

**Human Rights City Reports as a collaborative means to identify and mitigate the
challenges of the COVID-19 Pandemic at the local level**

Livia Perschy

International Centre for the Promotion of Human Rights
at the Local and Regional Levels

Elisabethstrasse 50B

8010 Graz

Austria

Email: livia.perschy@uni-graz.at

Website: www.humanrightsgolocal.org

Introduction

This paper introduces the practice of compiling the annual Human Rights Report of the Human Rights City of Graz as a collaborative means to identify and mitigate challenges of the COVID-19 Pandemic. The first Human Rights Report was published in 2007 by the Human Rights Council of the City, and has ever since become a well-established and successful instrument to monitor the City's human rights situation. The methodology used comprises a human rights-based and participatory approach, raising awareness for the fulfilment, protection, respect, and promotion of human rights among all local actors from diverse working fields.

The COVID-19 Pandemic disrupted the everyday lives of the whole City. The Human Rights Report 2020 identified several long-term stresses which have provoked inequalities among citizens for a long time. Further, it showed that the outbreak of the Pandemic as a sudden shock made these stresses visible, and intensified them significantly. In particular, these problems lead to the constant deterioration of the housing sector in Graz, which affects the non-discriminatory implementation of the right to adequate housing for all citizens. The Report indicated that Graz is not resilient enough as a City and, therefore, faces significant problems trying to withstand the ever-growing challenges highlighted and caused by the Pandemic. This led to the introduction of a new methodology for the Human Rights Report 2021. The methodology connects the human rights-based, participatory approach of the regular Human Rights Reports with the holistic concept of urban resilience. Thus, the aim of the new Report 2021 is to provide concrete recommendations in the inter-related social, economic, ecological, and institutional spheres on how the local City Government and Administration can foster the City's urban resilience. Considering the particular effect of the Pandemic on the right to

adequate housing, the report focuses especially on the fulfilment of this right as a significant challenge.

This paper elaborates the process and methodology applied to compile the new Human Rights Report 2021 in light of the COVID-19 Pandemic with the goal of improving the City's urban resilience, using the right to adequate housing as a case example. The first section provides some context information by presenting a brief history of Graz as Human Rights City, and the basic system of the Human Rights Report. Next, focus is put on the newly developed methodology of the Human Rights Report 2021 in the light of the COVID-19 Pandemic, as well as the key concept of urban resilience which is linked with the human rights-based, and participatory approach of the Human Rights Reports. The subsequent section illustrates the case example of the right to adequate housing as a context-specific challenge the City of Graz faced with regard to the Pandemic. Finally, the concrete methodology and process of elaborating the Report 2021 is analysed, and its implications for other cities as good practice are presented.

The Human Rights Council and the Human Rights Report in Graz, Austria

The following section presents a brief history of Graz as Europe's first Human Rights City. It introduces the City's Human Rights Council as a vital institution within the Human Rights City Process, as well as one of its major tasks, namely the practice of regularly monitoring the human rights situation in the City by means of the annual Human Rights Report.

The Human Rights City of Graz

The year 2021 marks the 20-year anniversary of Graz as a Human Rights City. In 2001, the City Government and Council self-committed to "be guided in their actions by the

principles of international human rights”¹ by adopting the Human Rights Declaration of the City of Graz (Starl 2016; Gomes & Möstl, 2020; Fischer & Oberleitner, 2020). The Human Rights Declaration of the City of Graz lays the groundwork for the establishment of several important institutions and initiatives aimed at ensuring the fulfilment, protection, respect, and promotion of human rights for all citizens. One significant milestone in the City’s continuous Human Rights City journey was the Mayor’s establishment of the Human Rights Council (HRC) in 2007 (Starl, 2016). At the time of writing, it comprises 25 members from various human rights-related local fields, namely politics, judiciary, administration, and civil society organisations (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2021a). The chairperson is elected by all members for a period of two years. It has an Executive Office, namely the European Training and Research Centre for Human Rights and Democracy. The Mayor nominates the members, who work independently, in an honorary capacity, and based on the HRC’s Internal Rules. These Rules specify *inter alia* the Council’s core tasks. These include advising local decision-makers, namely the Mayor, City Government, and City Council, on relevant human rights issues, conducting local election monitoring, and closely monitoring the human rights situation in the City of Graz. The latter is achieved by compiling the annual Human Rights Report of the City of Graz, which is explained in more detail in the subsequent sections (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2019).

