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Poverty Reduction and Human Security Incorporating the Concept of Human Security into Poverty Reduction

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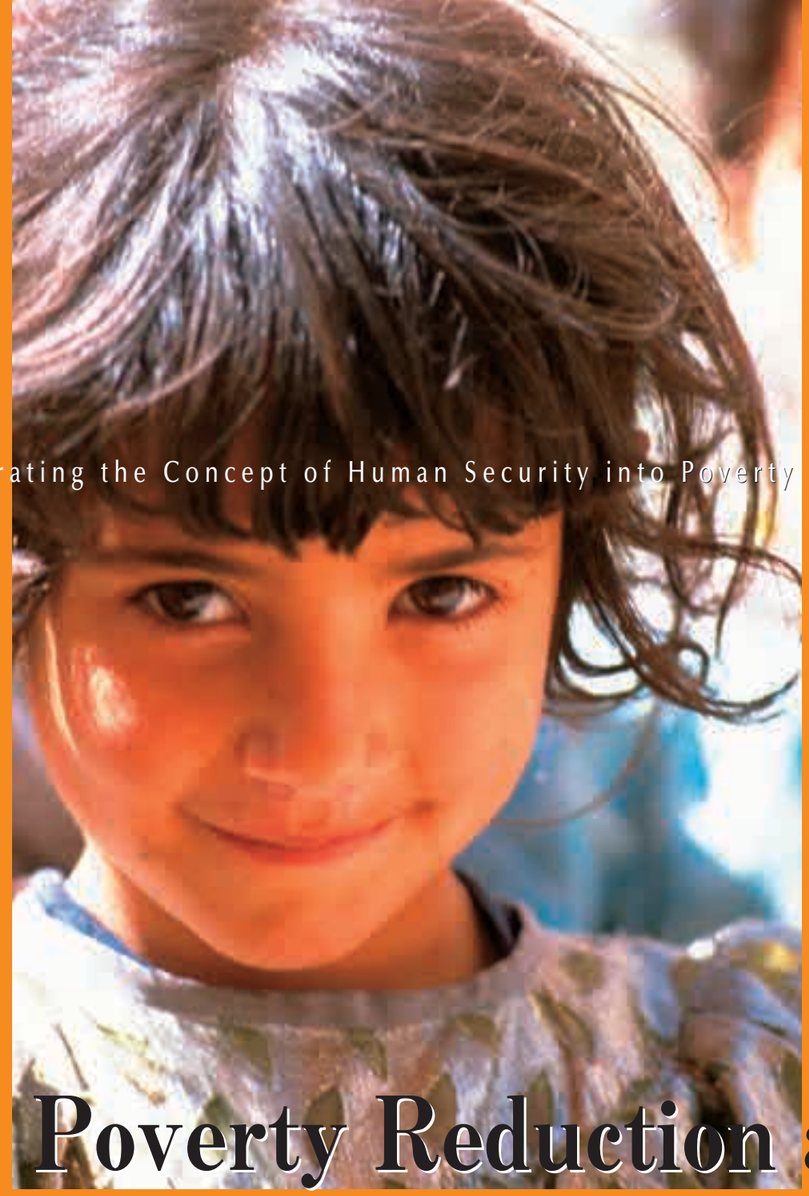

Incorporating the Concept of Human Security into Poverty Reduction

Poverty Reduction and Human Security

March 2006
Institute for International Cooperation
Japan International Cooperation Agency

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The analysis and recommendations of this report do not necessarily reflect the official views of JICA. It is the fruit of a collaborative effort by the study group on "Poverty Reduction and Human Security," organized by JICA.

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Foreword

The globalization of economies and information advances at a rapid pace today, and interdependence continues to strengthen amongst the international community. At the same time, a surge of new challenges threaten the security of people's livelihoods and their survival. Global threats include terrorism, environmental destruction and HIV/AIDS. Humanitarian crises such as civil wars and crime are equally on the rise. The gap between rich and poor countries, and the wealthy and the poor, is continuing to widen, often causing further strife, violence and conflicts in the world arena.

In the past, it was thought that world peace and security could be preserved by maintaining and expanding national security. However, meeting these different, complex and serious challenges today requires a new philosophy and a set of actions that transcend conventional frameworks at the national level. "Human security" complements national security; it protects people and society from multiple threats affecting human life, livelihood and dignity. Human security aims to strengthen people's ability to achieve freedom and to realize their potentials.

In March 2004, as part of its organizational reform, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) introduced the concept of "human security" as one of its three pillars of reform, along with "field-oriented approach," and "effectiveness, efficiency and speed." Since then, JICA has been promoting the concept of human security in its activities. Recognizing poverty as a major development issue, JICA has traditionally pursued cooperation policies and approaches aimed towards the goal of poverty reduction. We must ensure that we incorporate the "human security" perspective into practice at the field level so that aid reaches those who suffer from poverty, without fail.

Against this backdrop, a study group was formed in January 2004 to address the issue of the human security perspective to poverty reduction. With Professor Hideki Esho of Hosei University, Faculty of Economics, as its chair, this study group comprised nine other committee members, a taskforce and other resource persons. A total of ten study sessions were held. This report is a summary of the discussion paper that outlines the results of the study and identifies important priorities for JICA as we pursue poverty reduction from the perspective of human security. I hope this process will be strengthened through future activities by JICA and the Japanese government, together with continued study and research on the subject.

I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to Chairperson Esho, committee members, the taskforce and resource persons for their unremitting efforts in compiling this report. I would also like to thank all of those who participated in the discussions for the study.

November 2005

Seiji KOJIMA
Vice President
Japan International Cooperation Agency

Preface by the Chairperson

This report is a summary of the results from ten study sessions on poverty reduction and human security held over a one-year period from January 2004.

The Millennium Summit of 2000 declared "poverty reduction (eradication of extreme poverty and hunger)" as one of the most significant Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Japan's "Official Development Assistance Charter (new ODA charter)" revised in 2003 also identified "human security" as one of its five fundamental principles. Following this, Japan's "Medium-term Policy on ODA" formulated in February 2005 defines human security to mean "focusing on individual people and building societies in which everyone can live with dignity by protecting and empowering individuals and communities that are exposed to actual or potential threats." In addition, the Policy states that "Japan will address the four priority issues of poverty reduction, sustainable growth, addressing global issues, and peace building, bearing in mind the perspective of human security, in order to reduce the vulnerabilities faced by people, communities and countries." This study group report focuses on the significance of the human security approach that Japan regards as vital to achieve the important MDG of poverty reduction, and on the direction that our country's poverty assistance should take to incorporate the human security perspective. The point of departure for the series of discussions was the *Final Report on the Commission on Human Security* (2003) (the "*Ogata - Sen Report*"). [1]

The Japanese version of this report comprises a main text and seven supplementary analyses. The main text is divided into three parts. Part I is titled "Overview: Poverty Reduction and Human Security," followed by Part II, "Country and Regional Analyses towards Achieving a Human Security Oriented Poverty Reduction," and Part III, "Major Issues on Poverty Reduction and Human Security."

Part I explores the background to poverty reduction and human security in the context of international development assistance in recent years, as well as how human security has become a significant perspective for Japan's aid policy. Next, the study group identifies "freedom from want" as its focus. Those who suffer from "want" are exposed to different types of threats. Recognizing the diversity of threats, the study categorizes them into extraordinary, or major threats, and those that are imbedded into the daily lives of people. The significance of a human security approach is that it focuses on security at the individual, rather than national, level. Thus, incorporating a human security approach to poverty reduction means to understand poverty as an issue that confronts an individual, rather than as an aggregate concept. Another characteristic of the human security approach is that it is dynamic, focusing on risks and vulnerabilities that threaten people's lives, whereas past studies on poverty tended to be static analyses examining one point in time. Those who are afflicted by chronic poverty are also exposed to downside risks. Thus, a human security oriented poverty reduction strategy must incorporate three aspects of risk management. These are, first, measures to prevent and mitigate threats; second, measures to cope with heightened threats to human security; and third, forming and strengthening medium- to long-term responses that promote and improve social opportunities for people to overcome chronic poverty.

[1] Commission on Human Security (2003) *Human Security Now.*

Strategies for protection and empowerment are indispensable for each of these. JICA's poverty reduction assistance programs from now on should incorporate or enhance the following three points: strengthening assistance towards preventative and mitigating measures against various threats; enhancing assistance to various social safety net programs used as coping measures against risk; and adopting capacity development programs that promote human development and act as preventative measures against risk. In Chapter 4, we explain the seven focal points of JICA's operations, and propose ways to realize a "people-centered approach to assistance to deliver aid to those in need, without fail."

Part II is a series of country specific analyses. Chapter 5 looks at Guatemala and Bolivia in Latin America. Sub-Saharan Africa is examined in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 discusses the case of Mozambique where JICA conducted a field study between August and September 2004. Bangladesh is the subject of Chapter 8. The reports show that people in these countries and regions are exposed to numerous threats, including those that are specific to a particular area (e.g. structural inequality and exclusion in Latin America; armed conflict, refugees and the HIV/AIDS crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa and Mozambique; widespread discrimination, violence, and human rights violation in Bangladesh). In addition, the analyses point out that enhancing transparency and responsibility in governments, and improving governance, are key preconditions to achieve human security.

Part III discusses major issues concerning poverty reduction and human security: governance (Chapter 9), economic approach to poverty, risk, vulnerability and growth (Chapter 10), resource governance (Chapter 11), and social development and grassroots human security (Chapter 12). Chapter 9 on governance suggests that "empowerment, improvement in accountability, and decentralization," as well as "enhancing cooperation between civil society organizations and governments by combining activities at the local and central levels as well as the community level," become indispensable. A characteristic of human security is that it is a dynamic approach to the issue of poverty, focusing on people's downside risks. Chapter 10 is an economic approach to poverty analysis, centering on vulnerability and risk. This study points out that even when measuring vulnerability by looking at consumption (or income), different conclusions can be drawn depending on definitions, viewpoints and the availability of panel data. Chapter 11 discusses "poverty that results from the failure to convert indigenous resources successfully." Finally, Chapter 12 uses the Buddhist community in Cambodia as a case study to stress the importance of "people's security," in other words, "bottom-up, grassroots efforts for the people, by the people."

Compared with extensive research on poverty, studies on human security that focuses on "want" are still nascent. This report is the first of its kind to attempt to link these two concepts together. It is my sincerest desire that readers will appreciate this study as another step towards the internationalization of Japan's assistance policy.

November 2005

Hideki ESHO
Chairperson
Committee on the Study on
"Poverty Reduction and Human Security"

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Outline of the Study

This report summarizes the major results of a study on poverty reduction and human security undertaken by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

Human security addresses two concepts that form the vital core of human lives: "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want." This study places particular emphasis on the latter, "freedom from want;" examines how a human security concept can be incorporated into the strategies of a basic approach to poverty reduction; and suggests major issues for JICA to consider in its future operations. Focusing on risks that threaten human security and the vulnerability to risks, the report looks at the relationship between poverty reduction and human security, and analyzes issues that need to be addressed from the standpoint of human security. The study includes analyses of situations facing Bangladesh and countries and regions in Africa (the Sub-Saharan region and Mozambique) and Latin America (Guatemala and Bolivia), as well as studies on issues critical to human security such as governance, poverty and vulnerability, and social development, with implications and suggestions for the future direction in development cooperation.

For this research, JICA established a special study group consisting of academic experts and a taskforce of senior JICA advisors and staff members. Monthly discussion meetings were held between January and November 2004 (see page viii-ix for a list of members of the study group).

The English version of this report consists of three parts: the Executive Summary; Chapter I, "Incorporating the Concept of Human Security into Poverty Reduction" by the Chairperson of the Study Group, Professor Hideki Esho of Hosei University, Japan; and Chapter II, "Excerpts from Country and Issue-Wide Analyses of the Study."

