. We address two issues: the need for more flexible criteria to the selection of country teams, and the preparation of countermeasures for when local sensitivity because of the use of the human security concept can be expected.

In the conclusion, we argue that the experience with these Reports shows that the HDRO and UNTFHS partnership can help both organizations to advance on their mandates and challenges.

## Part Two

Given the complexity of human security, in the second part of this study the seventeen reports considered are initially reviewed using a set of six basic questions on security, so that differences in focus and approach became clear: Whose security? Security of what? Security from what threats? Who are the providers? What are the means for human security? How much security? We then propose a classification of the reports, which allows deeper analysis by comparing in detail groups of reports that are similar, we identify four main types:

- 1. Comprehensive mapping reports. These reports try to cover all major threats to all priority values, with reference to all relevant means.
- 2. State-building reports. These reports see state collapse/failure as the greatest threat, indirectly, to human security, and so focus on this centrally important means, building a state.
- 3. 'Citizen security' reports. These reports focus on a subset of values which are certain civil rights concerning the daily lives of 'citizens', notably the values of physical safety and freedom from unlawful dispossession.
- 4. Other special-focus reports, centred on an identified lead challenge. These reports focus on some other single threatened value, or type of threat: e.g. food insecurity. For simplicity we call them 'Challenge-driven', though the other types of report also respond to challenges.

Each group of reports is then reviewed in terms of: (1) Conceptual framework, (2) Approaches to measurement, (3) Policy relevance and (4) Degree of integration with human development analysis. This generates a large number of interesting findings, and the present report presents a summary that updates and extends the analysis in the comparable overview paper by Jolly and Basu Ray (2006). Some of the general findings include the following:

- Human security analysis is not only of use for addressing the situation of fragile states. Security, in the broader sense ingrained in the human security concept, is a common concern for all societies, although its contents and character are highly relative to the context. The reports reviewed show that the human security approach is flexible enough to respond to differences, while retaining analytical relevance and advocacy power.
- ▶ The first human security report on a country/region can sensibly include in its analysis some issues already conventionally recognized as "security" matters, in order to show by comparison of the characteristics/consequences of different issues the value added by broadening

- the meaning of security beyond those conventional topics.
- Reporting on human security gains greatly by exploring both the objective and subjective sides of threats (and of the values threatened) and then systematically comparing them. There are powerful qualitative and quantitative methodologies for this, which have been very effectively used in several Reports.

Review of the seventeen reports results in a more informed picture of the options for reporting on human security, the ways in which UNDP Country Offices have employed these options, and factors that newcomers should bear in mind when conceiving reports on human security. The present overview report is the basis for the Guidance Note that is available at the UNDP/HDRO web page: http://hdr.undp.org/en/nhdresources/.

## Introduction

The concept of human security can be expressed as follows:

'Human security is based on the idea of upholding the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair. All individuals are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential'.

The challenge is how to interpret and apply this inspirational broad idea in practice.

This report is a review of the results of the project "Human Security Grants for selected National Human Development Reports for the purpose of contributing to the formulation of projects for Human Security." The proposal of the project was submitted by the National Human Development Report Unit, HDRO, UNDP, to the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS), managed by the Human Security Unit (HSU), UN OCHA, in 2007. In essence, the project consists of partly financing UNDP Country Offices (CO) interested in preparing National Human Development Reports (NHDRs) that address human security and it has the following goals:<sup>2</sup>

- ▶ increase locally-relevant operationalisation of the HS framework, including contribution to the formulation of projects for Human Security, especially in support of seamless transition [from] pre-post conflict to development;
- influence specific change[s] and achieve greater policy impact in key HS development areas;
- advocate for an increased understanding and broader, sustainable application of the HS framework at national, regional, and global levels

The main aim of this report is to offer an external view of the experience in the *process* of proposing and preparing the NHDRs from the COs selected, as well as of the *contents* that resulted from this experience. The review will then extract lessons or good practices, so they are properly recorded and available for future initiatives. Process and contents were reviewed in parallel, the former chiefly through phone interviews and the latter using the documents available for the team

during the review period between August and November 2012. The process section is devoted to the experience of the four COs supported by the project—i.e., Benin, Djibouti, Pakistan and Uruguay—as well as their interaction with the HDRO and the HSU. In addition, since there is already a history of many NHDRs which explicitly address human security, the review of contents for purpose of drawing of lessons was not, and could not be, limited to those COs, and instead adopted a broader perspective that helped in understanding better the content issues in human security reporting. Hence, the fuller sample used in Part Two of the study covers 17 Human Development Reports, three of them regional and the rest national.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> UN Secretary-General, 'Follow-up to General Assembly resolution 64/291 on human security', (A/66/763), 5 April 2012. Available at: http://www.unocha.org/humansecurity/resources/publications-and-products/Reports-Secretary-General-Human-Security (accessed December 18, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> From http://hdr.undp.org/en/nhdr/support/financing/humansecurity/ (accessed October 27, 2012).

## **PART ONE:**

## Review of the Process behind the National Human Development Reports supported by the UNTFHS

This Part starts with a brief description of the project's background and early developments, explaining some of the specific choices made for the study. Before introducing each of the COs' experiences, the underlying methodology is introduced. In the cases of Benin and Uruguay, which respectively had final and partial versions of their reports available for this review, the description of the process includes highlights on the contents too. The cases and the section pointing out crosscutting findings summarize the contribution the teams made to the development of the human security idea. Then follows a section on the findings in relation to the external part of the NHDR process-i.e., the interaction between COs, HDRO and HSU-and we finish with a reflection on the overall experience of supporting human security reporting.

## **Background**

The HDRO approached the UNTFHS in 2006 with the idea of a Human Security Grant motivated by two ongoing or earlier activities. One was the previous "Innovation Fund", an initiative created in 2003 to stimulate creativity and experimentation while crafting NHDRs, through which 20 reports were supported. The experience was mostly successful—the final report on this is available on the web site of UNDP<sup>3</sup>—and included two of the best known human security reports (Latvia 2003 and Afghanistan 2004).

The other activity was the series of Thematic Guidance Notes for NHDRs, and the proposal was to commission a new number to address the human security concept and framework.<sup>5</sup> The resulting

<sup>3</sup> UNDP, *Ideas, Innovation, Impact – How Human Development Reports influence change*, UNDP, New York, n.d. Available at http://hdr.undp.org/en/nhdr/monitoring/impacts/ (accessed December 12, 2012).

report, prepared by Richard Jolly and Deepayan Basu Ray, assessed existing criticisms to the concept of human security, reviewed a sample of thirteen NHDRs, and made some recommendations for future reports. These recommendations were supposed to be applied in the forthcoming human security reports and, thus, are the starting point of the second part of the present review which deals with R/NHDR contents.

The HSU was also interested in the 2006 proposal since it complemented the Fund's emphasis on projects, with the component of knowledge creation and diffusion of lessons about human security analysis. From the fourth version of the guidelines of the Fund, approved in March 2008, proposals for the promotion and dissemination of human security are given special treatment and assigned a fixed budget of US\$300,000. Besides, the HSU had also commissioned the elaboration of a handbook on the Theory and Practice of human security, which the Unit was interested to test through the work on NHDRs.<sup>6</sup>

The original plan of the project was to co-fund five NHDRs, using the following criteria for choice of country:<sup>7</sup>

- Countries designated as "One UN" pilot country; and/or
- designated as a Peace-building Commission country; and/or
- ▶ LDC with demonstrated strong UN Country Team coordination;
- [a country that has] not already completed an HDR on Human Security; and
- there is national ownership for such an HDR process.

The first call for applications was posted on April 28, 2008 with the deadline set for the first of June. Only two countries applied, one of which (Pakistan) was approved, so a second call was distributed in December of the same year. Then, after several exchanges between the COs, the HDRO, the HSU and the major donor supporting the UNTFHS, three other proposals were approved and the core of the NHDR process started in each of the selected COs.

After the first substantive progress report submitted in February 2010, the project was extended by 18 months, i.e., until May 2012, and a final

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the sake of clarity, we will quote all the human development reports using the name of the country or region and the year of publication. The full list of reports is presented as an annex to the second part of this review.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Richard Jolly and Deepayan Basu Ray, *The Human Security Framework and National Human Development Reports: A Review of Experiences and Current Debates*, NHDR Occasional Paper 5, Human Development Report Office, UNDP, New York, 2006. Available at http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/NHDR\_Human\_Security\_GN.pdf (accessed December 12, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Human Security Unit, *Human Security in Theory and Practice*, HSU, New York, 2009. Available at http://www.unocha.org/humansecurity/resources/publications-and-products (accessed December 12, 2012).

From http://hdr.undp.org/en/nhdr/support/financing/humansecurity/ (accessed October 27, 2012).

extension until the end of 2012 was made after the third substantive progress report.

## Review of the National Human Development Report Process

Before presenting each of the cases, a comment on the criteria for the review is necessary. The basic questions to be answered through the review were stated in the ToR for the consultancy, as follows:

## General questions:

- a) Was the consultation process relevant to reflect on a diversity of national perspectives?
- b) Did the process boost national capacities to apply a human security perspective?
- c) Did the process inform the national debate on human security priorities?
- d) How were the process and the consultations reflected in the final report?
- e) Does the process include a sustained follow up to promote the findings of the report and advocate for its recommendations?

## Internal process:

- ▶ Selection of national consultants
- ▶ Consultation process
- ▶ Capacity development activities
- Contribution to national debate
- ▶ Sustained follow up after the report launch

External interface (HDRO–UNTFHS–Country Office):

- ▶ Financial arrangements
- ▶ Technical support
- Feedback (request, inputs and response to inputs)
- ▶ Interaction NHDR teams-HDRO-UNTFHS

The circumstances of the project and the limitations in time and resources for this consultancy have made impossible a full achievement of the goal. Only one of the reports has as yet been finished and launched, while other reports where still in finalization stage but had not been launched, so questions related to the impact of the reports could not be addressed. Besides, the consultancy was pre-designed as a qualitative review and relied exclusively on phone interviews to obtain the primary information, which proved to be full of tech-

nical and coordination difficulties. One interview with each of the persons in charge in the COs was held, plus one interview with a consultant in the case of Djibouti. Cooperation from the HDRO and the HSU was easier and prompt, but those offices have limited information for documenting the national experiences. Some additional questions were dealt with by email with COs and officers in the headquarters, which helped in clarifying details and enriched the assessment.

Moreover, even if all the reports had been successfully completed, the impact of NHDRs is not immediate. For instance, the Benin team is expecting in 2013 to hold the activities following up the experience of their NHDR, two years after the launching of the report. The case of a very successful human security oriented NHDR (Latvia 2003) is included as an annex to this part of the report in order to complement the other four case studies of recent NHDRs by a perspective on impacts in the middle and long-term. The substantial impacts in the Latvia case have taken almost a decade to come to fruition. The connection between the methodology adopted by an NHDR and the possible policy impacts is discussed in the second part of this report, and has been taken into account during the assessment of the experiences of the four COs which is presented in this first part.

Finally, based on the research for the "External interface" mentioned above, an analysis of the challenges in the present project "Human Security Grants for selected National Human Development Reports" is presented. The research included seven interviews with members of the organizations involved, examination of some of the documents and emails of the project, and review of the relevant literature. This sub-section also builds on some of the "lessons learned" that the HDRO included in the third progress report of the project.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Similarly, in the third advance report submitted by the HDRO to the HSU, the office makes clear that "A more thorough assessment of an NHDR influence is usually possible only a couple of years from its publication". Hence, only limited insights about the impact of the three very recent reports could be gathered through the present review.

## Internal process in the four funded NHDRs

### Benin

The CO of Benin has a well-established tradition of preparing NHDRs in the country. It has published nine reports in the period 1997-2011, the fifth largest number for a single country in that period. Underlying this prolific experience, there is a strong partnership between the CO and the government, at the national and sub-national levels, and across the different branches of the executive. This connection was crucial when preparing the proposal for the grant in a way that guaranteed national ownership.

It was especially relevant for the initial process that three members of the Ministry of Development, as well as other members of the team, could take part in the West and Central Africa Region Human Security Training Workshop, held in Accra, Ghana, 8–10 June 2009, and organized by the HSU. The understanding gained in Accra about human security and the characteristics of the task ahead was the base to design in detail the work plan at home, as well as to communicate to other actors about the pertinence of writing a human security report in Benin.

The work plan was then validated in a workshop where national and local government officials, civil society and private sector organizations, university research centers, and other UN agencies took part. Involving all of these actors not only improved the agenda, but also built commitment to participate in the revision of the final drafts. The size of the team, as well as the existing ownership in the country, can be evidenced in the introduction of the report, which presents the process divided into nine stages. <sup>10</sup>

The NHDR process was managed by the CO in close coordination with the government, mainly through a National Focal Point, in which a representative of the Ministry of Development as well as universities collaborated. In this Focal Point, discussions on the agenda and the methodology were held, and four baseline studies were defined, namely:

- ▶ State of the art, mapping and typology of threats and vulnerabilities, and evaluation of the population's protection and coping capacity
- Literature review on Human Security at the global level and the possible application meth-

- odologies given Benin's existing policies and strategies
- Perceptions of individuals, local communities, private sector, civil society and public sector on the human security situations in the departments of Benin
- ▶ Prepare a mechanism for the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of human security policies in Benin.

Consultants were hired for each of these studies. The novelty of human security analysis did not make it difficult to find suitable human resources for the studies, since there were adequate materials to inform the aspirants about the basics of the concept. Besides, two sessions of capacity building were organized after the recruitment, using the HSU Handbook as the main guide.

The main source of primary data in the report is a perception survey about the human security situation in the whole country. The survey covered 18,000 households, or about 110,000 people. This tremendous effort to generate data was conspicuously supported by a key national partner. The National Institute of Statistics and Economic Analysis (INSAE, in French) offered its know-how for tailoring the methodology, and in preparing the questionnaire and later analyzing the results. This included disaggregation for each of the perceived insecurities, using the seven securities classification introduced by the UNDP in 1994. 11 included in the HSU handbook, and for other demographic, socio-economic and geographic variables, as well as producing a Human Security Index (HSI) from the combination of perceived insecurities surveyed.

The results of each of the four teams were validated through a technical workshop of the national focal point, which was followed by the consolidation of the first version of the full report. Government officials from several ministries, university professors, representatives from civil society and the private sector, and the UNDP reviewed this version carefully, which resulted in a second draft of the report. The second version followed a similar process, first a technical workshop for revision and then a careful reading by the involved actors. The third draft was reviewed by eminent academics, civil society leaders, public administration officials and research centers associates who were independent and could offer an objective view. Only then was the final version made.

The final draft of the NHDR was then presented to the Minister of Development who did not

PART ONE: Review of the Process behind the National Human Development Reports supported by the UNTFHS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The contents of the workshop are available at: http://ochaonline.un.org/LinkClick.aspx?link=5738&tabid=66 22&language=en-US (accessed 28 October 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Benin 2011, 7 and 13-14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> UNDP, *Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security*, UNDP, New York, 1994. The seven securities are: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political.

hesitate to endorse its contents and, thus, signed the foreword opening the document. The launch was finally undertaken in January 2012.

One important comment raised by several actors in the first validation workshop was that the initial draft did not include the human development indices, nor a chapter dedicated to an assessment of the overall status of human development in Benin. Given the tradition of NHDRs in the country, failing to include that in the document was considered to be a major flaw. Modifying the initial draft to better balance human security and human development ideas was received with some skepticism by the HSU. But while the final version of the NHDR continues clearly focused on human security, the inclusion of human development analysis does indeed offer relevant additional insights for human security reporting.

On the connection between human security and human development we comment more in the second part of this review, but for now a good example of increased added value is the comparison done of the HDI and the HSI across Benin's provinces (Table 1). The CO found that some regions with better HDI felt more insecure, while some of those with lower HDIs felt less insecure<sup>12</sup>. The data suggest that there is no strong and necessary linkage between overall HD and overall HS. The indicators used here are of course incomplete and the topic deserves further research, but the findings do suggest the value-added of separate and additional attention to human security besides attention to the most familiar components of human development."

opinion. The most prominent is the development of the HSI and its introduction into national statistics. Inasmuch as policy is prepared based on the official statistics about the situation in each city and region, expanding the pool of information can help to improve the quality of subsequent policies and decision-making. The partnership with the INSAE assured the sustainability of use of the HSI and also made it easier to monitor the impact of the report since new information is supposed to be periodically available. The CO is nowadays working with INSAE to present a new measurement of the HSI in 2013.

The report also came up with some human security priorities derived from the analysis. A total of twenty-one were pointed out, representing all the categories proposed by the first UNDP human security report in 1994. The government took the proposed priorities into consideration although, the CO remarks, not all of them were incorporated into the national policy.

Some of the actors reviewing the drafts of the report acknowledged the relevance of the idea of human security in Benin, but found it not necessarily easy to understand. Therefore, the suggestion emerged of including cartoons about the most important arguments and findings presented by the report, so the message of the report could reach a broader public. Examples are included in our review. This visual component makes the final result much more reader-friendly, and it may be a potentially good practice for other NHDRs for promotion of human security.

		Human Development Index					
		Very weak IDH € [0,316;0,384[	Weak IDH ∈ [0,384;0,451[	Middle IDH € [0,451 ; 0,519[	Strong IDH ∈ [0,519;0,587[	Very strong IDH ∈ [0,519;1]	
ry index	Weak ISH ∈ [0,60 ; 0,70[	Alibori	Plateau	Borgou			
Security	Middle ISH ∈ [0,70;0,77[	Atacora	Couffo Zou				
nman	Strong ISH €	Donga		Mono Collines	Ouémé	Littoral	

Table 1. Regions in Benin according to their calculated HDI and HSI\*

Atlantique

There are several elements of the report that allow envisaging the potential impact of the NHDR in future policy making and on the general public

<sup>\*</sup> Benin 2010-2011. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Benin 2010-2011, 117.

Support from New York was important in the beginning while the proposal was being approved. and later when the HDRO participated in one review workshop. As mentioned above, the workshop in Accra organized by the Fund was especially important to help conceive the structure of the NHDR. Nonetheless, the CO already had ample experience of preparing NHDRs-in fact, the person in charge of the report had taken part in Benin NHDRs since the year 2000—so there was no need for much external support. Instead, the major difficulty for the CO was financial. All the activities necessary for making possible the report as envisioned, i.e., the intensive consultation process and the comprehensive perception survey of over 18,000 questionnaires, required much more resources than initially defined—in this case approximately two hundred thousand dollars, twice the HDRO standard or four times the contribution from the UNTFHS

## Djibouti

The first challenge of the country team was to convince the government of the value of a human security report in the country. Given the conditions of the Grant selection process, they had to apply first to the HDRO and then undertake the consultation process at home. A previous report by another UN agency had presented a very bleak picture of the country, so the government was extremely sensitive to any new report initiative. Besides, upcoming general elections also restricted the team's capacity to negotiate for official backing. Fortunately, the team was able to convince the government and proceed. So far, one consultation meeting was held through a National Commission of Monitoring of the HDR, co-chaired by the Ministry and the UNDP. While there is no mention of other UN agencies taking part in the initial phase, the consultant interviewed has worked for other offices such as UNICEF, WHO and the UNDAF, and brings along that experience.

The main problem of the country team, a reason why the report is still under preparation, was to find appropriate consultants. Djibouti is classified as a least-developed country, and has less than a million people. There were arguably no professionals in the country with knowledge of human security analysis, so the selection required a compromise with capacity building—in fact, the representative interviewed affirms that the four consultants of the team may be the only people in the country with knowledge on human security at this moment. Some capacity building was possible thanks to one of the workshops organized by the

UNTFHS, in Accra, June 2009. 13 However, two of the members of the team had to stop working for the project and the whole process had to be relaunched. During this second start, the CO was allowed to have the support of an international consultant who helped in organizing the contents of the report and generating the present work plan. 14

The team expects to have impact on the national debate, especially showing what the population actually thinks of the policies the government has put in practice so far. The leader of the team mentioned that the result could influence present efforts to write the country's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, as well as the design of safety nets. In support of these goals, the team consulted focus groups across the country with the aim of documenting what people from different backgrounds thought about their own security and insecurity. A total of fourteen groups were initially planned but it had to be reduced to nine for financial reasons. Four of those groups were of vulnerable populations in Djibouti City—i.e., i) floating populations, i.e. the homeless, refugees, displaced persons; ii) poor populations living in precarious housing; iii) women working in the non-formal sector, often illiterate; iv) young graduates out of work—and the other five were from inland regions of the country. About the latter, participants of various backgrounds were chosen, keeping gender balance and representing sectoral departments (education, health, law, police, police force) as well as elected representatives, religious leaders, children, women, the elderly, civil society and private sector. Through this careful selection, informed by existing national frames on poverty reduction and sustainable development, the team made sure that their work encompassed different national perspec-

The NHDR team prepared a questionnaire to guide the discussions in the focus groups, from which they extracted important remarks, identified common threats related to either fear, want or dignity, and hierarchized the seven securities from the HDR of 1994. According to the consultant interviewed, human security was difficult to frame, in spite of the preparations. Before a presentation of the concept was provided to the participants of each of the focus groups, they presented multiple views on their security and insecurity. Some of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The HSU mentions that the members of the team also attended a similar meeting in March 2010 in Nairobi but the Djibouti team did not confirm this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The Guidelines of the Fund forbid using large shares of the funding on international consultants, and since the amount of resources was limited this was deemed to be an issue in need of consultation.

them mentioned crime, others conflict and some others peace in general. Something that drew the attention of the team was the little mention made by participants of dignity or human rights, and a tendency of participants to criticize the government. However, once participants better grasped the concept, the discussions became interesting. The quantity and quality of inputs increased greatly, and the two hours initially planned for each focus group were often largely exceeded. Interestingly, once the concept was defined and understood, security regarding oneself or personal security became last among their stated worries.

The focus groups were designed to provide the research with a strong qualitative input to be contrasted with the quantitative data produced by the government or found in the literature. The difficulty of measuring human security and financial constraints were among the reasons for this decision. The consultant recognizes that the approach may not give fully representative results for the populations concerned, but it would definitively enrich the public debate. He emphasizes how insightful it was for the whole NHDR effort to include the voice of the people through the focus group discussions.

Regarding the exchanges with the external support system, the information available is limited. There were no issues regarding the financial arrangements, apart from some internal coordination required for the multiple extensions the report has required. There were concerns about not being able to allocate money on international consultants, given the UNTFHS dispositions, but in the end it was actually possible to hire this service, given the special needs in Djibouti.

The team does not mention much support from the HDRO, mainly because after the proposal was approved, the team was unable to prepare drafts for a long while, and then relied on an international consultant. Since support from the HDRO to the CO is provided normally on demand, this lack of communication was not deemed unusual. More support is expected once the stage of peer reviewing starts. The connection with the UNTFHS was mainly through the participation in the Accra workshop and, additionally, the HSU recommended the international consultant. It is worth adding that the report team also made use of the Handbook prepared (and translated into French) by the HSU in order to design the research.

The UNDP staff interviewed does not recall having any contact with the other three teams preparing similar reports—the same was reported by all the teams. It seems warranted to plan in the future for more horizontal exchanges across teams, so that they can share their questions about the

operationalization of the concept, defining the set of background papers, the design of the report structure, and the other intricacies of the process that are common to all of them.

Finally, when asked about how to improve the future process of human security reports, the representative mentioned better technical support and help in finding appropriate experts from the beginning. The budget was also a concern, given the costs of making more robust surveys and including other academic views inside the core team. Further, for the perception survey the team required two translators to cover the non-official languages of the country—i.e., Afar and Somali—which makes doing justice to the subjective aspects of human security more costly.