According to Starl (2016), the self-commitment to being a Human Rights City, the formal decision translated by the Human Rights Declaration of the City of Graz, as well as the consequent institutionalisation, e.g. establishment of the Human Rights Council, and constant collaborative working initiatives between the local authorities and administration, NGOs, and

¹ English translation from German source by the author. For German original see: City of Graz. (2001). *Menschenrechtserklärung der Stadt Graz* [Human Rights Declaration of the City of Graz]. Graz, Austria. https://www.graz.at/cms/dokumente/10284065_7771447/a361963e/Menschenrechtserklaerung%20der%20Stadt%20Graz.pdf

civil society make up a culture of human rights in Graz. As a result, all citizens are more aware of their human rights. This process has “created resilience against anti-democratic, nationalist, fundamentalist or other tendencies hostile to human rights in politics and society. It has become part of the city’s identity [...]” (Gomes & Möstl, 2020, p. 59). Further, the City’s dynamic very much corresponds to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development’s (OECD) (2016) view that strengthening resilience in a city is best achieved by making all relevant actors, which include authorities, administration, NGOs, as well as civil society, more aware of their human rights possibilities. By ensuring that a broad spectrum of voices is heard when elaborating policies, a city can feasibly become more “inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable” as foreseen by Sustainable Development Goal 11 on sustainable cities and communities (United Nations, 2021). The practice of Human Rights Reports in the City of Graz translates these aspects into practice by applying a human rights-based, participatory approach, thereby engaging diverse local actors of various spheres to actively participate in local policy-making. The following section explains the regular practice of the Human Rights Reports of the City of Graz.

The practice of Human Rights Reports

As already mentioned, one of the core results of the Human Rights Declaration of the City of Graz is the annual Human Rights Report (HRR), elaborated by the HRC of the City. It is directly addressed at the Mayor, the local City Government, and City Administration. Its objective is to closely examine the human rights situation of the City by applying a human rights-based² and participatory methodology, to elaborate a set of concrete recommendations

² The human rights-based approach is a conceptual framework and methodology for policy-making, which puts human rights standards at its core so as to promote the fulfilment of human rights. It builds on two vital principles: First, the aim is to empower rights holders to claim and exercise their rights, and to strengthen the capacity of duty bearers to ensure that they respect and fulfil their human rights obligations. Second, the approach is applied on all stages of the policy cycle based on five human rights core principles derived from international legislation: participation, accountability, non-discrimination and equality, empowerment, and legality (PANEL).

for improvement, and to monitor the implementation of these recommendations. The HRR is published every year on 10 December, the international Human Rights Day (Gomes & Möstl, 2020; Fischer & Oberleitner 2020).

In general, there are two types of Report: the State-of-the-art Report and the Follow-up Report, which are alternately published on an annual basis. The State-of-the-art Report aims to draw a picture of the human rights situation of the previous year in Graz. The HRC tasks its Executive Office with the establishment of the Report. Consequently, a working group consisting of employees of the Executive Office and some members of the HRC is formed to complete the task. The input is generated by inviting around 200 local actors from various spheres, including all departments of the local City Administration, civil society organisations, NGOs, and academia, all members of the Human Rights Council, and all political parties represented in the local City Council, to complete a questionnaire structured along, in total, 24 Articles of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The relevant Articles comprise civil and political rights (Articles 2-11, 13-16, and 18-21 UDHR), economic and social rights (Articles 22-26 UDHR), and cultural rights (Article 27 UDHR) (Gomes & Möstl, 2020; Fischer & Oberleitner, 2020). The participatory and human rights-based approach is fulfilled by inviting local actors to share their knowledge, and by keeping the Articles of the UDHR at the core of the process and structure of the HRR.

This is the basis of the human rights work conducted by many international organisations. Particular attention is placed on the principle of accountability throughout the policy-cycle. This means that when applying a human rights-based approach to the examination of policies, the relevant actors (policy-makers) are held accountable based on the five PANEL principles. For further information and examples of application consult European Network of National Human Rights Institutions (ENNHRI). (2021). *Human Rights-Based Approach*. <https://hrbportal.org/the-human-rights-based-approach-to-development-cooperation-towards-a-common-understanding-among-un-agencies/#sthash.WbJbL9gZ.dpuf>; United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR). (n.d.). *Summary Reflection Guide on a Human Rights-Based Approach to Health*. https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Women/WRGS/Health/RGuide_HealthPolicyMakers.pdf; United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR). (2018). *A Human Rights-Based Approach To Data*. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/indicators/pages/documents.aspx>

In the questionnaire, each right is listed separately and all actors are asked to choose the right(s) their respective daily work mostly caters to. Regarding each right, the following aspects are required to be filled out: 1. data, facts and statistics, 2. problems and deficits, 3. good practices (and reasons supporting this), and 4. new recommendations. Further, State-of-the-art Reports include a focus chapter putting its main emphasis on core topics relevant at the time of writing, e.g. risk of poverty, islamophobia, and racism (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2008), children's and women's rights (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2010), health (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2012a), or dealing with the COVID-19 Pandemic in Graz in 2020 (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2020). After receiving input from the invited actors, the HRR is compiled by following the structure of the relevant Articles. The actor's contributions are not changed; only transitions and a language check, if necessary, are applied to provide better readability. This method ensures transparency so that all voices are heard appropriately. The focus chapter is written as a coherent and cohesive text based on the input received.

