

2001
**Hemispheric Social
Inclusion Index (HSII)**

**Do Open Markets Create Open Societies?
Measuring Human Security in the Western
Hemisphere**

An Analysis of Trends in Social Inclusion
Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Canada, Mexico and the
United State, 1985 - 2000

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**A Project of The Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies York
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the public mind, human security is a difficult concept to define, but like many soft concepts, it expresses many of the real concerns that individuals and groups have about the present. In this report, we use human security with a precise meaning and as a metaphor. When ordinary people use the term human security, it usually means having peace of mind, and the freedom from fear, want, need and arbitrary authority. Human security is also a key concept for societal governance defined as the fundamental right to legal justice when public authority tries to balance individual and group freedoms with order and stability.

Throughout the hemisphere, human security concerns in both senses have been in the forefront in the post-Cold War world and have gained increasing attention. Courts have often been reluctant to facedown governments' national security measures and protect individual rights. When national security rides roughshod over civil rights, civil society is put at grave risk. The question is how, at a time of heightened national security concerns, has the human security agenda fared in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Mexico and the US the six countries examined in this Report?

It was hoped that by measuring human security over the past 20 years, the impact of neo-liberal state reforms from a human security perspective could also be assessed. So far, public authorities lack an adequate understanding of the impact of these reforms on civil society actors and individuals. This is why the Human Social Inclusion Index is valuable. It attempts to develop fine-grained analysis of many important indicators of human security today in four areas: the adequacy of public goods (including education, health care, law and order and defence), the equity of market trade-offs, the state of play of human rights, and the progress towards gender

equality in a region that contains two of the world's largest trading blocs NAFTA and MERCOSUR.

Principle Findings

Using our benchmark measures, the report finds the existence of a significant human security deficit in many areas of public and private life. To date, the human security agenda is not well understood by public authority. Many governments appear unwilling to undertake the kinds of social regulation needed to create more open and secure societies. The major findings of the report are:

- In terms of **access to justice**, the judicial system in Canada and the US continues to fail many people who often are unable to obtain adequate legal counsel. Despite the rule of law, a growing number of defendants have been convicted for crimes they did not commit. In the US, which has not abolished capital punishment, the numbers on death row continue to multiply, as do state-ordered executions.

In MERCOSUR countries, human rights violations continue to be prevalent. While police brutality, torture, kidnapping and disappearances are no longer officially sanctioned by authoritarian governments, vigilante style justice continues to operate at the edge of society in many jurisdictions. Even with the return to the rule of law in Brazil, Argentina and Chile, human rights are not secure and still need to be protected, particularly with the worsening economic climate in Argentina and Brazil.

- In the area of **public goods**, both education and health care are under-funded. As well, basic access to health care is at unacceptably low levels. For instance, less than 50% of the Brazilian population has access to essential drugs with access defined as being within a one-hour walk of a hospital. More generally, crime has become a dangerous and ever present

problem in the MERCOSUR countries. High military spending uses an extraordinarily large part of public resources in both Argentina and Chile.

In NAFTA countries, many more public goods are available particularly in health and education but the public education system is short of resources and there is less public commitment to maintaining a strong educational system today than at any time in the last 50 years. Prison populations in Canada and the US continue to remain at relatively high levels, especially in light of a general reduction in crime levels.

- In terms of '*market trade-offs*,' increasing income stratification has marked NAFTA countries. Greater amounts of wealth are being concentrated in the hands of the rich (with ratios from a low of 8.5:1 to as high as 25:1). The promise that freer trade would lead to higher standards of living for everyone remains an elusive and unrealized goal. Poverty levels have also increased steadily over the past 15 years. These examples reflect the fact that the trade-offs between increased openness and participation in the global economy have been marked by a strong degree of asymmetry.

Inequitable market trade-offs have caused hardship throughout MERCOSUR. Debt servicing expenditures consume over 60% of Argentina's and Brazil's public spending. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) austerity and structural adjustment plans have reduced social spending dramatically. As a result, income stratification has reached dangerously high levels with the ratio of wealth held by the rich compared to the poor reaching as high as 47:1 in Brazil. Not unexpectedly, poverty and unemployment have also increased in recent years due to this mix of policies.

- In terms of *gender equality*, the great differences that exist in income continue to go unaddressed by political elites. Despite individual progress, males continue to out-earn their

female counterparts in almost all sectors of the economy, even when they are doing comparable work. The political under-representation of women is pronounced in public life. While they have had the vote for more than eight decades, women in Canada hold only 20% of parliamentary seats. Their political voice continues to be muted in spite of their new-found influence in society through their labour market participation.

In MERCOSUR countries, gender equality progress has been slow and uneven, despite the fact that women's participation in the labour market is increasingly the norm in most countries. It is a disturbing fact of life that the political representation of women remains disappointingly low. Argentina has the "best" record with 28% of its elected politicians female, while Brazil has the worst at 6%. The absence of full political participation by women, in part, explains the very large income disparities that exist in many MERCOSUR countries. With so few women present in the legislature, women's issues have had few champions inside government to address their needs at the highest level of policy-making.

National Security and the Open Society

The overarching question of this report is has the emphasis on the creation of open markets within the hemisphere resulted in stronger and more open societies in which human security can be achieved? This is a difficult question because the answer is not straightforward. The unimpeded operation of market forces and increased economic interdependence are not interchangeable with the goal of human security. Indeed, human security needs are strikingly different from the pressures on public authority to move in the direction of a smaller state.

For one thing, when people on the street think about human security, they think of the ways it affects them as individuals in groups or larger collectivities in the social sphere. One of the biggest obstacles to a strong and effective human security agenda is that public authorities

have not accurately weighed the benefits of increasingly open and efficient markets against the unmet social needs created by new competitive pressures.

In the past, the custom has been to focus on law and order, and defence as the key components of national security practices. What is inadequate about this formulation is that state security needs to protect individuals from urban crime, personal assault and random acts of violence while at the same time addressing the economic and social conditions that put individuals and groups at risk. All countries are required to make choices, or what economists call 'trade-offs' that affect family income, employment security and gender equity. From a human security perspective, what we need to examine is whether the trade-offs are equitable in terms of market effects. When the costs from program cutting fall disproportionately on low-income people, one of the conditions for a secure environment is absent.

The kinds of transactions involved in such trade-offs are complex. In many jurisdictions throughout the hemisphere, more money is devoted to debt reduction than to expenditures on human capital. Where monetary policies have forced firms to restructure and significant job losses have resulted, many individuals have seen their purchasing power deteriorate. Frequently this destructive cycle of globalization results in swelling the ranks of the poor. The recent food riots in Argentina are a powerful reminder of how neo-liberal policies can devastate an entire country.

The spillover effects from these unequal trade-offs have important consequences for the protection of human rights in the hemisphere. Many countries have a long and disquieting history of state security forces violating the political and economic rights of minorities, aboriginal peoples and political opponents of the regime in power. On the ground, the protection

of human rights and the securing of human security has not always been reinforcing. This is cause for alarm, particularly in Argentina, Mexico and Brazil.

Human rights have always been recognized as vital to human security because they offer protection from arbitrary authority and promote the free exercise of rights and freedoms. Yet despite their continuing juridification in both international law and national constitutions, the human rights record, in the hemisphere, has been a 'mixed bag' over the past fifteen years. In effect, there appears to be a disjuncture between the human rights, which exist on paper and those, that exist in the day-to-day lives of many citizens. Clearly human rights are an area that public authorities must devote more resources to. It is no longer satisfactory to enshrine human rights protections and freedoms in charters and constitutions. Enforcement of human rights conventions, both at home and abroad, is required.

Advancing the Human Security Agenda

Public authorities have to work with business and civil society actors to ensure that human rights provisions are being upheld in the hemisphere. This is easy to say in the abstract but the attention of voters, politicians and the media remains preoccupied with violent crimes like murder, assault, and kidnapping. There is a close link between crime and personal vulnerability. In the low to middle income countries of Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Mexico, violent crime appears to be on the rise. For example, in Rio de Janeiro, people do not obey stop signs or traffic signals after dark for fear of being robbed or car-jacked. In these countries, those who are wealthy hire private security firms to protect their lives and property. They live in gated communities and walled neighbourhoods, which are closed to the unauthorized. Others are left to fend for themselves amid the anarchy of crime. In some regions, given existing widespread

corruption it is difficult to distinguish between the criminals and the public police forces that are supposed to be protecting communities.

All this confirms what many believe to be the case that when the state fails to address deeper social problems the people often take it upon themselves to act in dangerous and antisocial ways. It is for this reason that the law and order agenda continues to attract support from a cross-section of society. State authority is applauded when incarceration rates are pushed to their highest levels ever and governments criminalize anti-social behaviour with mandatory minimums, racial profiling, and longer sentences. Frequently governments forget that the optimal response to a crime wave must address the underlying causes of criminal activity if human security is to be promoted as a vital goal of public safety everywhere.

If human security is to be attained in a satisfactory form, it must be shared by all members of a society to an equal degree. Public goods, the mitigation of market trade-offs, human rights provision and gender equality must be socially inclusive by definition and allow for the prioritization, sharing, access and participation of all societal elements. Human security demands that the security of one person cannot be attained at the expense of another.

If human security goals are going to have a chance of being realized, public authorities must recognize that human security is more than a narrow issue agenda. In the final analysis, it is primarily a form of preventative social regulation, one that recognizes that threats to well-being are multidimensional in nature. In many jurisdiction current state responses to significant disparities in wealth, structural adjustment programs and continuing gender inequality contribute significantly to human insecurity.

This report is part of an important research project undertaken by the Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies to explore the important concept of social inclusion. While social inclusion is a

soft concept that requires greater precision, it can also provide benchmarks for governments, civil society actors, policy experts to enable them to better understand whether countries in the hemisphere are becoming more inclusive in terms of goals, values, process and outcomes. Kyle Grayson prepared the working draft and was responsible for the initial conceptualization and challenging technical dimensions of this study. Special thanks to Thomas Legler, for tracking down Spanish data sources, and Fernando Aloise, for researching data in Portuguese. Fernando also made all the difference in the final sprint. The report is intended to be a prototype for a larger study and is illustrative of the complexity of human services provision in the Hemisphere. While it is not intended to be definitive or authoritative, because of the information it contains, it is an important vehicle for stimulating debate and discussion of these issues.

We welcome commentary, suggestions and feedback. Please e-mail them to drache@yorku.ca. The other studies in the Hemispheric Social Inclusion Index are available on our web site at www.robarts.yorku.ca.

Daniel Drache, Executive Director
Hemispheric Social Inclusion Index
January 3, 2002

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INTRODUCTION

No society is ever completely open, as there are always new groups or individuals attempting to be included. We need to be sensitive to how easily these groups, through their own efforts, receive an equitable share of benefits and exercise their rights as citizens. When they do, this accurately reflects an open and democratic society. Openness in turn should be considered a positive indicator of social inclusion. The real challenge for public authorities committed to achieving adequate levels of social inclusion is that this is easier said than done. Too often those in power are complacent to the needs, wants, and desires of the marginalized, excluded, and dispossessed.