### **Pakistan**

Among the lesson learnt from the Pakistan experience is the need to make the ownership of the NHDRs more inclusive and structural. In other words, the role of the government officials and other key actors should go beyond backing the proposal and review drafts; their participation should be ingrained in all the stages of report preparation particularly in consultation meetings. In Pakistan's particular case, although the government at the outset supported the report, ensuring their buy-in was not built into the research process. The minimum standards for the NHDRs suggest a continuous engagement, but it cannot be said to be common practice—Uruguay and Djibouti report only initial meetings with the government as well. In hindsight, the sensitivity of the issues included in the report required a more intense process of consultations. This sensitivity was intrinsic to the human security theme, although the CO notes that any human development topic can trigger concern.

The report was executed under the "NGO implement" modality, a modality through which the organization selected for the task undertakes the core of the work while the CO plays a limited role. Hence, the CO was liable not to influence the process of conceiving the background papers and the general approach of the report. The most critical part of the research coincided with the floods of 2010 in Pakistan, which became the top priority for the agency and may explain reduced CO attention. After those events, the person in charge of the report left the CO, and a new person took over in the first quarter of 2011.

The organization selected to produce the report had all the credentials for doing so. It is a local think tank, expert in human development, which produces yearly reports about the situation in South Asia. This experience in drafting human development reports, starting in 1997, includes

even a human security report for South Asia 2005<sup>15</sup>, so "novelty" of the concept was not an issue. On the contrary, the CO suggests that extensive experience could have been a reason for limited consultation. The team commissioned top-level consultants, at least one of them previously engaged with the present government, to write the background papers and the staff of the think tank consolidated the drafts. However, the think tank felt that, since this was an independent report, no direct consultation or feedback from government counterparts was required.

Later there were broader consultations and feedback from multiple institutions, including the HDRO, the Regional Bureau of the Asia Pacific and the UNDP Asia Pacific Regional Centre, which resulted in second and third drafts of the report. The revisions suggested substantive improvements that emphasized greater focus on human development and evidence-based analysis.

The participation of the government in reviewing the preliminary drafts was further limited because the key government contact changed at least two times. <sup>16</sup> These and the other contingencies mentioned above make the CO suggest that the timeliness of the NHDR—i.e., undertaking the research while key stakeholders remain supportive to the effort—is also an important factor to be carefully evaluated when conceiving the process.

A complete draft of the report was not available for our consultancy team. The theoretical chapter—the only one we had access to—presents a review of the major reports on human security and some of the basic questions underlying the concept, including the operational approach promoted by the UNTFHS and the HSU Handbook. However, the CO recognizes that the methodology may have also influenced the outcome. Taking into account the large volume of available data in Pakistan, no new survey was carried out for the report and the report primarily relied on existing data. This might have led to the perception that the report included no new insights demanding publication.

As a final lesson learned (or to be learned), the CO observes that sometimes the two principles from the NHDRs corporate policy—ownership and

<sup>15</sup> Mahbub ul Haq Human Development Centre, *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006. The report is available at: http://www.mhhdc.org/html/ahdr. htm (accessed December 27, 2012).

independence—may not be fully compatible. <sup>17</sup> There was a trade-off between them in the Pakistan case in as much as ownership implies that the government perspective must be especially considered and respected. Still, it is recognized that some inexperience may have also influenced the outcome: this is just the second NHDR that the CO undertakes and, thus, neither was the CO aware of the many challenges behind the successful production of the report, nor was the government used to this kind of process demanding endorsement of a potentially partly critical assessment.

There are two additional characteristics worth mentioning. One is that the Pakistan team did not have contact with other teams doing human security reports, neither did they know about the at least three other projects that the UNTFHS has supported in the country. The second is that the share of the budget covered by the CO was near two thirds of the total, also beyond the basic budget envisioned.

## **Uruguay**

The main challenge for this CO was to match the human security approach to the particularities of the country. Uruguay is a small middle-income country with a high level of human development. The threats that are more commonly associated with international crisis, i.e., famine and conflict, have not been a concern to Uruguay's inhabitants for a long time. Epidemiological and demographic transitions were completed early and the society is one of the less unequal in an unequal region.

Therefore, the team invested much time to decide how to best fulfill the goal of writing a human security report. This challenge divided the process in two: an over-a-year-long process during which a comprehensive approach was tested and finally discarded, and a second phase after emphasis on two topics was decided and a new report plan put forward.

The first part starts in 2010 after the approval by the national government. It is worth mentioning that human security, as the central theme for the report, was not a major reason for apprehension when the project was discussed with the government. There is inherent sensitivity to talk about security—and the CO team mentions that some issues that could have been addressed through the report were avoided because of political considerations—but the government of Uruguay itself promotes comprehensive approaches to security in the country and thus welcomed the initiative. Besides,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> It is worth noting these were not political changes, so new government policies were not a reason for the final outcome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> More information on the question of compatibility can be found in the HDRO Guidance Note on NHDRs.

the government does appreciate the inputs received from previous NHDRs, so mutual trust was present.

The approval led to a lengthy process of discussion inside the report team, parallel to the literature review. The process was commanded by a core team consisting of a project coordinator hired by UNDP and two experts from UN Women and UNICEF, who were supported by the CO staff in charge and later reinforced with top-level national consultants—Uruguay is a One UN pilot country, which was a criterion for selection in the UNTFHS grant project and a reason for this inter-agency partnership. Main inputs to this initial process were the Handbook developed by the HSU, the Human Security Now report and Alkire's work supporting that report. <sup>18</sup>

The crux of the discussion was how to engage with the list of seven securities included in the Handbook. The team gave a try to encompass all of them in a single draft but the results were not satisfactory. The team was conscious from the outset of the importance of objective and subjective components of security, but considered that, given the imprecise understanding they had of the concepts, it was premature to embark on their own national perception survey. Instead, the report is based on secondary sources from national and international organizations that already run such surveys-including Latinobarómetro, as well as national statistics. These organizations do not specifically assess human security and corresponding threats, instead approaching relevant issues in terms of "problems", but the Uruguay team considered that approach was good enough for the purposes of the NHDR. Then in February 2012. after consultations with the HDRO, other external opinions and a new internal discussion, it was decided to abandon the comprehensive approach and focus on two issues: education and 'citizen security'.1

In the second stage the consultants played the main role and prepared the base documents for the report. The coordinator in charge left the project at the start of this stage, so the expert from UN Women assumed the lead. The team notes that while all the consultants involved in the project were highly qualified academics and practitioners, some of them involved in national ministries, none of them had prior experience with the concept of

<sup>18</sup> Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*, United Nations, New York, 2003; Sabina Alkire, 'A conceptual framework for human security', CRISE Working Paper 2, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 2003.

19 In Part Two of this review we characterize 'citizen security' reports as centered on issues of citizens' physical safety and freedom from unlawful dispossession.

human security. The team received no particular training in the concept and mainly relied on the literature review and occasional external comments. The leader of the CO affirms that one of the main achievements of the process was precisely to generate a critical mass of key actors that now recognize the existence and importance of the human security concept.

In that respect, it is worth noting that the team did not take part in the Human Security Training Workshop for Central America and the Caribbean Region organized by the HSU in Costa Rica in October 2010. While it is true that the country is outside the region targeted for the event, the particular need for guidance to draft this report merited an exception. As mentioned earlier, for the Benin team its participation in such a workshop in Accra was fundamental, and the Djibouti team too took part in that event even though the country is not part of West and Central Africa.

The Uruguay report has just been finalized by the end of 2012 so nothing can be said in this study about its impact informing the national debate or follow-up activities. It could be argued that the main obstacle faced by the team was actually working out a good strategy to contribute to a debate that was not yet framed in those terms in the country concerned. The selection of 'citizen security' seems logical since that is a concept and debate recognized in the country and for which there were local partners to engage in a conversation. The selection of education seems informed in part by the expertise of one of the partner UN offices involved in the report—i.e., UNICEF.

In the version of the report that was available for this review, there were some weaknesses that deserve mention. First, it seems the team did not make major steps to take the questions they had about operationalizing human security to a wider public, as was done in the case of Benin, or consider other methodological options to gather primary data to solve the initial impasse—e.g., the Djibouti strategy of using focus groups, as presented below, or the Thailand 2009 report's use of a prospective approach to identify human security challenges in the near future. Second, closely related to the previous point, the report relies exclusively on secondary data, a decision that can diminish its impact. Third, dividing the report in two themes that are not adequately dovetailed from the outset can hurt the quality of the result. The existing chapters do put forward some interesting observations about the situation of the country in regard to education and citizen security. For example, the citizen security section introduces the paradoxical situation of youth in the country, falsely stigmatized as responsible for the largest share of crimes. This and other topics are promising themes for full reports but because they are only sections and, thus, lack the conceptual elaboration and indepth research, such report design strategy fails to transmit a clear idea of human security added value: neither comprehensive, nor focused. In the second part of this review we show this is not an uncommon problem of human security NHDRs, and so we recommend avoiding such strategy when designing a report.

It will be seen later whether the selection of topics will result in a successful report, for which many variables that are beyond the scope of our work will need to be assessed to offer a defensible evaluation. As far as our review is concerned, it is not clear at this stage whether the expected goals will be achieved.

## Crosscutting issues on the country experiences

Now that each of the experiences has been presented, we can provide a general view collecting the major findings of the experience, as well as some lessons learned and good practices identified. Three key questions raised by the HSU about the process are used to guide the analysis.

## Did the Trust Fund NHDRs increase the understanding of the application of human security?

Since only one of the final reports, Benin, was completely finalized and launched, what can be said in respect to "application" based on the results is very limited. However, the report of Benin is definitely a step forward in human security reporting. The idea of presenting the report as "cartography" is a very appealing approach to doing a multiple-issues study—as discussed in the second part of this report—, and the deliberate way the report complements the national statistics is a promising alternative for future applications. The selection of human security indicators is a step forward in mainstreaming human security in the national context, offering a basis for further developments. The disaggregation of data made possible by the perception survey also offers additional inputs that can influence policy making. Moreover, the didactic strategy adopted for its presentation seems well-chosen to effectively reach a large spectrum of stakeholders with a basic understanding of the ideas behind human security analysis.

If "application" is seen instead as the broader experience of trying to put some ideas into practice, the positive answer can be further generalized. The Benin team undertook an extensive consultation process in which several actors came to know the

ideas behind human security propositions and were able to offer critical comments on human security reporting. These actors are able to include human security ideas into their own thinking and doing, providing a fertile ground for broader application in the medium and long term.

The Djibouti team adopted a participatory approach directly involving vulnerable sectors of the population in the discussions. This report is deemed to present a bottom-up version of the concept, which can offer a valuable input to top-down conceptualizations of security in the country. The effort proved to be essential in the long process of broadening the understanding of security that underlies the application of human security ideas.

These two teams as well as Uruguay's affirm that before their reports there were no local experiences of human security operationalization, and thus they had to summon from scratch a community of experts and practitioners who recognize the concept and were able to flesh it out. This is not a minor achievement and it could turn out to be determinant in the middle or long term. In the case of the Latvian human security report, described in detail as an annex to this report, it was the members of the team gathered through the NHDR who, once disbanded, continued the discussion on human security on many other fronts—e.g., universities, NGOs, local governments—until it became mainstream in government policy a decade later.

## Has the work on the HDRs increased the rigor in methodologies used for assessing and responding to human insecurities?

The case of Benin presented a complete picture of the methodologies used in a Report. This case allows a positive answer, and presents a very compelling approach to assessing human insecurities:

- ▶ The Benin team prepared a comprehensive tool (included as an annex in their report) in order to capture perceptions, following the Human Security Handbook directions;
- ▶ They undertook extensive surveys which allowed them to make a disaggregated analysis in terms of major demographic, socio-economic and geographic factors;
- Analysis was facilitated by the design of a Human Security Index, which was scrutinized in each of its components and against the HDI;
- ► The other measures were complemented with qualitative inputs in the form of "life histories", that allow a richer presentation of findings.

For these and similar methodological advances to be effectively reflected across human security reporting teams, it is necessary to *promote horizontal exchanges between teams*. While tools and

discussions of the methodologies are available as annexes to the reports, details on the problematic points in the refinement of the methodologies and the reasons behind the strategies adopted remain undocumented. The type of in-depth research necessary to specify and convey these tools and details was beyond the scope of this consultancy.

The focus groups used by the Djibouti team are another illustration of relevant alternatives in human security reporting. This alternative relocates the main question about human security from threats themselves to what vulnerable populations see as threatening. While it may have statistical weakness compared to Benin's survey, a strategic selection of focus groups and a fine-grained questionnaire can ensure its relevance. It offers an attractive option to teams that have difficulty in finding an appropriate way to focus human security analysis for the first time in their context—as was the case in Uruguay.

Secondly, "responding" to insecurities is a goal that needs to be understood in a broad sense. A single report that essays a comprehensive mapping of human security issues in a country cannot offer solutions to all the issues it deals with; thus the Benin CO acknowledges that the situation of insecurity is not uniform to the whole country, but differs from community to community.<sup>20</sup> Still, they advance sets of strategies to improve protection and empower populations in each of the seven UNDP categories of insecurity, suggesting roles for the national and local government, international organizations, the private sector and households. This is informed by the results of the survey, in which households were asked about what they can do themselves, as well as the possible actions of local governments and national governments. The survey forms a fertile source of ideas, though much more detailed study is required to check the viability and appropriateness of such a comprehensive collection of strategies, which hopefully will be undertaken by some of the actors involved in the NHDR process.

The final proposal included in the Benin report, to establish a mechanism for follow-up reviews of the human security situation, is a relevant sustainable approach to "response." In essence, human security analysis is about expanding the sets of issues that are recognized as threats and such effort requires that information about those emerging or forgotten issues is readily available. Inserting into the flow of national statistics new key questions that reflect a wider understanding of insecurities can result after some years in better policies or other initiatives. This is a valuable outcome from

Benin's effort that, after refinement and contextualization of the methodology, could be applied elsewhere through similar NHDRs.

The exercise of comparing the human security index and the HDI per region suggested also that some form of targeting could be possible through human security measurement. The Benin team pointed out one area of the country with both low HDI and high-perceived insecurity, a situation that is bad in itself and might also be linked to looming instability. This approach needs to be piloted and evaluated locally, to see the strengths and weaknesses of such a targeting strategy, including the incentives it creates and who actually benefits from the targeting of a region.

## Lessons learned and good practices of the reports funded by UNTFHS

The following are the most important **good practices identified and lessons learned** through the four cases reviewed:

### 1. Focus

- Ensure broad consultation around strategic choices in study orientation and design: It is important to emphasize that the human security framework can be tailored to the needs of the context. These choices are both critical for the value-added and relevance of the report, and not easy, so broad consultation with the stake-holders is important. Even the basic questions that COs confront in the initial stages of the NHDR could be made part of the consultation process—e.g., what is human security in my country?
- Ensure that the report has a distinctive profile and/or rationale: Given the novelty of human security thinking in some contexts, it is crucial for the COs to identify from the outset how their NHDRs make a particular contribution to the national circumstances, for example by generating types of data that are not already available. There is plenty of room to innovate, as seen in the case of Benin. Envisioning some specific concrete focus of attention or action can be of help. A comprehensive coverage, using the the 1994 HDR list of areas of security, is not always required; however, use of a multisectoral perspective that draws out the consequences in individuals' lives is extremely important
- Involve strategic partners: Both ownership and quality reporting would benefit from having the right partners participating in the report process. In the case of Benin, government officials were part of the very preliminary conception of the human security approach for the country, and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Benin 2011, 129.

later contributed throughout the process. The partnership with the department in charge of statistics was crucial to refine the methodology and carry out the perception survey, which are amongst the major strengths of the study.

### 2. Methods

- Include primary data collection activities: Undertaking a survey or other kind of data gathering activity to support the NHDR will increase the chances of having a successful report. Benin's example of an 18,000-household survey might be too high a standard to set as a norm, although structural and inclusive ownership of the process and finding the right partner can make it less uncommon, and teams should consider alternative methodologies and decide on the best cost-benefit balance. The more sensitive the issue at stake, the more relevant it becomes to have solid evidence.
- Examine both subjective and objective insecurities: Human security reports have found in perception surveys a fruitful niche for primary data gathering. They offer teams an attractive starting point. Undertaking these activities depends much on the financial resources available and so, since this is not totally under report teams' power to decide, the possibility of including such activities needs to be discussed at different levels of the UNDP. Inclusion of perception surveys may greatly increase the impact of a study.
- Consider preparation of an HS Index, to focus discussion and attention: While there is not a unified single approach to measuring human security or producing an index, preparing a country index helps as one tool of synthesis, adds appeal to the report and facilitates the presentation of the findings. As in the Benin report, it is important however not to equate the index to human security as a whole, but to maintain the broader perspective on the security configuration in the country. An additional added value of developing indexes or other measurements is that they can facilitate the follow-up of the report, especially if the data collection is mainstreamed as in the case of Benin.
- Allow flexibility on the choice of methodology: At least two teams had problems framing the contents of the report by following the suggested literature—i.e., Uruguay and Djibouti. The case of Uruguay was very telling, as they needed to tailor their NHDR to a context for which the suggested methodology had not been tested. There is also the possibility that use of the comprehensive list was partly to blame for the result in Pakistan. In the second part of this report we show that the experience so far sup-

- ports a more complex and diverse picture of what human security reporting consists of, comprising different types of strategies that respond to different contexts and circumstances. This insight was strongly advanced by the Jolly and Basu Ray review in 2006, but has not yet been sufficiently disseminated. While Benin's case shows that a comprehensive "mapping" approach is both feasible and can provide a wealth of relevant insights, the outcome of just one in four reports completed with high success in the present project deserves a critical examination of the process at all the levels.
- Avoid dividing the focus of the report: Human security reporting does offer the opportunity of either making a comprehensive mapping or adopting a special focus according to the context. However, intermediate efforts addressing a couple of issues, as attempted by Uruguay's team, neither go in-depth on any of the topics, nor do they attain a comprehensive picture. If a limited set of issues suits better the context, it would usually be better to structure them on a single focus before undertaking the research.
- ▶ Use visual aids like cartoons in reporting: This practice is not new to NHDRs, neither to human security ones—e.g., Afghanistan 2004—but it is worth stressing that reports can benefit from enhancing readability in this way.

## 3. Details of process

- Assure inclusive structural ownership of the report process: Establishing national ownership of a NHDR cannot be limited to only obtaining statements of support for realization of the report from the most relevant national stakeholders. A successful process has to go beyond only consulting those relevant stakeholders, to ensure they actively participate in molding the whole process, from the initial conception, through the background papers to the final drafts. Benin and Pakistan present opposite approaches to the issue of ownership, with the contrasting results that we noted above. The latter case suggests that in a report on human security that adopts a comprehensive approach this need of structural ownership is especially critical.
- ▶ Match the budget and the methodology selected: The teams of Benin and Djibouti suffered limitations because of the costs involved in the methodologies they selected. Future teams reporting on human security and considering similar methodologies should bear this in mind when negotiating budgets, as well as finding key partners that could be interested in covering additional expenses.

- Promote horizontal learning across human security reporting teams: Although the four contexts of application were very different, the teams would probably have benefitted from some horizontal exchanges about their experiences in the process, the decisions they had made to flesh out the report and the obstacles they were finding. While this may not be possible always with normal NHDRs, which are not synchronized, this project's human security oriented reports would have benefitted from it. Besides, in the case of Benin and to certain extent Djibouti, the teams gained important insights about the work ahead by taking part in workshops sponsored by the UNTFHS. Uruguay was not included in a similar activity which might have helped them on their report design problems. The team of Pakistan did not have contact with previous projects of the UNTFHS that have taken place in the country, which was a missed opportunity to consolidate the work of the Fund there.
- ▶ *Include a mid-term peer review:* This can be done via interaction with other human security report teams, by more experienced practitioners, and/or by external advisers.
- ▶ Make the links to human development analysis and human rights approaches clear, as part of the One UN approach.
- Provide training of study teams in human security analysis, and the options therein, when needed: The team of Benin was greatly empowered by an early training provided by the HSU; Djibouti was on the same track but changes in the report team spoiled this advantage, while Uruguay missed the opportunity. Such training sessions are an ideal opportunity to describe the full set of options in human security reporting and the different alternatives of application.
- Nurture the technical support network: As experience accumulates, it is important to keep a database of experts that can offer advice on human security reporting. At least two teams, Djibouti and Uruguay, expressed difficulties finding experts who could help them in structuring the reports. Besides: invest in supporting maintenance of the networks created during report preparation, and in subsequent monitoring of the human security situation.
- ▶ Allow fuller use of international consultants for reports in small countries or that tackle more innovative themes: While the UNTFHS restriction on the hiring of international consultants for projects is well-grounded, the case of report grants may require flexibility. This was especially keenly felt for Djibouti, where the

- novelty of the concept and the limitations in human resources hindered the report process.
- ▶ Employ a long time-frame perspective on the processes of having impact: Because of their fundamental and exploratory nature, human security reports are in reality oriented to have an important part of their impact in the longer-term. The document itself is of course important, but how the actors internalize it and continue the discussion in other fora—e.g., universities, media, local governments, NGO advocacy—is equally important. See for instance the case of Latvia, included in the annex, where the process from publication to influencing national policy in a major way took nine years.

## The process behind the process

Finally, questions about the "external interfaces" of the project—i.e., interactions between the HDRO, the HSU and the COs—and the CO experiences provided multiple reflections on the project. They are mainly about two challenges the project encountered during its execution: first, to attract COs interested in preparing human security reports that fulfilled the selection criteria; second, contributing to national ownership and endorsement in the face of adverse reaction to the results of the report process. They cast light on ways in which human security can be inherently a sensitive issue.

## The selection criteria

As we already mentioned, the criteria for selection of the country teams to receive the Human Security Grants were the following:

Countries designated as One UN pilot countries, countries currently being considered by the Peacebuilding Commission, and LDCs that can demonstrate strong UN Country Team collaboration are eligible to participate in the call for HDR grant applications. Countries are not eligible if national teams have already produced an HDR on Human Security.

There are arguments and evidence questioning the relevance of the first criterion and the last. The logic behind giving priority to One UN countries is the promotion of inter-agency work, a continued effort that the Fund has undertaken through many of the projects it has supported. This has been emphasized in the UNTFHS guidelines and has also been reason for praise of the Fund's work. From the side of the HDRO, an evaluation of the NHDR System undertaken in 2006 had also included among its recommendations to "encourage greater involvement of United Nations country teams

(UNCTs) in the process of report preparation."<sup>21</sup> The Executive Board of the UNDP acknowledged the recommendations and proposed a plan of action in early 2007, before the present project was approved. <sup>22</sup> Thus, in principle, inter-agency cooperation promoted in the process of reporting serves the same purpose as selecting One UN country teams. Given that attracting COs was a problem, treating One UN status simply as grounds for preferential treatment, or directly asking for interagency report proposals—as is provided for in the UNTFHS Guidelines—could be a better practice for future initiatives.