Based on the received information, the members of the Human Rights City Council develop a set of recommendations for the consequent improvement of the identified problems from a human rights perspective. These are presented at the end of the Report and directly addressed to the City Government and Administration. The recommendations are not binding for the local government. However, the City Government's implementation of many of these recommendations shows its commitment to the Reports (Gomes & Möstl, 2020; Fischer & Oberleitner, 2020).

This commitment to the HRR and its recommendations is also reflected in the second type of Report, namely the Follow-up Report (Fischer & Oberleitner, 2020). The key aim of these Reports is to evaluate the implementation of the set of recommendations established in

the year prior, consequently naming it Evaluation Report. The applied methodology for the evaluation depends on the specific recommendations and topics (Fischer & Oberleitner, 2020). Mostly focus group discussions or questionnaires evolving around the central question “Have the individual recommendations been implemented or not, and to what extent (completely/partially)?” are applied. The relevant local actors are once again consulted in order to answer this question appropriately (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2012b). Overall, the alternation of State-of-the-art and Evaluation reports in Graz has proven effective in highlighting challenges as well as achievements in the human rights sphere in the City, and has also provided vital insights to the Local Government on how to best employ a human-rights based approach in policy-making.

Nonetheless, with regard to the on-going global health crisis, even the status as Human Rights City does not prevent Graz from major difficulties when facing and attempting to deal with a tremendous shock like the COVID-19 Pandemic. However, as a Human Rights City, several mechanisms and instruments are in place which can prove to be very effective in detecting and improving shortcomings related to the Pandemic. In Graz, the Human Rights Report turned out to be a useful instrument in completing this task. However, it was necessary to introduce a new methodology to the human rights reporting process to respond to the newly arisen and uncovered problems in the most efficient way. The following section introduces and critically analyses the newly elaborated methodology.

A new methodology: human rights-based approach and urban resilience

This section focuses on the newly developed methodology for the Human Rights Report 2021 in the light of the COVID-19 Pandemic. It presents and introduces the rationale behind the new methodology employed to identify and mitigate the challenges of this health crisis at

the local level. Most importantly, it introduces the conceptual notion of urban resilience as vital new element to the regular reporting method.

Human Rights Reporting during the COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 Pandemic has given rise to a range of short-term and long-term challenges that cannot be adequately catered to using the standard HRR methodology outlined above. While the human rights-based and participatory methodology does give insight into shortcomings, it is difficult to evaluate them, and to prescribe concrete recommendations on how to improve the situation. In addition, given that uncovered problems are both amplifications of existing problems, as well as new vulnerabilities, the question arises as to which methodological framework can provide the necessary holistic nature to adequately conceptualise, address, and utilise the findings in a manner meaningful to the Local Government.

Human Rights Reports can serve as an effective means to respond to the challenges of COVID-19 Pandemic at the local level. This can be achieved in two steps: first, the existing State-of-the-art Report can indeed successfully identify challenges related to the Pandemic; however, the procedure must be adapted slightly. Second, mitigating the uncovered challenges by means of recommendations must follow a newly developed methodology, leading to the development of a new Recommendations Report in 2021.

The State-of-the-art Report during COVID-19

Ever since its establishment, the State-of-the-art Report has been an effective tool to identify prevailing challenges and deficits from a human rights perspective at the local level in Graz by asking local actors from a diverse range of working fields to share their experiences and expertise. In the year 2020, the elaboration of a State-of-the-art Report was foreseen by the HRC of the City of Graz following its regular, alternating system. As usual, the HRC tasked

its Executive Office with the establishment of the Report. Consequently, a working group consisting of two employees of the Executive Office, as well as five members of the HRC was formed to complete this task. The HRC decided to adapt its regular working procedure in two ways to account for and identify the challenges arising due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 Pandemic.

First, even though this type of Report always focuses on the previous year, here 2019, the HRC deemed it absolutely necessary to consider the extraordinary and challenging situation provoked by the COVID-19 Pandemic. Therefore, the focus chapter was dedicated to highlighting the human rights aspects and consequences of the first months of living (mostly in lockdown) amidst this tremendous health crisis. The HRC wanted to examine how the City of Graz dealt with the crisis in order to identify good practices, shortcomings, and possible suggestions for improvement. After deciding on this topic of the focus chapter, the working group slightly modified the standardised questionnaire. A fifth point was added to the four aspects already mentioned above: COVID-19 experiences within the timeframe of the disease outbreak until the end of August 2020. The relevant actors were asked to complete the fifth aspect with regard to the following questions: Which effect did the Pandemic outbreak have on your activities, resources, and target group(s)? Where did problems occur? What worked particularly well? With regard to the future (e.g. a possible second wave), what would you need/wish for?

Second, the members of the HRC usually elaborate a set of concrete recommendations at the end of every State-of-the-art Report. However, due to the acute health crisis situation and the many prevailing uncertainties, the HRC ultimately decided to refrain from addressing recommendations to the local City Government and Administration. It was agreed to dedicate the entire HRR 2021 to the elaboration of recommendations, thereby creating the first separate

Recommendations Report with the aim to mitigate the identified challenges of the State-of-the-Art Report.