Nonetheless, human security represents a new type of political orientation.¹ It encompasses both objective and subjective elements and the root causes are complex and strikingly social. Objectively, human security should be seen as:

- Policies and practices that do not put people at risk, nor expose them to increased vulnerabilities while providing people with the means to be full and active citizens. Thus human security and social inclusion should be seen as connected and mutually reinforcing.
- A renewed commitment to responsible governance, which places an emphasis on the crucial social regulatory role that the state must play.
- A commitment to preventative measures, which address the roots of human security problems rather than relying on quick-fix solutions that correct only surface effects.

These objective elements contribute to subjective perceptions, which are shared by a vast majority. The most important of these is that there must be freedom from fear including the fear

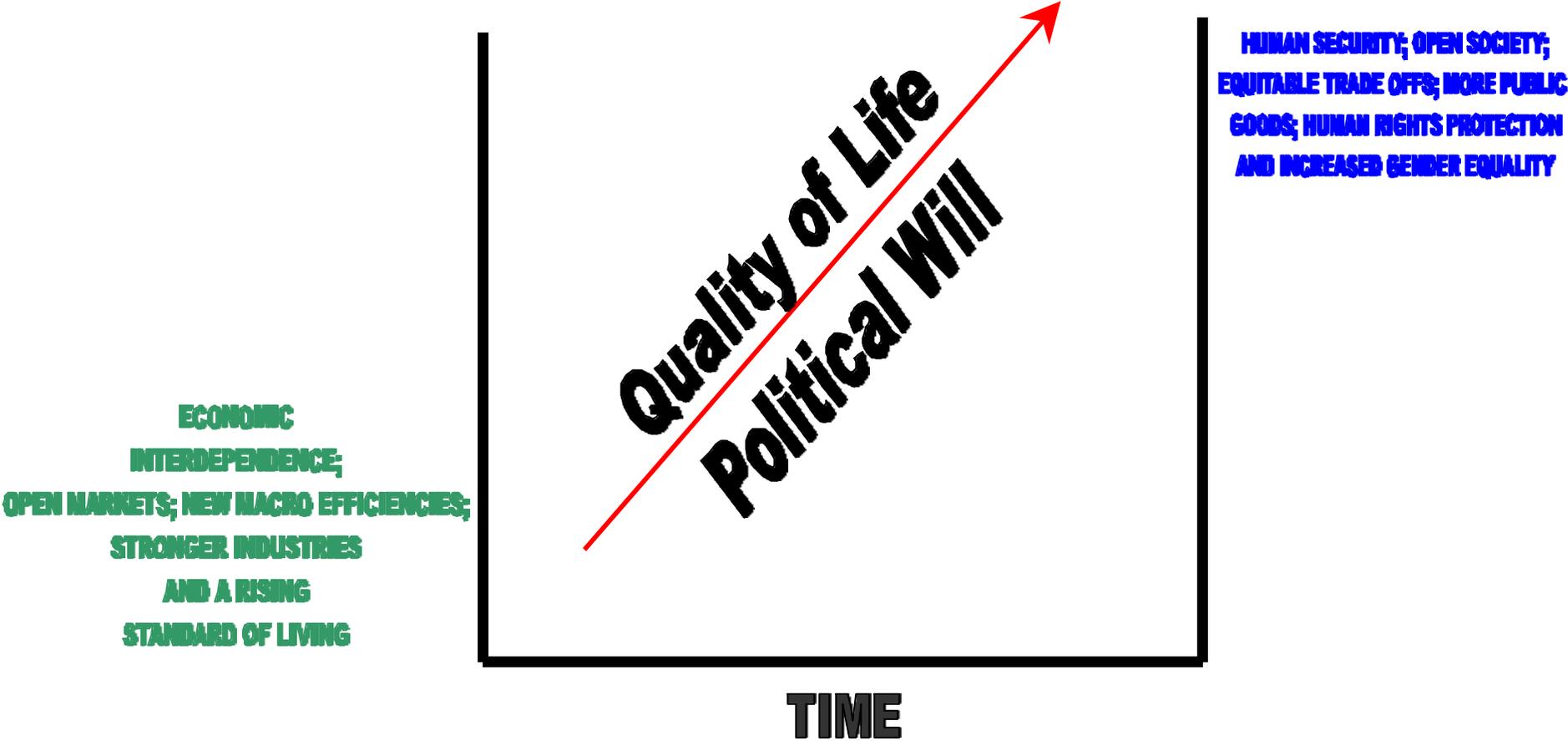
¹ During the Cold War, security conceptions concentrated on hard issues like nuclear weapons or communist containment. Issues such as child soldiers, land mines, drug trafficking, and human rights abuses were mistakenly characterized as soft issues by some experts. Practically there is a significant overlap between many of the concerns labelled soft with more traditional security approaches.

of violence, crime, and arbitrary state authority. Beyond this, there must be freedom from the want or need of basic human necessities such as health care, food, or the means by which one can obtain these necessary items. No society has ever fully met this high standard but the point is that the subjective dimension of human security is as important as the objective environment.

Especially in the aftermath of September 11th, 2001, we can see how important the subjective element is. Under most conditions, human security can be defined as policies and practices that do not put people at risk or expose them to increasing vulnerability, while providing them with the means to be full and active citizens. From this perspective, unemployment, social dumping and extreme income inequalities are as significant to civilian populations as high urban crime rates, kidnapping and terrorism. Access to legal justice is a critical component.

In order to think about human security from this larger perspective, it is necessary to examine its most compelling features. To see how we come to this conclusion it is necessary to look at the way the human security agenda is being re-framed, next there follows a discussion on what happens when the human security agenda is overtaken by other government priorities and practices. Finally a series of policy recommendations are proposed so that governments, civil society actors and social movements are better able to gauge the progress of their individual governments in the hemisphere.

THE NEO-LIBERAL PROMISE



COMPETITION VS. SOCIAL NEED THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME

It is often said that public policy is about trade-offs and defending human security is no exception. The idea of an equitable trade-off arises because of the democratic nature of contemporary politics where competing groups vie for a limited pool of resources or policies. The hope of the middle classes is to achieve a greater voice in how these resources are distributed. In any society, it is virtually impossible to reach policy decisions that will fully satisfy all citizens. Therefore, responsible public authorities will seek to design and implement policies that create a prudent balance between the costs and benefits, which are in turn equitably shared throughout society. While the groups involved often deride these solutions, they offer protection and benefits, which offset the real costs that inevitably arise. Today in the hemisphere, one of the biggest obstacles to a strong and effective human security agenda is that public authorities have not accurately weighed the benefits of increasingly open and efficient markets against the unmet social needs arising from new competitive pressures.

What makes the idea of human security so compelling is that it offers an alternative way of conceptualizing individual and collective safety. In our conceptual, model human security comprises public goods emphasizing health and education for all members of society, reasonable law enforcement practices, and low levels of militarization. All of these elements highlight the important role that must be played by the state in order to meet social needs including the mitigation of market trade-offs. If handled correctly it would result in an effective balance between market reforms and social needs.

RETHINKING SOCIAL REGULATION

From a broader perspective, human security privileges the well-being of individuals while recognizing the tensions between state power and individual liberties, which in part can be

mitigated through accountable decision-making procedures. One of the most effective instruments to deal with the variety of human security issues in the hemisphere is social regulation. Social regulation allows public authorities to buffer, shift, balance, prevent, or eliminate negative outcomes that arise in the political, economic, or social realms.

There are two main types of social regulation: reactive and proactive. Reactive social regulation responds to particular human security threats such as the administration of disaster relief in the aftermath of flooding. Proactive social regulation tries to circumvent the social cycles linked to human insecurity such as poverty and crime. Therefore, proactive social regulation seeks to remove the structural barriers that contribute to such cycles through policies that promote inclusion. Programmes such as unemployment insurance, which may dissuade individuals from committing crimes to support themselves when they are out of work, provide an example of this form of social regulation.

Proactive social regulation has been included as an important aspect of both the index and this report. For present purposes, it will be referred to as political will. Political will is vital to human security because it is a catalyst for social change and the overcoming of social obstacles. When political will is absent, the status quo prevails and pressing social problems remain off the agenda. Significantly, what one can see happening today is that new obstacles are being erected, which have heightened individual or group anxiety particularly for low-income, disadvantaged and socially segregated groups in society. When this happens, points of entry are closed off strengthening the forces that exclude many from participating and sharing in the benefits of society. When experts in the media talk about exclusion, this is what they are referring to.

We can never definitively say that a society is open for all time rather we must constantly monitor its degree of openness. In periods when society is less open, many of the immediate

effects of exclusion may be ignored. Even when human security is not at absolute risk, it is a constant worry. For example, in the shantytowns, which surround the major urban centres of Brazil, a lack of educational opportunities for children, translates later in life to an absence of economic opportunities. This in turn becomes a contributing cause to the high levels of crime in these areas. In Canada and the US, a disproportionate number of First Nations people live in conditions of squalor often associated with the most impoverished circumstances of underdeveloped countries. Low life expectancies, high suicide rates, and above average incarceration rates are the outward manifestations of social exclusion.

Our point here is that the hemisphere faces a wide variety of human security challenges but these are difficult to quantify in the form of an index due to the fact that they contain both subjective and objective elements. For example, despite evidence in Canada and the US that violent crime levels are dropping to unprecedented levels, public opinion still sees crime as a major problem with many claiming to feel unsafe in large urban centres. Typically, while objective elements are easier to measure, subjective elements are just as important.²

MEASURING HUMAN SECURITY

An important feature of this report is how human security needs and social inclusion were measured as both processes and outcomes based on four factors: *access*, *political will*, *sharing*, and *participation*. Access is the opportunity or availability of a good, service, or societal condition that serves as a prerequisite for human security (e.g. health care and low crime rates).

² Feelings of fear and perceptions of the ability to exercise choice safely and freely are obviously very subjective. They could though be measured in part by qualitative survey data. Unfortunately, due to limitations in the data available, this index has been constructed in the absence of any subjective measurements of human security (e.g. "On a scale of 1 to 10, how safe do you feel, with 10 being extremely safe and 1 being extremely unsafe"). In Phase II of this project, we hope to be able to incorporate subjective data into the index. For present purposes, objective material indicators have been selected because we are interested in measuring leading indicators, which underlie the importance of social regulation as a key element of human security. In most cases, social regulation creates the conditions that are necessary for subjective affirmations of human security by reducing risks and vulnerabilities for individuals while providing them with the means to be active and full citizens.

Political will is the establishment of public and/or state priorities. It is directly tied to the capacity to remove structural barriers and obstacles to increased levels of access, sharing, and participation across societies. Sharing is the actual distribution of the goods, services, and conditions required for human security within society. Participation is the actual number of people who benefit from the goods, services, and conditions required for human security (e.g. the percentage of the population who have full health coverage).

In the HSII, the inclusion factors of *access* and *capacity* were measured by political will indicators, whereas exclusion factors such as a lack of *sharing* or *participation* were measured as negative outcome benchmark indicators. The intention of each respective proxy was to gauge the relationship between a societal environment conducive to social inclusion (and thus meeting the prerequisites for human security) and one that perpetuated factors of exclusion (or human insecurity). Therefore, indicators revealed either levels of political will or barriers to access and/or sharing and/or participation. The next step was to weight indicators in relationship to their importance to human security.