The last criterion excluded countries that had already produced human security reports. While this criterion would certainly help spreading the use of the concept, other factors deserve consideration. The absence of local expertise in the relatively less understood concept of human security could have deterred countries, while those who applied had the great challenge of creating that capacity. At least in Uruguay and in Djibouti, this was a very time-consuming part of the process. As we try to show through the review of the contents of many reports in the second part of this study, there are several alternative ways to write human security NHDRs, so there is also the possibility of adopting a different approach in a country that already had the experience of preparing a human security oriented report. Besides, since the methodology for doing human security reports is far from consolidated, repetition could definitely help in refining the methodology to a point in which replicability is made easier. In fact, the evaluation of the NHDR system had also recommended revisiting themes through later reports.<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, there is an alternative for country office selection that could have been explored: inviting teams that had successfully implemented UNTFHS projects. This strategy would have benefited from existing capacity, while allowing teams to systematize their experiences by moving from the project level to the policy advocacy level. From

<sup>21</sup> Evaluation Office, Evaluation of the National Human Development Report System, UNDP, New York, 2006. The document is available at http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/NHDR-main-report.pdf (accessed October 27 2012)

the four COs selected by the project only in Pakistan had UN agencies participated in at least some UNTFHS projects in the past, but apparently there was no interaction between the practitioners involved in those initiatives and the NHDR team.

## Sensitivity

It has sometimes been argued that human security is a very sensitive issue, implying that special care is needed to deal with it through a NHDR. Indeed, the report that had the swiftest production time, Pakistan, got stranded precisely because of this sensitivity. The HDRO in its last progress report suggests including additional considerations for countries whose context can risk this sort of unfortunate situation and, thus, we advance a couple of observations.

First, it is important to note that conventional human development reports are sensitive to start with. Any report that in some respects criticizes a government is likely to generate resistance, more so if it is by an international organization and even more if official endorsement is expected. Among the interviewees, there was a tendency to acknowledge some special sensitivity of human security issues, but it was not very emphatic. All of them could recall examples of other reports that generated conflict with national governments without using human security ideas. The context and the way the theme was framed were key elements determining the reaction of local actors.

In this sense, the Pakistan report might have had a better passage if it had paid greater attention to the first basic principle of the NHDRs throughout the whole process: National Ownership. The HDRO presents this as a lesson learned in the third progress report on the project submitted to the HSU in March 2012, mainly in terms of the criteria of selection, examined above, but it deserves some additional elaboration.

In principle, the grant was open to any approach to human security reporting, stating in the guidelines that: "The application and implementation process for the grants will provide opportunities to clarify and discuss the Human Security approach." The guidelines also included an array of different views on human security, reflecting the diversity of approaches and flexibility to adapt to particular conditions of the country or region, as we highlight throughout the second part of our report. Nonetheless, in practice, teams initially only considered one kind of approach during the conception of the report, i.e., "comprehensive mapping," which is highly demanding in terms of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Executive Boards of the United Nations Development Programme and of the United Nations Population Fund, 'Management response to the evaluation of the national human development report system', (DP/2007/6), 9 January 2007. The full set of actions can be consulted here: http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/NHDR-mgt-responedp07-6.pdf (accessed October 27 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Evaluation Office, Evaluation of the National Human Development Report System.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Available at http://hdr.undp.org/en/nhdr/support/financing/humansecurity/ (accessed January 6, 2013).

expertise required, even though the Jolly-BasuRay review of 2006 had stressed the value of focusing flexibly according to country-specific conditions and concerns. The pre-set comprehensive mapping orientation arguably constrained the ability of COs to negotiate either with the national stakeholders or with the HDRO about how to tailor the proposal and methodology to the context of application<sup>25</sup>. The team of Uruguay lost more than a year trying to fit reality to the theory. The team of Djibouti applied for the grant before consulting with the government and thus it had later to convince them of the appropriateness of a human security report in the country. Benin's success was possible only through a confluence of multiple factors—i.e., government participation in a HSU workshop, multiple consultations with stakeholders, a report team with much long-standing experience, the crucial partnership with the National Department of Statistics and the availability of resources to carry out a large-scale survey—which are not necessarily common to all the COs.

The methodological rigidity could also affect other basic characteristics of the report, such as quality of analysis and its impact. The possibilities of a human security report being strategic are diminished if the methodology is not flexible. For example in the case of Latvia, they managed to generate impact thanks in part to selecting the right issues at the right time and progressively focusing their approach; <sup>26</sup> the human security framework came to help articulate needs felt in the context. Underlying this problem of rigidity is the lack of a systematic presentation of the diversity of options in human security reporting. The second section of this present study proposes a more inclusive typology of human security reports, which can contribute to the methodological elaboration of the NHDRs, and allow more COs to realize the possibilities of using the human security approach for their own needs

Lastly, it is worth considering the option of funding regional reports through this kind of grant. Human security challenges ignore national boundaries, and regional reports have been recognized as good opportunities to address touchy issues more

<sup>25</sup> HDRO is an advisor to NHDRs teams and does not exercise influence over report approaches. The focus on comprehensive mapping reports here was a grant-related condition. Please see the HDRO Guidance Note on NHDRs for reference on HDRO roles and responsibilities vis-a-vis NHDRs.

freely, and can become a step towards future NHDRs or other local reports. The series of Arab Human Development Reports is a great example of this.<sup>27</sup>

## An underlying challenge: understanding the security and development interrelationship

A corollary of the discussion so far is the need to keep advancing with the elaboration of human development and human security interconnections, both in practice and theory. The good practices and lessons pointed out in this section offer valuable insights in this direction. The difficulties in finalizing some of the NHDRs and in the overall design of the project also derived from the experimental nature of this first interaction between the HDRO and the HSU. Future efforts would benefit greatly from this experience and, arguably, a second version of this kind of partnership has much to offer to both offices.

The two concepts, as well as the two offices, share common grounds for analysis, similar challenges and a complementarity that makes further collaboration mutually beneficial. Human security analysis identifies and addresses what are priority areas in human rights and human development that are felt as under threat in a particular context; part of its character and importance comes from the fact that the threatened priority values and the threat factors always have context-specific forms. Further, both concepts are people-centered and are supposed to put a prime emphasis on ownership and participation. Both are flexible, and do not generate a complete and fixed list of issues to deal with but embark on new inquiries as the context makes it necessary.

The community around the NHDRs has been struggling to find how to frame the partnership between work on human development and on human security. One challenge is to consolidate the theoretical base that links these types of analysis. An aspect of this challenge is the difficulty so far in broadly applying the capabilities approach in the reports on human security.<sup>28</sup> The review in Part

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See on this Jolly and Basu-Ray, *The Human Security Framework and National Human Development Reports*; UNDP, *Ideas, Innovation, Impacts* also exalts the skillful approaches of the Latvia 2003 and Afghanistan 2004 reports.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> On this report and ways of having impact, see Paola Pagliani, "'Influence of regional, national and subnational HDRs', Human Development Research Paper 2010/19, 2010, available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2010/papers/HDRP\_2010\_19.pdf (accessed 29 October 2012)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> A component difficulty is unclarity or disagreement about what exactly the capabilities approach covers. See Des Gasper, 'What is the capability approach? Its core, rationale, partners and dangers', *Journal of Socio-Economics* 36 (3), 2007, 335–359, especially section 5;

Two of sixteen human security focused NHDRs (plus one sister report) reveals that only one report—i.e., regional Africa 2012—did this actively. A second challenge has been how to "rescue" the human development concept from being reduced to what is covered by the Human Development Index.<sup>29</sup> The evidence gathered through this review suggests that the human security concept and framework helps in including subjective dimensions to the measurement of economic performance and social progress—as has been done with wellbeing and happiness.

Another issue that the NHDRs team have been confronting is to move on from introducing the discourse of human development, to the next stage of generating deeper analyses of the challenges identified through the reports— as was pointed out also by the 2006 evaluation. 30 Those challenges are usually of a complex nature and, thus, it is not always possible to deal with them only through a generalized human development discourse, as is well recognised by human development theorists such as Sen. Our review of contents of sixteen HDRs on human security themes has shown how human security analysis can help in thinking about scenarios of priority threats; similarly, further inclusion of approaches from human rights and human needs analysis can offer valuable additional help and a better toolbox for analysis and advocacy. These partnerships can flourish because the concepts are not independent, but complementary. Increased understanding about how NHDRs can actively articulate all the human concepts has to be reached.31

Similarly, there is a high demand for the UNTFHS to enlarge the knowledge base of its actions after the support expressed by the General Assembly and the UN Secretary General in 2012.<sup>32</sup>

and Des Gasper, 'From "Hume's Law" to Problem- and Policy-Analysis for Human Development. Sen after Dewey, Myrdal, Streeten, Stretton and Haq', *Review of Political Economy* 20 (2), 2008, 233–256, especially sections 1 and 4.

Other projects with similar knowledge-creation goals funded by the UNTFHS have not been successful and since the HSU lacks the infrastructure, network and experience in writing NHDR-like reports, teaming with the HDRO for this knowledge creation is an obvious and promising partnership, learning from both the successes and the difficulties encountered in this first experience. It seems in the best interests of both organizations to build upon the lessons that can be drawn and to explore the possibilities for continued collaboration.

2012; see also Oscar A. Gomez, 'What is a human security project? The experience of the UN Trust Fund for Human Security', *Global Change, Peace & Security* 24 (3), 2012, 385-403.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, 'Rescuing the human development concept from the HDI: reflections on a new agenda', in Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and A.K. Shiva Kumar (eds.), *Handbook of Human Development*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009, 117-124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Evaluation Office, Evaluation of the National Human Development Report System.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> About the interrelations between the various "human" concepts see Des Gasper, 'Human Rights, Human Needs, Human Development, Human Security', *Forum for Development Studies*, 2007/1, 9-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> UN General Assembly, 66<sup>th</sup> Session, 'Follow-up to paragraph 143 on human security of the 2005 World Summit Outcome' (A/RES/66/290), 10 September

## Annex 1. List of interviews<sup>33</sup>

- Asia-Pacific Regional Centre, UNDP, September 6, 2012: Rohini Kohli, Bishwa Nath Tiwari
- Benin CO, November 19, 2012: M. Janvier P. Alofa
- ▶ Djibouti CO: Harbi Omar Chirdon, October 2, 2012; Silah-Eddine Abdoulsamad (consultant), November 7, 2012.
- Human Development Report Office: 1. José Pineda, September 6, 2012; 2. Paola Pagliani, former person in charge of the project, September 13, 2012; 3. Tim Scott, former person in charge of the project, Human Development Report Office, September 20, 2012; 4. Sarah Burd-Sharps, former Deputy Director of the Human Development Report Office, September 28, 2012.
- Human Security Unit, OCHA: Mehrnaz Mostafavi, October 10, 2012.
- ▶ Latvian report 2003: 1. Gabriele Koehler, Resident Representative during the report, August 8, 2012; 2. Mara Simane, Editor-in-chief of the Latvian report 2003, August 25, 2012.
- ▶ Pakistan CO, December 26, 2012: Aadil Mansoor
- Uruguay CO, November 2, 2012. 1. Virginia Varela; 2. Martina Querejeta; 3. Verónica Pérez

## <sup>33</sup> With many of the persons included in the list there was continuous exchange of emails during the stages of data gathering. Thanks to them it was possible to access relevant documents, clarify points that were not explained sufficiently during the interview, and even check some of the draft sections of the review.

## Annex 2. The example of the Latvian Report (2002/2003)

The human security report prepared in Latvia in 2002-2003<sup>34</sup> has been praised by scholars, politicians and practitioners for its innovative approach and the insights it contained. It won a 2004 UNDP Award for Human Development for excellence in human development innovations, concepts or measurement. It was selected by Jolly and Basu Ray as one of the best human security reports prepared so far, and it is also highlighted in the review "Ideas, Innovation, Impact" by the UNDP, which-highlighted its positive reception by the national government and research communities. <sup>35</sup> All these credentials warrant using the experience of this team as a referent for future human security reports.

The first factor influencing this positive result was that the report was the fourth in a series of NHDRs for Latvia, so the experience of writing reports was already present. The editor-in-chief of the previous two reports was a member of the steering committee for the 2002/2003 report. This helped not only in deciding how to frame the report but also with the network of consultations necessary to identify and involve national stakeholders in the process.

The report was not originally framed as about human security, but started by asking why, even when conditions in the country were not necessarily bad, the population expressed a feeling of insecurity and inability to effect change. There was then a convergence into human security ideas, which precisely fitted the needs identified through the consultations.

Another special ingredient for success was the identifying from early on of the elements of human security that the report was going to deal with, so that this could influence the selection of consultants. As explained in Part Two of this study, the Latvia report chose to focus more on levels of human security and securitability factors, an approach which links more to the question of who are the providers of security rather than the conventional question of what are the threats (see Figure 1 below). Two of the interviewees for this review—the UNDP Resident Representative and the editor-in-chief—highlight the relevance of including a psychologist in the team, which increased attention

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Available at: http://www.lu.lv/fileadmin/user\_upload/ lu\_portal/projekti/citi\_projekti/undp2003\_ful\_en.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Jolly and Basu-Ray, The Human Security Framework and National Human Development Reports; UNDP, Ideas, Innovation, Impacts.

Levels of human security

International
National
Community
Family
Individual

Figure 1. Levels of human security distinguished in the Latvia 2002/2003 report\*

\*Latvia 2002/2003, 18.

both to subjective perceptions of security and to the psychological factors relevant to ability or inability to respond effectively to insecurity.

UNDP Latvia, 2003

Since human security reporting was still new in those days, the team learnt by doing. Its report was well under way when the "Human Security Now" report was published during 2003, so that had only a tangential effect on the final result. This is reflected in the originality of the approach, which emerged through dissecting the concept of security and using the varied experience present in the team to tailor the methodologies necessary. The work benefitted also from the knowledge infrastructure left from the USSR times, especially for the statistical analysis. Also, one of the authors had completed his doctorate in Sweden and added to the team of USSR-trained experts a factor analysis that they had never used before.

Each chapter author was free to have additional consultations whenever necessary and it is not fully clear which further consultations with the stakeholders during the production of the report were undertaken. Most probably these were not formal, since each author worked independently on their chapter or chapters, and then the chief editor and the head of the UN office integrated the whole report to make it more coherent—not an easy task given such a multi-disciplinary team.

The team mentions that a decisive improvement in the quality of the report was possible thanks to *a mid-term peer review* that an expert from the UNDP in Bratislava (RBEC) provided. This helped the team to focus on the strong points of their methodology and put aside irrelevant questions. This deserves special stress, given that the present Peer Review System of the NHDRs does not sup-

port this kind of mid-term revisions. <sup>36</sup> Later the normal process of peer reviewing was undertaken and this also was of great importance for refining the results and getting support for the innovative ideas.

Another factor that changed the dynamic behind the production of the report was changing the working language from Latvian to English during the later stages. This allowed a more active participation of the head of the UN office, who joined the team in the middle of the process. This also influenced the office ownership of the report, in the sense that the head used her network, as well as her visits to the New York head office, to get extra inputs for the team. It has to be noted that the timing of the change of working language is also important. In the words of the editor-in-chief "Had it been earlier, the academicians would not have gotten to their results. It is important for people to work in their native languages, because thought patterns are culture specific and [the work will thus be] more relevant. If the change had come later, there would have been no general consensus on the appropriateness of the conclusions." The shift to English in later stages allowed testing and refinement, through exchange with peers in Bratislava, New York and elsewhere, of ideas which had first been robustly developed by Latvian researchers who were appropriately immersed in Latvian realities.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> A description of the system can be consulted here: http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/Peer\_Review\_System.pdf (accessed 27 October 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> The final report was of course published in both Latvian and English, and had good circulation in Latvia.

Finally, the successful impact of the report reflected also a complete strategy for its dissemination, sharing it with many levels of stakeholders, including politicians, unions and schools, as well as preparing videos and other means to ensure that people commented about the report.<sup>38</sup>

The short-run policy effect was still rather limited. In fact, because the country joined the European Union in 2004, the UNDP office was disbanded and the possibility of continued follow-up was curtailed. There was also "concept fatigue" in those days in Latvia, given that the country was busy introducing numerous new concepts such as democratic participation in the transition from a command economy and as part of the road to EU membership. Instead, a key to long-run impact was that the members of the team of consultants were happy with the results and, after going back to their posts, kept applying the concept of human security. Another important factor was that some local governments and universities independently tried to apply the concepts elaborated in the report to improve human security. The Ministry of Education, responsible for identifying topics for national level research, identified human security as a priority area. When Latvia began to contribute as a donor in international development cooperation, the ideas in the 2002/2003 report were also used by NGOs in order to guide their own approach to that

All these efforts were instrumental in leading up to the decision of the national government in 2012 to include securitability (an extended notion of resilience and human security developed through the report) as a priority in the upcoming national development plan (2014-2020). <sup>39</sup> The concepts of securitability allowed reconsidering the budget prioritization, moving the focus from sectoral (health, education, welfare, etc.) perspectives to a holistic, people centred viewpoint. Some

members of this team have also been working on the inclusion of human security ideas, specifically "securitability" or human resilience, in the discussions about the post-MDG agenda.

The interviewees stressed that it took a long time for the report to actually impact the policy level in the country—the concept was officially recognized nine years after publication of the Report. The interviewees questioned also whether any formal review, especially if done only a year or two later, would have captured the impact that the Report actually made. Would the independent activities of the local governments, universities or NGOs have been identified and acknowledged, especially given that these took place without direct contact with the Report authors? Articles in the press, numbers of reports printed, etc., did not reflect the true impact of the Report. A formal review that might not have identified the bases for the eventual deep impact might in fact have closed doors for change.

Asked about the key success factors, the interviewees highlighted that the use of a multi-sectoral approach that yet focuses on the (joint) impacts and outcomes in terms of individuals' lives was extremely important. The sophisticated data collection process, combining several quantitative and qualitative methodologies, was also essential. Even if a report does not result in immediate impact, high quality increases the chances of motivating independent work that brings social change some years later.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The dissemination strategy and sustained follow-up included: (1) a public dissemination event with three or four short speeches, attended by government, prominent representatives of the private sector, etc., held at the premises of the Latvian Shipping Company in the center of Riga; (2) a presentation at the Parliament Sub-Committee on the Future; (3) some media publicity, including a film; and (4) presentations about the Report at some universities across Latvia. Additional details are available in http://hdr.undp.org/en/nhdr/monitoring/reviews/technicalreviews/technicalreview,4230,en.html (see section 6; accessed January 14, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> 'Securitability' is 'the ability to avoid insecure situations and to retain a [psychological] sense of security when such situations do occur, as well as the ability to reestablish one's security and sense of security when these have been compromised' (Latvia HDR: 2003, p.15).

## **PART TWO:**

## Content Review of Regional and National Human Development Reports

## **Background**

This Part presents a systematic review of sixteen National and Regional Human Development Reports (HDRs) on human security, including the report of Benin funded by the UN Trust Fund for Human Security, plus one sister UNDP country report on human security. The review aims to derive lessons learned, via an in-depth description of the experience so far in crafting human security reports. In addition to use of some of the findings to inform the analysis of the process behind the Fund-backed NHDRs, this second Part is especially intended to serve the general objective of identifying good practices in human security reporting. The analysis results in what we believe is a more informed picture than previously available of the options for reporting on human security, the ways in which Country Offices (COs) have developed these options, and some of the factors that newcomers should bear in mind when conceiving such a NHDR.

Probably the only previous attempt at this sort of analysis is the study by Jolly and Basu Ray (henceforth JBR) prepared for the Human Development Report Office in 2006. 40 The work of JBR can be considered a watershed in the evolution of human security studies because it helped move forward discussions on human security from the hypothetical viability of the concept and approach to the actual experience of its praxis in one very important context: the preparation of national human development reports. Their review first dealt with the most common objections to the idea of human security and then examined thirteen NHDRs on human security.

Thanks partly to this evolution of the discussions around human security, the present work does not need to centre again on the generalized objections. The concept of human security has been gaining international recognition, epitomized by the agreement by the General Assembly of the UN in 2012 on a set of characteristics recognized

as the essence of the concept.<sup>41</sup> Instead we can go into the second task in greater depth, probing a large set of reports, their detailed approaches, and the sources of their strengths and weaknesses.

The recommendations resulting from the JBR work were methodological as well as policy/action oriented. We pick up the following recommendations as the most relevant ones for our analysis of NHDRs' contents:

- a) Adopt a pragmatic approach, less constrained by the 1994 HDR's security categories and more responsive to local conditions and priorities.
- b) Combine human security analysis and human development analysis.
- c) Be less reliant on secondary statistics.
- d) Include public opinion/perception measurements.
- e) Include also costs and benefits analysis across the threats considered in the reports and explore trade-offs involved in dealing with these threats.

All of these recommendations have been used in our analysis, either as part of the set of basic questions guiding the analysis, or (in the case of b) as a specific sub-section in the discussion of the reports.

## The approach of the present review

Given the complexity of both human security and reporting, we decided to undertake the task in an exploratory manner. In other words, the reports were initially reviewed using a set of basic questions on security, so that the differences between approaches are made clear. Then, we proposed a classification of reports in terms of some salient features, which allowed making a deeper analysis by comparing groups of reports that were similar. This exploratory approach is underpinned by at least three considerations.

First, the human security framework itself is still being refined, a reason why all the reports are indeed pioneering contributions showing different alternatives of how to deal with human security. Second, the multiplicity of threats to human security is great, and presents many choices in analysis and response, and permits many different answers to these choices. Third, the country context also plays an important role in shaping the contents of reports. In sum, while the concept of human secu-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Jolly and Basu Ray, *The Human Security Framework*. A summarized version appeared later as Richard Jolly and Deepayan Basu Ray, 'Human Security – national perspectives and global agendas', *Journal of International Development* 19 (4), 2007, 457-472.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> The shared understanding on human security, taken from the "Follow-up to General Assembly resolution 64/291 on human security," is included in full in Annex 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> These are the seven securities, namely: economic, food, health, environment, political, personal and community.

rity is now better established, it is complex and is still developing, and it is very important to recognize, clarify and review the diversity of approaches used in applying its themes in human security re-

The initial compass for this exploration is a selection of six basic security questions: Whose security? Security of what? Security from what threats? Who are the security providers? What are the means for security? How much security?<sup>43</sup> Examples of different versions of such a list of questions inside human security literature include those by Bajpai and Wibben, who make explicit that those questions are basic tasks when thinking about security. 44 Hence, the particular way in which researchers and practitioners deal with the basic questions determines what sort of alternative the human security concept offers to traditional security studies. The questions are:

Whose security? The human security approach intends to bring back the focus to the security of people. This leaves choices open about who exactly will be focused on. JBR, for example, include a list of standard vulnerable groups. It is important to identify the choices, and the criteria used (if any), to select the populations covered in NHDRs on human security. 'Citizen security' approaches risk giving less or sometimes even no attention to noncitizens.

Security of what? Security is usually presented in relation to one or several values that must be protected. The main value behind much traditional security thinking is state sovereignty, while in contrast UN documents on human security usually refer to the "survival, livelihoods and dignity" of individual human persons. Also, the list of "securities" advanced by the UNDP in the 1994 HDR on human security can be understood as a list of values and thus as one possible answer to this question. Considerations about values are also a part of human development thinking and, therefore, this

Security from what threats? Threats are a basic element in the study of security, since without threats we do not need security. Which types of threats are to be considered through human security analysis has in the past been (and for some people still is) a major source of disagreement. Still, as the JBR review made explicit, there is no need for a single standardized list of threats; on the contrary, the threats to be considered should be those that are most relevant in the particular time and place. Key questions related to threats, that are pertinent when preparing NHDRs, include: how many issues should be included at the same time in a single study and how those issues are interrelated. A further interesting question is whether a threatcentred representation of a priority value—e.g., seeing health as (the absence of) disease—gives an adequate picture of the value.

Who are the providers? While recognizing a primary role of the state, the human security approach emphasizes the possibility of various other actors playing prominent roles in human security provision: not least persons and communities themselves, if sufficiently empowered. This question implies that we should look at reports to see which providers were considered, which were selected, and which not.