The Human Rights Report 2020 clearly emphasised shortcomings with regard to the human rights situation in the City of Graz in 2019, which became even more visible when faced with the tremendous shock of the COVID-19 Pandemic in early 2020. The following examples make this more tangible: With regard to public spaces in Graz, the HRR 2020 clearly showed that especially the youth are at a disadvantage. There exist several conflicts of interests between young people and older generations, e.g. using some public spaces in the city centre for skating or getting together with friends in the evenings in city parks, which both create too much noise for neighbours. On the one hand, this led to the perception of youth being inconsiderate. On the other hand, youth did not feel welcome in the public space of Graz anymore. During the Pandemic, young people in general were further driven out of public life due to safety measures taken by the state government, restricting their private and school life to their homes. For some time during the first lockdown, young people were also seen as main transmitters of the COVID-19 disease. Responses from representatives of organisations working with children and young people clearly indicated that this target group felt unwelcome, insecure, and highly burdened. Another problem in relation to the Pandemic was the high pressure put on families to deal with home schooling and home office at the same time. Many families live in very small apartments without balconies and simply cannot afford the technical equipment for working and following school from home. This led to significant tensions in family life. Besides families, it was found that also migrants, refugees, the elderly, people with low German skills or people with a lower educational background did not have the necessary financial means, and also digital expertise to access services needed. These target groups were considered particularly hard to reach by several representative organisations. Another problem in relation to having to spend more time at home was an increase in conflicts in neighbourhoods due to

higher noise pollution, in particular in areas where a lot of people live in very small apartments. Furthermore, as final example also an increase in discrimination was indicated in the private but also public sphere. In particular, discriminatory practices regulating the access to community housing, which have already been strongly criticised by several NGOs and institutions over the past years, became clearly visible. The most affected groups were homeless people, and Convention refugees, which are also the ones with the highest need of an adequate housing space, especially in times of a global Pandemic (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2020).

These examples together with the rest of the received input show one major finding of the HRR 2020: The City of Graz is not resilient enough to adequately deal with the new problems brought about by the Pandemic. Concretely, existing faultlines in the city's socio-economic and socio-political fabric, particularly vis-à-vis marginalised groups, are deeply anchored in the City's make-up, therefore requiring a more deep-seated approach to mitigating them. This led to the vital question: How can Graz become more resilient in order to make the city more inclusive, safe, and sustainable in the long term?

Step two: the new Recommendations Report

This final question posed by the HRR 2020 was the starting point for the HRR 2021, and led to the development of the new methodology. It became the main objective of the HRR 2021 to mitigate the identified challenges of the previous Report by means of a set of concrete recommendations from a human rights perspective to strengthen the overall resilience of the City of Graz. It became quite clear that elaborating recommendations to increase the City's resilience after suffering a tremendous disruptive event like the COVID-19 Pandemic is more complex than usual. In general, the members of the HRC develop their recommendations based on the input and suggestions for improvement they received from various participating actors.

These recommendations are not necessarily interrelated, and normally address many different working fields and areas of daily life. When dealing with a highly complex situation as a health crisis, the need for a theoretic and holistic resilience framework which can be combined with the existing human rights-based and participatory approach for the elaboration of recommendations became obvious. The 2020 State-of-the-art Report clearly showed the close interrelatedness of so many areas of a city, as well as of the underlying human rights, which were significantly affected by the crisis.

After conducting desk research on resilience, the concept of urban resilience proved to be the most useful framework for the new methodology of the HRR 2021. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines urban resilience as “the ongoing capacity of cities to absorb, adapt, transform and prepare for shocks and stresses along the economic, social, institutional and environmental dimensions, with the aim of maintaining the functions of a city and improving response to future shocks” (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018, p. 10). Therefore, urban resilience is viewed as a capacity, which cities can acquire and increase if they manage to complete certain actions, namely to absorb, adapt, transform, and prepare for shocks and stresses (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018).

Urban resilience at the local level

The degree of urban resilience of a city is measured against the occurrence of a disruptive event, namely stresses or shocks, which undermines the proper functioning of the city, and increases vulnerabilities of inhabitants (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018). According to the OECD, stresses are defined as “[l]onger term trends that undermine the performance of a given system and increase the vulnerability of actors within it, such as natural resource degradations, loss of agricultural production, demographic changes, climate change, [...]” (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018, p. 6). Shocks are “[s]udden events that affect

the performance of a system, such as disease outbreaks, floods, high winds, [...]” (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018, p. 6). With regard to the COVID-19 Pandemic, the outbreak clearly qualifies as a shock according to the definition (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018). The World Health Organization (2020) officially declared the COVID-19 outbreak a “Public Health Emergency of International Concern”. It suddenly and tremendously disrupted the everyday lives of all humans worldwide, and still continues to have an enormous impact on the social, economic, ecological, and institutional scales, requiring actions at all governance levels.