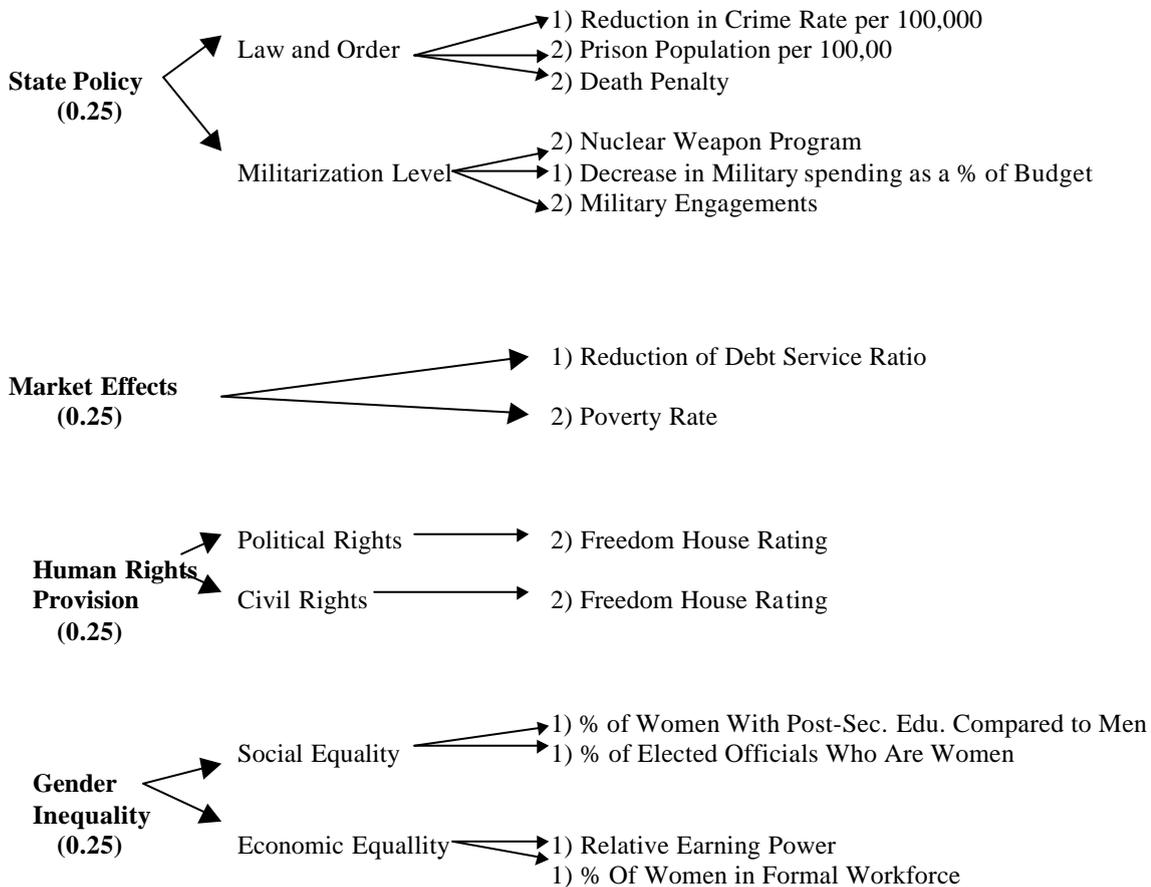
The weighting of the various components was a challenge. It was determined that no one sector could be considered more important than another sector. Therefore, each of the four sections was weighted equally at .25 or 25% of the total. The total sum of the prerequisites for human security was set at 1.00 or 100%.

- Public goods 0.25 (or 25%)
- Market trade-offs 0.25 (or 25%)
- Human Rights Provision 0.25 (or 25%)
- Gender Equality 0.25 (or 25%)

The weighting of the components of these sections was again the result of careful deliberation. The actual weightings given to these indicators can be viewed in Table 1 and in more detail in Appendix II.

WEIGHTING TREE OF THE HUMAN SECURITY COMPONENT OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

- 1) PRIORITIZATION INDICATORS THAT MEASURE POLITICAL WILL
- 2) BENCHMARK INDICATORS MEASURING NEGATIVE OUTCOMES



TOTAL (-) = .50

Negative Environmental Consequences Are Often Very Severe And Take Significant Time And Resources To Redress

Hemispheric Social Inclusion Index (HSII)

Human Security

TOTAL (+) = .50

Political Will Is Often Reactive And Slow To Implement And May Be Further Complicated By Inconsistencies Due To Changes In Political Ideologies Or Political Parties

Summary Overview of Human Security Indicators

There are several factors that must be present if human security is going to have a chance to be enjoyed in a society. State policies which undertake a regulatory role, the mitigation of detrimental market effects through state led social regulation, human rights, and gender equality are essential to human security. The following proxies (indicators) cover the prerequisites for human security that need to be addressed.

Index of Human Services Inclusion = 1.00							
Indicator	Sub-Indicator	Indicator	Weight	Balance	Rationale	Relevance	Data Source
State Policy	Public Goods: Universal Education	Public Expenditure on Education as % of GDP	0.25	Positive (+)	A commitment to education is in part a commitment to one of the precursor conditions for human security.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation.	UNESCO
		Post-Secondary Graduates per annum as % of Population		Positive (+)	The higher and more prevalent the levels of post-secondary education, the more likely that formal education is valued.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	UNESCO
		School Life Expectancy		Negative (-)	A high school life expectancy is indicative of a society in which formal education is highly valued.	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	UNESCO
	Public Goods: Universal Health Care	Public Expenditure on Health Care		Positive (+)	Shows the commitment of the state to providing health care for all of its citizens, a necessary requirement for human security..	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	Latin America: ECLAC Canada and the US: US Census
		% of Population With Health Care Coverage		Positive (+)	Lack of health coverage threatens human security by making it difficult/impossible for people to treat disease, thereby creating fear and reducing the quality of life.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	Coverage: OECD Access to essential drugs: UNDP
		Life Expectancy		Positive (+)	The longer the life expectancy, generally the better the system of health care and the quality of life, indicators of human security.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	Latin America: ECLAC Canada and the US: US Census
	Law and Order	Crime Ratio per 100,000		Negative (-)	High natural crime rates (e.g. murder, rape, robbery, theft) are a threat to human security by definition and indicate the presence of other human insecurities (e.g. poverty).	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	INTERPOL US: US Census
		Prison Population per 100,000		Negative (-)	High levels of incarceration are related to levels of state oppression which pose threats to human security.	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	UK Home Office
		Death Penalty		Negative (-)	The death penalty violates the fundamental right to life.	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	AMNESTY
	Militarization Levels	Nuclear Weapon Programme?		Negative (-)	Nuclear weapons and the institutions underlying them are a threat to human security. These weapons endanger both the population and the world at large.	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	SIPRI
		Military Spending as % of Central Government Expenditure		Negative (-)	High levels of military spending as a % of the overall budget demonstrates a lesser commitment to social spending and other programmes that directly contribute to human security	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	US STATE DEPARTMENT

		Military Engagements: Domestic Affairs		Negative (-)	A large number of military actions displays a willingness to settle disputes or quell dissension through the use of violence, an obvious threat to human security.	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	SIPRI
		Military Engagements: International Affairs		Negative (-)	A large number of military actions displays a willingness to settle disputes or quell dissension through the use of violence, an obvious threat to human security.	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	SIPRI
<i>Market Effects</i>	Structural Adjustments	Debt Service Ratio	0.25	Positive (+)	The more weighted the ratio towards debt service, the lesser the commitment to providing the institutional structures and regulatory frameworks necessary for human security.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	Latin America: IADB Canada: FINANCE CANADA US: US STATISTICAL ABSTRACT
		IMF Plan		Negative (-)	IMF structural adjustment plans have empirically demonstrated themselves to be fundamental threats to human security.	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	IMF
	Wealth Distribution	Poverty Rate		Positive (+)	Poverty is a threat to human security by leading to fear and the foreclosure of opportunity as well as contributing to other threats to human security.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	UNDP
		Ratio of Wealth Held by Top 10% Compared to Bottom 10%		Positive (+)	The more evenly that wealth is distributed, the less likely that economic issues such as poverty will lead to conflict.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	UNDP
	Labour Market Regulation	Unemployment Rate		Positive (+)	Being unemployed is a human rights violation, contributes to threats to human security such as crime and produces fear due to a lack of options for the unemployed.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	ILO
		ICTFU Report Rating		Negative (-)	The better the ICTFU report, the less likely that workers rights are being violated (a form of human rights abuse).	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	ICFTU
<i>Human Rights Provision</i>	Freedom House Rating	Political Rights	0.25	Negative (-)	The rating given by Freedom House (an internationally renowned NGO) is a good proxy for adherence to political rights.	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	FREEDOM HOUSE
		Civil Rights		Negative (-)	The rating given by Freedom House (an internationally renowned NGO) is a good proxy for adherence to civil rights.	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	FREEDOM HOUSE
<i>Gender Equality</i>	Social Equality	% of Women With Post-Secondary Education	0.25	Positive (+)	The greater the equality in this area, the more likely that women are not being systematically discriminated against, hence the lesser their threat to human security.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	UNESCO
		% of Elected Officials Who Are Women		Negative (-)	This is a proxy for the level of social equality experienced by women in a society. The greater the equality, the more likely women will be able to benefit from Human Security.	Negative Outcome Benchmark indicator to denote structural barriers to inclusion	UN
	Economic Equality	Relative Earning Power		Positive (+)	Differences in relative earning power is a proxy for systemic levels of economic discrimination within a society which constitute a threat to human security.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	UNDP Canada: STATS CAN
				23			

		Participation Rate of Women in Formal Economic Activity	Positive (+)	Provides evidence of societal constraints that may be inhibiting women from exercising one of their fundamental human rights.	Political Will indicator of commitment to facilitate Human Security and Social Regulation	Latin America: ECLAC Canada and the US: US Census
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Benchmarking Human Security

As remarked earlier, the process of operationalizing and weighting the various components needed for the possibility of human security was complex and difficult. Figure 3 shows all of the components used within each of the four sections of the human security index. It also reveals how each sub-section of the requirements for human security was categorized as either a political will indicator or as an outcome benchmark indicator.

It is important to note that these indicators are comprehensive measures of inclusion. They identify how likely the prerequisites for human security are going to present across the whole population of a particular society. At the same time, these measures also calculate the forces of exclusion. Therefore, the power of this index comes from its ability to measure the dynamic net effects of inclusion and exclusion in the provision of human security rather than focussing on static unidirectional outcomes.

For the purpose of the HSII, public goods, market trade-offs, human rights provision, and gender equality were the four key social areas identified as vital to human security priorities. Political will indicators attempted to capture the notion that political will is of vital importance to human security. The problem of course is that political will is often reactive and slow to implement required policies. It may also be complicated by inconsistencies due to changes in the prevailing political ideology or the dominant political party. Outcome benchmark indicators tried to capture the fact that the lack of the prerequisites for human security is often very severe and takes significant time and resources to redress.

