JICA Ogata Research Institute Report

Human Security Today

Revisiting Human Security
No.1   2022

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Human Security Today

Revisiting Human Security

No.1 2022

Human Security Evolves over Time

What can the international community do to protect people's lives, livelihoods, and dignity when it confronts some of the greatest threats ever?

It has been almost 30 years since the concept of human security was first propounded. Traditional concerns such as armed conflicts, natural disasters, forced migration, and the negative impacts of globalization are becoming more acute. At the same time, new challenges have appeared, including the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, the bright and dark sides of digital transformation, and aging society. Adopting a human security perspective provides an effective means of grasping and appropriately responding to these global issues. This report will explore the question of how human security should be understood in these fluctuating times and which approaches would work best when implementing it.

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Foreword

In commemorating the launch of *Human Security Today* by the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development, I would like to underscore and expound on its significance.

The concept of human security was pioneered by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with the publication of its *Human Development Report 1994*. Human security represents the idea that a) all individuals are entitled to freedom from fear and want, and to live in dignity, and b) the global community and each country must prioritize building a world that secures these essential rights. Almost three decades on, however, armed conflicts and forced displacement did not disappear but rather have become even more complex. In addition, the world is immersed in new challenges like societal aging, and widening inequality along with other unforeseen negative effects of advancements in technology.

Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) is the only development cooperation agency in the world that advocates human security as its main mission. The late Dr. Sadako Ogata introduced JICA to the notion of human security upon becoming the Agency's president in 2003. Not only it is now firmly rooted in all of JICA's organizational practices, JICA has also worked to apply it to new circumstances. In 2019, JICA released *Revisiting Human Security in Today's Global Context (Human Security 2.0)* which addressed new development challenges and expanded the scope of its activities accordingly.

Today, the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change pose unprecedented threats to human security. Meanwhile, rising authoritarianism, the intermittent collapse of elected governments, and the deep social divisions afflicting some Western countries all signal that democracy is in retreat. Science and technology in the hands of authoritarian regimes is a particularly serious threat to human security.

The entire international community will need to work harder than ever before to realize human security in light of these severe challenges. This report is a timely analysis of the concepts and practices of human security from various perspectives, and it authoritatively conveys the significance of human security at a time of rapid change. I should also note here the UNDP released the Special Report on *New threats to human security in the Anthropocene* in February 2022, of which JICA proudly contributed to the process. I am sure that both JICA and the UNDP will continue to play a central role in promoting human security.

Concepts and issues relating to human security evolve over time. JICA will remain sensitive to this evolution and update the targets and methods of its activities accordingly so as to decisively promote development both within Japan and abroad. I sincerely hope a wide cross-section of people will enjoy reading this report and deepen their understanding of the increasing relevance of human security.

March, 2022

Shinichi Kitaoka
President
Japan International Cooperation Agency

Human Security and Development Cooperation Today

Koji Makino, Director General
JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development

Today, people are facing a range of unprecedented threats, such as the novel coronavirus infection (COVID-19) and climate change, along with other significant crises in human security. The poor, who lack access to food and hospitals, are particularly vulnerable to negative cycles through frequent natural disasters, economic crises, violence, discrimination, and the spread of COVID-19. Human security aims to protect people's lives, livelihoods, and dignity by creating a resilient society against such threats. Within this current global context, the international community can address such complex and interconnected issues by putting human security into practice.

1. What is Human Security?

1.1 Concept and Approach

What exactly is human security? The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) introduced the concept of human security to the world in the *Human Development Report 1994*. The report describes the events related to human security simply and in easily understood terms, as follows:

► The world can never be at peace unless people have security in their daily lives.

► For most people, a feeling of insecurity arises more from worries about daily life. Will they and their families have enough to eat? Will they lose their jobs? Will their streets and neighborhoods be safe from crime? Will they be tortured by a repressive state? Will they become a victim of violence because of their gender? Will their religion or ethnic origin target them for persecution?

► Human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced, all of which are related to human life and dignity (UNDP 1994, 1 and 22.)

In her article, *Hitobito o Torimaku Kyoi to Ningen no Anzen Hosho no Hatten* [Threats to People and the Development of Human Security], Sadako Ogata, former President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), defines human security as "focusing on each and every person, giving top priority to their security, and ensuring that they are safe[1]" (Ogata 2011, 1).

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1   Translated by the author. The original text is in Japanese.

The concept of human security was deepened by the Commission on Human Security, co-chaired by Ogata and Amartya Sen, resulting in the 2003 report *Human Security Now* (CHS 2003). The concept was referred to in the 2005 UN Summit Outcome document, and the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution defining the concept in 2012 (UNGA 2012). Since its inception, the concept has been widely debated, researched, and put into practice by countries, international organizations, aid agencies, academia, and civil society.

Based on previous discussions and UN resolutions, human security is understood as a concept and approach that focuses on the diverse threats and vulnerabilities of people, organizations, and societies. It aims to create resilient societies where all people are free from fear and want and can fulfill their dignity through the protection and empowerment of people. JICA's *Revisiting Human Security in Today's Global Context (Human Security 2.0)* was launched in 2019 and identifies the following three key points (JICA 2019b):

(1) Protecting people's "lives, livelihoods, and dignity"
(2) Empowering people, organizations, and societies so that people can pursue their own potential
(3) Creating a resilient society against diverse threats

Implementing Human Security: Peace and Development of Mindanao of the Philippines

Prior to the signing of the peace agreement, JICA was providing assistance in community development and infrastructure development in southwestern Mindanao island, where conflict between the Philippine government and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and other Islamic groups had been raging for many years. At the same time, JICA staff members were dispatched to the International Monitoring Team to provide socioeconomic development assistance incidental to ceasefire monitoring. These activities ensured freedom from fear and want, protected people's lives, livelihoods and dignity, and led to the empowerment of people, organizations, and society.

In 2019, the long-awaited Bangsamoro Transition Authority was established and an Interim Chief Minister was elected from MILF. JICA is supporting the transition to the Bangsamoro Government in 2025 by providing comprehensive assistance to establish the core institutions of the autonomous region. This includes support for formulating the budget and revenue regulations which are newly authorized and operationalizing a parliamentary cabinet system, as well as human resource development in the autonomous region.

Human security emphasizes the importance of building resilient social systems from a medium- to long-term perspective. In societies undergoing conflict and peace negotiations, the priority is to take immediate measures to protect people's livelihoods and dignity by eliminating violence and providing social services. In the next phase, it will be essential to build resilient social systems to ensure continued stability. Support for the Bangsamoro region is now at that stage.

Etsuko Masuko, JICA Ogata Research Institute

On the other hand, it is often said that human security is a difficult concept to understand. As such, the aforementioned definitions can be reduced to one simple, easily understood expression: human security is the idea of "protecting people's lives, livelihoods, and dignity by creating a resilient society against various threats." One of the key words, "resilient," means having the ability to react appropriately and overcome threats such as COVID-19, even if they strike suddenly. Threats can be classified into two categories: (1) shocks such as conflict, violence, infectious and other diseases, climate change and natural disasters, etc., economic crises, accidents, and crimes, all of which can be considered aspects of "fear,"[2] and (2) threats categorized as "want," or chronic poverty in the broader sense of the term, such as income poverty, hunger, and lack of health, education, and social security services.

After analyzing threats and the vulnerability of people, organizations, and societies to these threats in the national and regional context, a resilient system and society can be created by combining "protection," a top-down approach by the state and others, and "empowerment," a bottom-up approach by people and civil society and others (see 4.2 for more details). For example, when dealing with COVID-19, in addition to the top-down protections provided by national infection prevention measures and vaccination, it is essential for individuals to take bottom-up actions to empower and protect themselves, their families, and their communities with their personal responsibility and duty to "not infect others" and "not get infected themselves, by wearing masks and maintaining social distance. (see Kunii Osamu, *Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) and Human Security*, in this report. Henceforth, Kunii 2022).

It must be remembered that one threat interacts with another. In the practice of human security, the chain of threats and vulnerabilities should be analyzed and a cross-sectoral response should be taken to achieve synergy. Cross-sectoral efforts require coordination and collaboration among a wide range of actors including governments, companies, NGOs, international organizations, etc. *The UNDP Special Report on Human Security (2022)* uses the term "solidarity" to emphasize its importance (UNDP 2022). Human security also emphasizes people's "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" as well as "freedom to fulfill their dignity." Dignity is to "be able to live a full human life throughout one's life because one was born as a human being," or to "have confidence in oneself, pride in one's identity, and respect for beings other than oneself" (Takasu 2019, "Introduction"). While "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" are essential for the realization of dignity, it should be noted that their fulfillment does not necessarily guarantee dignity.[3] Ensuring dignity is essential for the realization of human security.

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2   There is no clear-cut definition of threats classified as fear and some argue fear-related threats should be limited to issues related to armed intervention, such as conflicts, human rights abuses, and genocide. For the purpose of this paper, however, I have employed a broader scope of classification to include acute threats as opposed to chronic ones.

3   For example, those who live in a peaceful and conflict-free town ("freedom from fear") and belong to the socioeconomic middle class ("freedom from want") may still be unable to fulfill their dignity if they are separated from their families, tormented by loneliness, or afflicted by slander through social networking sites.

1.2 Relationship between Human Development, SDGs,[4] and Other Similar Concepts

Human Security and Human Development

Human security and human development are mutually supportive concepts[5] that overlap in many respects but are also complementary in terms of their characteristics. In *Human Security Now*, Sen wrote, "Human development has a powerfully buoyant quality, since it is concerned with progress and augmentation. Human security fruitfully supplements the expansionist perspective of human development by directly paying attention to what are sometimes called 'downside risks'" (CHS 2003, 8). Mine (2005) graphically illustrated the relationship between human security and human development (Figure 1), positioning human security as "the effort to address the phase where downside risks become mainstream and to put societies back on the path of human development" (34−36). After more than two decades of improvement since 1998, the global extreme poverty rate worsened for the first time due to the sudden appearance of the COVID-19 pandemic. The rate increased from 8.4% in 2019 to 9.5% in 2020 (United Nations 2021). In the current situation, the time is ideal to promote human security practices as a means of putting societies back on the path of human development, including poverty reduction.

Figure 1: Human Development and Human Security
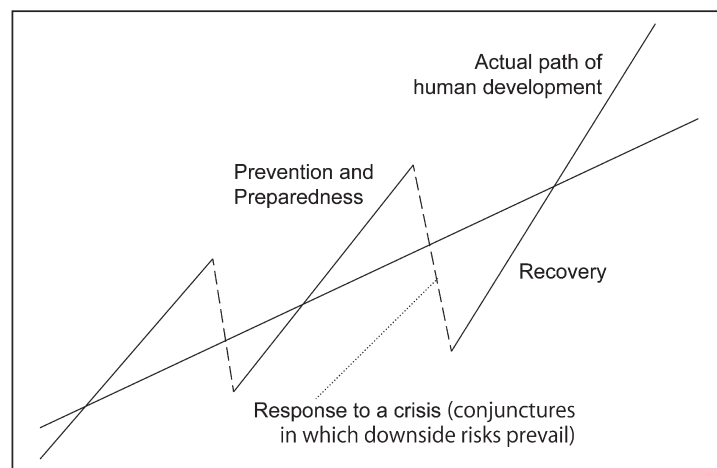
Source: Mine (2007)

Human Security and Human Rights

Sen, again in *Human Security Now*, states that human security and human rights are also complementary (CHS 2003, 9). While human rights are normative statements of the equal rights of all people, human security points to serious threats to freedom in specific situations and encourages responses. Precisely because people's fundamental rights are threatened in so many ways today, the human security perspective—which identifies threats to freedom that people face and implements remedies—becomes so important.

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4   The goals set forth in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted at the 2015 UN Sustainable Development Summit are the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals), consisting of 17 goals and 169 targets.
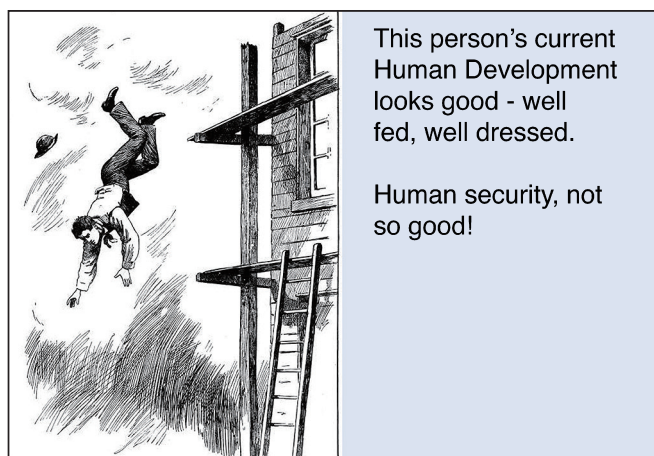
5   Economic poverty, for example, is an important target area for both human security and human development to address. Poverty can be said to be a chronic and silent threat from a human security perspective (UNDP 1994).

Human Security in Developing and Developed Countries

Although human security was originally regarded as a concept common to both developing and developed countries, the concern for and operation of the concept has occurred mainly in developing countries. There was a certain distance between developed countries and developing countries due to the former's awareness that their role was mainly to provide support—particularly during the time of the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals), the predecessor of the SDGs, and even before. However, given today's serious global threats in all countries, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, and inequality, human security is indeed a common concept useful for both developing and developed countries (Figure 2). The COVID-19 pandemic, for example, showed higher morbidity and mortality in Western industrialized countries than in low- and middle-income countries (Kunii 2022). Mortality rates (deaths per million) due to COVID-19 were 2,573 in the United States, 2,194 in the United Kingdom, 199 in Zambia, and 177 in Cambodia (Worldometer 2021). In an increasingly interdependent world, neither side is immune from threats, and the global community must work together to confront them.

Figure 2: "Human Security and the Developed World" Metaphor

This person's current Human Development looks good - well fed, well dressed.

Human security, not so good!

Source: Stewart (2021)

Human Security and State Security

Human security has often been misunderstood as an idea that replaces state security and threatens state sovereignty. However, as Ogata states, "human security reinforces state security but does not replace it"[6] (CHS 2003, 5), and the 2012 UN General Assembly resolution (A/RES/66/290) also clearly states the importance of respect for national sovereignty (UNGA 2012). In an era of new and complex challenges such as environmental pollution, international terrorism, and infectious diseases, as well as domestic conflicts, traditional state security is no longer sufficient, and human security, in which people keep themselves safe through protection and empowerment, is necessary. In today's globalized world, where there are interconnected threats to people and nations, the goal of human security requires people, nations, and the international community to cooperate with each other to find solutions that fit each country's situation, rather than being at odds with each other.

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6   Compared to state security, human security has the following aspects: (1) the focus is on individuals and societies; (2) broader threats are embraced; (3) various actors in addition to states are involved; and (4) the empowerment of people is emphasized (CHS 2003, 4).

Human Security and the SDGs

Human security is the foundation of SDGs. It stresses caring about each and every person so that "no one is left behind" and focusing on threats and vulnerabilities, with an emphasis on prevention and recovery for sustainable development. Human security could also be a catalyst that provides a cross-cutting perspective connecting development goals and actions for enhancing resilience that are dispersed across sectors. In these ways, human security practices support the promotion and realization of SDGs. According to the analysis by Sachs et al., the degree of SDGs achievement has regressed (in terms of global average) in 2020 for the first time since their introduction in 2015 due to the unprecedented COVID-19 disaster (Figure 3). The Build Back Better (BBB) approach of the SDGs requires human security practices.

Figure 3: Progress on the SDG Index
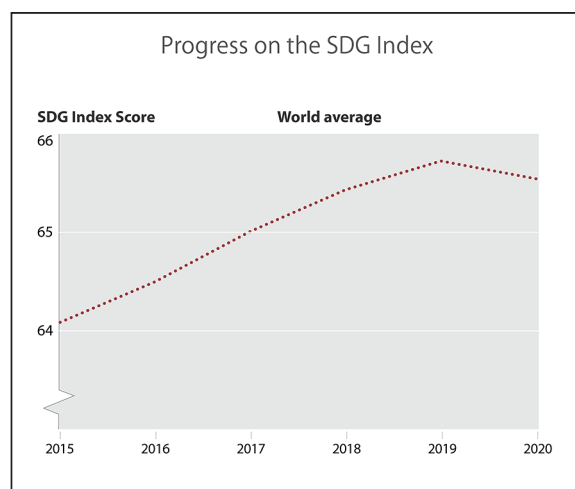
Source: Sachs et al. (2021)

2. JICA's Practices and Research

JICA is the only development cooperation organization in the world that has human security as its mission. Since Sadako Ogata, co-chair of the Commission on Human Security, assumed the post of President of JICA in 2003, the entire organization has worked to put the concept of human security

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The Practice of Human Security: Measures to Deal with Human Trafficking in Southeast Asia

Trafficking in persons, which deprives people of their liberty in various ways such as exploitation, forced labor, and organ trafficking, is a serious threat to human security. Persons who are deceived and trafficked into vulnerable situations are robbed of their dignity, often as a result of chronic poverty and conflict. Responding to human trafficking and restoring the dignity of survivors of human trafficking requires a combination of two approaches to human security: protection and empowerment.

It is important to ensure closeness to survivors and to collaborate with different professional service providers, including social welfare, police, medicine, mental health care, and the judiciary, across borders as needed. It is also necessary for everyone to be aware of trafficking in order to reinforce prevention. JICA has supported workshops in Thailand to exchange knowledge from countries in the Mekong region, helping to strengthen the network. In Myanmar, JICA provided training to organizations that support survivors. In Vietnam, JICA contributed to strengthening telephone counseling services to prevent further human trafficking and support the survivors through improved quality of counseling.

Ako Muto, JICA Ogata Research Institute

into practice. Human security was also included as a basic policy of the Japanese government in the revision of the Official Development Assistance Charter (ODA Charter) in the same year.

However, at the time of its introduction, the concept was so broad and abstract that "there was some initial confusion among staff as to how it would be reflected in projects at JICA, a development assistance organization[7]" (JICA 2019a, 31). Therefore, in order to visualize the concept and promote its implementation in the field, JICA set up the *Seven Perspectives on Human Security*[8] as guidance, analyzed many case studies, and made efforts to disseminate its findings both internally and externally.

As a result, progress was made in putting the concept into practice, and by 2010, approximately 60% of new projects were recognized as being in line with the idea of human security (ibid., 131). Support for peacebuilding and assistance to socially vulnerable groups—such as education for girls and the persons with disabilities, as well as measures against trafficking in persons—has expanded in areas that JICA had not necessarily focused on in the past. Assistance in disasters, economic crises, and infectious diseases, as well as support for rural areas and communities, has also been expanded. These changes occurred before the introduction of the concept of human security, but the introduction of the concept helped to expand and consolidate it (for details, see Muto et al., *History of Human Security Research: Efforts of the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development* in this report. Henceforth, Muto et al. 2022). On the other hand, the implementation of the *Seven Perspectives on Human Security* guidance has sometimes become doctrinaire or merely a formality. For example, in cases where the scale of the project was small and the goals were narrowed down, there were cases where the project design became unreasonable due to an overly formalistic attempt to fulfill all seven perspectives.

Although the *Seven Perspectives on Human Security* are not consciously used now, the significance of the concept has taken root and become part of the intrinsic working practice of JICA staff. Contributions to human security are routinely discussed at JICA board meetings and in the project review process of each department. Staff strive to put the concept into practice in the formation of regional and country strategies, project design, and implementation.

In 2019, twenty-five years after the *Human Development Report 1994*, under the leadership of President Shinichi Kitaoka, JICA decided to reassess and strengthen its human security practices in response to current threats in light of the changing international landscape. JICA announced *Revisiting Human Security in Today's Global Context (Human Security 2.0)*, which aims to respond to today's challenges dynamically and has expanded the scope of its activities based on the belief that

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7   Translated by the author. The original text is in Japanese.

8   The *Seven Perspectives on Human Security* are: (1) Reaching those in need through a people-centered approach; (2) Empowering people as well as protecting them; (3) Focusing on the most vulnerable people, whose lives, livelihoods, and dignity are at risk; (4) Comprehensively addressing both "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear"; (5) Responding to people's needs by assessing and addressing threats through flexible and inter-sectoral approaches; (6) Working with both government and local communities to realize sustainable development; and (7) Strengthening partnership with various actors to achieve a higher impact from assistance (Translated by the author. The original text is in Japanese.)

the international community and national governments have a responsibility to create a society in which the rights of the people are guaranteed.

The JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development (JICA Ogata Research Institute) has been exploring the concept and practice of human security through research on its relationship with national sovereignty and development cooperation (Muto et al. 2022). This overlaps with JICA's process of embracing human security as a global norm. Various research has revealed the process of applying human security not only at the state level but also at the field, local, and community levels—with East Asia as the primary target.

3. Threats in Today's World

It has been almost thirty years since the concept of human security was propounded. The threats surrounding people have changed dramatically. Traditional issues such as conflicts, the increase in the number of refugees, the violation and erosion of so-called "universal values" such as human rights, the rule of law, and democracy, and the adverse effects of globalization such as widening inequality, have become acute. At the same time, issues that were not apparent three decades ago—such as the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, the problems caused by technological developments, and new social challenges due to aging populations—are becoming threats to people. According to the Global Risks Perception Survey (GRPS), conducted worldwide from September to October 2021, approximately 90% of people are increasingly concerned about vulnerability and widening disparities due to multiple threats (Figure 4).

Among the traditional threats that are becoming more acute, for example, the number of conflicts in the world reached a peak in the early 1990s, setting the scene for the creation of the concept of

Figure 4: Global Risk Perception Survey: Outlook for the World

"What is your outlook for the world over the next three years?"

Negative scenarios   Positive scenario

41.8%
Consistently volatile with multiple surprises

37.4%
Fractured trajectories separating relative winners and losers

10.7%
Accelerating global recovery

10.1%
Progressive tipping points with increasing catastrophic outcomes

Source: WEF (2022)

human security. After a slight decline, the number of conflicts reversed and rose from 2015, reaching a record high of 56 in 2020, resulting in the deaths of more than 80,000 people (Figure 5). The number of refugees and internally displaced persons worldwide has increased dramatically since 2011, reaching an all-time high of 82.4 million in 2020 (UNHCR 2021). Although large-scale civil wars have decreased in recent years, rebel groups continue to engage in conflict and violence and expand their areas of control, leading to conflicts, issues for refugees and internally displaced persons becoming more protracted

Figure 5: The Number of Conflicts and Deaths around the World
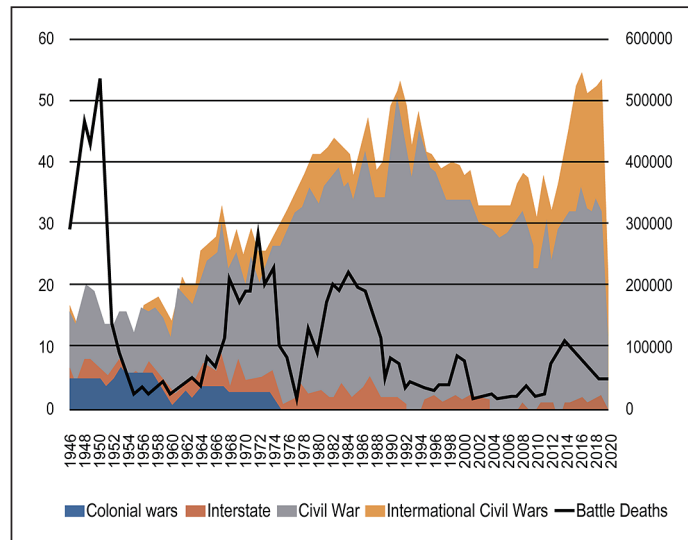
Source: Uppsala University (2021)

and significantly more internationalized due to the spread of violent extremism.

The Foreword to *Human Security Now* stated that "Democratic principles and practices are continuing to gain ground and to attract stronger support" (CHS 2003). In recent years, however, authoritarianism has spread, and democratic regimes have suddenly collapsed in several countries, pointing to the stagnation of democracy. Even in Western countries, democracy is being called into question by widening economic disparities and the spread of fake news and hate speech. So-called "universal values" such as democracy, the rule of law, and human rights are being severely challenged. Some studies point to the loss of social cohesion due to the prolonged COVID-19 pandemic as the world's biggest immediate problem (GRPS 2021).

Next, we turn to new threats. The COVID-19 pandemic is causing enormous human, social, and economic losses worldwide, with a cumulative total of about 490 million people infected (Figure 6) and 6.14 million dead as of the end of March 2022 (CSSE and Johns Hopkins University 2022). Global economic growth, which was −0.1% even during the 2008 global financial crisis, was severely hit by the COVID-19 pandemic, falling to −3.1% in 2020 (IMF 2021), with 223.7 million people unemployed in 2021 (ILO 2022). Although recovery is expected after 2022, the future is uncertain due to delays in vaccination in developing countries and the spread of the Omicron strain. Losing employment and education opportunities, widening social and economic disparities, and disrupting human mobility and supply chains, the damage caused by COVID-19 is unprecedented. The impact on vulnerable groups such as children, women, and the elderly, as well as refugees and displaced people, is particularly severe. These are some of the factors jeopardizing the achievement of the SDGs, which set 2030 as the target year.

Looking at climate change, the global average surface temperature has been trending upward since the Industrial Revolution and has already increased by about 1.0°C. The world's average

Figure 6: Cumulative COVID-19 Cases by World Region

Cumulative confiemed COVID-19 cases by world region
The number of confirmed cases is lower than the number of actual cases. The main reason for this is limited testing.

Our World in Data

Africa
Oceania
South America

North America

Europe

Asia excl. China

China

400 million

300 million

200 million

100 million

0

Jan 22, 2020   Aug 8, 2020   Feb 24, 2021   Sep 12, 2021   Mar 30, 2022
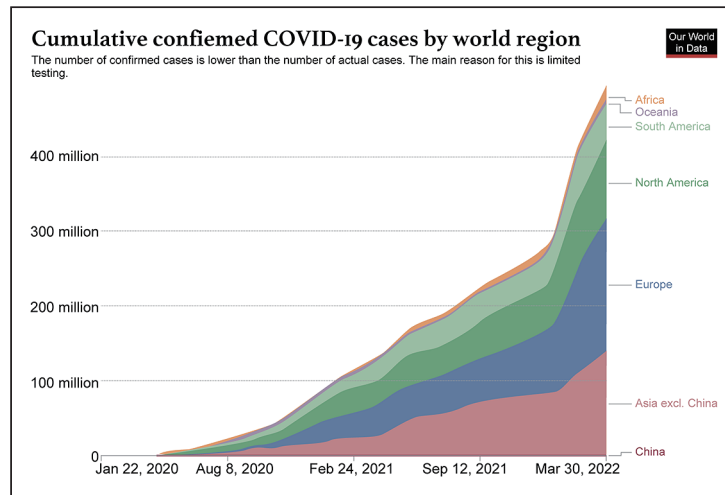
Source: Johns Hopkins University CSSE COVID-19 Data (as of March 31, 2022)

temperature is expected to rise further in the near future if changes in our socio-economic behavior and technological innovations do not occur. According to the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) report (2021), global warming is causing climate and weather changes, and the effects of natural disasters such as extreme temperature increases (heat waves), localized heavy rainfall events, and increasingly powerful hurricanes are expected to worsen. As a result, various systems will be affected, including (1) terrestrial and marine ecosystems, (2) water resources and water environment, (3) agriculture and food, (4) cities, settlements, and infrastructure, (5) health and welfare, and (6) poverty and livelihoods. To address these issues effectively, early measures and responses are required (JICA 2021c). The 26th Conference of the Parties (COP26) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), held in 2021, confirmed the goal of limiting the increase in global average temperature to 1.5°C or less relative to pre-industrial levels. Many developing countries depend on the natural environment for agriculture and other economic activities and have vulnerable basic infrastructure such as housing. Therefore, measures designed to avoid and mitigate the effects of climate and weather change will require greater expenditures. Comprehensive efforts from a human security perspective are essential to protect people's lives, livelihoods, and dignity from the impacts of climate change.

Figure 7: Number of Natural Disasters around the World

500
400
300
200
100
0

1970 1973 1976 1979 1982 1985 1988 1991 1994 1997 2000 2003 2006 2009 2012 2015 2018

Hydrological   Meteorological
Climatological   total
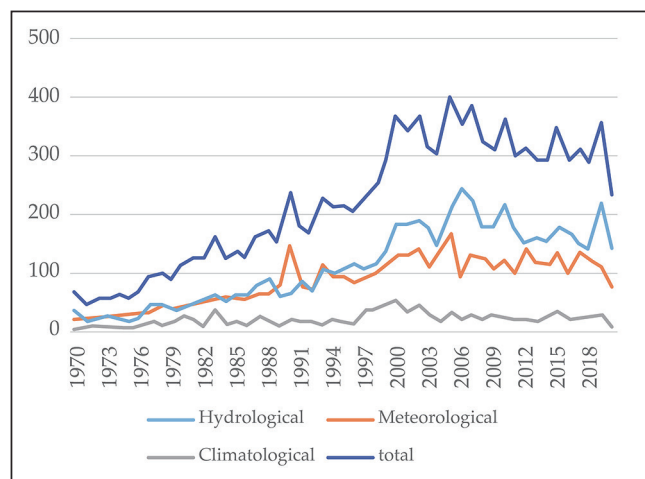
Source: CRED (2021)

4. Human Security in the Face of Today's Threats

This section discusses the significance of human security and what it can do as a catalyst in response to the severe threats that people face today.

4.1 The Social Contract and Human Security

The COVID-19 disaster and climate change are considered to be two of the greatest threats to humanity today because of the magnitude and cascading nature of their effects. These two threats directly affect a large majority of individuals and communities in unpredictable, persistent, and potentially catastrophic ways, leading to growing people's awareness of the compounding crisis (GRPS 2021). Mask-wearing, working from home, restrictions on travel, and the inability to meet loved ones have become normalized. Hospitals are overflowing with patients, with some dying during emergency transport. Unprecedented extreme weather has brought floods, droughts, typhoons, tornadoes, and wildfires. Tragedy and grief have become familiar to many as the flood control infrastructure developed over hundreds of years has failed, and muddy water overflows levees and rushes into homes, causing many deaths.

Due to the unprecedented crisis and people's heightened awareness of the crisis, many political and social commentators and theorists are undertaking a review of the social contract[9] (Stiglitz 2020;

Implementing Human Security:
Protecting the Livelihoods of People and the World by Conserving Forests

The conservation of forests, with their role in absorbing and storing carbon dioxide, is one of the most crucial climate change mitigation measures. In particular, conserving the world's three major tropical forests in the Amazon, the Congo Basin, and Southeast Asia is of great significance in reducing the effects of global climate change. JICA and the Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency (JAXA) have launched the Forest Early Warning System in the Tropics. This allows anyone to access information from JAXA's satellites free of charge and observe adverse events occurring even under thick clouds. The system currently provides observation data on tropical forest change in 78 countries worldwide. In Brazil and Peru, this data is being used to crack down on illegal logging, contributing to the conservation of tropical forests in the Amazon.

Forests also play a role in water purification and disaster prevention and are closely related to the lives of local residents, providing food and firewood. On the other hand, excessive use of forests by local people, such as slash-and-burn farming and logging, often leads to deforestation. Therefore, JICA has been working in Vietnam, Ethiopia, and other countries around the world to create a system in which forest rangers and communities can work together to both conserve forests and improve local people's livelihoods. Creating a society in which forests and local communities coexist means creating a resilient social system that can cope with both the threat of global climate change and the threat of poverty that prevents people from attaining a minimum standard of living.

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9   The social contract is the idea that individuals recognize and accept the power of the state and the rights of others because they have entered into a social contract with each other, in which they receive the benefits of the political order in exchange for some of their own freedoms. The review of the social contract is addressed at (1) the global level (SDGs), (2) regional level, (3) national level, and (4) community level.

Shiraishi 2020). In other words, there is a need to dynamically assess the trilemma that all three of 'safety, prosperity, and freedom' cannot be realized at the same time and rethink the roles of 'the market (company), government, and civil society.' For example, in the case of the COVID-19 pandemic, the balance between infection prevention (safety) and economic activity (prosperity and freedom) is a difficult choice, and reviewing the role of government is also a significant challenge. Forty years of neoliberalism have reduced and weakened the functions of government, resulting in a failure to respond appropriately to crises like COVID-19 (Stiglitz 2020). In some cases, depending on how those problems are addressed (policy response), political upheaval or even a change of government is taking place.
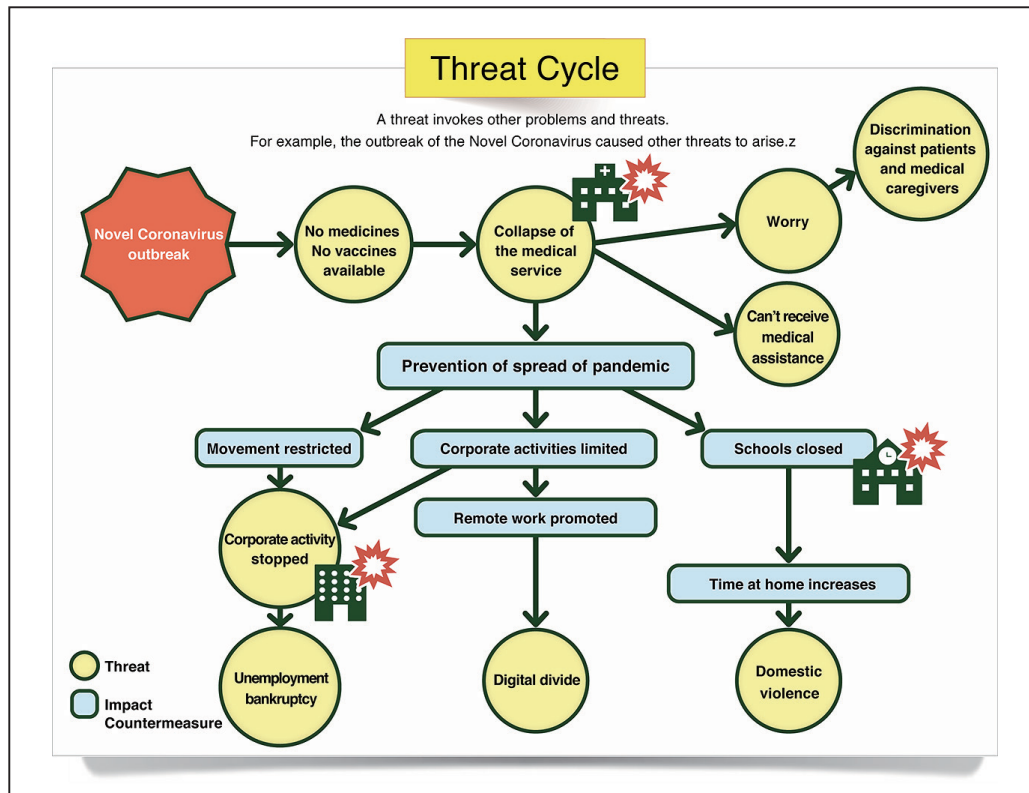
Ensuring 'safety' is precisely the central issue of human security. A human security perspective is useful in reviewing the social contract in response to people's heightened awareness of crisis. Governments, companies, and civil society need to discuss each threat and the system, division of roles, and the vulnerabilities of each sector, and then find answers to the trilemma. There are no simple answers, and the priorities and focus need to be established by flexibly adapting the speed and sequence of measures to the changing set of threats, taking into account the national and regional context. The role of governments is essential for protecting and empowering people against threats, and the empowerment and collaboration of governments, markets (companies), and civil society must be promoted at the national, regional, and global levels. The people's sense of crisis tends to weaken over time. Even in the case of catastrophic disasters such as earthquakes and tsunamis, people's memories fade over time and their resilience declines. The human security approach is effective in maintaining people's awareness of crisis and willingness to improve resilience while ensuring freedom and prosperity.

4.2 Cross-cutting and Comprehensive Approach to Threats Based on Human Security

In the previous section, I focused on the issue of states in relation to the social contract, but in this section, I would like to move on to the development policy issue. To effectively address a wide range of threats to human security, it is essential to address each phenomenon individually, but in addition, it is necessary to take an integrated view of various issues (CHS 2003). Many people live in 'cascading threats' where various disciplines overlap and intersect (Figure 8). In reality, however, in the manifestation of the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change issues, efforts tend to be planned and implemented in silos—such as agriculture and resilience, health and resilience, and local government and resilience—by experts in those fields. In response to the people's growing awareness of crises, the concept of human security, which views chains of threats in a holistic manner, serves as an effective tool for creating a society and system that can correctly understand and appropriately respond to the problems of today's world.

Specifically, for example, at the national and regional levels, governments and international organizations should identify threats and vulnerabilities of each entity in a cross-sectoral manner, set goals, and prioritize actions to realize human security—including dignity—and implement them and evaluate the impact in a participatory manner. The envisaged steps are outlined below (United

Figure 8: Interconnected Threats (Example COVID-19 Pandemic)

Threat Cycle

A threat invokes other problems and threats.
For example, the outbreak of the Novel Coronavirus caused other threats to arise.z

- Novel Coronavirus outbreak
- No medicines No vaccines available
- Collapse of the medical service
- Worry
- Discrimination against patients and medical caregivers
- Can't receive medical assistance
- Prevention of spread of pandemic
- Movement restricted
- Corporate activities limited
- Schools closed
- Remote work promoted
- Corporate activity stopped
- Time at home increases
- Unemployment bankruptcy
- Digital divide
- Domestic violence

Threat
Impact Countermeasure

Source: JICA (2020b)

Nations Human Security Unit 2021a, 2021b; Jolly 2014). Human security should also be reflected in each donor's development cooperation strategy:

a) Situation analysis of human security in national, regional, and global contexts (threats, vulnerabilities, dignity status, impact on people, etc.)
b) Mapping of needs and capacities (priorities, target groups, regions, etc.)
c) Development of protection and empowerment strategies for human security
d) Identification of specific programs and actions
e) Participatory implementation and training of programs and projects
f) Measurement of the impact on human security and feedback to development goals, etc.

For example, a country might have an industrial structure dependent on primary commodities, with a fragile basic structure and a rapidly expanding gap between rich and poor. There might also be an ongoing process of urbanization, leading to urban environmental degradation and rural exhaustion occurring simultaneously. The combination of the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, and the influx of refugees from neighboring countries can be addressed through bottom-up (empowerment)

and top-down (protection) approaches. The UN Human Security Unit has a wealth of experience in analyzing country case studies based on human security, and the JICA Ogata Research Institute has also conducted many case studies, providing an invaluable resource on human security practices (Muto et al. 2022). While Hanatani's *Understanding and Practicing Human Security in Africa: History and Changes amid the COVID-19 Pandemic* in this report (Henceforth, Hanatani 2022) focuses on Africa, human security issues in different regions—whether Africa, Asia, Latin America, or Europe—naturally differ in terms of their historical, geographical, and geopolitical perspectives and therefore must be addressed in the context of each region and country.

4.3   Emphasis on Dignity through Human Security

Lockdowns and curfews due to the COVID-19 pandemic have sometimes exposed the supposedly safest homes to stress and violence through the increasing incidence of domestic violence and divorce (Kunii 2022). According to Oxfam International (Harvey 2021), in ten target countries, calls to helplines for domestic abuse and violence against women increased by between 25% and 111% in 2020 from the previous year, although the number varies from country to country. In the early stages of the epidemic, overt discrimination, prejudice, and violence against infected people and their families, as well as against health care workers, were reported in many countries (Kunii 2022). These are examples of people's dignity being taken away by threats.

Human Security Now stated that we should face situations where people's dignity is being undermined by diverse threats, and we need to ensure that the dignity of people who are frightened by insecurity is respected to the fullest extent (CHS 2003, 12–18). Respect for dignity requires understanding and consideration of the diversity of people's regions, ethnic groups, cultures, gender differences, and social positions, as well as the individual autonomy of each person to make their own decisions (Muto et al. 2022). Freedom of expression and political participation, or equality before the law, are essential to dignity.