Cities are viewed as complex urban systems, indicating that all elements of the system are interrelated, and if one part is exposed to change, the whole system is influenced (Silva, Kernaghan & Luque, 2012). This means that stresses or shocks occurring in certain areas of a city, e.g. health system, information systems, educational sector, etc., finally undermine the proper functioning of the city system as a whole. Therefore, a city requires a certain amount of urban resilience in order to be able to effectively respond to these disruptive and harmful events (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018). The concept of urban resilience follows an evolutionary resilience perspective, stressing that achieving a state of new normality after a shock or stress occurred must be the main objective, since returning to the old way would mean returning to the state which provoked the stress or shock in the first place (White & O’Hare, 2014). Consequently, the local policy level is crucial for fostering the resilience of cities. Local actors like city governments are experts on their cities, providing in-depth expertise on risk and resource assessment, as well as the elaboration of concrete mitigating policies (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018). By creating a new normal, local authorities exchange stability for dynamic change, thereby turning a negative event in an opportunity and a driver for improvement (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018).

In general, urban resilience can be fostered along four dimensions, namely the economic, social, ecological, and institutional dimensions. The economic resilience dimension postulates that a city should not focus on one or two industry sectors but aim at varied range of industries. This way, shocks/stresses harming one type of industry can be balanced with other existing branches. Further, an economically resilient city welcomes and encourages innovation, as well as enables the founding of more businesses. It fosters education and skills development for all citizens to create a strong and well-educated workforce, and upholds a stable labour market. It is vital to ensure that households dispose of the necessary financial resources to meet their needs and generate economic growth (OECD, 2016). The social dimension calls for a decrease of inequalities among a city's society. Resilient societies are inclusive, and citizens have a certain amount of expertise and necessary skills to react to shocks/stresses themselves by having effective citizens networks in place. Citizens feel empowered. Good health conditions, and institutional services promoting citizens' health are a core requirement, as well as the provision of jobs which enable people to lead a well-balanced life (OECD, 2014). The ecological dimension refers to risks related to "environmental degradation, the overuse of resources, and the potential costs of climate change". A city can achieve ecological resilience by knowing their specific challenges in this sphere, and responding accordingly, namely taking concrete actions in the city which improve the ecological environment for all its inhabitants (OECD, 2014; Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018). Finally, the institutional dimension refers to the vital role that institutions play in responding to shocks and stresses. Resilience in this sphere can be achieved by ensuring institutional policy-making processes that are "open, transparent, and inclusive", meaning that citizens trust their local authorities, and are able to participate effectively in decision-making. This way, public services are directly catered to the citizens' needs (OECD, 2014, p. 5). Furthermore, it is required that institutions cooperate also

with other governance levels, and policies or strategies must be elaborated with an eye to the future (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018).

In line with systemic thinking, these four dimensions are also interrelated: if a shock or stress is identified, proper local government management reactions should incorporate policies on more than just one of these dimensions, since, once again, a measure taken in one area influences the others. Consequently, applying a holistic approach when aiming at the strengthening of urban resilience is recommended because improvement measures in all four dimensions ensure a more positive outcome for the system as a whole (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018).

Urban resilience and human rights in the Recommendations Report 2021

With regard to the elaboration of recommendations for the HRR 2021, this conceptual framework is very effective. The concept of urban resilience views the local policy level as vital for strengthening a city's resilience. Local governments are experts on their cities, and, therefore, the most important actors in realising concrete mitigating policies. The HRR and, in particular, its recommendations, directly address the local policy level, namely the City Government and Administration. In general, recommendations elaborated by the HRC for the HRR are rather diverse since they are based on data collected from local actors working in different human rights-related fields. Therefore, these recommendations normally already touch upon the social, economic, ecological, and institutional spheres with regard to human rights aspects. Consequently, the OECD's approach to enhancing urban resilience by reacting to shocks or stresses in the four resilience dimensions – social, economic, ecological, and institutional – directly corresponds to the working method for the establishment of recommendations. This means that the local government as addressee of the recommendations, as well as the type of recommendations themselves, already perfectly match with the concept

of strengthening urban resilience. The recommendations of the HRR 2021 just needed to be clearly subsumed under the four dimensions of urban resilience to create a holistic set of concrete suggestions from a human rights perspective.