Table 1 presents a summary chart of the definitions, rationales and data sources of the human security indicators used in the HSII human security sub-indices. Public goods corresponded to health, education, law and order, and militarization levels. Market trade-offs

referred to structural adjustment, wealth distribution, and labour market regulation. Human rights correspond to political and civil rights. Gender equality corresponded to social equality and economic equality. It was hoped that the presence or absence of particular factors in these categories would show how access, sharing, and participation were being affected, if at all, by political will.

Political will can be understood in terms of inputs, processes, and outcomes in infrastructure development, state spending, or practices committed to creating the prerequisite conditions for human security. These conditions include robust universal education, universal health care, and policies that deal with the root causes of crime. Foreign policy agendas must be based on willingness to form consensus and to negotiate rather than use force. These are important examples of the way the human security agenda requires political elites to rethink their priorities and values. In contrast, a lack of political will in combination with particularly undesirable outcomes (e.g. high crime rates) impedes such inputs, processes, and outcomes and frequently threatens the goals and purpose of social inclusion from a human security perspective.

At this point it must be noted that environmental factors were not included in this index, which instead chose to focus on direct social conditions and human security (for an examination of the relationship between inclusion and the environment see *Measuring Environmental Inclusion in the Western Hemisphere: Does Economic Growth Foster a Sustainable Environment?* by M. Anthony Hutchinson. For a more detailed discussion of housing and its adequacy in the hemisphere see *The Human Services Deficit and What Can Be Done About It: Benchmarking Human Services in the Hemisphere* by Daniel Drache and Malcolm Stewart. Both reports are available at www.robarts.yorku.ca).

PROBLEMS IN INDEX CONSTRUCTION

Perhaps because human security is a relatively new concept that is only beginning to gain resonance among policy-makers and civil society actors, the dearth of existing statistical measures, which can capture the required nuances is understandable. Still, the lack of appropriate statistical measures from leading international agencies such as the UNDP (United Nations Development Program), WHO (World Health Organization), UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), IADB (Inter-American Development Bank), and CEPAL (The Economic Commission for Latin America) as well as national governments is frustrating. Moreover, it speaks of the continuing dominance of statistical measures calculated on the basis of inappropriate economic criteria (e.g. GDP) and the absence of measures that can provide insight into the everyday social, political, and economic realities faced by citizens of the world today.

As a result, the proto-type hemispheric social inclusion index underwent several large-scale changes in its development due to a lack of appropriate data. It is therefore important to note that this proto-type index is missing several key indicators that would ideally form a more comprehensive human security index including:

- Accurate crime rate: The volume of crime is an important indicator of human security, in particular physical assaults give us an important insight into gender related crimes.
- % of crimes that involve drug possession or drug trafficking: It is important, both for public health and legal reasons to be able to track and analyze the social impacts of drug trafficking and possession. To develop a comprehensive picture requires a more disaggregated set of data that would distinguish between soft drugs and cannabis and hard substance abuse.

- % of prisoners serving time for drug possession or drug trafficking: The point here is that throughout the hemisphere those convicted for drug possession and trafficking constitute a significant part of the prison population. It is necessary to have authoritative data to distinguish between convictions for drug possession as compared to drug trafficking.
- % of the population with post-secondary education: Educational attainment is one of the building blocks for human security. The higher and more prevalent the levels of post-secondary education, the more likely that formal education is valued.
- Accurate poverty rates: The incidence of poverty is a major threat to human security and it is important to have comprehensive poverty rates by region, gender, socio-economic status, etc.
- Long-term unemployment rates: The absence of adequate work and employment opportunities is a leading indicator of social exclusion. Unemployment rates deal with individuals and families as well as state capacity to manage labour markets in the interest of society.
- Crime rates against women: Physical assault, rape and domestic violence targets women. Access to legal justice for women is problematic in many jurisdictions because the laws relating to women as victims are often inappropriate or out-dated in a modern world.
- % of property owned by women: There are no adequate statistics which report on the assets held by women. One of the structural obstacles to inclusion is property rights, which remains largely a male domain. However, with law reform in many countries, women's right to common family property is stronger than it once was. This issue remains a critical one from a social inclusion perspective.

- Spending on law enforcement agencies: It is important to track and monitor spending by law enforcement agencies throughout the hemisphere. For comparative purposes, it is important to examine the social spending trend line compared with public funds spent on all levels of law enforcement.

The lack of disaggregated data for all the relevant categories of this index has not been without consequence. It is well known that social exclusion strikes certain groups in society much harder and with more frequency than others. For example, racial minorities, the disabled, the poor, and women tend to face greater obstacles to inclusion than other members of society. This index is unable to measure which groups are being disproportionately included/excluded; however, what this index can do is give a snap shot of the aggregate level of social inclusion/exclusion within a specific time frame.

Thus, it is important to remember that the current index is one that has been built under the constraints of available data and that relevant categories are missing because of a lack of publicly accessible accurate information. The findings are not definitive but are nonetheless illuminating, explaining just how diverse human security needs are in the hemisphere. ³

³ The three human security sub-indices of the HSII- the *Human Security and Inclusion Index*, the *Human Security and Exclusion Index*, and the *Net Effects of Inclusion and Exclusion on Human Security*- attempted to empirically gauge each of the four human security sections. Collectively, these indices were trying to capture where inclusion and exclusion potentially existed within the selected countries of the hemisphere. Once again, it is important to remember that these indices were not measuring human security per say but rather the existence or non-existence of the social conditions that allow for human security to potentially be realized. It is also important to remember that human security cannot exist without high levels of social inclusion. Inclusion scores ranged from 0 to +100 while exclusion scores ranged from 0 to -100. Net effects of inclusion and exclusion for each indicator were determined by offsetting respective indicator scores against each other. Higher positive scores indicated greater inclusion while greater negative scores inferred more exclusion. As net effects moved towards zero, there was the potential for the results to be interpreted as though the costs of exclusion were being cancelled out by the benefits of inclusion. This is a misreading of the situation. Such a score indicates that the prerequisite conditions for human security (which are required in full) were still not being met within a particular society.

- **Argentina**

	1985	2000	Mean
Inclusion Score	44.2	45.7	46.5
Exclusion Score	-55.8	-54.3	-53.6
Net Score	-3.5	0.4	-0.7

The human security agenda in Argentina has been at risk in the most recent period with little progress being made in the areas of human security and social regulation over the past 15 years. Argentina's record is one of the poorest in this study as recent governments have permitted market pressures to cut back on many government programs that directly affect low-income earners and the elderly.

Expenditure on health and education is around 4% GDP, far too little for a country such as Argentina with its large middle- and working class. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has insisted that Argentina spend a disproportionate amount of government revenue on debt servicing. In 2000, its debt service ratio was almost 70% of all government spending. As a result many social programs have been eliminated. Our findings indicate that social inequality is increasing at the same time unemployment is skyrocketing. It is estimated that over 20% of the work force is unemployed but the figure is likely much higher. Human rights gains made with the restoration of democracy, in the 1980s, appear to be under threat as a result of the worsening economic condition. Faced with an unparalleled debt crisis along with job loss, inflation, and wage and pension cuts the breakdown in society is reaching threatening levels.

Indeed, in late December 2001, food rioting and other kinds of disturbances broke out in response to the government's austerity program, which left 40% of Argentineans living below the poverty line. For middle and poor income classes, their assets were frozen and currency

controls imposed limiting cash withdrawals to \$400 per week for an individual. The outbreak of rioting was precipitated by the government's decision to protect international investor's rights and to ensure that Argentina would continue to meet its onerous debt payments. The government arbitrarily used Argentinean's savings and assets for this purpose. The intensification of international pressure sparked massive street protests and led to the collapse of the current government and the resignation of the president.

▪ **Brazil**

	1985	2000	Mean
Inclusion Score	44.3	37.6	42.3
Exclusion Score	-55.7	-62.4	-57.7
Net Score	-5.1	-1.8	-2.8

Brazil is a wealthy country with enormous income disparities. Brazil, like Argentina, is another country where debt servicing rather than social redistribution is one of the principle priorities of government. Over 80% of government expenditures go to service the debt. As a result, Brazil's commitment to new kinds of social regulation that would benefit the economically most vulnerable has taken second place to measures which stabilize the economy. Gross income inequality is one of the most pronounced in Latin America, almost 47 to 1 in favour of the rich.

International lending institutions appear to be indifferent to this grave situation. With social spending down, Brazil has been unable to meet the health needs of most of its citizens. It has a low life expectancy of 67.5 years and public health spending is 3% of GDP. Only 48% have access to essential drugs and the actual figure may be lower. At the same time, Brazil's crime rate and record of incarceration is one of the highest on the continent. Assaults on persons in large urban settings as well as kidnappings and car-jackings are a frequent occurrence.

While there has been some progress in the area of human rights due to judicial reform, there is evidence that human rights abuses by police, operating outside of the law, continue. The growth in income disparity, job losses and the failure of many businesses have put new pressures on government to address public safety but with crime rates reaching record high levels, Brazil continues to have a human security deficit in the area of human rights, public goods and market trade-offs.

▪ **Canada**

	1985	2000	Mean
Inclusion Score	68.3	73.2	70.0
Exclusion Score	-31.7	-26.8	-30
Net Score	6.5	8.0	7.4

Canada is the most inclusive country in the hemisphere examined in this study. Still, there are many areas including gender equality and labour market regulation that can be improved. For many countries in the hemisphere, Canada's universal health care system represents an alternative model to the US system because it provides comprehensive care efficiently. Canada spends significantly less on health care per capita than the US.

Canada continues to have one of the highest incarceration rates in the hemisphere despite the fact that violent crime rates have fallen in recent times. Its relations with First Nation's peoples are troubled and First Nation's people constitute a disproportionate percentage of the prison populations. As well in recent times, there have been armed confrontations at Oka and Ipperwash over unsettled land claims. Even though compared to the US, Canada has many more effective programs of income redistribution; income inequality remains high by Canadian standards, 8 to 1 in favour of the rich. Growth in inequality, particularly for single mothers and low-income earners is due to the fact that the social safety net has been much weakened in recent

times by an aggressive agenda of social spending cuts. While Canada's standard of living continues to be one of the highest in the hemisphere, there has been a significant growth in homelessness, unemployment and poverty in the recent period.

- **Chile**

	1985	2000	Mean
Inclusion Score	24.3	46.7	39.2
Exclusion Score	-75.7	-53.3	-60.8
Net Score	1.5	1.1	0.6

With the end of the Pinochet regime, Chile remains a highly polarized society where the benefits from freer markets remain concentrated in the hands of the privileged few. The new socialist government has committed itself to social programs that have strong redistributive aspects to them in the areas of housing, health care and educational reform.

Chile's impressive gains in human security and social regulation can be explained mostly by improvements in the area of human rights. Public spending on health and education continues to be far too low, 2.5% and 3.5% of GDP respectively. Chile has the distinction of having the largest military budget accounting for 17.8% of central government expenditures. Chile has not attacked its worsening income inequality, which increased from 27.5 to 1 to 33.5 to 1 in the past 15 years. This increase reflects inequitable market trade-offs between trade liberalization and social need. Since the Pinochet regime, there have been reforms to collective bargaining and workplace representation but workforce participation still remains low by hemispheric standards. Despite fundamental changes in political regime, the processes of exclusion continue to be very strong in many areas of national life. The human security agenda is weakly embedded politically due to the very large influence of the armed forces at all levels of political life.