On the other hand, compared to threats such as disasters, infectious diseases, and violence, dignity is more difficult to grasp objectively because it involves issues of the human mind, such as isolation and despair. An objective approach to examining people's subjectivity is needed. Takasu (2019) used Japan as a case study to visualize issues such as poverty and bullying of children, discrimination against women, poverty and isolation of youth and the elderly, prejudice against the people with disabilities, LGBT, disaster survivors, or foreigners, etc., degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with one's life, and sense of social solidarity. Visualization of dignity can lead to concrete actions on the ground.

Respect for people's dignity is at the core of efforts to address the trilemma of "safety, prosperity, and freedom" as well as efforts to analyze and tackle cross-sectoral threats based on a human security perspective, as mentioned in Sub-sections 4.1 and 4.2.

5. Human Security Today and New Development Cooperation

5.1 Three Transformations of Development Cooperation

Underpinning efforts to achieve the SDGs, a new major wave of development cooperation is now dynamically in motion and attracting increasing attention. To further promote the realization of human security against today's new threats, these trends should be strategically adopted and effectively utilized in developing countries. The global development regime has evolved from the poverty reduction regime of the 1990s to the MDGs and then on to the SDGs, but the comprehensive and dispersed nature of the goals and activities has resulted in a lack of focus and direction. At the other end of the scale, however, the following three transformations have emerged at the grassroots of the global development regime in recent years.

      (1) Creating shared value (CSV) transformation
      (2) Digital transformation (DX)
      (3) Global governance transformation

These three transformations and human security have the following three points in common. First, they have the potential of protecting people's lives, livelihoods, and dignity from various threats by creating a resilient society. Second, they are bottom-up initiatives by businesses and NGOs. Third, they are network-based, transcending national and sectoral boundaries. The three transformations are interrelated and have been developing at an accelerated pace in recent years due to the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change. These transformations also aim to dynamically realize inclusive development for those who are all too frequently left behind and promote human security by fostering the ability to respond to and overcome various threats.

5.2 Creating Shared Value (CSV) Transformation

Michael Porter referred to the concept of "Creating Shared Values (CSV)" (Porter and Kramer 2011), in which companies create not only economic value (profit, etc.) but also social value to meet social needs. Against the backdrop of excessive capitalism and the emergence of socioeconomic issues such as environmental problems, human rights abuses, and inequality, the number of companies seeking to pursue both economic profit and social contributions has been steadily increasing worldwide in recent years (McKinsey & Company 2020). This trend has been further accelerated by climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic. The UNDP (2022) thus argues that, under the concept of human security, development patterns should be changed because traditional development approaches have contributed to the emergence of threats such as climate change in the Anthropocene context, whereby humans are now disrupting planetary processes. This can be understood as a concept similar to CSV. Specific global trends in CSV include sustainable finance, business and human rights, and social business, each of which is addressed in the following sections:

Sustainable Finance

Sustainable finance,[10] in which companies[11] address and contribute to environmental and climate change issues, social issues, and corporate governance issues (ESG factors[12]), has grown by 55% globally since 2016, reaching a massive USD 35.3 trillion in 2020 (Figure 9). The amount is growing at an average annual rate of USD 3.1 trillion. This is far more than the approximately USD 150 billion (per year) in bilateral aid (ODA) worldwide, although the amounts are not simply comparable. While contributing to the realization of a sustainable society through sustainable finance, companies constantly re-examine and update the resilience of their strategies to address changes in the external environment (Japan Financial Services Agency 2021, 9–11). Companies that work to strengthen the resilience of their strategies over the medium and long term while addressing social issues, can contribute to the realization of global human security.

Among the various forms of sustainable finance, impact investment, which is more strongly intended to solve social and environmental challenges, has been attracting attention and expanding globally in recent years, reaching a market size of USD 715 billion in 2020 (GIIN 2020). In this area, there is a growing number of cases where impacts that contribute to human security are used as a direct outcome indicator. For example, Blue Orchard, a private investment institution founded in

Figure 9: Sustainable Finance: Global Investing Assets

FIGURE1 **Snapshot of global sustainable investing assets, 2016-2018-2020 (USD billions)**

REGION	2016	2018	2020
Europe*	12,040	14,075	12,017
United States	8,723	11,995	17,081
Canada	1,086	1,699	2,423
Australasia*	516	734	906
Japan	474	2,180	2,874
Total (USD billions)	**22,839**	**30,683**	**35,301**

Source: GSIA (2021)

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10   Sustainable finance is "a financial mechanism that supports the development of the economy, industry, and society toward a desirable state through decision-making and reflection in actions on a wide range of issues toward the realization of a sustainable economic and social system" (Japan Financial Services Agency 2021, 4. Translated by the author. The original text is in Japanese.). Specifically, this mechanism includes ESG investments, impact investments, green bonds/loans, social bonds/loans, etc.

11   Private companies, financial institutes, and investors.

12   ESG factors: Environment, Social and Governance.

Switzerland, has established a microfinance fund that has so far invested about USD 7 billion in more than 540 institutions in 80 countries, mainly in developing countries, and provided more than 58 million small entrepreneurs with access to finance (Amma 2021, 24).

To promote human security further, it may prove beneficial to guide more sustainable finance to developing countries, much of which is currently directed to developed countries with only limited amounts ending up in developing countries. Development cooperation can serve as a catalyst for this, allowing for broadening the range of threats and social issues to be addressed from a human security perspective. For example, development cooperation can contribute to human security through delivering technical assistance for fostering sustainable finance markets in developing countries, lending and investing to financial institutions and funds to attract private capital, and providing microfinance to poor women affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. It is particularly essential to mobilize impact investments with clear development outcomes. The issuance of 'human security bonds' is also worthy of consideration, although the indicators need to be devised.

Business and Human Rights

The concept of business and human rights—which requires companies and governments to identify human rights risks (human rights due diligence) and take appropriate measures—has spread around the world with the agreement of the Guiding Principles by the UN Human Rights Council in 2011. Now, many countries are legislating regulations to address forced labor, human trafficking, etc., in their supply chains. Respect for human rights in corporate activities is one of the key elements of "Society (S)" as a core component of ESG.

If a company practices economic activities while adhering to the principle of respect for human rights, it will improve its competitiveness in the global marketplace as an opportunity and help solve human rights issues for many companies, organizations, and people along its extended supply chain, thereby contributing to the realization of the dignity component of human security. For example, when a company that sells garments outsources manufacturing to a subcontractor in a developing country, it can improve human rights issues by conducting a preliminary human rights screening and requiring corrective actions if problems arise, such as child labor or occupational health.

Under the prolonged COVID-19 pandemic, countries and regions worldwide have begun to review their supply chains and industries. Development cooperation can support institutional and policy development in developing countries by, for example, incorporating the concept of 'business and human rights' and including due diligence on human rights from the perspective of ensuring people's dignity.

Social Business

Since the 1990s, social businesses have been expanding worldwide. Social businesses seek, through business, to solve social problems such as poverty, disease, violence, declining birthrates, aging populations, and the polluted environments that threaten people and society. Muhammad Yunus, founder of Grameen Bank, which supports the self-reliance of the poor through unsecured micro-loans, has identified the following principles of social business: to solve social problems while

achieving economic sustainability, to reinvest profits in further social businesses or their own companies, and to be gender and environmentally conscious (Yunus 2009; Yunus Centre 2022[13]).

To cite a specific example, the London-based company The Big Issue has developed a unique homeless support system in which street people sell magazines on the street and split the proceeds with the company. The company has been able to create a new model in which street people sell magazines to generate income and at the same time reconnect with people and society (Tanimoto 2013). This attempt to help people regain their dignity has now been extended to 35 countries.[14] In another instance, in India, the cab company TAXSHE provides safe cab services using female drivers for women and children, as they often tend to be at greater risk of harassment and violence.[15]

There are many people who are, despite their extremely strong desire to address social issues, unable to start their own businesses due to a lack of funds, management skills, experience, or know-how. Similarly, a number of companies have to step back from social business because they cannot balance social and business objectives. Development cooperation can promote social business as a catalyst to reduce business risks for social entrepreneurs by, for example, conducting research on social issues and markets, supporting business model formulation, improving productivity through 'kaizen' (continuous improvement), attracting impact investment, and providing low-interest and long-term financing support.

5.3   Digital Transformation (DX)

The global COVID-19 pandemic has triggered a dramatic shift in the digitization of the economy and society. The global smartphone penetration rate has reached 67% of the population (GSMA 2021), and the global DX market is growing by 16% annually (UnivDatos Market Insights 2021). DX can contribute significantly to human security if it enables digital data to solve problems and build a

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Practicing Human Security: Project "NINJA," Supporting Social Entrepreneurs in Africa

Since 2020, JICA's Project NINJA (Next Innovation with Japan) has been supporting entrepreneurs by promoting business innovation in developing countries. The program conducts entrepreneurship-awareness activities, identifies issues faced by entrepreneurs, makes policy recommendations, and strengthens the capacity of business management. As part of these activities, the project has identified social entrepreneurs through business contests held in 19 African countries. It has also supported their business models in activities, such as assisting small-scale farming with drones and satellites, and promoting medical examinations of pregnant women in rural areas with portable ultrasound equipment.

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13   https://www.muhammadyunus.org/post/363/seven-principles-of-social-business Accessed January 24, 2022.

14   https://www.bigissue.com/about-the-big-issue-group/ Accessed January 24, 2022.

15   https://www.upayasv.org/blog/taxshe-spotlight Accessed January 31, 2022.

society where each individual can experience wellbeing and fulfillment by ensuring safety and offering a range of opportunities. Developments in information technologies (IT) will make it easier to obtain not only macro-level data but also information on specific groups and individuals. This could lead to a better understanding of and response to vulnerable populations (e.g., data collection in conflict-affected areas using smartphones and satellites).

With regard to COVID-19, IT-based data collection, analysis, and dissemination have become faster and more sophisticated around the world, and the spread of mutant strains, which had been difficult to track in the past, can now be understood in real-time, making a significant contribution to the development of countermeasures (Kunii 2022). There are a great many examples that can be linked to human security, such as disaster response efforts using drones and artificial intelligence (AI), the use of smartphones and social networking services to track information on outings and consumption trends during the COVID-19 pandemic, and 'age tech' for an aging society (*The Economist*, October 23, 2021). There are also many advanced examples in developing countries; Kenya's M-PESA, a well-known example of leapfrogging, grew rapidly with mobile payments services and is now addressing social issues such as agriculture, education, and health.

We also need to confront the downsides of DX. About half of the world's people do not have access to the Internet, and the gap between those who can and cannot benefit from digital technology—the so-called "digital divide"—is widening both nationally and internationally. Gaps between urban and rural areas, men and women, and young and old have also been noted (World Bank 2016). Accessibility of information, protection of personal data, and bias by AI (e.g., discriminatory analysis) are issues of human dignity. Cyber-attacks, autonomous weapons systems, and the proliferation of fake news are new threats of our time and need to be addressed appropriately as human security issues.

5.4   Global Governance Transformation

Global governance based on multilateral cooperation has been weakened by geopolitical conflicts and growing unilateralism and is further challenged by the COVID-19 pandemic (JICA 2020a). In recent years, on the other hand, non-state actors such as NGOs and corporations have taken the lead in norm- and rule-making and operations in areas such as the environment, climate change, fair trade, human rights, sustainable finance, and corruption, bottom-up governance (so-called "orchestration"). International organizations and national governments utilize and endorse such non-state actors in achieving their own goals (Abbott et al. 2015).

For example, the activities of the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) to certify sustainable forests, the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) to certify sustainable fisheries, and international nonprofit organizations (such as the International Sustainability Standards Board, or ISSB) to promote standardized disclosure of nonfinancial information, such as ESG information, are well known and successful. Moreover, in the area of climate change, scientists, NGOs, corporations, and local governments are having a significant impact on rule formation.

In the long run, it is the awareness of the members of a society that determines the actions of the government and the state. In fact, the method of approaching communities at the base level can be the

most reliable and effective way to bring about change (Muto et al. 2022). For a steady Build Back Better (BBB) in a post-COVID-19 world, civil society needs to strengthen bottom-up, cross-border and cross-sectoral networks to prepare for various threats, including new infectious diseases. This could help to build a more resilient global governance that reduces the influence of global politics, thereby leading to human security in practice. The potential for this to be achieved through the use of information technology—especially through online platforms such as social networking sites—is enormous. The key is the extent to which the concept of human security is shared by civil society: development cooperation can serve as a catalyst for linking the human security concept and civil society.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has described how, some thirty years after the birth of human security, serious threats have emerged and re-emerged around the world. In particular, the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change have emerged as two of the biggest threats to humanity and have amplified people's sense of crisis, resulting in a rethinking of the social contract in many countries worldwide. In order to analyze and respond to the various threats and vulnerabilities in a chain of events in a cross-sectional manner, a human security perspective and approach are effective, and a perspective that emphasizes the realization of dignity is essential. Meanwhile, three transformations—CSV, digital, and global governance—are occurring around the world. Development cooperation should act as a catalyst to make the most use of these changes to promote the realization of human security.

In fact, all of these factors are connected. For example, the cross-cutting analysis and recommendations by human security provide evidence for a review of the social contract against the trilemma of safety, prosperity, and freedom. The aforementioned three transformations influence these reviews of the social contract through the resolution of social issues and their impact on public opinion. These are also, in turn, influenced by the changing social contract.

Development cooperation is one 'catalyst' for the realization of human security. Development cooperation's catalytic function is to mobilize private finance, science and technology and to strengthen networks with various partners, including NGOs, businesses, and international organizations. Alternatively, by linking multiple sectors, we can achieve significant development impacts and contribute to human security. It is also essential to steadily implement individual development projects on the ground that lead to everyday, steady human security.

In order to realize these goals, several challenges to be addressed in the future are listed below (note that this does not comprise an exhaustive list). The JICA Ogata Research Institute will be closely involved in these issues.

(1) Practice and sharing of examples of cross-sectoral and comprehensive efforts to address human security-based threats globally, regionally, and nationally;
(2) Standardization of human security indicators and their local practice;
(3) Deepening discussion and strengthening responses to the realization of people's dignity, which is less visible (but no less important) than "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want;"

(4) Promoting Creating Shared Values (CSV) transformations from a human security perspective;

(5) Promoting digital transformations from the perspective of human security;

(6) Promoting global governance transformation from a human security perspective;

(7) Strengthening efforts for peacebuilding, including countering violent extremism;

(8) Pursuing synergies between the state, civil society, and the private sector in human security; and

(9) Promoting human security at the community level.

On one occasion, a highly respected intellectual commented to Sadako Ogata that, "For a long time, we have talked about freedom from fear and want, fulfillment of dignity, etc.," to which she responded, "Yes, indeed, we have been saying it for a long time, but nothing has been done about it. Human security is a practice. People will not wait and they will die in the meantime. Action is what matters now." Against today's unprecedented threats, the practice and action of human security are indeed now strongly needed.

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History of Human Security Research: Efforts of the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development

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Introduction[1]

Twenty-eight years—more than a quarter of a century—have passed since a report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) first proposed the concept of "human security" in 1994. During this period, there have been numerous active discussions in the international community and academic circles on the meaning of the human security concept and ways of realizing it. This article reviews the research conducted by the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development (henceforth referred to as "JICA Ogata Research Institute") in relation to human security. It provides an overview of the insights that have emerged from this research, and based on these discussions, it assesses the future of research into human security.

The JICA Ogata Research Institute is a department of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), a bilateral development cooperation agency of the Japanese government. It has been responsible for researching issues faced by developing countries at the field level and disseminating its findings to the international community. Since 2003, JICA has incorporated human security as a fundamental principle of its development cooperation (see Makino Koji's *Human Security Today and Development Cooperation* in this report. Henceforth, Makino 2022). The JICA Ogata Research Institute has also been continuously engaged in research on human security as one of its priority issues. With the launch of this report, we hope to demonstrate the significance of human security in today's context and to promote interest in human security and its study to a greater number of readers.

Section 1 outlines the historical background of the "human security" concept and its acceptance, while Section 2 reviews the research activities conducted by the JICA Ogata Research Institute, dividing them into several themes from the perspective of human security. Section 2 details the efforts made by the JICA Ogata Research Institute regarding the study of human security practices—an area that has received less attention internationally compared to the study of the concept itself. Section 3 offers some recommendations on directions that human security research should take in the future, focusing on the three perspectives of 'intergovernmental cooperation,' 'permeation and integration at the local level,' and 'dignity.'

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1   The authors would like to thank Part-time Research Assistant Chihiro Toya's contribution to setting citations and references, and for her feedback to the draft of this article.

1. Historical Development of the Concept of "Human Security" to the Present Day

The UNDP's 1994 *Human Development Report* (UNDP 1994) first raised "human security" as a policy issue to be addressed by the international community. The report defines human security as ensuring a secure environment for human development, a concept proposed by economist Amartya Sen, who redefined development as the process of increasing people's opportunities for free choice, based on his capability theory.[2] The report also identifies "freedom from fear" (for instance, freedom from armed conflict and humanitarian crises) and "freedom from want" (for example, freedom from poverty and hunger) as essential concerns for human security, noting the deep interconnectedness of these two goals and the importance of prevention and people-centered perspective. While the UN Security Council and General Assembly (UNGA) have traditionally dealt with security issues, the UNDP proposed this concept to reposition key areas such as education, food, and the environment— traditionally categorized as development concerns—as security issues. They also identified the decrease in military spending following the end of the Cold War as an opportunity to shift the focus to the field of development. This was in anticipation of a post-Cold War "peace dividend," whereby a decrease in military spending could be redirected to the development sector (UNDP 1994).

Next, in the 2000s, the 'human security' concept attracted attention from two broad perspectives. First, at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, Canada established the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), and the following year, in 2001, the Commission introduced the concept of "Responsibility to Protect (R2P)." R2P is the concept that when a sovereign state is unable or unwilling to guarantee the security of its own citizens, the international community has a direct responsibility to protect them. R2P was a new issue raised in light of a series of large-scale massacres that occurred in Rwanda (1994), Bosnia (1995), and other countries in the period immediately following the publication of the 1994 *Human Development Report* (ICISS 2001). The ICISS cited human security—especially "freedom from fear"— as the basis for its responsibility to protect, and the link between the two concepts drew attention.

By contrast, Japan has focused on the broader potential of the human security concept since the Asian currency crisis of 1997. Notably, in 1998, in a speech that made human security a mainstay of his foreign policy, then-Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi stated that "we

安全保障の今日的課題

人間の安全保障委員会報告書

朝日新聞社

Source: Asahi Shimbun

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2   Capability is defined as the degree of freedom of choice that people can actually take, rather than as outcomes that have already been realized before their eyes, such as gross domestic product (GDP) or life expectancy. From this, "human development" was defined as expanding the range of behavioral options (Sen 1985).

wish to protect human survival, life, and dignity." He thus reiterated the importance of dignity as a higher element in addition to the emphasis placed on the importance of "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" in the UNDP's 1994 *Human Development Report* (MOFA 1998). Subsequently, in 2001, Japan led the establishment of the Commission on Human Security, co-chaired by Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen, at the United Nations. Then, in 2003, the Commission published the report titled *Human Security Now* (Commission on Human Security 2003). This report, also known as the Ogata-Sen report, identifies the threats of "deprivation" and "violent conflict" with regard to "freedom from fear," "freedom from want," and "dignity" in more concrete terms. It first proposed an interactive approach between "protection" from above and "empowerment" from below as the means to achieve human security. Historically, the Canadian approach of focusing on humanitarian intervention was sometimes referred to as a "narrow view" of human security, while the Japanese approach was sometimes called a "broad view" or the "broadest definition of human security" (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007). However, Canada dropped the 'human security' banner after the Conservative government took office in 2006. This contributed to the adoption of a resolution at the UN General Assembly in 2012 based more on the Japanese-style definition that does not include the use of force, as discussed below.

The following paragraphs provide an overview of how Japan's 'human security,' as distinguished from Canada's "responsibility to protect," has evolved since then. First, the responsibility to protect was adapted into the 2005 UN World Summit Outcome Document, which commemorated the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the UN. In the process, however, some countries expressed concern that this concept could lead to unwarranted military intervention, thereby violating the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. In addition, in light of the practical difficulties of humanitarian intervention at that time, the responsible entity for any action or intervention was expressed only vaguely, with the statement that "[t]he international community [is] prepared to take collective action" (UNGA 2005, 30).

On the other hand, 'human security' was also included in the above-mentioned UN outcome document. Subsequently, Japan took the direction of clarifying the difference between this concept and the responsibility to protect. This direction was reflected in the 2010 report issued by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, which clearly excluded military intervention as a means of realizing human security (UNGA 2010). Consequently, in 2012, Japan co-sponsored a General Assembly resolution based on the report by Ban Ki-moon with other supporting countries, and it was unanimously adopted. Here, a common understanding of human security to this day was established, in which human security is clearly distinguished from the responsibility to protect and "does not entail the threat or the use of force or coercive measures" (UNGA 2012).

This General Assembly resolution provided Member States with the responsibility of "identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people" (UNGA 2012, 1). It then asserted the right of everyone, especially those in vulnerable situations, "to live in freedom and dignity" and the "entitle[ment] to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential" (UNGA 2012, 1). The resolution also established that governments have the primary responsibility to protect the survival, livelihood, and dignity of such people. Based on this conception, measures to put

human security into practice should be "people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people and all communities" (UNGA 2012, 2).

Thus, while distinguishing itself from the "responsibility to protect" concept, which raised a radical issue about state sovereignty and intervention, 'human security' has gained a considerable degree of acceptance in the international community by incorporating as its subject matter threats as diverse as climate change to infectious diseases to financial crises. However, until the 2012 resolution, the concept had been consistently criticized for its ambiguity and questionable effectiveness (Paris 2001). There has also been some criticism that the human security concept does not emphasize tangible threats—those that most directly threaten human survival (King and Murray 2002; Owen 2004). Regarding the actors who realize human security, some have expressed views that emphasize the responsibility of the state, while there are also those who are more critical of the role of the state in realizing the human-centered concept of human security.[3]

Despite these criticisms and debates, the international consensus on human security reached in the 2012 General Assembly resolution succeeded in establishing that the target to be protected should shift from the state (territory and sovereignty) to the people (individuals and communities). Although the debate, institutionalization, and normativization of human security have not always been active since then, the concept of human security has been shared by the international community because of its comprehensiveness and it has consistently been taken up from new angles as the threats faced by each individual human have become more diverse (Mine, Gómez, and Muto 2019; Newman 2021). A new UNDP report published this year, *New Threats to Human Security in the Anthropocene* (henceforth referred to as Special Report on Human Security (2022)), will be noted for raising this concept anew in light of the latest challenges such as the COVID-19 pandemic (UNDP 2022). Human security also includes the crucial issue of 'dignity,' which has not been discussed as frequently in the past compared to the other human security components. This concept of 'dignity' is also in line with today's demand to respect the identity of individuals and communities (Fukuyama 2018; Banerjee and Duflo 2019). Thus, it can be said that human security continues to be a concept that constantly raises new issues in light of the global trend of diversifying threats and respecting identities, and at the same time constantly calls for self-reflection for those who address these issues.

The publication of this report is intended as a first step toward revitalizing the discussion of the possibilities of 'human security' today. To further that discussion, the next section summarizes the research conducted by the JICA Ogata Research Institute under this concept.

2. Evolution of the JICA Ogata Research Institute's Human Security Research

This section reviews the research conducted by the JICA Ogata Research Institute on human

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3   Bellamy and McDonald (2002) emphasize the point that the state is the primary actor in human security. Conversely, Acharya (2001) emphasizes that human security is a "post-nationalist" concept, and that "if the values of the person conflict with the values of the state," "it is people who matter most -- which is the essence of human security."

security in two subsections based on the issues raised in the previous section. Subsection 2.1 focuses on research on "fear" and "want," which were introduced at the beginning of the previous section as components of human security. This subsection will show the results of the exploration of how development cooperation can contribute to human security and what the challenges are, including the period of the former Institute for International Cooperation.[4] In Subsection 2.2, we will discuss how the JICA Ogata Research Institute's human security research has expanded since the mid-2010s, especially in recent years. For example, the JICA Ogata Research Institute has worked to deepen the concept of human security. It has also focused on elucidating how human security should be implemented. In this subsection, we review the trajectory of these efforts and confirm the institute's current standpoint on human security research.

2.1 Human Security Research Focusing on Fear and Want

2.1.1 Freedom from Want

The research report, *Poverty Reduction and Human Security*, published in Japanese in 2005 and summarized in English in 2006 by JICA, is the result of human security research that dates back to the days of the Institute for International Cooperation, when researchers and practitioners held a series of study groups and discussions on the topic (JICA 2005).

According to this report, human security provides an important perspective in promoting development cooperation for poverty reduction. In other words, development cooperation aims to benefit the poor through equitable economic and social development. In contrast, human security assumes that threats will occur and encourages taking downside risks into account (JICA 2005, 31–38). For example, everyday violence, discrimination, chronic diseases, and unsanitary living conditions are threats "embedded in daily life," while natural disasters, infectious diseases, and outbreaks of conflict are "extraordinary major" threats (JICA 2005, 15–17). When extraordinary major threats occur, it is easier for people to fall into poverty or for their original state of poverty to worsen, leading to a state of extreme poverty. The *Poverty Reduction and Human Security* report, like the 1994 *Human Development Report* discussed in the previous section, views the state of poverty as a major form of deprivation. It can also be argued that prolonged
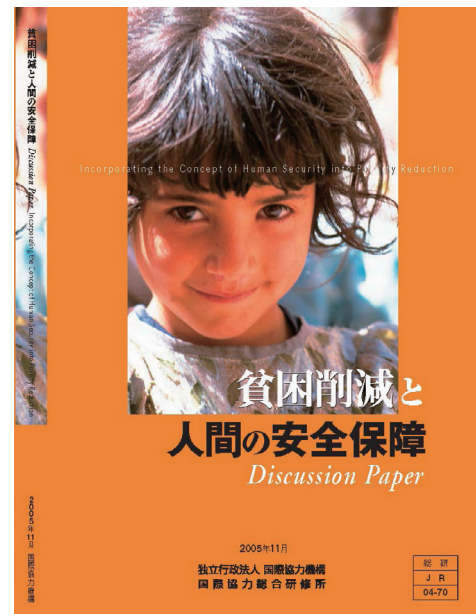
Source: JICA

4   The predecessor to the JICA Ogata Research Institute, the JICA Research Institute, was established in 2008 by combining the then Institute for International Cooperation (JICA), and the research functions of the Japan Bank for International Cooperation Institute (JBIC).

conflict and the spread of infectious diseases further impoverish the poor.

Thus, based on this report, we argue that when development cooperation integrates a human security perspective into assistance for poverty reduction, the key is the measures to prevent and mitigate the occurrence of threats and the damage they cause. Even before JICA formally introduced human security as its guideline principle, it cooperated in disaster prevention and expanding educational opportunities. These cooperation efforts help people to prepare for potential threats and empower them to recover and move forward when exposed to them. The *Poverty Reduction and Human Security* report saw this as a process whereby people strengthen their capacities and they become free from the want or deprivation caused by poverty (JICA 2005, Chapters 3 and 4). In order to implement such development cooperation, the report emphasizes the need to understand the situation of the poor from multiple perspectives, and thus the effective use of household surveys and various censuses has been advocated (JICA 2005, Chapters 2 and 4).

In summary, prior to the adoption of the 2012 UN General Assembly resolution, Institute for International Cooperation was already exploring ways to promote comprehensive human security. The outcome of the *Poverty Reduction and Human Security* report was the assertion that, in order for people to escape the deprivation caused by poverty, measures to prepare for or limit the damage of sudden threats—in other words, government protection of people—are important. At the same time, the report asserts the importance of capacity building through local administrative support and other measures. The publication of the *Poverty Reduction and Human Security* report in 2005 provides evidence of JICA's shift to a people-centered approach.

2.1.2   Freedom from Fear

There are also some research outputs related to human security by the JICA Ogata Research Institute that focus not only on deprivation but also on conflict, a threat directly related to fear. Four cases analyzing Myanmar, Afghanistan, Sudan and the Philippines by Tsunekawa and Murotani (2014) offer suggestions on the question of what development cooperation can do when human security is threatened by conflict.

Based on the human security concept of not coercively intervening in situations where states have sovereignty, Tsunekawa and Murotani analyzed JICA's efforts in conflict-affected countries to create partnerships with governments and stakeholders through development cooperation while promoting trust-building among stakeholders over time and exploring pathways to peace. In three of the four cases, the impact of the conflict was shown to impede the advancement of development cooperation. In Myanmar, JICA cooperated with the government to promote peace through rural development in an area affected by ethnic conflicts. However, its efforts were interrupted by a period of renewed military conflict between the government and ethnic forces resisting the government.[5] In Afghanistan, JICA supported development by listening to the community's opinions, thereby helping to improve relations between the community and the government. However, the armed struggle with forces strongly opposed to the government did not stop, making it difficult to continue the level of cooperation.

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5   This cooperation project was subsequently restarted, finishing in 2019.

In the third case, Sudan, the government helped to alleviate regional disparities and hostility through development cooperation practices that sought to bring equal benefits to both the hostile northern and southern regions. Still, even after the independence of the south, tensions between the north and south were not resolved. In these cases, conflicts threatened human security and forced development cooperation to be suspended or stagnated. Continuing to work toward achieving peace with various forces, including governments, through development cooperation requires taking time to promote trust-building among the parties involved, as found by Tsunekawa and Murotani (Tsunekawa and Murotani 2014, 182–84; 186–89).

On the other hand, the case in Mindanao in the Philippines brought about different consequences.[6] In this case, the Japanese government and JICA were involved in the peace process in various ways in addition to development cooperation. Following a request from the Philippine government to the Japanese government, JICA participated in the International Monitoring Team to monitor the ceasefire situation. The participation of JICA staff as Japanese embassy personnel in the International Monitoring Team enabled Japan to identify reconstruction needs in Mindanao and to focus on the most vulnerable people there—even before the end of the conflict—to support socioeconomic development. In addition, JICA organized a seminar in collaboration with Universiti Sains Malaysia to encourage continued dialogue among Mindanao peace stakeholders. The series of cooperation addressed not only fear but also want, and furthermore protected the dignity and promoted the empowerment of the local people. Such development cooperation interacted with the evolution of the peace process and contributed to the conclusion of a peace agreement. Behind these developments was the Philippine government's welcoming attitude toward development in Mindanao and its trust that Japan would not violate the state sovereignty of the Philippines (Tsunekawa and Murotani 2014, 184–86; Ishikawa 2017).[7]

Exposure to the fear of continuing and unresolved conflict would show the limits of human security practices that exclude armed interventions by definition. However, as shown in this sub-section, it is possible, though not always, to contribute to human security from the multiple aspects of conflict resolution, peacebuilding, reconstruction, and development cooperation by building trust with partner countries during peacetime and maintaining this attitude during the conflict. Efforts to achieve freedom from want through development cooperation can build trust among the parties involved and elicit broad-based cooperation, leading to freedom from fear. Since both conflict transitions and the corresponding human security practices differ from conflict to conflict, there is a need for a series of case studies that rigorously analyze the factors that contribute to success or failure.

2.2 Multifaceted Development of Human Security Studies
2.2.1 Threat Perceptions in the East Asian Region

The research project, "Human Security in Practice: East Asian Experiences" (2013–2018), hereafter
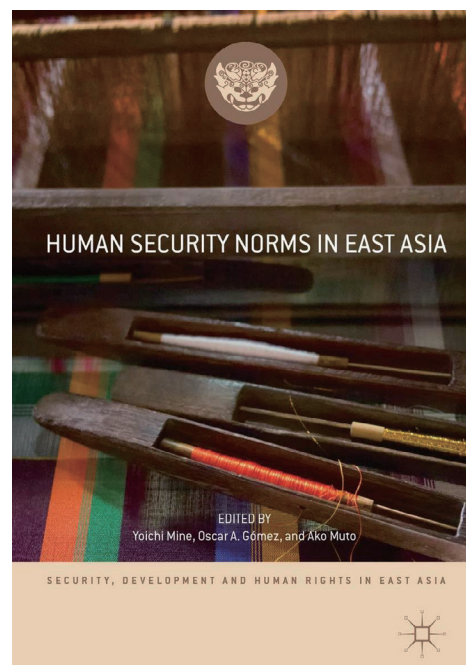
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6   This case will also be discussed with reference to Ishikawa (2017).

7   On the other hand, Japan's assistance did not extend throughout Mindanao. Ishikawa and Quilala note these limitations as well (Ishikawa and Quilala 2019, 219–21).

referred to as the "East Asia Research Project,"[8] significantly expanded the scope of the JICA Ogata Research Institute's human security research. One of the major achievements of this project is the publication of an edited volume, *Human Security Norms in East Asia* by Mine, Gómez and Muto (2019), which examines how the concept of human security is perceived in the East Asian region as a whole.[9]

The results of this study show that, in East Asia, the concept of human security is understood to cover a wide range of threats, including "natural disasters (earthquakes and typhoons/cyclones), environmental pollution, climate change, epidemics, violent conflict, political repression, religious tensions, human trafficking, minority issues, unemployment, conditions of migrants, food crises, lingering poverty, and so on" (Muto and Mine 2019, 299). Even when the term 'human security' itself is not pervasive, the individual elements (freedom from fear and want, freedom to live with dignity, protection and empowerment) are well understood (Muto and Mine 2019, 295–96). In other words, the difference between "responsibility to protect" and human security, as referred to in the previous section, are recognized. Moreover, to a certain extent, the understanding of comprehensive human security as defined in the 2012 UN General Assembly resolution is well established (Muto and Mine 2019, 306).

We will review this understanding in more detail. Gómez notes that in East Asian countries, in response to a wide range of threats, governments are perceived as "playing a role in providing security to the people" (Gómez 2019, 278). For example, in China and Cambodia, governments were expected to behave like good parents (Ren 2019, 56; Sovachana and Beban 2019, 37). Welfare provision was also seen as a government function to promote human security (Gómez 2019). In other words, it became clear that in many East Asian countries, the government was perceived as the primary entity responsible for protection, among the elements of human security (Gómez 2019; Muto and Mine 2019). In addition, the understanding that human security is fundamental to state security was becoming more prevalent in East Asia. This understanding is consistent with the primary role of government as advocated in the 2012 UN General Assembly resolution (UNGA 2012), which places people at the center and ensures their survival, livelihood and dignity. Nearly half of the world's disasters (climate change, earthquakes and other natural disasters; epidemics, and biohazards) have occurred in Asia (IFRC 2020, 356). Protection by

HUMAN SECURITY NORMS IN EAST ASIA

EDITED BY
Yoichi Mine, Oscar A. Gómez, and Ako Muto

SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST ASIA

Source: Springer Nature

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8   The East Asia Research Project follows up on the "Mainstreaming 'Human Security' in ASEAN Integration" research project.

9   The countries studied were Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam, China, South Korea, and Japan.

the state is essential in the event of disasters that are far beyond any individual's capacity to cope with. Against this background, a comprehensive concept of human security that respects state sovereignty and emphasizes the role of government would have been more readily accepted in the East Asian region, where the primary role of the state is generally recognized. On the other hand, it is important to remember that political instability and governments' repression were also referred to as threats in the East Asian region (Gómez 2019, 288). Because human security recognizes a wide range of threats, practitioners must be aware of the possibility that various threats could emerge or recur at different times and places and must work to prevent them.

2.2.2 Exploring the Theory

Resonating with the broad threat perceptions identified in the East Asia region is Tanaka's (2019) chapter, *Toward a Theory of Human Security*. Based on the understanding of the broad range of threats, Tanaka (2019) organized threats to human security into three categories by the sources and corresponding academic disciplines; specifically, threats stemming from the physical system, such as natural disasters and droughts (concerns of the physics and engineering disciplines among others), threats stemming from the living system, such as infectious diseases and famine (the disciplines of biology and ecology), and threats stemming from the social system, such as armed conflict and structural poverty (the disciplines of social sciences and humanities) (Tanaka 2019, 25–33). According to Tanaka, threats to human security originate from any of the three systems, interact with, and amplify the other systems. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of threats is necessary to promote human security. To this end, experts from different academic disciplines, both humanities and sciences, must collaborate. Furthermore, cooperation among various actors, including states, international organizations, the private sector, and civil society organizations, is also essential (Tanaka 2019).

This argument is useful for understanding the nature of the COVID-19 pandemic, which is one of the significant threats to people today. Novel coronavirus diseases themselves are infectious diseases caused by the living system. However, their rapid spread has resulted in discrimination against those infected as well as health care workers. Infection control measures taken to limit human movement and contact in business and education, such as telecommuting and closures of work, and suspensions of schools, have resulted in bankruptcies, unemployment, digital divides, and increased domestic violence (Muto 2020). It was also necessary to avoid crowding and contact between people in evacuations due to natural disasters, such as floods and earthquakes. In other words, threats originating in the living system cascaded into the occurrence of threats in the social system and also affected countermeasures against threats originating in the physical system. The novel coronavirus diseases created a compounded threat in the form of the COVID-19 pandemic, which also comprised a threat to human security. This necessitates a response that not only controls infectious disease but also a comprehensive response whereby a broad range of specialties and academic disciplines work together (Newman 2021).[10]

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10   Please refer to Kunii Osamu's study, *Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) and Human Security*, in this report.

Addressing a global threat to the lives of many requires collaboration across disciplines, professions, and national borders. The positive and negative impact of infectious disease control on human security needs to be better explored from an economic and sociological perspective. The COVID-19 pandemic imposed many constraints on people, but digital transformation (DX), for example—discussed in the article by Makino 2022 of this report—allows us to connect with the world online without having to meet face to face. It could make it easier for people to collaborate beyond their areas of specialty. What is needed is a change in our mindset, which tends to remain confined to our own specialties.

2.2.3   Deepening Practice

The human security research conducted by the JICA Ogata Research Institute not only explore the theory of human security but also examine the evolution of its practice. A chapter by Kamidohzono, Gómez and Mine (2016), *Embracing Human Security: Directions of Japan's ODA for the 21st Century*, identifies how Japan's development cooperation has put human security into practice.

The chapter shows that changes in Japan's development cooperation have anticipated the directions of its cooperation that should be strengthened in the practice of human security in three ways. One is to recognize the importance of prevention (Kamidohzono, Gómez and Mine 2016, 215–16). Cooperation in preparing for natural disasters and infectious disease outbreaks, climate change mitigation measures, and prevention of armed conflict has gradually increased since the 1980s (Kamidohzono, Gómez and Mine 2016, 208–16). The second change is the emphasis on seamless cooperation from humanitarian assistance to development cooperation provided in the event of sudden threats such as natural disasters, pandemics, conflicts, and so on. In the late 1980s, JICA began international emergency relief activities. It also began to cooperate in short-term, emergency reconstruction and reconstruction before the end of the conflict (Kamidohzono, Gómez and Mine 2016, 210; 214–15). Third, JICA increased its cooperation, directly targeting populations in vulnerable situations. In addition to cooperation efforts, such as programs for the prevention of infectious diseases at the national level or the rehabilitation of large-scale infrastructure after armed conflict, there was an expansion of cooperation to strengthen the functioning of community health facilities and encourage local people to participate in post-conflict reconstruction planning (Kamidohzono, Gómez and Mine 2016, 212–15). For example, among the technical cooperation on HIV/AIDS, less than 10% aimed at providing services that directly reach people, but after 2001, about 60% of technical cooperation shifted to improving services (Kamidohzono, Gómez and Mine 2016, 213).

Kamidohzono, Gómez, and Mine (2016) point out that these changes occurred even before the introduction of human security in JICA in 2003. In other words, introducing human security can be understood as facilitating and expanding changes that had already occurred rather than bringing about fundamental changes in JICA cooperation (Kamidohzono, Gómez and Mine 2016, 208).

The prevention-oriented perspective is consistent with the 2012 UN General Assembly resolution cited in Section 1 and also addresses the downside risks mentioned in JICA's *Poverty Reduction and Human Security* Report (2005). Development cooperation implemented seamlessly from humanitarian assistance aims at people's survival, the rapid rebuilding of their livelihoods, and

ultimately, the restoration of their dignity. Cooperation implemented in communities targeting people in vulnerable situations also places people at the center and seeks to empower communities. The changes in Japan's development cooperation may be considered to have provided a model for human security as it is advocated and permeated in practice.