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2. Research Framework of the Study — Hideki ESHO
3. Integrating the Human Security Perspective into a Poverty Reduction Strategy/Program — Hideki ESHO

2. Chapter II Excerpts from Country and Issue-Wide Analyses of the Study

1. Poverty Reduction and Human Security in Latin America — Tomomi KOZAKI
2. Poverty Reduction and Human Security in Sub-Saharan Africa — Motoki TAKAHASHI
3. Human Security in Mozambique—Case Study of a Post-Conflict Country — Yoichi MINE
4. Poverty Reduction and Human Security in Bangladesh — Tatsufumi YAMAGATA
5. Major Issues on Governance and Human Security — Kyoko KUWAJIMA
6. Vulnerability and Poverty in Risks: An Economic Approach
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8. Social Development and Human Security from the Grassroots: the Example of Cambodia — Masato NODA

Abbreviations

AHSI	African Human Security Initiative
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
AU	African Union
BHN	Basic Human Needs
CD	Capacity Development
CDD	Community-Driven Development
CDF	Comprehensive Development Framework
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
G77	Group of 77
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LDC	Least Developed Countries
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SRM	Social Risk Management
SSN	Social Safety Net
TICADIII	Third Tokyo International Conference of African Development
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
YIHS	Years of Individual Human Security

Executive Summary

This summary consists of two parts: highlighted features of human security and major implications for assistance JICA provides towards the goal of poverty reduction.

1. Highlighted Features of Human Security

1-1 Human Security as a Complement to National Security

The concept of human security was first advocated in the Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1994. This concept was developed based on the recognition that since the end of the Cold War, the world has been confronted increasingly with various unpredictable cross-border threats. Those threats include civil wars, terrorist attacks, HIV/AIDS and other pandemics, natural disasters, and economic crises that are beyond the control of a single country. The final report of the Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*, published in 2003, defines human security as representing an attempt "to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment" (Section 1-2 of Chapter I).

1-2 Relationship between Downside Risks and Poverty

The "human development" concept has an upward-oriented quality, expanding opportunities for people so that progress will be fair to everyone. On the other hand, "human security" deliberately focuses on "downside risks" and takes into account a variety of elements that inhibit human development. Human security comprises of two main issues: "freedom from violent conflict (fear)" and "freedom from deprivation (want)." Since want and fear are not separable phenomena, want may imply fear, while fear may generate further want. Human security requires an integrated approach that incorporates both aspects.

We can categorize the sources of risks that threaten people into two types: ① extraordinary and major threats or external shocks beyond the control of people and communities that rapidly and pervasively worsen the want and fear of people (such as conflicts and natural disasters), and ② threats that are embedded in the daily lives of people (such as illnesses, unhygienic living conditions, and social exclusion) (Table 1). The nature of extraordinary threats differs in terms of their causes and characteristics, requiring individual approaches to deal with them. In addition, since most of these threats spread far beyond national boundaries, different types of international efforts are indispensable for their resolution. Since many of the extraordinary threats imperil the daily lives of people, they will further aggravate poverty (want/deprivation). People suffering from deprivation (the chronic poor) are always exposed to the risks of poverty (Section 2-2 of Chapter I).

Table 1 Types of Threats that Damage Human Security

Type of Risks	
Extraordinary Major Threats (External Shocks)	Threats Embedded in Daily Life
violent conflict pandemic disease natural disaster economic shock extensive environmental damage	endemic disease/illness accident/injury daily violence social exclusion unhealthy living conditions old age crop failure due to bad weather

1-3 Focus on Empowerment of People and Protection by the Government and the International Community

In order to protect people's lives from threats and risks, it is important to combine the following two approaches: ① efforts to empower people in order to help them overcome threats by themselves, and ② implementation of protective measures by governments and the international community (Section 1-2 of Chapter I).

1-4 Key Points Addressed by the Concept of Human Security on the Issue of Poverty Reduction

Human security emphasizes two important aspects of poverty reduction. First, it addresses the significance of risk management by focusing on factors that inhibit development and aggravate poverty (deprivation), as well as risks towards human insecurity and vulnerability (Section 2-2 and 2-3 of Chapter I).

Definition of Risk and Vulnerability

Risk = "probability of degradation/aggravation in the future well-being" of people caused by various threats, as shown in Table 1

Vulnerability = "a situation with a substantial downturn in the well-being of people or substantial threatening of their daily lives because of their inability, or the lack thereof, to deal with risks when they face threats" (varies according to the strength of risks and people's capacity to deal with risks)

The "chronic poor" are most seriously affected by risks. In order to reduce the vulnerability of these people, it is necessary to prevent/mitigate risks or to enhance their capacity to deal with risks.

Second, human security stresses the individuality of people and communities. This concept emphasizes individual features of "fear and want" in terms of region, class, age, and gender, rather than on poverty dimensions as indicated in aggregate macro indicators (Section 2-3 of Chapter I). Individual regions and social groups will exhibit different types of risks and vulnerabilities.

2. Implication for JICA's Poverty Reduction Assistance

JICA should address the following issues when incorporating the human security concept in its efforts aimed towards poverty reduction:

2-1 Individual Approaches to Support Countries with Weak State Capacities

Human security is seriously threatened in countries that suffer from political instability, macro-economic fragility and lack of government capacity or willingness to provide basic services and to protect people's safety and security. This is particularly true in states that have lost control over their boundaries. Even in countries that are politically and economically stable, human security can be endangered when domestic institutions cannot properly cope with internal or external shocks such as natural disasters, infectious diseases, and social conflicts. The international society should make its utmost effort to reestablish functioning governments for countries that have lost their state capacity. For post-conflict or post-disaster countries, aid agencies should provide assistance in a flexible and swift manner to reconstruct state functions necessary for democratically governed states and to help reestablish infrastructure and people's livelihoods (Section 3-3 of Chapter I).

In countries that have not failed but lack the capacity to improve governance, it is necessary to address public policy and participatory development that will help meet the basic health and education needs of the poor. Furthermore, those countries should integrate people's empowerment with improved governance mechanisms that include decentralized policy making and implementation closer to the grassroots level; accountability systems; and capacity building of the government (Section 2-3 below, capacity development agenda).

2-2 Incorporating Risk Management into Development Programs

When incorporating the human security concept into poverty reduction strategies, it is important to apply specific analyses of different risk factors that confront people and assess their vulnerability to those risks. A three-dimensional risk management analysis should be considered in development strategies: ① **preventative/mitigating** measures against threats and risks; ② **protecting or coping measures** when human security is threatened by increased risks, and ③ **promoting** measures to enhance social opportunities or human capabilities (resilience) of the poor to fight chronic poverty over the medium- and long-term.

Out of the three, the most important and fundamental support should be given to ③ **promotion** – that is, pro-poor development strategy based on human development and improved governance. From a long-term perspective, promotion is the most effective preventative measure a country can undertake to develop its capacity to assist its vulnerable population. In addition, two other measures should complement promotion: ① **prevention/mitigation** – specific and elaborate measures to prevent and mitigate each type of threat; and ② **coping** – measures to cope with situations where people are threatened. The importance of reconsidering development policies according to the human security concept cannot be understated. Macro programs and micro projects should be reviewed from the perspective of "prevention of and preparedness for risks," in addition to emergency measures when confronted with threats. Enhancing the long-term empowerment of the people requires both securing "social safety nets" to cope with emergencies and establishing approaches to provide people with a "social minimum" (Sections 3-1 and 3-2 of Chapter I).

JICA can use its past experiences to enhance its future operations. As the preceding examples show, the disaster prevention sector clearly integrates risk-preventative/mitigating measures into development programs and plans that deal with natural disasters. The education sector, which supports the development of people's capacity to handle risks over the mid- to long-term, can

identify different education strategies by analyzing individual vulnerabilities of people, regions, and sub-sectors. JICA undertakes emergency relief activities for countries that are afflicted by natural disasters and provides development assistance to post-conflict countries. When providing post-conflict assistance, it is imperative that JICA creates recovery paths that range from reconstruction to development in a timely manner while integrating conflict or recurrence prevention into its activities.

Box 1 JICA's Seven Principles to Implement Human Security (issues to consider)
JICA proposes seven principles to integrate the concept of human security into its activities:
① Reaching those in need through a human-centered approach
② Empowering people as well as protecting them
③ Focusing on the most vulnerable people, whose survival, livelihood 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 governments and local communities to realize sustainable development
⑦ Strengthening partnership with various actors to achieve higher impact from assistance

2-3 Capacity Development as an Aid Tool

While human security is a concept or philosophy on aid that stresses factors impeding human development, capacity development (CD) is an important set of policies and tools that embodies this philosophy. CD is an approach that fosters and develops a country's collective capacity to solve problems when state institutions function to a certain extent. Capacity should be interpreted as a partnership system between the community and the state. In order to avoid or alleviate the effects of large-scale threats, the state should undertake, in addition to providing measures and activities at the household and community levels, the role as coordinator and collaborator between organizations, regions, and donors to mobilize resources that is beyond the capacity of local communities. In other words, in order to meet development needs in education, health and employment, it is imperative to consider in a comprehensive manner improvements to relevant policies and institutions, as well as the perspectives and capacities of stakeholders.

In summary, CD signifies a program-based approach to support an attempt to foster and enhance the collective capacity of developing countries. CD requires improvements in enabling environments such as coordinating mechanisms and institutions of the central government; the training of human resources and administrative capacity development at the local level; and the strengthening of mechanisms to respond to local needs by reinforcing the interrelationship between local government and society.

2-4 Significance of Social Analysis and Social Consideration Reviews

JICA should weigh risks and vulnerabilities confronting the welfare of the people and community from the outset of project formulation. In the pre-screening process, JICA needs to identify projects that require a detailed social study. At the project formulation and designing stage, appropriate forms of social analyses should be undertaken to work out measures to alleviate any negative impact they may have, or to transform them into positive ones, in addition to ensuring that results of analyses are reflected in the project design. JICA needs to continue studies on simple modes of social surveys

including vulnerability analyses, proper methods for vulnerability assessment, and evaluation of the impact of alleviation efforts.

2-5 Formulating Projects that Reflect the Human Security Perspective and Learning through Practice

JICA endeavors to promote projects based on the human security perspective that incorporate a "human-centered approach to reach people in need," the first point in Box 1. Among selected projects, JICA advocates twenty four which explore the new frontier of its activities. This includes attempts to reach out directly to vulnerable countries and regions under difficult situations in which JICA has never been engaged before – areas where people suffer from serious violence and crime in their daily lives. Other projects concern conflict-plagued countries and regions and the extreme poor, minority and the disabled who have little access to aid. JICA perceives these approaches as ways in which it can innovate its activities. By learning through practice, JICA can develop practical modes of social analysis or vulnerability assessment, and learn by accumulating useful approaches.

2-6 Build up Practical Experiences in Human Security

In conclusion, through a series of efforts mentioned above and based on its practical experiences, JICA should systematize its operational policies and approaches to embody the concept of human security.

Chapter I
Incorporating the Concept of Human Security into Poverty Reduction

This chapter begins with a review of past discussions on poverty reduction and human security. Next, the relationship between poverty reduction and human security, and the significance of integrating the human security perspective into poverty reduction, are explored. The chapter concludes with suggestions for JICA in the context of adopting the concept of human security into poverty reduction.

1. Background

Hideki ESHO, Hideki SONOYAMA

1-1 Discussions on Poverty Reduction: Recent International Trends

1-1-1 Focus on Poverty Issue

Leading ideas on international cooperation has changed dramatically during the 1990s. The World Bank focused on the issue of "poverty" in its *World Development Report 1990*.[2] In the same year, the UNDP began publication of its annual *Human Development Report*. The World Summit for Social Development was held in Copenhagen in 1995. In the following year, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) adopted a new development cooperation strategy in which the most important objective was identified as "halving extreme poverty by 2015." [3]

Against this backdrop, the World Bank presented its Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) that encompasses a wide range of developmental issues including poverty reduction, participatory development, sustainable development (harmonization of environment and development), and good governance. The CDF places emphasis not only on new themes of development cooperation but also on a new approach in the pursuit of development cooperation. According to this new approach, one of the most important factors for successful development cooperation is ownership of the development agenda by the recipient country. Partnerships with civil societies, private sectors, and donor communities are equally important.