- **Mexico**

	1985	2000	Mean
Inclusion Score	33.9	40.5	35.4
Exclusion Score	-66.1	-59.5	-64.6
Net Score	-3.5	1.6	-0.6

Mexico remains a divided society and poverty is widespread despite recent reforms and a new political regime in office. Mexico needs to make massive investments in education and housing for its rapidly growing population. Much of the government's attention has been devoted to improving the business environment by maintaining a low taxation regime beneficial to business. Initially the Fox government had been more cautious than its predecessor in implementing more market reforms to privatize Mexico's publicly owned energy sector as well as liberalizing banking. Fourteen months after taking office it still has no plan for social renewal or for providing public goods that are badly need to improve the housing environment and labour market reforms.

Mexico has made some gains in terms of inclusion in the area of human security as well as social regulation. This can be accounted for to a great extent by increased spending on education and health in the public sector, currently at 5.9% and 3.9% of GDP respectively, although this remains very low by OECD standards. Increased public health spending has paid dividends in terms of broadening access to health care but progress has been uneven and a large percentage of Mexico's population still does not have access to proper health care

Within the market domain, formal unemployment is quite low (2.1%) but this number is inaccurate. In the absence of unemployment insurance, when a Mexican loses his or her job, they are forced to take any part-time employment that is available. The part-time service economy is huge by international standards reflecting the precariousness of full-time employment

opportunities. Mexico has made little progress in addressing the very large disparities in income and health, almost 25 to 1 in favour of the wealthy.

Human rights abuses continue to be a problem although there have been some gains in the recent past towards protecting political rights and the reform of the political system, Mexico still has a long way to go before civil rights protections are adequate. Police reforms have not occurred and an independent judiciary has not been fully established. Mexico's record in the area of gender equality reflects the government's ambiguity in advancing gender equality goals. Women are guaranteed access to higher education but are not paid the same as men in the labour force. It is difficult for Mexican women to challenge many of the discriminatory labour market practices. In such an unfavourable climate, the benefits of open markets accrue to the wealthy while the costs fall disproportionately on the poor majority. Already the negative effects of this process have been seen in Chiapas. If Mexico's social deficit is not addressed further social instability and unrest is likely to occur.

USA

	1985	2000	Mean
Inclusion Score	60.9	64.4	62.7
Exclusion Score	-39.1	-35.6	-37.3
Net Score	1.6	4.3	3.1

In the US there is a close relationship between high income and social inclusion in the area of human security and social regulation. More than any other country, the political will of US legislators is a major determinant of whether or not social needs are being met. With the present Republican president and strongly conservative Congress, a strong belief in individualism and free enterprise continues to dominate political life. Despite the fact that it is the wealthiest and most powerful country in the world, many groups in the US find themselves

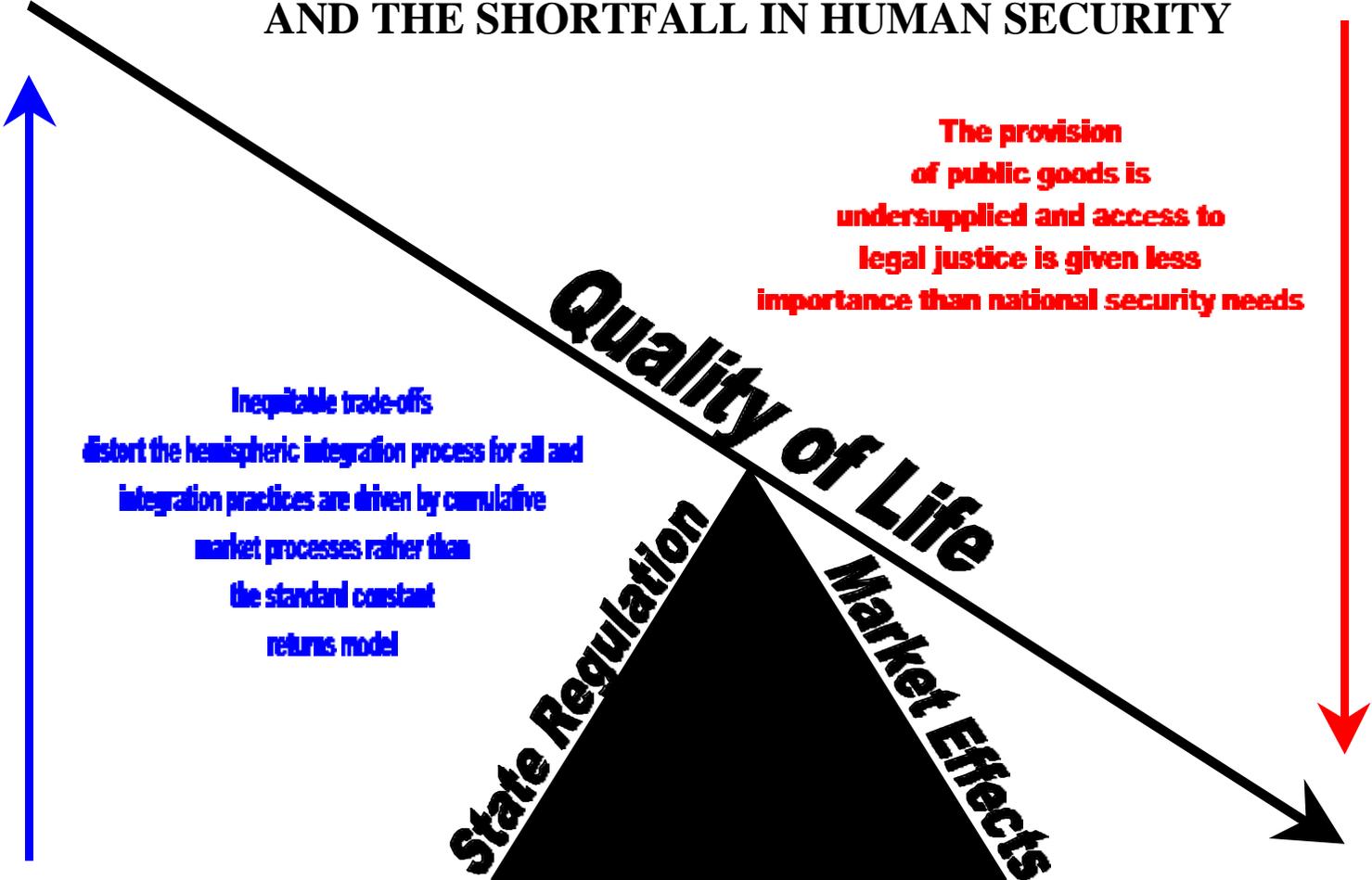
excluded or marginalized from American society. Twenty percent of the population lives in poverty. Robert Putnam explains the growth of exclusion as a result of the collapse of American community and a decline in civic virtue.

This report shows that at the macro level, levels of inclusion have risen slightly in the past 15 years. Yet for some sections of society, the rise has been no where near the levels promised by Regonomics and the continuing faith that the private sector will provide general prosperity. Inadequate access to health care (45% with health coverage), skyrocketing prison populations (660 per 100,000), the absence of affordable housing and the decline of public education remain unaddressed.

Recent administrations have amassed a massive surplus from cutbacks on programs and lower levels of taxation. While the US has the resources to address high income inequality (almost 17 to 1 in favour of the wealthy) and provide universal health care, under Clinton many of the social safety nets were dismantled. Compared to other wealthy industrial nations, the US has the unenviable record of having the fewest programs affecting redistribution for the marginalized and the excluded. Under representation in politics remains a pressing issue.

It seems doubtful that a new consensus, which would generate the political will, to make the changes necessary to create a more inclusive society is looming over the horizon. As it stands now, many groups in the United States including aboriginals, racial minorities, women, lower income earners, and recent immigrants are denied many of the benefits of being full members of American society. Therefore, despite having the potential and resources to meet the prerequisites for a human security agenda, the US still falls well short of the mark.

THE UNBALANCED HEMISPHERIC TRENDLINE AND THE SHORTFALL IN HUMAN SECURITY



THE CRISIS OF HUMAN SECURITY: PEOPLE AT RISK

The empirical results underlie a stark reality in the hemisphere. There continues to be significant disparities in wealth in many countries. Structural adjustment programs as well as a poor human rights record and continuing gender inequality contribute to these disparities. Many are put at risk because preventative measures that involve social regulation are not implemented. In the absence of public goods and active human rights enforcement, the goal and practice of building strong socially inclusive societies has suffered.

All of the above points to a general conclusion that in the middle income Latin American countries examined in this report, the failure to protect human security goals appears to be more acute than in the high-income North American countries. In particular, violence, crime, and human rights abuses appear to be far more prevalent. More specifically, for the poor, women, and racial and linguistic minorities, the exclusionary effects frequently tend to be more powerful than the beneficial aspects of inclusion. Thus it is not at all difficult to arrive at the conclusion that for an open society to exist with the potential for a high human security, standard inclusionary processes must outpace the marginalization of many groups in society.

Frequently human security fails and many are put at risk. In contrast to the ethic of human security, which demands that the security of one person cannot be attained at the expense of another, particular social groups are targeted, constitutionally guaranteed freedoms and rights are ignored and governments sacrifice human rights to the needs of national security. Individuals in these brutal cases, such the internment of Japanese-American and Japanese-Canadian citizens during World War II, find themselves on the receiving end of state sponsored forms of exclusion. More recently the detainment, torture and disappearance of suspected communists during the

1970s and 1980s in Argentina and Chile represent dark historical examples when state policies were undertaken in the name of national security that violated basic human and civil rights.

THE ‘LOST GENERATION’ OF THE MARGINALIZED

The failure to accurately assess and mitigate the effect of policy trade-offs is creating one of the most serious challenges to human security in the hemisphere. Government indifference to this pressing policy concern is creating a “lost generation” of the marginalized. In other regions of the world such as Sierra Leone, Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, few institutions were in place, which could buffer or protect individuals against the forces of economic and social disintegration. It is useful to look more closely at the complex set of forces that leads to human security failures. A good place to begin is to understand the growing incompatibility between national security needs that devalue almost all other social objectives with a human security perspective. When national security goals are primary, they value the security of the state at the expense of its citizens. As well, the narrow focus on crime rates ignores the underlying causes of crime such as poverty, inequality and racial discrimination.

An example is needed to make this crystal clear. Currently the hemisphere is struggling to deal with the illegal drug trade. Countries like Canada, Mexico, and the United States have declared a “war on drugs” targeting drug producers and consumers with increasingly punitive criminal laws including racial profiling, asset forfeiture, and mandatory sentencing. Police are persuaded that incarceration will provide a deterrent to drug production and drug consumption but disproportionately only the most economically vulnerable are exposed and caught in the dragnet.

A BALANCED PUBLIC POLICY FRAMEWORK

Building open societies in the hemisphere requires a different approach to human security. As this report has outlined, it is important that people feel free from the anxiety and fear that can stem from open markets and indifferent public authorities. Fundamental changes are required in the areas of public goods, mitigation of market effects, human rights provision, and gender equality if human security has any possibility of being realized in the hemisphere. While open societies are always ‘works in progress’, failures to reduce the high levels of social exclusion in many parts of life cannot be condoned.