2.2.4 Cross-Border Cooperation

The culmination of the East Asian Research Project,[11] which explored the concept as well as the practice of human security, is the book *Human Security and Cross-Border Cooperation in East Asia* by Hernandez et al. (2019) (eds.). The book provides a full-scale organization and analysis of what the practice of human security involves, which has been less studied than the concept. Specifically, the book discusses ten case studies of human security practices that respond to the threats caused by the three systems proposed by Akihiko Tanaka.

Some of the cases presented in the book reveal the challenges and constraints that sovereign states face in protecting their people. When a tsunami hit the conflict-ridden Indonesian area of Aceh, the government's decision to accept humanitarian aid in the middle of the fighting was delayed (Perkasa 2019, 91–93). When Cyclone Nargis hit Myanmar, humanitarian assistance from Western countries was rejected and only relief teams from China, Indonesia, Japan, Russia, Singapore, and others were accepted under ASEAN monitoring (Howe 2019, 113–20). These examples demonstrate that humanitarian assistance is accepted selectively and that human security may not always be positioned as fundamental to state security.

Source: Springer Nature

In contrast, some cases discuss the potential for assistance by diverse stakeholders. In Cambodia, evictions were being carried out without taking into account the traditional land ownership rights of the residents. In such crises, transnational supporting frameworks, such as contributions by international NGOs, are considered effective (Sovachana and Chambers 2019, 197–99). The case study on combating human trafficking in the ASEAN region pointed out the difficulty of cooperation between the sending and destination countries of the trafficked people and suggested the significance of coordinating policies with the participation of international organizations and NGOs (Jumnianpol, Nuangjamnong, and Srakaew 2019, 264–66). In situations where individual dignity is threatened and governments cannot always protect people, multilayered and international cooperation is required to

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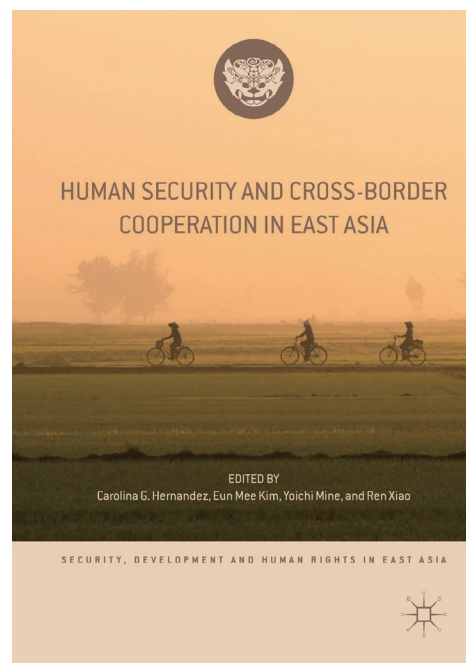
11   Ishikawa (2017), cited in Section 2.1.2, discusses the case of the conflict in Mindanao in the Philippines. This paper is another result of the East Asian Studies Project.

support government efforts.

Some case studies demonstrate the importance of people's empowerment. In the relief and recovery efforts following Typhoon Yolanda in the Philippines, there was a realization that it is the community members who know the local situation best. And, the usefulness of community members' own awareness and proactive participation in problem-solving in reducing disaster risk was noted (Frago-Marasigan 2019, 143–49).

In this way, Hernandez et al. (2019) argued that there is no single strategy for practicing human security. In situations where human security was difficult to put into practice, it was international cooperation that contributed, even if only partially, to its realization. The activities of various stakeholders, including NGOs and other civil society organizations that promote people's empowerment, were also considered to contribute to human security. It was also important for people to be aware of their own roles in the community and to participate in various activities such as reconstruction. The East Asia Research Project has once again highlighted that both protection from above and empowerment from below by various actors are necessary for the human security practices.

2.2.5 In Search of Greater Inclusiveness and Resilience

So far in this subsection, we have discussed the development of JICA Ogata Research Institute's human security research, focusing on the results of the East Asia Research Project. However, the development of human security research is not limited to that. For example, the research report *Perspectives on the Post-2015 Development Agenda* is an effort to adapt human security to global policies and norms (Kato 2014). The United Nations had discussed the setting of international development goals[12] after 2015 which was the deadline for achieving the MDGs.[13] This report was intended to provide input into those discussions, and it presented recommendations based on JICA's operational experience.

In this report, Murotani (2014) pointed out that, when looking back at the MDG experience and setting new goals, inclusive development and resilience should be added as perspectives that were lacking in the MDGs, and that the concept of human security could be a guiding norm for new goals that integrate this perspective. The concepts of downside risks and the protection and empowerment approaches of human security are effective in translating inclusive development and resilience into practice. Firstly, inclusive development emphasizes reaching the poor and seeks to achieve equity in income distribution and opportunity. Secondly, resilience is about preventing risks, responding to crises, and recovering from them. Based on the above, Murotani (2014) proposes that human security should guide the post-2015 development agenda, integrating the perspectives of inclusive development to ensure that 'no one is left behind' and that it supports resilience in response to downside risks (Murotani 2014, 97–104).

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12   The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), adopted at the UN Summit in September 2015, are mandated to be achieved by 2030 (MOFA "What is the SDGs?"). See also (Makino 2022).

13   The Millennium Development Goals, adopted at the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000, were to be achieved by 2015 (MOFA 2019).

Human security is compatible with the SDG philosophy of "leaving no one behind." The book *SDGs and Japan: Human Security Indicators for Leaving No One Behind* (Takasu 2019) clarified the status of human security achievement in Japan by indexing issues for each of the 47 prefectures into life, livelihood, and dignity based on existing statistics. At the same time, it organized and analyzed the issues faced by those often left behind (children, women, youth, the elderly, people with disabilities, the LGBT community, disaster survivors, and foreigners). As a result, it became clear that even in Japan, which has already achieved several of the numerical targets of the SDGs, there are people who feel insecure and inherent threats are unacknowledged in the country. The JICA Ogata Research Institute has translated the book into English and made it available online free of charge (see Takasu and JICA Ogata Research Institute 2020) because we believe that the method used to visualize the problem based on the concept of human security can be applied to different social situations, whether in developed or developing countries.

Source: JICA

In addition, the JICA Ogata Research Institute is currently conducting a research project, "Human Security and the Practices of Empowerment in East Asia." Building on the achievements of the East Asia Research Project, which mainly focused on government protection in many cases, this new research project focuses on the empowerment of people under threat in East Asia, including Japan. Details are given on pages 147–149 for introducing the Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Support cluster at the JICA Ogata Research Institute in this report. However, this new research project has also incorporated an analysis of how vulnerable populations are affected by the novel coronavirus diseases (JICA Ogata Research Institute 2021).

2.3 Summary

This section has reviewed the evolution of human security research at the JICA Ogata Research Institute since its days as the Institute for International Cooperation. It has examined the concept and practice of comprehensive human security from the UNDP's 1994 *Human Development Report* through the 2012 UN General Assembly Resolution to the present day. This has been a continuous effort of the JICA Ogata Research Institute.

As we have already clarified in Section 1, the objective of human security is simply to ensure the security of each and every individual. The state is no longer the only object to be protected. If we shift the focus of the object of protection to the individual, the government is still the primary entity that guarantees human security. In this section, we have also reviewed the JICA Ogata Research Institute's work on human security and identified some of the ways to protect people when the state faces
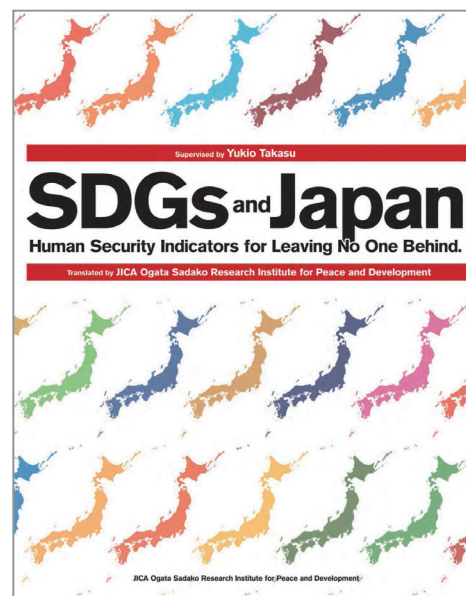
challenges in performing its functions. However, there is more than one way to manage this. Day-to-day trust between states that respected each other's sovereignty was sometimes useful for human security, even during conflict. The role of multilayered stakeholders—international organizations and civil society organizations including domestic and international NGOs—was also considered important. The JICA Ogata Research Institute's research has examined responses to threats in situations where human security has been threatened, from the global to the field level, finding that the exercise of absolute state sovereignty is not always acceptable. Peacetime relationships among governments, peoples, and diverse domestic and international stakeholders have a significant impact on how threats are addressed.

Human security is concise not only in its objectives but also in its approach to achieving those objectives. It converges on protection from above and empowerment from below. Analyzing indicators to make visible those who tend to be vulnerable to being left behind and efforts that emphasize prevention in anticipation of downside risks are straightforward measures of protection. On the other hand, development cooperation can promote the empowerment of people in vulnerable situations as follows: It can directly support the reconstruction of conflict-affected communities and then lift them out of poverty. It can also implement programs in rural and remote areas. These two approaches can address are wide-ranging, including natural disasters, conflict, and poverty. For this reason, the theory of categorizing threats into three systems in line with their mechanisms of occurrence has encouraged different disciplines to collaborate, along with various actors, in human security research. This theory also allows for the development of a comprehensive understanding of emerging threats, combining the threats addressed by the UNDP Special Report on Human Security (2022), mainly comprised of those that originate in living and social systems, and those that originate in the physical system.

Human security is a comprehensive concept and approach to protecting people without resorting to armed intervention. As discussed in detail in this section, the combination of protection and empowerment appears at first glance to be diverse and complex, depending on the type of threat and entities to protect people, and the attributes and circumstances of the people to be protected. However, the basic approach remains the same. What characterizes human security is its flexibility to match itself to a situation in the field. The JICA Ogata Research Institute has fundamentally explored the concept and practice of human security through an examination of its relationship to state sovereignty and how it is implemented in development cooperation. This has coincided with JICA's process of embracing human security as it seeks to become a global norm.[14] Various studies, primarily in East Asia, have revealed how human security has been applied not only at the national level but also

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14 The JICA Ogata Research Institute is currently conducting a research project, "Japan's Development Cooperation: A Historical Perspective," which analyzes the history of development cooperation in Japan from a variety of perspectives. In a series of background papers intended to provide useful findings, materials, and information for this research project, Yanagihara (2019, 2) opined that human security, which was introduced into JICA as an idea, did not have any significant impact on JICA's actual cooperation. His paper's analysis focuses specifically on policy documents and documents related to JICA's overall work operations.

at the local level, in communities, and on the ground.

On the other hand, the wide variety of human security practices invites us to engage in further research. For example, the studies we have discussed so far have focused primarily on fear and deprivation as well as protection. Full-scale research on empowerment is underway, while there remains considerable scope for research on dignity (Gómez 2019, 288). Further, both Mine, Gómez, and Muto (2019) and Hernandez et al. (2019) point out that the researchers from the eleven countries involved in the East Asia Research Project may have constituted an "epistemic community"[15] (Haas 1989, 384). According to Mine, Gómez, and Muto (2019) and Hernandez et al. (2019), this group comprises a network of experts based around human security that plays an important role in its dissemination and development of advisory policies. The role and function of such an epistemic community should be studied beyond the framework of the East Asia Research Project. The next section provides a broad perspective on these possibilities for future human security research.

3. Prospects for Future Human Security Research

In the previous section, we reviewed the research work conducted by the JICA Ogata Research Institute, including that of its predecessor organization, the JICA Research Institute, and before that, the Institute for International Cooperation. Through these studies, we have discussed the extent to which the concept of comprehensive human security has permeated, how JICA has implemented assistance based on this concept, and the obstacles and difficulties it has encountered—with the East Asian region the main target area of the research.[16] In this section, we would like to extend this review into the future to discuss what kind of research on human security will be required and possible from the three perspectives of 'intergovernmental cooperation,' 'permeation and integration at the local level,' and 'dignity.' Note that the perspectives presented in this section do not refer to the future research of the JICA Ogata Research Institute but are presented in the hope that they will arouse the interest of a wide range of researchers and practitioners involved in human security research.

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15 The concept of "epistemic community" was originally proposed in sociology and introduced to international politics by Haas, an international political scientist, through his research on the negotiation process of the Convention on the Prevention of Pollution from the Mediterranean Sea in the 1970s. In the negotiation process of the Convention, Haas pointed out that the United Nations Environment Programme and a network of researchers from various fields, including environmental studies, ecology, marine biology, and chemistry, who were involved in the formulation of the Convention as advisors to governments, contributed greatly to the cooperation between governments of coastal states and market actors with different interests. He called this group of experts a "epistemic community" (Haas 1989).

16 The term "East Asia" here includes Southeast Asia as the target region of the East Asia Research Project, as explained in Note 8 in the previous section. To avoid confusion hereafter, the terms "East Asia" and "Southeast Asia" will be used together when necessary.

3.1   Intergovernmental and Other Forms of Cooperation

The 1994 *Human Development Report* recognized that security should be rethought from a human-centered rather than a state-centered perspective and that the challenge emerging from this is that threats to the security of people now easily transcend national borders (UNDP 1994). In other words, human security demands a de-nationalized perception of both the sources of threats and the objects to be protected. On the other hand, with regard to the actors to actualize human security, Article 3(g) of the 2012 UN General Assembly resolution stipulated that "Governments retain the primary role and responsibility" and also stated the expectation that "[h]uman security requires greater collaboration and partnership among Governments, international and regional organizations and civil society" (UNGA 2012).

From this point of view, we would like to focus on 'intergovernmental cooperation'—called for in the General Assembly resolution—as a primary area of research that human security should take up in the future. For example, such a study could examine how the governments in the Asian region can promote 'protection and empowerment' while sharing knowledge from other countries. As stated in the 2012 General Assembly resolution, governments must limit the impact of various threats on people as much as possible (prevention-oriented) and create an environment in which individuals and communities can be secure and self-determining. In addition, if threats do occur, governments are expected to provide appropriate protection for individuals and communities. However, even if limited to Asia, each country faces different challenges (threats) (Mine, Gómez, and Muto 2019), and consequently, the experience of prevention and protection that each country has accumulated also differs. This includes Japan, which has focused on natural disaster prevention (disaster prevention and mitigation). By comparing their experiences, it can be shown that specific measures to achieve human security vary depending on the types of threats and the targets for protection and empowerment. From this, we will see the need for governments to learn from each other without overgeneralizing their own experiences and institutions. Field-oriented and policy-oriented research into how countries can mutually share and learn from each other's experiences and findings will require joint research beyond the scope of a single country. It will also require researchers from each country to openly point out to their own governments what they need to learn from the perspective of human security.

In addition, by conducting research that promotes mutual learning among governments, we can expect the formation of an international "epistemic community for human security" in the future. An "epistemic community" is a concept that refers to the people involved in the policymaking of national governments on important transnational policy issues (Haas 1989). The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has been actively studied as an example of such an "epistemic community" in recent years (Gough and Shackley 2001). As UNDP (1994) points out, human security addresses many transnational challenges, such as infectious diseases, water and air pollution, natural disasters, human trafficking, the rapid increase in the number of refugees, and financial crises. These transboundary challenges cannot be addressed by the knowledge possessed by a single government; They require cross-border cooperation at the working level and joint research and policy recommendations by a broad group of researchers from a range of scientific fields and engineering, as

well as the humanities and social sciences. This "epistemic community," referred to by Haas (1989), is also expected to share its perceptions of human security with national governments while actively involved in policymaking.

What is important here is that this "epistemic community" functions as a normative and institutional formulator, instilling common norms and institutions in the governments of each country. In the East Asian Research Project discussed in the previous section, it has been pointed out that a certain epistemic community around human security already exists among East and Southeast Asian scientists and bureaucrats, as well as among members of academia and NGOs (Mine, Gómez, and Muto 2019). Muto and Mine (2019) have expressed the hope that this plurality of norms reflecting country-specific circumstances will "elevate [...] to a full-fledged international norm" in the future (Muto and Mine 2019, 295). Many scholars have argued that human security has two sides: it is a policy-oriented concept as well as a normative concept (Tanaka 2019; Newman 2010). Traditionally, the normativization of human security has often taken a top-down approach, attempting to shape norms at the international level with some states' initiatives, such as the International Criminal Court and the Convention on the Prohibition of Anti-Personnel Landmines. However, policy-oriented and normative natures of human security may actually be interrelated: the promotion by governments of mutual learning at the policy level can lead to the creation of an "epistemic community" of practitioners and researchers who support the policy-making, and this "epistemic community" will, in turn, demand that governments realize human security in terms of protection, empowerment, and respect for people's dignity. Haas (1989) refers to the enlightening activities of Jacques-Yves Cousteau, a prominent oceanographer, as the background for the recognition that the Mediterranean pollution problem is an issue in which coastal states should cooperate beyond conflicting interests. Similarly, in order for human security to function as a norm that will make governments act in a cooperative manner, the "epistemic community" of researchers and practitioners involved in human security will need to actively engage in dialogue with civil society and local communities to create a normative consciousness that will motivate governments to act from a bottom-up perspective. This also seems to indicate a way for researchers and practitioners to contribute to the difficult issue of how to encourage sovereign states to realize human security, a concern that has been constantly debated since the concept was first proposed.

3.2   Permeation and Integration of Human Security at the Local Level

Whereas the previous section discussed the potential for human security research on intergovernmental cooperation at the international level, the following discussion will focus on examining the potential for research on the subject of human security at the local level.

In clarifying the nature of human security at the local level, the first focal point is the relationship between various actors at the local level, including local authorities, and the central government. Takasu (2019) found that the challenges of achieving human security vary from region to region in Japan. Key questions at the local level concern how local actors cope with their specific circumstances in trying to achieve human security and the constraints in dealing with them. We might also ask how local authorities make requests to the central government, and the ways in which these requests are

taken into account by the central government. In general, there is a rough division of roles between central governments and local governments. Central governments are primarily responsible for allocating resources such as national defense, diplomacy, and funds, while local authorities are primarily responsible for supporting the basic livelihoods of their residents. However, the ways that roles are divided and balanced as well as which level of government is responsible for each task vary from country to country.

In countries with a centralized system of governance, there is little room for local governments to determine and implement policies freely. With decentralization, there is more room for local governments to make and implement their own policy decisions. Excessive centralization is inflexible and makes it difficult for local voices to be heard, so it is desirable to formulate and implement policies at a level closer to the people they are supposed to protect. As clarified earlier, implementing development cooperation at the local level and involving affected people in reconstruction are essential to achieving human security (Kamidohzono, Gómez, and Mine 2016; Frago-Marasigan 2019). However, constraints arise in promoting decentralization when overall national financial resources are limited (Kamimura 2002). Some have argued for a "well-functioning government" in response to the novel coronavirus diseases, going beyond the classical framework of market and politics, debating big versus small government (Yamada 2020). It is necessary to examine what kind of relationship between the central government and local authorities is required to enhance human security while understanding both the activities of the central government and local authorities and the factors that constrain them.

Local governments are in a position to assume a protective role in cooperation with the central government and from the standpoint of being closer to the population. In practicing human security, the role of local authorities is equally important to that of the central government. However, the role of local authorities has not been fully clarified in human security research compared to the global level such as the United Nations, the regional level such as ASEAN, and the national level as discussed so far. In various fields—including health care, education, and disaster prevention—local authorities provide public services directly to residents. The Human Security Forum (2021), a non-profit organization, has identified some of the functions of local authorities in Japan, based on Takasu's (2019) work on human security indicators.[17] Understanding how local authorities contribute to the protection of people and the difficulties they face is conducive to the practice of human security on the ground.

Furthermore, it is not only the central government that local authorities cooperate with in practicing human security in both protection and empowerment. In the research project "Human

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17   The NPO Human Security Forum (2021) analyzed the status of human security achievement in a Japanese local government area (Miyagi Prefecture) using the methodology presented in Takasu (2019). As a result, it was recommended that the focus should not only be on environmental and economic sustainability, but also on inclusiveness and dignity, focusing on the situation of each individual. It also recommended, among other things, that statistics be developed that subdivide the population by gender, age, and disability (Human Security Forum 2021, 15–17).

Security and the Practices of Empowerment in East Asia" currently underway at the JICA Ogata Research Institute discussed at the end of Section 2, the research of human security is analyzed two phases. Firstly, there are the protection practices used by the central government to address the COVID-19 pandemic and the challenges accompanying it. The second stage comprises analyses of empowerment practices for vulnerable people. Since this study focuses on empowerment practices by the people themselves, most of the research targets are local stakeholders who serve for the empowerment of the people, such as civil society organizations, local associations, and self-help groups operating in a particular area of countries.

What is the day-to-day relationship between local authorities and the above-mentioned local stakeholders engaged in people's empowerment? If research can reveal this relationship,[18] the findings from such research will help both the local government and the above-mentioned local stakeholders to play their respective roles in protecting people in the event of a sudden threat. When development cooperation supports the strengthening of local administration, it may also be useful to utilize the functions of empowering stakeholders. Thus, there is a need for research that examines the nature and mechanisms of protection and empowerment practices that are rooted in local-specific contexts.

We have presented several possibilities for research to examine how human security permeates each locality. As these studies accumulate, it would also be possible to conduct a study comparing the human security practices from perspectives other than inter-local. For example, Takasu (2019), discussed in Subsection 2.2.5, focuses not only on comparisons by prefecture but also on groups that are likely to be left behind. There is still a room for research that, by comparing these different groups, identifies actual status of human security achievements within a country, with more detailed focus on group-based differences and commonalities, including the circumstances faced by different groups. This research would be useful in analyzing hotspots of threats to human security in a country and, in turn, identifying vulnerable groups within a country (Owen 2013). Furthermore, comparative perspectives could be further developed if more studies are conducted to understand differences among the regions and groups in achieving human security within a country. This may also open up the possibility of cross-national comparative research that could identify different challenges and commonalities in promoting the realization of human security under different political systems and socio-cultural backgrounds (Jolly 2013). Primarily, local researchers and practitioners should be at the core of any exploration into the state of achievement of human security at the local level.

A comparative perspective opens up the possibility of comparative research beyond the national, regional, and even global levels. The JICA Ogata Research Institute has so far conducted research with local researchers, mainly in East and Southeast Asia. On the other hand, little research has been undertaken on how human security is recognized and practiced in other regions, such as Europe, the Americas, Africa, and the Middle East. The article in this report by Hanatani Atsushi, *Understanding and Practicing Human Security in Africa: History and Changes amid the COVID-19 Pandemic,*

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18   For example, the city of Nairobi, Kenya, together with the central government, implemented a program to improve security, living conditions, and economic conditions in slums. The report of the program indicates that there are local organizations that seek to maintain the program's results in the slums (UN-Habitat 2012, 105).

provides a valuable contribution on human security in Africa. The JICA Ogata Research Institute has also initiated a survey on human security in Africa in preparation for the 8th Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD 8). Finding differences and similarities between the understanding of human security in Africa and in the region that has been the subject of previous studies will be useful in examining the effectiveness of human security.

As discussed above, the human security advocated for in the global arena of the United Nations is being put into practice in the local arena, involving not only central governments but also local authorities and other local actors. The permeation and integration of human security at the local level transcends the dichotomy between developed and developing countries, allowing for the discovery of common or unique challenges in each country, as well as the cooperation and learning from each other to deal with them. The reason why we can discuss common challenges and their responses beyond differences in economic development, political systems, and socio-cultural backgrounds is that human security focuses not only on fear and want but also on the freedom of people to live with dignity. Therefore, in the next section, we will focus on the issue of dignity, the component of human security that has been the least studied, and discuss the research directions that might emerge from it.

3.3 Dignity-Oriented Human Security Practices

The third issue for future perspectives on human security research concerns human dignity. Compared to "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want," few human security practices or studies have focused on "freedom to live with dignity." Dignity itself is a familiar term to most people. Thinkers, researchers, and practitioners in fields as diverse as philosophy, religion, and ethics have long dealt with dignity. Even in recent years, there have been discussions about what type of dignity should be restored and maintained in terms of identity, history, and law (Fukuyama 2018; Rosen 2012). So how can 'dignity' in human security be understood? Let us refer once again to the Ogata-Sen Report of the Commission on Human Security (2003), which argued in favor of placing human security at the core of international cooperation. Its understanding of dignity should provide clues for future human security research on dignity.

The understanding of dignity described in the Ogata-Sen report can be divided into two main approaches. The first is the view that, by ensuring freedom from fear and want, people can enjoy the opportunity of living a life with dignity as human beings (Commission on Human Security 2003; see also Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007). Human security incorporates the recognition of a wide range of threats (Mine, Gómez, and Muto 2019), and dignity is undermined when threatened by these diverse fears and deficiencies. We may refer to this as an "objective understanding of dignity." The research report, *Poverty Reduction and Human Security* (2005), described in Section 2, identified the people who are prone to poverty or chronically poor and showed a pathway to restoring their dignity through poverty reduction. Thus, focusing on the objective deprivation of dignity in relation to fear and want is extremely important in identifying those who are vulnerable in society and considering appropriate support.

However, being free from fear and want does not necessarily mean that dignity is fully guaranteed. Takasu (2019), for example, points out that, even among people in Japan who are not

suffering from conflict or poverty, there is a widespread sense of alienation, including anxiety about health, old age, and loneliness. Historically, feminists have also pointed out that even women from economically well-off families do not receive proper recognition and treatment in society and do not necessarily feel valued (Chenoy 2009). In addition to this, there is the possibility of a trade-off between freedom from fear and want, and the freedom to live with dignity. Social distancing in the current COVID-19 pandemic limits access to family, friends, and other intimate people in exchange for survival and protection of one's livelihood. Restrictions on social activities based on vaccination status could impose similar trade-offs. How is it possible to give maximum consideration to the dignity of the individual in cases where restrictions on freedom of activity are imposed—at times forcibly—even when survival or livelihood is threatened and such a situation is given priority?

The second understanding of dignity in the Ogata-Sen report leads to questions over the subjective aspects of dignity in human security. The report suggests that respect for cultural background and respect for self-determination are considered two important aspects of subjective dignity. (Commission on Human Security 2003; see also Thomas 2000). The Ogata-Sen report explains this as follows: Dignity "extend[s] far beyond survival, to matters of love, culture and faith," and "human security starts from the recognition that people are the most active participants in determining their well-being…build[ing] on people's efforts, strengthening what they do for themselves" (Commission on Human Security 2003, 4). In other words, dignity here indicates that people are autonomous individuals with diverse cultural backgrounds, including localities and religions, and that each is self-determining. As such, the subjective aspects of human beings should be respected.

A second understanding of dignity mentioned above in human security calls for respect for the unique cultures of society and individual self-determination. For example, as noted by Makino (2022) in this report, JICA assisted in the reintegration of survivors of human trafficking. Many survivors are not able to be reintegrated into society immediately after being rescued. It is necessary to understand each survivor's individual circumstances and to deal with the situation in cooperation with specialists, including the police, doctors, counselors, judiciary, and immigration authorities. The issue of land-grabbing from indigenous peoples, referred to in Section 2, is an example of people finding their dignity in their land and living conditions. More recently, Banerjee and Duflo (2019) have also pointed out that, even for the purpose of supporting people who are clearly deprived of dignity and insecure due to poverty, some counter-poverty measures may further undermine people's dignity. This is not to say that there is a trade-off between dignity and poverty, but that the subjective aspects of the people to be helped should be respected in achieving freedom from fear and want, and that this requires a context-specific approach that takes into account the unique values and cultural background of each society, as well as the mechanisms of threats.

Thus, human security, which includes the subjective dignity of each individual, must constantly confront the difficult issue of how far outsiders can truly engage with the subjective view of the people concerned when promoting human security in practice and research. In human security, which considers humans as autonomous and self-determining entities, outsiders are required to respect the autonomy of the partner who promotes the protection and empowerment of the people. From this point of view, the outsider's role is to assist the person in becoming the subject of his or her own and

the community's development.[19] Banerjee and Duflo (2019, 321) suggest a shift from a "patronizing" attitude to a "respectful" attitude in order to avoid compromising dignity and agency. Dignity in human security, they suggest, begins with respect, "[to see] who they are and to not be defined by the difficulties besieging them," aiming to foster a spirit of "dignity, self-respect, and autonomy" (Banerjee and Duflo 2019, 319; 322).

Dignity as a subjective aspect of human security, which includes the subjectivity of each individual, also suggests points that human security studies should keep in mind. For example, the Ogata-Sen report considers the subjects of the freedom to live with dignity as "individuals and communities" (Commission on Human Security 2003, 2), as do the other two freedoms. However, the dignity of individuals and that of groups and communities do not always coincide perfectly. There are individuals who are not included in the groups and communities to which they supposedly belong because of their particular ethnicity, gender, or other identities. It is conceivable that dignity is more culturally differentiated than fear or want, and there are likely to be some changes in the understanding of dignity over time, including the conflict between individual values and community values. Therefore, by including dignity, human security is considered a dynamic rather than a static concept. In addition, the potential ambiguity of the subject of dignity makes it difficult to identify whose and what dignity is being undermined. It is understood that there is an important research question here, concerning dignity.

Research into dignity needs to cover not only the objective circumstances in which people are placed but also their inner lives, including their subjectivity, and therefore, collaboration across disciplines and fields is demanded. Tanaka (2019) discussed the need for an interdisciplinary perspective in order to examine various aspects of human security systematically. Understanding that human dignity can be subjectively undermined as well as objectively deprived by want and fear requires the natural sciences, economics, political science, and other social sciences to understand the sources of threat. It also requires the perspectives of anthropology, religious studies, history, psychology, area studies, and other diverse disciplines, which are key to understanding the culture and inner lives of people. In recent years, some studies have attempted to measure subjectivity, using approaches such as subjective well-being (Helliwell et al. 2020) and the index of perceived human insecurity (UNDP 2022). However, many challenges remain to be overcome in the attempt to objectively index and quantify human security. In Japan, some studies have examined dignity as an element of human security from an anthropological perspective with regard to support for the survivors of the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake (Uchio 2018). Cooperation among researchers and practitioners from different disciplines is essential for research to comprehensively understand human security, including dignity, and a further expansion of the epistemic community is required (Hernandez et al. 2019).

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19 The human security framework presented by UNDP in its Special Report on Human Security (2022) places the concept of a person's agency at the center (UNDP 2022). Regarding cultural diversity, UNESCO (2001) has positioned culture as an integral part of human dignity and adopted the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity.

Conclusion

Research on human security has been dominated by studies on the concept and its understanding and has lagged behind in exploring human security practices such as the mechanisms by which cascading threats occur, international cooperation in dealing with threats, the role of local government, and the empowerment of people. The JICA Ogata Research Institute has been taking advantage of its status as a department of JICA, an implementing agency for development cooperation, to reveal some of the flexible and changing nature of human security practices. However, it is also true that many areas remain uncharted in the study of human security practices. It is not something that can be clarified by one researcher or one research institution. As Tanaka (2019) argues, it requires the collaboration of experts among all three systems, in their respective research areas. It is also necessary to explore the process of translating the findings revealed by individual research into policy and practice through an epistemic community, building on further practice. This advocacy for cooperation resonates with the UNDP's Special Report on Human Security (2022), which asserted the need for each individual to take ownership and cooperate at all levels to contribute to the realization of human security.

Even though we understand the need for interdisciplinary and cross-professional research and studies, it is not easy to actually promote such endeavors. Various research areas and fields of development cooperation have their own specific interests, techniques, and contexts that have created them. It goes without saying that respective achievements in each discipline and profession founded the diverse collaboration among them. However, as we have discussed in detail in this article, human security cannot be guaranteed by one discipline, one profession, or one field of development cooperation alone. The establishment and enhancement of an epistemic community that makes policy recommendations at the global level, as seen in the health and environmental fields, is significant. JICA also has a network built through bilateral cooperation, mainly government-to-government level, that has been developed over the years. In the field of peacebuilding, the JICA Ogata Research Institute also has a network through which researchers from different academic fields, such as political science, economics, anthropology, health, gender, earth science, and environmental studies, are currently collaborating with JICA practitioners. Achieving the simple objective of ensuring human security requires the collaboration of professionals working in different capacities with knowledge in different disciplines and fields. This report is the first attempt to provide an overview of JICA Ogata Research Institute's efforts in different areas from the perspective of human security.

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Human Security Today
- Role of International Community and Expectations for the JICA Ogata Research Institute

On February 4, 2022, Prof. Akihiko Tanaka, President, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS), and Prof. Mary Kaldor, Professor Emeritus of Global Governance and Director of the Conflict Research Programme, London School of Economics, held an in-depth dialogue covering the importance of human security today, the role of the international community in promoting and achieving human security, the role of and expectations for the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development (JICA Ogata Research Institute), and the life and achievements of the late Dr. Sadako Ogata. The dialogue was moderated by Akio Takahara, Executive Director, JICA Ogata Research Institute.

(Subsequently, Russia invaded Ukraine leading to unbearable death and destruction and massive violations of human rights. This tragedy underlines the need for human security worldwide.)

Mary Kaldor

Professor Emeritus of Global Governance and Director of the Conflict Research Programme at The London School of Economics and Political Science

Dr. Mary Kaldor studied Politics, Philosophy and Economics at the University of Oxford. She was a founding member of European Nuclear Disarmament (END); a founder and Co-Chair of the Helsinki Citizen's Assembly; a member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo; and Convener of the Human Security Study Group that reported to the EU foreign policy chief. She pioneered the concepts of new wars and global civil society, and her elaboration of the real-world implementation of human security has directly influenced European and national governments. She is the author of many books and articles including "Human Security: Reflections on Globalisation and Intervention," "New and Old Wars," and "Global Security Cultures."

Akihiko Tanaka

President of the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies

After graduating from College of Arts and Sciences, the University of Tokyo, Akihiko Tanaka obtained his PhD from the Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was then a visiting professor at Ruhr University (Bochum), a Visiting Researcher at St Anthony's College, Oxford University, an Executive Vice President at the University of Tokyo, and the President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency. Prof. Tanaka is currently the President of the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, a Distinguished Fellow at the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development, and the Director of the Japan Office for UNHCR. His field is international politics. His major publications include "The New Middle Ages" (Nihon Keizai Shimbun), "Word Politics: Japanese Diplomacy under Globalization" (Chikuma Shobo), and numerous other books on international politics. In 2012, Prof. Tanaka received the Medal of Honor with Purple Ribbon.

Akio Takahara

Executive Director of the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development/ Professor at the Faculty of Law, Graduate Schools for Law and Politics, the University of Tokyo

After graduating from the Faculty of Law at the University of Tokyo, Akio Takahara completed his DPhil at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. He has been a Research Fellow at the Sasakawa Peace Foundation, a Visiting Researcher at the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong, and a Professor at the College of Law and Politics, Rikkyo University. Since 2005, Prof. Takahara has held the position of Professor at the Faculty of Law, the University of Tokyo. While teaching law at the Graduate Schools for Law and Politics, the University of Tokyo, he has also concurrently been serving as the Executive Director of the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development since October 2020. His field is contemporary Chinese politics and East Asian international affairs. His major publications include "The University of Tokyo Lectures on Contemporary China for Working People" and "Joint Discussion: What is the Problem with Japan-China Relations?," and numerous other books on Chinese politics.

First, I would like to ask you, in the context of major changes in the world, what is the significance of human security? If it is an evolving concept that develops with the times, how should we understand human security now?

———Akio Takahara

Takahara: Thank you so much for joining us today. It has been almost 30 years since the concept of human security was born. Since then, the world surrounding us has changed dramatically with the threat of pandemics in developing and developed countries alike, the realization and sense of crisis that climate change is "real" on a global scale, sharp and wide social divisions, and abuses of power by oppressive and illegitimate regimes. First, I would like to ask you, in the context of major changes in the world, what is the significance of human security? If it is an evolving concept that develops with the times, how should we understand human security now?

Kaldor: In my view, human security is more important than ever, offering a counterproposal to tendencies going in the opposite direction. In the European context, the Helsinki Accords of 1975 were actually about human security and they are really significant because they contained three baskets: peace; economic, social and cultural cooperation; and human rights. The world needs a new Helsinki Accords to respond to the threats and risks we face today.

First, we need a peace policy that includes how to prevent war, a reconfirmation of the territorial status quo, disarmament and demilitarization, and a multilateralist approach to new conflicts like Syria and Afghanistan. Secondly, we need to cooperate on the global challenges of our time, including cooperation on the pandemic, on climate change, and on social justice and addressing poverty. Thirdly, human rights are hugely important and at the heart of human security. Not that many countries take human rights seriously any longer, so countries that do must press for human rights. Finally, Prof. Ogata always emphasized the importance of empowerment. None of this comes about without civil society pressure and there is a desperate need for a transnational civil society campaigning for human security.

Takahara: Let me now turn to Prof. Tanaka.

Tanaka: I agree with Prof. Kaldor on almost all points. We are in the midst of a human security crisis of the greatest magnitude. Already, nearly 5.7 million people have died from this pandemic. In 2020, the pandemic also pushed 100 million people back into extreme poverty despite the fact that the number of such people had been decreasing from the beginning of the 21st century to 2019. The concept of human security has never been more important, as Prof. Kaldor stated.

On top of that, we are facing bad climate change prospects. The world has to live up to the Glasgow Climate Change Conference (UNFCCC COP26) agreement and needs to strengthen mitigation efforts and reduce the fundamental causes of climate change. At the same time, from a human security perspective, we should not forget the importance of

In my view, human security is more important than ever, offering a counterproposal to tendencies going in the opposite direction.

———Mary Kaldor

> ## We need like-minded states that do think in human security terms, such as the EU, Japan, and Canada, to push for this kind of alternative.
>
> ——**Mary Kaldor**

adaptation. Here, organizations like JICA have to play a very important role in emergency relief, as well as long-term efforts of "building back better," a concept espoused by the Third UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction and Management held in Sendai, Japan. In addition, the number of refugees and internally displaced persons is at a record high.

Moreover, we are faced with the revival of geopolitical confrontation, as demonstrated by recent Russian behavior, and the intensification of U.S.–China competition. Thus, within the human security crisis, we are also observing the rise of national security issues again.

Takahara: Prof. Kaldor, Prof. Tanaka just mentioned the reemergence of big power competition. How do you see this impacting human security?

Kaldor: The current big power competition is terribly dangerous. The current crisis in Europe is producing new talks with Russia, which is a positive thing, but the Western and European response has been missing an emphasis on human rights. The idea of pushing for a new Helsinki Accords, "Helsinki 2.0" as an alternative way of organizing security not only in Europe but worldwide seems to be the way to go forward.

Interestingly, in Europe, there is a lot of interest in human security among European countries, including the military. Part of the problem is that the Europeans talk a lot about strategic autonomy, but they never behave in an autonomous way. We need like-minded states that do think in human security terms, such as the EU, Japan, and Canada, to push for this kind of alternative. Civil society pressure is also essential. If we don't succeed in those efforts, the situation will be incredibly grim. Still, there are glimpses of optimism. For one thing, nowadays, our heroes and heroines are no longer soldiers, but health workers, doctors, and nurses. That is very much a human security shift in the way people think.

Takahara: Prof. Tanaka, what do you think about the possibility

of human security having an impact on national security concerns?

Tanaka: I think Russia's relations with Europe, China's relations with the United States and Japan, and China's assertive behavior in the East and South China Seas and its pressure on Taiwan are real. We have to squarely face these challenges.

In addition, there is also significant conflict in our views of what constitutes human rights. We cannot pretend that all countries share the same values. We have to be true to our values and we may not be able to achieve a universal consensus about the necessity to protect human rights. What we can do, however, is to cooperate with like-minded people who share our concept of human rights, like Prof. Kaldor said.

Then, we need to demonstrate that our approach to human security and to human rights does indeed work. We may not be able to directly affect authoritarian leaders' behaviors in their own country right now, but we can at least improve the conditions of human security in many parts of the world. For example, peacebuilding is proceeding in Mindanao in the Philippines, with JICA contributing to socioeconomic development there. We need to solidify such successes to show that our approach works. In collaboration with like-minded partners, we could reduce threats to human security by promoting socioeconomic development and increasing awareness of the rule of law, thereby increasing the credibility of our approach.