1-1-2 The World Bank, *2000/2001 World Development Report*

The World Bank once again focused on the issue of poverty in its *2000/2001 World Development Report*.[4] Drawing from the series of "Voices of the Poor" reports,[5] the World Bank emphasizes that poverty has three dimensions: ① lack of income and assets, ② voicelessness and powerlessness, and ③ vulnerability. The organization points out that attacking poverty requires ① expanding opportunities, ② promoting empowerment, and ③ enhancing security.[6] Here, the issue of "security" is interconnected with the concept of "vulnerability." Risks that aggravate vulnerability include

[2] World Bank (1990)
[3] OECD (1996)
[4] World Bank (2001)
[5] Narayan, Chambers, Shah and Petesch (2000); Narayan, Patel, Schafft, Rademacher and Koch-Schule (2000); Narayan and Petesch ed. (2002)
[6] World Bank (2001)

"civil conflicts and wars, economic crises, natural disasters, ill health, illness and domestic violence."

1-1-3 PRSP and MDGs

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) was adopted at the Joint Meeting of the IMF and the World Bank in 1999. This was followed by the Millennium Summit of 2000 at which the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were adopted. The MDGs consist of eight objectives: ① eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; ② achieving universal primary education; ③ promoting gender equality and empowering women; ④ reducing child mortality; ⑤ improving maternal health; ⑥ combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ⑦ ensuring environmental sustainability; and ⑧ developing a global partnership for development.

Poverty reduction is the most important issue confronting the international community today. Since 1990, JICA has conducted numerous studies on poverty issues. JICA's definition of "poverty reduction" and its framework for a development strategy on poverty reduction were presented in recent publications titled *Thematic Guideline: Poverty Reduction* (2002) and *Approaches for Systematic Planning of Development Projects: Poverty Reduction* (2003) (Box 1-1).

Box 1-1 JICA and Poverty Reduction

JICA considers poverty as one of the most important development issues and has been studying and implementing a development strategy accordingly. JICA plans to give further consideration to and strengthen its approach to the issue of poverty reduction from the perspective of human security.

- **JICA's Definition of "Poverty"**

JICA defines poverty as a condition in which "people are deprived of opportunities to develop capabilities required to lead a basic human life and are excluded from society and development processes." The five capabilities are political, social, economic, human and protective.

- **JICA's Goals for Poverty Reduction**

JICA believes that the aim of poverty reduction is "to enable people to have freedom, dignity and self-esteem and to participate in society without unfair treatment from the government or from society." In order to achieve this goal, a comprehensive approach designed to enhance all types of capabilities of the poor is necessary. It is important to change the conditions that surround the poor and break the vicious cycle of poverty.

- **Four Strategic Development Goals for Poverty Reduction and their Framework**

JICA has set out four development strategy goals in its support of poverty reduction: ① development of policy and institutional frameworks for planning and implementation; ②maintenance and improvement of income levels of the poor; ③ fulfillment of basic human needs of the poor; and ④ reduction of external risks and enhancement of the capacity of the poor to cope with shocks. In implementing various projects to achieve these goals, JICA stresses the importance of approaches at the following three levels and the formulation of linkages between them: the macro level (policies and institutions of the central government); the meso level (policies and institutions of the local government); and the micro level (the poor and communities).

Source: JICA (2002) *Thematic Guideline: Poverty Reduction*

1-2 Human Security

1-2-1 UNDP, *Human Development Report 1994*

The concept of human security was first suggested by Dr. Mabhub Ul Haq in the *Human Development Report 1994* of the UNDP[7] and supported at the World Summit for Social Development. According to this report, human security consists of two elements: "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear." Human security can be classified into seven categories ① economic security; ② food security; ③ health security; ④ environmental security; ⑤ security of individual persons; ⑥ security of regional society; and ⑦ political security. The report also states that human development, defined as "the process to expand people's choices to lead lives they value," is a broader concept than that of human security.

1-2-2 Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*

The Commission on Human Security, co-chaired by Madame Sadako Ogata and Dr. Amartya Sen, was established at the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000. The concept of human security is well defined in the final report of the Commission titled *Human Security Now*,[8] published in 2003. The main points of the report can be summarized as follows:

① MDGs represent a major initiative which aims at removing deprivations, on which efforts to improve human security can be built.
② The definition of human security is "to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment." Human security complements state security, enhances human rights and strengthens human development.
③ The main issues concerning human security are "violent conflict" and "deprivation" (i.e. extreme impoverishment, pollution, ill health, illiteracy and other maladies).
④ "Human development" is an optimistic concept since it emphasizes expanding opportunities for people to ensure that progress is fair, i.e., growth with equity. "Human security" complements human development by deliberately focusing on "downside risks."
⑤ Human security interconnects different types of freedoms, such as freedom from want, freedom from fear, and freedoms people enjoy. Ensuring human security enhances "real freedom that people enjoy." "Protection" and "empowerment" are two strategies that are employed to attain these objectives.
⑥ Human security focuses on the fact that people and communities can be exposed to serious threats stemming from events largely beyond their control. Examples include financial crises, violent conflicts, chronic destitution, terrorist attacks, HIV/AIDS, underinvestment in health care, water shortages and pollution from distant lands.

1-3 Japan's Aid Policy and Human Security

1-3-1 Changes to Japan's Aid Policy

Global discussions on the issue of poverty intensified in the mid-1990s. During this time, Japan reaffirmed the importance of formulating a poverty elimination assistance policy that would not only

[7] UNDP (1994)
[8] Commission on Human Security (2003)

spur economic growth but also encourage social development, and the move to make "human-centered development" the final goal of assistance thus gained momentum.[9]

Japan's efforts to attain "human security" began in earnest in 1998.[10] In a speech made in Singapore in May 1998, Foreign Minister Keizo Obuchi drew attention to the impact of the preceding year's Asian financial crisis on the poor and announced Japan's policy to support efforts to address "human security" issues such as health and employment. Seven months later, Mr. Obuchi, by then prime minister of Japan, defined "human security" as a comprehensive concept that covers all the menaces that threaten human survival, livelihoods and dignity and stated that enhanced efforts were necessary to overcome them. He announced the establishment of a "Trust Fund for Human Security" within the UN.

In his address to the Millennium Summit in September 2000, Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori proclaimed his government's intention to make human security a centerpiece of its foreign policy. In response to Japan's call, the "Commission on Human Security" was established, and its final report, *Human Security Now*, was submitted to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and the next Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in 2003.

The Revised Official Development Assistance Charter renewed by the Koizumi government in 2003 emphasized the importance of "human security," focusing on individuals when providing assistance against direct threats such as conflicts, natural disasters and infectious diseases. Establishing human security as one of the five basic policies of Japan's ODA, the government expressed its readiness to cooperate internationally to protect and empower individual people at all stages, from conflict to reconstruction and development.[11]

In February 2005, the Japanese government established the *Medium-Term Policy on Official Development Assistance* (the New Medium-Term Policy on ODA) out of its belief for the need to obtain full understanding of Japanese nationals and the international community for the Charter's new basic policy. The document stresses the importance of human security as a perspective that calls for a cross-sectoral approach to all areas of Japanese assistance, describes Japan's position, and cites six approaches needed to attain its objective (Box 1-2). The importance of the perspective of human security as a centerpiece of Japan's development assistance has come to be widely shared today, at least in Japan.

[9] Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1996)

[10] Prior to this in 1995, Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama's administration began to take interest in the concept of human security and stressed to the international community the importance of human-centered social development based on a policy of creating a safe and anxiety-free society. Refer to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs website for details of a series of diplomatic speeches and aid policies discussed in this chapter.

[11] Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2003)

Box 1-2 "Human Security" in Japan's Medium-Term Policy on ODA

・**Japan's Position on Human Security**

According to the New Medium-Term Policy on ODA formulated in February 2005, human security is defined as "focusing on individual people and building societies in which everyone can live with dignity by protecting and empowering individuals and communities that are exposed to actual or potential threats." In order to reduce vulnerability that afflicts peoples, communities and states, Japan also addresses four priority issues (poverty reduction, sustainable growth, addressing global issues and peace-building), bearing in mind the human security perspective.

・**Approaches to Assistance to Achieve Human Security**

The government believes that the human security perspective should be adopted broadly in development assistance and cites six important approaches: ① assistance that puts people at the center of concerns and that effectively reaches the people; ② assistance to strengthen local communities; ③ assistance that emphasizes the empowering of people; ④ assistance that emphasizes benefits for people who are exposed to threats; ⑤ assistance that respects cultural diversity; and ⑥ cross-sectoral assistance that mobilizes a range of professional expertise.

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005)

1-3-2 Promoting the Human Security Perspective in the International Community

In order to enhance the international community's understanding of human security, give it further attention, and strengthen approaches to achieve this perspective, the Japanese government continues to engage itself actively with other countries.

In June 2003, the Group of Eight Summit Meeting (Evian Summit) decided to include reference to "human security" in the chairman's statement in response to Prime Minister Koizumi's remarks. Japan also succeeded in having the importance of human security incorporated unambiguously in the 10th Anniversary Declaration at the end of the Third Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICADIII) in September 2003.[12] At the UN General Assembly held in the same month, Japanese Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi declared Japan's readiness to join the UN, NGOs and other countries to work towards implementing recommendations contained in the report by the Commission on Human Security.

Furthermore, in policy dialogues with individual countries, Japan established "human security and human development" as vital components of its aid program for Pakistan. Japan also continues to consider it important to expand and strengthen cooperation that contributes to human security in its program for Thailand (since February 2005). Thus, it is now becoming clear that Japan's position is to make human security central to its bilateral aid programs.

Developing countries are beginning to respond to Japan's approaches. At the 11th meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum held in December 2003, "the enhancement of human security" was included in the summit declaration as a result of an agreement between countries that included China, a nation with great influence over a group of developing countries (G77). In Africa, an NGO network called "African Human Security Initiative" (AHSI) was launched in September 2003 where it was established that main members of the African Union (AU) would monitor human security efforts. Among other developments, the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs

[12] Minami (2004) and TICAD III (2003)

and the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security declared their readiness to uphold human security, while the Bolivian government is considering adopting the concept of human security as a pillar of its new development strategy (April 2005). Thus, efforts are gradually underway in developing country governments and communities to emphasize human security and promote its implementation.

1-3-3 Issues Involved in Promoting the Human Security Perspective

Main members of a group called the "Human Security Network" including Canada and Norway also consider human security a pillar of their countries' foreign policies and are active in its promotion. However, differences exist in the way Japan and these countries approach human security, specifically concerning its relevance to the concept of "national security" and "humanitarian intervention." Japan must keep these differences in mind when promoting the perspective of human security in the future.

In September 2000, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) was established at the urging of the Canadian government to study relations between humanitarian intervention and state sovereignty. In its report, *The Responsibility to Protect*, ICISS states that sovereign states should take responsibility to protect their own citizens. It declares that when sovereign states are unwilling or unable to protect their citizens from serious threats resulting from internal war, repression and state failure, international intervention is warranted for the purpose of protecting those citizens.[13]

The contents of *The Responsibility to Protect* are reflected in the UN High Level Panel report *Threats, Challenges and Change* issued in December 2004 which proposes conditions under which international military intervention would be permitted. The international debate over the role of military intervention for humanitarian purposes will continue to draw attention. However, this approach to human security which stresses the "responsibility to protect" may alarm developing countries about possible external intervention. Concern exists that the governments of developing countries such as India and some Latin American states may raise objections.

Through diplomatic means, the Japanese government has made it clear that its philosophical principle on human security does not support the justification of military intervention but rather advocates efforts to empower people and make human security mainstream in development assistance.[14] Japan must try to win common understanding and support of the international community in the future to encourage this principle.

1-3-4 Concrete Approaches to Achieve the Human Security Perspective

Japan has not only been engaged in promoting the perspective of human security on diplomatic stages, but also has been making efforts to strengthen concrete approaches to apply this concept at the field level in developing countries.[15]

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[13] ICISS (2001). Refer to Oshimura (2004) and Sato (2004) on the contrast between the concept of human security that incorporates the "responsibility to protect" and that of the Japanese government.