If human security is going to have a chance of being established in the hemisphere, public authority must have the political will to engage in the required levels of social regulation and adopt more inclusive social policies that are multi-dimensional in nature. A more socially inclusive and forward-looking vision is one that does not automatically leave key decisions to ‘blind and unfettered’ market forces. Removing barriers to inclusion, particularly those created when markets over perform and undershoot will not occur without dramatic pressure from the sectors of society that have been or will be adversely effected.

The goal of human security will not automatically be realized. It requires political mobilization, from civil society actors in particular, to forge a new consensus based on new values. So far, the particular policy mind-set that avoids superficial short-term solutions remains an ideal rather than a reality. If the human security agenda is to be more than a soft concept it needs a stronger analytic and public policy framework in four key areas important to public authority no less than civil society actors. These are access to justice, adherence to human rights, public goods provision, and gender equality

Far from creating open societies public authorities have failed to strike a balance between human security and national security agendas. In the aftermath of September 11th, many governments have curbed civil liberties and given police extraordinary powers of detention and arrest. Borders have been closed to many prospective immigrants, particularly political refugees. This report has made the case that human security demands fresh thinking in the areas of public goods, market trade-offs, human rights protection and gender equality practices. Time is short and the demands that public authority learns to balance individual and group freedoms with those of law and stability are urgent. Courts have been reluctant to face down governments and national security measures to protect individual rights. At this time of heightened national security concerns, all public authority has to ensure that the human security agenda in Canada, the US, Mexico, Brazil, Chile and Argentina is adequately protected.

Access to Justice:

Throughout the hemisphere, incarceration rates continue to rise and rates of incarceration for ethnic minorities, unskilled youth and First Nations, groups that traditionally face forms of social exclusion remain disproportionately high. The general trend evident in the legal systems of the countries in this study has been to favour punishment over rehabilitation. The recidivist rate remains unacceptable. In the US, the death penalty remains on the books and hundreds of people have been executed by the state. Access to lawyers for an adequate defence is not provided for as a right of citizenship in many countries. The deficit in legal justice seems to be mirrored by the deficit in social justice as the recent street violence in Argentina has demonstrated so vividly.

In order to address the deficit in legal justice, further legal codification of rights, such as the right to fair trial, the right to legal representation, the right of appeal, an accountable judiciary and police enforcement agency, remains an important first step. There are of course many legal

documents and charters already in existence to protect rights of victims and accused but frequently they are ineffective and their provisions disregarded, therefore something else is needed to ensure that all have access to justice. The right to legal justice requires that a full range of institutions be established including an independent judiciary, independent policy and arms-length civilian agencies to function as public accountability mechanisms. The absence of public accountability mechanisms

Human Rights:

Increasingly courts are not willing to face down national security measures and protect individual rights from the arbitrary use of state authority. The core issue is that the problems of excessive police powers, the arbitrary use of preventative detention, the high-handed treatment of refugees, and the closing of national borders can only be solved by striking a balance between the needs of human security and the requirements of law and order.

The human rights problem in the hemisphere should not be seen as a legal problem that requires further codification. Instead, we believe that it would be more prudent to see human rights issues as political issues, solutions to which have to be addressed domestically. In a post-Quebec Summit world, democracy is also a hemispheric issue. The key to building strong human rights practices is that they must be tied to the renewal of democracy in the hemisphere including freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of association.

Public Goods Provision:

Affordable housing, safe water, comprehensive public education, and universal health care are key building blocks for human security. The failure to address inequitable wealth distribution has had a damaging impact on human security by undermining the public dimension

of governance. As a result, human insecurity is the norm in the hemisphere rather than the exception. This imbalance must be addressed.

Trade liberalization is no longer a sufficient strategy for poverty reduction. If trade liberalization is to be pursued, it raises many questions about how quickly poverty reduction follows trade liberalization. How strong is the link between trade liberalization and economic growth? How wide should the market be opened? Trade liberalization has thus far produced many losers and despite the promise to eradicate poverty, poverty has increased in the hemisphere not diminished. New institutions are needed that will strengthen democracy, create public sanctuaries free from the reach of markets as well as develop new public places and spaces that strengthen the social bond.

In the last two decades, market trade-offs have been inequitable rather than fair. This can be seen most dramatically by the fact that the single largest expenditure for most governments in the hemisphere is debt servicing while health and education lag far behind at 5-10% of most budgets. There is something fundamentally askew here. Debt service ratios must be brought down to levels that allow for spending on vital social programmes and the provision of public goods.

The World Health Organization estimates that wealthy countries need to increase developmental assistance for health programmes by over 30 billion dollars per year over the next fifteen years. So far the human security shortfall is growing not narrowing. The poor countries of the hemisphere cannot be expected to meet all of the additional demands for health spending themselves. Improving health care, fighting disease, increasing life expectancy, so essential for supporting growth, requires a hemispheric approach and a new commitment from the wealthy countries of the hemisphere to help pay for health as a global public good. While developing

countries must increase their spending on health, additional aid from developed countries is just as essential and needed.

Gender Equality:

Discrimination on the basis of gender is one of the most compelling indicators of social exclusion within any society. Addressing gender equality is a huge challenge. In recent times, women in the hemisphere have been integrated into the formal economy in increasing numbers and have attained new rights, but many of the old obstacles to participation and inclusion remain. The origins of these social and economic inequalities are complex but complacency on the part of public authority can only make matters worse.

The continuing expectation that women have the primary responsibility for childcare leads many women in the hemisphere into the poverty trap. Given this expectation, many are unable to work in order to provide economically for their families. Therefore, universal day-care programmes are urgently needed. Finally, because of their reproductive role in society, women's health in the hemisphere is especially reliant on public health provision. As such, there needs to be a continuing commitment to universally accessible public health care.

Measures must be undertaken to give women greater political voice. Women are badly underrepresented in formal politics and many important public policy issues of particular importance to women such as health care, child care, health and safety standards do not become priorities. The fundamental issue is that until women play a larger role in the political life of their country, women's rights and the status of women will be an ideal rather than an emerging practice.

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APPENDIX I:

**Components of the Human Security Index: A Conceptual Discussion
By Kyle Grayson**

State Policies:

Despite rhetoric to the contrary, human security does not desire or require the abolition of the state. At the same time, in sharp contrast to traditional notions of security, human security does not reify the state either. It recognizes that a strong, vibrant, and active state is one of the most important providers of the elements necessary for human security; however, human security is also wary of the tendency for the state to ignore its crucial regulatory role and/or drift into oppression if left unchecked and unaccountable. For example, there is often a fine line between security policies which protect the safety of citizens and those that result in conditions more detrimental to citizens than if the threat in question is realized. Recent counter-terrorist policies in Canada and the United States have come under scrutiny for crossing this line onto the side of state oppression. Therefore, we believe that the state is both a provider and potential threat to human security in the hemisphere depending on the extent to which policies put people at risk, increase their vulnerability to negative outcomes, and provide people with the means to be full and active citizens.

The policy areas that a state chooses to prioritize may either augment or reduce the potential for human security. Moreover, human security will be directly affected by how inclusive particular state policies are in practice. Prioritization of public goods such as universal education and universal health care, and environmental protection is a necessary part of human security for the following reasons:

- 1) public goods provide the necessary goods and services for safety, personal development, and well-being that might otherwise be unattainable
- 2) public goods help to cushion against the impersonal effects of market forces
- 3) public goods (e.g. environmental protections) can ensure that future generations are able to enjoy the benefits of today
- 4) public goods can promote levels of social inclusion by allowing access for all members of society to particular goods and services, the sharing of collective benefits from these policies, and the participation of all interested members of society in their implementation/provision.

Two other areas of public goods with important impacts on human security in the hemisphere are law and order and levels of militarization. Both exemplify the duality of the state in relation to the provision of human security. In terms of law and order, the approach that a state takes in dealing with these issues can have drastic consequences for human security; we believe that the key is to make people feel safe without becoming over-zealous and implementing oppressive policies in the name of fighting crime. Moreover, there is the ever present difficulty of ensuring that policies are administered fairly and impartially so that particular societal groups are not targeted on the basis of group membership itself.

Militarization levels are similar in this respect. While some military infrastructure is necessary to serve as a deterrent in worse case scenarios and as a resource in times of non-violent emergencies (e.g. floods), it also has to be noted that the higher the levels of militarization, the greater the danger posed to human security. We argue that the data shows that high levels of militarization are closely associated with lower levels of social spending, a higher likelihood that a state will be involved in conflict, and a greater probability that a population will be adversely affected by violence as politics turns from the art of discussion to the use of force. High militarization levels which usually require the creation of existential enemies at both home and abroad also adversely affect social inclusion through the targeting of specific groups who are perceived as exhibiting difference.

Mitigation of Market trade-offs:

For theoretical and practical reasons, market forces can be a hindrance to human security because of the uncertainties and deprivations they can cause. In the hemisphere, the benefits of free markets tend to be distributed unevenly throughout society and particular social groups tend to bear a disproportionate amount of the costs. Thus, the popular practice in the hemisphere is to adhere to market imperatives without taking heed of whether vital social needs are still being met.

The influence of market forces over individual well-being is often overlooked in the human security literature. The claim we are making here is that the greater the effects of market forces on a society, the greater the threat to human security. Market forces in the hemisphere, because of their tendency to fall in and out of equilibrium, are inherently unstable, can lead to state/societal disintegration, catalyze conflict due to vast income inequality, and promote daily uncertainty in labour markets which increases the difficulty for people to provide for their own well-being. Moreover, because of the uneven manner in which free markets distribute economic benefits, the greater the effects of markets, the more likely that certain groups are not enjoying these benefits to the same extent as other groups, hence contributing to conditions of social exclusion in the hemisphere. As such, the failure of public authorities to weigh these costs against the supposed benefits of economic openness has raised the amount of risk that people (particularly low income earners) are exposed to, increased their levels of economic vulnerability, and created economic barriers to being full and active citizens.

Structural adjustment policies are one way in which market forces can contribute to human insecurity. There is already an established correlation between the implementation of structural adjustment programmes and overt forms of violence in other regions including the situations in Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Indonesia, South Africa, and the former Yugoslavia. Structural adjustment programmes reduce the regulatory role of the state, increase feelings of alienation towards state structures which in turn lead to remaining structures being perceived as illegitimate, cause rises in unemployment, lead to chronic shortages of key goods and services, reduce the provision and availability of public goods, and leave individuals with increased vulnerability to the dictates and whims of impersonal market forces. Moreover, we argue that all of these factors contribute to social exclusion by preventing certain groups from sharing in the benefits of economic efficiency and greater aggregate output while forcing them to bear the brunt of the costs such as unemployment, poverty, and financial uncertainty. These costs tend to be concentrated in groups that are socially and politically marginalized.