Kaldor: We have seen a rise in political leaders and regimes characterized by a mixture of authoritarian and anti-democratic tendencies, crony capitalism, oligarchy and corruption, ethnic nationalism or racism and anti-immigrationism, as well as misogyny and homophobia. To bring about human security, we need to think about structural changes to deal with these phenomena. A lot has to do with the financial system. How do we reform it and eradicate money laundering? How do we address extreme inequality? It's a chicken and egg scenario; these regimes hinder us from addressing socioeconomic development, yet we can only get rid of them by promoting socioeconomic development. We need to think in these structural terms. This new type of authoritarian populism can be found worldwide, not just in Russia or Brazil but also in Trump's America or in the Brexit phenomenon in the UK.

I also want to point out that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) actually has a Human Security Unit, working on things like protection of civilians, protection of cultural heritage, building integrity, anti-corruption, women, peace and security, and gender balance. However, human security is more than this bundle of issues; it's about protecting everyone and putting that before winning against an enemy, which is a point that NATO has yet to grasp. NATO needs a genuinely defensive posture to deal with the possibility of Russian attacks. Offensive actions just provide a pretext for President Putin's activities. A defensive posture would be a human security approach to national security. Another point is the dangerous nature of the continuing war on terror. The idea of dealing with terrorists through long-distance assassination, rather than through a human security approach of policing and intelligence methods, is also problematic.

Takahara: Various threats such as the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, and conflicts are interlinked with each other. In the practice of human security, the chains of threats and vulnerabilities are analyzed, and cross-sectoral responses are taken to achieve synergies. Cross-sectoral efforts naturally require the coordination and collaboration of a wide range of players, including governments, private businesses, NGOs, and international organizations. What can the international community do to promote and achieve human security? In addition to nation states, what are the roles of non-governmental actors in achieving human security?

Kaldor: There is a difference between non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which are independently funded and very often involved in competition for funding, and social movements, which are movements of people who feel really strongly about an issue. Right now, we really need a new peace and human rights social movement.

In addition, in my work on conflict areas, we talk not so much about civil society as about civic-*ness*, about people who want to help everybody, not just their own ethnicity or sect. These can be NGOs, but could also just be doctors, nurses, teachers, and so on, who take their jobs seriously. Bringing together and strengthening those kinds of people is hugely important.

Takahara: Let me ask Prof. Tanaka the same question.

Tanaka: In contrast to my rather grim picture of the current state of the world, I'm hopeful of the impact of incremental efforts by different actors, including civil society organizations, businesses and certain prominent individuals. Facing the current challenge of geopolitical realities, this may appear to be a rather slow process, and indeed it is, but I think the cumulative effect of efforts to achieve human security and the sustainable development goals will eventually overcome the negative effects of the sort of authoritarian, populist and strongman leaders that Prof. Kaldor mentioned.

Takahara: Authoritarian regimes believe that what is most important is stability in society, both for the regime but also for the people, so it is acceptable to ignore certain aspects of human rights and dignity of the people in society. How can we approach this issue?

> In the meantime, we have to explore the possibilities for cooperation in areas such as climate change or natural disasters,
> as this can also contribute to preserving peace.
>
> ————Akihiko Tanaka

Kaldor: One of the problems with the international community is that it often allies with the wrong types. Western countries often echo the talk of stability and take top-down approaches. At the very least, international institutions like the United Nations and perhaps the EU should see themselves as civic actors, find ways to create more civic space in societies, and take seriously an understanding of conflict from the perspective of civic actors inside these societies.

Takahara: Prof. Tanaka, can you comment on the different roles that governments, civil society, and businesses should play in promoting human security and human rights?

Tanaka: The current competition between liberal democratic and authoritarian countries should be managed in a way that prevents war. We should also preserve the space for human rights within authoritarian countries as much as possible. In the end, we may have to wait for the arrival of more accommodative leaders within authoritarian countries. In the meantime, we have to explore the possibilities for cooperation in areas such as climate change or natural disasters, as this can also contribute to preserving peace. It is a difficult task and easier said than done, but certainly worthwhile.

Kaldor: I agree and would add that we can also try to weaken the underlying factors that produce those leaders, such as by addressing global inequality and global flows of corrupt money and supporting NGOs and human rights activists.

Takahara: What do you expect of JICA and the JICA Ogata Research Institute in promoting and achieving human security?

Kaldor: Research is terribly important. You could also play an incredibly important role connecting stakeholders at the top and bottom. JICA could also follow the example of the EU, which is currently organizing Citizens Assemblies as part of the Conference on the Future of Europe and organize some transnational citizens' assemblies to discuss how to achieve human security.

Tanaka: The work of the JICA Ogata Research Institute in publishing volumes on human security is very positive. I understand that a few Chinese scholars participated in a recent volume and conducting research with scholars from authoritarian countries is another important contribution. Research institutes can also increase the number of scholars who are aware of human security and human rights and who understand their significance.

JICA also plays a very important role by implementing the Japanese government's official development assistance (ODA). Through ODA, JICA is able to contribute to human development while preserving human security in both democratic and authoritarian developing countries. We cannot expect

> Research institutes can also increase the number of scholars who are aware of human security and human rights and who understand their significance.
>
> ————Akihiko Tanaka

sudden structural changes in authoritarian systems but I think many ODA projects that appeared to serve the prestige of authoritarian leaders eventually turned out to contribute to the betterment of people's everyday lives, for example by developing infrastructure.

Takahara: Finally, could you share a message to commemorate the late Prof. Ogata, who was the advocate of human security and also the founder of our research institute.

Kaldor: I would be delighted to. She actually contributed very much to the evolution of my thinking. All my thinking about human security came out of my experience of the Bosnian War, when I was the chair of an NGO called the Helsinki Citizen's Assembly, which involved a network of local peace and human rights groups in Bosnia. When I met Prof. Ogata, she agreed to my request that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) make us an implementing partner so that I could travel throughout Bosnia and meet the local peace and human rights groups. All of my ideas about new wars and human security came out of discussions with those groups during that war. That would never have happened without her help.

Later, I was asked by Javier Solana, the EU's Foreign Policy Chief, to form a study group on what a European security policy should be. At that time, human security was not well known, but we produced a set of proposals that very much came out of the experience of Bosnia. When we published our reports, Prof. Ogata was very enthusiastic and sought to organize a meeting with us. It was quite significant in taking human security forward within the EU and I am very grateful to her for that.

Tanaka: When I think of Prof. Ogata, first of all, she was our teacher. I'm a political scientist studying international relations among East Asian countries, and Prof. Ogata was a prominent specialist in this field. She was then our mentor. Her contribution at UNHCR was really significant as well, and the subsequent evolution of many UNHCR activities originated from her time there. After that, she became JICA's President and expanded JICA's scope, introducing the concept of peacebuilding as a legitimate activity of an aid agency. Under her, JICA engaged in peacebuilding in places like Mindanao and tried to support socioeconomic development in Afghanistan, including empowering women. I really respect her as my predecessor. I wasn't able to live up to her level when I was President of JICA, but she was a shining model to follow.

Takahara: Today, we invited two speakers with deep knowledge of international politics to discuss human security in depth from the perspective of the international community. I was impressed by their discussion on the importance of various actors, including civil society, private businesses, and researchers, as well as states and people. Threats vary and change over time, from familiar threats to threats at the national, regional, and global levels. For the security of each and every human being, in other words, to protect human life, livelihood, and dignity, can development cooperation organizations identify the existence of diverse threats and respond to them? I believe that our will and ability to do so is now being tested.

Thank you so much for your great contributions.

> For the security of each and every human being, in other words,
> to protect human life, livelihood, and dignity,
> can development cooperation organizations identify
> the existence of diverse threats and respond to them?
> I believe that our will and ability to do so is now being tested.

——**Akio Takahara**

We would like to introduce the following memorial messages to the late Dr. Sadako Ogata, the former President of JICA, from UN Secretary-General António Guterres and UN High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi, which were delivered on the occasion of the symposium titled "Embracing Human Security in Meeting Global Challenges in the COVID-19/Post-COVID-19 Era" on November 2, 2020. The symposium was held to commemorate and remember the late Dr. Ogata, who advocated the concept of human security, and to focus on the significance of this concept in the COVID-19 era. The messages highlight the importance of human security and Dr. Ogata's actions to practice the concept.

António Guterres, The 9th Secretary-General of the United Nations

Madame Sadako Ogata was a great humanitarian and a role model for people around the world. As President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency and as High Commissioner for Refugees, she set the standard for principled, compassionate and effective action.

Ms. Ogata left a broad legacy, including the many millions of people who enjoy better lives and opportunities thanks to her efforts. She consistently raised awareness of the specific needs and fundamental rights of refugees around the world, through her strong advocacy for human security. Ms. Ogata was fearless in standing up for people, for humanitarian action and for political solutions to conflict.

As we face the COVID-19 pandemic, Sadako Ogata's strength, her principles and her values carry lessons for us all.

The pandemic poses risks to human security from all sides. Conflict zones are a deadly environment in which the virus can spread unchecked, and where people have the least chance of prevention or treatment. The economic and social impact of the pandemic is greatest on those who are already vulnerable. Tens of millions of people face a slide into poverty and hunger. Children who are out of school, particularly girls, may never return.

Putting people at the centre of our response and making sure we attend to all aspects of human security, from conflict mediation to humanitarian aid and strengthened health systems, will be critical. Sadako Ogata was an example of the effectiveness of women's leadership. We need women's contributions at all levels as we look to build a strong recovery from COVID-19.

Ms. Ogata was a great proponent of the multilateral solutions that are needed more than ever in the face of this global crisis. I am confident that Japan will maintain and build on its record as a constructive and responsible member of the international community, working in a holistic way to protect human lives and enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment.

The United Nations is the steadfast partner of the Government and people of Japan. We look forward to our continued cooperation with the Japan International Cooperation Agency, Japanese corporations, civil society and young people.

Together, in the spirit of Sadako Ogata, let us resolve to come through the pandemic and build a better world for the future.

It is humbling to present a few reflections on just some of the countless achievements and legacies of one of my predecessors as UN High Commissioner for Refugees, whom I also have the honour of calling my mentor and personal friend, Sadako Ogata.

She felt a deep compassion for those suffering and deprived of their human rights and dignity. She was as comfortable and effective speaking to the Security Council or with world leaders as she was sitting with refugees in a camp, listening to their plight and helping find solutions to their challenges.

She rarely flinched in a crisis, even when she was in the midst of active conflict, as she did so often in the Balkans, or the Great Lakes of Africa, and many other places.

And she would have been aghast at the 'me first' and "my country first" rhetoric, or the duplicitous representation by some politicians of refugees as abusers and threats, instead of explaining that they are just people—like you and me—but unjustly forced to flee their homes due to conflict or persecution.

She recognized back then that the global character of the challenges we face—like the climate emergency, poverty, or a pandemic—require cooperation and a collective response.

She also understood and said—ahead of many others—that there are no humanitarian solutions to political crises like conflict and war and that a different approach was needed. She advocated strongly for development actors to be engaged at the beginning of a crisis. Ahead of time, she grasped that all elements of the international response to crises—political, human rights, humanitarian, and development—must work closely together for those crises to be addressed in an effective and sustainable manner.

This is the crux of the 'human security' approach that she championed decades ago.

It took more than twenty years for this to translate into mainstream aid discussions and initiatives. With the exodus of one million people to Europe in 2015–16—an exodus rooted in political and aid failures – decision makers around the world understood that crises (and especially crisis of forced displacement) needed different responses, much along the lines Mrs Ogata had proposed years before.

This led for example to the affirmation by the United Nations General Assembly of the Global Compact on Refugees in 2018, which ushered in a new approach to responding to displacement. A whole of society response that brought together governments, humanitarian and development actors, the private sector, and others to help the displaced and their host communities, and to share the burden and responsibility more widely across the international arena.

JICA and the Government of Japan have been a key and longstanding partner of UNHCR in this approach, which is very much in line with Mrs Ogata's visionary appeal from decades ago. I trust that this strong support will continue now and into the future.

As I close, I hope you will permit me to share a personal story. Mrs Ogata was a multilateralist, and an internationalist for sure, but was profoundly attached to her country and proud to be Japanese.

At the end of my first visit to Japan with her, we were flying back to Geneva and she asked about my impressions. She asked 'did you start,' she said 'to understand that geography and history made us—Japan—a lonely country? We,' she added, 'can only thrive if we play an international role in making peace, and support stronger humanitarian and development responses'.

That was her dream for Japan, and for the world. She would certainly like this approach to continue today, and not be weakened by any considerations, especially at this time of pandemic, when the most vulnerable people in the world—among whom are the refugees and the displaced—are likely to pay the biggest price.

[Contribution] Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) and Human Security

Osamu Kunii*

CEO, Global Health Innovative Technology Fund (GHIT Fund)

Introduction

This article discusses the challenges and opportunities emerging from the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic from the perspectives of national and human security and presents the author's views on the reframing and future direction of human security.

1. Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) and Human Security

1.1   COVID-19's Threat to Global Security

The COVID-19 pandemic has been called a "once-in-a-century public health crisis." Some national leaders declared it "the greatest challenge since World War II" and likened the situation to being "at war." First, I would like to summarize the global crisis caused by COVID-19 in comparison to other infectious diseases.

At the time of writing this article (January 10, 2022), two years have passed since the COVID-19 outbreak was reported to the World Health Organization (WHO) by the Chinese government. During this period, there have been more than 300 million reported cases of COVID-19 and 5.5 million reported deaths. In the year 2021 alone, the cumulative numbers of reported cases and deaths were approximately 200 million and 3.5 million, respectively.[1]

When simply comparing the number of cases, there have been many other infectious diseases with similar or higher numbers. For example, malaria infected an estimated 229 million people during 2019 (WHO 2020), and latent tuberculosis (a condition in which a person is infected with tuberculosis (TB), but has not yet developed the disease) infected an estimated 1.7 billion people worldwide (WHO 2018). Moreover, the estimated number of AIDS-related deaths was 3.1 million in 2005 (UNAIDS and WHO 2005) and TB-related deaths stood at 1.5 million in 2020, although the number continues to decrease every year (WHO 2021).

In South Africa, where the impact of COVID-19 was particularly severe, the number of reported COVID-19 deaths was approximately 60,000 in 2021, yet the number of AIDS-related deaths exceeded

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1   https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/ Accessed December 27, 2021.

80,000 in 2019 alone.[2] A similar case is India, where COVID-19-related deaths approximated 330,000 in 2021, whereas the estimated number of TB deaths was over 430,000 in 2019.[3] Furthermore, the fatality rate of COVID-19 (as of the end of 2021), calculated from the number of reported deaths and cases, is less than 2%, which is much lower than the 11% for SARS (Chan-Yeung and Xu 2003) and 33% for MERS (Zhang et al. 2021).

Then, why has COVID-19 caused such a stir around the world?

The first reason is that COVID-19, with its 'cunning' infectivity, has spread worldwide faster than any other emerging infectious disease in at least the past 100 years. Infectious diseases involving remarkable and easily recognizable symptoms, such as SARS and Ebola virus disease, cause fear in people, and are thus rather easy to control. Smallpox was eradicated because it has obvious skin symptoms, there were no asymptomatic cases, and the disease was easily diagnosable. In contrast, COVID-19 is contagious even in asymptomatic cases and before the onset of symptoms, and there have been super-spreader cases in which one person unknowingly infected dozens of people. Therefore, COVID-19 easily slipped through quarantine and traveled stealthily from country to country, infiltrating medical institutions and care facilities, leading to the collapse of healthcare services and a sharp increase in deaths, especially from healthcare-associated infection.

In fact, the numbers of COVID-19 cases and deaths currently reported are thought to be less than the actual numbers due to limited testing capacity and difficulty identifying asymptomatic cases. In a study, the actual numbers of COVID-19 cases and deaths were estimated as 7.03 and 1.44 times the reported numbers, respectively (Rahmandad et al. 2021). A Brazilian study estimated that 76% of the Amazonian population had been infected with COVID-19 by October 2020 (Buss et al. 2021), highlighting the high transmissibility of the disease as a threat. In particular, the newly emerged mutant strains, Delta and Omicron, have become more transmissible than before, and both created new waves of infection. Due to mild symptoms at the onset, patients tend to let their guard down before symptoms suddenly worsen, leading to continuing reports of deaths during home care and a shortage of ventilators at medical institutions. As one front-line healthcare professional reflects, "I had never experienced such a situation. It is a terrible disease."

Second, while past emerging infectious diseases had mainly affected low- and middle-income countries, COVID-19 has typically shown higher morbidity and mortality rates in advanced Western countries. Although it spread worldwide, its impact varies among regions and countries, resulting in differences in the international community's interest and sense of crisis, as well as social and economic influences. In the past, Ebola virus disease and Zika fever also spread, but the numbers of cases and economic losses in Europe and the United States (US) were limited, whereas COVID-19 has directly affected these countries, causing a flurry of media coverage and causing enormous socioeconomic losses. The difference in impact is evident when comparing mortality rates (deaths per million people)

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2   https://www.who.int/data/gho/data/indicators/indicator-details/GHO/number-of-deaths-due-to-hiv-aids Accessed December 29, 2021.

3   https://www.who.int/data/gho/data/indicators/indicator-details/GHO/number-of-deaths-due-to-tuberculosis-excluding-hiv Accessed December 29, 2021.

at the time of writing: 2,573 in the US, 2,194 in the United Kingdom (UK), 199 in Zambia, and 177 in Cambodia, revealing a more than 100-fold difference between some Western and African/Asian countries.[4]

What would have happened if this had been the other way around? As the past cases of international crises show, the perception of a threat/crisis, awareness, responses, and countermeasures are very different in advanced countries, represented by Europe and the US, depending on whether it is their own or other countries' concern.

1.2   Impacts of COVID-19 from a Human Security Perspective

While the direct impact of the threat to human health and life caused by COVID-19 is itself a human security issue, the indirect impacts through measures and countermeasures have also raised many issues related to human security.

Infectious diseases are transmitted to everyone, but the risks of infection and related death widely vary among regions and populations. Studies have shown that in the US, the risk of COVID-19 infection is 1.6 times higher among Hispanics, that of hospitalization is 2.6 times higher among Africans, and that of death is 2.2 times higher among American Indians compared with Caucasians.[5] As many of these populations are poor, delays in visiting medical facilities for fear of high medical costs are thought to be an associated factor.

A British study also reported that those engaged in jobs that are essential to people's daily lives, so-called essential workers, are more likely to be infected with COVID-19, and suffer from more severe symptoms than others. The likelihood ratio is 7.4 times for health workers and 2.2 times for transporters (Mutambudzi et al. 2021). Thus, essential workers have found that they are often unable to protect themselves and their families despite their best efforts.

Stigma and discrimination against infected and high-risk people have also been observed. In the early stages of the pandemic, stigma and discrimination against Chinese or Asian people was widespread in the West, where some international students were assaulted, and some Asian restaurants were vandalized. Overt discrimination, stigmatization, and sometimes violence against infected people, their families, and health workers were reported in many countries during the initial stage of the pandemic. Japan was no exception, as children of parents working in hospitals performing COVID-19 treatment were denied access to nursery schools.

Indirect impacts have manifested through immigration restrictions, lockdowns, movement restrictions, and voluntary restraints as measures implemented in many countries to curb the further spread of COVID-19. This has in turn led to global supply chain disruptions. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), the COVID-19 pandemic left 250 million people unemployed during 2020,[6] and the World Bank estimates that the number of people living in extreme poverty

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4   https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/ Accessed December 27, 2021.

5   https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/covid-data/investigations-discovery/hospitalization-death-by-race-ethnicity.html Accessed December 27, 2021.

6   https://www.ilo.org/global/research/global-reports/weso/trends2021/WCMS_795453/lang--ja/index.htm Accessed December 30, 2021.

increased by about 120 million.[7] The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and other institutions report that the number of deaths by starvation increased by 161 million in 2020 when compared to 2019 (FAO et al. 2020).

People in low- and middle-income countries and women have been particularly affected. The impact of India's lockdown was the largest in the world, affecting approximately 1.4 billion people and causing huge job losses for day laborers. Those who could no longer live in cities returned to rural areas on foot or by bicycle over hundreds of kilometers, but some did not survive the journey due to dehydration and malnutrition along the way.[8]

The lockdowns and movement restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic also turned homes, which should be the safest place, into cesspools of stress and violence, increasing the rates of domestic violence and divorce. According to a report by Oxfam International, the number of consultations to helplines and other services regarding domestic abuse and violence against women increased by 25 to 111% in 10 countries.[9] Approximately 1,000 girls and women went missing in the first few months of the pandemic, and many of them were believed to have been murdered in some countries.[10] This prompted the United Nations (UN) to declare a 'shadow pandemic,' warning against increased violence against women during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In response to both the direct and indirect impacts introduced above, governments have endeavored to implement appropriate measures, such as compensation and protection, although large disparities in implementation have been observed among countries. In Germany, for example, workers experiencing COVID-19-related work absence could apply online to receive the equivalent of JPY 600,000 in salary compensation within three days, regardless of nationality.[11] In Kenya, in contrast, some had to bear the cost of forced isolation, which exceeded the equivalent of JPY10,000 per day in some cases.[12]

Thus, COVID-19 has caused various problems related to human security, human life, livelihood, and dignity.

1.3 National Security and Human Security

The COVID-19 pandemic has thrown security into crisis at all levels: individual, family, regional, national, and global, and raised questions about the concepts of 'national security' and 'human security,' as well as related measures.

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7   https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/updated-estimates-impact-covid-19-global-poverty-looking-back-2020-and-outlook-2021 Accessed December 27, 2021.

8   https://indianexpress.com/article/india/12-yr-old-walks-100-km-dies-just-short-of-bijapur-home-6371779/ Accessed December 30, 2021.

9   https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621309/bp-ignored-pandemic-251121-en.pdf?sequence=19 Accessed December 27, 2021.

10   https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/coronavirus-peru-deaths-women-girls-missing-lockdown-a9642021.html Accessed December 31, 2021.

11   https://president.jp/articles/-/34398?page=1 Accessed December 28, 2021.

12   https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-52374254 Accessed December 28, 2021.

The concept of security has been transformed through World War I, World War II, and the Cold War, and it is said to be a situation-dependent concept that takes on different meanings according to the historical context (Takahashi 1998). Furthermore, in recent years, it has been increasingly recognized that the concept of security encompasses military and non-military and domains, such the environment, human rights, economy, natural disasters, and domestic issues. In 2012, the UN General Assembly expanded the concept of human security to cover a wide range of threats to people (UN General Assembly Resolution A/66L.55/Rev.1). From a national security perspective, the COVID-19 pandemic has been considered by many governments as a 'foreign enemy' and has been used to declare national emergencies, close borders, and enforce nationwide or urban blockades. Advanced countries restricted exports of food, masks, ventilators, and other items, and raced to develop a vaccine that they then monopolized on the grounds of national interest. Yet pandemics are unresolvable at the national level and require global solidarity for the fight.

One such attempt at global solidarity is the Access to COVID-19 Tools - Accelerator (ACT-A). Supported by nine international institutions and private foundations including the Global Fund, WHO, and Gavi, the ACT-A is a mechanism to promote the development and delivery of tools (such as diagnostics/tests, therapeutics, and vaccines) to combat COVID-19. In the first two months of the COVID-19 pandemic, advanced countries announced their intention to spend about USD 10 trillion on domestic measures related to COVID-19 and the economy (Cassim et al. 2020). However, these countries could not even pledge 6 billion of the approximately USD 40 billion needed to support ACT-A at the time,[13] even one year after its launch in April 2020.

'National security' is fundamentally important, yet insufficient, to protect a country against external threats to safety. The COVID-19 pandemic clarified the roles of regional communities such as the European Union (EU) and the African Union; international institutions such as the UN including WHO; and national organizations, such as central and local governments, trade associations, civil society, and NGOs. It also clearly demonstrated the importance of collaboration and cooperation among these organizations.

It must also be noted that today's frequent occurrence of emerging infectious diseases, including COVID-19, is associated with various factors, such as environmental destruction, global warming, urbanization, and globalization on a transnational scale. Unusual weather patterns and natural disasters are already occurring frequently, but such threats and crises are expected to increase with global warming in the future. In this epoch of the 'Anthropocene,' we should think globally and planetarily and explore solutions for security, while keeping human beings at the center of our ideas.

1.4   Opportunities Emerging from COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic is a crisis that has introduced many challenges, but it has also brought various opportunities for the world. The development of vaccines, which had previously taken more than 15 years, and rarely achieved a high success rate, was successfully completed 307 days after the declaration of the COVID-19 pandemic, and at the time of writing (January 10, 2022), 10 vaccines

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13   https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/access-to-covid-19-tools-tracker Accessed December 28, 2021.

have been approved by the WHO.[14] In contrast, vaccines for HIV are not yet available, and a 100-year-old vaccine (BCG) with limited efficacy is being used for TB treatment. Furthermore, PCR tests and rapid antigen tests were put on the market in 64 and 236 days, respectively, and the efficacy of steroids (dexamethasone) in patients with severe symptoms was proven through clinical trials in 138 days (UK Government 2021). The outcomes of these R&D activities have been amazing, showing great potential for the future.

In addition, IT-based data collection, analysis, and dissemination have become faster and more sophisticated all over the world, and the spread of mutant strains, which had previously been difficult to track, can now be grasped in real time. This has been realized not only by government agencies or the WHO, but also by cooperating universities and research institutes, in addition to civic power that has made a significant contribution. Data has been visualized and made freely available not only to experts, but also to the media and the general public, which have greatly contributed to COVID-19 measures. Prior to the pandemic, annual reports on infectious diseases issued by the WHO (such as the *World Tuberculosis Report*) had been written based on the analysis of data collected one or two years previously, and there were often delays in formulating and implementing measures. Yet, because of COVID-19, real-time data collection, analysis, and utilization may become the standard.

Other applications of IT technology include the management of infected persons, tracking and isolation of those who had close contact, and monitoring of mutant strains. These are likely to contribute to significant progress in disease control measures in the future.

2. The Future of Human Security and the Role of Japan

In 2021, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) established the High-Level Advisory Panel for the Special Report on Human Security, co-chaired by Keizo Takemi, Member of the Japanese House of Councillors, and Laura Chinchilla, former President of Costa Rica, to hold discussions with experts and policymakers from around the world.[15] The topic had not been discussed since 2001 when the Commission on Human Security, co-chaired by Sadako Ogata, former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and Professor Amartya Sen, held discussions and published a report entitled *Human Security Now* in 2003. The 2021 Panel thus aimed to build a new concept of human security through a process of recreation.

In response, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan held several meetings of the Human Security Study Group in Japan with Mr. Takemi, and I also had the opportunity to make presentations and comments as a member of this group. In the following section, I would like to share these and my other personal views on the future of human security.

First, as Simon Sinek explains in his book entitled *Start with Why: How Great Leaders Inspire Everyone to Take Action*, it is important to clarify why a new concept of human security is needed now. Why are the old concepts outdated, why do we need a new concept, and what are we seeking to do with it?

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14   https://covid19.trackvaccines.org/agency/who/ Accessed January 10, 2022.
15   http://hdr.undp.org/en/new-gen-human-security Accessed January 10, 2022.

Some in the international community believe human security has been superseded by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to realize a society where 'no one is left behind' (Hoshino 2021). Under such circumstances, it is necessary to put a spotlight on human security again, clearly demonstrating the significance and added value of reconstructing this concept.

As previously mentioned, the concepts of national and human 'security' have become increasingly ambiguous with the changing times, which makes it meaningful to go back to the basics and think about security with human beings at the center. Specifically, to organize our thoughts on security, we firstly need to clarify "what (values)"/"whom (objects)" should be protected, "from what (threats and crises)" should protect, then "who (subjects)" should protect and "how (means)" to protect them. While clarifying these, we should go back to the "why." As the why (purpose of security) has changed with the times, we need to organize our thoughts on security in a concrete manner while contemplating specific threats and crises.

Threats and crises at the global and national level are diversifying. While the world is now well aware of the significant impacts of a pandemic, it still faces a variety of threats and crises related to nature and the environment, politics and economics, and food system and public health, including extreme weather and natural disasters due to global warming, chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear, and explosive (CBRNE) disasters, and persistent civil wars and conflicts.

The values to be protected are also diverse. Protecting people's survival and lives is a fundamental principle, but how should we thereby protect individual livelihoods and dignity, freedom, jobs, education, local and national economies, and global supply chains? What are the priorities among these and trade-offs to be made for them?

Further, there are questions of who will provide such protection. The COVID-19 pandemic highlighted conflicts of jurisdiction and responsibility between central and local governments, and between the state and regional communities (e.g., the EU). In countries and situations where governments cannot provide sufficient protection, how can the roles and abilities of trade associations, civil society, and communities be enhanced (empowerment)? We must collaborate and promote cooperation on a global scale to protect people and nations, but how will the international community govern, lead, and coordinate through these processes?

The COVID-19 pandemic has revealed many topics to be considered for the future of 'security.'

Concepts and frameworks alone do not suffice for the management of actual threats and crises. They should apply to specific policies, strategies, tactics, and operations, and demonstrate their usefulness and values in real-life settings.

This requires systems and/or mechanisms to link 'security' to specific actions. In this respect, it is necessary to formulate well defined policies and strategies, and to develop tactics and operational approaches not only within the framework of 'security,' but also at the national and sub-national levels for 'crisis management.' As we have learned from COVID-19, this process also requires us to examine distinct ways to link 'security' to actions at the international and global levels.

The old concept of "human security" focuses on the protection of human life, livelihood, and dignity, and emphasizes the importance of protection and empowerment for this purpose. The COVID-19 pandemic has uncovered the reality that despite a strong understanding of the ideals, it is

not easy to implement these ideals and resolve problems in a complex ecosystem. It is important that the "new human security" is anchored in such a reality, creating added value relevant to today's society.

With the SDGs functioning as shared goals of the international community, each country is expected to set targets and make their own efforts toward these goals. The SDGs also promote international partnerships involving governments, international institutions, private companies, and civil society. The "new human security" does not need to compete with the SDGs. We may rather consider how to incorporate it into the SDGs as a concept and framework, or how to apply it to the establishment of principles and standards for existing activities, such as the Global Health Security Initiative[16] and the Sphere Project for Humanitarian Aid. Further, it can be used as a basis to build systems for collaboration and cooperation with organizations, such as the Cluster Approach.

In my opinion, it is necessary to further develop the 'people-centered' and 'community-based' approaches that are often discussed today, connect them more strongly to human security, and create trends that will lead to specific actions. Security and crisis management to combat national crises and threats inevitably tend to be top-down, but in the end, each individual, family, and community is responsible for their own protection at each level. We must recognize the necessity of bottom-up approaches, and the inadequacy of the insistence that security is a 'right of the people' and a 'national duty.' COVID-19 has highlighted the importance of individual action to fulfill individual responsibilities and duties, such as "do not infect others" and "do not get infected, either." We are each responsible to protect ourselves, our families, and our communities, rather than relying solely on national leaders and waiting for their measures.

The roles and influences of individuals, communities, and civil society are being further enhanced by technological innovations, including information technology. Such innovations enable the rapid and active sharing of information and situations, facilitating early identification and awareness of threats and crises and assisting in disseminating warnings. Through such rapid collection and analysis of information, each threat and crisis can be monitored in real time, allowing for deeper consideration and expedited decision-making on measures, countermeasures, and other actions. By measuring the vulnerability of a region or population group, it is also possible to quickly identify the 'vulnerable' or 'those left behind,' provide necessary services, and connect service providers and recipients.

The active participation and cooperation not only of the public sector, but also of civil society, NGOs, the private sector, and academia are essential for the provision of human-centered, community-based, and smooth functioning services. Industry-academia-government-private sector collaboration is said to be necessary, but it cannot be realized of its own accord, and mechanisms for making synergy must be built for this purpose.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, vaccines, diagnostics, and therapeutics were developed at an astonishing pace, as noted above. However, when considering security and crisis management in response to global threats and crises in the future, the creation and use of innovations and technologies, and the equitable distribution of global public goods and intellectual properties worldwide may be important and challenging issues. It may also be important to further promote and

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16   http://ghsi.ca/ Accessed January 10, 2022.

improve international collaboration and cooperation for specific security and crisis management purposes, such as stockpiling and the procurement of resources needed to respond to threats and crises, information system-building, human resource development, and surge capacity improvement.

The global community, including the G7 and G20, is currently focused on pandemic preparedness and response (PPR). PPR is certainly important, but there are many threats and crises other than infectious diseases in the global community, and it is inefficient to hold discussions and create new mechanisms for each event, with limited global resources. Considering the concept of 'security,' how can we protect the lives, livelihoods, and dignity of each human being from various future threats and crises, protect the earth' s finite ecosystems and environments, reduce threats and crises, and appropriately manage them? We must make the most of the lessons learned from COVID-19 to create specific action plans for the future. I have high expectations for JICA's contribution to this process.

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[Research Note 1] Understanding and Practicing Human Security in Africa: History and Changes amid the COVID-19 Pandemic

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1. Introduction

The 8th Tokyo International Conference on African Development (henceforth referred to as "TICAD 8") is scheduled to be held in 2022, and once again, human security is likely to underpin the conference. The first time the phrase "human security" was used in a TICAD outcome document was at TICAD III in 2003. In the conference's TICAD 10th Anniversary Declaration (MOFA 2003), human security was presented as "the underlying philosophy and guiding principles of cooperation for African development, which can serve as a compass for African development" (see Declaration Part III, A Compass for the Future of the TICAD Process). Behind this move was the fact that, in the Official Development Assistance Charter, revised in the same year, human security was positioned as one of the basic principles of Japanese assistance (Takahashi 2017).

Following this, the goal of promoting and ensuring human security was included as one of the "priority areas" at TICAD IV in 2008, became one of the "overarching principles" at TICAD V in 2013, and comprised one of the "guiding principles" at TICAD VI in 2016 (MOFA 2008; 2013; 2016). At the most recent TICAD 7 in 2019—although not addressed as a specific item—human security has continued as one of the guiding principles for the implementation of TICAD, along with sustainable development in the *1.0 Introduction* (MOFA 2019a). Based on the discussions at TICAD 7, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has increased its focus on the emergence of new threats to human security, such as the effects of climate change and the disparities brought about by technological innovation that have become more prominent in recent years, thereby setting out the idea of "human security in the new era" (JICA 2019).

Thus, while gradually changing the positioning and terminology, the Japanese government has fostered human security as one of the basic principles of African development since TICAD III. The importance of human security is more apparent than ever now that countries worldwide, including many in Africa, have been hit by the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus it is unlikely that the status of human security will decline in relevance at TICAD 8.

In contrast to Japan's consistent focus on human security, how has the African side—comprising the other parties to TICAD—viewed human security? Japan has taken it for granted that human security is useful for Africa because the continent has experienced much poverty, conflict, terrorism, forced displacement, infectious diseases, and drought, all of which threaten the lives, livelihoods, and dignity of its people. But do we fully understand how it is perceived and applied in policies in Africa?

Human security is a broad concept that has been understood in various ways. Not only has it been the subject of various academic debates but it has also been the subject of diverse interpretations by the states and organizations that support the concept. Consequently, differences in perceptions of human security may exist between Japan and Africa. Suppose the Japanese government and JICA continue to position human security as a key development philosophy after TICAD 8. In that case, it will become even more crucial to understand how the concept is being perceived and applied on the African side and how the current COVID-19 pandemic affects or could affect that understanding and practice as a future issue. Only through such an assessment will it be possible for both Africa and Japan to advance their understanding of human security in the context of Africa's situation and develop it as a more effective concept. Above all, it should lead to respect for African ownership, which is one of the main principles of TICAD.

Based on this awareness of the above issues, this article will examine the position and practice of the concept in the African Union (AU), a regional organization that represents the voices of African countries and has been a co-sponsor of TICAD since 2010. This entails tracing the AU Constitutive Act as its basic framework and assessing its most important activities under the Act. As a specific case study, we will focus on the Republic of South Africa (henceforth referred to as "South Africa"), a country that has actively embraced the concept of human security and is currently one of the countries in Africa most affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. This will allow an examination of the role that human security has played in the country's democratization. The study will also review the impact of the current COVID-19 pandemic on human security in the South African context and beyond. Through this approach, we will consider the challenges that need to be overcome for the concept of human security to be more effective in Africa in the future.

Section 2 below defines the human security concept and sets out the perspectives for the analysis that follows. Section 3 reviews the discourse on human security in Africa to examine the focus of its discussions. Section 4 traces the debates that led to the establishment of the AU and examines the state of human security practices in the AU. Section 5 summarizes the positioning of human security in South Africa's major policies and its role in the country's post-democratization development. It then considers the implications for human security resulting from the social and economic impact of the current COVID-19 pandemic. In the final section, Section 6, we summarize the discussion in this paper and present some of the remaining issues and prospects for the future.

2. The Concept of Human Security and its Characteristics

The concept of human security was introduced in the 1993 and 1994 United Nations Human Development Reports, followed by the 2003 Commission on Human Security (CHS) Final Report, *Human Security Now*.[1] Subsequent discussions took place in the leadup to the UN General Assembly resolutions in 2012. This has resulted in the development of a common understanding—though in a broad sense—in the international arena (JICA 2018). The 2012 UN resolution, which was agreed to as

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1   https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/503749

a result of years of backroom discussions, states 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" (UNGA 2012).[2]

During this period of discussions over the human security concept, countries such as Canada and Norway advocated for a doctrine known as the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P). The R2P principle, based on a survival-focused interpretation, places limits on state sovereignty and permits the international community to intervene on a humanitarian basis when a state fails to protect its citizens during a grave humanitarian crisis. On the other hand, countries such as Japan and Thailand defined threats more broadly than violent conflict and emphasized protection and capacity building (empowerment) under national sovereignty (JICA 2018). Compared to R2P, this approach seeks to avoid conflict between state sovereignty and humanitarian imperatives.

Based on a series of discussions over the past two decades, Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs currently defines human security as "a concept that encourages sustainable, individual self-reliance and social development through protection and empowerment. It focuses on each and every human being and aims to protect people from the wide-ranging and serious threats to their lives, livelihoods, and dignity, in order for them to achieve the full potential that they each possess" (MOFA 2021).

For the following discussion, this article will primarily rely on the definition developed by the Japanese government while highlighting some characteristics related to the above description. By doing so, the basic requirements of the human security concept, namely, "whose [human security]," "what [to be protected]," "from what," "by whom," and "how" to protect will be reconfirmed.

(1) Security Centered on the 'People' Perspective

One feature that distinguishes human security from national security is the focus on the individual human being. In other words, the emphasis is not on the sovereignty or territory of the state, upon which national security is predicated, but on protecting human security. This means positioning the human being as the main objective of development rather than as a means to development (Alkire 2003). Furthermore, shifting the referent of security from the state to each individual human being entails disaggregating individuals along various dimensions and developing an understanding of the states (of human security) and circumstances at an individual level (UN OCHA 2009). Through disaggregation, it is possible to identify people in vulnerable situations and develop response measures that are appropriate to their respective situations.

(2) Central Components of Human Security

Human security means that the "survival, livelihood, and dignity" of human beings are protected or secured (UNGA 2012). The CHS report describes these elements of human security as the "vital core" of all human lives, which needs to be protected in ways that enhance human freedoms and human

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2   https://www.unocha.org/sites/dms/HSU/Publications%20and%20Products/GA%20Resolutions%20and%20 Debate%20Summaries/GA%20Resolutions.pdf

fulfillment (CHS 2003, 4). Rooted in human rights and capability theory,[3] human security views all individuals as entitled not only to a life free from fear and want but to a life "with an equal opportunity to enjoy and fully develop their potential" (UNGA 2012). Human security, therefore, is not limited to the protection of lives and livelihoods alone; it intends to build the agency and resilience of people so that they can enjoy their fundamental freedoms and meaningfully take charge of their own lives.