[14] For example, at a speech at the sixth Ministerial Meeting of the Human Security Network (May 2004), Keitaro Sato, Ambassador in Charge of Conflict and Refugee-related Issues in Africa, pointed to differences between Japan and the Human Security Network on the concept of human security, winning a certain level of acknowledgement from member countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2004)).

[15] Refer to the "Human Security" website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Japanese government's approach to the realization of human security.

Since the late 1990s, Japan has been proactive in implementing support activities such as reconstruction assistance, including repatriating refugees from conflicts; removing anti-personnel land mines; and providing emergency aid for increasingly frequent natural disasters. The concept of human security has helped to reemphasize and promote the importance of these humanitarian activities (Box 1-3).

Box 1-3 Japan's Humanitarian Assistance based on the Human Security Perspective (late 1990s)

In the second half of the 1990s, based on the perspective of human security, Japan's ODA focused primarily on assisting victims of major natural disasters and armed conflicts. The Japanese government has continued to provide humanitarian assistance to various parts of the world for emergency relief, reconstruction and prevention regarding conflicts and natural disasters.

Responding to Conflicts

In 1998, the outbreak of the Kosovo conflict in former Yugoslavia sent some 800,000 ethnic Albanian refugees fleeing to neighboring Macedonia and Albania. In order to help end this conflict, Japan announced aid totaling about $200 million. While providing humanitarian assistance for the refugees through United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other UN agencies, it supplied grand aid and medical services to neighboring countries that were affected by the influx of refugees, providing some $100 million for the repatriation and settlement of refugees as well as for reconstruction measures. Since then, Japan has been actively furnishing humanitarian assistance to post-conflict countries including East Timor, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Iraq.

Approach to Remove Anti-Personnel Land Mines

The presence of land mines even after the end of conflicts prevents the repatriation and resettlement of local residents, impedes agricultural development and poses a serious obstacle to reconstruction efforts. In signing "the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and their Destruction" in 1997, the Japanese government proposed the "Zero Victim Program," a plan to provide about 10 billion yen in land mine-related aid over five years beginning in 1998, and proposed a comprehensive approach focused on the implementation of the anti-personnel land mine prohibition treaty and the strengthening of assistance for victims. (The goal was accomplished in October 2002.) On the basis of this policy, the Japanese government has continued to help land mine victims, providing funds for the removal of land mines, manufacture of artificial legs and for the establishment of rehabilitation facilities in Cambodia, Mozambique, Afghanistan and other countries through the UN and NGOs.

Emergency Aid and Reconstruction Assistance for Disaster-stricken Areas

The Japanese government extended assistance to victims of major natural disasters by dispatching the Japan Disaster Relief Teams and the Self-Defense Forces troops to various parts of the world in the aftermath of a hurricane in Honduras (1998), an earthquake in Turkey (1999) and, more recently, an Iranian earthquake (2003) and the Indian Ocean tsunami (2004). In partnership with NGOs, it has also responded to a wide range of needs, from emergency responses (victim rescue, medical services, emergency supplies and emergency grand aid) to medium- and long-term rehabilitation, reconstruction and preventative measures to minimize damage.

Source: *Ministry of Foreign Affairs ODA White Papers,* 1998-2004

As part of these efforts, the Trust Fund for Human Security was established at the UN in 1999 with funding support from the Japanese government (see above). Japan, the only country to provide such support, has contributed a total of 29 billion yen ($259 million) to the Fund by the end of December 2004. The Trust Fund for Human Security has become the biggest of its kind in the UN, making major contributions towards ensuring that the principle of human security is reflected in specific projects of UN agencies (Box 1-4).

Box 1-4 Trust Fund for Human Security

The objective of the "Trust Fund for Human Security," established in the UN in 1999, is to translate the concept of human security into action by supporting projects implemented by UN agencies that address threats currently facing the international community including poverty, environmental degradation, conflicts, land mines, refugee problems, illicit drugs and infectious diseases. By giving priority to broader and more comprehensive projects in response to a range of human security issues, the Trust Fund is trying to encourage the participation of various UN agencies and citizen organizations in these projects and to promote coordination and integration of these organizations.

Criteria for the Funding of Projects

The Trust Fund for Human Security selects projects in accordance with the following parameters:

- Providing concrete and sustainable benefits to people and communities threatened in their survival, livelihood and dignity.
- Implementing "the protection and empowerment" framework by comprehensively including both top-down protection and bottom-up empowerment measures.
- Promoting partnerships with civil society groups, NGOs and other local entities.
- Advancing integrated approaches that preferably involve more than one organization in planning and implementation.
- Addressing a broad range of interconnected issues that take into account multi-sectoral demands of human security, for example, conflict and poverty.
- Concentrating on those areas of human security that are currently neglected and avoiding duplication with existing programs and activities.

Target People and Situations

The Trust Fund for Human Security places priority on projects that address more than one element among the following situations:

- Protecting people under conflict situations who are exposed to physical violence and discrimination.
- Empowering refugees, internally displaced people and others on the move. Particular attention should be paid to the socio-economic impact on host communities.
- Protecting and empowering people in transition from war to peace; their disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR).
- Realizing minimum living standards. Assisting community-level efforts to establish mechanisms to protect people exposed to extreme poverty, sudden economic downturns and natural disasters.
- Enhancing health care and service coverage to those where other initiatives have not been successful in reaching them.
- Improving educational opportunities including the emphasis on attainment of universal primary education, safe school environment and respect for diversity.
- Promoting and disseminating the human security concept and deepening its understanding and acceptance worldwide through research and studies.

Source: "Human Security" website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UNTFHS website

In 2003, Japan strengthened the human security perspective in its bilateral Grant Aid for Grassroots projects by giving it a new framework called the "Grassroots Human Security Grant Aid." Allocating an annual 15 billion yen for the program, the Japanese government responds to grassroots needs, as well as other needs that require swift action at the NGO and community levels in developing countries. In addition, Japan assists the repatriation of refugees and displaced people and helps with maternal health care projects. In the case of bilateral aid, including JICA projects, specific operational strategies based on the human security perspective must be established and implemented. Effective coordination with a variety of aid schemes such as the "Grassroots Human Security Grant Aid" and the "Trust Fund for Human Security" is equally relevant.

2. Research Framework of the Study

Hideki ESHO

As seen briefly above,

(1) The UNDP suggests that "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" are the two main components of human security. These correspond to the concepts of freedom from "deprivation" and freedom from "violent conflict," respectively, according to terminology used by the Commission on Human Security.
(2) According to the World Bank, the issue of (human) security is interconnected with the issue of "vulnerability," and "civil conflicts and wars, economic crises, natural disasters, ill health, illnesses and domestic violence" are identified as risks that aggravate vulnerability. Furthermore, the World Bank emphasizes the need to "reduce the risks that the poor people face."
(3) The final report of the Commission on Human Security states that "violent conflict" and "deprivation" (i.e. extreme impoverishment, pollution, ill health, illiteracy and other maladies) are issues concerning human security. It also maintains that "financial crises, violent conflicts, chronic destitution, terrorist attacks, HIV/AIDS, underinvestment in health care, water shortages and pollution from distant lands" threaten human security, but these events are "largely beyond the control of people and communities."
(4) The Japanese government defines "human security" as a concept that focuses "on individual people and building societies in which everyone can live with dignity by protecting and empowering individuals and communities that are exposed to actual or potential threats"[16] and considers this perspective as a centerpiece of Japan's foreign and aid policies (the *New ODA Charter • New Medium-Term Policy on ODA*). Japan, while promoting this perspective in the international community by, for example, proposing to establish the Commission on Human Security, has also been trying to implement the concept of human security in projects via the "Trust Fund for Human Security" as well as through bilateral aid.

The purpose of this study group is to incorporate the human security perspective into the issue of poverty reduction. We place particular emphasis on the conditions necessary to adopt this perspective, particularly "freedom from want." We provide examples of several developing countries to highlight specific requirements and concrete measures necessary to achieve "freedom from want."

The rest of this chapter is structured as follows. We begin by clarifying the relationship between "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear." Next, we discuss the relationship between poverty reduction and human security, and the significance of integrating the human security concept into poverty reduction. Finally, we conclude by making some suggestions for JICA in the context of adopting the human security concept to poverty reduction.

2-1 The Relationship between "Freedom from Want" and "Freedom from Fear"

What is the relationship between "freedom from want" (or deprivation) and "freedom from fear" (or violent conflicts)? Want or deprivation may induce fear or violent conflicts. Fear or violent conflicts definitely result in want or deprivation.

[16] Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005) p. 2

The human security concept focuses on "events largely beyond people's control," that is, external shocks. It also emphasizes the "downside risks" that external shocks produce. The deprived are those who are most seriously affected by external shocks. These include the extreme poor, the illiterate, the ailing, people without sufficient social and political say, and the socially disadvantaged such as the elderly, widows, pregnant women, children, and the disabled.

In this paper, we do not follow the dichotomous approach to human security; that is, we do not regard want/deprivation, and fear/violent conflicts as separable phenomena. In reality, fear is induced in the poor by many other factors besides violent conflicts. Natural disasters, diseases, environmental damages and economic shocks are other such factors, in addition to want itself. Want threatens the poor, and the deprived are always confronted by numerous threats.[17]

2-2 Types of Threats

The sources of downside risks that people face[18] can be categorized into ① large-scale and extraordinary threats, or external shocks, that suddenly heighten want and fear, and ② threats that are embedded in the ordinary lives of the people.[19, 20]

Major external shocks include: ① violent conflicts; ② pandemic/epidemic diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria; ③ earthquakes, floods, droughts and other natural disasters; ④ major economic crises and shocks; and ⑤ extensive environmental damages. The effects of these extraordinary large scale threats spread beyond individuals, individual households and local communities to reach regional, national, or possibly global proportions. The nature of these threats differs substantially in terms of their causes and characteristics.[21] It is important to pursue preventative and mitigating programs that take into account the specific characteristic of each threat. International efforts are required to address threats that extend beyond national boundaries.

The repercussions of pandemic or epidemic diseases such as HIV/AIDS or malaria are certainly felt beyond the individual, household or local community levels. Yet many developing countries consider these as "ordinary or common threats," not "extraordinary threats," especially in the Sub-Saharan region of Africa. The case of HIV/AIDS clearly shows how an extraordinary threat can easily turn into a common threat. Further efforts are required to prevent this from happening in the future, as well as to develop preventative measures for extraordinary threats.

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[17] In this report, "want" and "deprivation" are considered synonyms. "Deprivation" refers to "extreme impoverishment, pollution, ill health, illiteracy and other maladies" according to the usages of the Commission on Human Security, and this situation is defined as "poverty." We emphasize that the definition of poverty is not limited to insufficient income (income poverty), but is a much broader concept that incorporates deprivation in all aspects of human life.

[18] In this report, the dimensions that cause risk are called "menace." Also, when "risk" faces fear, it stands for the probability of degrading human welfare levels.

[19] Studies on "social protection" or "social risk management" conducted by World Bank study groups classify threats, risks or shocks in various ways. Major classifications include ① "patterned, idiosyncratic or individual" versus "generalized, covariant or common" threats/risks/shocks; ② "single" versus "repeated" threats/risks; ③ "catastrophic" versus "non-catastrophic" threats/risks/shocks; ④ "anticipated" versus "unanticipated" threats/risks/shocks; ⑤ "persistent" versus "transient" threats/risks/shocks; and ⑥ "human" versus "natural" threats/risks (Norton, Conway and Foster (2002); Morduch and Sharma (2002); Holzmann (2003)). The World Bank 2000/2001 Development Report suggests a typology of risks that combine the characteristics (natural, health, social, economic, political and environmental) and the extent (idiosyncratic and covariant risks) of risks. (World Bank (2001) p. 136).

[20] Morduch (1999); World Bank (2001) Chapter 8; Dercon (2002)

[21] Fukuda-Parr interprets these major risks as "new insecurities" triggered by the progress in globalization (Fukuda-Parr (2003)). Many other studies share the same perception (e.g., Norton, Conway and Foster (2002); Holzman (2003)).