What are the means for human security? Means are the actual tools or strategies proposed or chosen for response to human security threats, such as laws, investments, campaigns, advocacy, new technologies. The literature so far has emphasized some characteristics required of or in the set of means that are chosen: comprehensive, contextual and coordinated; participatory and preventive, including: use of both top-down and bottom-up means—as the Human Security Unit emphasises in the Human Security Handbook. 45 These are tentative criteria by which to assess the means considered by the reports. Nonetheless, reports can be rather divergent in this respect because solutions are very specific to each context.

How much security? This question leads us into the ways quantifications and calculations take place during the analysis and planning of human security. It overlaps the previous questions but deserves specific mention. The human security literature notes that deciding on the right polices and responses involves prioritizing, uncovering root causes, identifying tipping points, establishing thresholds, etc., all of which depend on estimates and calculations. JBR recommended including in human security reports tasks such as making anal-

<sup>45</sup> HSU, Human Security Handbook..

question helps to illuminate its connection with human security.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> This formulation is from Oscar Gomez (2011), and was also presented by Des Gasper and Oscar Gomez (2011); and adopted by Richard Jolly (2012).

<sup>44</sup> Kanti Bajpai. 'The Idea of Human Security', International Studies 40 (3), 2003, 195-228; Annick T.R. Wibben, Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach, Routledge, Oxon, 2010. Bajpai and Wibben's syntheses have been matched and complemented by the work of Jolly and Basu Ray presented above, and the observations of other scholars working on human security and researchers from criminology and cyber security; see e.g., Lucia Zedner, 'Too much security?', International Journal of the Sociology of Law 31, 2003, 151-184; Bruce Schneier, Beyond Fear, Copernicus Books, New York, 2003.

yses of cost-effectiveness and cost-benefit and exploring trade-offs. Very relevant here also is the distinction between objective and subjective approaches to security, as JBR also noted.

These six basic security questions are not necessarily addressed explicitly by all the reports. But there are implicit answers and clarifying these helps in pinpointing the similarities and differences between the reports, and in arriving at a classification. The questions also are useful in structuring the discussion of good practices and lessons learnt, which we will include in the conclusion of this review.

Once the classification of reports was established, each group of reports was reviewed in terms of: (1) Conceptual framework, (2) Approaches to measurement, (3) Policy relevance and (4) Integration with human development analysis 46

## Report selection and grouping

The initial plan for the analysis included nineteen reports, of which some were not yet accessible. The final sample now includes sixteen Regional and National Human Development Reports, plus comments on one additional report, as follows (in reverse chronological order within each category):

- One report funded by the UN Trust Fund for Human Security: Benin (2010/2011).
- Eight recent national reports: Senegal (2011), Mali (2010), Occupied Palestinian Territories (2009/2010), Thailand (2009), Democratic Republic of Congo (2008), Kenya (2006), Philippines (2005) and Costa Rica (2005).
- ▶ Three regional reports: Africa (2012), Caribbean (2012) and Arab Countries (2009).
- ▶ Three national reports recommended by JBR: Afghanistan (2004), Latvia (2003) and Macedonia (2001).
- ▶ A relatively forgotten early attempt, also of high quality: Chile (1998).
- ▶ Plus comments on a non-NHDR UNDP report on human security that was also praised by JBR: Bangladesh (2002).

While some overlap with JBR's sample does exist in our review, excluding the best reports on human security would have been detrimental to the goal of identifying good practices. Besides, as this section has explained, the approach is in important

<sup>46</sup> These categories come from the Terms of Reference (ToR) for the present work. Note that the first and the fourth were originally presented as one, but the analysis made evident that integration with human development can happen at different levels, not only at the conceptual level, so we decided to consider it separately.

part different from JBR's and thus provides a complementary perspective.

Our comparisons between reports and groups of reports are systematized through reference to some common dimensions. We classified the reports in four groups using criteria drawn from the basic human security questions and the characteristics of the NHDRs.

The first major differentiating factor among reports is whether they address multiple issues or a single central issue. By referring to issues, we include both threats and values. Both the theory and the practice of security are sometimes ambiguous about which is the focus. Sometimes reports are clearly about a value, such as food security, or citizens' physical safety, in relation to which multiple threats require attention. Other reports focus on threats, such as crime, 'natural' disasters or conflict, underlying which many factors interact. Multiple-issue reports address both values and threats, mainly guided by the menaces identified by experts from the report team or the concerns expressed by the populations. This choice between concentrating attention on a single issue (or pair of issues) or pursuing a broad, multiple-issue research agenda is very important at the practical level of crafting reports.

Within multiple threat/value reports an important subset is in some important ways similar in character to the single threat/value reports, because these studies focus on a single central security provider (or family of security providers): the state. These studies perceive a central threat of a particular sort that must be addressed: the danger of state failure and state collapse; and conversely they see a particular sort of value to be defended, the value of having a robust, strong, well-functioning state. State collapse is perhaps not itself a direct threat to other values but it allows direct threats to then cause harm; it is an indirect threat to all other priority values.

We thus identified four main types of report:

- 1. Comprehensive mapping reports. These reports try to cover all major threats to all priority values, with reference to all relevant means.
- 2. State-building reports. These reports see state collapse/failure as the greatest threat, indirectly, to human security, and so focus on this centrally important means, building a state.
- 3. 'Citizen security' reports. These reports focus on a subset of values which are civil rights concerning the daily lives of citizens, notably the values of physical safety and freedom from unlawful dispossession.

Table 2. Categorization of reports analyzed

COMPREHENSIVE FOCUS	NARROWER FOCUS				
Investigation of the context- specific range of primary threats to primary values, and without restriction in terms of how to organize security provision	Focus on a priority threatened means: the State	Focus on a priority set of threatened values: citizen safety (/personal security), often with main attention to use of conventional security instruments	Focus on a selected, context-specific primary threatened value or primary threat, without restriction in terms of how to organize security provision		
Comprehensive mapping reports	State-building reports	'Citizen security' reports	Lead-challenge driven reports		
<ul> <li>◆ Arab Countries (2009)</li> <li>◆ Benin (2011)</li> <li>◆ Kenya (2006)</li> <li>◆ Latvia (2003)</li> <li>◆ Thailand (2009)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>◆ Afghanistan (2004)</li> <li>◆ Democratic Republic of Congo (2008)</li> <li>◆ Occupied Palestinian Territories (2009/10)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>◆ Caribbean (2012)</li> <li>◆ Costa Rica (2005)</li> <li>◆ Philippines (2005)</li> <li>◆ (+ Bangladesh 2002)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>◆ Africa (2012)</li> <li>◆ Chile (1998)</li> <li>◆ Macedonia (2001)</li> <li>◆ Mali (2009)</li> <li>◆ Senegal (2010)</li> </ul>		

4. Other special-focus reports, centred on an identified lead challenge. These reports focus on some other single threatened value, or type of threat: e.g. food insecurity. For simplicity we call them 'Challenge-driven', though the other types of report also respond to challenges.

The results of the classification are presented in Table 2. The typology is not perfect: some reports show features of more than one type; e.g., some may look at two or three key issues, not one, but without aiming to be comprehensive. In the background are other dimensions, which will be sometimes referred to when discussing the reports. One concerns the ways that institutions behind selected issues are treated in the reports. Some of the NHDRs put special emphasis on consolidating or improving the performance of institutions associated with the issues selected; this is noticeable in citizen security reports, which usually center on crime, violence and the traditional security apparatus in charge of dealing with them. Similarly, reports on State building are basically about finding ways to consolidate the fragile institutions that are supposed to cater to the population's needs.

However, some of the issues investigated through human security reports tend to become urgent mainly because the *existing* institutions have trouble dealing with them. Hence, some reports approach the selected threats and values without conflating them to the traditional institutions that are supposedly in charge, so their analy-

sis can come with innovative perspectives about security providers; we might call this *institutional* openness.

The Philippines report could also be placed among the Challenge-driven, while Macedonia's is close to the Comprehensive Mapping ones. But, while the classification is an *ex post* artefact, it is still helpful in clarifying some of the possibilities when reporting on human security.

## Four types of human security R/NHDRs

## 1 Comprehensive mapping reports

Reports classified as 'comprehensive mapping' consider multiple issues and without any particular limitation of focus with respect to the means and institutions for dealing with these issues. The label makes explicit their common characteristic of mapping the general situation in the corresponding region or country. The reports included in this category are the regional report for the Arab Countries (2009) as well as Latvia (2003), Kenya (2006), Thailand (2009) and Benin (2010/2011).

## 1a Conceptual framework

The first issue that multi-threat reports have to deal with is describing the goal of their endeavor, an issue usually reflected in the sub-title of the report. Since the underlying result of this exercise is a long list of problems, the way such a presentation is framed becomes crucial to maintain the support of the local actors. The Benin report presents itself

as "cartography," an appealing metaphor for the work of compiling and arranging data in a way that helps report readers to orient themselves in relation to multiple issues coexisting in their societies. The team of the Arab Countries Report opted for the more traditional title of "challenges to human security," though at the outset they present the report also as a "mapping". This team recognizes in its theoretical framework the need to go beyond just a list of issues, and they frame the objective as "to examine the roots of these threats and to suggest strategies for coping with them."

The cases of Thailand and Latvia are a little bit different because the structure of the reports makes it clear that the mapping part is only one part of the report. The Thailand report proposes to explore situations that may *become* threats in the close future and for which preparation for prevention is still possible. This innovative strategy results after the following observation:

Almost all of the forty-two National Human Development Reports on the theme of human security deal with countries that are either currently embroiled in war or severe internal conflict, have just emerged from war, or have recently undergone a major political transition (for instance, several post- Soviet states). In general, the framework has been applied to situations where people are suffering from extreme forms of dislocation.<sup>48</sup>

The Thailand report points out that these are not the only cases where human security analysis is required. Its first main part presents an "audit" of threats, which makes clear how a good share of the population in Thailand has overcome basic threats. The second part points out forthcoming challenges and some alternatives to address them before they hurt the population and the country.

In contrast, the Latvian team changed the main emphasis away from threats and instead placed it on the providers of security and the different roles they play in achieving security. The team starts by defining some levels of human security, for which factors affecting securitability <sup>49</sup>—the concept they introduce, including but broader than resilience—are to be assessed. (See Figure 1, in annex 2 above.) The multi-issue review is confined to one chapter and serves to identify the role of net-

The contents of all the reports in this group are based in large part on the typology of seven securities proposed in the first UNDP human security report. 50 Some of them follow the list literally, while others introduce some changes to adapt it to the context. Kenya and the Arab Countries are more flexible in use of the typology. In particular the latter introduces three changes that greatly enrich the result of the research. The first is replacing 'political security' by an analysis of the situations in which the State becomes a threat to its citizens. This is a stimulating suggestion, given the basic tenet of human security analysis to go beyond state-centric security. It is worth highlighting that the contents of this chapter deal almost exclusively with what are known as first generation human rights.

The Arab Countries report also included a chapter dedicated specifically to describe the situation of vulnerable groups, which replaced the "personal security" category. This change was made necessary by the fact that the Arab region has a remarkably good performance in relation to crime, which is the usual concern under this label. The vulnerable population that is mainly addressed through the report are women and, to some extent, children. The situations of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) are also commented on but in less detail.

The last change to the seven securities typology is to forego the community security category. In its place the Arab Countries report includes a chapter on foreign occupation of countries in the region. The authors acknowledge that this threat has not been presented as a human security one before, but argue that it is specific to and necessary for the assessment of their region.

## 1b Approaches to measurement

As JBR pointed out, there is a subjective dimension to threats and insecurity. Insecurity needs to be understood as a feeling, in addition to as a vulnerability to threats. The examination of subjective and not only objective components of threats has different degrees of importance across the reports in this group: little in the Kenya report, more for the Arab Countries, much more for Thailand and Latvia, and central for the Benin team. In all the cases it offers additional insights to the discussion and down-to-earth examples.

Notwithstanding the seven securities typology from 1994, the crux of a comprehensive mapping report is still in *selecting the threats* that are going

works—or "constellations"—of providers, which becomes a key theme of the report.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Arab Countries 2009, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Thailand 2009, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> "Securitability—the ability to avoid insecure situations and to retain a sense of security when such situations do occur, as well as the ability reestablish one's security and sense of security when these have been compromised." Latvia 2003, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> UNDP 1994.

 Table 3. Objective versions of threats assessed by Comprehensive Mapping reports

	Arab Countries	Thailand	Latvia	Benin
Environment	<ul> <li>Population pressure</li> <li>Water Scarcity</li> <li>Desertification</li> <li>Pollution</li> <li>Climate Change</li> </ul>	Earthquake & Tsunami     Climatic disasters     Drought & flood     Forest & Seas     Pollution     Conflict over natural resources	Waste	Sanitation     Pollution     Urbanization     Natural disasters
Political	Identity     Compliance with international conventions     Coercion     Institutional checks against abuses of power	<ul> <li>Political &amp; Civic rights</li> <li>Political access</li> <li>Policy access &amp; Decentralization</li> <li>Corruption</li> <li>Judiciary and Politics</li> <li>Political violence</li> </ul>	Participation     Corruption	Corruption     Prison overpopulation     Political tensions
Personal	Women     Human trafficking     Children     IDPs and Refugees	Crime     Landmines     Violence	Street crime     Organized crime     Abuse	Violent crimes     Social tensions     Human trafficking     Political persecution     Traffic accidents
Economic	<ul><li>Oil and volatility</li><li>Structural fragility</li><li>Unemployment</li><li>Poverty</li><li>Inequality</li></ul>	<ul><li>Informality</li><li>Unemployment</li><li>Poverty</li><li>Health</li><li>Education</li></ul>	Income sufficiency     Employment stability	Fragility of employment     Financial access     Economic shocks
Food	Hunger     Undernourishment     Obesity	<ul><li>Availability</li><li>Volatility</li><li>Access</li><li>Safety</li></ul>	Malnutrition	Environmental risks     Diseases of crops and livestock     Food price hikes     Population growth     Rural exodus
Health	HIV/AIDS     Access	Malaria & HIV/AIDS     Non-communicable diseases     Motor accidents     Access	Tuberculosis HIV/AIDS Alcoholism Access	Problems of infrastructure  Low rates of public health protection  Access  Low access to clean water  Hygiene
Community	Life Liberties Livelihoods Access to food, health & education Environment	•	•	Loss of traditional values
Others	Climate change	<ul><li>Water</li><li>Smallholder farming</li><li>"Non-citizens"</li><li>Inequality</li><li>Ageing society</li><li>Climate change</li></ul>	•	•

Table 4. Subjective versions of threats included in selected reports, as presented in their surveys

Arab Countries	Tha	iland	Latvia		
Arab Countries	Personal concerns	Social concerns	Personal	General	
Environmental pollutants	Being involved in a traffic accident. Becoming sick from bad food. Becoming sick from pesticide. Becoming seriously ill	Corruption among politicians	Inability to pay for medical care in the case of illness	The spread of narcotics	
Water shortages	Suffering from drought	Human trafficking	Not receiving an adequate standard of medical care in the case of illness	Organized crime in Latvia	
Deterioration of agricultural land	Not having enough money in old age	Decline of environment	Becoming seriously ill	The spread of HIV/AIDS in Latvia	
Occupation and foreign influence	Not being able to get good quality health care Children or friends becoming addicted to drugs	More immigrants coming to Thailand	Not receiving a large enough retirement pension to live on	Rapid price increases	
Governmental failure to protect citizens	Being robbed	Loss of forest	Being unable to support oneself	Hazardous waste dumps in Latvia	
Arbitrariness of government	Being victim of an insurgency attack	Corruption among officials	Being involved in an accident	Clear-cutting of forests in Latvia	
Lack of social protection	Not having people to help in old age	Political disorder	Inability to pay one's rent or other household bills	Environmental pollutior in Latvia	
Poor health services	Suffering loss of income	Poor quality of education	Becoming the victim of aggressive and unsafe driving practices	The spread of HIV/AIDS worldwide	
Poor educational services	Suffering from floods	High cost of fuel	Being attacked on the street	High amount of preservatives in food	
The spread of corruption	Not being able to afford high cost of health care Being asked for a bribe by police	Foreigners buying land	Being subject to theft	Food poisoning	
Slow legal procedures and difficulty in obtaining rights	Being subject to vio- lence at home Becoming unemployed	Contaminated food	Contracting deer tick encephalitis	Environmental pollution worldwide	
Weak solidarity among members of society	Being asked for a bribe by officials	Growing indebtedness	Losing one's job / being unable to find work	The abandonment of farmland in Latvia	
Tense relations among different groups	Losing savings in bank collapse	Conflicts over the environment	Inability to pay for one's children's or one's own education	An environmental disaster in Latvia	
Religious extremism	Have to move house for economic reasons	Air pollution	Falling victim to organized crime	Foreign producers forcing local producers out of the Latvian market	
Disintegration of the family		Government not responsive to people	Being sexually assaulted	Foreigners buying up land in Latvia	
Lack of access to basic services		Contaminated water	Not having a place to live	The devaluation of the lat	
Epidemics and communicable diseases		Thailand not competitive in the world	Contracting HIV/AIDS	Exodus from rural areas	
Unemployment		Wide gap between rich and poor	Not having enough to eat / starving	Global warming	

Arab Countries	Tha	ailand	Latvia		
Arab Countries	Personal concerns	Social concerns	Personal	General	
Poverty		Ageing society	Becoming a victim of a terrorist attack	Latvian producers losing their market share in other countries	
Hunger		Hazardous wastes	Being left on one's own	Nuclear threats	
Assaults on persons and private property		Wide gap between city and village	Inability to compete in the job market	Threats to the survival of one's own language and culture	
		High cost of rice	Being emotionally abused by civil servants	Population decline	
		Contracting bird flu	Needing to bribe someone in order to obtain a service	Influx of refugees in Latvia	
		Noise pollution	Losing the understanding and support of one's family and friends	Terrorism in Latvia	
		Victimization by the police	Being left on one's own with dependent children	Limitations on democracy and freedom of speech in Latvia	
			Being emotionally abused by police officers	Manifestations of international terrorism in Latvia	
			Losing the understanding and support of one's colleagues	Partial loss of Latvia's sovereignty	
			Being emotionally abused at work	Internal unrest	
			Being in conflict with relatives or others over property issues	Armed conflict in Latvia	
			Losing one's savings in the bank	Ethnic conflict in Latvia	
			Being emotionally abused in the family	The occupation of Latvia	
			Being physically abused at home		

to be listed. Even when teams concretize a list of values, those values could be menaced by many threats. Thus, the compilation of the threats becomes a central task in order to define the actual contents of the report. Most of the report teams put on themselves the responsibility of selecting the items on the list, so for instance the Arab Countries team argues that most of the threats were selected according to the capability of the region since the "primary focus is on those proximate areas of threat where the Arab countries can largely take the initiative themselves", 51 with the exception of the foreign occupation issue. Nonetheless, the approach of Thailand for envisioning what the threats of the future could be shows that allowing at least part of the list to be produced bottom-upi.e., making the conception of the list a part of the research—is an interesting alternative in a mapping report.

In Tables 3 and 4 we compile the objective threats and subjective cues used to inquire about threats as presented in the reports. The objective versions come from the contents of each of the reports while the subjective ones are the phrasings used in the perception surveys. In Table 4, the Benin report is omitted because the list of threats included in their perception survey is too extensive (around 90 items). The full text is available as an appendix in their report. <sup>52</sup>

Most of the data presented regarding the objective list is compiled from existing sources. Since this is a conventional, straightforward practice that all the NHDR teams undertake, we will concentrate more on the insights drawn from the new information gathered through the perception surveys, after a few comments on the objective measurements. From the information presented, it is evident that the "Community security" category is the most difficult to represent. This seems to be connected to its relation to the value of dignity.<sup>5</sup> The Thailand and Arab Countries teams prefer to go without it, while the team from Benin admits there are no statistics to show. If the 1994 typology of securities is going to be used, future report teams should be made aware of the problem in fleshing out this category so that they can take timely measures.

Table 3 also shows the commonalities entailed by the seven securities framework for some categories, especially economic issues that appear similar for all the reports.<sup>54</sup> Some other issues, such as environmental risks, can appear in different categories, depending on if they are approached in themselves (environmental) or for their effects (food and economics). The lists contain some recurrent elements which were not precisely predictable and thus justify use of the approach: a) Pollution (including waste), b) Corruption, c) Crime (including trafficking), d) Food security, e) Access to health care.

The items contained in Table 4 are the threats reported in the surveys carried out for each of the COs. In these cases the reports did not use the seven securities classification for their questionnaire but mentioned them as a single list. Instead, as shown in Table 4. Latvian and Thai teams used the headings of personal and social/societal threats. The exception is the Benin team, which did structure the questionnaire around the seven categories. There is no one right way: short questionnaires may sacrifice detail but are more cost-effective and can potentially offer better pictures of the reported hierarchy of threats—i.e., a picture not biased by the time the whole questionnaire takes, so that later questions are not rushed. Still, very detailed surveys offer additional insights and open the door to more robust analysis, as we will see below.

In all the cases, the subjective data in these reports, the *citizen perceptions*, provides a great complement to the other data. Even where some issues lack reliable statistics, asking the population about them becomes an entry point to (1) evaluate whether the issue deserves more attention, (2) add insights about the challenges of collecting objective data, (3) locate actors or strategies that could facilitate doing so. The design and use of the survey tools needs to be sensitive; for example, the Latvian team included personal questions that were only asked when the conditions of the interview were adequate to get the information—e.g., questions on domestic violence.

There are two kinds of perception data gathered in these multi-threat reports: group discussions and individual surveys. They complement each other, presenting different perspectives on the overall issue of insecurity. Discussions in focus groups are used mainly to offer additional insights on special populations that could otherwise be underrepresented in the report—e.g., youth in the Arab Countries case. The cost factor is of course critical for embarking on more ambitious surveys, and is not something that report teams usually have control over. The team of Benin reported that their decision to survey 18,000 households doubled the ini-

PART TWO: Content Review of Regional and National Human Development Reports

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Arab Countries 2009, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> It is available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/africa/benin/name,18986,en.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> See Peter Burgess and Taylor Owen, 'Special Section: What is "Human Security"?', *Security Dialogue* 35 (3), 2004, 345–371.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> The Kenya report did not contain a general list of issues so it is not included.

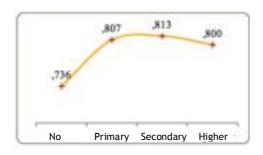
tial budget. In their case, partnering with the National Office of Statistics was a key strategy for a successful completion. In any case, the teams show ways to adapt the methodologies to their needs, and have fulfilled the JBR recommendation of not over-relying on secondary data.