(3) A Focus on Downside Risks

While human rights are norms about rights to be respected and human development is a concept that is oriented toward progress and promotion of fulfillment, human security focuses on their "downside risks" (CHS 2003, 10). Menaces are "widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people" (UNGA 2012). Such menaces vary and change from place to place and time to time. They include conflict, terrorism, political repression, forced displacement, infectious diseases, extreme inequality and poverty, hunger, and climate change. Furthermore, human security calls for an understanding of the root causes behind threats and emphasizes prevention against future dangers as well as the need to respond after a crisis has occurred (UNGA 2012).

(4) Involvement of Diverse Actors

Since human security is a concept born from the concern over how to ensure people's security, even when the state is unable or unwilling to provide security to its citizens, it assumes the existence of protection providers other than the state as a precondition. In addition, human security is a concept that assumes a diverse range of levels at which threats to humans occur, from the individual (e.g., crime) to the community (e.g., ethnic tensions), national (e.g., state oppression), regional (e.g., infectious disease epidemics), and international (e.g., climate change) (UNDP 1994). From there, a variety of actors are envisioned as protection providers, ranging from communities to national and regional organizations to the international community, with an emphasis on mutual coordination and partnership among them.[4]

(5) Protection and Empowerment

Human security emphasizes protection and empowerment as means of responding to threats. Human security is based on "the recognition that people are the most active participants in determining their well-being" (CHS 2003, 4). While protection is required when "people and communities are deeply threatened by events largely beyond their control" (ibid., 11), "human

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3   It is a conception of human welfare and well-being proposed by Amartya Sen, who views poverty not simply as a state of economic deprivation, but as a lack of potential (what one can do or become) in people's lives and livelihoods (e.g., Sen (1999)). Since each potential is called a functionality and the set of such functions is called a capability, it is called the theory of capability.

4   However, human security does not negate the sovereignty of the state. The UN resolution emphasizes that "Governments retain the primary role and responsibility for ensuring the survival, livelihood and dignity of their citizens" (UNGA 2012).

security must also aim at developing the capabilities of individuals and communities to make informed choices and to act on behalf of causes and interests in many spheres of life" (ibid., 4). The two are understood to be complementary and mutually reinforcing in the sense that empowerment not only protects the individual and their communities but also enables them to demand improvements in the system of protection.

3. Major Discourses on Human Security in Africa

Having defined and characterized human security as described above, we will now examine the major discourses on human security in Africa, focusing on the main themes that have been addressed so far. This section deals with the discourses that have emerged since the 2000s, using the publication of the CHS report (CHS, 2003) as a marker.[5]

3.1   Key Discourses of the 2000s

The first column in the Commission on Human Security report is a sentence titled *Rethinking Security: An Imperative for Africa?* by Frene Ginwala, one of the CHS members and the Speaker of the South African House of Representatives, who is credited with having played an important role in establishing the concept of human security (CHS 2003, 3). In the same column, Ginwala writes:

> Views on security were shaped by the experiences of colonialism and neocolonialism and by the complex processes through which internal and external forces combined to dominate and subjugate people. The enemy came from within the state, and the conditions under which people lived every day placed them in chronic insecurity (ibid., 3).

In this way, Ginwala points out that political factors are deeply related to human security in Africa.

Continuing on from Ginwala's discussion in the Commission's report, the question discussed in the 2000s was why African states had not provided protection for their people and why they remained a source of insecurity for their people. Based on this interest, a number of studies discussed the relationship between the African state and human security during this period (Cilliers 2004; Van Langenhove 2004; Abutudu 2005; Hendricks 2007; Poku et al. 2007; Spears et al. 2007). Relying on the fragile states theory of Africa, these commentators generally offered the following understanding of the relationship between states and human security in Africa (e.g., Cilliers 2004; Spears 2007).

Africa's emerging independent states arose from the inheritance of arbitrarily set borders during

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5   In South Africa, following the end of the Cold War and the ending of the apartheid regime, arguments have been made since the 1990s that national security should be based on human security (e.g., Booth 1991; Booth and Vale 1995; Thompson and Leysens 2000). However, as Mochizuki (2006, 10) pointed out in the mid-2000s, human security research in Africa in general was "weak," a trend that has continued since that time. One of the reasons for this is said to be that, after 9/11, the U.S.-led war on terrorism became central to Africa as well, gradually replacing interest in human security with "[Pro-U.S.] regime security" (Abutudu 2005).

the colonial period. Their legitimacy of governance under international law was recognized by the international community, including the former sovereign states and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), but their domestic support base was limited, and their governance lacked legitimacy domestically. In order to consolidate their own power and control, the rulers allocated resources and posts to their supporters through patron-client relationships, while they ruled over non-supporters through violence using the military and police. This system of governance, known as the neo-patrimonial state,[6] persisted throughout the Cold War under the aegis of the United States and the Soviet Union, despite the weak legitimacy of domestic governance.

Structural adjustment policies since the 1980s have further weakened the protective function of the state, and globalization and democratization since the end of the Cold War have increased political and economic competition over limited resources. When competition and confrontation among elites over limited resources became more intense, some of these conflicts turned into armed conflicts. The political elites involved in the conflict often found personal gain in resource revenues and access to weapons through the conflict, and conflicts and harm to people continued. During this period, the personal interests of the rulers themselves and the securing of power (so-called "elite security") took precedence, and as a result, the human security of the people was not taken into account (Cilliers 2004, 39).

While many commentators have similar understandings of the relationship between the African state and human security, two important positions have emerged on how to deal with the issue. One position looks to regional institutions such as the AU and RECs—or other regional economic communities—as potential protection providers (Van Langenhove 2004; Poku et al. 2007), while the other emphasizes state protection (Cilliers 2004; Spears 2007). The former expects protection by other actors than states because of the inability of the state to provide protection and the cross-border nature of threats such as conflict and infectious diseases. The latter expected protection, paradoxically, to be provided through improved state governance on the grounds that, even if the international community or regional organizations intervene and mediate, the protection that they can provide can only be temporary and that more sustainable human security can only be provided by states that have established robust domestic legitimacy.[7]

3.2   Key Discourses since the 2010s

In the 2010s, the discourse on human security in Africa began to focus on individual threats. Even during this period, there was limited research that systematically addressed human security in Africa. For example, several African scholars collaborated on the publication *Protecting Human Security in Africa* (Abass 2010), one of the few studies to address human security in Africa

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6   For example, see Bratton and Van de Walle (1994).

7   One non-African scholar who has actively addressed the issue of human security in Africa is Caroline Thomas of the University of Southampton in the United Kingdom. She argued that globalization based on neoliberal ideology has increased poverty and inequality among nations and within societies, which threatens human security in developing countries, especially in Africa (Thomas 2000; 2001; Thomas and Wilkins 1999).

comprehensively. Abass (2010, 12) states that the purpose of the book was "to identify some of the most vicious threats to human security in Africa and to analyze the legal and institutional mechanisms for protecting Africans from such threats," indicating that the book focuses on a set of specific threats and is written primarily from the perspective of international law on human rights.

The book examines the human rights situation in light of international law by addressing threats and issues such as food security, environment, small arms, forced labor, mineral resources, piracy, forced migration, women's rights, and corruption. It further points out that in Africa, despite the existence of specific legal and institutional frameworks to protect people from various threats to human security, the safety of people is at stake because of the lack of proper enforcement of these frameworks (Abass 2010, 361–62). The book concludes by expressing the hope that efforts by diverse actors—including not only states but also regional institutions, civil society, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)—will be strengthened to ensure that adequate protection under international law is put in place (ibid., 363). Although it was a pioneering study that comprehensively addressed threats to human security in Africa, its approach was fundamentally normative and protection-oriented, calling for compliance with international law.

In addition to the work by Abass, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) has continuously taken up the issue of human security in Africa and remains one of the few think tanks to do so. Founded in South Africa in 1996 by Jakkie Cilliers and others, ISS has worked to "enhance human security as a means to achieve sustainable peace and prosperity."[8] ISS has consistently focused its research and policy advocacy on human security in Africa by publishing a special issue on "Human Security in Africa" in its *African Security Review* in 2007, and since 2013, changing the title of the *ISS Annual Review* to *Improving Human Security in Africa*.

While the scope of the ISS's activities is broad, a review of the annual review themes since 2013 shows that conflict prevention, peacebuilding, international and organized crime, security, and criminal justice have been ongoing topics of interest to the organization.[9] In addition, in recent years, the ISS has been focusing on the issue of violent extremism and the role of the international criminal justice system in response to the emerging situations of the times. Under the common theme of the African Futures Project, development-related threats such as poverty, natural resources, and population are also addressed, but only to a limited extent.

Scanning all these activities of ISS reveals that the focus of their analysis is not limited to the states but extends to cover regional and continental issues as well. They also endeavor to analyze the political, economic, and social conditions that underlie the threats. Under founder Cilliers, mentioned above, the ISS has mostly emphasized the responsibility of the state as the entity that deals with threats. In general, the ISS has made policy recommendations based on a broad analysis of each threat, while focusing mainly on the areas of peace and security that pose a direct threat to human survival.

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8   https://issafrica.org/about-us/how-we-work Accessed January 14, 2022

9   *Improving Human Security in Africa*: *ISS Annual Review* 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020 (ISS 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021).

3.3   Organizing Human Security from the Perspective of Its Characteristics

How can the above discourses be evaluated based on the characteristics of human security identified in the previous section?

(1) Regarding the human-centered perspective, there is little doubt that the African discourses reviewed here focus on vulnerable human beings who are exposed to threats. However, the discourses presented in the above discussion have primarily approached human security from the threat perspective and not necessarily from a human-centered perspective.

(2) Regarding the central components of human security, as above, the discourse so far has been made primarily from a threat perspective and not necessarily focused on the vital core of values to be protected, which include human survival, livelihood, and dignity.

(3) With regard to the focus on downside risks, a variety of threats are being addressed, ranging from the peace and security sectors, including conflict, small arms, and international crime, to famine, infectious diseases, and forced labor. In recent years the scope has been expanded to include violent extremism, piracy, and the migration of people, including migrants and refugees. However, each threat is still being treated individually rather than in a comprehensive manner.

(4) Regarding the involvement of diverse actors, some approaches emphasize the role of the state, while others emphasize the role of the international community and civil society. Both, however, share the perception that African states have not fulfilled their responsibility for protection.

(5) Regarding protection and empowerment, it can be said that there is a primary focus on protection, whether by the state or the international community. This may reflect the dysfunctional situation of African states, but little attention is paid to the role played by human beings themselves and their empowerment, a process that complements and reinforces protection.

To date, the discourse on human security in Africa, while sharing a basic understanding of the relationship between African states and human security, has dealt primarily with the various threats to human security and the protection from them—whether by the state or by other actors, such as international organizations—as the main themes. This is perhaps unsurprising given the situation in Africa, where threats to human security abound and the state has not performed its protective function well. However, this may also lead to a compartmentalized understanding of threats and viewing people only as objects of protection. Human security's emphasis on placing people at the center, on understanding how the vital core values of people are threatened in different circumstances, and on human empowerment in terms of how individuals and communities can cope with threats, are some of the aspects that remain to be discussed in the debate over human security in Africa.

4. Understanding and Practicing Human Security in the AU

The most significant difference between the AU, established in 2002, and its predecessor, the OAU, is that the AU officially recognizes interference and intervention in the domestic affairs of its member states, whereas the OAU maintained a position of non-interference in the domestic affairs of

its member states (Kioko 2003). This policy shift is said to have been influenced by the concept of human security (Hendricks 2006; Tieku 2007).

This section reviews the discussions within Africa leading up to the establishment of the AU and examines the state of its practice, focusing on the areas of peace and stability, and development, in order to understand how human security has been understood and practiced in the AU as the representative organization of African nations.

4.1 Human Security in the Basic Framework of the AU

The Constitutive Act of the African Union (henceforth referred to as the "Constitutive Act"), adopted in 2000 to establish the AU, does not specifically use the term human security. However, in Article 3, the AU's founding objectives include the need to "promote peace, security, and stability on the continent" (Article 3 (f)). The objectives also seek to "promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation, and good governance" (Article 3 (g)), "promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments (Article 3 (h)); "promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies" (Article 3 (j)); and "work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent" (Article 3 (n)). These correspond to the "vital core of human beings" that human security seeks to protect. Considering the fact that the OAU Charter made almost no mention of these elements,[10] it can therefore be said that the Constitutive Act strongly reflects the concept of human security.

Furthermore, in order to "promote peace, security, and stability on the continent" as part of these objectives, the Constitutive Act stipulates that "the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity" (Article 4 (h)), thus giving the AU the right to intervene in member states, including by military means (AU 2000). Member states also have the right to request intervention by the AU to restore peace and security in their countries when challenged (Article 4 (j)).[11] In this regard, we can also see alignment with the concept of human security, in terms of the involvement of diverse actors.

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10 With the exception of the phrases, "a better life for the peoples of Africa" in (b) and "having due regard to…the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" in (e), there are no references to the vital core of human security. The relevant part of Article 2 states that "The Organization shall have the following purposes: (a) To promote the unity and solidarity of the African States; (b) To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; (c) To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence; (d) To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and (e) To promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (OAU Charter 1963).

11 The OAU also recognized that in the new environment following the end of the Cold War, the responsibility for conflict prevention, management, and resolution on the continent lies primarily with African countries. At the OAU Summit in June 1993, the OAU established its own security mechanism, the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution (MCPMR), and the OAU gradually became involved in intra-African conflicts. These mechanisms, however, are said to have been ineffective with some exceptions (Ochiai 2018).

The commonalities between the Constitutive Act and the concept of human security can be attributed to the fact that the OAU, the predecessor of the AU, failed to effectively and appropriately engage with African countries' domestic conflicts, address regime changes through undemocratic means, and intervene in large-scale human rights violations. The OAU was established in 1963 to promote Pan-Africanism, the building of a nation-state by Africans. Under the OAU regime, national sovereignty was respected and intervention in the domestic affairs of specific countries was avoided. Consequently, it was recognized that this led to incumbent rulers remaining in power even in states that did not serve their people, leading to massive human rights violations by the state, including such cases as the Amin regime in Uganda and the Bokassa regime in Central Africa in the 1970s, as well as the Rwandan civil war in the 1990s (Kioko 2003).

This recognition led some African leaders, after the end of the Cold War, to review the conventional treatment of Pan-Africanism as non-interventionism. Instead, they began to believe that the general population should be protected from conflict, poverty, human rights repression, and HIV/AIDS—a significant threat to African people at the time—even with intervention in other countries when necessary (Tieku 2007, 28–32). Key figures in this movement included Olsegun Obasanjo, former president of Nigeria; Salim Ahmed Salim, former prime minister of Tanzania and secretary general of the OAU; and Nelson Mandela, who later became president of South Africa.

The specific debate about how to protect human security in Africa began at the 1991 Kampala Conference in Uganda, which was led by African civil society organizations with the support of Obasanjo. The conference issued the Kampala Declaration, which stated that "human security and the fulfillment of basic needs are essential to the foundation of national security" (Obasanjo and Mosha 1993, 265) and that African states should henceforth adopt a code of conduct centered on security, stability, development, and cooperation for the common good of Africans. The spirit of the Kampala Declaration was reflected in the call for a "Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa," which was subsequently referred to as the CSSDCA.

Following this, an attempt was made by Obasanjo to approve the CSSDCA as a declaration of the OAU. However, it was not adopted due to opposition from Libya, Sudan, Kenya, and other countries concerned that the declaration would lead to interference by developed countries in their own affairs. However, with the continued efforts of Salim and the support of Mandela, who became president of South Africa in 1994, the spirit of the CSSDCA lived on as a call for OAU reform throughout the 1990s. The governments of Nigeria and South Africa continued to insist that the soon-to-be-created AU should reflect the ideals of the CSSDCA, and eventually, these ideals were reflected in the Constitutive Act of the AU through its formal adoption at the OAU Summit in 2000.

The above is a review of the treatment of human security in the Constitutive Act and the discussions leading to its enactment. From this review, it is clear that the relationship between the AU and human security dates back to the early 1990s, prior to the presentation of the human security concept in the 1994 Human Development Report. In Africa, even though the term itself was not explicitly adopted in the official document, the concept of human security was advocated by Africans themselves and was used as the basic principle of regional institutions.

4.2   Working through the African Peace and Security Architecture

Among the human security-related concepts in the Constitutive Act, the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the Peace Support Operations (PSO)[12] provide a practical means to "promote peace, security, and stability," among other objectives.

Behind the AU's active involvement in peace and security issues in its member countries lies the history of the activation and setbacks of UN peacekeeping operations (UN PKO) in the 1990s after the Cold War and the subsequent strengthening of involvement of the African side.[13] In the early 1990s, the UN dispatched a series of UN PKOs to Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and other countries, most of which were found in Africa. However, as the international community withdrew from Africa due to the failure of the Somalia and Rwanda missions, sub-regional organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) began to actively intervene in conflicts in Liberia (1990–98), Sierra Leone (1997–2000), Guinea-Bissau (1998–99), etc. Through these experiences, the Africans accumulated a track record and experience in intervening in Africa's domestic problems by themselves (Ochiai 2018).

The APSA is the AU peace and security structure enshrined in the Protocol on the Creation of an African Union Peace and Security Council (AU 2002), adopted in 2002, which includes: (1) the Peace and Security Council (PSC); (2) Panel of the Wise (PoW); (3) Continental Early Warning System (CEWS); (4) African Standby Force (ASF); and (5) Peace Fund (PF). In the event of what are considered to be "situations of grave magnitude" in a member state, PSOs are deployed as military and political missions, as decided by the PSC and the AU General Assembly.[14] Starting with the Burundi mission in 2003, fourteen "appointed PSOs" (appointed by the AU alone or jointly with the UN) had been deployed by 2020, including Sudan, Somalia, Darfur, and Mali, and four "approved PSOs" (deployed by some member states and approved by the AU) had been deployed, beginning with the one in Comoros in 2008 and continuing through the ongoing one in the Sahel region.[15]

Although the duration of each mission is relatively short, ranging from six months to eighteen months—partly due to budget constraints—the most distinctive feature of AU PSOs is that they are deployed even in situations where no peace agreement has yet been reached, or where the agreement

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12   For more information on APSA, see Murakami (2008) and Ochiai (2018). Note that while sanctions against member states are also an important means of intervention, this section will focus on PSOs, which are the primary activity of the architecture.

13   For more on the changes in the international environment since the end of the Cold War, the changing forms of conflict, particularly civil wars, and the involvement of the international community, particularly the UN, in these changes, see Annan and Muzavizadou (2016).

14   In principle, the ASF should have been dispatched in these cases, but it has taken some time to establish the force due to funding issues and other factors, so the PSO, which is composed of the participation of voluntary member states, is currently being dispatched.

15   This discussion is based on Ochiai (2018) and AUC (2021). In addition, since the beginning of 2021, although not a PSO, the African Union Commission (AUC) has dispatched an election monitoring mission to Ethiopia and a mission to investigate human rights violations and inhumane acts in Tigray (Inoue 2021).

once reached is on the verge of collapse and fighting continues, and military "stabilization activities[16]" are conducted to bring the parties to the conflict to a ceasefire (Ochiai 2018). This is a clear distinction from UN PKO, whose primary mission is peacekeeping, including ceasefire monitoring. From this distinction, one can conclude that the PSO's exit strategy is to hand over to UN PKO via peacemaking.

In Africa, apart from the AU itself, the Economic Community of West African States, the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and other regional economic communities (RECs) are also engaged in peace support activities on their own, and the African continent as a whole is undertaking multilayered efforts toward peace and security. However, the nature of these missions has much in common with the AU's PSOs, as the case of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) mission in Liberia demonstrates, which engaged in fighting with armed groups as a party to the conflict.

In Africa, the AU and RECs have become much more active in ensuring human security than in the OAU era. These activities are being conducted through such mechanisms as APSA and PSO, which focus on directly protecting human survival—the most fundamental aspect of human security.

4.3   Efforts through Agenda 2063

Another example of human security in action in the AU is its development activities. The African Union, which celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2013 (since the time of OAU), adopted Agenda 2063 at the AU Summit in January 2015, a long-term vision for Africa's politics, economy, and society up to the year 2063 (AUC 2015). The Agenda is positioned as a synthesis of development initiatives launched in the past, such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and ongoing programs such as the Program for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) and the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program (CAADP).[17]

The AU states that "the genesis of Agenda 2063 was the realization by African leaders that there was a need to refocus and reprioritize Africa's agenda from the struggle against apartheid and the attainment of political independence for the continent, which had been the focus of the OAU, the precursor to the African Union" (AUC 2015). This clearly indicates that Agenda 2063 is rooted in the revisionary movement of Pan-Africanism, including the Kampala Declaration and the CSSDCA, which paved the way for the establishment of the AU.

Agenda 2063 lists twenty goals and fourteen flagship projects under seven aspirations. While the term human security itself is not found in them, different aspects of human security thinking are strongly shared in the aspirations: "A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development" (Aspiration 1); "An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice, and the rule of law" (Aspiration 3); "A peaceful and secure Africa" (Aspiration 4); and "An Africa, whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children" (Aspiration 6). Traces of human security can also be

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16   Translated by the author. The original text is in Japanese.

17   Implementation will include not only projects directly under the Agenda but also activities by each country and sub-regional organizations.

observed in the goals—in particular, in sections such as the ones on economic and social development (Goals 1–5 and 10), environmental conservation (Goals 6 and 7), human rights (Goal 11), and peace and security (Goals 13, 14, and 15). However, at the flagship project level, where each goal is translated into concrete projects, the focus on humans appears to be less conspicuous, with the exception of "Silencing the Guns," and many of the projects instead are development- and growth-oriented.

Among these projects, Silencing the Guns is an ambitious initiative that aimed by 2020 to "[end] all wars, civil conflicts, gender-based violence and violent conflicts and prevent genocide, as part of Africa's collective efforts to silence the guns in the continent" (AU 2016).[18] Under the initiative, the African Human Security Index (AHSI) is to be established from the perspective of conflict prevention. This is a notable initiative that demonstrates the limited use of the term human security in the Agenda 2063 document.[19]

4.4   AU and Human Security

This section turns to examine how the efforts we have seen so far through the AU Constitutive Act, the APSA, and Agenda 2063 can be understood if we evaluate them in light of the five perspectives set forth in Section 2.

(1) Regarding the human-centered perspective, it can be said that there has been a major shift in policy from the protection of national sovereignty during the OAU era to an emphasis on protecting humans under the AU, as seen in the Constitutive Act and the peace, security, and stability activities through the APSA and PSO.

(2) Regarding the vital core of human beings to be protected, it can be said that all aspects of survival, livelihood, and dignity are covered, at least in the core documents of the AU. In terms of practice, however, the focus is mainly on survival.

(3) Regarding the focus on downside risks, it can be said that, in practice, APSA mainly targets conflicts and violence that directly affect survival. The AHSI of Agenda 2063, which is directly related to human security, is also described as a means of conflict prevention as part of the Silencing the Guns initiative. As far as livelihoods are concerned, Agenda 2063 shows a strong focus on improvement from the current situation rather than further deterioration from the current state of affairs in Africa, resulting in a focus on development-oriented initiatives rather than prevention of downside risks. As for dignity, it is only addressed at the aspiration and goal levels.

(4) Regarding the involvement of diverse actors, it is evident from the nature of the AU organization that the role of regional and international organizations in compensating for the dysfunction of the state is emphasized.

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18   In December 2020, in the midst of COVID-19 pandemic, the AU decided to extend the implementation of the Silencing the Guns initiative for a period of ten years (2021–2030), in recognition of the fact that Africa still faces multiple and complex challenges in the domain of peace and security.

19   The term human security is used in five other places in the Agenda 2063 document, mostly in the context of peace and security, and is understood to mean human survival.

(5) Regarding protection and empowerment, it can be said that protection is a priority in practice. Regarding empowerment, Agenda 2063 refers to the phrase in "Goal 18. Engaged and Empowered Youth and Children," but the link to human security is not always clear.

To sum up the relationship between the AU and human security, the idea of human security was supported by African leaders in the 1990s, such as Obasanjo, Salim, and Mandela, and played an important role in the Pan-African Renaissance movement and the establishment of the AU. In practice, however, activities have been limited to ensuring human survival in conflict-affected areas and fragile contexts through APSA and Silencing the Guns. This is indeed a significant change compared to the OAU era. However, from the perspective of the original concept of human security which emphasizes the resolution of the root causes of conflict, these efforts may not be sufficient. In this sense, it may be said that the understanding and practice of human security in the AU is "far narrower than the [human security] notion embraces" (Abass 2010, 258).

In retrospect, while the idea of human security had a significant influence on the establishment of the AU, the term human security itself is not widely used, with the exception of the AHSI.[20] As for why the term is not found explicitly in the language of the AU, Tieku (2007) notes that some of the African leaders at the time of the AU's establishment were strongly reluctant to use it based on the fear that it would lead to intervention by developed countries. Now that more than twenty years have passed since the AU was established and its proponents have retired from the political stage, will human security in Africa continue to be understood and practiced only in terms of survival? In the next section, we will consider the future position of human security in Africa going forward as we examine the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on Africa.

5. The COVID-19 Pandemic and Human Security in South Africa

This section will focus on South Africa, as, at the time of writing, it has the largest number of COVID-19 cases in sub-Saharan Africa.[21] South Africa was one of the main supporters of the CSSDCA, which was behind the establishment of the AU mentioned earlier. It is also one of the few countries whose constitution includes language that evokes human security. This makes it an appropriate case study to examine the relationship between the COVID-19 pandemic and human security in Africa.

5.1   South Africa and Human Security

South Africa is the second largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa, accounting for about 20% of the region's GDP. It is a driving force in the African economy with a population of approximately 58 million people and a gross national income (GNI) per capita of USD6,010 (World Bank 2020). The

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20   Others include the 2005 African Union Non-Aggression and Common Defense Agreement (AU 2005), which defines human security in the glossary but oddly does not use it in the text of the agreement.

21   The cumulative number of positive cases at the end of 2021 was approximately 3.5 million, representing 36% of the 9.6 million positive cases in Africa as a whole (Africa CDC 2021).

country is one of the few upper-middle-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Politically, since the abolition of apartheid through democratization in 1994 under the African National Congress (ANC) government, the country has focused on strengthening ties with African countries, including bolstering the AU and emphasizing political and economic integration through SADC. South Africa has also been active in conflict resolution and the consolidation of peace on the African continent (MOFA 2019b).

The idea of human security took on special significance for the people of South Africa, especially for Black Africans, who comprise about 80% of the population. Prior to democratization, the South African government's apartheid policies restricted the political and fundamental human rights of people of African, Coloured, and Indian descent, limited access to education and employment and ownership of productive assets, and thoroughly excluded them from participation in economic activities. Opposition to the regime was not only politically suppressed, but also violently and illegally put down. During that era, the state itself threatened the survival, livelihood, and dignity of the excluded communities. And it was the police, the military, and the intelligence services that stood at the forefront, directly using violence.

Thus, with the legalization of the ANC in 1990 and the discussion of its future political structure with the white regime, one focus was how to make the security apparatus democratic and people-centered (Africa 2015, 180). Following discussions in the Interim Executive Council in 1993, the spirit of respecting human security was reflected in Chapter 11 Security Services, Article 198 Basic Principles of the new 1996 Constitution (RSA 1996). This article strongly resonates with the principles of the human security concept. The following constitutional principles govern national security in the Republic: "National security must reflect the resolve of South Africans, as individuals and as a nation, to live as equals, to live in peace and harmony, to be free from fear and want and to seek a better life."

Based on this constitutional article, the national army shifted the direction of its operations from attacking anti-apartheid forces to peacekeeping operations within Africa, and the new task for the police was to focus on security operations and the detection of international crimes and terrorist activities through building trust with the population (Africa 2015, 182).

On the development side, the Reconstruction and Development Plan was announced after the inauguration of the democratic government in 1994. The plan aimed to reduce poverty and improve the livelihoods of the poor. Projects were therefore implemented to improve nutrition, housing supply, rural electrification, land reform, water supply, and social security welfare. There was an emphasis on low-income groups, including people of African descent, and vulnerable groups, such as the elderly and people with disabilities. In the 2000s, a series of black empowerment policies, such as the Black Economic Participation Promotion Act of 2003, was implemented to promote the participation of people of African descent in economic activities. Subsequently, under the South African Strategy for Accelerating Economic Growth in 2005 and the National Development Plan 2030 from 2012 onward, continuous efforts have been made to reduce poverty, reduce inequality, and achieve sustainable growth.

Policy changes after democratization and disparity reduction measures that focused on people of African descent and other non-white populations have resulted in the gradual emergence of an African middle class, known as the "Black Diamond." The poverty rate was about 30% in 1994 but fell to

16.4% in 2011 (World Bank Group 2018). South Africa's country score in the human development index has improved from 0.652 in 1995 to 0.709 in 2019 (UNDP 2021). However, poverty reduction has regressed somewhat in recent years, with the poverty rate once again rising to 18.8% in 2015 and the unemployment rate increasing from 25.1% in the early 2010s to 28.7% in 2019, as economic growth has stagnated at 1% since 2010 (World Bank 2018; Stats SA 2021a).

In addition to poverty, low growth, and unemployment, a significant problem in South Africa is the existence of inequality. The Gini coefficient in terms of consumption expenditure is 0.63, among the highest in the world, with the top 10% of the population owning 70% of the wealth while the bottom 60% of the population owns only 7% (World Bank Group 2018). Inequality is evident in all aspects of life. For example, the poverty rate for African households is 47%, compared to less than 1% for white households; for male-headed households, it is 31.4% compared to 51.2% for female-headed households. Disparities exist across racial, gender, urban-rural, intergenerational, high and low education levels, and are maintained across generations through educational investments in children (World Bank Group 2018). Nearly thirty years after the abolition of apartheid, South African society remains unable to eliminate the structural disparities that were formed during the apartheid era. The country continues to be extremely polarized between a small number of wealthy whites and the majority of Africans and other poor people.

In addition, South Africa's economic stagnation and extreme disparities have led the country to become a hotbed of crime. The influx of poor people, including illegal immigrants from neighboring countries, the activities of criminal organizations including foreign nationals, and the illicit distribution of large quantities of firearms and drugs have made the country one of the two most crime-ridden countries in sub-Saharan Africa. According to statistics from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, there were approximately 21,000 homicides in 2019, or about 60 murders per day (UNODC 2021). In its response to this situation, the police force has also been criticized by human rights groups for the excessive use of violence, unlawful killings, arbitrary law enforcement, torture, and corruption.[22] In South Africa, human security is far from being protected, not only in terms of livelihood and dignity but also in terms of survival.

5.2   Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic in South Africa

It was amid this socio-political-economic situation in South Africa that the COVID-19 pandemic struck. With the rapid spread of the pandemic since the first case was confirmed on March 5, 2020, the South African government declared a national state of disaster on March 15, followed by a nationwide 'hard lockdown' on March 26, 2020, which strictly regulated behaviors. It required all workers, except those in industries and occupations designated as essential, to stay home, and going outside was strictly restricted. Many businesses shut down, and police and military forces patrolled the streets to arrest those who did not comply with the stay-at-home policy (Sato 2021). As a result of this thorough response applied over a five-week period, even during the subsequent peak of infection,

22   https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/africa/southern-africa/south-africa/report-south-africa/ Accessed January 14, 2022.

Figure 1: Percentage net loss in employment by sub-group as found in NIDS-CRAM Survey
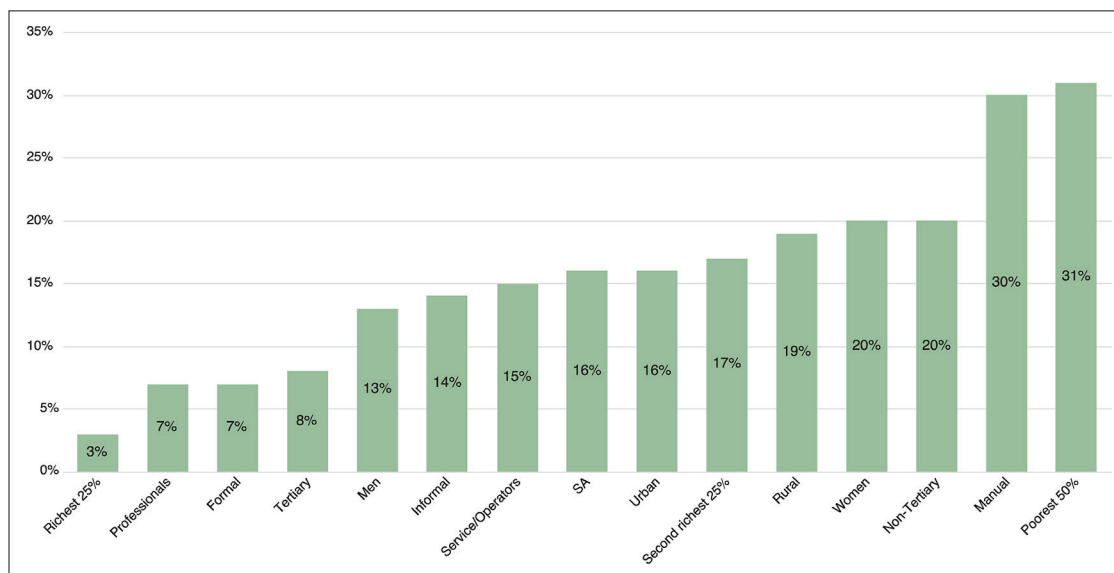
a medical collapse was avoided, and the measures are considered to have been somewhat effective in reducing health risks (Makino 2020; Sato 2021).

However, the South African economy and people's livelihoods were greatly affected by this measure. Having already recorded negative growth from the third quarter of 2019, GDP growth in the second quarter of 2020 was minus 17.4% (Stats SA 2021a). It recovered to a positive rate of 13.9% in the third quarter of that year but then slowed down, falling back to negative growth of minus 1.5% by the third quarter of 2021. About 3 million jobs were lost during this period, and the unemployment rate rose to 34.9% in the third quarter of 2021 (Stats SA 2021b). Women and youth were particularly affected, with African women experiencing a higher-than-average unemployment rate of 38.5% in the fourth quarter of 2020. Among young people between the ages of 15 and 24, the unemployment rate rose to 63.2% (Stats SA 2021c). In addition, with 6.3% inflation recorded in 2020, the parallel rise in food prices made the food situation even more difficult for the poor (Futshane 2021).

The University of Stellenbosch and the University of Cape Town examined the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on household finances, employment, and food conditions for approximately 7,000 respondents across the country over a five-part period from February 2020 to March 2021, including several weeks prior to the lockdown. Figure 1, adapted from the results of the survey (NIDS-CRAM Survey[23]), shows the percentage of respondents by sub-group who reported losing their jobs between February and June 2020—including April, when the lockdown was the most severe.

This figure shows that the poor, manual laborers—those with less than a post-secondary education, women, and rural dwellers—are especially heavily affected. The poor, who belong to the

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23   NIDS-CRAM is the abbreviation for National Income Dynamic Study—Coronavirus Rapid Mobile Survey, available at https://cramsurvey.org/ Accessed January 14, 2022.

bottom 50% of incomes, are ten times more likely to be out of work than the wealthy, who belong to the top 25% of incomes, informal sector workers are twice as likely to be unemployed as formal sector workers, and women are 1.5 times more likely than men to be out of work.

While these residents are forced to go to work knowing that they are in violation of regulations due to precarious employment, they are also more likely to contract new strains of coronaviruses due to unsanitary conditions, and because they live in areas that were originally underserved by social services, lagging behind, for example, in vaccinations. In South African society, the COVID-19 pandemic has manifested and exacerbated existing disparities, while exposing the most economically affected to a higher risk of infection, creating a situation that deserves to be called the "inequality virus"[24] (Oxfam 2021). According to the NIDS-CRAM survey, 53% of respondents reported feeling depressed at least once after the COVID outbreak, with 5% to 7% of them in a severe state (Spaull et al. 2021).

While the population was severely affected economically and emotionally, in July 2021, residents protested against the imprisonment of former President Jacob Zuma. Zuma was sentenced to prison for contempt of court, leading to riots by residents in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces. For two weeks, stores and warehouses were vandalized. More than 300 people were killed and more than 2,000 arrested after security forces intervened. The unstable living conditions and the fear of infection have increased the sense of dissatisfaction and insecurity of the population, which is expressed in the form of riots and crimes. Violent repression by the security authorities further endangered the lives of the people. Behind this is the structural disparity and inequality that remained in place for many years, continuing through colonial rule and the apartheid system.

In response to such a situation, a discourse has emerged since 2020 on the African side, including South Africa, that argues for the need to view the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, not only as a health and economic issue but also as a human security issue (e.g., Abello-Colak 2021; Kwasi 2021; Umukoro 2021). These commentators argue that the health threat posed by the COVID-19 pandemic is a compounded threat to human security, with the effects ranging from poverty and widening economic disparities to violence, crime, and outbreaks of protest movements. In order to avoid the social instability caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, they stress the importance of not only health and economic responses, but also social solidarity and trust-building between governments and citizens. This can be achieved through the creation of inclusive societies, political freedom, and the promotion of civic participation. In terms of their emphasis on the compounded nature of threats and the importance of empowering human political capacities, the commentators offer a new perspective that has been lacking in the discourse on human security in Africa to date.

5.3   Positioning of Human Security in South Africa

Let us reorganize the positioning of human security in South Africa in accordance with the five perspectives discussed in Section 2.

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24   https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621149/bp-the-inequality-virus-summ-250121-en.pdf?sequence=23 Accessed January 14, 2022.

(1) Regarding the human-centered perspective, in considering the new state system after the abolition of apartheid, the idea of placing people, especially those of African descent who had been discriminated against and segregated from society, at the center was promoted. The South African constitution created an obligation to ensure respect for human beings, including those who had previously been subjected to oppression for the sake of national security. In the area of development, policies were continuously implemented to actively encourage the participation of people of African descent, who had been excluded from economic activities and social services, in economic activities and to provide them with priority services.

(2) In terms of institutions and policies, it can be said that all aspects of survival, livelihood, and dignity have been addressed and that these constitute the vital core of human security. However, there are still problems of poverty, low growth, unemployment, and inequality, and it cannot be said that the majority of the population, especially those of African descent, are in a state of safety. It is difficult to say that state security services, which are supposed to provide protection for people's survival, are actually protecting people as they have resorted to the excessive use of force, etc., despite the provisions of the Constitution.

(3) Regarding the focus on downside risks, apartheid kept the standard of living of people of African descent and other non-whites at a low level, but their situation has improved through the provision of active protection and development interventions. However, the problems of poverty, unemployment, and inequality have become even more acute, partly due to the economic downturn of the past decade. The current COVID-19 pandemic threatens people's security as a further downside risk to these serious social and economic conditions.

(4) Regarding the guarantee of human security through the involvement of diverse actors, South Africa is by nature a resource-rich and semi-developed country, so its dependency on aid as a source of protection is extremely low compared to other African countries (JICA 2016). However, during the crisis surrounding the recent COVID-19 pandemic, South Africa deepened its relationship with the international community. This included the provision of health materials and vaccines from China, with which it has close trade relations.[25] Meanwhile, in many poor communities, collaboration with non-state actors as protection providers is commonly practiced by NGOs and other community-based organizations. These organizations are actively involved in providing basic social services and employment programs (NPC 2012).

(5) With regard to protection and empowerment, after democratization, large-scale protection policies were implemented for people of color, who had previously been subject to discrimination and segregation, while active disparity reduction policies have improved the employment situation and created a middle-income class, albeit only partially. It goes without saying, however, that there are still major challenges to be overcome in terms of the implementation of such policies and the degree of their achievement.

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25   In a recent example, it was reported in the Daily Maverick that the South African National Army received 300,000 doses of vaccines from China (Tshwane 2021). https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-12-13-beijings-soft-power-china-offers-300000-free-vaccine-jabs-to-sandf-troops/ Accessed January 14, 2022.

Thus, in South Africa, human security has become an important policy element, at least in the direction of being a post-democratization society; however, its implementation remains a crucial challenge. And now, in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, the remaining challenges—the structural violence of inequality and disparity—are compounded by the survival, livelihoods, and dignity of the vulnerable, in the form of unemployment, infection risk, and the direct violence of riots.