Typical threats that are embedded in the ordinary lives of people include: ① endemic diseases or illnesses; ② accidents or injuries; ③ everyday violence such as crime or domestic violence; ④ social exclusion based on religion, tribe, gender, or caste; ⑤ unhealthy and unhygienic living conditions; and ⑥ harvest failure due to abnormal weather. These threats can lead to the inability to attend school or consult a physician, unemployment, disablement or death, and are the characteristics of chronic poverty.

Table 2-1 summarizes the various threats that harm human security.

Table 2-1 Types of Threats that Damage Human Security

Type of Risks	
Extraordinary Major Threats (External Shocks)	Threats Embedded in Daily Life
violent conflict pandemic disease natural disaster economic shock extensive environmental damage	endemic disease/illness accident/injury daily violence social exclusion unhealthy living conditions old age crop failure due to bad weather

Regardless of whether a threat occurs suddenly or is embedded in daily life, the destitute and the poor are the most severely affected. One of the most essential conditions that prevents and mitigates threats is freedom from want or destitution, although it is insufficient in of itself.

This research study addresses the issue of poverty reduction by focusing on risks that induce different types of threats. As stated earlier, an extraordinary threat can easily turn into to a common one, and each requires individual, specific measures in response. Thus, the relationship between fears must also be taken into account.

2-3 Vulnerability and Poverty

2-3-1 Significance of Integrating the Concept of Human Security into Poverty Analysis

What is the relationship between the human security framework and poverty reduction? First and foremost, the significance of the human security framework is that it focuses on the security of an individual, not of the state. Poverty should be understood as a situation confronting an individual, rather than as an aggregate concept.[22]

Past studies on poverty tended to be static analyses that presupposed an ordinary life, or focused on the long-term or structural aspects of poverty. In contrast, the concept of human security is dynamic and emphasizes the risk and vulnerability that threatens human safety and development which is the downside aspect of poverty.

2-3-2 Attention to Vulnerability

The human security framework analyzes poverty by focusing on the risks and vulnerabilities faced by an individual.

[22] King and Murray (2001-2002)

A report of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) titled *Adjustment with a Human Face* was the first serious attempt at addressing the issue of vulnerability. The report emphasized the negative effects that structural adjustment programs have had on the "vulnerable people," namely "children, pregnant women and nursing mothers." [23]

The World Bank, heeding to criticisms contained in the UNICEF report, introduced safety net programs for the poor.[24] This was followed by the above-mentioned *Voices of the Poor* studies which highlighted three aspects of poverty: ① lack of income and assets, ② voicelessness and powerlessness, and ③ vulnerability. Attacking poverty would require ① expanding opportunities, ② promoting empowerment, and ③ enhancing security. The Social Risk Management (SRM) program of the World Bank focuses on vulnerability and security,[25] an approach which is most akin to the focus of our study.

The 2000/2001 World Development Report defines vulnerability as "a function of a household's asset endowment and insurance mechanisms, and of the characteristics (severity, frequency) of the shock." The report states that "vulnerability measures the resilience against a shock, i.e., the likelihood that a shock will result in a decline in well-being." [26] It also asserts that "vulnerability is a constant companion of material and human deprivation, given the circumstances of the poor and the near-poor." [27] Furthermore, "in the dimensions of income and health, vulnerability is the risk that a household or individual will experience an episode of income or health poverty over time. But vulnerability also means the probability of being exposed to a number of other risks (violence, crime, natural disasters, being pulled out of school)." [28]

We define "vulnerability" as "a substantial downturn in the well-being or substantial threatening of life because of the inability to cope with risks when faced with threats."[29] In other words, vulnerability is "a function of the magnitude of risks and the ability to cope with risks." Vulnerable people are defined as those who are unable to cope with risks by themselves.[30]

2-3-3 Income Poverty and Vulnerability

"Income poverty" is the subject of numerous theoretical and empirical studies. These studies categorize "income poverty" into "chronic poverty" and "transient poverty." The latter concept is related to what is often referred to as poverty dynamics. It is important to reduce the risks faced by the poor so that they can cope with vulnerability. Three causal relationships exist between poverty and risk or vulnerability: ① static effect, where poverty is aggravated by fluctuating consumption; ② prolonged poverty effect, where expected income is sacrificed to avoid income fluctuation; and ③ transforming effect, where transient poverty is transformed into chronic poverty when the poor sell off their meager assets to cope with decreasing income.[31]

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[23] Cornia, Jolly and Stewart eds. (1987)
[24] World Bank (1990) p. 103
[25] World Bank (2004)
[26] World Bank (2001) p. 139, Box 8.3
[27] *Ibid.* p. 36
[28] *Ibid.* p. 19
[29] See also Hulme and Shepherd (2003)
[30] We do not follow a dichotomous understanding that is rather prevalent in economic analyses of poverty and vulnerability today: that is, regarding the chronically poor as "the poor" and transitory poor as "the vulnerable." Once vulnerable people are defined in this way, the objective and applicable extent of the human security framework to poverty reduction is narrowed substantially.
[31] Kurosaki (1998); Hulme and Shepherd (2003); Holzman (2003)

In the context of the human security framework to poverty reduction, these studies suggest that coping measures to reduce risks are necessary in order to avoid ① the transient poor falling into the category of the chronic poor, and ② the chronic poor plummeting into destitution or death.

It is true that chronic and transient poverties are different phenomena and policies aimed at stabilizing living standards (social security policies) and improving living standards (poverty reduction policies) require different prescriptions. However, in real life, the two types of poverty cannot be considered separately or exclusively of each other. From the perspective of the human security framework to poverty reduction, our focus is on the low income poor facing the possibility of a future reduction to income.

2-3-4 Risk and Vulnerability

Because poverty is multi-dimensional and not limited to concerns about income, risks and vulnerability are also multi-dimensional. The relationship between poverty and human insecurity corresponds to the chronic and transient natures of numerous factors including income, education, health, nutrition and social life. Increasing risks or vulnerability link both aspects. To state that human security focuses on "downside risks" means approaching poverty issues from the viewpoint of increasing risks or vulnerability.

Therefore, the first step in incorporating human security into poverty reduction strategies is to identify risk and vulnerability factors accurately, and to integrate risk and vulnerability analyses into poverty analysis.

Human insecurity aggravates poverty or deprivation. Yet it is the poor who are the most vulnerable and constantly face the threat of downside risks. Sufficient attention must be given to the "circular nature of poverty and vulnerability." [32]

2-3-5 Measuring Vulnerability

Measuring vulnerability has been a subject of wide discussion, but a consensus on the best method is yet to emerge. Based on an examination of literature on vulnerability in different disciplines, Alwang, Siegel and Jorgensen break down vulnerability into three categories: ① the risk, or risky events, ② the options for managing risk, or the risk responses, and ③ the outcome in terms of welfare loss.[33] According to their review, numerous approaches to vulnerability exist, each stressing different dimensions: risk, risk responses, or outcomes (Table 2-2). Vulnerability to poverty is the focus of our paper, but this does not adequately address the issue of multidimensionality that is a characteristic of both poverty and vulnerability.

[32] Morduch (1999)

[33] Alwang, Siegel and Jorgensen (2001)

Table 2-2 Vulnerability: How Literature Treats Risk-Response-Outcome

	Treatment		
Literature	**Risk**	**Response**	**Outcome**
Poverty Dynamics	Implicit	Implicit: response clearly determines outcome but specific response mechanisms are rarely identified	Main focus: probability of being poor; transition in and out of poverty
Asset-based Approaches	Mostly implicit: sometimes includes value of assets at risks	Main focus: but often fails to describe adjustment mechanisms	Not often explicit: sometimes use variability in outcome as motivation
Sustainable Livelihoods	Sometimes explicit: concept of sensitivity is related to exposure to risky events	Mostly explicit: concept of resilience is related to response. Key focus of this literature is household response mechanisms	Literature recognizes that vulnerability is an ongoing and forward-looking process
Food Security	Sometimes explicit: e.g., poor rainfall, price changes. Focus on single source of risk	Sometimes explicit	Main focus: probability of not meeting food needs; consequences of inadequate food intake
Disaster Management	Explicit: Focus on single source risk	Sometimes explicit: not well delineated	Explicit: but not well delineated. Inadequate consideration of welfare consequences of outcomes
Environmental	Usually explicit: identify serious risks and safety threshold	Implicit: species and ecosystem can respond, but mechanism of response is not made explicit	Explicit focus: species survival, habitat loss, etc. Tends to be forward looking (e.g., sustainability)
Sociology and Anthropology	Implicit: Usually focus on single source on risk	Often a key focus of this literature: how social and other assets assist household responses to shocks	Main focus: outcome other than "income" poverty
Health/Nutrition	Implicit: some recognition of poor health status leading to more nutritional risk	Implicit: some attention to synergies between household production and nutrition outcome	Main focus: poor anthropometric outcomes or consequences of malnutrition and poor health

Source: Alwang, Siegel and Jorgensen (2001)

Based on existing studies, we propose the following approach:

(1) Measuring vulnerability requires more than the construction of a single measurement (an integrated vulnerability index) such as the Human Development Index, which is an aggregate of all aspects of vulnerability. Risks are diverse and the problem of weighting cannot be addressed using an integrated index. Individual vulnerability measures should be constructed for each dimension of vulnerability.

(2) The vulnerable are defined as those below the poverty line when using income as a measure. However, the possibility exists for those above the poverty line to fall below when faced with risks. Thus, any definition of the vulnerable must also include those who are currently above the poverty line.

(3) In a related point, a socially acceptable minimum level of well-being must be established as a benchmark or a threshold. For example, double digit poverty line figures can be used as a benchmark of vulnerability for income. Benchmarks are arbitrary, but performance standards cannot be assessed without a benchmark.

(4) Downside risk means the probability exists for deprivation to exacerbate and fall below the benchmark at some point in the future. This concept includes a time dimension. Interpretations on "individual human security" may vary, but King and Murray define it as "his or her expectation of years of life without experiencing the state of generalized poverty" and term it the "Years of Individual Human Security (YIHS)." They assert that calculating YIHS makes

human security an operational concept.[34,35] In practice, however, it is extremely difficult to forecast risks that may occur ten years later, and once limitations on available data are taken into account, it is almost impossible to calculate YIHS. Instead, a "vulnerability benchmark" for each risk would be preferable; that is, changing the dimension of time to that of space to achieve nearly the same results.

(5) It is also necessary and possible to establish individual benchmarks for education, health, hygiene, nutrition, social exclusion, common violence and natural hazards.[36]

(6) Finally, "a vulnerability matrix" to measure vulnerability to each risk according to region, occupation, age, and gender should be developed.

(7) A vulnerability matrix will require inputs of substantial amounts of panel data based on household surveys on income and consumption, in addition to data on assets, education, nutrition and health. Qualitative data need to be collected for risk responses.

2-3-6 The Vulnerable

As mentioned above, risks that affect human security are categorized as (a) extraordinary, large-scale risks or external shocks that suddenly increase people's want and fear, and (b) risks that are embedded in the ordinary lives of the people. The former includes ① violent conflicts; ② pandemic/epidemic diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria; ③ earthquakes, floods, drought and other natural disasters; ④ major economic crises and shocks; and ⑤ significant environmental damages. Examples of common risks are ① endemic diseases or illnesses; ② accidents or injuries; ③ common violence such as crime or domestic violence; ④ social exclusion based on religion, tribe, gender and caste; ⑤ unhealthy and unhygienic living conditions; and ⑥ crop failure due to abnormal weather. Each risk affects each individual differently. Borrowing Amartya Sen's words, "entitlements differ for each person." The vulnerable are those who cannot cope with risks; they are deprived of entitlements and fall into destitution.[37] Priority should be given to ensure human security for those who are the most vulnerable.