The following is a summary of highlights from the *results concerning perceived insecurity* presented in the comprehensive mapping reports:

- The Latvia team concluded that to put direct questions, such as "How secure do you feel?", would not be effective for research purposes, a recommendation that the Arab and Benin surveys followed. The Thailand report aim of making a prospective analysis required such a question though; they used "what worries Thailand?".
- The percentage of threat perception—i.e., the feeling of insecurity—is usually large in the Arab Countries and Benin reports, above 70%, while in Latvia the feeling of insecurity varies much more across the selected set of threats—i.e., those in Table 4. While there could be issues about the framing of the question, cultural differences and so forth, it is possible too that using either a four- or a five-point rating scale, or lowering the bar of "insecurity" to the neutral point in the latter, can make a difference. In other words, when using a five-point rating scale, is the neutral a sign of insecurity? Steps toward standardization are needed.
- The reports of Latvia and Benin stress how perception surveys offer precious insights about the population's state of mind, perhaps more than about the actual situation of threat or the possible means to resolve it. The Latvian report shows how women tend to feel more threatened than men, how citizens and non-citizens tend to share the same fears, and the variations in the sources of insecurity between the age groups. The team of Benin found in general more sense of insecurity among the non-poor, a bell-shaped curve depending on the schooling level, and disparities between ages, sexes and urban/rural households—see an example in Figure 2. These observations offer further elaboration to the panoramic view that mapping reports intend.
- Including questions in the perception survey that treat the respondent as a security provider are of great value to better understand the meaning of empowerment and resilience. Some viable examples for action could come out of these questions. Similarly, the population's views on other possible security providers different from the state further enriches the results of a report. The reports of Kenya and Benin do include sections covering a wider range of pro-

viders, which is a positive advance. The Latvia team included questions about how much respondents thought they could do something by themselves to keep threats at bay, which providers the respondents would turn to in the case of insecurity, and how providers contribute to their sense of security or insecurity (see Figure 3). Such questions address *both* protection and empowerment, which is a basic principle of a human security approach, and we recommend their inclusion in future reports.

**Figure 2.** Variations of Benin's Human Security Index according to the education level of the household <sup>55</sup>



**Figure 3.** Example of human security providers exploration in Latvia<sup>56</sup>

A	verage valu	ie .	Average valu
Family	3.24	Social welfare system	2.39
Friends	3.04	Faith in destiny	2.38
Own actions	3,02	Municipality	2.37
Faith in God	2.70	Newspapers, radio, television	2.30
Commercial security services	2.61	Social organizations (NGOs etc.)	2.29
Ethnic identity and belonging	2.60	State (government) employment support system	2.28
Informal networks (classmates, colleagues, etc.)	2.58	Justice system	2.26
Church	2.53	UN	2.23
Police and law-enforcement system	2.53	NATO	2.17
Scientific discoveries / new technologies	2.50	Latvian government	2.14
Neighbours	2.50	EU	2.12
Latvian armed forces	2.47	USA	1.90
Health care institutions	2.46	Russia	1.83
decreases my sense of security 2 – increases my sense of security 4 –			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Benin 2011, 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Latvia 2003, 24.

- In addition to the previous point, dividing issues into those in the personal sphere and those beyond it helps to identify the different levels on which insecurity is felt—see Table 4. This is a strategy followed by both the Latvian and Thai teams.
- Questions moving the emphasis from security to development were all but absent from the reports. Only in a section of the Latvian report, the team asked about both the dangers of joining the European Union and the opportunities, a question that explores the relation between threats and values. This may not be possible for all the threats but it is desirable in complex situations in need of reframing, such as migration issues.
- The team of Benin goes a step further by advancing aggregate indexes and comparing regions according to their performance in the HDI and the proposed HSI. The HSI is the result of combining perceptions of in/security for each of the seven securities from UNDP 1994 report. Each of them were evaluated through a set of proxy threats included in the household survey. The resulting percentage of insecurity was equal to the share of respondents who considered the issues inside each security category as a menace for them. The final HSI was calculated from the combination of the seven securities. Recurrent questions regarding any index, such as the validity of aggregation and of the weighting of components, the need of controlling for other variables, etc., need to be addressed, but still the overall result that showed differences with the HDI is a good starting point for investigating the relation of the two concepts, human development and human security.
- ▶ Only the Latvian report includes a frank reflection on important problems of the perception survey approach. For instance, the survey was carried out less than a month before parliamentary elections, which could have conditioned responses. The specific framing of the questions is included in the report, which is of great help for the improvement of future tools.

The relationship between objective and subjective components of threats is a fertile ground for the more insightful reports. For instance, authors of the Arab Countries report note that respondents do not identify the very real nutritional problems among perceived threats. The possibility that some threats could be well understood by experts but still go unperceived by the general population was

otherwise not contemplated, <sup>57</sup> a gap that leaves a major area to explore in a more complex picture of the human insecurity situation of the populations surveyed.

# 1c Policy relevance

It is not realistic to expect one report to advance solutions for all the issues that a human security multi-threat report tries to cover. The Arab Countries report does get close to offering contextualized recommendations in each section, but probably because of the inherent characteristics of regional reports still some generality/vagueness could not be avoided. Nonetheless, multi-threat human security reports show valuable policy potential at various levels of policy making:

- ▶ The team of Benin extended their 'cartographic' effort into a critical assessment of the statistics and indicators available on the situation of the country. They propose a series of indicators that could better reflect the human security situation, and match the proposed indicators with the local organizations that would be in a good position to collect the data. This exercise could generate long term benefits, as the newly collected information can become a recurrent input or regular policy-making, and could also guarantee the sustainability of NHDR work.
- ▶ The team of Thailand takes a step forward by trying to foresee future challenges for which action now can prevent serious social harm. This step offers great opportunities for both improving system performance and catalyzing changes in the conception of security nation-wide.
- Moving the focus from threats to a broader consideration of providers offers the opportunity to go beyond the blame game against the government into which discussions of insecurity tend to fall, showing how the many actors that compose society each play a role in the perceived and actual security of society. Moreover, identifying networks that could play decisive roles during emergency, such as neighbors or civil society organizations, can also be conducive to policy recommendations.

PART TWO: Content Review of Regional and National Human Development Reports

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> The issue is recurrent in this report. It is also raised in Gomez, 'What is a human security project?', and recently commented on in The Economist, 'Poverty and food: The nutrition puzzle', 18 February 2012, available at: http://www.economist.com/node/21547771 (accessed December 22, 2012).

Two policy relevant issues linked to the human security approach<sup>58</sup> require a more nuanced discussion, at least for comprehensive-mapping reports. The first concerns better understanding of the root causes of threats. While the report teams, especially the Arab Countries team, made a significant effort to show causes and consequences of the issues included, the very 'cartographic'/overview nature of the study hinders deep explorations. In other words, the identification and description of large sets of values and threats is only a preliminary step to the causal analysis and model building needed in the study of root causes. The classification exercise itself, as we showed in the tables of threats, leads authors to consider complex phenomena inside one single category out of many, whereas attention is needed to the structuration across "securities"; thus the Thailand team was led to look for emerging threats *outside* the typology. The conclusion is not that this is a failure, but that comprehensive-mapping reports offer different kinds of inputs to the study of human security, as described in the bullets above. They do, for instance, help in identifying the relevant future research agenda. Not only financial constraints, but also the demands on research, hinder the study of root causes through mapping reports, which is often easier to undertake through other categories of human security reports. A mapping report should thus be followed up by subsequent narrower-focus, in-depth reports.

The second issue concerns the determination of *priorities* between threats. Report teams do include lists of issues and areas of concern, for instance five by the Latvian team and twenty-one by the Benin team. The disparities between the countries it investigated made it more difficult for the Arab Countries report to fix a set of overall priorities. A valid question arises as to how far discerning final priorities is a realistic expectation; since there are no reasons to believe that, by itself, the human security approach can accomplish the crucial task of defining priorities. <sup>59</sup> Priority choice depends on

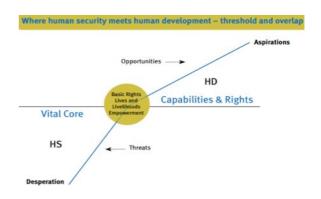
From the 'Follow-up to General Assembly resolution 64/291 on human security', (A/66/763), 5 April 2012, paragraph 29: "the advancement of human security gives rise to more immediate and tangible results that comprehensively address the root causes behind the threats; identifies priorities based on the actual needs, vulnerabilities and capacities of Governments and people; and reveals possible mismatches between domestic, regional and international policies and responses."

<sup>59</sup> Allow us to add, for future consideration, that Amartya Sen's capability approach that underlies much human development thinking puts a prime value on people's agency over experts' fixed lists of issues. It is not that experts have no say on the matter, as their experience and knowledge is supposed to help in presenting a nonmany things, not only felt severity of a problem but also the possibility and acceptability of doing anything about it. The reports we reviewed present several ways to support this process. The Latvia, Thailand and the Arab Countries reports showed that priorities can be reconsidered, documented successful stories of protection-empowerment, and cast light on future threats. Furthermore, the Benin report proposed modifying the pool of information used to establish priorities—i.e., national statistics—so that all the actors involved in priority setting are better informed.

#### 1d Integration with human development

Lack of integration of human security and human development ideas at the conceptual level could undermine the work of a report. There can be two extremes: first, trying hard to show the articulation of the two concepts through all the report, or, second, just ignoring the issue and moving on with the analysis of threats. A mid-point is represented by the Arab Countries report, which includes a detailed conceptual discussion that introduces both Arab and other views about the human security concept before reaching their own position on the relation between concepts. Presenting this through a graphic explanation (see Figure 4) facilitates understanding and allows the team to move forward. The Benin team reproduced this figure in their

**Figure 4.** Presenting security and development integration graphically, Arab Countries report\*



\* Arab Countries 2009, 20.

exclusive list for people/decision-makers to prioritize amongst. The point is not to unilaterally set the priorities. At the same time, it is salutary to keep in mind the volatility of popularly perceived threats: the Latvian team acknowledges that soon after the survey was carried out the outbreak of SARS was high in the news and, thus, applying the questionnaire at that moment would probably have resulted in a different order of expressed priorities.

introductory discussion and dedicated a section in the annex to compile established views about the concepts.

**Figure 5.** Integration of concepts through a cartoon, an example from Benin\*



\*Benin 2011, 131.

Proposing an index allows the Benin report to offer integration at the level of metrics. The negative correlation between riches and security is an outstanding finding that deserves more exploration in the near future. As we saw in the first part, areas of the country with better HDI results were the ones that reported more perceived insecurity, while those with lower HDI felt less insecure. The result is marvellously presented in the form of a cartoon (see Figure 5). In fact, there is one region in which both HDI and felt security were low, which the authors consider could suggest the need of special attention as it might signal instability. 60 This exercise of producing a human security index and matching it against the HDI or other related indexes is a promising area for further exploration.

Finally, when it comes to policies, the widespread lack of elaboration on the relationship between human security and human development becomes more evident in comprehensive mapping reports. Through the already long-standing efforts to flesh out human development oriented policies there are many tools available for the report teams, but less is available so far for applying human security ideas. But, for instance, analysis of measures for emergencies and how they connect to development policies is one area ready for exploration. <sup>61</sup> JBR also recommended more trade-off analyses and comparisons between allocation of resources to different threats, sectors or development projects. Some examples are available: in the next group of reports, the regional team of Africa presents an example in the case of micronutrients, and in the state building group the Afghanistan report includes analysis of how the more evident threats are not always the ones that affect greater sectors of the population. Those are good practices that should be considered for inclusion in future mapping reports.

The comprehensive mapping reports also touch upon safety nets and welfare systems. This theme provides a space to explore the linkages between human security, human development and human needs analyses. For example, both the reports on Latvia 2003 and Macedonia 2001 (lead challengedriven reports) deal with the issue of societies in transition where the change of institutions is a source of insecurity. COs may use the interface of different human concepts to assess how much of those fears could be transformed into development opportunities, and whether the rhetoric of security and emergency measures can be turned towards social security and the inclusive transformation of welfare systems. Such interaction between human concepts can advance the understanding of the concepts as well as enrich the reports.

#### 2 State-building reports

Reports in this category concentrate on the problem of strengthening and consolidating the institutions across the whole spectrum of State action. They address different situations of fragility related to conflict, post-conflict and occupation. The reports included here are Afghanistan (2004), Democratic Republic of Congo (2008) and the occupied Palestinian territories (2009/2010).

# 2a Conceptual framework

This group of human security reports has an apparently paradoxical nature: notwithstanding the original emphasis on human security being not about the state but about people, they do concentrate on the state. Still, there is no paradox in as much as the focus is on how to orient the state to promote human security. The state is the key provider of security, as recognized in all the basic documents on human security. The multi-issue version of human security, with the broad vision it suggests of areas for government action, offers teams argu-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> But it is premature to draw policy conclusions; many methodological, political and ethical issues need to be sorted out first.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> The work led by Amartya Sen through the 1980s on food security and health has much relevance for human security oriented policies more generally, as synthesized in Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, *Hunger and Public Action*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989.

**Table 5.** Comparison of the structures of the three state-building reports

Afghanistan	DRC	oPt
Concepts and implications	Situation of human development in the DRC: the alarming figures	Introduction and context
The status of human underdevelopment and people's insecurities in Afghanistan	The conditions of restoration of peace and security in the DRC	The current status and trends of human development
A threat-based analysis of wants and fears	Justice and reconciliation : true basis of peace	Territorial fragmentation and political polarization
Causes and consequences of insecurities	Good governance and citizens' participation	Freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to live in dignity: human security in the oPt
Evaluation of Afghanistan's state-building process from a human security perspective	The rebuilding of the national economy: a fundamental requirement	Towards cohesion: investing in human security in the oPt
What kind of development vision is needed for the new sovereign state?	Ethics and sustainable human development	
The role of the international community: aid and peace-building		
Recommendations: laying the foundations for democracy, development and human security in Afghanistan		

ments to enlarge the agenda to other harms that affect the population besides violence and crime. The main idea is that such an approach, much more sensitive to bottom-up claims, would positively affect the legitimacy of state-building, its sustainability and the prospects of turning the process into a fully developmental one.

The cases of Afghanistan, the occupied Palestine territories and Democratic Republic of Congo certainly have commonalities, but the reports reflect very different approaches and requirements that, to certain extent, the flexibility of a human security framework manages to cater to. Hence, the following identification of good practices requires extra context-sensitivity, since some of the observations cannot be generalized.

Reports on state-building are supported by *multiple concepts* besides human security and human development. State-building and peace-building are in themselves ideas that have been explored in the literature, out of which principles of action have been defined. Among these, transitional justice and reconciliation are usually included. Security Sector Reform too appears as a guiding approach for superseding conflict frames. For understanding conflict, the team of the Afghanistan report uses a greed and grievances model in order to identify causes and consequences; the indicators for state

fragility developed by the World Bank are also introduced in the last part of the report. Finally, good governance is advanced as a shared goal towards which state-building aims. This multiplicity of concepts could affect state-building reports because not all of them are previously harmonized. If the concepts are dealt with separately then repetition of topics is common, as seen across some of the chapters in the Afghanistan and oPt reports; and if topics are given priority then concepts pile up rhetorically in the discussions of each of them. which is to a certain extent true of the DRC report. But from Table 5 we can suggest that, in principle, the strategy followed by the DRC CO gives the better balance, by defining from the outset six pillars of reconstruction, around which the whole report is structured. Nonetheless, the final result will depend very much on how the structure is filled in.

In any case, there is no single formula for the articulation of multiple concepts through NHDRs. What is an effective structure greatly depends on the inputs available in the context and the experience of the members of the team. Teams can consider doing the articulation and integration of concepts at various different stages of the report: in the conceptual framework; at the level of measurements, whenever the availability of data makes this appropriate; <sup>63</sup> and in proposing policy tools.

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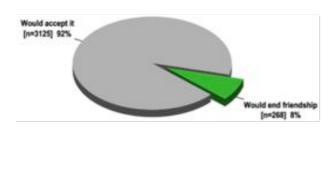
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Observe that the report on DRC is not in principle directly about human security, although the concept is mentioned and the HDRO has asked us to analyse it. For preparing a list of priorities, the DRC team used human rights as the main guide.

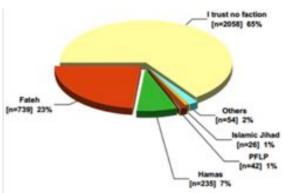
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> As the Afghanistan report does with the governance data from the World Bank for instance.

**Figure 6.** Perception survey application for a state building report, the  $\operatorname{oPt}^*$ 

Support for friend's political beliefs

Factional trust





\*oPt 2009/2010, 79-80

Choice of any or all of these options has to be sorted out by each particular team.

These reports put a lot of emphasis on human security providers and the challenges for the consolidation of institutions. Two principles of human security are of special help in addressing this: the dual strategy of protection and empowerment, and the freedom to live in dignity. First, the dual strategy helps for considering multiple different possible providers of security, and links to concerns about ownership and participation. Other human security providers include international agencies, the private sector, teachers and other civil society sectors.

Second, dignity is used mainly in the oPt report as a strong motive for the consolidation of the Palestinian state. Most of the report points out the ways in which a proper provision of security is hindered by the occupation, which becomes a source of humiliation. Dignity is thus a leitmotif that helps to articulate threats and other claims. The strategy results in an alteration of the usual way in which multi-issues are framed in terms of the three freedoms: while fear maintains its traditional conception, want is limited to economic issues, and dignity is comprised of health and environmental issues. The logic behind this reclassification is that it is actually the occupation, not health or environmental threats, that prevents the Palestine authority from protecting the population.

Also related to dignity, the team of Afghanistan was keen to identify vulnerable populations requiring special attention given the instability of the country. This includes not only basic groups such as women and children, but also ethnic minorities that could play a role both in prolonging or solving instability. The team covers in some detail ethnic differences, as well as the urban/rural divide,

which have to be integrated for a sustainable statebuilding process.

#### 2b Approaches to measurement

The DRC report is predominantly a qualitative report, which presents very few figures besides the HDI—thus it is mainly absent from this subsection. The problem of data is so crucial to state building that the Afghanistan report devotes the first section in its annex to explain how to build statistical capacity and infrastructure in the country. In fact, one of the most important achievements of Afghanistan team is to calculate for the first time the country HDI. This happens to illustrate one facet of the relation between human security and state security: it is the latter which mainly permits the knowledge necessary to assess the former. The case of oPt is very different as we explain below.

The multi-issue approach serves to envision the necessary branches of the government. Therefore, even when data is not reliable, existing concerns coming from INGOs surveys or anecdotal experience are presented as situations warranting the consolidation of institutions in charge of them. That is mainly the case in the Afghanistan report, throughout which the authors repeatedly identify the problems with the data. Still, for state building, the fully human security approach of the Afghanistan and oPt reports has an advantage over the DRC study's approach, which puts less emphasis on the broader picture of reconstruction and peace.

On the other hand, there are also other kinds of metrics that are more readily available when state building is the nub of the report. Budget allocations and the flows of resources are part of the analysis, including data on the way that the international community actualizes their pledges of support to the process. The report on Afghanistan

60 55 50 40 % 10 **Epidemics** Food Drought Farming Natural Farmgate Violenc price increase decrease returnees

Figure 7. Poverty shocks in Afghanistan\*

Source: NRVA 2003 (from Poverty, Vulnerability and Social Protection in Afghanistan, 2004).

provides a very comprehensive collection of figures in this respect.

The case of the oPt is different: they have what they call a "state in waiting", so data is available and they are even capable of carrying out an opinion poll gathering 4,100 responses, which adds substance to the report. The survey in this case is useful not only to elaborate the effects of the occupation on the population, but also to document general attitudes about the internal strife that also affects the long process of consolidating a state. Thus, the oPt report manages to shed light on pressing questions such as whether the political polarization that took the opposition party into government was also a social polarization—e.g., compare the two graphs on Figure 6.

There are two findings from the statistics that are not reflected in policy measures but that deserve mention. One is that perception assessment allows identifying possibly ungrounded perceptions about the priority of threats. For example, in rural Afghanistan violence is in reality not an important poverty shock, as seen in Figure 7. This finding is a strong argument for the adoption in the country of the human security approach that compares different threats' actual impacts.

Second, the team of the oPt presents in objective terms a very dire picture about water access, namely:

Those not served by networks have to pay a higher price for water despite the fact that they live in some of the poorest regions in the oPt: water from non-network sources costs up to four times more than network water. A study conducted by USAID revealed that in the Nablus and Hebron governorates, the contamination level for tanked water was 38% zero-level faecal coli forms and 80% zero level faecal coli forms for piped water. Ostensibly, water supply coverage is better in the Gaza Strip than in the West Bank, with all communities and 98% of the population served in 2005. However, water quality and reliability are extremely poor, the latter a result of power cuts and lack of spare parts related to the blockade and destruction of infrastructure after Operation Cast Lead.64

Yet, in the perception survey this threat does not appear as important (Figure 8). This asymmetry could have many explanations—e.g., conflict might be felt as so harmful that other needs are less felt, or the perception survey which was made by telephone might have been biased—but certainly demands further analysis.

#### **2c Policy relevance**

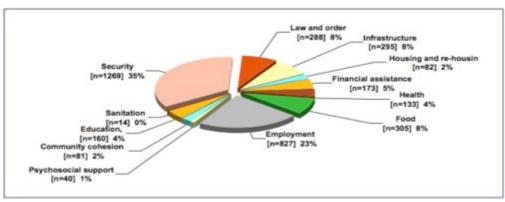
The particular context of each report affects its possibility of having policy relevance. The DRC team undertook its research following the end of

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<sup>\*</sup>Afghanistan 2004, 37.

<sup>64</sup> oPt 2009/2010, 49-50.

Figure 8. Perceived priority of needs in the oPt



\*oPt 2009/2010, 115.

the transition government after turbulent elections, so spirits were high about the upcoming process of the country's reconstruction. The structure of their report, shown in our Table 5, is intended mainly to help setting the agenda of tasks around which the government should focus, introducing useful international initiatives such as the security sector reform, and discussing some of the challenges ahead. The report concentrates on the political institutions while, as already mentioned, available data did not allow recommendations based on the general situation of the population.

The team of the DRC report makes a case for having a "state portfolio", that is to support a sort of developmental state, as a necessary part of refounding the country's institutions. By so doing, the report connects peace issues with development issues, adopting a more optimistic view of the work ahead. Given the importance that the management of resources has in the stability of the country, as well as the ongoing debate about how to better deal with resource traps, it would be of great interest for future reports in similar contexts to see how this alternative affects human security. All in all, additional research is needed to check if a NHDR like this is actually conducive to generate the discussions suggested and to help set the agenda. In other words, many factors besides the contents of the report condition whether its strategy can be seen as a good practice.

JBR made a similar comment about the report of Afghanistan, produced in 2003:

As a document, it is by far the best we have analyzed—though its relevance for and impact on current policy in the difficult situation of Afghanistan today is a separate matter with which we will deal later. <sup>65</sup>

In the case of Afghanistan, some of the difficulties in taking a new approach to human security seriously are shown by expenditures: The coalition

The report of Afghanistan presents an additional tool that could be of great help in the short and medium-term of state-building processes supported by multiple donors: namely, catalyzing coordination of the international community. The team makes a complete picture of the history and the challenges, for these additional providers to have an accountable and sustainable role in the process. While information needs are a limiting factor, the broader framework provided by human security analysis will appeal to thoughtful actors. Evidently, the range of issues raised by a human security analysis, including about plurality and interconnection of threats, means that more than the resources budgeted for a normal NHDR may be required in order to follow through the analysis in order to propose a grounded overall strategy. Worth mentioning, the oPt report also places some emphasis on the importance of the international community doing no harm to the local process, but it does not devote as much space to the issue as did the Afghanistan team.

The Afghanistan team also goes into great detail describing the structure of the state, in order to better understand the design of institutions. This could be especially useful for the preparation of newcomers looking to support the process. The team is also sensitive to the multiple informal ways in which the actors deal with problems in the field,

66 Ibid., 27.

forces and NATO are spending some US \$13 billion a year on the war on terror and military actions in Afghanistan—on what these parties see as their priorities for achieving security in Afghanistan (and worldwide). Related to this are the still large but much lower expenditures on reconstruction and development in Afghanistan, at present some US \$4 to 5 billion per year, a large part of which goes to expenditures on expatriates and contracts for international companies, presumably largely American. 66

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Jolly and Basu Ray, 14.

which also adds to its informative character. Finally, its attention to budget allocation and the national debt is also an asset for discussions among donors regarding future involvement.