As each city is embedded in a very specific socio-economic, and geographical context, the OECD emphasises the need for context-related resilience strategies, since “[t]he focus of policies varies with the challenges faced” (Figueiredo, Honiden & Schumann, 2018, p. 5). The analysis of the input to the HRR 2020 indicated that the vast majority of identified issues was directly linked to the area of housing. These issues encompassed long-term, negative stresses in the housing sector of the City of Graz, which became visible and further increased due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 Pandemic. All in all, these problems led to the constant deterioration of the City’s housing sector, and showed that the right to adequate housing was not fulfilled equally and adequately for all inhabitants. In times where staying at home is required to eventually save the lives of others, it is essential to ensure that all citizens have a home, namely an adequate living space. In line with the OECD’s call for context-related resilience strategies, the members of the HRC decided to put the emphasis of the HRR 2021 on Article 25 The right to an adequate standard of living: housing UDHR³. Focusing on this human right is not a limitation, as all issues identified in the state-of-the-art Report 2020 are also interrelated with other human rights, e.g. right to work, social security, family life, health, education, and non-discrimination principle, just to name a few. Since the deterioration of the housing sector is a vital development which turned out to be particularly affected by the Pandemic in the City of Graz, the Recommendations Report 2021 focuses on this issue as an

³ Article 25 (1) UDHR states: “Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.” from UN. (2021). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>

illustration of how to strengthen the City's resilience from a human rights perspective by means of recommendations along the four dimensions of urban resilience.

To sum up, the concept of urban resilience proves to be an effective framework for the application of a human rights-based, participatory approach. Cities are viewed as urban systems, whereby negative effects on one element of the system also negatively impact the functioning of the city as a whole. Consequently, if human rights are not fulfilled for all citizens equally, and several groups are marginalised, this leads to a decrease of the City's urban resilience. Therefore, urban resilience and human rights complement each other, and need to be considered together, since one will never reach its full potential without the other.

In the following section, the case example of the right to adequate housing in Graz as key topic for the Human Rights Report 2021 is used to elaborate on how it was possible to link human rights and urban resilience and to derive meaningful recommendations for local government.

Case example: The right to adequate housing in Graz

In this section, the newly developed methodology of the HRR 2021 is presented using the case example of the right to adequate housing in order to illustrate the effectiveness of combining a human rights-based approach with the concept of urban resilience. The section outlines the working process, explains the underpinning methodological considerations, and analyses the implications and take-aways from developing the HRR 2021.

Applying the new methodology

The in-depth analysis of the HRR 2020 clearly showed that the main challenges the City of Graz faced were linked to deficits in the right to adequate housing. In every city, housing is a key issue, which has also been highlighted ever since the outbreak of the Pandemic.

It is a holistic topic because it has effects on all areas of daily life, and is interrelated with numerous human rights relevant aspects. In Graz, the right to adequate housing is not implemented in a non-discriminatory manner for all its citizens. Since the City is viewed as a system, the discrimination against certain groups of citizens has negative effects on the City as a whole, thereby harming its urban resilience. It was decided to strengthen the urban resilience of the City by means of recommendations for the improvement of the implementation of the right to adequate housing in all four resilience dimensions from a human rights perspective, and based on the expertise of relevant local actors. Thus, a holistic, human rights-based, and participatory approach to enhancing urban resilience in the City of Graz was provided.

With regard to urban resilience, as a first step, an in-depth analysis of the Human Rights Report 2020 was conducted to identify the main stresses as reported by the local participating actors. First, the year 2019 was examined. A list of topics and their relevant human rights articles was compiled indicating that Article 25 the right to an adequate standard of living: housing UDHR was mentioned the most often. Collected data indicated several worrying stresses in the area of housing, like a constant increase in rents, residential segregation in certain districts, intensification of buildings in already densely populated areas, correlation between homelessness and psychiatric disorders, which all lead up to a continuous deterioration of the housing sector in Graz. Further, these stresses negatively impact the citizens' quality of life, and continue to increase inequalities. Next, the 2020 focus chapter, which specifically touched on the effects of the Pandemic, was analysed following the same procedure. It clearly indicated that the shock of the COVID-19 Pandemic further intensified these negative stresses in the housing sector in Graz. In a time when staying at home might save the lives of people, it is of particular importance to ensure that all citizens actually have an adequate home where they can stay. Based on this in-depth analysis, data was clustered, resulting in a total of nine thematic issues which provoke the deterioration of the housing sector in Graz, and, therefore, were

identified as relevant stresses: 1. construction boom and development of rental prices, 2. densely populated areas, soil sealing, and noise pollution due to motorised private transport, 3. conflicts of interest in public spaces, and offer of leisure activities, 4. increase in rents, and precarious leases, 5. discriminatory access to community housing, 6. problems arising when changing the status of asylum seeker to Convention refugee, 7. increased correlation between homelessness and psychiatric disorders, 8. inadequate placement and care for children and youths, and 9. domestic violence.

Since these issues were raised in 2020, in a next step, the on-going pertinence of these stresses at the local level needed to be verified. Therefore, individual inquiries were sent out to relevant local actors. The identified relevant actors were for the most part the ones who contributed specific insights for the HRR 2020, and further generally known actors in the field of housing from various areas. Each identified actor received an inquiry consisting of one or, if applicable, more of the identified stresses based on their field of work and expertise. The inquiry stated the specific issue and three to four findings of the HRR 2020, as well as three questions the participants were asked to answer. These questions were: 1. “Please, assess these statements: Are they correct?”, 2. “Are there any new developments in these areas?”, and 3. “What could be possible solutions for these problems? Which actors of the City of Graz are best suited to implement these solutions?”. This method of data collection by means of individual inquiries ensures the application of the participatory element of the general approach of the HRR.