Wealth distribution is another area with implications for human security. The more evenly that wealth is distributed, often with the aid of state regulated redistribution efforts (e.g. taxes for social programmes), the more likely that people will not be living in fear of destitution and will be able to exercise choices safely and freely by actually having the opportunity to make choices. It has also been shown empirically that the single biggest determinant of societal health is income distribution with skewed distributions being strongly associated with lower levels of health. Equally important, the more evenly that wealth is distributed, the less likely that issues such as poverty will lead to violent conflict for high disparities in income fuel disenchantment and encourage violent methods (e.g. crime, rebellion, revolution) as a means of economic redistribution. As the old cliché goes, “desperate times call for desperate actions”. Therefore, we feel that extremes in the distribution of income can be seen as a measure of the level of social exclusion in the economic realm which in turn gives an indication that one of the important

aspects of human security, the ability for all members of society to have enough income to provide for themselves, is not present.

Labour market regulation helps to insulate people from the impersonal and volatile market forces that can hinder their ability to find safe employment that at least pays them a living wage. High levels of unemployment, high levels of underemployment, and poor working conditions represent some of the most common and fundamental threats to human security. The inability to earn a decent living free of abuse and exploitation not only prevents the exercise of real choice, but also generates high levels of fear as individuals consistently face economic and financial uncertainty as well as the possibility of a life mired in poverty. Again, a lack of labour market regulation by public authorities exposes individuals to undue risks making them extremely vulnerable to negative economic effects and exploitation. Social inclusion is promoted by effectively regulated labour markets in that regulated labour markets attempt to provide full and fair employment to all sectors of society.

Human Rights Provision:

Human security in the hemisphere depends on states, markets, and civil society actors adhering to universally accepted human rights provisions in the areas of political rights, civil rights, social rights, and economic rights for human security is premised on the same fundamental principles as human rights: freedom, choice, and the absence of fear. If these fundamental rights are being denied or violated, there can be no human security by definition. Furthermore, human rights violations point to the fact that particular individuals or groups are being excluded from the full benefit of their rights within a specific realm, a completely unacceptable practice, for like human security, human rights are indivisible. This means that all individuals and groups must be able to exercise these rights and enjoy their protections.

Gender Equality:

Human security incorporates the observation long ago recognized by feminist scholars and activists that women face different (and often more pervasive) kinds of threats to their personal security than men as a result of their traditionally subordinate role in society. Inequalities faced by women in the hemisphere can be divided between the social (e.g. relative education levels and relative political participation) and economic (e.g. relative earning power and workforce participation rate) realms. This inequality in turn is a good proxy indicator that women may be experiencing forms of violence, discrimination, and other types of human rights abuses that lead to human insecurity. Because human security purports to be a gender inclusive measure, it therefore must be sensitive to the specific forms of oppression that may only be experienced by women. Also, it is important to note that gender discrimination is one of the most obvious indicators of elements of social exclusion within a particular society and its institutional structures.

APPENDIX II:

HUMAN SECURITY INDICATORS

Human Security Sector: Public goods **Sector Weighting:** 25%

Human Security Variable: Public Goods, Universal Education

Political Will Indicator (+): " Public Expenditure on Education as a % of GDP "

Definition: What percentage of GDP is spent on public education?

Rationale: High levels of spending on education indicate an awareness of its importance. A commitment to education is in part a commitment to one of the precursor conditions for human security.

Relevance: *How important a state priority is it to promote inclusive education?*

Data Source: UNESCO @ <http://unesco.org/en/stats/stats0.htm>.

Limitations: UNESCO data is only current to 1995.

Inferential Procedures: All data for the year 2000 was inferred based on the historical trend present in each country.

Calculation of Score: Operating under the assumption that ideally, 10% of GDP should be devoted to public spending on education, all scores were calculated with the real spending as a percentage of 10 [e.g. spending = 5. Then score = $5/10 \times (2.5) = 0.5(2.5) = 1.25$].

Political Will Indicator (+): "Post-Secondary Graduates per Annum as % of Population"

Definition: What % of the population graduates from post-secondary institutions each year?

Rationale: Demonstrates how formal education is valued within a particular society. The higher and more prevalent the levels of post-secondary education, the more likely that formal education is valued. Education is a precursor condition for human security.

Relevance: *How exclusive is the attainment of the highest levels of education in a given society?*

Data Source: UNESCO @ <http://unesco.org/en/stats/stats0.htm>.

Limitations: All of the data for Argentina had to be inferred due to the absence of UNESCO figures. UNESCO data was only as current as 1995.

Inferential Procedures: N/A

Calculation of Score: Operating under the assumption that ideally, a country would need 1% of its population to graduate each year, all scores were calculated with the real graduates as a percentage of 1 [post-sec grads as % of population=0.65. Then score = $0.65/1 \times (1) = 0.65(1) = 0.65$]. Please note the highest score possible was 1 even in cases where countries surpassed the 1% ideal.

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): " School Life Expectancy "

Definition: How many years of a schooling does a typical person receive?

Rationale: A high school life expectancy is indicative of a society in which formal education (a precursor condition for human security) is highly valued.

Relevance: *Shows how inclusive/exclusive education skills are in the general population?*

Data Source: UNESCO @ <http://unesco.org/en/stats/stats0.htm>.

Limitations: No data existed for Argentina. UNESCO data was only as current as 1995.

Inferential Procedures: All of the data for this variable was inferred for Argentina, using Chile (a country with a similar social, economic, and political background) as the template. All data for the year 2000 was inferred based on the historical trend present in each country.

Calculation of Score: Operating under the assumption that ideally, a country would want a school life expectancy of 20 years, all scores were calculated with the real school life expectancy as percentage of 20 [e.g. school life expectancy=10. Then score = $10/20 * (2.5) = 0.5(2.5) = 1.25$].

Human Security Sector: Public goods

Human Security Variable: Public Goods, Universal Health Care

Political Will Indicator (+): "Public Expenditure on Health as a % of GDP"

Definition: How much money as a % of GDP is spent on public health?

Rationale: Shows the commitment of the state to providing health care for all of its citizens, a necessary requirement for human security

Relevance: .A proxy for the state's commitment to the inclusive provision of health care.

Data Source: For Latin America:
<http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/Estadisticas/8/LCG2118PB/c-1-I.pdf>
 For Canada and the US: <http://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/statab/sec30.pdf>

Limitations: Data only went as far as 1997 or 1998. 1985 was missing for Canada and the United States.

Inferential Procedures: 1985 data for Canada and the US was inferred based on the trend indicated by data that had been located. Figures for the year 2000 were taken for the latest year available (either 1997 or 1998).

Calculation of Score: Operating under the assumption that ideally, 10% of GDP should be devoted to public spending on health, all scores were calculated with the real spending as a percentage of 10 [e.g. spending = 5. Then score = $5/10 * (2.5) = 0.5(2.5) = 1.25$].

Political Will Indicator (+): "Access to Health Care"

Definition: What percentage of people have access to health care?

Rationale: Not having health coverage is a threat to human security by making it difficult/impossible for people to treat disease and illness, thereby generating fear and reducing the quality of life that can be enjoyed.

Relevance: Measures how inclusive health care coverage is in a society.

Data Source: Coverage for OECD: <http://www.oecd.org/els/health/software/fad.htm>
 Access to essential drugs for others: UNDP

Limitations: Data only went as far as 1997 or 1998. 1985 was missing for Canada and the United States.

Inferential Procedures: Data for Argentina, Brazil, and Chile had to be inferred for 1985-1995. These numbers were inferred by taking the ratio of access to essential drugs to health

Calculation of Score: All Latin American figures were multiplied by 50 to reflect under/un reporting. An “acceptable” crime rate of 10,000 per 100,000 was taken as the benchmark. The score was calculated as a negative ratio between actual and ideal crime rates which was then subtracted from the maximum possible score [crime rate = 20000. Then score = $-(20,000/10000)+2= -(2)+2= 0$]. The minimum possible score was 0 and the maximum score was 2.

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): "Prison Population per 100,000"

Definition: How many people are in prison per 100,000 people?

Rationale: High levels of incarceration are related to high levels of state oppression which pose threats to human security.

Relevance: *Incarceration is often a way to exclude people from the benefits of society*

Data Source: UK Homeoffice: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs/r1116.pdf> and <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs/r88.pdf>
For US @ <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/glance/corr2.txt>

Limitations: No data available for 1985-1990 and data ended in 1998 except for the US where all was available.

Inferential Procedures: The year 2000 was based on data for the latest year available. The trend between 1995-2000 was held constant and used to infer numbers for 1985-1990 for all but the US.

Calculation of Score: Ideally, the prison population would be less than 1% of the general population, approaching zero. This region was taken as the benchmark. The score was calculated as a negative ratio between actual and ideal incarceration rates which was then subtracted from the maximum possible score [incarceration rate = 100. Then score = $-(100/100)+2= -(2)+2= 1$]. The minimum possible score was 0 and the maximum score was 2

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): "Use of Death Penalty"

Definition: Does a country have the death penalty?

Rationale: The death penalty violates the fundamental right to life.

Relevance: *Special legal powers are usually used to target specific groups.*

Data Source: Special Legal Powers at Amnesty International Website

Limitations: The data were quite complete for all 6 countries and 5-year intervals.

Inferential Procedures: none.

Calculation of Score: If a country did not have the death penalty for certain offences, it would receive the maximum score of 1. If a country does have the death penalty for certain offences, it would receive the minimum score of 0.

Human Service Sector: Public Goods

Human Service Variable: Militarization Levels

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): "Nuclear Weapons Programme"

Definition: Does a country have a nuclear weapons programme?

Rationale: Nuclear weapons and the institutions underlying them are a threat to human security. Nuclear weapons development and testing have devastating environmental impacts (often on the most marginal members of society) while the weapons themselves endanger both the population and the world. Moreover, the cost of such programmes diverts money that could be better spent elsewhere.

Relevance: *High levels of military spending are often at the expense of greater inclusiveness in other policy areas.*

Data Source: <http://first.sipri.org/>

Limitations: None

Inferential Procedures: None

Calculation of Score: If a country did not have a nuclear weapons programme, they received the maximum score of 1. If they did have a programme, they received the minimum score of 0.

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): "Military Spending as a % of Central Government Expenditure"

Definition: How much money as a % of the overall budget is being spent by central governments on the military?

Rationale: High levels of military spending as a % of the overall budget demonstrates a lesser commitment to social spending and other programmes that increase human security.

Relevance: *High levels of military spending are often at the expense of greater inclusiveness in other policy areas*

Data Source: http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/bureau_ac/wmeat98/wmeat98.pdf

Limitations: Data only went as far as 1997 or 1998. It also only went as far back as 1987.

Inferential Procedures: Data for the year 2000 was taken from the latest year for which data was available. Data for 1985 was taken from 1987.

Calculation of Score: Ideally, military spending would be approaching zero. While this was taken into consideration it was also realized that average military spending for the region should also be taken as a benchmark. Thus, the score was calculated as a negative ratio between actual and the regional average for military spending which was then subtracted from the maximum possible score [spending = 10. Regional average = 20. Then score = $-(10/20)+2 = -(0.5)+2 = 1.5$]. The minimum possible score was 0 and the maximum score was 3.

Regional Averages:

1987 (1985): 14.85

1990: 14.15

1995: 11.2

1997 (2000): 11.05

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): "Domestic Uses of Military Force"

Definition: Has military force been used to quell domestic unrest?