The Human Development Report 1994 states that human security aims at two things: "safety from constant threats such as hunger, disease, crime and oppression, ... (and) protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of our daily live" (UNDP 1994). However, the situation in South Africa suggests that these two are closely interrelated. As mentioned earlier, the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic has pointed to the linkages between various threats, such as the relationship between people's health and the economy and their livelihoods. From this perspective, the importance of human security has received renewed attention. However, to better understand the situation in South Africa, in which the three core values of "human security" to be protected (survival, livelihood, and dignity) are threatened in a multidimensional manner, it is important to understand not only the interconnectedness among threats but also the structural nature of the threats, including exclusion and deprivation.

6. Conclusion

The above sections have looked at how human security has been discussed and practiced in Africa, covering the African human security discourse, the AU, and South Africa. The African human security discourse has focused on the various threats to people, sharing the recognition that the greatest threat to "human security" in Africa is the state itself. In the AU, the concept of human security was influential in the establishment of the AU, based on lessons learned from the OAU era. Although it was not explicitly positioned in the policy documents due to resistance from some leaders, a collective security regime called APSA was established, and military interventions by the AU's PSOs and RECs have been actively practiced, as well as the launching of the Silencing the Guns initiative. In areas other than survival, human security is practiced as a development act and a human rights norm.

In South Africa, the concept of human security played an important role in the process of establishing a new regime after the abolition of the apartheid system. It was therefore reflected in the Constitution, as well as in the review of security organizations, development programs for people of color, and proactive measures to correct inequality. However, the results of these efforts have been limited, partly due to the impact of low growth in recent years, and the structural problem of disparity and inequality for people of African descent and non-whites remains a significant problem. The current COVID-19 pandemic has made these problems even more apparent and serious, triggering a chain reaction of unemployment, poverty, increased risk of infection, and violence that threatens people's survival, livelihood, and dignity in a complex manner.

As recent discussions during the COVID-19 pandemic have shown, human security as a concept provides an effective framework for comprehensively understanding the complex threats to survival, livelihood, and dignity that are central to human existence, and it is expected to be used more

extensively in policy discussions and research in various fields targeting Africa in the future. On the other hand, in light of past experiences, some caution is needed in expanding the scope of security in Africa and treating various phenomena as security issues. Specifically, the following two risks can be identified.

The first is the risk of justifying the use of violence by African states in addressing various phenomena as security issues. The arbitrary use of violence by the state has become a common occurrence in Africa due to its colonial history and governance structures based on patron-client relationships. This has been seen in the enforcement of various regulations in the COVID-19 pandemic. In such an environment, if all issues—in addition to food security and resource security—are made security issues, democratic debate and expressions of opinion may become restricted, allowing for strong state control. There is already concern about this in South Africa (McKinley 2013; Duncan 2014; Africa 2015).

The other is the political risk that making various events a security issue could lead to rejection by African rulers. The reason why the idea of human security gained support in the AU as a concept but was seldom used as an explicit term was that human rights issues in one's own country can be turned into a security issue, leading to the fear of intervention by the international community.[26] The active intervention by the AU and the RECs in intra-regional affairs is not only an expression of African ownership, but also a sign of their wariness of outside international intervention.[27] Security issues are sensitive issues for Africans, as they are reminiscent of neo-colonialism.

How can human security be used for Africa's future development without overtly politicizing the issue by broadening the scope of security? One way to do this is to use human security as an analytical tool to deepen our understanding of the vulnerabilities of the target societies. In the concept of human security, which focuses on the downside risks surrounding people, it is important to deepen our understanding of threats as well as the specific vulnerabilities of the target population. This is because the impact of threats depends on a person's situation and their ability to respond. However, with some exceptions,[28] the human security debate has not yet fully addressed what constitutes a human vulnerability and how to assess it. This is an important challenge in making the concept of human

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26   As previously described, after the 1991 Kampala Declaration, the heads of state of Libya, Sudan, and Kenya, all of which were then highly autocratic, opposed the adoption of the CSSDCA as an OAU declaration. For Sudan, this concern became a reality with the independence of South Sudan later in 2011.

27   The AU Tripoli Declaration, adopted in 2009, states that "[...] without [Africa's] leadership, there will be no ownership and sustainability; because we know which solutions will work, and how we can get there," indicating a wariness of intervention by outsiders (those who come from far away). https://caert.org.dz/official-documents/declarations/declaration-on-peace-security-final-eng-.pdf Accessed January 14, 2022.

28   Busumtwi-Sam (2008), for example, likens human security to a risk management framework and proposes that it be understood in three dimensions: external threats, internal vulnerability, and structural deprivation and exclusion (Busumtwi-Sam 2008). Shuhei Shimada, an African researcher in Japan, defines vulnerability as "the degree of certainty of the right of access to property and resources in a broad sense (including social relations)" with rural African societies in mind, and divides factors affecting it into external risks such as threats and internal risks as the ability to respond (Shimada 2009).

security more operational, not only as a policy idea, but also as an analytical concept.

SDGs and Japan: Human Security Indicators for Leaving No One Behind (Takasu 2019) sets human security indicators for local governments in Japan in 2019. As a pioneering effort in this direction, the volume seeks to clarify the status of survival, livelihood, and dignity in each prefecture. From this perspective, efforts to develop the AHSI—currently underway in the AU with the participation of the book's editor, Yukio Takasu[29]—should not be limited to the peace and security field covered by the Silencing the Guns initiative. They should include livelihoods and dignity aspects, the interconnectedness among threats, and the structural background behind them. In this context, it will be important to understand threat perceptions and the self-perception of dignity from the people's perspective as we shift the approach to human security from the threat-centered approach of the past to a more human-centered one. This would also lead to a view of human beings not as aggregated beings but as disaggregated individuals.

Human security in Africa has played an important role as a policy concept, but its explicit use has been limited. For it to be more widely used in Africa, it is necessary to develop its characteristics as an analytical concept and redefine it as a means of understanding the situation of people who are experiencing the complex crises presented in the COVID-19 pandemic from the perspective of the people, in a multifaceted and structural way.

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29   https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20200305/au-and-un-join-efforts-towards-developing-african-human-security-index Accessed January 14, 2022.

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[Research Note 2] Migrant Remittances and Human Security: The Effects of Migrant Remittances at the Macro- and Micro-Levels and What Happened During the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Introduction

Transnational labor occupies a significant place in the global economy and society, with the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimating that 169 million people work abroad in 2019 (ILO 2021). Remittances by migrant workers to family members and relatives in their home countries (henceforth referred to as "migrant remittance") play a crucial role in achieving human security, especially in developing countries.

Human security is a concept that focuses on the diversity of threats and vulnerabilities of people, organizations, and societies. It aims to create resilient societies (systems) in which all people are free from fear and want and can fulfill their dignity with the protection and empowerment for them. It is a complementary concept to human development and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), but one that focuses more on downside risks (see Makino Koji's *Human Security and Development Cooperation Today* in this report. Henceforth Makino 2022).

Migrant remittances are a growing trend and are becoming increasingly important to developing country economies, as well as individual households. For poor households, in particular, migrant remittances play a major role in maintaining and enhancing their living standards. Migrant remittances are also a valuable source of foreign currency for the macroeconomic management of recipient countries. Migrant remittances therefore contribute to human security in developing countries even in normal times. One thing to note is that, migrant remittances also have adverse effects, potentially causing exchange rate appreciation and reductions in the labor supply in the remittance-receiving countries. These countries need to be well aware of both the advantages and disadvantages of migrant remittances and adopt appropriate policies.

Migrant remittances, which have supported people's livelihoods since ordinary times, have played a vital role in mitigating the adverse effects of the COVID-19 global pandemic since early 2020. In the early days of the outbreak, there was worldwide concern that a sharp decline in migrant remittances would occur and severely threaten the lives of people in developing countries. Contrary to most expectations, however, the decline in migrant remittances was minimal compared to other financial flows, such as foreign investment. In fact, some countries saw an increase in receipts during the pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic has drew people's attention to the role of migrant remittances as a buffer to mitigate threats even when downside risks emerge, which is a particular focus of the human security concept.

Focusing on this role of migrant remittances, the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development (JICA Ogata Research Institute) has conducted empirical research on various issues regarding migrant remittances—mainly in the Philippines and Tajikistan—since 2015. In collaboration with other international organizations, JICA has collected, utilized, and analyzed important data on how migrant remittances have changed and how people's livelihoods have been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. This article reviews empirical research on migrant remittances, including those by the JICA Ogata Research Institute, and summarizes their various discussions.

Section 1 provides an overview of the state of migrant remittances around the world. Section 2 looks at the impact of migrant remittances at the macro and micro levels. Section 3 discusses the performance of migrant remittances under the COVID-19 pandemic and how migrant remittances have protected people's standard of living. Finally, Section 4 highlights the future of migrant remittance policy from the perspective of human security.

1. The State of Migrant Remittances
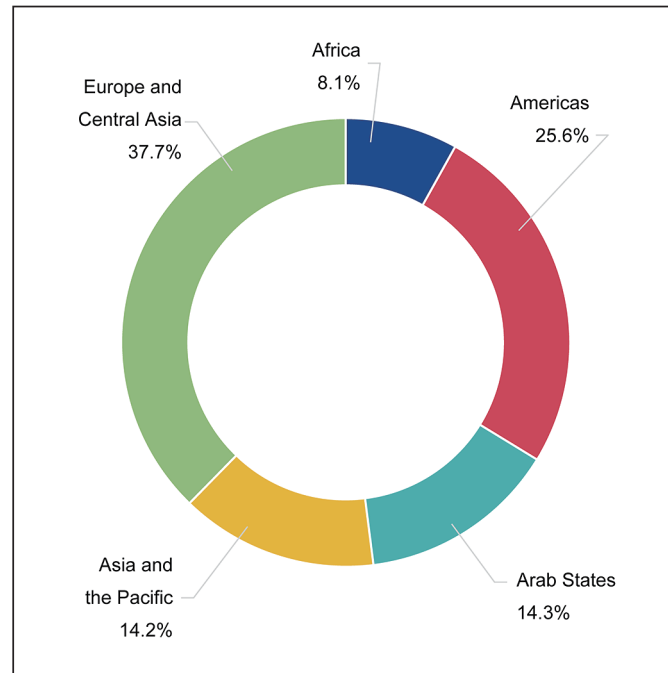
1.1   Scale of Migrant Remittances

Migrant remittances have been expanding rapidly in recent years. As shown in Figure 1, the scale of remittances show a marked increase, especially since the beginning of the 2000s, far exceeding the amount of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to developing countries and becoming comparable to the amount of direct investment (the records after the COVID-19 pandemic will be discussed later).

Figure 1: Flow of Funds into Developing Countries from Migrant Remittances, ODA, and Direct Investment
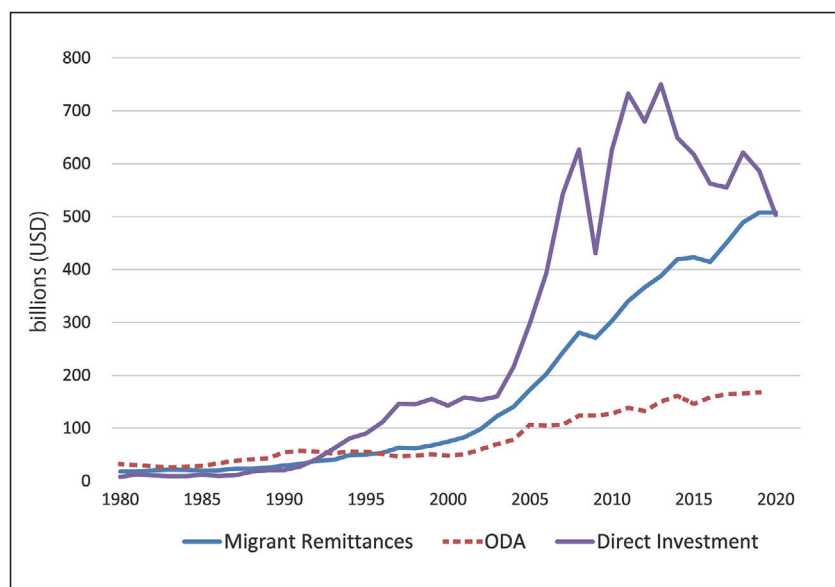
Source: Prepared by author based on World Development Indicators

Figure 2: Distribution of International Migrant Workers by Region

Africa
8.1%

Europe and
Central Asia
37.7%

Americas
25.6%

Asia and
the Pacific
14.2%

Arab States
14.3%

Source: ILO (2021)

Cross-border migrant workers are estimated to number 169 million workers as of 2019 (ILO 2021).[1] As Figure 2 shows, the largest number of migrant workers is in Europe and Central Asia, followed by Americas. Of these, 58.5% are estimated to be male and 41.5% female.

In the years immediately before the COVID-19 pandemic, the increase in migrant remittances was even faster, due in part to the booming economies of the United States and other developed countries.

In terms of the scale of remittances sent home by these migrant workers, Figure 3 shows the top countries in terms of the value of migrant remittances received as a percentage of GDP. Migrant remittances exceed 20% of GDP for the countries where their share is high, indicating the importance of remittances for these countries.
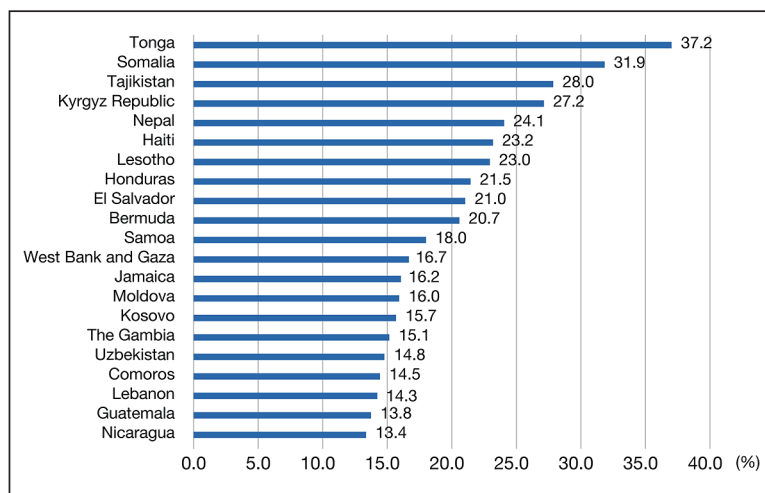
Note that the size of migrant remittances is usually captured by balance of payments statistics,

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1   International migrant workers are defined as persons of working age present in the country of measurement who belong to one of the following two categories, although the estimation of the number of persons is for those belonging to category a of the two (ILO 2021, 17).
     a. usual residents: international migrants who, during a specified reference period, were in the labour force of the country of their usual residence, either in employment or in unemployment;
     b. not usual residents, or non-resident foreign workers: persons who, during a specified reference period, were not usual residents of the country but were present in the country and had labour attachment to the country, i.e., were either in employment supplying labour to resident producer units of that country or were seeking employment in that country.

but their precise measurement is not always easy. The amount of remittances received through the formal financial system can be captured, but remittances sent through the informal system—such as the earnings that migrant workers bring in cash when they return home—are not easy to ascertain. The actual amount of remittances may be much higher than what is reported in the statistics. In recent years, there have been moves by the governments of various countries

Figure 3: Top Countries for Migrant Remittances as a Proportion of GDP (2019)

Source: Author calculations using World Development Indicators

to encourage immigrants to send remittances as formally as possible. In addition, IT and digital technologies are making it more convenient to send remittances overseas. These may contribute to the increased records of remittances.

1.2   International Goal for Migrant Remittances

The magnitude of migrant remittances is significant and is also addressed as an international policy goal of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). First, Goal 17, which calls for achieving the goals through partnerships, stipulates that the share of migrant remittances as a percentage of GDP should be looked at as an indicator as one means of mobilizing additional financial resources for developing countries (17.3.2).

Lowering the cost of remittances is another target set in Goal 10 on reducing inequality among persons and countries, which calls for lowering the cost of remittances by migrant workers to less than 3% by 2030 and eliminating remittance channels whose costs exceed 5% (10.c.1). Currently, however, migrant remittances through financial institutions are a major problem for migrant workers and their families, as many parts of the remittance are deducted as fees, reducing the final amount significantly along the way. The average fee for cross-border remittances was 6.4% in the first quarter of 2021, more than double the SDG target, and the cost of remittances to sub-Saharan Africa was particularly high at more than 8% (World Bank 2021b). It is hoped that the costs associated with remittances will be reduced through the promotion of competition among remittance service providers and the further utilization of technology.

Furthermore, the expenses required to enter the workforce as a migrant are also an indicator of the SDGs (10.7.1). These expenses include passport fees, visa fees, travel and work permit fees, etc., but the total cost is highly dependent on whether or not an agency or broker has been involved in the migration process (ILO 2020). In some cases, migrant workers pay huge amounts to obtain jobs in foreign countries. For example, it is reported that Bangladeshi migrant workers in Saudi Arabia pay as

much as twenty months of their monthly income, and Vietnamese migrants in South Korea pay as much as nine months (World Bank 2021b).

In addition, 10.7.2 of the SDGs indexes the number of countries with migration policies to facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility. While fifty-four countries globally are reported to have met the criteria, some indicators show relatively low achievement rates. These include, "migrant rights," which indicates the degree of equity in access to public services for migrant workers, and "socioeconomic welfare," which assesses government measures to maximize the positive development impact of migration and the socioeconomic well-being of migrants (United Nations 2019). In addition, although not addressed in this article, issues surrounding refugees and trafficking in persons, which are directly related to human security, are also important international concerns.

2. Macro and Micro Impacts of Migrant Remittances

This section discusses how migrant remittances affect the national economies of remittance-receiving countries and individual households. Migrant remittances are a valuable source of finance for developing country nations and households, as promoted in the SDGs. On the other hand, migrant remittances also have negative impacts on the economies of remittance-receiving countries. Below, we first summarize the positive aspects and then highlight some of the negative impacts that are equally important but normally draw less attention.

2.1   Migrant Remittances Bring Foreign Currency and Higher Tax Revenue

First, from a recipient country's macroeconomic perspective, migrant remittances are a valuable source of foreign currency. Developing countries often rely on imports for food, fuel, or capital goods for corporate and government investment but often run short of the foreign currency needed to settle imports. This is not a problem if foreign currency is flowing in from payment receipts on exports or from foreign investment, but in developing countries, where this is not often the case, migrant remittances are a valuable source of such funds. Families who receive foreign currency in the form of remittances from abroad generally convert it to their own currency to pay for their livelihoods. Through this transaction, foreign currency is held in the central bank or financial system of the remittance-receiving country.

Migrant remittances are statistically recorded as "personal remittances," comprising a positive component of the secondary income balance. Secondary income balance is combined with the balance of trade in goods and services and the primary income balance (receipt of dividends from foreign investment, etc.) to form the current account balance. For countries with large trade deficits, remittances from their citizens abroad can help reduce the current account deficit and contribute to economic stabilization.

Recipient households' consumption expenditures are supported by remittances, thereby contributing to the improved fiscal position of recipient countries through increased tax revenues.

2.2   Migrant Remittances as Income Supplements

Turning now to the micro household level effects, the general conclusion of previous studies is that migrant remittances from families working abroad have a positive impact on poverty reduction of households in remittance-receiving countries. Gupta et al. (2009) analyzed the empirical effects of remittance on poverty reduction Sub-Saharan Africa. Yoshino et al. (2017) used household data from ten Asian countries and showed that that a 1% increase in the percentage of migrant remittances as a share of GDP results in a 22.6% decrease in the poverty gap ratio, a measure of how far below the poverty line the poor's expenditures and incomes are. Murakami (2017) also showed that migrant remittances reduce the risk of remittance-receiving households falling into poverty.

While migrant remittances lead to a reduction in household poverty, there is some debate as to how the funds obtained from migrant remittances are mainly spent. The question is whether it will only increase spending on food and consumer goods or whether it will result in additional spending on education and other activities. A study in Ghana shows that households receiving remittances spend more on education, housing, and health than on food, suggesting that migrant remittances are also spent on things that have long-term effects, such as investments in human capital (Adams Jr. and Cuecuecha 2013).

2.3   Negative Impacts of Migrant Remittances

Migrant remittances do not always bring only positive impacts. Although positive effects on poverty reduction have been shown for individual households, Barajas et al. (2009) found no relationship between migrant remittances and economic growth.

Even negative impacts are observed: First, migrant remittances may cause real exchange rate appreciation of remittance-receiving countries, thereby reducing the export competitiveness of domestically produced goods. The home currency appreciation will occur because the financial inflow through remittance would normally lead to the increase in the selling of foreign currency to buy home currency. In addition, the receipt of remittances will increase demands for goods and services in the home countries. While the demand increase for tradable goods will likely lead to an increase in imports, the demand increase for non-tradable goods, such as domestic services, will create an imbalance between supply and demand, which will most likely cause inflation, given the limited supply capacity in the domestic economy. As a result, the exchange rate appreciates not only in nominal terms but also in real terms. Moreover, resources such as labor will be transferred to the production of these non-tradable goods. This is similar to the macroeconomic impact of the so-called "Dutch disease," which results from large inflows of capital as a result of resource exports. Countries with large migrant remittance receipts will need to address these effects with appropriate macroeconomic and industrial policies.

Second, migrant remittances can affect the labor market in the home countries. The number of domestic workers will likely decrease as workers leave for other countries. What is more important to note, however, is that home country families receiving migrant remittances may reduce the domestic labor supply. The key here is the concept of reservation wages. A reservation wage is the wage level above which a worker will take a job, and below which the worker will either continue to look for a job

or not enter the labor market. Reservation wages are higher for families receiving migrant remittances. This is because they are compensated for their income through migrant remittances, so they do not have to work as hard if their wages are low. For firms, this puts pressure on their profits because they cannot hire personnel without paying higher wages, and the burden is borne by the consumers if the cost increase is passed on to the selling price of the product.

The JICA Ogata Research Institute undertook a study of the impact of overseas remittances on households in the Philippines and Tajikistan and also conducted a detailed analysis of the impact of migrant remittances on labor supply. Migrant remittances, primarily from Tajiks working in Russia, account for a large share of Tajikistan's GDP (28% in 2019). Murakami et al. (2021) used Listening to Tajikistan (L2TJK), a telephone household survey conducted by the World Bank in Tajikistan, to obtain and analyze data on Tajik households' overseas work and remittances. Since most Tajik migrants are short-term seasonal migrants, with many bringing home in cash their earnings directly rather than remitting them, two variables were analyzed: families sending migrant workers and families receiving remittances. The results showed that the labor participation rate of the families remaining in Tajikistan was 8 percentage points lower when there was a family member who had migrated for work and 11 percentage points lower for families receiving remittances.

Note that it is important to address the issues of endogeneity and selection bias in research on the causal relationship between migrant remittances and the behavior of the recipient families. For example, families that send workers abroad may have some underlying differences in attributes from those that do not. Their original income levels may differ, or some unobservable factor may be unique. If such differences affect the behavior of migrant remittance-receiving households, it becomes difficult to correctly estimate the pure impact of remittance receipt alone. Murakami et al. (2021) devised a statistical method to address these issues.

Third, some studies found that migrant remittances have a negative impact on the quality of governance and institutions in recipient countries (Abdih et al. 2018). Even when the quality of education, health or other public service provisions by the government is poor, households receiving remittances can manage the situation by using additional financial resource brought by the remittances. For example, they use private health services when the public health care system is weak. As a result, in countries with a large number of households receiving migrant remittances, the citizens may be less likely to closely monitor government performance and their quality of public goods and services. They even pay less attention to the corruption in the government. An empirical study by Abdih et al. (2012) strongly suggests such a negative correlation between migrant remittances and institutional quality. This situation is similar to the phenomenon called the "resource curse," which is often seen in resource-rich countries experiencing the aforementioned "Dutch disease."

3. The COVID-19 Pandemic and Migrant Remittances

Overall, remittances have an important role in ensuring human security in developing countries while their negative aspects should also be noted as discussed in the previous section. This role became particularly evident during the COVID-19 pandemic. When the pandemic began to spread

around the world in early 2020, there was widespread concern about its impact on migrant remittances. In fact, however, remittances declined only minimally. This section provides an overview of what happened to migrant remittances during the COVID-19 pandemic and what role migrant remittances played for households in developing countries during the crisis.

3.1   The Minimal Drop in Migrant Remittances during the COVID-19 Pandemic

At the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, it was expected worldwide that the amount of migrant remittances would drop significantly. For example, the World Bank estimated that, as of April 2020, migrant workers would be vulnerable to the loss of jobs and wages caused by the economic crisis in the host country and that the amount of remittances to low- and middle-income countries would fall to USD445 billion in 2020, down 19.7% from 2019. The Bank was also extremely concerned about the loss of financial resources for vulnerable households receiving remittances (World Bank 2020). The JICA Ogata Research Institute also estimated that average remittance receipts in the Philippines in 2020 would be 23–32% lower than they would have been in the absence of the pandemic, and that, consequently, household consumption would decrease by 2.2 to 3.3% (Murakami et al. 2020).

In reality, however, global migrant remittances declined only slightly in 2020 and increased strongly again in 2021. Figure 4 shows the trend of migrant remittance receipts for the world as a whole and for low- and middle-income countries. For low- and middle-income countries, the year 2020 results show only a 1.7% decline from the previous year (World Bank 2021b). During the same period, foreign direct investment dropped by 10% from the previous year and by 30% if investment toward China is excluded. Remittances to low- and middle-income countries in 2021 were expected to increase by 7.3% over the previous year (World Bank 2021b).

The fact that remittances to migrants did not decline has sometimes been described as a mystery

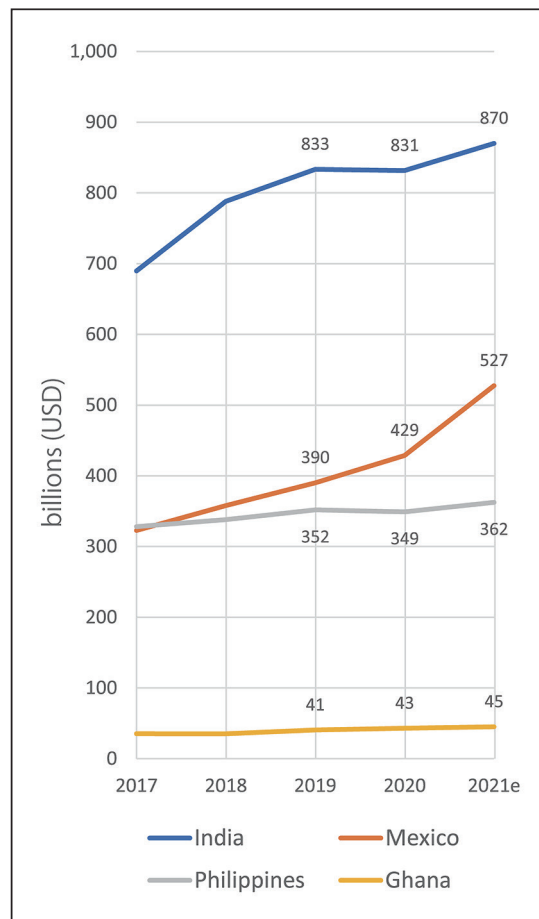Figure 4: Changes in Migrant Remittances Since 2017
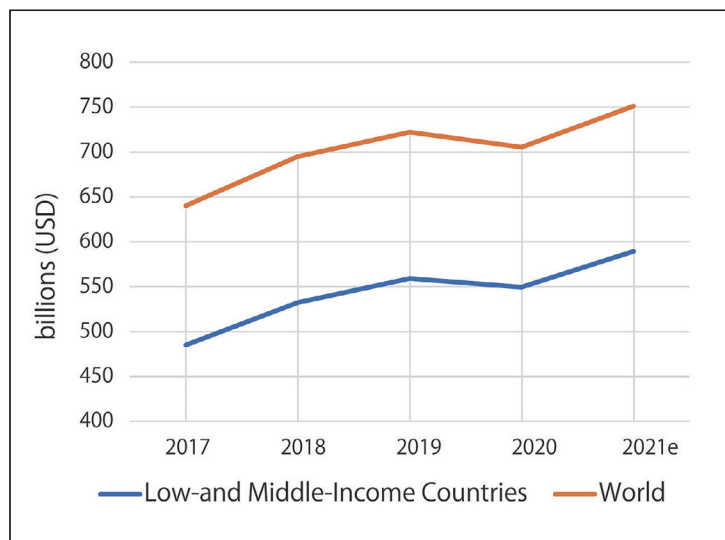
Source: Prepared by author based on World Bank 2021a

or a surprise.[2] It has been argued that this was due to the fact that migrant remittances were originally intended to help support families in their home countries and that migrant workers therefore tried to maintain their remittances despite the COVID-19 pandemic. Another explanation could be that migrant workers often work as essential workers in their destination countries, i.e., they are engaged in various frontline jobs that sustained people's livelihoods during the COVID-19 pandemic, and that as essential workers, their employment may have been less affected by the lockdown (Caron and Tiongson 2020). In some cases, unemployment benefits and other benefits in developed countries could contribute to maintaining remittance levels for migrant workers. The recovery in 2021 may also be linked to the global economy entering a recovery phase, which also occurred in developed countries. On the other hand, the increased reliance on formal channels of remittance through the financial system resulted in an increase in the statistical value of remittances (Kpodar et al. 2021). During the pandemic, bringing cash back home, which had been difficult to capture statistically, became challenging due to the restrictions on the freedom of movement, and more people may have used the financial system to send money to their families.

Figure 5: Changes in Migrant Remittances by Country

Source: Prepared by author based on World Bank 2021b

A number of countries recorded even higher receipts of remittance in 2020 in the wake of COVID-19 than in 2019, the year before COVID emerged (Figure 5). The increase in Mexico's migrant remittance receipts was partly due to the impact of fiscal policies, including unemployment benefits, in the United States, the main destination for migrant workers, as a countermeasure in the wake of COVID-19.

In any case, many countries did not experience as large a drop in migrant remittances as initially predicted during the COVID-19 pandemic, and migrant remittances contributed to the strengthening of resilience of remittance-receiving countries and their households. On the other hand, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic is still ongoing and keep affecting these countries' work environment as well as social and industrial structures. It remains to be seen how the trend of migrant remittance will change given the diverse impacts of the pandemic on each country.

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2   This was covered as "The Great Remittance Mystery" on National Public Radio in the United States (Hirsh and Smith 2020), and the recovery of migrant remittances was described as "surprising" by in World Bank 2021b.

3.2   The Case of Tajikistan

In this section we look more closely at the microdata on migrant remittances during the COVID-19 pandemic. The JICA Ogata Research Institute's research project on remittance examined how migrant remittance flows changed during the COVID-19 pandemic and what role they played for households that suffered economic shocks from the crisis in Tajikistan. As noted earlier, Tajikistan is highly dependent on migrant remittances (28% of GDP in 2019), with over 40% of households having at least one family member living abroad as an expatriate migrant. Most migrants from Tajikistan are young men of age living in rural areas without a job before leaving the country. Migrant workers from Tajikistan tend to concentrate in Russia—in 2018, for example, more than 90% of Tajik migrants headed to Russia to work as essential workers in the construction and service industries (JICA Ogata Research Institute 2019; Shimizutani and Yamada 2021).

Tajikistan did not impose as many strict restrictions on cross-border movement or city lockdowns at the beginning of 2020; the first cases of the new coronavirus were officially announced on April 30, leading to a ban on large-scale events and other activities in May. But even then, the number of infected cases and deaths remained relatively low compared to other Central Asian countries. On the other hand, in Russia, where the Tajik migrant workers were working, the first COVID-19 case was confirmed at the end of January, three months before Tajikistan. The number of infected people has increased since March 2020, and the Russian government implemented several strict measures, including border blockades, closure of public institutions, and lockdowns. The cumulative number of infected people approached 2.25 million by the end of November 2020, making it the fourth largest in the world (Shimizutani and Yamada 2021).

Under these circumstances, the JICA Ogata Research Institute examined how Tajik households and migrant remittances were actually affected and found the following (Shimizutani and Yamada 2021). First, the negative impact of the pandemic in Tajikistan was particularly severe in April and May 2020 and gradually eased thereafter but was less negative for households with migrant workers abroad. A high-frequency telephone survey in collaboration with the World Bank interviewed 800 households nationwide about their food security, cash flow, consumption, and health care situation, with some key results shown in Figures 6 and 7.

The dotted line shows the average for 2018 and 2019, both of which are before the spread of the new coronavirus, while the solid line shows the results of the same survey in 2020, separately for households

Figure 6: Percentage of Respondents Who Able to Purchase Enough Food
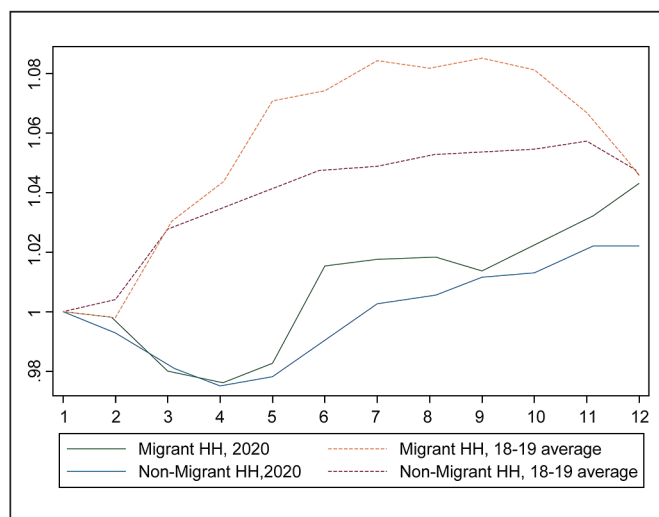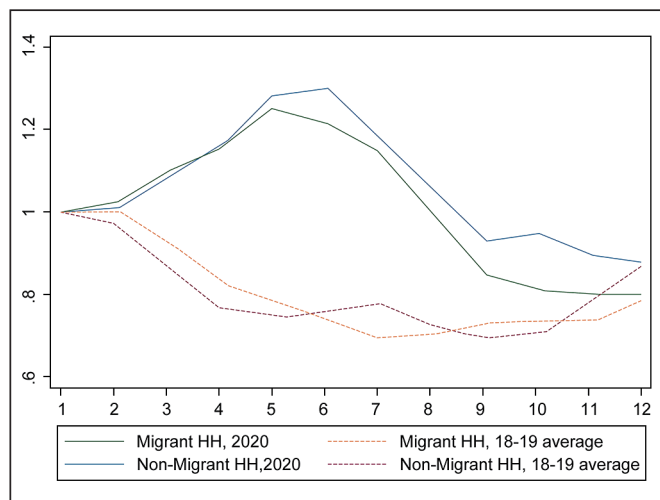

Source: Shimizutani and Yamada (2021)

with and without migrant workers. Both question items were worse in 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic began, than in previous years. The impact was particularly large in April and May, but it can be seen that the negative impact was less for households with migrant workers. The results of the statistical analysis generally show a similar situation, indicating that the presence of migrant workers mitigates the decline in the welfare level of home country families and contributes to their maintenance and improvement even under the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic.

In Russia and other migrant destinations, the total number of migrant workers from Tajikistan did not decline significantly even under the conditions of the 2020 COVID-19 outbreak, as border closures and travel restrictions reduced both departures and returns (see previous section). There were concerns about an increase in unemployment among these migrant workers from Tajikistan because they were low-skilled workers and vulnerable to the economic conditions and immigrant policies. In fact, however, as shown in Figure 8, the employment of migrant workers temporarily plummeted in April and May, but has since rapidly recovered to previous levels, and remittances have also recovered after falling once during the same period.

Figure 7: Percentage of Respondents Who Had Difficulties Paying Utility Bills

Source: Shimizutani and Yamada (2021)

Figure 8: Employment Rates of Migrant Workers from Tajikistan and Amount of Money Remitted Home

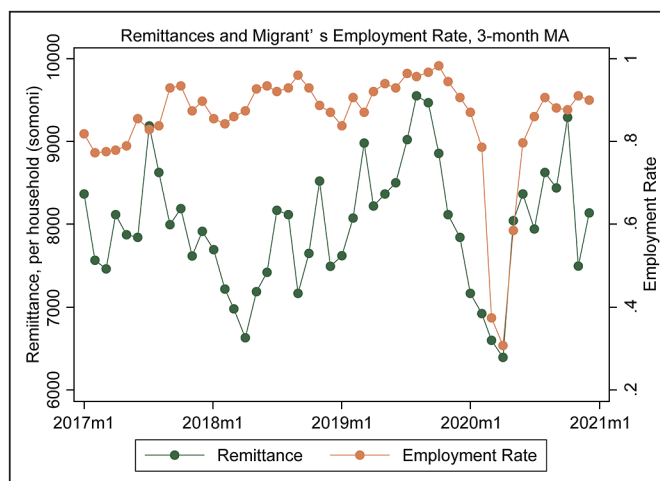Source: Shimizutani and Yamada (2021)

In the case of Tajikistan, the JICA Ogata Research Institute's research shows as above that migrant workers' employment, while affected by the spread of coronavirus, recovered relatively quickly, and that their migrant remittances protected the livelihood of their families in their home countries.

4. Future Migrant Remittance Policy from the Perspective of Human Security

In the previous sections, we discussed the various effects of migrant remittances on the home country economy and remittance-receiving households. In this section, we would like to consider what kind of migrant remittance policy should be adopted for the realization of human security. Human security emphasizes both "protection," a top-down approach by the state and others, and "empowerment," a bottom-up approach by people and civil society (Makino 2022). We therefore focus first on the macro perspective, discussing the policies of recipient countries and the role of the international community to support migrant remittances; then, from a micro perspective, we examine the need for empowerment of households which rely on migrant remittances.

From the macro perspective, migrant remittances contribute to ensuring the economic stability of recipient countries and the resilience of migrant remittance-receiving households—not only in times of peace but also in times of crisis, such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the associated economic shock. Recipient governments need to fully understand this advantage and work to achieve smoother and healthier migrant remittances, with the crucial support of the international community.

The first is the reduction of remittance costs—one of the SDG targets. In addition to the fees charged at the time of remittance, remittance costs would include the fees sometimes levied at the time of withdrawal by the families and the unfavorable exchange rate that the users need to accept to send money to their home countries. It should be noted that, in addition to established financial institutions and specialized remittance providers, new companies are entering the remittance market, offering a wider range of services including online remittances. The international community, including the governments of remittance-receiving countries and migrant worker host countries, should work together to promote appropriate competition in the remittance industry to further lower the cost of use and improve services. These policies to reduce the burden on households and promote remittance is particularly important to accelerate recovery from the pandemic.

Second, there is a need to ensure the safety and benefits of migrant workers in their migrant destinations. Further efforts need to be made to reduce the various costs migrant workers must bear in their employment, as outlined in the SDGs. An analysis conducted by the JICA Ogata Research Institute (JICA 2019) found that one-fifth of migrant workers in Tajikistan take out loans to finance their migration and have to bear the interest costs. The international community including remittance-sending and receiving countries should collectively improve and maintain the employment and working environment for migrant workers in the destination countries, ensuring access to health care, educational services etc., and maintaining equity as pointed out in the SDGs. Furthermore, it is necessary to improve the legal systems of both sending and receiving governments so that brokers and employers of migrant labor can guarantee the safety of migrants and malfeasance on the part of brokers and employers would be properly punished.

Third, statistics on migrant remittances should be improved. Migrant remittances include a variety of formal and informal channels, with the full picture yet to be captured. In order to identify issues related to migrant remittances and to develop appropriate policies, it is essential to improve statistics to grasp and analyze the amounts and routes of migrant remittances.

Fourth, a key mid- to long-term goal should be to enhance the activities of the domestic industries

within the country receiving migrant remittances. Even if families receiving migrant remittances are able to escape poverty with the remittance income they receive, their children will also be forced to leave their families and go abroad when they grow up, if there is insufficient educational and employment opportunities in the home country. This is a situation that deviates from the human security principle that people can live in peace with their dignity protected. Remittance-receiving countries should not rely on remittance only and should instead work steadily to foster domestic industry and public services by improving public infrastructure and business environment.