As we reported in the case of comprehensive-mapping reports, the Afghan team offers a reflection on the meaning of *prioritization* in human security reporting. The finding of the team is that it is not constructive to try to find priorities among the multiple threats in the human security approach to state building. The argument is that freedom from fear and freedom from want have to be achieved at the same time in order to gain stability and move away from fragility. The team makes clear that the added value of the human security approach is by enlarging the set of issues used to define priorities for action, while emphasizing the ownership required in the actual conception and execution of plans.

Finally, observe that the oPt team had an extremely difficult task at hand applying human security ideas in their context. The report was produced after Hamas won the majority in the Palestinian Legislative Council and the subsequent escalation of Israel military actions. The team was able to survey the Gaza strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Focusing on the security of the population of course highlighted the deleterious effects of the occupation as well as the internal conflicts; but improvement of human security also required solutions that could deal with basic harms to the population under the present circumstances, something that could be interpreted by critics as accepting the occupation as a sort of normality—or instead, in the words of the report, as adopting a 'long transition' perspective. The report constantly presents macro and micro examples of ways forward; macro means the creation of the state while micro refers to ways of helping populations in the present situation to overcome adversities.

#### 2d Integration with human development

Given the large number of conceptual inputs to the reports in this group, their integration with human development ideas is brief. Both human development and human security are umbrella concepts under which other tools can be articulated and linked—especially evident in the case of DRC report. Moreover, the experience shows an important way in which human development complements and enhances a human security approach in a state building setting.

The human security concept is used to re-think the range of issues in need of urgent government action, including objectively assessed problems and perceived threats that could affect the legiti-

macy of the institutions. However, a security vision, based mainly on threats, is not necessarily an inspiring one. Reports on state-building must put forward an optimistic outlook that inspires the convergences necessary for institutional consolidation. State-building reports use visions of development to fulfill this requirement. While present to a certain extent in the other two reports also, the case is more straightforwardly presented in the report on Afghanistan. There a whole chapter is used to examine the development vision that the "new" sovereign state requires to achieve its responsibilities. This vision of the state is tested using basic principles of human development—i.e., efficiency, equity, sustainability and empowerment—while the Millennium Development Goals are used to exemplify concrete targets to strive for. Human security issues play a role in the critical assessment of this vision, but it is certainly the positive prospect of progress that inspires the difficult way ahead. This argument could be easily bastardized into the old view that essentially what is needed is economic growth and then effects will trickle down, but the inclusion of a human security approach in the NHDRs is needed to make sure that the state-building plan balances economic development and relevant types of security. Similarly, the DRC team's support for a developmental state is grounded on respect for human rights, and the idea that this is a viable way to attain inclusive development.

Regarding integration with human development analysis through metrics, the problem of obtaining reliable data in these cases has been already mentioned and, thus, the very calculation of the HDI could be difficult—it was the first time for Afghanistan. Plus we should not equate human development metrics with only the HDI. The teams included various other metrics from other sources and put them side by side with human development indicators, enriching the discussion. The oPt report was in the privileged position of being able to carry out extensive polling, so it could document in more detail the perception of threats as well as of the institutional changes taking place in the territories. The combination of these approaches to evaluation offers important additional inputs to the process of state-building.

# 3 'Citizen security' reports

This and the previous sets of reports are those that concentrate on a threat (/ set of threats or value[s]), and also on the institutions and organizations in charge of dealing with it. This is most sharply evidenced in what we here call citizen security reports. In that set we also include one report about conflict, because of its thematic closeness. In fact, this report, Philippines (2005), could also be classi-

fied as challenge-driven, but including it in this group helps for contrasting the ways in which institution consolidation versus openness to institutional innovation are considered.

One widespread interpretation of human security is as mainly about 'citizen security', meaning freedom from violence and unlawful dispossession; in other words about certain basic civil rights of individuals, and less about other sector-wide, species-wide and other hard to perceive concerns: such as nutritional quality, environmental quality, global peace, climate stability, or specific sector challenges such as overall food security. While other types of report that look to consolidate institutions are possible—e.g., consolidation of the health system to deal with pandemic reaction certainly citizen security reports are a very prominent example of this type. The reports of Costa Rica (2005) and the Caribbean Regional Report (2012) are the main focus of our attention, while we include comments on a full-length non-NHDR human security report done for UNDP which has a similar character: Bangladesh (2002).

#### 3a Conceptual framework

There is a common tendency to associate NHDRs on human security with reports on violence, given the conventional connection between the two ideas. This is perhaps the first challenge that teams dealing with reports in this group have to face: that the broadening principle that characterizes human security analysis appears constrained by focusing on the traditional threats of conflict and crime even when they explore wide-ranging causes and effects of the issue at hand. For instance, the team of the Philippines report acknowledges at the outset that many more people die in the country because of disasters than because of the two ongoing conflicts affecting the territory. Still, the team affirms that the fact that conflicts are more directly imposed by humans on themselves makes a big difference to how society perceives and reacts to this threat.

No other report on the list addresses this question so straightforwardly. Introduction of the concept of human security certainly does not presuppose that previous concerns have been solved or are non-existent. Rather the opposite, the goal of transforming the conceptualization of security requires that traditional threats be appropriately dealt with so that basic fears are overcome or at least transformed. Dealing exclusively with emerging or hidden threats to society without this previous step could sometimes be a recipe for failure. The claim of the Philippines team is that not addressing the conflict first would diminish the possibility of enlarging the idea of security later. Such

an evolution of concerns is possible: observe that the Arab Countries report does not address crime, because it (in many of the forms which trouble other regions) is not a major concern in their region.

In the latest reports in this group, as well as some not included in this sample such as the Central American HDR in 2009/2010 and the World Development Report 2011 on conflict, "human security" has not been used as the main concept to describe the research. Instead, the concept of "citizen security" has played a central role. That is the reason for the label we have given to this group and we have tried to clarify the relation of the two concepts. The label is close in reference to the 'personal security' component in the 1994 HDR's seven-fold list. Its use of 'citizen' rather than 'personal' may partly grow out of a tradition of thinking about security as meaning the stabilization of the operating environments required for smooth running of commercial society within a nationstate. 67 It carries a risk of giving low priority both to protecting some other spheres of human life and to the needs of non-citizens.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Simon Dalby, *Security and Environmental Change*, Polity, Cambridge, 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Alice Edwards and Carla Ferstman (eds.), *Human Security and Non-Citizens: Law, Policy and International Affairs*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010. For these reasons some other literatures prefer the terms 'public safety' or 'citizen safety' for this sort of concept, to reduce the chances of confusion with the broader notion of human security.

Figure 9. Structure of Citizen Security report, Costa Rica\*

Components of Citizen (In)security Perception Victimization with acts of violence and dispossession: acts of violence and Citizen (in)security tional and sexual) physical, econ otional, sexual) (configuration of threats, objective and subjective, of violence and dispossession for each person) Securitability (capacity to contend with threats of violence and dispossession)

\*Ibid., 48.

The Costa Rican report is the one that offers the most detailed argumentation about the principles behind its work. 69 There is a reason for that: the concept of citizen security originates mainly from literature in Spanish, a consequence of the importance ideas of security have played in Hispanic/Latin America. The wording can be traced back to the Spanish Constitution that was enacted after the fall of Franco regime, and it is later likened to counter-discourses to the National Security Doctrine that was an essential part of military governments on this continent. The concept has been gradually gaining academic robustness and generating policy tools, resulting in its relatively recent insertion into the international cooperation toolbox of ideas. The concept is close to other concepts such as Fear of Crime and Security Sector Reform. Although their report had the same set of concerns, the rather new appearance of the citizen security concept may explain why the Bangladesh team in 2002 adopted instead the name human security.

One key feature of a citizen security approach is to recognize the dual nature of crime and violence threats: they are objective in their occurrence but also have lasting and probably self-reproducing consequences on the general perception of the phenomenon. The Costa Rican team defines citizen security as "the personal, objective and subjective condition of being free from violence or from the threat of intentional violence or dispossession by others." The objective-subjective difference provides a key structuring theme in the reports—see Figure 9.

It is important to observe that focusing on citizen security offers only a partial solution to the problem of having to deal with (too) many threats. The report of Costa Rica presents a two-page list of crimes, not all of which are covered by the report-e.g., it does not deal with white-collar crimes—, while the team of the Caribbean report decided to exclude many issues of regional concern in order to not overlap with the work of other agencies and to articulate a coherent report exclusions include drug use and drug trafficking, transnational organized crime, white-collar crimes and deportees. The Costa Rican team admits domestic violence cases are difficult to document, while some issues included such as suicides and traffic accidents are on the periphery of the strictly criminal.

Using an approach that tries to go beyond repressive measures, reports on citizen security usually explore in great detail root causes of crime or violence. This is made possible by carefully deciding in the initial part of the studies on a theoretical model to structure the report, or some hypothesis regarding causes and consequences to test through

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Although this detail is extremely useful in providing inputs for our review, the size of the Costa Rica report (over 600 pages) probably affects the diffusion of its findings. The team of the Caribbean report also deserves recognition for its impressive literature review, which includes not only general research but also gray literature from each of the countries assessed. Yet, the decision of limiting the theoretical discussion to the Overview of the report and to the endnotes hinders the more fluid conceptualisation of security (given the dynamic ongoing change in priority threats) that the new approaches are supposed to generate.

 $<sup>^{70}</sup>$  Costa Rica 2005, 35 (pp. 14-15 on the English summary).

**Table 6.** Example of abstract versus concrete threats (percent)\*

# Crime and Violence Compared to Other Problems, Caribbean-7 and by Country

Problem	Caribbean-7	Antigua & Barbuda	Barbados	Guyana	Jamaica	Saint Lucia	Suriname	Trinidad & Tobago
Cost of living	75	74	86	73	86	75	40	87
Cost of food	70	67	82	64	77	75	39	86
Level of violent crime	64	52	44	54	78	87	43	84
Level of unemployment	60	54	58	59	77	70	39	56
Level of corruption	55	49	24	60	70	54	51	73
Level of poverty	49	38	33	60	68	49	34	59
Level of property crime	45	38	30	45	40	61	43	57
Level of insecurity	40	29	17	42	44	59	29	57
Inadequate voice in governmental affairs	39	32	21	45	48	46	28	50
Inadequate housing	36	24	32	36	35	30	43	48
Inadequate access to health care	34	28	18	36	28	48	28	56
Level of migration	30	35	22	46	28	33	20	25
Inadequate sanitation	27	21	13	45	24	31	19	35
Inadequate schooling for the children	21	20	10	24	21	24	27	23

Source: UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010.

Note: Base: Total survey sample (N = 11,155). Question: "From the list of problems mentioned above [listed hereafter], which three are the most serious in your country?" The chart shows the percentage of respondents who consider each of the problems to be "Serious" and "Very serious".

the evidence. An example could be the use of theories of conflict such as 'greed and grievance', which greatly helps subsequent observation and measurement, as for example in the attempt of the Philippine report to identify human security indicators.

Another key characteristic of the citizen security framework is that it deals with a well-defined set of institutions, mainly those also recently associated with the idea of rule of law. Institutions include mainly the judiciary, including courts and the penal system, and the police. The perception component of these reports also applies to the institutions. In sum, the reports usually move in two axes: one concerning the subjective/objective components of threats, and the other concerning the branches of the responsible institutions.

The Costa Rica team found it useful to include the concept of securitability developed by the Latvian report on human security, as a way to bridge the objective and subjective branches of the study. In practice, the team of Costa Rica mainly associated securitability with the analysis of security institutions, either formal or informal.

#### 3b Approaches to measurement

The study both of objective threats and subjective perceptions of threat helps to guide the task of supporting a report quantitatively. While the objective side usually relies on country statistics, reports on citizen security tend to include a very detailed, carefully crafted perception survey. The report on the Caribbean even presents a compilation of methodologies and findings as a separate document. The Costa Rica team includes a very detailed discussion on the problems of surveying perception and some of the methodological alternatives. Since this is of great interest for most types of human security reports, we focus on some of the relevant characteristics of these surveys.

As mentioned above, one of the main goals of these surveys is to find and understand the gap between perception and reality in crime. There are two common gaps: one concerning what proportion of the crimes is actually reported, and one concerning how many crimes people think take place in comparison to the actual statistics (including when adjusted to take into account under-reporting).

<sup>\*</sup>Included in the UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010: Summary of Findings, Caribbean Regional Report 2012, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Michael J. Trebilcock and Ronald J. Daniels, *Rule of Law and Development*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 2008.

Table 7. Proxy questions on community informal control (percent)\*

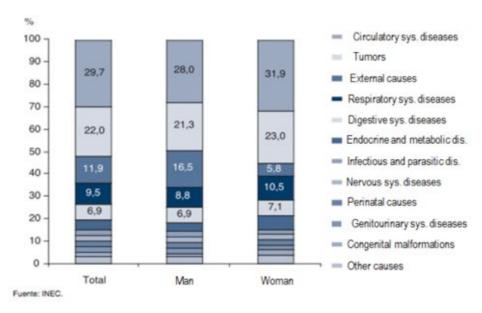
# Community Informal Control, Caribbean-7 and by Country

Likelihood of intervention for various criminal activities	Caribbean-7	Antigua	Barbados	Guyana	Jamaica	Saint Lucia	Suriname	Trinidad & Tobago
A stranger is suspected of stealing from someone	64.3	56.4	61.5	68.1	72.4	69.3	58.5	61.6
Fight breaking out in front of your house w/ someone being beaten	59.7	52.1	54.1	61.0	68.2	66.9	55.1	57.9
Suspected case of domestic violence	44.8	36.1	37.4	47.5	56.7	51.7	37.0	43.3

Source: UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010.

Note: Base: all respondents (N = 11,155). Question: "What is the likelihood that people from your community would intervene if the following situations or incidents occurred in your neighborhood?" The table shows the percentage of respondents who answered "Likely" or "Very likely".

Figure 10. Distribution of reported death causes, 2001-2004, Costa Rica\*



\*Costa Rica 2005, 370.

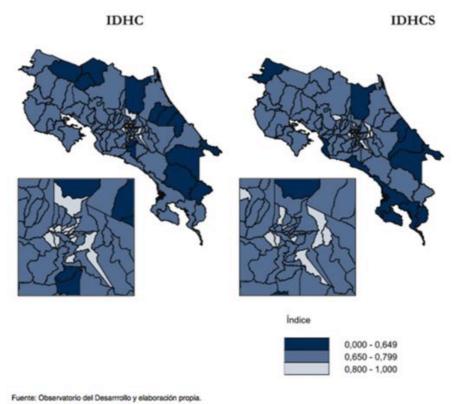
Fear is the main concept utilized to ask about insecurity. Yet, teams in this group of reports are well aware that overly abstract questions do not conduce to good results. Their questions usually address concrete situations; when abstract concepts need to be investigated, that is done through proxy questions. For example, one of the surveys in the Caribbean study asked the respondents to select the three most serious threats from a list that included particular types of crime—e.g., violent crime, property crime, corruption—as well as insecurity as a type of problem itself. As presented in Table 6,

all people showed more concern about concrete issues than about insecurity in general.

On the other hand, Table 7 shows an example of proxy questions to determine an index on community informal control. Similar examples can be found in the Costa Rica and Caribbean reports, to study, for instance, social cohesion or freedom of movement. Such perception surveys can even compare two abstract concepts, addressing issues such as the relations between: perceptions of insecurity and social cohesion, attitudes toward crime and freedom of movement. All the surveys offer

<sup>\*</sup>Included in the UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010: Summary of Findings, Caribbean Regional Report 2012, 32.

Figure 11. HDI by province (IDHC) compared with Citizen security modified HDI (IDHCS) 2003, Costa Rica\*



\*Costa Rica 2005, 436.

thought-provoking insights about the phenomena at hand and can inspire improved applications of perception surveys by others. The good practice to be pointed out from their experience is the importance of preparing at least a simple causal-web presentation of the elements behind the threat/value at hand, in order to help structuring the research for the report.

The comparison of the results of the perception survey and other statistics is more conventional, so it does not need detailed discussion here. Some innovations do deserve mention. For instance, the Costa Rican report presents the full range of causes of deaths in the country for a given year and tries to identify the share that can be attributed to violence. It was 13.7% of the 11.9% that were due to external causes (Figure 10), which means a mere 1.63% of all deaths—confirming the distortion in the pattern of attention, and justifying a move to broader conceptions of security.

Teams also attempt cost-benefit/cost-effectiveness analyses but usually stumble with problems on the data, and with some ethical conflicts to be discussed below. On the macro level, despite teams' efforts, getting accurate information about budget allocation between different sectors is not easy. Not all the money that goes to citizen security institutions is used on security measures neither is all the money that is used in security measures registered in the budgets. Trade-offs made at the national level are thus not easy to identify. Still, as described above, the perception survey includes a question about money spent on personal protection, or time lost by doing so, which is useful to calculate trade-offs at the personal level—something very important for human security analyses. In other words, the recommendation of JBR to calculate such trade-offs could also be tested at the household level through the surveys contemplated for each NHDR.

Another example of statistical elaboration is the generation of indexes. The Costa Rica report proposes a modification to the HDI, including a whole new component on objective security with equal weight to the three traditional components. The result, highlighted in a review of innovation in human development measurement, <sup>72</sup> redraws the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Amie Gaye and Shreyasi Jha, 'A Review of Conceptual and Measurement Innovations in National and Re-

**Table 8.** Human Security indicators for conflict in the Philippines\*

#### 10 most vulnerable provinces by indicator of "human insecurity"

Disparity in water (2000)*	*	Minoritization (2000)**	*	Percentage of adults w < 6 yrs educ (2000)	*	Percentage of households with no electricity (2000)	*	Median income (2003)	Pesos
Lanao del Sur	80.80	Nueva Ecija	0.6	Sarangani	42.0	Tawi-Tawi	82.8	Sulu	6,720
Capiz	77.31	Quirino	1.6	Western Samar	40.3	Salu	82.7	Tawi-Tawi	8,192
Tawi-Tawi	72.93	Bataon	3.9	Basilan	39.7	Masbate	77.6	Zamboanga del Norte	8,979
Aklan	72.42	Aurora	4.8	Maguindanas	39.7	Maguindanao	75.7	Masbate	10,222
Palawan	67.21	North Cotabato	7.1	Sulu	39.1	Apayao	66.6	Basilan	10,298
Bukidnon	6631	Sultan Kodarat	7.6	Negros Oriental	38.7	Northern Samar	66.5	Maguindanao	10,753
Masbate	66.16	South-Cotabato	11.8	Northern Samar	34.7	Zamboanga del Norte	65.6	Siquijor	11,428
Surigao del Sur	65.82	Surigao del Norte	15.2	Mugao	33.5	North Cotabato	63.8	Rombion	11,448
Maguindanao	65.75	Tawi-Tawi	26.0	Masbate	33.4	Sarangani	63.4	Marinduque	11,844
Apayao	64.33	Sarangani	28.6	Zamboanga del Norte	33.2	Negros Oriental	63.3	Western Samar	12,004

<sup>&</sup>quot;For minority provinces, disparity is defined as the difference in access to water source with respect to those residing in the nearby regional centers. While for mixed provinces, it is the difference in access to water source between municipalities with "high" versus "low" concentrations of marginalized groups within the same province.

map of Costa Rican regions, reducing the value of the index in large cities while improving the values for rural areas—see Figure 11.

Another experience can be found in an annex to the report of the Philippines. Instead of creating an index, the authors try to identify statistically the most important factors underlying the occurrence of conflict. They select variables for their regression, including from popular causes of frustration, costs related to the acquisition of unbiased information about the conflict, and cost-versus-benefit of taking part in the conflict. All the variables are introduced to a model, from which the five that "appeared to significantly affect the incidence of conflict were (i) Access to convenient water supply, (ii) Educational attainment of adults, (iii) Access to electricity, (iv) Level and growth of median income, and (v) Evidence of minoritization (of original settlers in the province.)" (p. 59). The summary of areas identified as vulnerable using the indicators is in our Table 8. The authors pointed out that other variables such as poverty incidence, income inequality, and demographics did not appear relevant. This model only captured 52% of the variability in conflict incidence between 1986-2004, but it nonetheless provides food for thought in human security reporting.

The Philippines report offers additional insights about the possibilities of perception surveys when tailored to specific needs of the context. In their

gional Human Development Reports, 1998-2009', Human Development Research Paper 21, UNDP, 2010.

case, a survey was prepared to find out if the non-Muslim population had a bias against Muslims. They commissioned a survey oriented to the general population with questions about how they got information about Muslims, their attitudes to the proximity of Muslims, the personal traits they associated with this group, and explored the possibly existing stereotypes. Since this was mainly intended to find out if discrimination was a reality or not, the initiative was not particularly resisted, although in some parts of the country the questionnaire was not used—details are not disclosed. The results were useful to understand the occurrence of bias against the Muslims in the country, and were deemed to motivate local efforts for change.

#### **3c Policy relevance**

Reports in this group have everything needed to result in rich policy proposals: a seemingly robust theoretical background, sophisticated methodology, a strong component of primary data collection and a thorough analysis. Teams do indeed come up with interesting sets of propositions and do inspire many debates in the country or region concerned. One relevant example is showing how the number of arms in citizens' hands is correlated to the number of homicides, and thus advocating for controlling the possession of weapons. Still, the findings of citizen security reports have a paradoxical nature that warrants much further discussion, which we will only sketch here.

One finding is that the individual perception of crime is much more striking than the actual occurrence of crime. In Costa Rica the perception of

<sup>\*\*</sup> Proportion of "original" settlers

<sup>\*</sup>Philippines 2005, 60.

crime was eight times larger than the actual victimization. A consequence of this imbalance is that it invites work on changing the perception by the population about the reality of crime, but this is easier said than done. The Costa Rican report does include an analysis of the media and the sources of information about crime in order to explore the origins of the perception and advances many proposals oriented towards perception, but exploring these is a pending task.

The perceived urgency of threats to citizen security triggers the support by the population for draconian measures such as the death penalty. The Caribbean report presents a compelling commentary on this situation:

The death penalty debate has resulted in a backlash against human rights in the region. The perceptions of citizens on human rights have consequences for their respect for the rule of law. Across the region, citizens are aware of their human rights and responsibilities. Nonetheless, there is a perception that human rights activists protect criminals by constraining governments in their ability to use the death penalty to address the high homicide rates. As a result, civil society and NGOs concerned with human rights are sometimes unfairly accused of supporting criminals and neglecting victims.<sup>73</sup>

The team moves the focus from human rights to show that the death penalty is not actually a deterrent of crime, which is a clear indication that security is not increased through the death penalty. This thorny issue exemplifies how relevant a broader view on security is.

Another difficulty is that action on some of the recommendations usually relies on institutions different from those assessed—in particular requiring budgetary re-allocations—and has middle or long-term effect, contrasting with the urgency of the fears associated with citizen security. Cultural changes and employment creation are some of the necessary measures against crime that are not easy to do in a sustainable way in the short term.

The theme of citizen security is in itself a sensible one. Reports on citizen security directly evaluate the performance of specific institutions that are not so accustomed to debate over their functions, such as the police. This situation is worsened by the fact that objective evaluations of their performance are rather difficult to capture, while a negative view of them is a common feature across the developing world. Being able to address citizen security requires thus the robust scaffolding that the Costa Rican and Caribbean reports show. In contrast, the 2002 Bangladesh report adopted an

Lastly, the local context does influence the chances of success of openly critical NHDRs. Regional reports, like the Caribbean report, seem to find it easier to include sensitive issues; Costa Rica is famous for not having an army; and the Philippines report was produced during the transition after the country's second pacific revolution in fifteen years.