Using the framework of urban resilience does not contradict the human rights-based approach employed in the previous years. In fact, the 2021 Report’s focus on the right to adequate housing puts human rights centre stage. However, the term “adequate housing” needed further specification to ensure that all relevant aspects of this right are considered.

Therefore, General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (1991) of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) of the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner served as explanatory basis. The Comment postulates seven vital aspects which should always be considered when working on the implementation of the right to adequate housing: 1. Legal security of tenure, 2. Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, 3. Affordability, 4. Habitability, 5. Accessibility, 6. Location, and 7. Cultural Adequacy⁴. The Human Rights Report 2021 incorporates these aspects in its methodological framework by linking all identified stresses to one of these areas, and by structuring the main chapter of the Report along these aspects. These consequent sub-chapters titled with the aspects provide a transparent overview on how these core points of the right to adequate housing are or are not fulfilled in the City of Graz. Therefore, all contributions were examined, and the input was linked to these aspects. The sub-chapters state received improvements or corrections of the HRR 2020 findings, good practices, as well as possible solutions to ensure that all information provided was portrayed entirely.

The last section of the main chapter presents a final summarising assessment of the City's urban resilience from a human rights perspective with regard to the right to adequate housing. The assessment is structured along the four urban resilience dimensions to clearly indicate the major problems in each sphere. The following provides an exemplary and non-exhaustive overview of the findings in each dimension: The social dimension draws attention to the fact that homelessness is stigmatised in society, leading to shame and the non-utilisation of preventive services. Further, people suffering from a psychiatric disorder, in particular, are increasingly prone to becoming homeless. The economic dimension indicates that certain

⁴ For further reading on the definition of these aspects consider UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR). (1991). *General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11 (1) of the Covenant)*, 13 December 1991, E/1992/23. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/47a7079a1.html>

groups, like people suffering from mental disorders, families with many children, single parents, unemployed people, migrants, etc., cannot afford an adequate housing space due to the increase in rents and initial costs related to housing like rental deposits. Even community housing is still too expensive. Financial aid from the City is very often not timely provided. Furthermore, the City suffers from residential segregation because truly affordable housing for people with a low socio-economic background is only provided in certain districts. The problems related to the ecological dimension are conflicts of interest in using the public space of the City, conflicts arising in very densely populated areas, as well as a need to increase the number of green, and consumption-free areas. Finally, with regard to the institutional dimension, it was found that access regulations to community housing were discriminating against homeless people and Convention refugees (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2021b). These findings mean that the recommendations needed to cater to the improvement of these aspects in each dimension.

When it comes to the elaboration of recommendations, the working group decided they should be subsumed under the four dimensions of urban resilience to provide an inter-related, holistic strategy for the improvement of the City's resilience from a human rights perspective by focusing on the strengthening and non-discriminatory implementation of the right to adequate housing in Graz. The suggestions for possible solutions of all contributing actors, and the final assessment of the City's resilience with regard to the right to adequate housing, served as basis for the elaboration of the HRC's recommendations in order to ensure the participatory approach. They were regrouped and subsumed under the four urban resilience dimensions: social, economic, ecological, and institutional. Based on this, the working group elaborated a first draft of recommendations in an editorial meeting. Then, this draft was discussed by all members of the Human Rights Council in the following regular Council's meeting. As a general rule, the members have to agree to these recommendations unanimously.

The final result of the HRR 2021 was a set of 10 recommendations structured along the social, economic, ecological, and institutional dimensions, providing a holistic strategy to strengthen the City's resilience using the improvement of the implementation of the right to adequate housing for all citizens in Graz as example. The following four recommendations taken from the Human Rights Report 2021 shall serve as example: With regard to the ecological resilience dimension, "[t]he Human Rights Council of the City of Graz recommends to the City Graz to grant financial aid reasonably with regard to amount and type, as well as in a non-discriminatory manner"⁵ (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2021b, p. 39). This recommendation aims at providing people in need with a reasonable amount and type of financial aid to ensure that they can meet their needs and participate in the economy effectively. Meeting their needs in this context refers to the specific issue of being able to afford an adequate housing space, which is also the basis for their health, work, etc. With regard to the social resilience dimension, "[t]he Human Rights Council of the City of Graz recommends to the City Graz to renounce evictions in the City's area of competence"⁶ (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2021b, p. 39). This recommendation refers to evictions from apartments in the sphere of community housing in Graz. People living in community housing are already socio-economically disadvantaged. The recommendation aims at ensuring that these people keep their adequate housing space so as not to become homeless. With regard to the ecological resilience dimension, "[t]he Human Rights Council of the City of Graz recommends the City to collect and consider the needs of all potential users to prevent conflicts of usage in the public sphere by means of participatory procedures [...]"⁷ (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2021b, p. 40). This recommendation aims at ensuring that the City's public space can be used by all citizens without tensions and conflicts, as well as that citizens can actively participate in

⁵ Translated from German by the author of this paper.