In Section 2.3, we pointed out that migrant remittances can have adverse effects on the exchange rate and labor supply in the remittance-receiving country, making industrial development more difficult. The governments of remittance-receiving countries should be fully aware of these risks and carefully manage their economies. We also pointed out that in remittance-receiving countries, civil society's oversight on the quality of service provision by the government tends to be weak, which leads to the survival of poor institutions and governance in these countries. It is important for policymakers in remittance-receiving countries to recognize this tendency and to discipline themselves to improve their domestic institutions and governance. International community should also encourage good reforms of these countries with proper monitoring.

Next, it is important to point out the need for the empowerment of migrant workers and their families at the micro level. The whole process of going abroad to perform labor and send remittances to their families entails various uncertainties from the perspective of individual families, such as the uncertainty of employment and the possibility of temporary financial burdens. There are also significant social and psychological costs, such as separation from family members and difficulties associated with transportation. To minimize these uncertainties and burdens, migrant workers and their families should acquire proper knowledge and capacity for the readiness for migration. The governments and relevant agencies should provide assistance for this purpose.

First, financial literacy is vital. In an environment where large sums of money are received regularly, as is the case with migrant remittances, it is necessary to strengthen the knowledge of how to spend or manage the received funds productively, or how to save and invest the money in preparation for various financial needs at different stages of life. A survey conducted by the JICA Ogata Research Institute on Mongolian migrant workers in Japan and their families in their home countries found that the financial literacy of migrant workers was significantly lower than that of their families in their home countries and that it would be beneficial to provide training on the financial system of the country of employment before leaving their home countries. (Murakami 2021).

Second, it is necessary to promote capacity building and information sharing that will facilitate the local and post-return employment of migrant workers. For example, governments that send out large numbers of migrant workers should provide information on employment and labor markets in migrant host countries before they travel, offer good-quality job training and language courses, and facilitate job and entrepreneurial opportunities upon their return in the areas where they can use the skills they have gained through migrant labor.

Gender perspectives and consideration of vulnerable groups are also essential in the formulation and implementation of policies for migration and remittance and in the targeting of these policies.

The need to improve financial literacy, especially for women, has also been pointed out, as there are differences in roles among genders in decision-making on how to use migrant remittances (World Bank 2021c). It should be also remembered that an estimated 41.5% of migrant workers are women (ILO 2021). Support for vulnerable groups, such as care for children in their home countries when their parents go abroad to work, is of another importance.

Conclusion

This article has pointed out that migrant remittances are an important element in the realization of human security, contributing to stabilizing the economies of remittance-receiving countries and the livelihoods of individual families. In recent years, migrant remittances have expanded far beyond the amount of ODA. Migrant remittances are a valuable source of foreign currency and tax revenue for the recipient countries and contribute to the reduction of poverty at home. However, there are also negative factors that require attention from the perspective of industrial development in the remittance-receiving country, such as the fact that large inflows of funds can cause the local currency to appreciate, thereby reducing export competitiveness, and that families receiving migrant remittances might choose not to work, thus reducing the domestic labor supply.

There were initial concerns that the COVID-19 pandemic would cause a sharp decline in migrant remittances, with a resulting negative impact on national economies and households in remittance-receiving countries. However, the actual decline in migrant remittances was minimal compared to the decrease in foreign direct investment, and in some countries, remittance receipts even increased. Migrant remittances also mitigated the deterioration in the living standards of recipient households caused by the economic shocks of the COVID-19 pandemic. These results indicate that migrant remittances provide an effective buffer to mitigate shocks not only in normal times but also in times of crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic, i.e., when downside risks emerge, which is a particular focus of the human security concept. As the COVID-19 pandemic triggered the changes of industrial structure and the form of business including the further usage of information technology, whether this transformation will have a significant impact on migrant labor will be an area for future research.

With regard to migrant remittance policies, it is necessary for remittance-receiving countries and the international community to develop and improve policies that guarantee the safety and benefits of migrant workers and their remittance-receiving families, such as reducing remittance costs and improving the migrant labor environment. At the same time, it is essential for recipient countries of migrant remittances not to overly rely on the overseas labor of their citizens and their remittances and to work to develop their own industries. It is also important to improve the financial literacy and skills of migrant workers and their families. Gender and vulnerable groups must also be taken into consideration in the formulation, targeting and implementation of such policies.

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[Research Note 3] COVID-19 and Healthcare: From the Perspective of Human Security

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1. Introduction

The Novel Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) has brought a new awareness to the challenges of integrating human security, or "respect for each individual, with his/her safety as the highest priority, and emphasis on the importance of individual efforts to promote one's own safety and development,"[1] (Ogata 2011) into the social structure and its functioning. Health is one of the basic human rights and is directly linked to survival, livelihood, and dignity, which constitute human security. In the field of health, community-initiated efforts had progressed with the aim of "Health for All" more than 20 years before the concept of human security was introduced. Health-related issues have since been linked to human security and measures have been taken to ensure equitable access to health services by all people and health security in anticipation of the threat of infectious diseases which have emerged with globalization and global warming. Amidst such circumstances, the outbreak and rapid spread of COVID-19 worldwide triggered a global crisis unprecedented in recent epidemics. COVID-19 has been reported to have caused 5.5 million deaths as of January 15, 2022 (Our World in Data 2022), overwhelming health systems and exerting even greater direct and indirect impacts by paralyzing social and economic activities (Cash and Patel 2020; Haldane et al. 2021). It has reminded many health experts who had previously considered infectious diseases as a past danger that they are still a serious threat to human security. The pandemic further widened existing health disparities, posing serious threats to vulnerable populations (Cash and Patel 2020; Haldane et al. 2021; WHO 2021a). Furthermore, COVID-19 has adversely impacted high-income countries, previously considered to be sufficiently prepared for infectious disease crises with strong health systems, and exposed international disparities in access to vaccines and medical resources. We have learned the

1   Translated by the author. The original text is in Japanese.

necessity of health system reevaluation, support for vulnerable populations, and reform of international collaboration to protect humans from future threats of unknown infections.

Why, then, have adequate preparedness and strong health systems failed to be effective during a pandemic? Why, then, have adequate preparedness and strong health systems failed to be effective during a pandemic, despite the fact that such measures have been structured by discussions between global health experts and government leaders and incorporating human security principles? Were the ideas and frameworks in existence prior to COVID-19 inadequate? Were there problems with the methods and approaches taken? In this research note, we discuss a shift from a framework of 'adequate' and 'strong' healthcare to a 'resilient' framework that can flexibly adapt and allows for transforming in an age of continuous change (Kruk et al. 2015, See Chapter 4 for details). As part of this resilient framework, there must also be a shift from international collaboration focused on high-income countries supporting low-/middle-income countries (LMICs) to one of participatory international collaboration in which all countries contribute to the operationalization of the framework. To that end, this research note will identify the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic from the perspective of its impact on the provision of basic health services, fundamental for the protection of human lives and health. Existing international data and research conducted by the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development (JICA Ogata Research Institute) will be utilized. Furthermore, international health cooperation efforts including community engagement will be discussed as potential solutions and ways forward for the future of global health.

2. Effects of COVID-19 on Essential Health Services and Countermeasures

This section presents an overview of the burdens COVID-19 has placed on health services. The mission of such services is to 'protect the lives of all people,' the very core of human security, and health systems are the foundation of this mission. The section will examine which populations are disproportionally threatened, citing instances from Africa with its fragile health systems and those from vulnerable populations including women and the elderly. Furthermore, primary measures taken by various countries to mitigate the effects of disruption of health services by COVID-19 are examined. The realities and issues related to community engagement, which is attracting attention as a key approach to the control of future pandemics, is also discussed.

2.1   Effects on Essential Health Services

From the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic, there have been concerns over essential health services including maternal and child healthcare and services related to infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis and malaria, which are needed routinely by many people. Therefore, to evaluate the extent of the effects of disruptions to essential health services caused by COVID-19, the World Health Organization (WHO) conducted surveys in more than 135 countries twice in 2020 (3rd and 4th quarters) and 2021 (1st quarter) (as of January 2022) (WHO 2021c).

It was reported that at least one essential health service was disrupted in 94% of the countries or regions that responded to the survey (WHO 2021). Among the regions, the rate of disruption was

generally highest in the Americas. By income, the disruption rate was highest in LMICs and lowest in high-income countries. However, disruption rates were more closely associated with the number of infected individuals than regional or income factors, which showed no uniform tendency. Disruption rates were high even in high-income countries if infection rates were high. Practical disturbances occurred in all major areas of healthcare including non-communicable diseases such as psychiatric, neurological, and drug-related disorders, cancer, hypertension, diabetes, and chronic respiratory disease, infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, hepatitis, and malaria, reproductive health,[2] maternal and child health, and immunization programs. Disruption to these services is expected to influence health problems in people over a long period in the future, but it is difficult to predict specific health problems or their severity. In addition, emergency and acute phase care, which immediately affects human lives, continues to be disrupted in about 20% of the countries even in the 1st quarter of 2021, about one year after the onset of the pandemic, and there are concerns over increases in mortality due to injuries and diseases other than COVID-19. Researches suggested that disruption of services is caused by factors on both the supply and demand sides. On the supply-side, 40% of countries partially closed centers providing services, and nearly half of the countries restricted the provision of at least one essential healthcare service. While services tended to be restricted systematically in high-income countries, they were often disrupted without plans in LMICs. The factors with the greatest impact on the disruption of services are lack of health workers (66%), followed by selective suspension of inpatient care for the reallocation of wards, etc., for coping with COVID-19 (47%). From the viewpoint of demand, (1) anxiety and distrust over the use of health services (57%), (2) patients' refraining from visiting a hospital (57%), and (3) economic difficulties due to lockdown (43%) were major factors impacting the disruption of services. These findings are in line with the results of a survey of city dwellers in four Asian countries (Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, and Vietnam) carried out by JICA (May 2021).[3] According to the survey, 83% of those surveyed in all four countries reported reduced access to health facilities with risk of infection as the top reason for avoidance of health facilities (70%). Moreover, access to health facilities was further reduced for people who suffered income reductions (1.39 times) and those who had less trust in the local government (1.30 times), suggesting that economic factors and degree of trust in the government are important considerations.[4]

In African countries, which still face many challenges in healthcare, the reported numbers of patients and deaths due to COVID-19 have been unexpectedly low, and the pandemic appears to have been controlled (Harada et al. 2021). However, there have been reports that the seropositive rate for COVID-19 is high in Africa, and the possibility that infected individuals have not been counted accurately or that only a low percentage of those infected actually develop the disease has also been suggested. Thus, the numbers of infected cases may be underreported (Gudina et al. 2021), and further validation is necessary moving forward.

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2   Sexual and reproductive health.

3   https://www.jica.go.jp/jica-ri/ja/news/topics/20211127_01.html Accessed March 30, 2022.

4   ibid.

As observed above, the spread of infection is controlled in African countries in terms of the reported numbers, but a marked reduction in access to essential health services was observed due to strict travel curbs and the closure of health facilities (PERC 2021). According to a survey of 18 member countries of the African Union (PERC 2021, as of August 2020), 44% of those who needed health services cancelled or postponed their visits to health facilities. By service type, 34% of patients with chronic diseases who needed continuous treatment and 16% of users of family planning or maternal and child health services, for which regular check-ups are necessary, cancelled or postponed their visits. The immunization of children was also markedly reduced (PERC 2021; Shikuku et al. 2020; Kirmani and Saleem 2021). Furthermore, access to the diagnosis and treatments for malaria, tuberculosis, and HIV/AIDS, which still remain major causes of death in Sub-Saharan Africa, was also reduced. It has been suggested that the disruption of such essential health services will cause more serious health hazards than COVID-19 in LMICs, but few robust studies using primary data have been conducted (Cash and Patel 2020).

In a study in Uganda by the JICA Ogata Research Institute, in progress as of January 2022, the numbers of clients to the regional referral hospital in the Jinja region, which plays a central role in local health services, were compared between 2019 and 2020. The results show clear quantitative decreases in various services in 2020 compared with the previous year[5] with a 30% decrease in the number of outpatients, 27% decrease in the duration of hospitalization, 22% decrease in the number of hospitalized children aged less than 5 years, and 42% decrease in the number of operations. In contrast, the total number of deaths decreased by 3%. Generally, in Sub-Saharan Africa, deaths occurring outside health facilities are not accurately documented, and the number of people who die before arrival at health facilities may be increasing. In Uganda, the government closed the border for about 1.5 months from March 25, 2020, as a preventive measure, implemented a nation-wide lockdown (travel curbs, public transportation bans, restrictions on business and other public activities) before the number of infected individuals increased in the country, suspending routine operations at healthcare facilities (Schwartz et al. 2021; Kitara and Ikoona 2020). These measures had serious impacts on not only access to health services but also people's daily living. For example, there has been an increase in unemployment and food insecurity in poor families and the elderly who have lost support from relatives (Kawala et al. 2020; Nathan and Benon 2020), and an increase in child abuse due to prolonged school closure (Sserwanja et al. 2021). In addition, strict travel curbs also involve the restriction of health promotion activities (Kitara and Ikoona 2020), which will likely exacerbate lifestyle-related diseases, but few detailed studies have been conducted to date.

2.2 Effects on Vulnerable Populations

In an unexpected crisis, vulnerable populations bear a particularly heavy burden as they suffer from health disparities even in normal times (WHO 2021a). This issue strikes at the heart of human security, focusing on the risk of further deterioration of an already precarious situation due to vulnerability and linked threats (downside risk). Scientific verification is in progress for clarification

5   https://www.jica.go.jp/jica-ri/ja/research/human/human_20210427-20220330.html Accessed March 30, 2022.

of the current status, but intensive analysis of the effects is required for the future. Here, an overview is presented by focusing on the effects on women (and girls in particular), the elderly, and healthcare workers struggling with COVID-19 on the frontlines.

(1)   Effects on Women and Girls

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) has been supporting the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aiming to achieve the goals related to women by 2030 (UNFPA 2020). The support aims to: (1) resolve the unmet needs of family planning, (2) eliminate female genital mutilation (FGM), and (3) eliminate child marriage. However, the achievement of these goals has been jeopardized by COVID-19. A reduction in access to family planning services due to a lockdown continuing for 6 months is estimated to result in 7 million cases of 'unwanted pregnancy' and an increase of 31 million cases of sexual violence worldwide (UNFPA 2020). It is also estimated that only one-third of the goal of eradication of FGM will be achieved and that 13 million cases of child marriage will occur by 2030 (UNFPA 2020). In addition to supply-side reasons, such as the disruption of, and reduced access to, health services due to COVID-19, increases in the incidence of sexual violence and domestic violence (DV) have been reported. Such trends have been caused by the stress of economic distress and prolongation of time spent at home by both victims and offenders as a result of school closure and loss of employment of family members (Sserwanja et al. 2021). However, such statistics are only estimates, and we face the task of determining the actual extent of the effects on women and girls based on scientific verification using real data.

(2)   Effects on the Elderly

The percentage of people aged 65 years and above in Japan[6] is 29%, which is the highest in the world (as of September 15, 2021), and is expected to exceed 30% in 2025 (estimate by the Statistics Bureau of Japan[7]). With this progression of the aging population, Japan is facing challenges in a variety of fields including healthcare, elderly nursing care, and social systems and has had bitter experiences of failing to support elderly people in times of major earthquakes and other past disasters. Here, the effects of COVID-19 on the elderly are discussed based on researches conducted in Japan. It has been shown that secondary health problems were suffered by elderly people isolated from society due to mobility restrictions imposed by the Government of Japan (April 16–May 25, 2020). A number of studies have reported adverse effects on physical and cognitive functions in addition to the exacerbation of mental health problems due to isolation from society and reduced use of social welfare services (Lopez et al. 2020; Yamada et al. 2020). Generally, the occurrence and progression of sarcopenia (decline in functional muscle strength and skeletal muscle mass) and frailty (an age-related syndrome characterized by reduced reserve or resistance against stress) are mentioned as typical health problems of the elderly. According to research by the University of Tokyo and other institutions, the total time spent on physical activities by older female participants decreased by 40%

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6   Ratio of people aged 65 years and above to the total population.
7   https://www.stat.go.jp/data/topics/topi1291.html Accessed March 30, 2022.

and 16% of the all participants newly became frail during the one year study period due to the government-imposed mobility restrictions (Son et al. 2022). Furthermore, significant decreases in the time spent on physical activity and incidence of frailty were particularly high in elderly people living alone (Yamada et al. 2021). Amidst mobility restrictions and measures to combat the spread of COVID-19, efforts must also be made to ensure the elderly are not isolated from society. In the face of a wide range of social threats during pandemics, the creation of a society in which elderly people can maintain social ties and enjoy healthy and active longevity without lapsing into frailty has emerged as a critical issue to be addressed to guarantee human security in an aging society.

(3)　Effects on Healthcare Workers

According to an estimate by the WHO in 2021, there were 115,500 deaths due to COVID-19 among the 135 million healthcare facility staff members worldwide. However, this is a considerable underestimation and an accurate figure has not been determined (WHO 2021b). Healthcare workers are exposed to various physical and mental effects in addition to the risk of infection (Semaan et al. 2020; Lancet 2020). In LMICs, which are constantly understaffed, there is even greater concern over the physical and psychological effects on healthcare workers (Chew et al. 2020; Zhang et al. 2020). In addition, many studies pointed out that the frontline health workers, such as nurses, most likely female, or less-experienced workers, tended to expose more tension and psychological burdens, than male physicians (Shaukat et al. 2020; Lai et al. 2020; Chew et al. 2020; Salazar de Pablo et al. 2020). According to a study in Japan, 52% of healthcare workers infected by COVID-19 were nurses who had close contact with patients, and since 92% of nurses are women (as of 2018), female healthcare workers are particularly vulnerable to the COVID-19 pandemic in Japan (Komasawa et al. 2021). In addition, female healthcare workers tend to face a heavier burden even outside the workplace, such as isolation from family members due to infection at the workplace, guilt due to long-term absence from shifts due to quarantine, economic vulnerability caused by a decrease in income or losing their job, and discrimination and prejudice from local society (Takano 2021; WHO 2021a).

Many LMICs depend on hastily trained female volunteers for dealing with COVID-19 on the frontlines of the pandemic. In India, female volunteers at the fringe of the health system including social welfare promotors called ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist) have important roles in surveillance through home visits and the sensitization of infection prevention control. A survey by the JICA India office revealed an increased psychological burden on these women including long working hours, lingering effects of COVID-19 infection, anxiety, stress, depression, burn-out syndrome, and concerns over the health of their families. Such effects were accompanied by a lack of material resources such as insufficient personal protective equipment and unpaid transportation costs. To cope with these circumstances, governments and private organizations have adopted measures to improve the situation, such as online mental health counselling and payment of stipends, but there have also been reports that such measures are not reaching the women who need them most (PricewaterhouseCoopers Private Limited 2022)

To maintain the physical and mental health of frontline healthcare workers, sufficient supplies of material and instrumental resources including protective gear, appropriate information, education

and training, care for mental health, and, in LMICs, safe water for hand washing, must be ensured. In addition, there are many factors that need examination such as the establishment of a system for effective communication in healthcare facilities, efforts to change the attitude of the local community and families, and compensation for healthcare workers reflective of their efforts (Barello et al. 2020). However, in LMICs, research on the actual state of healthcare workers at the primary and secondary healthcare levels (health centers and local hospitals) during the COVID-19 pandemic remains scarce, and prompt investigation is necessary (Barello et al. 2020). Without healthcare workers, healthcare systems cannot be maintained, thus the evaluation of comprehensive support for frontline healthcare workers in vulnerable situations is an issue of utmost importance.

2.3 Actions of Various Countries to Mitigate the Effects of Disruption of Healthcare Services

Most of the 75 countries that participated in the two WHO surveys mentioned above are taking actions to mitigate the effects of disruption of healthcare services (WHO 2021c). The actions most frequently reported in the 2021 survey were: (1) the use of communication in communities (i.e., enhancement of risk communication in communities) (69%), (2) determination of the order of priority in treatment (triage) (59%), (3) shift from face-to-face examination to remote examination (51%), and (4) encouragement of patients to consult alternative medical organizations (48%). Of note, the percentage of the countries that took the second action was 86% in 2020 but only 59% in 2021. Furthermore, the percentage of countries taking the first action markedly increased from 43% in 2020 to 69% in 2021. The results suggest that the tendency to utilize local resources, such as community healthcare workers, is on the rise in the face of limited medical resources.

Moreover, of the 112 countries that participated in the 2021 survey, 5% answered that they were adopting telehealth, using communication technology. The contents of telehealth were: (1) reservation for examination (49%), (2) basic cares such as maternal and child healthcare and treatment for conventional infections (49%), (3) prescription of drugs (43%), (4) examination of chronic diseases (40%), and (5) examination of mental health (37%). However, major obstacles remain for the introduction of telehealth in many countries, particularly limitations of access by both providers and users (68%) and technical problems (58%). In contrast, in the survey conducted by JICA in Kenya (November 2020), 88% of the population use the Internet daily with an increase of 41% during the COVID-19 pandemic, suggesting that digital access and literacy is improving in Africa, and healthcare services are expected to be further complemented by telehealth in future crises.[8]

According to a preliminary report of the third WHO worldwide health survey (conducted in November–December, 2021), the percentage of countries adopting "the use of communication in communities" increased 1.26 times from 69% in the previous survey to 87%. This indicates a further shift from the conventional supply-side fortification approach to the demand-side fortification approach, i.e., the "community-led" approach with the mobilization of community people.

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8   https://www.jica.go.jp/jica-ri/ja/news/topics/20211204_01.html Accessed March 30, 2022.

2.4   Community-led Approaches: Community Engagement

It has long been proposed that community-led bottom-up approaches are indispensable in addition to top-down approaches (improving governance, health financing, health workers, healthcare products and technology, service delivery, and public health) for the healthcare systems strengthening, but COVID-19 renewed our recognition of their importance (Haldane et al. 2021; Sirleaf and Clark 2021).

(1)   COVID-19 Global Risk Communication and Community Engagement

During global health crises like COVID-19, health systems are likely to fail because of rapid increases in the number of infected individuals. Thus, to protect health systems, infection must be controlled, with behavioral change as the key. However, due to the difficulty of maintaining behavioral change in the population over a long period, COVID-19 still remains rampant in many countries. Two major barriers include the inability to accurately and promptly transmit information concerning COVID-19 to the public in the first place and the failure of such information to motivate changes in lifestyle even if it is transmitted (Claridge 2020).

To resolve these issues, the WHO, International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC), and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) announced the COVID-19 Global Risk Communication and Community Engagement (RCCE) strategy aiming to foster and strengthen community empowerment and to promote the incorporation of new lifestyles into daily living by the power of community (WHO et al. 2020). The RCCE strategy is already shared by 90% of countries worldwide and recognition of the importance of the RCCE is increasing (WHO et al. 2020). The RCCE strategy sets the following four strategic goals: (1) Facilitate community-led responses through the improvement of the quality and consistency of RCCE approaches (2) Generate, analyses and use evidence about each community's context, capacities, perceptions, and behaviors (3) Reinforce capacity and local solutions to control the pandemic and mitigate its impacts (4) Strengthen coordination of RCCE to increase quality, harmonization, optimization and integration (WHO et al. 2020).

Many expectations are attached to the RCCE strategy. First, as preventative measures against the pandemic involve many sectors beyond healthcare that are intricately intertwined, including politics, society, and economy, such measures occasionally come under heavy political influence, sometimes resulting in a disregard of the viewpoints of public health. Community-led COVID-19 prevention measures are expected to minimize political effects through the participation of a diverse variety of politically neutral people. Next, the RCCE strategy is expected to mitigate 'pandemic fatigue' caused by prolonged behavioral restrictions by giving people the strength and motivation to cope with the pandemic through cohesion of community with local leaders at the center. In addition, widening social disparities caused by the prolonged pandemic have further limited access to resources for socially vulnerable populations.[9] However, through community-led COVID-19 prevention measures, community activists with a profound understanding of the community's social structure can identify social issues or vulnerable populations previously unrecognized at the national level, ensuring more targeted and efficient use of resources.

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9   https://www.jica.go.jp/jica-ri/ja/news/interview/interview_20220328_01.html Accessed March 30, 2022.

(2)   Community Engagement in Africa under the COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic has forced African countries, which have limited resources and weak health systems, to reinforce the mechanism of community engagement. At the outset of the pandemic, the WHO specified 13 countries in the African region as priority countries for COVID-19 prevention measures, i.e., Algeria, Ghana, South Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, Mauritius, Angola, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, Zambia, and Uganda, due to the degree of direct contact with China (measured in the number of travelers) and urged them to promote activities of community engagement. The African regional office of the WHO cooperated with organizations including the Africa Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (Africa CDC), UNICEF, and IFRC and encouraged reinforcement of risk communication in each country and participation of all people in local communities. The Africa CDC established the Africa Task Force for Novel Coronavirus (AFCOR) on February 3, 2020. In collaboration with the African regional office of the WHO, AFCOR is undertaking challenges related to risk communication, community engagement, contact tracing and surveillance, disease prevention and management at health facilities, diagnosis at laboratories, and the clinical management of COVID-19 patients. Particularly, RCCE is defined as an important strategy in the African region, and concentrated efforts are being made to support vulnerable social populations. For example, the Algerian government implemented a community campaign to advise people living with HIV and drug users about COVID-19 prevention behavior in coordination with non-governmental organizations (UNODC 2020), and the Cote d'Ivoire government is engaging in a campaign to reach socially vulnerable populations by involving religious leaders and digital community organizations, such as Voices of Youth and U-Report (UNICEF 2020). In Zambia, areas with a high population density, areas with 100 or more residents, areas with major vulnerable groups, markets, burial sites, and door-to-door canvassing areas were mapped using a tool called Geo-Referenced Infrastructure and Demographic Data for Development Mapping (GRID3 2020[10]). As a result, areas that needed particular attention in conducting COVID-19 prevention activities could be identified, and response teams were organized.

Thus, African countries are proactively conducting activities for community engagement, but there is a long way to go to the realization of real behavioral change due to distrust of governments, reluctance to change the cultural, social, and religious behavior that have been cherished, and spread of fake news and rumors (Adebisi et al. 2021).

Under such circumstances, community engagement activities by local stakeholders, such as religious leaders or groups and grassroot organizations, play an important role. It is important to plan activities that involve local groups representing high-risk people, such as those with chronic diseases or disabilities, and to create an environment that permits concentrated investment in them.

However, as the funds for such activities cannot be secured in many countries, international collaboration is necessary to surmount this difficulty. As the first step toward this goal, the WHO, UNICEF, and IFRC are endeavoring to establish "Collective Service" as a global information platform for the activities of actors engaged in RCCE with the aim of sharing a panoramic perspective of the

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10   https://grid3.org/news/geospatialdata-covid19-migrant-zambia Accessed February 2022.

issues occurring in various parts of the world.[11] However, only about 12 countries have information posted on the platform (as of February 2022, Collective Service 2022[12]), and further accumulation of information from more countries is necessary to provide a bird's-eye view of the activities of actors in communities and the state of collaboration among actors. Thus, in February 2022, the JICA Ogata Research Institute began visualization and analysis of the activities of actors in Uganda, a country designated by the WHO as a model for the introduction of RCCE. The JICA Ogata Research Institute analysis focuses on Ugandan efforts during the COVID-19 pandemic in corporation with NPOs and NGOs.[13]

3. Efforts and Challenges in Global Health

In the previous section, we first discussed the realities of the threat that the COVID-19 pandemic posed to human security from the viewpoint of its effects on the provision of essential health services to protect people's lives and health by focusing on the most seriously affected populations. We then discussed community engagement, a relevant and important solution to the problems presented by the pandemic. In this section, an overview of major global health efforts related to human security, including infectious disease control, is presented, identifying new challenges posed by COVID-19.

3.1   Health for All: From Primary Health Care to Universal Health Coverage

Being able to receive necessary health services when they are needed is a basic human right indispensable for the maintenance and restoration of health and is the foundation of human security. To achieve it, physical accessibility to essential, quality health services without suffering financial hardship must be ensured (WHO and IBRD/WB 2021). In the field of health, an approach called primary health care (PHC) was proposed at an international conference cosponsored by the WHO and UNICEF in 1978, nearly 20 years before the introduction of the concept of human security, upholding the slogan, "Health for All by the Year 2000". In PHC, a comprehensive healthcare system should be managed by the local community, respecting the needs of residents and ensuring effective utilization of local resources through the proactive participation of local residents. Furthermore, PHC should embrace a human security approach by taking a human-centered stance, involving diverse stakeholders, and combining protection and empowerment. Although the original goal of Health for All was not achieved, PHC has been passed down to the present as a concept that underlies the field of healthcare.

Universal health coverage (UHC) is an approach formulated on the basis of the concept of human security and the principles of PHC, eliminating the risk of financial hardship imposed on people in receiving health services, and reinforcing the viewpoint of protection by means of appropriate financial measures. UHC, which was proposed at the World Health Assembly (WHA) in 2005, aims to achieve the goal that all individuals and communities receive the quality health services when they

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11   https://extranet.who.int/sph/spar Accessed March 30, 2022.

12   https://www.rcce-collective.net/?s=Operational+response Accessed February 2022.

13   https://www.jica.go.jp/jica-ri/ja/research/human/human_20210427-20220331.html Accessed March 30, 2022.

need without excessive economic burdens and is important for the realization of human security and integrated into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). However, despite efforts made by various countries to introduce UHC and extend its coverage, it is not easy to implement. According to the WHO, the state of UHC had improved in 2015–2017 before the COVID-19 pandemic, yet only about half of the world population has limited access to essential health services for health promotion, prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation. In addition, medical expenses occupy more than 10% of the household income for about 1 billion people, and this percentage is on the rise (WHO and IBRD/WB 2021). Therefore, discussions have centered on the need to increase public health investment and reduce fragmentation and waste of funds to achieve UHC in all countries, and to provide high priority services to more people with limited financial resources, improving the efficiency and optimization of services. However, many countries have failed to sufficiently increase health-related budgets, and the achievement of UHC remains unattainable (Bloom et al. 2019; WHO 2021b). It was under such circumstances that the COVID-19 pandemic broke out.

The current pandemic has exposed problems that have not been sufficiently evaluated to date. For example, a survey by the Civil Society Engagement Mechanism (CSEM) for UHC2030[14] concerning UHC under the pandemic reported that higher individual vulnerability is associated with increased time, cost, labor, and the psychological burden of accessing health services. Furthermore, certain populations, such as immigrants, are excluded from basic safety nets such as UHC and social security even in countries that have achieved UHC, and some hesitate to use the safety net due to discrimination and prejudice or cannot access it during emergencies due to a lack of knowledge (CSEM 2021). Thus, the pandemic has revealed the true state of vulnerable populations excluded by the system, left unrecognized prior the pandemic due to the lack of human-centeredness in legal systems and their management. The current pandemic is an opportunity to find specific and effective ways to detect problems with the existing systems and arrangements and develop UHC into a framework that can more reliably protect the lives and health of people in vulnerable positions, who should be given priority in human security.

3.2   Health Security

Health security is a series of measures including prevention, preparation, detection, and responses taken to protect humanity from international public health threats and risks, including infection. In 1994, the concept of "human security" was introduced in the Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) from the viewpoint of individual and community safety assurance and began to be used widely also as a goal of development assistance. This report proposed a viewpoint of human security from the perspective of seven categories, one of which was health (UNDP 1994). This has led to the linking of health problems with human security (Aldis 2008). In 2000, HIV/AIDS was addressed at the United Nations Security Council, and

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14   International Health Partnership for UHC2030 (UHC2030). A global health platform for multiple stakeholders to promote actions to achieve UHC by 2030, which was established in 2016 by expanding and strengthening the scope of the existing platform.

Resolution 54.14. "Global health security: epidemic alert and response" was announced at the World Health Assembly (WHA) in 2001. This resolution reflected the potential concern of the international society over the possibility of the rapid spread of infection due to increased globalization (WHA 2001). This resolution connected the concept of "global health security" with a global strategy for the cross-border prevention of infections. It also required member nations to enhance capabilities and activities to cope with infections in various fields by actively participating in the verification of surveillance data and confirmation of their validity and improving and reinforcing domestic systems for prevention.

The capacity of various countries to cope with infectious disease outbreaks is prescribed by the International Health Regulations (IHR), which is a central international framework for health security. IHR is an international treaty with legal binding force and aims for maximum prevention of the international propagation of diseases associated with the movement of people while minimizing the effects on international transportation. IHR demands that each country has the ability to implement basic measures concerning surveillance, examination rooms, border control, and emergency situations (core capacity). At the time of the Ebola virus outbreak in Western African nations in 2014–2016, countries that had not acquired the core capacity of IHR suffered serious damages. Furthermore, even countries who had reported high evaluations of their core capacity under the conventional self-assessment system were severely affected. From such experiences, joint external evaluation was initiated for objective assessment of the abilities of each country. Through the current pandemic, a common understanding has been reached on the issues facing global health, including the fragmentation and vulnerability of LMICs in human resources for health, infrastructure, information systems, supply chain, public health functions, and community participation in infection prevention and response (Kruk et al. 2015; Commission on a Global Health Risk Framework for the Future 2016; Moon 2015; United Nations High-level Panel on the Global Response to Health Crises 2016). Furthermore, the concept of resilient health systems has emerged, as will be discussed in depth below.

Enhancement of the IHR core capacity and activities related to IHR in LMICs has been supported by groups that attach importance to global health security. One such group is the Global Health Security Initiative (GHSI), which is an international partnership of multiple high-income countries. GHSI promotes coordinated actions to confront new threats and risks to global health such as terrorism using biological and chemical weapons, radioactive substances, and nuclear weapons and pandemics involving infectious diseases. Although GHSI has supported the enhancement of infectious disease prevention and control capacity of LMICs, it also aims to strengthen the public health preparedness and response capacity against international terrorism. This has provided an important rationale for high-income countries to invest in international health activities and has accelerated the emergence of health as an important diplomatic issue (Fidler 2007). On the other hand, however, the GHSI has invited the suspicion of LMICs that the concept of global health security itself is a device for the protection of high-income countries, creating a gap of understanding between high-income countries and LMICs (Aldis 2008). While pharmaceutical companies in high-income countries must depend on LMICs for the research and development of vaccines and drugs, LMICs assert that they are denied their fair share of the benefits earned through their contributions, including access to the products themselves. Furthermore, conflicts have occurred as LMICs demand assurance of their share

of benefits prior to providing pathogenic agents (Aldis 2008). This situation has been an underlying factor preventing the development of a global mechanism sufficiently effective for coping with the threat of global infections (Aldis 2008).

The current pandemic has magnified the importance of the research and development, management, and distribution of global public goods including vaccines on health security. The COVID-19 vaccines were developed at an unprecedented speed by using the latest technologies and distributed through the innovative scheme of COVID-19 Vaccine Global Access Facility (COVAX).[15] However, due to an insufficient vaccine supply to COVAX caused by a buyout in high-income countries and delays in financial contributions to COVAX, only half of the goal of delivering vaccines to 20% of the LMIC population by the end of 2021 was achieved. While equitable access to vaccines is also a problem within high-income countries themselves as expressed by the phrase, "No one is safe until all people are safe," still the disparity between high- and low-income countries is widening with the first-dose vaccination rates at 78% in high-income countries yet only 10% in low-income countries (Our World in Data; as of February 1, 2022). Problems related to access to drugs, such as the provision of samples and pathogens for the development of vaccines and intellectual property rights, remain to be solved. Under such circumstances, in Africa, a scheme to manufacture vaccines (Partnership for African Vaccine Manufacturing: PAVM) has been initiated, following the establishment of a framework to secure vaccines by the African initiative (African Vaccine Acquisition Trust: AVAT) (Happi and Nkengasong 2022; African Union and Africa CDC 2021). In addition, local supply systems for emergency goods, such as the Partnership to Accelerate COVID-19 Testing in Africa to secure the availability of test kits, Africa Medical Supplies Platform to support the purchase of essential medical devices, and a database of genome information (Happi and Nkengasong 2022), have been developed. With global international collaboration at a standstill, the development of self-reliance in the African region through all existing resource utilization and joint public-private sector efforts are highly anticipated as LMICs shift from donor-dependent to self-reliant development.

4. Global Health in the Post-COVID-19 Era: The Path Indicated by COVID-19

As discussed above, COVID-19 is completely different in nature from other recent threats of infectious diseases: it has jeopardized people's health and lives not only in LMICs but also in high-income countries, exerted large negative effects on livelihoods and dignity, and caused major setbacks in the realization of human security. Infectious disease is considered an acute threat against health systems, and the international society has repeatedly reformed the framework and system for necessary international health cooperation based on the lessons learned from the experiences of each of the past pandemics. However, we cannot deny that past frameworks have not adequately implemented the most important perspective, i.e., protecting 'vulnerable populations.' Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic has served as an opportunity for promoting the establishment of resilient health systems by further strengthening community engagement aiming to realize human security

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15 An international framework for multinational joint purchase and fair distribution of COVID-19 vaccines.

through the solidarity and voluntary actions of people, the importance of which has long been stressed. Furthermore, the development of new modes of human connection using the latest technologies, such as telehealth, for reinforcing human ties across physical distances has also contributed to a new vision of resilient health systems. Fresh initiatives have also been introduced including the establishment of a new framework for international collaboration, cooperation among LMICs, and self-reliance that aims at breaking free from donor dependency.

In the early stages of the pandemic, the spread of infection and collapse of healthcare services in high-income countries, such as Europe and North America, were considered as a major human security challenge that should protect lives. However, with prolongation of the pandemic, the indirect effects of COVID-19 on health, such as social and economic disturbances and the disruption of essential health services, are spreading in LMICs, where the health systems are already vulnerable. The standstill of essential health services is intricately linked to various social and economic threats and exerts a heavy burden on those at a higher risk of infection and those in vulnerable positions, e.g., women, girls, the elderly, and essential workers including healthcare workers. Effective and concrete measures to ensure access to the healthcare and social services necessary for people to protect themselves in times of crisis must focus on the realities of vulnerable populations. COVID-19 has demonstrated the necessity of advancing more specific and effective measures to cope with vulnerability and interrelated threats in the field of health from the viewpoint of human security.

COVID-19 also poses a major challenge to the current perspective of strengthening the health systems which has been the core concept of global health. Thus, there is an urgent need to establish and implement resilient health systems. According to Kruk et al. (2015), a resilient health system is "the capacity of health actors, institutions, and populations to prepare for and effectively respond to crises; maintain core functions when a crisis hits; and, informed by lessons learned during the crisis, reorganize if conditions require it." The necessity of resilient health systems has been repeatedly voiced after the Ebola virus pandemic in Western Africa in 2014–2016, but the discussion has remained abstract with no concrete action plan in place (Lal et al. 2021). Reinforcement of resilient health systems that can flexibly cope with unknown threats according to the capacity and resources of each country is a pressing issue. Based on the lessons learned from the current pandemic, community engagement and capability enhancement are particularly important for implementation in countries with limited resources above and beyond the reinforcement of protective functions through a top-down approach.

In addition, for the establishment of resilient health systems in LMICs, securing sustainable revenue sources and health resources and their appropriate allocation are matters of great importance. In UHC also, reasonable funding and better allocation of budgets by governments have been cited as important items to be addressed (Bloom et al. 2019). In this era of globalization, high-income countries must renew their awareness that the threat of infections and vulnerability of health systems are problems of all countries and the international society must transcend the interests of individual countries. The international society must further unite to create a mechanism of international collaboration for the sustained securement and fair distribution of financial resources with the participation of diverse actors. In addition, the intra-regional community mechanism that emerged in

Africa should be developed as a new path to self-reliance and collaboration.