Individuals who are vulnerable to poverty include: ① those with insufficient income and assets, ② the socially excluded, and ③ the socially disadvantaged such as the elderly, women, children and disabled. The vulnerable are unable to sell assets (land or liquid assets such as jewels and cattle) to counter risk, nor are they able to rely upon mutual assistance and social networks. They also lack the means to insure themselves against risks.[38] Once faced with risks, they are unable to escape from destitution which only exacerbates. This is particularly true when the principal income earner of a household succumbs to disease, or dies. The remaining members of the household face the prospect of deeper destitution, or even worse, death.[39]

[34] King and Murray coin the term "generalized poverty" to refer to poverty which is multidimensional (includes domains of income, education, health, political freedom and democracy). YIHS is defined as the expected number of years of life spent outside the state of generalized poverty. For example, "if a 40-year-old women has a life expectancy of 35 additional years but only a 50 percent chance in each future year of being above the generalized poverty threshold, her individual security would be 17.5 years" (King and Murray (2001-2002)).

[35] King and Murray (2001-2002)

[36] For example, if we set compulsory education or primary education as a benchmark for education, children that could not go to school from the beginning and dropouts would be considered as vulnerable in education.

[37] Sen (1981)

[38] Morduch (1999); Dercon (2002)

[39] Hulme and Shepherd (2003)

3. Integrating the Human Security Perspective into a Poverty Reduction Strategy/Program

Hideki ESHO

3-1 Prevention, Coping, and Promotion

Thus, a poverty reduction strategy based on a human security perspective should include three dimensions of risk management: ① preventative and mitigating measures against risks, ② protecting or coping measures when human security is threatened by increased risks, and ③ promoting measures to enhance social opportunities or human capabilities of the poor to fight chronic poverty over the medium and long term (Table 3-1).[40]

Table 3-1 Poverty Reduction Program Incorporating Human Security

Prevention (to avoid disaster/risk)	
Coping (to cope with disaster/risk)	Promotion (to enhance human capabilities/ social opportunity)

Among the three, promoting measures to enhance social opportunities and human capabilities work most effectively towards the prevention of risks because these strengthen the ability of the vulnerable to resist risks. The Report of Commission on Human Security states that human security complements human development by deliberately focusing on 'downside risks'.[41]

3-2 Prevention, Coping, and Promotion for Individual Risks: The Case of the HIV/AIDS Virus

3-2-1 Risk Analyses

We begin with an attempt at a series of risk analysis. First, the risk will be specified. Then, those who are affected by the risk will be identified. Finally, we will pinpoint those who are most vulnerable to the risk.

Policy choices dictate the type of risk that is specified. For example, in the case of Sub-Saharan Africa, HIV/AIDS is the most significant and potentially destructive risk that these nations confront today. It is the policy concern that needs to be addressed foremost of all.

The next step is to identify those who are HIV positive and those who are in danger of becoming infected by the AIDS virus. The latter requires collecting and analyzing information according to region (for example, higher infection rates along national boundary areas), occupation (migrant workers and truck drivers are the most susceptible), age (low infection rate up until age fifteen, the so-called "window of hope"), and sex (sharply increased infection rates in girls sixteen years old and above).

Once the most susceptible are identified, the next step is to pinpoint the vulnerable who are unable

[40] Drèze and Sen (1991) stress that "social security" has two dimensions where "protection" and "promotion" mutually interrelate. On the other hand, Holzmann et al. lay emphasis on two dimensions "risk prevention/mitigation" and "coping with risk" as components of "social protection" or "social risk management" (Holzmann (2003); Norton, Conway and Foster (2002)). Our approach is to integrate these two studies.

[41] Commission on Human Security (2003) p. 10

to cope with the risk, using a pre-determined benchmark to create a vulnerability matrix of HIV/AIDS.

3-2-2 Risk Management

What type of risk management is most appropriate in the case of HIV/AIDS? First, ongoing preventative measures should be reinforced. This requires preventive campaigns and distribution of condoms by government organizations, schools, workplaces and NGOs. The mass media also has a crucial role to play. In addition, institutions must be established where individuals can test for the HIV virus and consult health practitioners.

A series of treatments is necessary to prevent those who are HIV positive from developing symptoms of AIDS. Providing medication and offering consultations are indispensable. Beds need to be secured for those who already display symptoms and, if necessary, consultation must be offered to mitigate the fear of death.

We can assume that those who are infected with the HIV/AIDS virus possess the same biological capacity to cope with the disease. However, a wide discrepancy exists between individuals on the ability to receive treatment, as this depends upon levels of income, assets, education, occupation, and social status. The poor who are unable to receive sufficient treatment are vulnerable not only to HIV/AIDS but also to the fear of being infected by HIV/AIDS. It is the government's responsibility to protect those whose vulnerability is doubled in this way. The issue of AIDS orphans is also an extremely serious concern. Relatives are the principle caretakers in many Sub-Saharan countries but the enormous financial burdens placed upon them make the future uncertain for these orphans. Governments and NGOs must step in and offer safety-net mechanisms such as subsidy programs, orphanages and educational programs.

Finally, awareness of HIV/AIDS can be promoted through efforts aimed at raising educational standards, enlarging health organizations, eliminating social prejudices against HIV/AIDS, generating income for the poor, and good governance to promote social and political participation by the impoverished. These measures to promote awareness are not specific to the HIV/AIDS virus, but are measures that enhance the ability of the poor to respond to risk in general.

3-2-3 A Bird's Eye View of Human Security of an Individual Country

A bird's eye view of human security for an individual country can be obtained by performing risk analysis and risk management for each case, as in the above example of HIV/AIDS.

3-3 Grand Design of a Human Security Oriented Poverty Reduction Strategy/Program

Ensuring human security expands "the real freedoms that people enjoy." How can an individual's capability to act on his or her behalf be enhanced? *Human Security Now* suggests that this requires "protection" and "empowerment." [42] These factors relate mainly to implementation methods or forms of the above-mentioned sequence of prevention, coping, and promotion.

[42] "Human security naturally connects several kinds of freedom — such as "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear," as well as "freedom to take action on one's own be half." Ensuring human security expands "the real freedoms that people enjoy." So how can we protect people's basic freedoms? And how can we enhance people's capabilities to act on their own behalf? Protection strategies, set up by states, international agencies, NGOs and the private sector, shield people from menaces. Empowerment strategies enable people to develop their resilience to difficult conditions." (Commission on Human Security (2003) p. 10)

Table 3-2 Grand Design of a Human Security Oriented Poverty Reduction Strategy/Program

	Protection	Empowerment
Prevention/Mitigation	A	B
Coping	C	D
Promotion	E	F

A grand design of a human security oriented poverty reduction strategy is obtained by incorporating implementation methods or forms into risk-management (Table 3-2).

(1) Freedom from large external shocks is a precondition for securing human security. In this regard, efforts are required to develop preventative measures for avoidable risks. Peace and macro-economic stability can easily be destroyed by human power. Maintaining peace and macro-economic stability can be attained through intelligence gathering efforts and the good will of mankind. The first and foremost task of human security is to prevent threats such as violent conflicts and macro-economic instability from occurring. Environmental degradation from overdevelopment must also be forestalled. Natural disasters and pandemic diseases can be predicted up to a certain extent, and preventative measures can be put into place.[43]

When a state fails to function because of violent conflicts or macro-economic instability, human security will be the first to be threatened. When this happens, a functional government must be rebuilt through the efforts of the international community. When government is weak and the state is not functioning properly, governance capabilities must be strengthened.

The Report of the Commission on Human Security discusses in detail ways to recover from violent conflicts. Five policies are indispensable to protect people who are exposed to violent conflicts: ① placing human security on the security agenda; ② strengthening humanitarian action; ③ respecting human rights and humanitarian law; ④ disarming people and fighting crime; and ⑤ preventing conflict and respecting citizenship.[44] The report also points out that helping countries recover from conflict creates the groundwork on which development and human security can be established. Five human security clusters are necessary to attain human security in a post-conflict recovery situation: ① ensuring public safety; ② meeting immediate humanitarian needs; ③ launching rehabilitation and reconstruction; ④ emphasizing reconciliation and coexistence; and ⑤ promoting governance and empowerment.[45]

(2) Once peace is maintained and macro-economic stability is attained, the most important basic policy or measure from the perspective of poverty reduction is human development policy, or measures to promote social opportunities of the people. To attain this objective, a poor-sensitive development strategy is necessary which avoids or mitigates risks to the poor,[46] creates gainful employment and is sensitive to income distribution. Public policies and good governance that promote social and political participation of the poor are also indispensable.

[43] Preventative measures for earthquakes include enhancing earthquake prediction systems, designing and implementing earthquake-proof construction for buildings, and system development to cope with natural disasters.

[44] Commission on Human Security (2003) Ch. 3

[45] *Ibid.* Ch. 5

[46] The concept of "poor-sensitive development" includes a "pro-poor growth strategy" but its meaning is wider. Specifically, it refers to economic growth which contributes to poverty reduction (or a growth strategy that creates employment for the poor to earn better compensation, without improving or deteriorating the level of income distribution).

(3) However, these policies and measures should be complemented by subtle and risk specific preventative measures. Specifically, this requires a public policy that will secure the basic needs of the impoverished, including education, primary health care and a participatory approach to development.

(4) Safety net programs, such as emergency funds and food-for-work programs that are adopted when people face risks, should be final and residual measures.[47]

Even the chronically poor or vulnerable possess some coping measures when faced with threats. These include informal insurance mechanisms such as risk dispersion (consumption and income smoothing) or risk pooling. Yet the benefits of informal insurance measures such as borrowing from moneylenders, drawing from savings, remittance from migrant family members, disposal of assets, deterioration in meal quality, dependence on non-market goods, reciprocal gift exchange among community (relatives, ethnic group, religious group, and labor unions), or rotating savings and credit associations, are limited and do not to function well enough when individuals face large or concurrent risks.[48]

Social safety-net programs must be strengthened so they can act as coping measures against threats. Governments can enact emergency laws and prepare emergency funds. Food-for-work programs are also very effective. It is also important to strengthen informal or traditional insurance mechanisms or socially embedded safety net mechanisms at the household and community levels. Finally, the significance of volunteers cannot be overemphasized. Journalism, too, has an equally important and indispensable role to play in the campaign for human security.

3-4 Implications for JICA's Assistance Programs

What are the implications of incorporating the concept of human security into a poverty reduction strategy for JICA's assistance programs? The implications are three-fold. The human security perspective will ① strengthen assistance towards preventative and mitigating measures against various threats; ② enhance assistance to various social safety net programs used as coping measures against risks; and ③ strengthen capacity development programs to promote human development and to improve governance structure, which are also considered preventative measures.

[47] World Bank (2001) p. 146
[48] Platteau (1991); Dercon (2005)

Box 3-1 Human Security and Downside Risks

Yoichi MINE

Because it is often considered a complement to national/state security, discussions on human security tend to be based on the perspective of political studies. However, it is obvious that the notion of human security need to take into account the multiple challenges involved in human development. Thus, an active dialogue among researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds is essential to advance the study of human security. Amartya Sen maintained that the consideration of "downside risks" is a major component of the human security approach, an assertion that was set forth practically following his masterful analysis of famines in Asia and Africa. Exogenous shocks that expose people to sudden, momentous risks include armed conflicts, forced population movement, outbreak of pandemics, natural disasters and financial crises. Readiness for these risks should be embedded in every design of poverty reduction programs and individual development projects in countries afflicted with deep poverty in order to make the life of vulnerable people more secure and predictable. Recent studies of the World Bank have accentuated the significance of helping poor households and villages manage risks, but the human security perspective must clearly go beyond individualization of risk-management. What is essential is to recognize the critical function of collective actions and decentralized democracy, and to delineate the role of the government as a coordinator. Moreover, the twin concepts of human development and human security are expected to deepen our understanding of the capability and entitlement approaches propounded by Sen himself. From a developmental economist point of view, human security and chronic poverty approaches can be complementary to each other and may contribute to make our understanding of the actual paths of human development more dynamic.

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Chapter II
Excerpts from Country and Issue-Wide Analyses of the Study

1. Poverty Reduction and Human Security in Latin America

Tomomi KOZAKI

In this chapter, chronic features and dynamics of fear and deprivation in Latin American countries, specifically in Guatemala and Bolivia, are analyzed. The focus is on vulnerability, defined as down side risks; main types of threats and their consequences; people's coping strategies; and risk management policies. Statistical materials, official documents including Guatemala's peace agreement, Bolivia's PRSP, MDG related papers, "Voices of the Poor" reports, as well as technical analyses of the World Bank on Guatemalan poverty analysis are used as references.