# 3d Integration with human development (and human security)

As we saw in the conceptual framework, the notion of 'citizen security' has been recently used instead of human security when the focus is on a narrower and more conventional set of 'security' values or threats. The reports mention that human security is the all-encompassing framework from which 'citizen security' represents only one portion, and after that human security as a concept disappears from the scene. This is so even in the case of the Philippines report, in which human security is in principle the selected compass, but after the introduction it is conflict studies literature which plays the main organizing role.

On the relation with human development, the reports on citizen security seem to present a difficult trade-off: given the well-defined set of issues and institutions they deal with, either they leave to the background the exploration of human development connections (as in the case of the Caribbean report) or they become a voluminous work (as in the case of Costa Rica). The latter team devotes a whole chapter to explore effects of crime on different components of human development: freedoms, social capital, public health, democracy and economic cost. Another chapter does the opposite, exploring the causes of crime in a broader perspective. Each of those is around one hundred pages long. But if this issue is understood from the beginning, the design of the research could allow reports that are focused on citizen security issues to yet give a central role to the human development components within a manageable scope. The report on the Philippines, concentrated only on the armed conflict, did explore in depth the connection of conflict and human development.

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agenda similar to the others in this group, pointing out deficiencies in the institutions of security and justice provision; but it relied largely on secondary data and small N samples, thus reducing the study's leverage. In contrast the Costa Rica and Caribbean reports survey over 2,000 and 11,000 persons, respectively. The Bangladesh report in fact advanced an interesting proposal for dealing with the country's problem of judicial capacity shortage: to include traditional informal institutions to help deal with less serious offenses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Caribbean 2012, 155.

In the area of measurement a citizen security focus seems to bring something enriching to add to work in terms of the other human concepts. The variety of information and comparisons made possible by the perceptual component of citizen security offers a valuable complement to human development statistics. The Costa Rican adjusted-HDI has been praised by the professional community around human development reports; the changes in ranking raise new questions about the limits of economic development and the relation between poverty and insecurity—as too does the Benin report. Teams working on other types of human security reports can learn much from citizen security reports about the sophistication that perception surveys require.

Nonetheless, at the policy level the integration is less clear. The team of the Philippines report warns that the conventional connection drawn between insecurity and economic development risks leading into classical utilitarianism, where remedial action to help a suffering minority is only taken if it benefits the majority.

Much of this Report has argued that the state of peace and security is indivisible, that sooner or later insecurity in one part of the population spills over and affects the rest, and that therefore it is in the interest even of those who feel themselves secure at the moment to be concerned for the security of others. This externality argument must be used with caution, however, since it can be distorted into the purely utilitarian interpretation that the majority should concern itself with the security of the minority only as and to the extent to which their own security is at stake. This could also lead to the fallacious corollary that the insecurity of a minority should be alleviated only to the extent that is necessary to secure the security of the majority. For the same wrong reason, a government may choose to emphasize and address the problems of only those minorities that constitute an armed threat, ignoring the problems of others who may be more powerless and less aggressive. Left unqualified, this could lead simply to the "pacification" approach to armed conflict, an approach this Report rejects.7

Here the universalistic, broader perspective of human security is better. Similarly, the 'citizen security' concept is useful when all the populations affected can be considered citizens, but when this is not the case, the concept may bring a divide that undermines stability. In other words, while citizen security reports recognize that the feeling of insecurity results in stigmatization of the other, the divide between citizens and non-citizens is inher-

ent to the concept—and hence so may be stigmatization.

It is true that the adoption of one buzzword after another has detrimental effects on the credibility of the ensuing research. An interviewee commented that in the United States the use of the human security concept is restricted because still the idea of human development is not well understood. Local teams in Latin America also are just consolidating the concept of citizen security and thus have reasons to keep developing their paradigm. And, as mentioned above, the concept offers valuable inputs to the debate; but still the limitations cannot be overlooked, especially for trying to break the positive feedback loops between fear and repressive politics. Two other types of reports show options that allow crime threats to be viewed according to their actual relative importance—as done in comprehensive mapping reports—or explored in depth but within broader frameworks—as done in challenge-driven reports. The latter strategy can help to propose unorthodox solutions to the problem, while the former is an alternative to motivate change when the attention on issues of public interest is distorted. Teams considering these topics in the future must make a preliminary assessment during the starting phase of the NHDR in order to decide which direction to take. They must keep in mind the possibility that the situation and behaviour of the responsible institutions is an important part of the problem, so that working with a citizen security approach to improve those institutions is a very important task, as essayed by the Bangladesh report.

#### 4 (Lead) Challenge-driven reports

Reports classified as challenge-driven are those NHDRs that concentrate on a single challenge while exploring its multiple determinants, and consider multiple alternative solutions not constrained to using only conventional institutions. "Challenge" is used in recognition of the different kinds of issues that can be the centre piece: usually a priority value or major threat. The reports reviewed offer two possible ways to flesh out this approach: by adopting one item in the familiar list of securities--food security in the case of our sample--or examining a phenomenon that requires a more comprehensive approach in order to be better understood and responded to. In the first sub-group we have reviewed three recent reports from sub-Saharan Africa: a regional report (2012), Senegal (2010) and Mali (2010), whilst the second subgroup is composed of two of the first HDRs on

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Philippine 2005, 50-51.

NUTRITION OUTCOMES ARE AT THE INTERSECTION OF FOOD SECURITY AND **HUMAN DEVELOPMENT** HUMAN DEVELOPMENT FOOD SECURITY STABILITY PRODUCTIVITY AVAILABILITY **Nutrition outcomes EDUCATION** INCOME AND **ACCESS** HEALTH SOCIAL PARTICIPATION Opportunities USE for improvement **EMPOWERMENT** Source: Based on analysis described in the Report

Figure 12. Food security and human development, African regional report\*

\*Africa 2012, 11.

human security themes, Chile (1998) about modernization and Macedonia (2001) on social exclusion. Because of the multiplicity of topics/challenges that have been analyzed in depth, this category is perhaps the most difficult to synthesize. Attention is given to shared good practices in reporting.

#### 4a Conceptual framework

Challenge-driven reports combine the flexibility of institutional openness with the strength that concentrating on single issues allows in terms of research structure. The strength derives from a deeper conceptual elaboration. For example, the concept of food security has been around for almost forty years since its coinage after a series of famines in the seventies. Under the leadership of FAO the concept has been constantly reviewed, investigated and refined, so the components of what report teams study when they address food security are well established. This includes also causal webs and interactions between variables. that facilitate the exploration of root causes and their complexity. Particularly the reports on the African region and Mali benefit the most from this background work; a shared framework is shown in Figure 12.

Reports on other topics are not necessarily supported by such a degree of elaboration. The team of Macedonia's starting point was a lack of agreement on what social exclusion is, but the report became a golden opportunity to flesh out the concept giving due attention to all the peculiarities of the country. Similarly, the Chilean report deserves

special consideration for the meticulous argumentation the team put forward in their effort to flesh out the rather abstract concept of modernization. They review extensively some of the contemporary discussions in the international literature on sociology and use the topic of human insecurity to explore how far that discussion applies to the reality of Chile. The resulting conceptual framework not only includes the objective and subjective components of threat, but also brings to the fore questions on the multiplicity of sources of security and the problem of distinguishing threats and opportunities, as we will see below.

The solid conceptual framework also offers the opportunity to be more selective in the variables to be included in the analysis. The African countries team adds to the components in the definition of food security—i.e. availability, access, safety and stability-concerns on empowerment and gender that offer an appealing complement. The Chilean team undertook a series of discussion groups, secondary data revision and consultations with a panel of experts in order to define the issue areas to include in their list of threat areas related to modernization, namely: crime, employment, social security, 75 health, information and sociability. The inclusion in the report of information and sociability allowed the team to explore often neglected dimensions of insecurity, making the findings espe-

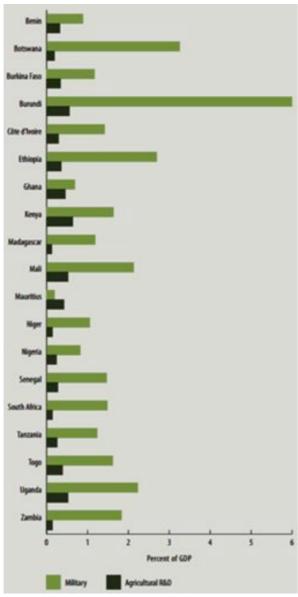
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> The literal translation from Spanish would be "precaution", which refers to the welfare system and the formal institutions for social security, as well as questions on possible informal mechanisms of protection.

cially insightful. For instance, there is a section dedicated to the family and its role in adapting to the new social dynamics produced by modernity; considerations on information also are useful to bridge the divide between what are seen as social threats and personal ones.

At the outset of the Africa region report, the team offers some valuable thoughts about the relation between *rights* and security approaches to the problem of food, which they found closely related

Figure 13. Spending on military and agriculture compared, African countries

Government spending priorities in some African countries need to shift from the military to agriculture (cumulative military spending and agricultural research and development spending, 2000–2008)



\*Africa 2012, 53.

but different:

The right to food offers a framework for holding governments and corporations accountable for a range of safeguards: affordable food prices, mechanisms for social protection, stabilizing measures that protect producer incomes against seasonal price volatility and during emergencies, and access to land and inputs. In practice, however, rights are seldom fully activated until they are claimed. In sub- Saharan Africa national legislation on food rights is in its infancy, and few courts are equipped for enforcement. Thus food security will need to be buttressed in the short term through policy measures rather than through litigation and legal remedies. Donors, civil society and local actors can join in lobbying governments to adopt enabling policies, while civic education can encourage people to participate in decisions about food production and distribution.<sup>76</sup>

This could serve as an example for other COs, of helpful clarification for their own context and purposes of the relationship of human security with other concepts.

# 4b Approaches to measurement

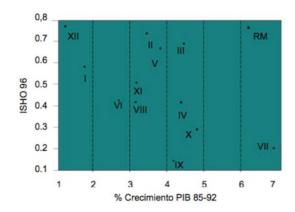
Reports in this group have a more concrete idea about the statistics necessary to support the reports. A number of standard types of data, such as inventories and trade trends, are commonly used to illustrate the components of food security. The Regional report makes cross-country comparisons while national reports compare regions inside the country. Interestingly, the African countries team manages to present comparisons between national budgets for the military and for agriculture, along the lines envisioned by JBR, adding compelling arguments for reallocation in order to better support human security—see Figure 13. In general, the regional team exploits its large compilation of data to produce interesting analyses.

The report of Chile proposes an objective index of human security using twelve variables from the Survey of National Socio-economic Profile (CASEN is the Spanish acronym). The composite human security index is used in comparisons with not only the HDI, but also with poverty, economic growth, gender and the urban/rural divide. Using the CASEN as the base for the measurement of human security allows time series that can be used in analysis. From this, perhaps the most interesting insight is the disconnection between objective human security and GDP increase from 1985 to 1992 in different regions: "at least in terms of delivering to people appropriate security mechanisms to manage their daily lives, not [just] any kind of economic growth neither any [particular] income

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Ibid., 15.

level is appropriate [sufficient]"<sup>77</sup>—see Figure 14. The team identified the inequality in the type of economic growth in the country, which, arguably, would turn into insecurity whenever a downside risk hits the country.<sup>78</sup>

Figure 14. Objective Human Security Index (ISHO) and economic dynamism (% GDP growth), Chile



Fuente: PNUD en base a CASEN, 1994, 1996, INE, 1995 y Banco Central de Chile

Note: Dots are regions of the country.

\*Chile 1998, 88.

Reports from Mali, Chile and Macedonia include perception surveys among their approaches to measurement. Those measurements were integrated in different degrees to the main task of the NHDRs: as supplemental qualification in the case of Mali; as part of a more elaborated methodology in the case of Chile; and as one of the main pillars of the study in the case of Macedonia. Each deserves comment.

The Malian report includes a socio-anthropological survey and description of the situation in the country which, although it was not prepared to be statistically representative, enriches the report with views from below about the real causes and effects of the food crisis in the country. Unfortunately the annex of the report is not available to allow us to comment on the background of this

In order to have other points of view on the subject, intensive surveys (interviews, focus groups, life stories and family histories) have been

conducted among the population (producers as well as consumers) ..... Each of the survey tools was built upon a base of problematics: perception of the food crisis, causes, effects, implemented specific actions, results, difficulties and perspectives. The operation was approbated by a validation test of the collection tools on the field.<sup>7</sup>

The Chilean report also includes a subjective index of human security, aggregated from the responses to a survey designed by them. It is noteworthy that the tool is rather short, similar to questionnaires for the Arab Countries report, thanks to careful initial discussion of possible questions. The results of the survey are aggregated and show that answers are skewed towards the negative sides of security. The index is not used for comparisons with other measurements such as the HDI or their objective index—contrary to the example of Benin. Instead the results of the survey are used to make internal comparisons in relation to life satisfaction, prospects for the future and demographic group. The annex of the Chile report offers a very detailed explanation of the methodology of the study, which can be of use for future teams doing perception studies, and for the refinement of the perception survey approach.

The Macedonian team made comparisons across ethnic groups in order to document social exclusion; however the decision of the team to follow a very comprehensive approach to the assessment of threats diluted the initial objective. In other words, the data-e.g., on environmental threats coming from pollution—does not always reflect the ethnic differences, so the focus on social exclusion becomes blurred. This is not necessarily negative, as it adds detail about the context in which exclusion is studied, and this NHDR could also have been classified as a comprehensive mapping report. Still, as with the Uruguay report in part one of this review, and the Senegal report below, the expansion of scope can result in a tradeoff with the quality of the report.

Most of the issues raised by the Macedonia survey relate to the welfare system of the country, a key issue for countries in transition after a socialist regime. That was also the case for Latvia, where access to the health system was perhaps the most important popular concern.

# **4c Policy relevance**

The focus on an established challenge like food security also gives reports extra robustness in the phase of advancing policy recommendations. This is so because the teams are able to propose or adopt one causal web around the challenge se-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Chile 1998, 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> As presented by Sen in the Commission on Human Security, Human Security Now, 8-9. See also, Yoichi Mine, 'Downside Risks and Human Security', in Giorgio Shani, Makoto Sato and Mustapha Kamal Pasha (eds.), Protecting Human security in a Post 9/11 World, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, 2007, 64-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Mali 2010, 20.

lected and then investigate it thoroughly and identify corresponding specific policy proposals. The clearest example is the African regional report, which devotes one chapter to each of the main priorities identified corresponding to the food security variables. This allows elaborate discussion of each of them—i.e., productivity, nutrition and resilience. The analyses are followed by summaries of the policies proposed and the components of food security that they address, facilitating the exposition of the results.

The report of Mali vis-à-vis the report of Senegal offers additional evidence about the strength of a more focused approach. The former team decided to concentrate only on the food crisis, and that focus helped to keep coherence through the whole document. The Malian team defines the structure of the problem, reviews the existing data, introduces bottom-up views and then offers policy recommendations based on the opportunities behind the crisis. On the other hand, the Senegalese team included in the analysis an additional challenge, climate change, and aimed to "analyze the relation between it, food security and human development". 80 This inclusion diverted attention within the inquiry, leaving less time to analyse either of the two challenges. The result was a policy analysis mostly related to climate change, with food security rather neglected. This seems unfortunate, unless a good food security report was already available.

The same degree of policy relevance is not equally reached by the reports on modernity and social exclusion, although for different reasons. In the case of Chile, the evidence suggests that the uneasiness of the population with modernity is related to its resistance to change, and the problem of how to frame new driving forces as opportunities rather than threats. Something similar is found in the next group in the case of Costa Rica, where the team faced the challenge of how to dissuade a perception of high crime when crime is objectively not a major reason for concern. In both cases, some policy recommendations are advanced, but the broader issue of social change requires other means beyond conventional policy. Immediate policy use is not the only way NHDRs can have an impact, a point which should be pondered by teams during the conception of the report.8

The Macedonian team, as mentioned above, extended its reach perhaps too much and therefore the power to generate policy recommendations was manifestly reduced. In the end, they advance a list

of priorities for different components of human security, not limited to their initial question on social exclusion. As we saw this report sometimes appears more like a comprehensive mapping report.

Besides direct policy relevance, two findings of the Chilean report were very provocative and candidates to generate media impact that gives longerterm political momentum for new policies. 82 One of the findings is how the increase in social security coverage is not translated into a feeling of security for the future in terms of health and a tranquil retirement. Another finding is how, no matter how diverse and profuse the sources of information had grown in the country during the past years, inhabitants of Chile did not believe they were well informed about the situation of the country. The two findings both reveal a distrust for the country's institutional changes and some kind of yearning for a more paternalistic welfare state. The authors describe this phenomenon as a "melancholy cage", in contrast with the "iron cage" used by Max Weber to describe Western capitalist societies. Transition is also a key theme in the Macedonia and Latvia reports, and in a different way for the group of state building reports described below. Here, insight into people's dependency on the state is one possible value-added of human security research, that deserves future exploration.

Finally, we saw in the Arab Countries report that, contrary to what nutritionists would say, poor nutrition did not figure among the most significant threats felt by citizens. 83 How did the food security reports engage with nutritional threats? The African team decided to make nutrition one of its top priorities, seen as an urgent problem to be addressed but one about which knowledge is still quite restricted. The Mali teams include some national data, while the Senegal team does not include it in their analysis. As can be seen in Table 9, the Africa region report includes general costbenefit/cost-effectiveness analysis that serves as a convincing argument for action on nutrition, and several successful cases from the region, though it notes that the picture is not necessarily well understood.84

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Senegal 2010, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Pagliani, 'Influence of regional, national and subnational HDRs'.

<sup>82</sup> As suggested by Pagliani on NHDRs.

<sup>83</sup> Arab Countries 2009, 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> A similar opinion was voiced in the launching of the new hunger report of FAO, http://www.fao.org/webcast/index.asp?lang=IT (accessed October 8, 2012)

Table 9. Cost benefit analysis of measures on nutrition, African region\*

Nutrition initiatives are a cost effective way to increase well-being

OPPORTUNITIES AND TARGET POPULATIONS	RATIO OF BENEFITS TO COSTS*
Reducing low birthweight for pregnancies with high probability of low birthweight	
Treating women with asymptomatic bacterial infections	0.6-4.9
Treating women with a presumptive sexually transmitted disease	1.3-10.8
Providing drugs for pregnant women with poor obstetric history	4.1-35.2
Improving infant and child nutrition in populations with high prevalence of child ma	Inutrition
Promoting breastfeeding in hospitals where standard practice has been to promote infant formula	4.8-7.4
Integrating childcare programmes	9.4-16.2
Introducing intensive preschool nutrition programmes focused on poor families	1.4-2.9
Reducing micronutrient deficiencies in populations where deficiencies are prevalent	5
Providing lodine (per woman of child-bearing age)	15-520
Providing vitarnin A (per child under age six)	4-43
Providing iron (per capita)	176-200
Providing iron (per pregnant woman)	6-14
Investing in technology for developing agriculture	
Disseminating new cultivars with greater yield potential	8.8-14.7
Disseminating iron- and zinc-dense rice and wheat varieties	11.6-19.0
Disseminating vitamin A-dense rice ("golden rice")	8.5-14.0

\*Africa 2012, 90.

# 4d Integration with human development

The long-standing work on food security, which is simultaneously a fundamental part of the works of Amartya Sen on human development and entitlements analysis, means that there is a deep integration here between concepts. The regional team of Africa includes in its theoretical review a presentation of how the capabilities approach can be applied to the food security problem, including in practical action against the threats behind this insecurity. Mali and Senegal follow similar lines of conceptualization.

The other two reports, Chile and Macedonia, have to put an extra effort to specify the relationships among concepts but the results are worth the effort. Both of the reports have to deal with the

problem of exclusion, related to ethnic differences in Macedonia and the modernization process in Chile. This exclusion affects all the levels from which individuals draw a sense of security and belonging and, thus, the reports discuss the family, how the local "we" is conceived, and the larger institutional scaffolding of the society. This analysis touches upon different dimensions of exclusion, which the Chilean report divides in two as presented in our Table 10.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Indice du Developpement Humain

Longevity and good health

Vie longue et bonne santé

Malnutrition, increase of mortality rate

Promitique de vie décent

School drop-outs, fall of purchasing power, difficult access to foods

Augmentation du taux de mortalité

Baisse du taux de scolarisation

Rise of food prices, fall of purchasing power, difficult access to foods

The power, difficult access to foods

The power of the power

Figure 15. Integration of analyses of the food crisis and human development, Mali\*

\*Mali 2010, 29.

Food Crisis

Crise alimentaire

**Table 10.** Social Integration dimensions, Chile

Axes of Social Integration	Socio-economic integration	Socio-economic exclusion
Normative Integration	Integration	Deprivation
Normative Exclusion	Indignity	Marginalization

<sup>\*</sup>Chile 1998, 197.

Authors from both reports observe that while the right hand column is important, the major interest of their report is about the exclusion that is not necessarily associated with poverty. This is called normative exclusion by the Chilean team, because they adopt the idea of norms as the conventions through which the "we" is actualized. This theoretical background reveals two levels of integration with human development thinking. First, security may arise as a concern that becomes felt as important after poverty has been overcome—like in the cartoon from the Benin report reproduced in Figure 5. Second, a security dilemma of exclusion can exist that is not related to poverty; this refers to the apprehension between ethnic groups in a given society in which the evidence shows they benefit from the diversity, but where in times of difficulties the differences give way to mutual distrust. Describing this situation in relation to Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Roma,

Serbs and other ethnic groups present in their territory, is perhaps the greatest strength of the Macedonia report, and the main reason why we place it in this challenge—driven reports category.

At the level of uses of measurement, the comparison of collected statistics with the HDI and poverty measurements is the most common example. The Malian team uses the components of the HDI to show how the food crisis affects the population, thus adding clarity to their exposition, as presented in Figure 15. The objective measurements of human security proposed by the Chilean team also serve to compare human security and human development, and generate additional findings, something also done for Costa Rica and Benin.

At the level of policies, the problems signaled by the Chilean report in regard to the relationship between threat and opportunity receive a partial answer in the report of Mali. It implies that when the challenge selected by a report is one in which the component of perception is important, human development ideas and the positive framing of the situation as an opportunity should play a more important role in the NHDR. The Mali report stands out because it devotes part of the analysis to consider the opportunities that the food crisis could bring to the country. Such approach puts a premium on the agency of people and limits the fear rhetoric that can be produced by a framework driven only by one type of discussion of security. (The Latvia report addresses this issue too, by its stress on securitability—how far people are able to

provide and maintain their own security, objective and subjective.)

# Synthesis of the findings

After the full presentation of all the cases and types, we review and integrate the most important findings and arguments. Three levels of analysis are useful for this purpose: first, we summarize the most relevant characteristics of each of the types of report that we identified; second, we review the suggestions of JBR and the basic human security questions in relation to the contents of all the reports; and, third, we provide brief concluding remarks, on the relationships between the four types of report, and on the roles and opportunities for human security reporting.

# Good practices in human security reports

The following are summaries of the main findings for each of the report types, presented in short bullets, preceded by some crosscutting themes.