In the current pandemic, the gap of understanding about global health security was shown to be widening. It was assumed that countries of the world would unify around a common goal and fight COVID-19 for human security under the banner of health security, but various mechanisms of international collaboration were revealed to be arrangements for high-income countries to protect themselves. Such arrangements were ineffective, the threat of infection to the human race was underestimated, efforts to protect countries and people in vulnerable positions failed, and this failure eventually caused serious damage to high-income countries. The current pandemic is urging the radical reform of global health governance under the principle of human security. Looking ahead, it is necessary to evaluate the initiative and framework of international healthcare to achieve a society permeated with the spirit of human security, i.e., focusing on each individual, placing priority on his/her safety, and valuing peoples' self-motivated efforts to promote their own safety and development, not in terms of concepts alone but together with methods for their implementation. The first step in this direction is the inclusive involvement of various stakeholders from both high-income countries and LMICs. It is imperative to establish a mechanism for global cooperation that engages the PDCA (Plan - Do - Check - Action) cycle, i.e., a mechanism that enables high-income countries and LMICs to amass and share reliable, multifaceted information and practical experience and discuss them in a global arena. Such a mechanism will allow stakeholders to search for concrete measures and to implement them based on the principle of human security. For the realization of such a mechanism, binding financial sources and a framework for the fair distribution of resources will be necessary. Human security is an important concept for the world to recognize their necessity.

In this article, we attempted to define a vision for global health in the post-COVID-19 era by reviewing the COVID-19 pandemic from the perspective of human security. We did not develop an exhaustive discussion of the realities of COVID-19 and associated problems in this article but tried to present an overview of how complex chains of threats during a pandemic can adversely affect vulnerable populations in society. Furthermore, the pandemic demonstrated the importance of human-centered resilient health systems, community engagement in which people and society are voluntarily involved in activities for the prevention of infection and its spread, and mechanisms for the funding and fair distribution of resources. Furthermore, a mechanism that enables all countries of the world and various stakeholders to work together for the realization of these goals is necessary. It is our hope that the discussion in this article elicits new research agendas and that the results of such research contribute to the future direction of global health in the post-COVID-19 era.

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From the Research Field:
Introduction of JICA Ogata Research Institute Research Clusters

The JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development (JICA Ogata Research Institute) is dedicated to conducting policy-oriented research on issues facing developing countries on the ground, and to strengthening Japan's intellectual presence in the international community, following the philosophy of former JICA President Sadako Ogata, who was instrumental in establishing the Institute in 2008. The following are the six research clusters the JICA Ogata Research Institute focuses on.

Politics and Governance

In recent years, there have been increasing cases of armed conflicts, coups *d'etat*, and the rise of authoritarian regimes destroying people's peaceful lives and depriving them of opportunities to pursue the rich potential of life and even threatening their survivals. The Politics and Governance cluster conducts research on the conditions of domestic and international politics and social mechanisms that will allow everyone to enjoy the fulfillment of human security, regardless of the country in which they live.

Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction

There are still many poor people in the world and poverty reduction remains a fundamental issue for development. The Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction cluster conducts research to clarify the effectiveness of policies and initiatives for economic growth and poverty reduction in developing countries, by comparing the groups with/without policy intervention. Our research area includes the economic and social effects of infrastructure projects and financial inclusion in developing countries.

Human Development

With sights set on achieving quality education for all, ensuring access to health services, and empowering people, this research cluster focuses on the examination of the impact of studying abroad for low- to middle-income countries, and the analysis of the history of Japan's international cooperation in education. In the health crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, studies on various aspects of countries' and communities' responses are ongoing to build a resilient Universal Health Coverage System (UHC) and society.

Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Support

Human security and peacebuilding are the two pillars of this research cluster. It analyzes the enabling as well as the inhibiting factors in sustaining peace and delves into the relationship between protection and empowerment in human security. In this way, it explores the effective approaches taken by diverse actors engaged in humanitarian support, sustainable development, and sustaining peace.

Global Environment

Amid the growing importance of addressing climate change and environmental issues, this research cluster focuses on actions toward achieving the SDGs as well as climate actions. Research subjects include economic evaluation methods for climate change adaptation projects, environmental impact assessment, and policies and measures on the environment and climate change for ASEAN countries.

Development Cooperation Strategies

This research cluster conducts research that guides future directions for JICA's programs and strategies. Specifically, it recaps the history of Japan's development and development cooperation and explores their characteristics. Through networking with researchers in other countries, the cluster also ventures into (1) research that contributes to forming future trends in international development cooperation, (2) new subjects such as building peace through sports, and (3) cross-sectoral issues.

Politics and Governance

Asking the Right Questions to Avoid a "Country-Lottery"

State and Human Security

Recently, I came across a question on the Internet, "Why does the mass media only cover depressing news?" Indeed, the world is full of 'depressing news.' It shows people around the world suffering from epidemics, interstate wars, civil wars, and terrorist attacks that have inexcusably taken lives, as well as people suffering from poverty, discrimination, and inequality. Our mixed feelings of anger and impatience about what can be done to combat this absurdity is the driving force to think about the question, "How can we achieve human security?" The JICA Ogata Research Institute established the Politics and Governance cluster to examine the threats to human security posed by international and domestic politics, with 'state (government)' as the key word. The focus on the state may seem odd, since human security is a concept that focuses on 'each individual' and is often discussed in opposition to 'national security.' Furthermore, this question may be amplified by the fact that, as globalization progresses, the activities of 'supranational' or 'ex-national' actors such as multinational corporations, international organizations, international NGOs, and international criminal groups are becoming more active, and the relativization of the state (the dysfunction and decline in importance of the sovereign state) has become a popular topic of conversation.

However, recent incidents, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, the escalation of the U.S.-China confrontation, the increase in authoritarian regimes and their repression of ethnic minorities and dissident groups, and the outbreak of interstate wars that had seemed to have receded with the end of the Cold War, made us reevaluate the importance of the state (government) in realizing human security.

There are two meanings to the phrase 'the state is important.' The first is that the state can and must be the greatest protector of people against a wide variety of threats to human security. In the case of the COVID-19 pandemic, the success or failure of a nation's response to contain its outbreak by establishing medical systems and securing vaccines and other medical supplies (including those procured from overseas), and balancing this with the protection of economic activities, could make the difference between life and death for the people of that nation. Furthermore, as competition among major powers intensifies, it has become more important than ever for many developing countries to create an external environment in which they can achieve human security for their own people through skillful diplomacy that is not at the mercy of the major powers' agendas.

The second meaning of the importance of the state in achieving human security is that the state can be, and increasingly is, the greatest threat to human security. The reality that governments of authoritarian regimes have been killing, oppressing, discriminating against, and impoverishing their own citizens in recent years, and that national leaders have been waging war on their neighbors, leaving not only the citizens of the invaded

country but also their own promising young people to die in cold blood, have all reaffirmed this point.

To paraphrase the term '*oya-gacha*' (which means 'parent lottery'. It is a Japanese internet slang for the idea that the kind of life a child will lead is left to the luck of what kind of parents he or she is born to.), we must consider how to ensure that the realization of human security does not become a '*kuni-gacha*' ('country lottery').

Two Questions

Based on this recognition, the Politics and Governance cluster takes on two questions. The first is the question of how developing countries are using diplomacy to create an environment in which they can focus on achieving human security for their own citizens. This question is addressed in a research project entitled "New Dynamics of Peace and Development in the Indo-Pacific: How Developing Countries Are Trying to Deal with China." The study seeks to understand how developing countries in the Indo-Pacific region seek to build bilateral relations with China and other major powers to ensure their own peace and development (the domestic and international conditions for the realization of human security) in the face of great power competition. Many developing countries have developed skillful diplomacy by attracting aid and investment from China and other major powers to promote their own development, and by managing territorial disputes and other security issues to stabilize regional affairs. The purpose of this study is to elucidate these realities from the perspective of developing countries and contribute to the design and implementation of development cooperation projects.

The second is to explore what values and institutions could be available to support a "good state" that earnestly strives to realize the human security of its own citizens. Since the end of the Cold War, values and institutions such as liberal democracy and the rule of law are said to have gained recognition as 'universal values' shared by all humankind, but as noted above, the number of states that do not respect these values is increasing. It is indisputable that authoritarianism and arbitrary 'rule of man' (the opposite of the rule of law) undermine human security. However, rigidly defined 'universal values,' coupled with the escalation of the U.S.–China confrontation, sometimes pose the danger of being used as a weapon by a major power to justify itself and attack its opponents. Under these circumstances, instead of asking binary questions such as "Can we consider 'universal' values?" and "Can western values be accepted in non-western regions?", it is important to examine the 'flexibly defined universal values' that are convincing, acceptable and practicable to as many people as possible in the world. The JICA Ogata Research Institute aims to identify values that should be shared by all humankind regardless of differences in culture, religion, history, stage of development and so on, and to conduct research aimed at ensuring that 'universal values' are shared by as many countries as possible as a logic of inclusion, not as a logic of selection, division or exclusion.

Asking the Right Questions in the Age of VUCA

Political scientist Yonosuke Nagai said in his final lecture in 1985, "Before we dream of a better world and try to create a paradise on earth, we should seriously consider what we should and should not do to avoid falling into a worse state and to make reality a little more bearable."[1] More than 30 years have passed since then. The era of optimism that heralded the 'End of History' and discussed the 'peace dividend' has quickly passed, and we are now in an era of VUCA (volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous), where the future is uncertain. As the world situation continues to deteriorate, we may be entering an era in which people will become increasingly intolerant and grumpy. Under such

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1   Translated by the author. The lecture was delivered in Japanese.

circumstances, we would like to persistently consider what questions we should ask and what we should do to prevent the world's human security from "falling into a worse state."

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Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction
Using Economics Knowledge in Policy Making

EBPM (Evidence-Based Policy Making) as a Mean to Support the Realization of Human Security

We conduct various types of research using our knowledge of economics to contribute to Evidence-Based Policy Making (EBPM). EBPM is an approach that rigorously examines the effects of individual policies and implements those that are effective based on evidence. JICA's mission is to achieve human security and quality growth, and EBPM is an important element in verifying the effectiveness and appropriateness of various policies and measures and in further improving them.

For rigorous verification of the effects of policies used in EBPM, a methodology known as 'causal inference,' which uses statistical and econometric methods in particular, has developed in recent years. The 2019 Nobel Prize in Economics was awarded to Abhijit Banerjee (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Esther Duflo (the same), and Michael Kremer (then at Harvard University) for their work in introducing such a methodology to development economics.

What is the concept of statistical causal inference? Imagine a clinical trial. In developing a new drug, it is not sufficient to observe only those who took the new drug and determine that the drug was effective by looking at their condition before and after use of the drug. The person may have recovered over time regardless of whether or not they took the drug. Or the specific person who took the drug may have happened to have unique conditions that enabled him or her to recover even without the drug. Therefore, in a clinical trial to measure the pure effect of that drug, those who are given the real one are randomly selected by lottery and they are compared with those who are given a placebo or fake drug.

In verifying the effectiveness of development projects, as in clinical trials, the method called Randomized Controlled Trial (RCT) is increasingly used rather than simple before-after comparison of development projects. In RCT, the project area is randomly selected and compared with the area where the project is not implemented. In reality, it is not always possible to use such a method when implementing development projects. Therefore, various methods such as 'Difference in Differences (DID)' and 'Regression Discontinuity Design (RDD)' have been developed as alternative methods. The difference-in-differences method obtain and compare data at two points in time, before and after the introduction of a policy, for two groups: the intervention group (the group subjected to the policy) and the control group (the group not subjected to the policy). By doing so, DID can eliminate the effects contributed just by the passage of time. The regression discontinuity design is used, for example, to estimate the impact of a policy of lowering the co-payment rate of medical expenses only to those aged 70 or more and to know whether or not such a policy affects the frequency of hospital visits. If we compare the 75-year-old group benefitting from the policy of lowered co-payment with the 65-year-old group without the policy, the difference in frequency of hospital visit may be not just affected by the difference of copayment amount but also by the difference of health status between the two groups. However, if we compare only the 69- and 70-year-old groups, which are close to the threshold for policy applicability, there are few significant differences in health status and we are more likely to be able to identify the pure effect of the policy to lower the co-payment rate for people over 70. Researchers

are expected to discuss these differences with various stakeholders of the development projects and determine what combination of methods will be used to design and conduct an effective study.

Impact Evaluation on the Ground

From the perspective of human security, we would like to give an example of a study that illustrates the importance of such an approach. Elimination of the burden of water fetching labor carried out by women and children is one of the important policies on the agenda for development. Because water sources are often located far away, women and children can spend long hours every day fetching water for their livelihoods, which leaves them little time for other livelihood activities, or for studying and attending school. As a result, they are deprived of opportunities to develop and exercise their abilities, and the negative effects are said to be long-lasting. Water supply projects are thus expected to alleviate this burden of water fetching labor.

But have these effects really been realized? We conducted a survey on the deep well project in Zambia, which JICA supported through grant aid, to verify what changes the construction of deep wells had brought about in households. We compared the area where the project was implemented with similar areas without the project. The results showed that the availability of clean water had a desirable health impact on the project area, such as a five percentage point reduction in the frequency of diarrheal diseases for preschool children. On the other hand, the demand for water at home for cooking and laundry increased as the water source became closer, which in turn increased the burden of fetching water, and the school attendance rate of children did not necessarily improve (Shimamura et al. 2022).

The strength of empirical research using the statistical causal inference method is that it reveals the results that were not initially anticipated. Even if not all desirable results are proven, we accept them and make use of them in our next policies and projects by considering additional measures to mitigate negative effects. In this way, EBPM would turn the concept of human security into appropriate and effective policies.

Challenges of EBPM

EBPM practice is not always smooth. First of all, setting a rigorous research design and the ensuring the smooth implementation of the project do not always go hand in hand. The research team and the project implementation team need to discuss and refine the research design carefully. In addition, the implementation phase of the research often requires project management skills as a rigorous research project is consist with laborious works such as interview surveys for a large number of households in a village and data entry and maintenance. Furthermore, in order for EBPM to flourish, it is equally important not only to compile research papers, but also to consider how to communicate the findings of such papers in plain language to policy makers and practitioners so that the lessons can be reflected in the next policy or project.

In addition, EBPM more broadly refers to the proper use of statistical data for policy making. In many developing countries, even when statistical data are available, government agencies often fail to make full use of them. We also work with the staff of the central bank in Cambodia to support the use of the results of data analysis in policy making and to improve the research capacity of the staff (see Aiba and Okuda 2021; Aiba et al. 2021). The central bank and the concept of finance may seem remote from the concept of human security. However, the ability of poor people to have accounts in financial institutions and access to funds when necessary is called 'financial inclusion,' and is an essential element in improving the standard of living of people in developing countries and in contributing to human security.

Further Exploration of Research Areas

Finally, it is important to point out that EBPM and its main tool, statistical causal inference, are not sufficient requirements by themselves for achieving human security and quality growth in developing countries. Policy-making and policy implementation in the real world will require a wider range of knowledge, from political science and law to the natural sciences. Moreover, knowledge of economics other than causal inference is also useful for effective development policy making. In fact, impact evaluation built on causal inference tends to skew toward education and health projects, where the methods are easier to apply. The method has not yet been fully applied to topics such as measuring the impact of large-scale infrastructure development and we will try to improve the applicability of the methods to such areas. We would like to conduct research on wider themes such as national development and growth strategies, which are a concern for practitioners in developing countries.

Measuring the effectiveness of educational projects through questionnaires at an elementary school

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Human Development

Building a Society that Fosters Opportunities for each Individual to Nurture and Fulfill their Potential

The research in the Human Development Cluster covers a wide range of activities, including quantitative and qualitative empirical research on JICA's approach to cooperation, historical studies, and policy recommendations. Here, we present some research projects in the fields of health and education from the perspective of human security practice.

Health: "Ghana EMBRACE (Ensure Mothers and Babies Regular Access to Care) Implementation Research"[1]

Healthcare is the foundation of human security, protecting and nurturing people's lives and empowering people to live with dignity. Seeking effective ways to ensure every person's access to quality health services when needed is one of the most important issues that JICA has been addressing. The "Ghana EMBRACE Implementation Research" is one of such examples of JICA's efforts focusing on the human security perspective.

According to the survey conducted before the intervention of this research, the percentage of woman-child pairs who received all key maternal and child health services[2] from the pregnancy to the postpartum period (Continuum of Care (CoC) completion) was only 8% in rural Ghana (Kikuchi et al. 2015). JICA, together with Ghana Health Service and the University of Tokyo, conducted a randomized controlled trial to evaluate the effectiveness of an integrated package of CoC interventions centered on a 'CoC card' on CoC completion, morbidity, and mortality outcomes of woman-child pairs in Ghana, taking a cue from the Maternal and Child Health Handbook program in Japan and other home-based records.[3] The results showed that the intervention package[4] increased CoC completion and reduced maternal mortality after the trial period. This effect was also evident among low-income women, who tend to be left behind in maternal and child health service access (Shibanuma et al. 2018).

How were these results achieved? This question can be addressed from the perspectives of 'empowerment' and 'protection.' First, the design and usage of the CoC card were devised to increase the interest, understanding, and motivation to act in Ghanaian mothers. Specifically, a gold star sticker, which has a special meaning for Ghanaians as symbolized by the national flag, was used when mothers and their children received the health services properly and on time to visualize their history

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1   This section is written by Saeda Makimoto, Principal Research Fellow, and Mayuna Kajino, Research Officer.
2   The services consist of (1) the antenatal care (ANC) delivered at least four times, (2) delivery assisted by skilled birth attendants (SBAs), and (3) postnatal care (PNC) delivered within 48 hours, at seven days, and at six weeks postpartum (Kikuchi et al. 2015).
3   Ghana had utilized two home-based records separated for mothers and children for few decades, but the newborn period was not included in either of these records. The CoC card was designed to serve as the supplementary tool that strengthens linkage of use of these two home-based records.
4   This intervention includes (1) activities implemented in all sites (the distribution and use of the CoC card, CoC orientation for health workers, and home visits for postpartum checkups) and (2) activities implemented only in some sites (24-hour retention of women and newborns at a health facility after delivery).

of the receipt of important health care at a glance. Health education was then provided using the cards, and by keeping them close at hand, expectant mothers and their families had more opportunities to acquire the necessary knowledge about pregnancy, childbirth, and infant care, and were also encouraged to exercise more autonomy in visiting health facilities and self-care at home. Along with the introduction of the CoC cards, improvements were also made to the government's maternal and child health service delivery system through the provision of maternity waiting facilities and motorbikes for home visits, making it easier for mothers to access care and encouraging higher CoC completion rates (Shibanuma et al. 2021).

This research demonstrates the effectiveness of a combined approach using empowerment and protection to boost the quality of health services reaching each mother-child pair. The results were promptly fed back to Ghanian policymakers, leading to the development and nationwide deployment of the Integrated Maternal and Child Health Handbook. We believe that promoting research projects like this, engaging both community and policy levels and utilizing both development cooperation and research functions that are characteristics of JICA, are important for human security in practice.

Educational Development and Human Security[5]

Educational development is also an important foundation for human security. *The 2003 Commission on Human Security report* linked basic education to human security, noting that adult literacy rates are low worldwide. It noted that basic education is not only effective in increasing health and income, but also has broad benefits as a means to achieve human security, including understanding and invoking one's rights (Commission on Human Security 2003). The expansion of basic education was already a central issue in international educational development at the time. The "World Declaration on Education for All (EFA)" made in 1990 set goals for the international community to meet the basic learning needs of all people, calling for basic education to be recognized as a means for them to reach their full potential, and work and live with dignity. Since then, EFA has become a major trend in educational development. As enrollment in primary education improved significantly in developing countries, a priority for achieving EFA has become extending enrollment to children who still remain out of school. The "EFA Global monitoring report 2010: Reaching the marginalized" focused on marginalization in education that is a form of acute and persistent disadvantage rooted in underlying social inequities (UNESCO 2010). This report reflects the fact that the international community should pay more attention to marginalized groups. Thus, since the 1990s, educational development, with its emphasis on the development of individual capacities and the goal of leaving no one behind, has been positioned as one of the most important initiatives for achieving human security.

How, then, has human security been addressed in Japan's international cooperation in education? One of the traditional factors defining Japan's international cooperation in education is the philosophy of *hitozukuri* (human resource development). This is rooted in the concept that human resource development is key to nation-building, based on Japan's belief in its own development (Kayashima et al. 2022). Thus, early international cooperation in education scoped higher education in medicine, engineering and agriculture and vocational training in manufacturing, agriculture and fisheries. This attitude gradually changed under the influence of the aforementioned global trend in educational development starting in 1990 and the incorporation of human security into Japan's development cooperation policy in the early 2000s. In 2002, the Japanese government announced its first basic education assistance policy, "the Basic Education for Growth Initiative (BEGIN)," in which

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5   This section is written by Atsushi Tsujimoto, Research Officer.

it expressed its commitment to EFA and asserted the importance of international cooperation in education from the perspective of human development and human security.[6] In fact, during the 1990s and 2000s, JICA's cooperation in basic education greatly expanded, and since 2000, projects for literacy education, female education, education for disabled children, support for education in post-conflict areas and areas surrounding conflict-affected countries, as well as the post-disaster reconstruction of education facilities and services have also increased (Kayashima et al. 2022).[7] The fact that human security has become a central tenet of Japan's development cooperation has fostered the expansion of the scope of Japan's international cooperation in education from human resource development for nation-building to education for the well-being and dignity of each individual.

In summary, educational development has been closely related to human security in both philosophy and practice. In the area of human development, we studied the history of Japan's international cooperation in education and compiled the findings in *Japan's International Cooperation in Education: History and Prospects* (2019 (Japanese) and 2022 (English)).

Conclusions

The above discussion illustrates the relationship between the two pillars of the Human Development Cluster; health and education, and human security. Health and education are not only deeply related to human security, but they are also areas that are very much challenged by the current COVID-19 pandemic. We will continue to conduct research that contributes to the realization of human security, while remaining sensitive to new challenges that arise in changing times.[8]

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6   However, this does not mean that Japan's approach to international cooperation in education has completely shifted. In the 2002 Basic Education for Growth Initiative (BEGIN), the 2003 ODA Charter, and the 2015 Development Cooperation Charter, the idea of human resource development for nation-building also appears.

7   Since JICA has long supported technical cooperation projects with an emphasis on the capacity development of counterparts, it was not easy to implement new types of projects undertaken at a time when such downside risks were becoming major issues. See Tsujimoto (2021) for an in-depth discussion of this situation.

8   For more information on research conducted by the Human Development Cluster on the COVID-19 and health, see Komasawa et al.'s *COVID-19 and Healthcare - From the perspective of Human Security* in this report.

Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Support
Focusing on the People in Vulnerable Situations

As elaborated in *History of Human Security Research: Efforts of JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development*, by Muto et al. in this report, this research cluster conducts studies that place human security front and center, such as the research project "Human Security in Practice: East Asian Experiences" and the English translation of the book *SDGs and Japan: Human Security Indicators for Leaving No One Behind*.[1] With regard to peacebuilding, the cluster carries out a research project entitled "Contextualizing International Cooperation for Sustaining Peace: Adaptive Peacebuilding Pathways," as well as a research project on the subject of violent extremism. Furthermore, our research projects covered the linkage between development cooperation and humanitarian assistance, as well as gender-based violence, among others. In order to secure human security and achieve sustaining peace, it is necessary to understand what are the impediments not only at the national level but also at the local, regional, and global levels. To seek solutions, cooperation among various academic disciplines and collaboration between theory and practice is important. In this inaugural number of this report, we would like to introduce the latest human security research conducted in this research cluster.

Exploring Empowerment: Understanding the Bottom-up Element to Human Security
Examining Human Security in Insecure Times

Among the cornerstone projects within the Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Support cluster is the critical exploration and analysis of human security. With its lens focused on East Asia, previous studies by the cluster have successfully identified the norms and understanding of the human security concept and its practices in the region through well-noted cases of human insecurities and issues. The critical results highlighted from the past studies include the evident presence of "protection," human security's operation framework on how people are secured from the threat from the top-down. Nonetheless, while the process of bottom-up "empowerment" based on local ownership has been activated, it has yet to be thoroughly examined.

In the research institute's continuous pursuit of human security, a subsequent phase was launched in December of 2019, aimed at gaining a comprehensive understanding of the human security concept and its implementation by analyzing the empowerment of marginalized groups and vulnerable communities facing various and complex human security threats. Concurrent with implementing this research project, the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic stood as a significant marker for rethinking the human security approach. While the pandemic inarguably heightened people's insecurities, it also exposed how marginalized and vulnerable communities have been coping with diverse pre-pandemic challenges. Hence, the research acknowledges that the onset of the

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1   This first paragraph introducing the Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Support cluster is written by Ako Muto, Executive Senior Research Fellow of JICA Ogata Research Institute. Following introduction of the research project is written by the author.

pandemic only reinforced the myriad of insecurities that vulnerable groups and communities confront every day.

While COVID-19 is a significant addition to the research theme, at the same time, it is a crucial impediment to conducting the research. Adapting to the circumstances, this "Human Security and the Practices of Empowerment in East Asia" research project is being conducted at two levels to make timely contributions and systematically present human security's combined protection and empowerment policy framework within the present limitations of the pandemic.

Human Insecurities during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Eight Case Studies

This research project covers eight case studies from several countries. During the COVID-19 pandemic, human insecurities have been directly translated to the surging threats seen in the intensified poverty of the many urban poor in Vietnam's economic hub, Ho Chi Minh City. As in other parts of the world, this group is impacted by the lockdown restrictions that hamper their spatial mobility to conduct work. Another problem, COVID-19's severe consequences for food insecurity, also affects those displaced by conflict and disasters in Central Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia.

During this pandemic, multiple and interconnected human insecurities are also occurring in particular geographies, evident in the three case studies on the Philippines. Health security issues extend to challenges related to accessing and providing sexual and reproductive health services during the pandemic and the systemic challenge of the undervalued feminized health system and social welfare service delivery. This theme complements the case study on gender that looks at the salience of networking in operationalizing empowerment by advancing the country's Women, Peace, and Security agendas during the pandemic. And, equally important is the paradigm shift in the Mindanao peace process and its impact on the internally displaced persons in Marawi City and neighboring areas.

Other timely and relevant human security issues during this pandemic in this project are case studies on the environment, aging, and displacement. The increased amount of plastic waste from PPE (Protective Personal Equipment) has affected the environment and livelihood of people living in the vicinity of the Citarum River in Indonesia. Likewise, the aggravated social inequality among poor and older people in Thailand is marginalized by the state-centric socio-economic recovery program and digitalization of pandemic aid. Lastly, COVID-19 re-emphasized the various insecurities for diverse, vulnerable groups, including displaced people confronting the dual disasters of natural-hazard induced displacement and the pandemic, even for a developed country like Japan.

In Search of Empowerment During a Crisis

To date, the research project has completed eight Working Reports providing snapshots of the various human insecurities of East Asia's vulnerable/marginalized groups and communities. These emphasize the indiscriminate impact of COVID-19 that compounds the existing vulnerabilities of those experiencing poverty, conflict, displacement, and even for health care frontliners. While some countries are finding success, others are still struggling to navigate a clear and practical plan to mitigate the spread of the virus with its recurrent surges and secure post-pandemic recovery. The research project steps into the next level of eliciting empowerment practices at the grassroots level among the diverse, vulnerable populations and learning about the challenges and good practices adhering to the Human Security Agenda by examining and analyzing which factors promote or impede the empowerment of vulnerable populations.

This research project on empowerment is based on JICA's mission of human security and quality growth. Furthermore, it can validate the effectiveness of people-centered development cooperation

in light of 'empowering individuals, organizations, and societies to increase their capabilities,' as elaborated in *Revisiting Human Security in Today's Global Context*, published in 2019 by JICA to address the new challenges. Likewise, the analysis of empowerment practices can support the effective delivery of appropriate intervention and activities to genuinely empower communities, promote a more participatory approach to development, and shift the development network from assistance to cooperation.

A photo from one of the field visits for the disaster displacement case study. (Photo taken: Oct. 12, 2021, Sakura-dome temporary housing, Kuma Mura, Kumamoto).

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Global Environment

Sustainable Development and Human Security

What are the Global Environmental Issues?

At the 26th Conference of the Parties (COP26) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) held in 2021, the international community raised awareness of the climate change crisis and agreed to set a goal to limit future temperature increases to 1.5°C below pre-industrial levels. It also confirmed that climate change is a significant factor in the occurrence of natural disasters worldwide.

In addition, the relevance and complexity of issues between human activities and the global environment, such as marine plastic debris, chemical pollution, and water resource problems, is only increasing. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has also provoked a debate that has prompted a reconsideration of the relationship between nature and humans. The international community is now facing various threats arising from global environmental problems, and how considering the global environment from the perspective of human security has become a fundamental concern.

This debate about human security and environmental issues has a long history. In 1968, Hardin reported on the 'tragedy of the commons,' in which cattle grazing solely in their self-interest eventually leads to fields so degraded that cattle cannot be kept there. The Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* in 1972 reported that "if current trends such as population growth and environmental pollution continue, development on the planet will reach its limits within 100 years." Such a report has many implications for current debates related to the global environment and is still cited in various studies.

Based on these scientific reports, the international community has been working on several initiatives, including the Stockholm Declaration issued by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972, and the report, *Our Common Future*, issued by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. The latter defined sustainable development as "development that satisfies the needs of present generations while meeting the needs of future generations," and presented the cornerstone of thinking that would later evolve into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In 1992, the United Nations Conference on the Environment was held, and *the Rio Declaration* was adopted as the international community's central philosophy and the principle of action for conserving the global environment. The deepening awareness of environmental issues in the international community is a testament to the pursuit of creating and maintaining a society in which human beings can live without threat to their survival, livelihood, and dignity for this and future generations, and is deeply related to the need to discuss human security.

Further Challenges to Sustainable Development

However, the challenges and issues of 'sustainable development' have become more complex. The Rio Declaration defines sustainable development as central to human concerns and to be taken up by human society while preserving the global environment. Based on this international consensus, what exactly should human society do to put it into practice? No clear answer has been found, as evidenced by the fact that global warming cannot be stopped. In addition, sustainable development is the concept of building a bridge to future generations, and the SDGs have added the key phrase 'leave no

one behind.' To create a society that will last for future generations, for example, it is necessary to phase out the use of fossil fuels. However, fossil fuels are indispensable to human life in modern society. A 'leave no one behind' energy transition will therefore not be easy, and in the short term may threaten human security. It is difficult to reconcile the enjoyment of safety and comfort in the present with social transformation for future generations. The international community must once again confront the questions of what human-centered development is, what human security is, and how to put them into practice.

Research for the Achievement of SDGs and Human Security Challenges of the Global Environment Cluster

What kind of research is needed to rethink human security in the face of crises in the global environment and the increasing complexity of responses? Research is required to continue to identify risks and uncertainties to understand the crises to the global environment and human society as objectively as possible, to deepen understanding within society, and to formulate policies that will realize environmental (ecosystem) conservation based on scientific evidence "to lead to action in the real world." As an effort to scientifically clarify the risks in the first point, this cluster conducts research on the effects of climate change. Global warming is said to have a greater impact on developing countries, which are more vulnerable in terms of water resources, climate-sensitive industrial structures, and financial constraints. Therefore, development cooperation to strengthen adaptation to climate change is extremely important. On the other hand, the effects of climate change are uncertain, and it is therefore equally important to scientifically and objectively verify whether JICA's cooperation is truly having an effect on adaptation to climate change. In the "Research on Economic Evaluation of Adaptation Measures to Climate Change under Uncertainty," research was conducted on methods to evaluate the effects of adaptation projects from an economic perspective in advance, using JICA's irrigation cooperation projects as a case study.

As to the second point, or research for policy formation, "Research on the Challenging Issues of Environment/Climate Change Institution and Policy under the SDGs Regime" is underway. With the scientific uncertainty surrounding many environmental issues, it is important to formulate policies based on the idea of preventative measures. For example, even if it is known that reducing carbon dioxide emissions will mitigate climate change, many challenges remain in implementing policies that will lead to actual reductions. Even if recycling is earth-friendly, it is not easy to create a mechanism to limit the circulation of various products in the current consumer society, which produces and consumes products from raw materials. What are the issues that need to be addressed to make environmental policies more effective? This project aims to make policy recommendations by conducting case studies on environmental and climate change policy initiatives and their implementation status in ASEAN countries.

What is Human Security as Seen through Research in the Global Environment Cluster?

An important point that emerges from research in the global environment cluster is that it is very difficult to formulate and implement effective policies based solely on scientifically presented correctness in the complex relationships in the real world. To accurately grasp and analyze this complexity and respond appropriately to it, it is important and useful to take a human security approach, a way of thinking that places each individual human being at the center and focuses on his or her vulnerabilities and the content of threats.

In his book *How Do You Live?* Genzaburo Yoshino has the protagonist, Kopel-kun, speak of "the

relationship between human molecules, the law of the net," suggesting the importance of the involvement of many people in a person's life. This idea equals Brady in 2021 to question the importance of empathy, not sympathy, in understanding the feelings, experiences, and ideas of others, in *Putting on Other People's Shoes*. As the idea of sustainable development evolved from the Stockholm Declaration, through the Rio Declaration, into the SDGs, the question was always how to think about the relationship between each individual human being and how to generate empathy from that for each other. Empathy, in other words, is coexistence based on the existence of people in different situations, each with their own vulnerabilities, and facing diverse and multilayered problems, which is exactly in line with the concept of human security.

The implementation of research in the global environment cluster and its recommendations are linked to how to face head-on the complexity brought about by human activities, how to objectively view the relationship between people and human society from both positive and negative perspectives, and how to realize human security in the midst of such complexity.

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Development Cooperation Strategies

Exploring Approaches to Development Cooperation from a Human Security Perspective

Behind the need for development cooperation, there are people whose human security is threatened due to various circumstances. JICA, as an implementing agency of development cooperation, has been working to address the threats faced by people in developing countries even before the concept of 'human security' became mainstream. The Development Cooperation Strategies Cluster of the JICA Ogata Research Institute has been conducting various studies to draw useful implications on how development cooperation should be delivered and thus contribute to the promotion of human security. In this section, we introduce some of these endeavors and discuss the relationship between the Development Cooperation Strategies Cluster and human security.

Unraveling Field Initiatives

Academic research dealing with JICA's development cooperation is a major pillar of the cluster's activities. JICA has been supporting small-scale horticultural farmers in Kenya since 2006 through the SHEP (Smallholder Horticulture Empowerment and Promotion) approach. This approach aims to improve farmers' farming and growing skills and thereby increase their income through converting their mindset from 'grow and sell' to 'grow to sell.' The JICA Ogata Research Institute has empirically analyzed the impact of this approach through a randomized controlled trial covering about 4,000 farmers and proved that farmers' horticultural income increased by 70 percent in two years under the program. In particular, the households of those considered vulnerable in terms of human security, such as women and the elderly, were found to reap greater benefits of the SHEP approach (Shimizutani et al. 2021).

In contrast to research using economic methods, we applied sociological methods in analyzing the empowerment of women who participated in JICA's "One Village One Product (OVOP) project" in the Kyrgyz Republic implemented in partnership with a Japanese corporation. Through interviews with local stakeholders, especially felt producers and their families, it was found that women who acquired skills to produce high quality products through participation in the project realized the enhancement of not only the economic income ('freedom from want'), but also social status and self-respect ('dignity'). On the other hand, the research also pointed out that women's choices in relation to their participation in business and their empowerment status depend on their individual circumstances, such as the availability of family support, and that donors should pay attention to such socio-cultural influences in providing support in collaboration with businesses (Shimoda 2022).

Local market in Kenya. The SHEP approach encourages farmers to grow crops that sell well based on their understanding of market dynamics. (Photo: JICA / Takeshi Kuno)

These academic research findings are highly suggestive for practitioners when reflecting on the desirable direction of future development cooperation.

In addition, the JICA Ogata Research Institute publishes the *Project History* series, which introduces the trajectories of various JICA projects to the general public from the perspective of the practitioners involved in those projects in an easy-to-understand manner. 34 books have been published so far. Many titles of the series deal with people facing human security threats, such as Pakistani citizens who are denied access to formal education, Bangladeshi youth suffering from a high unemployment rate, and Thai residents tormented by the health hazards caused by environmental pollution from a nearby industrial park. The books depict vivid and dynamic stories of stakeholders involved in projects supporting such threatened populations, namely the provision of non-formal education opportunities, the introduction of a national certification system that provides the youth with opportunities for serving as IT personnel, and the establishment of an environment pollutant registration system (Fukuda et al. 2021; Kano 2021; Ohashi 2021).

There is a common thread that runs through these stories; that is the process where, although the existing systems and customs often emerge as an obstacle in tackling human security challenges, collaborative efforts between Japanese experts and their counterparts, based on passion and mutual trust, generate innovative ideas that lead to a path to resolving such challenges. We believe that documenting past efforts with a long time horizon and a broad perspective and disseminating them as an attractive narrative would not only provide suggestions for the future direction of development cooperation, but also lead to the expansion of development cooperation players committed to the promotion of human security.

Tackling Today's Challenges

In addition to the research that delves into initiatives at the field level and draws implications for the implementation of development cooperation, the JICA Ogata Research Institute is also engaged in research aiming to appropriately cope with more contemporary human security threats. For example, the Institute conducted six rounds of joint research with the Brookings Institution, a prominent U.S. think tank. The cutting edge findings were published as books, incorporating insights from overseas researchers and practitioners. The most recent joint study, titled "Breakthrough: The Promise of Frontier Technologies for Sustainable Development," opened the horizon for innovative initiatives using digital technologies. For example, one chapter of that book provides an overview of the use of technology for curbing deforestation, as an important climate change mitigation measure, referring to JICA's cooperation in Brazil and other countries. It demonstrated how the use of satellites that emit radar waves penetrating thick clouds contributed to the detection of illegal logging during the rainy season. It also discussed the importance of combining the 'eyes of technology' with the 'eyes of the people' by introducing the latest initiatives such as the release of satellite data for strengthened monitoring of illegal logging and the use of artificial intelligence to predict illegal logging (Okonogi et al. 2022). This research illustrates the effectiveness of frontier technologies in addressing today's threat of climate change and protecting people's livelihoods.

The human security challenges that JICA should address do not arise only in developing countries. For example, how to effectively accept foreign nationals visiting Japan from abroad and how to realize diversity and social inclusion of migrants in Japanese society are major issues today. These are areas where JICA, with its accumulated experience in developing countries, can make a contribution. Workers from overseas and their families are sometimes placed in economically vulnerable positions and are often at risk of having their dignity threatened by unreasonable discrimination in society. To ensure their human security, the JICA Ogata Research Institute has

begun related research. The "Study on Diversity and Social Inclusion of Migrant Workers in Japanese Society - Our World in 2030/40," was conducted to facilitate the discussion on the acceptance of foreign workers in Japan. It (1) estimated the supply/demand gap of foreign workers in the mid- to long-term, and (2) analyzed the current situations and challenges of the initiatives for accepting foreigners by central/local governments and private corporations.

In another example, the "Study about Movements and Networks of Japanese Descendants between Japan and Latin America", the migration of Japanese descendants (Nikkei) is analyzed from the perspectives of their (1) prewar and postwar migration to Latin America, (2) return to Japan during Japan's rapid economic growth period, and (3) subsequent return to Latin America. The aim is to explore the circulation of experience and knowledge brought about by the network of immigrants linking Latin American Nikkei communities and Japan, and the transformation of the identity and culture of Nikkei with Latin American roots. Through this kind of research on the history of migration, we can provide perspectives that contribute to the promotion of social diversification and regional revitalization in Japan today. We also hope to share with the general public the research results on what sentiments Nikkei migrants have had in moving across borders and what kind of lives they have led, and thus to provide opportunities to think together about social diversification that pays due attention to the dignity of migrants to Japan.

Contributing to the Promotion of Human Security through Multifaceted Thinking

The above is only a part of the activities of the Development Cooperation Strategies Cluster. This cluster rarely addresses extreme human security challenges that directly threaten people's lives, such as armed conflict or pandemics caused by infectious diseases like COVID-19. However, there are potential threats in the daily lives of people (especially vulnerable groups such as women and the elderly), and by focusing on these threats from the perspective of human security, we can guide development cooperation in ways that will help ensure the well-being and dignity of people. We are committed to continuously producing research results that contribute to the promotion of human security, with multifaceted perspectives of (1) flexibly envisioning the future building upon the lessons from past experiences, (2) addressing development challenges with interdisciplinary viewpoints and various research methods, and (3) collaborating with researchers and practitioners in Japan and abroad to promote knowledge co-creation.

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