Thirty six years of grim internal war has plunged post-conflict Guatemala into a vicious circle of fear and deprivation that is far more serious than the conventional poverty trap. In addition to problems of wide spread chronic poverty, inequality and the devastating effects of the war, numerous types of threats, including the steep decline in the world price of coffee, historically the principal commodity for the rural Guatemalan economy, and natural disasters (hurricane, heavy rain and severe drought) are causing the nutritional condition of the poor to deteriorate even further. The result has been a rapid increase in emigration. Yet strict controls against illegal immigrants in the U.S. have lead to a large scale repatriation of Guatemalans, particularly among the so-called young "lost generation of war." Many have no choice but to become involved in street gangs known as "maras." In fact, the primary fear of residents in the capital city is the rapid and serious deterioration of public security. The coping strategies of the poor and the vulnerable, however, are limited to self-help based on bonding, a form of social capital, within a community in which they live. Other risk management policies such as emergency safety-nets provided by the government, international donors, NGOs, and private security market mechanisms, have been ineffective to alleviate the conditions of the vulnerable.

Bolivian democracy has been quite fragile, demonstrated by the ouster of President Sanchez Losada in October 2003. The Carlos Mesa government has tried to build a national consensus to implement the Bolivian Poverty Reduction Strategy, but governability is weak because of existing fault lines in society along ethnicity, class and locality. Whereas the basic needs of those who live in the capital and main cities have improved, poverty and vulnerability in rural areas have deteriorated. As a result, the existing acute gap between the geo-ecological and ethnical spaces has been expanding, leading to incessant political confrontation.

Bolivia, a poor, land locked country historically dependent on mineral exports, has not been blessed by the benefits of globalization. As the first Latin American country to experience the classic neo-liberal structural adjustment of the 1980s, the persistence of chronic poverty and deterioration of vulnerability have been caused not by temporal macro-level shocks, but by structural changes to the economy and "flexibilization and informalization" of the labor market. The "losers"

of these changes, particularly workers in the mineral sectors and indigenous people, have been obliged to transfer the negative effects of capability development to the next generation.

The following seven policies can contribute towards improving human security in Latin America:

(1) Establish a human security strategy based on characteristics of fear and vulnerability of each country as a substitute for the notorious National Security Doctrine, and build an implementation system that focuses on preventing and mitigating threat.
(2) Improve public security in order to break the vicious circle of fear and deprivation. Instead of a hard-line approach, known, for example, as "mano-dura" in Central America, "citizen's security" (seguridad ciudadana), defined as a comprehensive policy including social and urban development for the most vulnerable people and regions, should be adopted.
(3) Support asset formation and property establishment for the poor, and improve public and private safety-net mechanisms as instruments against the "flexibilization and informalization" of the labor market.
(4) Prevent intergenerational transmission of poverty by combining multiple policies such as asset formation, social protection and enlargement of opportunities for children of most vulnerable families.
(5) Readjust social programs, particularly PRSP targeting and outcome, by focusing on reducing and mitigating chronic poverty and vulnerability.
(6) Develop community and local government capacities as effective and efficient preventative, mitigating and reducing mechanisms for poverty and vulnerability at the regional and local levels. Develop methodologies for "Participatory Rural Vulnerability Assessment" (PRVA) and transfer it to the people in order to form social capital, and to build formal or informal support systems within a community or between communities.
(7) Japan's human security cooperation towards Latin America should integrate technical cooperation programs for natural disaster prevention with socio-economic vulnerability reduction programs such as participatory community development, local government capacity development and citizen's security improvement programs. Japan should lead donor coordination in this area.

2. Poverty Reduction and Human Security in Sub-Saharan Africa

Motoki TAKAHASHI

The issue of human security is most serious in Africa compared with any other region in the world. Income levels, already the lowest in the world, have been decreasing over the long-term unlike anywhere else. Human development indices are also at low levels, and actually falling in some countries. The spread of HIV/AIDS is shortening life expectancies. In addition, armed conflicts have been direct threats to human security in many nations in this continent. The conflicts have had wide spread repercussions beyond countries directly engaged in them, in the form of outflow of refugees and armaments.

A vicious structural cycle formed by a scarcity of resources caused by population growth, environmental degradation, and stagnating agricultural production lies behind the crises. Breaking the cycle requires proper government intervention and the wise use of market mechanisms. Unfortunately, both governments and markets are underdeveloped and dysfunctional in Africa.

This does not suggest that Africans have not taken steps to alleviate problems of human insecurity. At the household level, migration and diversification of revenue sources have helped to reduce risks for survival and security. Reciprocal support and mutual insurance function at the community level. In addition, citizens protect themselves during armed conflicts by organizing communal vigilante groups. At the national level, Ethiopia has taken successful steps towards the prevention of famine. Uganda has engaged in PR activities to restrain HIV/AIDS from spreading further. The South African government has been leading efforts to obtain a new international agreement for the care of those afflicted with HIV/AIDS by permitting parallel imports of generic medicines when a situation is considered a case of national emergency. Beyond the national level, African nations' collective endeavors to improve governance through peer review mechanisms and for neighboring countries to maintain or rebuild peace in war-torn nations merit special mention.

International cooperation should be provided in a manner that incorporates the initiative of African nations. Coordination between development stakeholders must be strengthened. The Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) of the recipient country should guide separate stakeholder activities into a more harmonized direction. Japan also needs to strengthen its support to formulate and implement PRS. While Japan's cooperation should be targeted towards people's livelihoods at the grassroots level, government structures should not be bypassed in the process; rather, Japan must help strengthen them.

3. Human Security in Mozambique — Case Study of a Post-Conflict Country

Yoichi MINE

Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony that borders the Republic of South Africa, has long suffered as a target of continuous destabilizing operations waged by its neighboring economic giant. In this chapter, we first discuss the extent to which Mozambique has achieved "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" during the decade of fragile peace following the dismantling of apartheid. Regional variations exist on the progress towards achieving "freedom from want." A rough poverty mapping using household expenditure poverty indicators, as well as those of human development in health and education, shows that the Southern region lags behind in the availability of basic needs but excels in human development. In contrast, people's lives in the North and Central regions, typically composed of "traditional" African villages, seems better off in terms of food security and supply of other basics, while statistical records of welfare indicators such as life expectancies and educational opportunities still remain at dismal levels. Thus, the priority for poverty alleviation shifts fundamentally depending on the focus.

Next, an attempt is made to specify the nature of major downside risks faced by post-conflict Mozambique in terms of the current state of peace-building; the social and demographic impact of HIV/AIDS; vulnerability to natural disasters such as floods; and the question of regional balance of economic growth. Securing the independence of the judicature and journalism will contribute significantly to lasting peace in the country. Projections indicate that the Central region will suffer devastating consequences from the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in coming years, and international support will be required in a campaign that targets the relatively young "Window of Hope" generation. When a series of powerful cyclones hit the southern part of Mozambique in 2000, effective multi-national relief operations were organized by governmental and non-governmental

agents from many parts of the world. Western donors and armed forces acted to coordinate relief efforts by the government of Mozambique and the UN. This practice of ownership during an emergency can be appreciated as a prototype of donor coordination which is becoming a guiding principle of the international aid regime in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The final section considers the role of the government in achieving human security. This requires strengthening the coordinating functions of the government sector, radical decentralization, and delineating the complex sphere of influence of wider regional communities such as the Limpopo river basin to extend beyond the boundaries of respective nation states. By being engaged in the PRSP process, the Mozambican government as well as leading donors has now come to recognize the critical impact of multifarious downside risks faced by the people of Mozambique. The author's general conclusion of the case study of Mozambique is that we may find ourselves better placed to formulate a more coherent development policy by integrating discrete policies that focus attention on downside risks into an embracing, holistic framework of "human security."

4. Poverty Reduction and Human Security in Bangladesh

Tatsufumi YAMAGATA

Poverty reduction and achieving human security are the two main goals of development in Bangladesh. Two fifths of the country's population lives below the poverty line when measured in terms of need for food. At the same time lives are constantly jeopardized by human rights violations and the risk of natural disasters. Violence and discrimination against the vulnerable are rampant, while floods and cyclones regularly devastate communities. Those who need special care are women, children, ethnic minorities, and refugees.

Although Bangladesh is saddled with social, political and economic problems, the country is changing rapidly amid globalization of the world economy. The growth performance of the Bangladeshi economy is quite impressive in the sense that the economic growth rate over the past ten years averaged 5% within a stable range of 4-6%. These features of economic growth in Bangladesh are highly admirable within the group of Least Developed Countries to which Bangladesh belongs. Exports in textiles and apparels are the main driving force behind the fast growth, and demographic transition contributes towards the high rate of economic growth per capita.

Along with economic growth, some progress can be seen in poverty reduction in both income and non-income areas. The head count ratio declined 10 points from 1991/1992 through 2000 in the entire economy. The gross primary enrollment ratio reached 97% for both women and men. The under-5 mortality rate dropped from 151 per 1000 live births in 1990/1991 to 110 in 2000. The maternal mortality rate also declined from 47 per 1000 live births in 1990/1991 to 30 in 1997/1998. These figures indicate that Bangladesh's performance has been remarkable in reducing both income and non-income poverty. Unfortunately, these achievements have been insufficient for the majority of the poor who remain destitute.

A consensus exists that one of the critical causes of human rights problems in Bangladesh is "governance" of the government. The public sector is inefficient in supplying essential services to the public; that is, the delivery of administrative services and public utilities such as water, electricity

and gas. In addition, the police and judiciary are not effectively protecting human rights and providing human security for its citizens.

Two recommendations can be made to the government of Japan in terms of its assistance to Bangladesh based on the above review. First, Japan's ODA must have a strong impact in improving the governance of the Bangladeshi government. Fully aware of the importance of introducing measures to improve governance, the government of Bangladesh is ready to address this issue positively. Japan can assist Bangladesh's efforts to rationalize the government itself and the country's public sector through capacity building of policemen and other officials, and by granting necessary equipments to modernize government services.

The second recommendation is for Japan to balance its ODA between aid to sustain the life of the poor at the subsistence level and aid to improve productive capacities that will expand opportunities for income generation. Even though Bangladesh is still considered a Least Developed Country (LDC), the country has been exhibiting an admirable growth performance. Inter alia, the garment industry is internationally competitive and provides enormous employment opportunities for the poor and the underprivileged including uneducated women. While directly offering basic needs to the poor is still an essential mandate of Japan's ODA to Bangladesh, investing in both human and physical capital through ODA is also meaningful and fruitful.

Bangladesh has made great strides in poverty reduction, economic growth, industrialization and globalization. The country, however, confronts many challenges internally and externally, including governance and competition from international markets. Bangladesh is in a position to achieve human security and poverty reduction if the country handles the challenges well in cooperation with Japan and other bilateral or multilateral donors.

5. Major Issues on Governance and Human Security

Kyoko KUWAJIMA

Governance at the state or local level affects human security in two ways. Good governance protects people from threats and risks and enhances improvements to their livelihoods. Bad governance exacerbates insecurity in the livelihood of the poor and threatens their lives and dignity. In many countries with prevalent power abuse, those in power tend to choose policies and budget spending that suit the purpose of rent-seeking, ignoring those conducive to poverty reduction. Many poor people are deprived of rights and opportunities because of institutional imperfections in property rights of land and other assets, police protection, and legal assistance. According to household surveys, poor people tend to pay more in bribes relative to their income.

Fragile countries that fail to exercise basic state functions are not only unable to deliver minimum levels of social services or protection, but also are unable to maintain law and order and confront political instability and financial crises. The result is often increased social unrest, confrontation or conflict, possibly leading to military intervention by other countries. When this happens, people become deprived of their livelihoods and assets, are displaced from their home lands, and come under the threat of fear and want. The causes of such bad governance lie in the lack of political will of the government to make improvements, or the lack of its capacity to implement measures. The

international community should engage in diplomatic persuasion to induce improvement, conflict resolution and management for those countries that lack the will to improve, have failed in efforts to improve, or are failing politically or economically. For post-conflict countries, peace building assistance should start by providing development aid on a small scale while maintaining security. Specific approaches and tools of development assistance are required to restore government functions and to recover the infrastructure necessary for people's livelihood and economic activities.