General advice on human security reporting

- There are at least four major relevant types of human security report and COs are free to choose the approach that helps them the most. Human security reports do not have to be about violence, but they can be.
- ▶ Human security is not only of use for addressing the situation of fragile states. Security, in the broader sense ingrained in the concept, is a common concern for all societies, although highly relative to the context. The past reports show that the human security approach is flexible enough to respond to differences, while retaining analytical relevance and advocacy power.
- ▶ Connecting the two previous points, COs preparing the first human security report in their country/region may include in their analysis issues already conventionally recognized as "security" matters, in order to show by comparison of the characteristics/consequences of different issues the value added by broadening the meaning of security beyond those conventional topics.
- Human security reporting may involve some sensitive issues that require special handling through (a) deep and inclusive national ownership and (b) robust grounding of any critical claims, hopefully supported in part by primary data gathered through the report or by some strategic partners. Regional (and global) reports are also important for addressing thorny issues at national level, as well as having advantages for dealing with many transnational issues, such as perhaps migration or climate change.

- In respect of primary data, reporting on human security gains greatly by exploring both the objective and subjective sides of threats (and of the values threatened) and then systematically comparing them. Including such an analysis is highly encouraged. There are both qualitative and quantitative methodologies for this, which COs can select from according to their circumstances.
- ▶ About quantitative methodologies, there are at least two strategies that reports have used so far, which serve different goals:
- Short surveys devised to deal with specific issues—e.g., identifying the degree of discrimination towards an ethnic/religious group, classifying basic sets of threats considered in the report, or evaluating reliance/trust in different security providers. These studies are cheaper and thus easier to carry out. Careful design can multiply the quantity and quality of the insights to be obtained. Still, COs may not be able to rely totally on these results to structure their reports.
- ▶ Comprehensive surveys covering a wide range of issues. These allow testing several hypotheses included in the conceptual background of the report and building comprehensive measurements or indexes. Devising these surveys is more demanding in terms of resources, time and coordination but, given the multiplicity of expected results, some reports can make it the main pillar of their effort.

Since some of these decisions are not exclusively for the CO, but depend also on (potential) funders, clients and partners, the other relevant actors should be included in the preliminary discussions.

Human security reports do a better job when they articulate appropriately with the other human concepts, especially human development and human rights. Examples include: moving the perception of an issue from only fear to also opportunity, using a human development perspective; strengthening the bridge to human development themes through working with the concept of securitability, people's ability to contribute to their own security; avoiding unnecessary securitization of issues that could be dealt through a human needs perspective on welfare systems; and combining human security and human rights perspectives to offer different possible means to overcome identified challenges.

#### 1 Comprehensive-mapping reports

#### Description:

NHDRs that present an overview of the key threats to priority values in a given country (or region), including challenges that require institutional innovation.

#### Applications:

- Mapping reports can be used to make a prospective study of threats, including also those that are not nowadays on the radar-screen of the country but which may become big issues in the near future. This can be the basis for future reports that go into more depth and inform preventive action.
- The mapping is also an opportunity to ponder the real importance versus the attention society gives to different issues, as well as whether some of those issues are (or can be) seen also as opportunities and not only as threats—e.g., migration and immigrants.
- ▶ This kind of report offers a great opportunity to critically examine the systems of statistics used by local institutions to assess and define policy and to identify gaps in these systems.
- ▶ The design of the report can also be tailored to assess the situation of different networks (seen as security providers) and how far these networks protect and empower the population.

#### Supporting concepts:

Risk perception, network theory, governance, securitability

#### *Role of perception measurement:*

- ▶ Surveys, supported by literature reviews and key informant interviews, can be used to try to identify what are the most important felt threats, using open questions, lists or categories.
- ▶ Separate attention to personal and social spheres can be useful, including in order to understand empowerment; e.g., threats in the personal sphere are supposed to be something respondents are directly affected by and may be able to deal with, while in the social sphere that is not necessarily the case.
- Micro-management of the tools, and combination of different qualitative methodologies, can help in getting information on difficult issues—e.g., including special questions in surveys that allow private conversation when possible (illustrated by the Latvia report).

#### Points to bear in mind:

Make sure the list of threats balances popular issues with also silent or ignored ones. Use the seven HDR 1994 security categories if they are useful for the structure of the report, but feel

- free to adapt or add to them according to your needs.
- Beyond simply drawing attention to a multiplicity of real threats, there is a trade-off between continuing to examine all of them in detail and the team's ability to come up with detailed understanding of at least one or some of those issues and their interconnections.

#### 2 State-building reports

#### Description:

NHDRs using a multi-issue framework to guide the complexities of institutional consolidation.

# Applications:

- ► This type of report is specific to fragile or failed states.
- ▶ It could be extrapolated to cases of catastrophic disaster and crisis response.

# Supporting concepts:

State building, security sector reform, conflict studies, good governance

#### Role of perception measurement:

- ▶ When available, such perception measures are useful to understand the instability and possible dysfunctionality of institutions.
- ▶ Depending on the context, perception surveys also cast light on whether the conflict situation is the main concern / main threat affecting populations, e.g., rural population in Afghanistan is much more affected by droughts.

#### Points to bear in mind:

- ▶ Data tends to be scarce, so the very problem of how to get it (including through innovative methods and indicators) can be central to the report.
- ▶ State-building challenges and opportunities are very sensitive to the context, so the whole structure of the report may be different for each case.
- Prioritization is a less important feature of the analysis than in the other report types. As presented by the Afghan team, threats underlying the fragility of the state are interrelated, and the extent of interdependence prevents the proposition of a clear or sharp hierarchy. The legitimacy necessary for institutional consolidation derives from being able to deal with all the identified challenges at the same time--although there is some prioritization needed when those threats are pointed out.

#### 3 'Citizen security' reports

### Description:

These are NHDRs that concentrate on a single set of values known as citizen security and the conventional institutions dealing with it. Note that it is possible to add other threats/values in this category, insofar as the goal of the report is to help consolidate particular institutions/organizations. For instance, a report on pollution that deals with both the threat and the institutions in charge of the problem, which are usually in need of consolidation and greater leverage inside national policies.

#### Applications:

- ▶ Fundamentally oriented to explore issues of crime and violence.
- ▶ This model is also useful when assessing any other single system of institutions dealing with a single issue.
- ▶ It allows potentially a strong sophistication in how to get information through specialized perception surveys.

### Supporting concepts:

Citizen security, fear of crime, security sector reform, conflict studies

# Role of perception measurement:

- To compare the level of fear with the actual occurrence of the menace.
- ▶ To assess the influence of the responsible institutions in improving or worsening the phenomenon as perceived.

#### Points to bear in mind:

- ▶ It is fine to do this sort of report using some of an old-fashioned 'security studies' focus—i.e., human security research certainly includes room for more traditional analysis. Make sure though to link the analysis with human development.
- ▶ A major challenge—and opportunity—arises when perception of the phenomenon is greater than the actual occurrence.
- ▶ While it seems in principle a focused approach, many different threats can be considered under citizen security, which requires careful consideration when preparing the report design.
- ▶ Big sample sizes are here a must.

#### 4 (Lead) Challenge-driven reports

#### Description:

NHDRs that concentrate on a single challenge while exploring its multiple determinants; and that are typically open to multiple alternative solutions, not constrained to action only within conventional institutions.

#### Applications:

- ▶ The model serves to make a comprehensive review of one family of threats (or one threatened priority value).
- ▶ The focus on one lead issue allows a sharper focus, leading in to testing hypotheses and clarifying connections between possible root causes. This could sometimes logically be as a second step, following on from an earlier comprehensive mapping report.
- It can also serve to explore more complex issues such as social exclusion from a threat perspective.

# Supporting concepts:

Other recognised securities (e.g., food security, energy security, water security; perhaps climate security, cultural security); social exclusion, modernity, transition.

#### Role of perception measurement:

- ▶ In principle, perception surveys offer background support regarding some of the phenomena examined.
- ▶ The experience of Citizen Security reports can be learnt from to make more insightful contributions through perception surveys.

#### Points to bear in mind:

- ▶ Including more than one leading challenge can affect the final result. If not absolutely essential to add a second or third challenge in a central position, then structure the attention to these additional issues in relation to the selected lead challenge.
- ▶ To be clear: including multiple threats/causes relevant to a particular leading issue is essential in this type of study, and adds value compared to more conventional studies. The problem mentioned in the previous bullet point concerns trying to consider in depth two or more leading challenges in a single report.

# The Jolly & Basu Ray report and basic human security questions

It is clear that the dominant question addressed by all the reports is that about threats to human security and thus about priority values that are threatened. The importance of threat and values is so fundamental that it was convenient to use these concepts as a way to classify the reports. In particular we distinguished between those that address multiple issues and those that focus on one challenge. Whether addressing multiple or single issues, reports concentrate on understanding threats and their determinants and consequences.

The recommendation of the JBR report, initially published in 2006, about not constraining the analysis to the seven securities on the list in the global HDR of 1994, has not been followed by many of the human security reports that have followed—e.g., Arab Countries, Thailand, Benin and oPt. The size and diversity of our sample allowed us to further illuminate the implications of relying on the list of seven securities, finding strengths as well as weaknesses in so doing.

On the positive side, the list as a reference helps the report teams by offering a way to start structuring the research. It also facilitates comparison across teams, allowing learning from one experience to the next. Perhaps more important, trying to satisfy the list makes sure that teams include issues that are not necessarily priority for the people or for the teams themselves, but which are still worth pondering. The example of malnutrition appeared a couple of times through this review: if lists of threats depended only on perceived threats, malnutrition probably would not be included. That is perhaps also the case for domestic violence, and climate change.

Part of the problem highlighted by JBR was the danger though of equating the human security approach to the list of seven securities. Therefore, teams should be aware that, first, they can modify the list to better reflect their context, which is well achieved in the Arab countries report; second, they can also go further beyond thinking in terms of the list, through deeply researching what is relevant in their specific case, as illustrated by the Latvia report; and, third, making single issue reports is also a viable option, sometimes as a second phase, with different but equally compelling qualities and applications, as we have seen. In other words, the diversity of human security approaches must be recognized and discussed by COs in the initial stages of report crafting.

From the sample, two examples explore options beyond the single/multiple issue divide. The Chilean team included a stage of research in order to decide the issues to be considered in its perception

survey. This practice can improve the degree to which the mapping responds to the context. Besides, the Thai report presents a prominent example of how a mapping report can turn into an exploration of issues that are not in today's list but would probably be in tomorrow's. That is an excellent way of fulfilling the prevention orientation that is part of the human security approach.

On the measurement of human security, JBR recommendations have been more or less widely adopted, specially the inclusion of perception surveys as important components of human security reporting. The degree of elaboration in these surveys has been increasing but it is not clear how much horizontal learning occurs about the best way to improve methodologies—although the Benin team does use some of the arguments from the Arab Country team, and the Costa Rica study used the idea of securitability from Latvia. Not always do teams include a detailed account of the tools used, the rationale behind the research design and the crucial decisions taken to consolidate the approach, so we suggest that HDRO could consider a dedicated project to create knowledge and capacities about perception surveys in HDRs as a whole. As far as the human security HDRs are concerned, we included our observations in the previous sub-section.

Other recommendations made by JBR that involve both measurement and policy relevance have been adopted occasionally-i.e., cost-benefit/costeffectiveness comparisons and reviews of tradeoffs—but the possibility of doing these seems to depend much on the context, especially in regard to the availability of data. We can distinguish macro and micro examples of them in the reports analyzed, which may help future teams in designing the strategies that work better for their particular case. At the macro level, the African report compared national expenditures in defense and agriculture across the region, making a compelling case for budget reallocations. The same authors present cost-benefit/cost-effectiveness reviews of investments in nutrition that suggest possibilities for new initiatives with great impact. The team of Afghanistan too was able to present a detailed description of the distribution of resources inside the government, showing where the priority in expenditure went. This type of analysis can help both in internal agenda setting and in the coordination of international cooperation.

At the micro-level, perception surveys designed to that end can contribute to analyses of costs-versus-benefits and of trade-offs resulting from threats affecting the behaviors of people. These are the most clear in 'citizen security' reports, where the effects of crime on fear are explored through

questions about walking in the city or spending on private security. Future teams may want to attempt generating these kinds of insights by adapting the methodology to a broader range of threats/values and institutions.

Moreover, perception surveys are satisfying the recommendation of using more primary data in the NHDRs on human security topics. Not only do these surveys give a distinctive tone to the NHDRs, but they also offer a higher degree of disaggregation of the analysis, as much as they can be tailored to cover vulnerable populations, designed to reflect demographic peculiarities of the country/region, or made specific to deal with certain sensitive issues, for example social exclusion and different forms of discrimination, as shown in the reports of Macedonia, Latvia, Costa Rica and the Philippines.

As a strategy for primary data collection, perception surveys have also contributed to suggest indexes related to human security. The surveys have been used to generate hierarchies of perceived threats and through them compare the visions of different social groups (Latvia). They have also been used to compare geographical areas of a single country, either modifying the HDI (Costa Rica) or using a new composite index (Benin). Those experiments are promising steps towards consolidated methodologies and similar work deserves to be included in future reports, depending on the possibilities.

The Chilean team used the human security approach to understand who compose the local "we", and thus is an example of how the question of "whose security?" is being explored through the reports. It is a question that may need special attention in 'citizen security' reports in relation to noncitizens, such as Nicaraguan migrants in Costa Rica or Afghan migrants in Pakistan. This alternative complements the common approach of departing from a fixed list of vulnerable populations, as in the Arab Countries report. The Afghanistan reports shows that it is also possible to blend these approaches: referring to a conventional list of vulnerable populations but also specifically identifying them in the local context.

The measurement of threats and the investigation of which people they affect connect to the idea that human security analysis can help in determining priorities. Mapping the issues, identifying the populations and presenting the figures are vital steps for intelligent determination of priorities. Some of the teams did propose priorities themselves—Latvia, Macedonia and Benin—and more research would be necessary to understand what impact they had. The Afghanistan team decided that in its case there was no point in that sort of prioritizing, for the consolidation of the State was

instead the first priority needed to make progress there with any and all of the basic concerns. The Thailand and Arab Countries reports describe how people find it difficult to prioritize, and especially the latter study shows that some issues like malnutrition caused by an unbalanced diet, stressed also by the Africa region and Mali teams, are not felt as important by most people. Improving the statistical data gathered by the national institutions, as seen in the case of Benin, is a very promising option as a potential high priority. The long term strategy to build a constituency for using human security ideas in Latvia—presented in annex 2 to the first part of this report—is also a good example: ideas of human security and securitability have been included in the 2012 National Development Plan, nine years later, because of their usefulness in helping to rethink national priorities.

The question of the providers of human security is one of those less explored so far. This is mainly because NHDRs tend to be oriented towards governments, either aiming for government to read the reports or for other stakeholders to use them to influence and put pressure on government. There are however good practices regarding attention to a range of potential providers, that deserve more prominence in future NHDRs. The report of oPt documents local populations' coping strategies to cover their basic needs, although recognizing this cannot replace sovereignty by a local state. Reports on Africa and Mali, in their chapters on multiple means for human security, explore also the roles of non-government stakeholders—including in the discussion of technical solutions. The Costa Rica report includes a section on the media and the ways it could help to reframe the importance of crime in society, but it is limited compared to the other sections of the report.

In general, reports that focus on institutional consolidation are by definition not oriented to explore other providers, but even here traditional and new institutions could be in need of better harmonization. Faced by the many problems of the judicial system, the Bangladesh report team explored the possibility of allowing informal and village courts to support the official courts, to alleviate the burden on the overcrowded official system. The team of Latvia presents so far the most structured approach, proposing the study and strengthening of "constellations" of providers. This can readily be connected to contemporary thinking about governance, including elsewhere in the UN system. One interesting theme to explore would be the implications of the finding that people tend to draw more felt security from their family and friends than from the authorities, as several of the reports found—e.g., oPt, Costa Rica and Latvia.

Finally, the question of the values highlighted in human security, seen from their positive side, raises some exciting issues. This is a question where the JBR final recommendation of greater integration with human development thinking becomes very relevant. All the reports on statebuilding require the positive outlook of human development to prevail in order to motivate moving beyond situations marked by long lists of insecurities. Single-issue reports have the great challenge of, whenever appropriate, moving from fear to opportunity. From the reports of this type that we reviewed, only the Malian one was capable of doing that more actively. This was done by framing their work from the start as both about crisis and opportunities, giving each perspective enough room. For food security—or any other security—it should be easier, by softening the use of only fear to advocate action and also placing more emphasis on the cost-benefit/cost-effectiveness comparisons suggested by JBR, as mentioned above. The balance of attention between threats and opportunities is something that has to be managed carefully in each context. Similarly, in order to deal with the threats to human security from environmental change, a positive human development vision of the future is required, that shows that human values and well-being can be better advanced and ensured through environmentally-sensitive and less materialist development paths.

# Prospects for human security reporting

In attempting to find good practices in reporting on human security, we have tried to show the possibilities opened by the human security approach: the basic questions addressed through human security analysis, and at the same time the possibility for diverse foci of analysis and thus for responding to the distinctive needs in the context of each national or regional HDR. The basic questions are intended to help NHDR teams to organize the narrative of their report and the ensuing quantitative substantiation, while the typology of reports organises the examples produced until now, so that they can be more readily used as models to learn from, and in some cases to follow and improve on. There is ample room for refining these tools through explicit research and through learning by doing.

Taking a final look at the whole system, we offer a couple of general concluding remarks that could increase the possibilities of innovation and impact.

First, we do not propose any fixed model of progression between the four categories of report. Except for the case of state-building reports, which do apply only to countries in a recognized condition of fragility, the other types of human security

report are all possible and relevant in multiple contexts, for addressing different challenges. Sometimes it will make sense to undertake a comprehensive mapping, followed later by more indepth exploration of identified priority problems and opportunities. Sometimes such priorities may already be evident and so become the study focus.

There can be cases where the goal is to consolidate the institutions related to one particular issue (not necessarily the issue of crime and violence), and thus to adopt an approach similar in this respect to citizen security reports. But it is important too to also look for institutional innovations when studying crime or any other issues highly linked to some particular institutions. Drug trafficking would be one such issue. Comprehensive-mapping can help in detecting these cases: threats that require out-of the-box thinking, and threats in need of a better box.

Second, human security is not an all-encompassing concept. The review presented many aspects where human development analysis is required. These included providing a positive vision of the future and offering the support of a widely recognized objective measure of the socio-economic situation. The idea of securitability provides a strong bridge between human security analyses and human development analyses. Also the other human concepts have essential roles, including of course human rights. Its roles are greater when there is a working legal system to advance claims, but are not limited to those situations. Finally, as shown for example by reports like that on Macedonia which had to address the local welfare system, for many discussions the human needs literature provides relevant support. The human concepts together serve as an outstanding set of tools that regional and country offices can use and combine, in order to make the most of their reports.

#### Annex 3.

# **Text of the UN General Assembly common** understanding on human security

#### Sixty-sixth session

Agenda items 14 and 117

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly [without reference to a Main Committee (A/66/L.55/Rev.1 and Add.1)]

#### 66/290. Follow-up to paragraph 143 on human security of the 2005 World Summit Outcome

The General Assembly,

Reaffirming its commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and international law,

Recalling the 2005 World Summit Outcome, 85 especially paragraph 143 thereof, and its resolution 64/291 of 16 July 2010,

Recognizing that development, human rights and peace and security, which are the three pillars of the United Nations, are interlinked and mutually rein-

- 1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General on follow-up to General Assembly resolution 64/291 on human security;86
- 2. Takes note of the formal debate on human security organized by the President of the General Assembly, held on 4 June 2012;
- 3. Agrees that human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people. Based on this, a common understanding on the notion of human security includes the following:
- (a) The right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair. All individuals, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential;
- (b) Human security calls for people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people and all communities;
- (c) Human security recognizes the interlinkages between peace, development and human rights, and equally considers civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights;
- (d) The notion of human security is distinct from the responsibility to protect and its implementation;
- (e) Human security does not entail the threat or the use of force or coercive measures. Human security does not replace State security;

- (f) Human security is based on national ownership. Since the political, economic, social and cultural conditions for human security vary significantly across and within countries, and at different points in time, human security strengthens national solutions which are compatible with local reali-
- (g) Governments retain the primary role and responsibility for ensuring the survival, livelihood and dignity of their citizens. The role of the international community is to complement and provide the necessary support to Governments, upon their request, so as to strengthen their capacity to respond to current and emerging threats. Human security requires greater collaboration and partnership among Governments, international and regional organizations and civil society;
- (h) Human security must be implemented with full respect for the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, including full respect for the sovereignty of States, territorial integrity and non-interference in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of States. Human security does not entail additional legal obligations on the part of States;
- 4. Recognizes that while development, peace and security and human rights are the pillars of the United Nations and are interlinked and mutually reinforcing, achieving development is a central goal in itself and the advancement of human security should contribute to realizing sustainable development as well as the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals;
- 5. Acknowledges the contributions made so far by the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, and invites Member States to consider voluntary contributions to the Trust Fund;
- 6. Affirms that projects funded by the Trust Fund should receive the consent of the recipient State and be in line with national strategies and priorities in order to ensure national ownership;
- 7. Decides to continue its discussion on human security in accordance with the provisions of the present
- 8. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its sixty-eighth session a report on the implementation of the present resolution, seeking the views of Member States in that regard for inclusion in the report, and on the lessons learned on the human security experiences at the international, regional and national levels.

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<sup>85</sup> See resolution 60/1.

<sup>86</sup> A/66/763.

# Annex 4. Regional and National HDRs reviewed

	Country	Pub. Year	Title	Page No.	Link
Global Reports		1994	New dimensions of human security	226	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1994/
Regional Reports					
Africa		2012	Towards a Food Secure Future	176	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regional/africa/name,3445,en.html
Latin America and the Caribbean		2012	Human Development and the Shift to Better Citizen Security	227 (+ 50)	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regional/latinamericathecaribbean/name,24269,en.html
Arab States		2009	Challenges to Human Security in the Arab Countries	265	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regional/arabstate s/name,3442,en.html
National Reports					
Africa	Senegal	2011	Changement climatique, Sécurité alimentaire et Développement humain	150	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/africa/senegal/name,3241,en.html
Africa	Benin	2010, 2011	Sécurité Humaine et Développement Humain au Bénin	208	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/africa/ben in/name,18986,en.html
Africa	Mali	2010	Crise alimentaire	145	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/africa/mali/name,22524,en.html
Arab States	Occupied Palestinian Territory	2009, 2010	Investing in Human Security for a Future State	172	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/arabstate s/palestine/name,14112,en.html
Asia and the Pacific	Thailand	2009	Human Security, Today and Tomorrow	163	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/asiathepa cific/thailand/name,19749,en.html
Africa	Congo, Dem. Rep.	2008	Restauration de la paix et reconstruction	179	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/africa/con godemrep/name,3248,en.html
Africa	Kenya	2006	Kenya National Human Development Report 2006 — Human Security and Human Development: A Deliberate Choice	86	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/africa/ken ya/name,3451,en.html
Asia and the Pacific	Philippines	2005	Peace and Conflict Prevention: Human Security	151	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/asiathepa cific/philippines/name,3238,en.html
Latin America and the Caribbean	Costa Rica	2005	Venciendo el Temor — (In)seguridad Ciudadana y Desarrollo Humano en Costa Rica	608	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/latinameri cathecaribbean/costarica/name,3342,en.html
Asia and the Pacific	Afghanistan	2004	Human Development Report — Security with a Human Face	288	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/asiathepa cific/afghanistan/name,3292,en.html
Eastern Europe & Central Asia	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	2001	Social Exclusion and Human Insecurity in the FYR Macedonia	166	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/europeth ecis/macedonia/name,2888,en.html
Latin America and the Caribbean	Chile	1998	Paradoxes of Modernity: Human Security	254	http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/latinameri cathecaribbean/chile/name,2978,en.html (Spanish only)

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