Rationale: A large number of military actions displays a willingness to settle disputes or quell dissension through the use of violence, an obvious threat to human security by definition.

Relevance: *Military engagements usually result in the targeting of specific population groups and excluding them in various policy realms*

Data Source: <http://first.sipri.org/>, newspapers

Limitations: These activities are not often reported, covered up, and denied.

Inferential Procedures: None

Calculation of Score: If a country had at least one use of force, it received the minimum score of 0. If it did not have a use of force, it received the maximum score of 3.

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): "International Uses of Military Force"

Definition: Has a country engaged in military uses of force abroad?

Rationale: A large number of military actions displays a willingness to settle disputes or quell dissension through the use of violence, an obvious threat to human security by definition. It also shows that human rights are likely being violated.

Relevance: *Military engagements usually result in the targeting of specific population groups and excluding them in various policy realms*

Data Source: <http://first.sipri.org/>, newspapers

Limitations: These activities are not often reported, covered up, and denied.

Inferential Procedures: None

Calculation of Score: If a country had at least one use of force, it received the minimum score of 0. If it did not have a use of force, it received the maximum score of 1.

Human Security Sector: Market trade-offs **Sector Weighting:** 25%

Human Security Variable: Structural Adjustments

Political Will Indicator (+): "Debt Ratio Service"

Definition: How much government money is going towards servicing the national debt?

Rationale: The more weighted the ratio is towards debt service, the lesser the commitment to providing the institutional structures and regulatory frameworks necessary for the enjoyment of human security.

Relevance: *Is debt service/ reduction overshadowing exclusion reduction in other policy areas?*

Data Source: For Latin America <http://www.iadb.org/int/sta/ENGLISH/staweb/#bsed>
For Canada: Finance Reports at Finance Canada.
For US: US Statistical Abstract

Limitations: 1985 had to be inferred for all except Canada and Mexico.

Inferential Procedures: Missing 1985 data were inferred based on the trend indicated by data that had been located.

Calculation of Score: An acceptable debt service ratio was considered to be around 15% with the ideal ratio approaching zero. Thus, the score was calculated as a negative ratio between actual and the acceptable debt service ratio which was then subtracted from the maximum possible score [actual ratio = 15. Acceptable = 15. Then score = $-(15/15)+3 = -(1)+3 = 2 \rightarrow$ a decent score]. The minimum possible score was 0 and the maximum score was 3.

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): "IMF Plan"

Definition: Does a country have an IMF stabilization or structural adjustment plan in place?

Rationale: IMF structural adjustment plans have empirically demonstrated themselves to be fundamental threats to the provision of human security. In the most extreme cases they have contributed to violence (e.g. Sierra Leone, El Salvador). In more moderate cases, IMF plans dismantle state regulatory mechanisms and leave populations vulnerable to impersonal market forces which devastate the quality of life.

Relevance: *IMF austerity plans directly contribute to lowering the levels of social inclusion.*

Data Source: <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/chron/chron.asp>

Limitations: None

Inferential Procedures: None

Calculation of Score: If a country had an IMF plan, it received the minimum score of 0. If it did not have an IMF plan, it received the maximum score of 5.

Human Security Sector: Market trade-offs

Human Security Variable: Wealth Distribution

Political Will Indicator (+): "Poverty Rate"

Definition: What % of the population is living below the national poverty line?

Rationale: Poverty is a threat to human security by leading to fear and the foreclosure of opportunity as well as contributing to other threats to human security (e.g. crime)..

Relevance: *Poverty is the ultimate indicator of exclusion*

Data Source: UNDP

Limitations: not enough data to develop a trend.

Inferential Procedures: ?

Calculation of Score: ?

Political Will Indicator (+): "Ratio of Wealth Held by the Top 10% compared to Bottom 10% in income"

Definition: How (un)evenly is wealth distributed in a country?

Rationale: The more evenly that wealth is distributed, the more likely that human security is being enjoyed across all sectors of society. There will be less social tensions, lower crime rates, lower chance of political issues being solved through the use of violence, et cetera.

Relevance: *The greater the amount of wealth held by a smaller segment of the population, the greater the level of economic exclusion.*

Data Source: UNDP <http://www.undp.org/hdr2001/indicator/>

Limitations: Data could only be found for the year 2000, except in the case of Canada where data went back to 1990. There was no available data for Argentina.

Inferential Procedures: Ratios were reduced by 5% calculated according to the 2000 data. This 5% reduction was held constant across all of the years (e.g. if reduced by 3 in 1995, would be reduced by 3 in 1990).

Calculation of Score: Ideally, the ratio here should be 1:1. The score was thus calculated as a ratio of the ideal to the actual wealth ratio held by the top 10% [e.g. actual=10. $(1/10)*5 = 0.5$].

Human Security Sector: Market trade-offs

Human Security Variable: Labour Market regulation

Political Will Indicator (+): "Unemployment Rate"

Definition: What is the % of people unemployed?

Rationale: Being unemployed is a threat to human security for numerous reasons including being a human rights violation, contributing to other threats to human security (e.g. crime), as well as producing fear and lack of choice for those who are unemployed.

Relevance: *Unemployment is a proxy for exclusion in the economic realm*

Data Source: ILO @ <http://laborsta.ilo.org/cgi-bin/brokerv8.exe>

Limitations: There is no data for Mexico from 1985-1995.

Inferential Procedures: Given how ridiculously low the Mexican rate was in 200, it was held constant over the previous years with the hope that better data can be found soon.

Calculation of Score: A score was assigned based on the range in which the actual number fell.

0<2 = 4 (maximum score)
 2<4 = 3
 4<8 = 2
 8<10 = 1
 >10 = 0

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): "ICFTU Report Ranking"

Definition: How good are the working conditions in a country?

Rationale: The better the ICFTU report rating, the less likely that workers rights are being violated (a form of human rights).

Relevance: *This is a measure of social inclusion for those who are employed by looking at the exploitation level.*

Data Source: ICFTU: @ <http://www.icftu.org/contents.asp?Language=EN>

Limitations: Only the latest reports are available. A label of terrible, poor, fair, or good was given based on the report. Split designations were also possible.

Inferential Procedures: Data was inferred based on the socio-political and economic environments of the countries for the years in question. Consultation was also made with the Freedom House ratings.

Calculation of Score: A score was assigned based on the report. Split designations were calculated as the mean between the two designations.

good = 3
 fair = 2
 poor = 1
 terrible = 0

Human Security Sector: Human Rights Provision

Sector Weighting: 25%

Human Security Variable: Human Rights Provision**Negative Outcome Indicator (-): " Freedom House Rating for Political Rights"**

Definition: How good is a country's political rights record?

Rationale: The rating given by Freedom House (an international renowned NGO) is a good proxy for adherence to political rights.

Relevance: *Human rights are a prerequisite for human security.*

Data Source: www.freedomhouse.org

Limitations: None

Inferential Procedures: None

Calculation of Score: A score was based on the rating given by Freedom House.
 1 = 12.5
 2 = 8.5
 3 = 6.5
 4 = 4.5
 5 = 2.5
 6 = 0

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): " Freedom House Rating for Civil Rights"

Definition: How good is a country's civil rights record?

Rationale: The rating given by Freedom House (an international renowned NGO) is a good proxy for adherence to civil rights.

Relevance: *Human rights are a prerequisite for human security.*

Data Source: www.freedomhouse.org

Limitations: None

Inferential Procedures: None

Calculation of Score: A score was based on the rating given by Freedom House.
 1 = 12.5 4 = 4.5
 2 = 8.5 5 = 2.5
 3 = 6.5 6 = 0

Human Security Sector: Gender Equality **Sector Weighting:** 25%

Human Security Variable: Social Equity

Political Will Indicator (+): " Percentage of Women with Post Secondary Education (as % of Graduates per Annum) "

Definition: How many women each year are graduating with post-secondary degrees as a % of the total number of graduates for the year?

Rationale: The greater the gender equality in this area, the more likely that women are not being systemically discriminated against, hence the lesser the threat to their human security.

Relevance: *The lesser the gender division in high education, the likely the more socially inclusive the society.*

Data Source: <http://www.unesco.org/education/information/wer/htmlENG/tablesmenu.htm>

Limitations: No data for Argentina. Only 1995 for Mexico. Other countries had missing years

Inferential Procedures: Amounts were inferred based on trends evident in the data. In the case of Argentina and Mexico, levels were inferred based on the other Latin American countries.

Calculation of Score: Ideally, at least 50% of the graduates would be female (thus approximately their distribution in the general population. If the % was above 50% the maximum score of 5 was given. If the % was below 50%, the minimum score of 0 was given.

Negative Outcome Indicator (-): "Percentage of Elected Officials who are Women"

Definition: What percentage of centrally elected politicians are women?

Rationale: Is a proxy for the level of social equality experienced by women in a society. The greater the gender equality, the more likely that women are benefiting from human security.

Relevance: Are women being included in the political process, specifically the acme of participation?

Data Source: <http://www.un.org/depts/unsd/ww2000/tables.htm>

Limitations: Several years were missing for the countries. The data only went as far as 1999.

Inferential Procedures: In the case of missing data, numbers were inferred based on the apparent trend. 1999 numbers were used for 2000.

Calculation of Score: Ideally, at least 50% of elected officials would be female. Scores were calculated by dividing the actual % of female elected officials by 50 and then using that percentage to derive a score from the maximum [actual = 25 then $(25/50)*5 = \text{score} = (0.5)(5) = 2.5$].

Human Security Sector: Gender Equality

Human Security Variable: Economic Equity

Political Will Indicator (+): "Relative Earning Power"

Definition: How much do women make for the same work in relation to men?

Rationale: Differences in relative earning power is a proxy for systemic levels of economic discrimination within a society which constitute a threat to human security by definition.

Relevance: One form of exclusion is unequal pay for the same work.

Data Source: <http://www.undp.org/hdr2001/indicator/> and www.statscan.ca

Limitations: This data did not exist for most countries prior to 2000 save for Canada. There was no data for Chile.

Inferential Procedures: Ratios for 2000 were held constant over other years as the Canadian case showed very little deviation. Data for Chile was based on the ratios demonstrated by other Latin American countries.

Calculation of Score: Ideally, the ratio here should be 1:1. The score was thus calculated as a ratio of the ideal to the actual earnings ratio [e.g. actual=10. $(1/10)*7 = 0.7$].

Political Will Indicator (+): "Participation Rate of Women in Formal Economic Activity"

Definition: What % of women are in the formal work force?

Rationale: Provides evidence of societal constraints that may be inhibited women from exercising one of their fundamental human rights, thus representing a threat to their human security.

Relevance: *Are women being excluded from participating in the economy?*

Data Source: For Latin America:
<http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/Estadisticas/8/LCG2118PB/c-1-I.pdf>
For Canada and US: <http://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/statab/sec30.pdf>

Limitations: None

Inferential Procedures: None.

Calculation of Score: Ideally, 100% of women should be in the formal workforce as opposed to the informal or unpaid. The score was calculated as a ratio of the actual % of women in the formal workforce to the ideal [e.g. actual = 50 ; $(50/100)*4 = (0.5)*4 = 2 =$ score].