For countries where conditions are not as severe as those of failed states but lack the capacity to improve governance, aid should be directed to measures that reduce threats to human security and contribute towards poverty reduction. This requires forming a participatory and decentralized governance structure where policies are decided and implemented based on information close to the grassroots level, and policy makers and executors are committed to more effective and efficient ways to implement policy. This is referred to **aid for participatory and decentralized governance**. In order to improve the state's basic functions, development cooperation should involve not only the government but other actors including the private sector, civil society organizations, communities and local societies, together with specific mechanisms to increase government transparency.

Towards this goal, the following factors and their linkages are important: empowerment of the socially vulnerable; accountability systems and mechanisms; devolution to levels of government closer to people (decentralization); and capacity building of actors involved (stakeholders). When the central government cannot fully perform coordinating and auditing functions, different forms of decentralization and devolution systems should be considered because in this case decentralization tends to worsen the abuse of power by local elites.

It is also important to improve people's access to institutions and protection measures that ensure their legal rights and to streamline the environment that enables access. This is called **aid to legal empowerment**. This includes formal legal and judiciary systems, as well also informal systems and measures. For example, the following measures would be most effective in combination: consultations by paralegals, trained local volunteers and NGO staff to facilitate the poor to overcome factors that obstruct access to legal systems and participation in governance; improved informal tribunal mechanisms; improvements to government functions to license/authorize and arbitrate; and training of government officials.

Aid for empowerment, accountability improvement, and decentralization should be integrated in general development projects. It is important to enhance cooperation between civil society organizations and the government by combining activities at the central, local government and community levels.

6. Vulnerability and Poverty in Risks: an Economic Approach

6-1 The Concept of Vulnerability and its Measures

Takashi KUROSAKI

This survey examines in detail the concept of vulnerability in economic analysis and its practical measures. Questions addressed include: how has the concept of vulnerability been modeled in economics? Why is it an important factor in determining human security? How has the vulnerability concept been operationalized into measures that can be estimated from quantitative and qualitative data? What are some of the weaknesses of these measures in practicing development policies intended to reduce poverty or vulnerability?

In mainstream development economics literature, vulnerability is usually conceptualized as a loss in forward-looking welfare due to low expected consumption, high variability of consumption, or both. By completely specifying the stochastic dynamic programming model for a household in a developing country, it is possible to simulate numerically the sources of vulnerability and the impact of policy changes in a rigorous way. However, this methodology has several drawbacks. First, it requires high quality panel data over the long term, which is not available for most developing countries. Second, the simulation results based on it are sometimes difficult to understand due to its complicated dynamic interference. Third, it is prohibitively difficult to extend the model to incorporate the multidimensionality of welfare (i.e., to incorporate the non-monetary aspects of well-being). For these reasons, a number of practical measures of vulnerability have been proposed that can be estimated directly from household datasets. For example, dynamic changes to income or consumption at the individual level included in a panel dataset can be aggregated into a measure of vulnerability, such as ① the average depth of income (or consumption) decline for those who experienced such a decline; ② the sensitivity of consumption changes to income changes; ③ the component of past poverty that can be attributed to the fluctuation of consumption; and ④ the probability of falling below the poverty line in the next time period. Similar methodologies can be applied to non-monetary indicators such as health, education, and physical assets.

By utilizing these measures, we can identify who and which regions are more vulnerable to a particular type of risk. This kind of information is useful both in targeting poverty reduction policies and post-project evaluations. Since the nature of vulnerability is diverse, it is not advisable to search for a single index of vulnerability. Instead, the whole vector of various vulnerability measures should be employed as it is. In the report, various vulnerability measures were estimated by the author, using a small panel dataset collected in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan. This exercise showed that different conclusions can be drawn on the question of who is more vulnerable, depending on the choice of the measure. To construct the full set of vulnerability measures in a comprehensive way, both quantitative information included in household panel datasets, such as consumption, income, assets, education and health, and qualitative information elicited from household surveys or from participatory poverty assessment (PPA), such as subjective assessments of a particular type of risk and the available coping measures, are useful. Since it may not be advisable to wait for extended years of panel surveys before conducting a post-project evaluation, the latter type of qualitative information may be employed as the main source of information for such an evaluation. Regardless of the type of information used, it is critically important to evaluate the

impact of a project against a sound counterfactual situation without the project. Taking a double difference approach is a powerful tool in these evaluation exercises.

6-2 Poverty Reduction, Risk, and Economic Growth

Koji YAMAZAKI

In this section, we first use data from India to investigate quantitatively how the limited ability of the poor to mitigate risk lowers their welfare. We also evaluate the relative importance of two factors affecting the welfare of the poor: risk and low income level. Second, we summarize causal linkages between mitigating welfare levels that fluctuate over the short run and promote long-term economic growth. The conclusions can be summarized as follows.

First, the poor constitute people with different welfare levels. While risk is an important factor for those who are close to the poverty line, incomes of people far below the poverty line do not have any room to fluctuate as they are already at a critical level. Thus, we have to keep in mind that policies aimed towards stabilization of living standards and income growth have two different groups of beneficiaries.

Second, policies to reduce risk among the poor may actually promote investment and increase future earnings. Hence, short-term stabilization policies can reduce poverty over the long run. Other research show supporting evidence that risk forces the poor to invest in excessively safe projects with low profitability. However, we do not have conclusive evidence that providing insurance and credit to mitigate risk among the poor leads to poverty reduction. It is a simple fact that the absolute poor cannot afford to save. This linkage requires further research.

Third, the most important driving force for poverty reduction is long-term, stable economic growth. Institutional reforms are required to achieve this. However, one prescription for institutional reform does not necessarily apply to every situation in a uniform manner. Individual circumstances of each society need to be taken into account when developing institutional frameworks, in addition to the expectations of people and governments. As institutional reforms take time, an appropriate balance between policies to help the poor survive and policies to promote long-run growth needs to be established. Institutional reform based on participation and consensus is the most crucial, but the most difficult, task that lies ahead.

7. Resource Governance and Human Security

Jin SATO

This chapter deals with issues of poverty from the perspective of institutional failure to convert resources into improvements to people's livelihoods. This approach clearly contrasts with the conventional view that poverty is caused by the *lack* of resources either on the part of the poor or those who are in a position to assist the poor. By focusing on the *presence* rather than the *absence* of resources, a new approach to human security is proposed. Focusing on its absence justifies efforts to supplement this by bringing in resources from the outside as a form of assistance. On the other hand, focusing on the presence of resources invite us to look into reasons why existing resources are not utilized fully to serve the needs of the poor. Depending on the analytical viewpoints we choose,

policy implications may differ significantly.

A recent debate over "resource curse" has shed new light on how the nature of resources might shape economic and political institutions, with significant impact on the quality of governance. The resource curse hypothesis states that various mechanisms retard economic and political progress in a country endowed with rich natural resources. Some have even claimed that an abundance of natural endowments such as oil and mineral resources tend to have a negative impact on poverty. One should notice, however, that imposing top-down environmental conservation can also become a risk for the poor who rely on surrounding natural resources for their livelihoods. The risk of resource abuse and confiscation by the government often shortens the time horizon of the poor and encourages degradation of the resource base. The quality of resources and the security of the poor are connected in an intricate manner.

To promote human security, institutional mechanisms are required to ensure that the benefits from resources are fed back into the local economy and its people. Designing such institutions demands research beyond collective action at the community level; a parallel investigation must be made into governments to pinpoint factors that prohibit the conversion of resources into benefits for the vulnerable. By improving the quality of resource governance, human security in poorer regions can be expected to improve. The most important step would be to democratize resource control and stabilize the asset entitlement regimes that are necessary to transform those resources into benefits. Reappraising the value of common property and incorporating poverty sensitive aspects to resource development and environmental conservation projects will also be necessary.

The domestic political and economic mechanisms that lead to competition over resources must first be understood before promoting human security from the outside. Appropriate counterparts in the country or region must then be selected with whom aid providers can work together from a strategic perspective. Nurturing actors who support the promotion of human security instead of increasing the number of human security related projects is the most effective way to achieve this goal.

8. Social Development and Human Security from the Grassroots: the Example of Cambodia

Masato NODA

Social development and economic development are both crucial for poverty reduction. The benefits of macro economic development do not adequately 'trickle down' to the every single poor person. Socio-cultural factors, as well as economic growth, must be addressed. Traditionally, the protection of people's security including poverty issues has been considered the role of the state. In many developing countries, however, the state is unable to act in this capacity because of weak fiscal means and governance. In other words, 'human security by the state' does not function properly in these countries. From the human security perspective for poverty reduction, each individual is the focus of attention. 'People's security', i.e., 'grassroots and/or bottom-up' poverty reduction actions of the people, by the people, for the people, is equally crucial to 'state and/or top-down' action.

Cambodia, suffering from the effects of a series of long civil wars, is an example of a country

where ‘human security by the state’ is ineffective and the state cannot provide necessary public and social services to its people. Traditionally, Buddhism and the community have functioned historically as grassroots providers of public and social services to complement state failure in these areas.

In addition to being a public administration system, the Buddhist temple has been the centre of the community, helping to strengthen social capital for mutual community based actions (MBCA). In the field of development studies, particularly social development, social network and social trust is becoming increasingly important. Referring to social strength as ‘social capital,’ the World Bank regards it important in development, along with natural, physical and human capital. The concept of social capital can be defined as the trust, network, norm and reciprocity among the people (Putnam, 1995). In the case of Cambodia, Buddhism as a form of social capital (BSC) is crucial for human security at the grassroots level.

Social norms or ‘cognitive social capital’ is the foundation of people’s actions in the community. Common values help build mutual trust and promote collective action for community improvement. In Cambodia, the majority of people try to lead ‘good lives’ based on a common discipline, Buddhism. Since the ancient days of the Angkor Empire, Cambodians share the idea of ‘four noble truths’ containing four norms: ‘metta’(loving kindness), ‘karuna’(compassion), ‘mudhita’(sympathetic joy) and ‘upekka’(no attachment). These norms form the basis of social actions for a better life.

Social networks or ‘structural social capital’ are the mechanisms for the MBCA. In rural Cambodian society, BSC ‘promotes’ and ‘protects’ people’s human security at the grassroots level. To promote human security, rural Cambodians provide their own social services and infrastructures such as schools, roads and irrigation. For these social developments, the Buddhist temple and its management committee are critical actors mobilizing community resources including human, financial and material resources.

To protect human security, BSC provides social safety nets (SSN) at the grassroots level. In accordance with Buddhist tradition, donations to the temple support not only the monks but also lay people who live within the temple. The temple is an education centre in the community for people who are unable to receive basic education and a shelter for the vulnerable including orphans, the elderly and widows. Their basic human needs (BHN) are assured by people’s contributions as long as they remain in the temple.

The Buddhist temple empowers poor children through monkhood. Poor children who cannot afford to receive a normal education are given an alternative opportunity in the temple as novice monks, where they are given a basic education. In addition, they study Buddhism and learn about social action through the temple’s community development works. Through this empowerment process, children are trained to become community leaders as Buddhist monks or lay persons. This is an example of a human resource development cycle for poverty reduction, named ‘the virtuous cycle of poverty reduction by Buddhism’ by the author.

In addition to its role in bonding the community, BSC also acts as a bridge between different communities. A vast network connects Buddhist temples with other temples located beyond their

immediate community, in other districts, provinces, or even abroad. People are able to share resources for social development through the temple's network.

The actions of Community-Driven Development (CDD) by Buddhism is usually supported and promoted by local and international NGOs and civil society organizations. Unfortunately, the Royal Government of Cambodia and international development agencies do not recognize its importance.

Sustainable social development for poverty reduction requires emphasizing and supporting people's initiatives. Social analysis and research can pinpoint social and cultural resources for CDD. In cooperation with NGOs and civil society organizations, utilizing a community's social capital is the key to promote people's ownership and CDD for poverty reduction and human security.