⁶ Translated from German by the author of this paper.

⁷ Translated from German by the author of this paper.

the usage and planning of public space to have their needs heard and met. With regard to the institutional resilience dimension, “[t]he Human Rights Council of the City of Graz recommends to the City Graz to examine all access regulations based on their lawfulness and non-discrimination, as well as demand orientation, and to put regulations in place that correspond to human rights and constitutional provisions [...]”⁸ (Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz, 2021b, p. 40). This recommendation aims directly at regulations as set forth by the Local Government which regulate the access to community housing, and discriminate against certain groups at the time of writing. The goal is to achieve inclusive access regulations for all people living in Graz.

At this point, it is too early to make a statement on the impact that these recommendations will finally have on the City’s resilience and improvement of the realisation of the right to adequate housing. However, the Human Rights Report monitoring system of the HRC does already have a mechanism in place, which will account for this, namely the Evaluation Report. In 2022, following again the regular system of HRR, the formerly mentioned second type of HRR will be elaborated by the HRC. The objective of the Report 2022 will be to evaluate the implementation of the recommendations by the City Government. Further, based on this newly developed methodology incorporating urban resilience, it will be the Report’s task to work out specific criteria to assess whether the urban resilience of Graz did increase based on the implementation of the recommendations for the improvement of the implementation of the right to adequate housing.

Implications

The well-established practice of compiling the Human Rights Report by the Human Rights Council of the City of Graz revealed its promising potential as an effective instrument for

⁸ Translated from German by the author of this paper.

monitoring the human rights situation of the City in the light of the COVID-19 Pandemic. It was possible to adapt the methodology of the Report to the challenging Pandemic situation in order to identify and mitigate challenges at the local level from a human rights perspective, thereby proving the Report's flexibility. The newly developed methodology links the human rights-based approach to the City's human rights monitoring with the concept of urban resilience. This is achieved in two steps. First, stresses in the City are identified by collecting data applying a participatory approach. Second, these stresses are consequently mitigated by means of elaborating a concrete set of recommendations aimed at fostering the City's urban resilience on the social, economic, ecological, and institutional sphere, and addressed at the City Government and Administration. In Graz, this practice enabled to detect several stresses made visible due to the Pandemic, leading to the continuous deterioration of the housing sector. Therefore, the right to adequate housing was placed at the centre of the elaboration of recommendations. The development of specific recommendations on how to improve the non-discriminatory realisation of the right to adequate housing for all citizens of Graz in all four urban resilience dimensions provides for a holistic, human rights-based, and participatory resilience strategy. This fosters the City's capacity to react to major disruptive events in a fruitful manner, thereby aiming for a more inclusive state of new normal.

The practice of a Human Rights Report can be easily transferred to other cities and indicates several significant benefits for the improvement of the human rights situation at the local level. First, the annual Human Rights Report is an instrument to monitor the human rights situation of a city on a regular basis. By continuously raising awareness of the implementation of human rights at the specific local level, it is ensured that human rights are part of the city's discourse not only at the political, but also the civil society level. This enhanced awareness leads to a lived "culture of human rights" in a city. Second, the methodology of compiling the Human Rights Report is very adaptable, e.g. the chosen Articles for the questionnaire, as well

as the questions can be adapted to the specific needs of the City. Further, the focus chapter can concentrate on any issue which is important in the specific socio-economic, and geographical context. Third, since the recommendations are elaborated from a human rights perspective and directly addressed at the City Government, local authorities are confronted with the language and viewpoints of human rights. Over time, this leads to a better understanding at the local governance level on how to incorporate human rights-relevant aspects in their policies. Notably, human rights concerns are put on the agenda on a regular basis and require regular discussion and elaboration, particularly given that the local government's activities are monitored and evaluated every second year.

Applying the holistic concept of urban resilience to policy-making at the local level is a chance for positive change. The concept postulates that cities can acquire the capacity to react even to major shocks, like the COVID-19 Pandemic, and create a new, more inclusive, and sustainable state of normality for their citizens. The objective of making a city a better place to live holds a bridging function between differing opinions represented at the local political level, as well as among civil society. Enhancing urban resilience is the underlying common ground for all local actors.

Conclusion

This paper set out to present the methodology and process of the practice of Human Rights Reports of the Human Rights Council of the City of Graz as an effective means to identify and mitigate the challenges of the COVID-19 Pandemic at the local level. The elaboration of the Human Rights Report is by now a well-established and effective tool of monitoring the human rights situation in Graz. In the light of the ongoing global health crisis, it revealed its great potential to adequately respond to the problems arising from a human rights

perspective. However, its methodology had to be adapted, thereby linking the human rights-based and participatory approach with the holistic, theoretical concept of urban resilience.

One of the biggest achievements of the Human Rights City of Graz is the establishment of a regular monitoring instrument of the human rights situation in Graz, namely the Human Rights Report. It is a key task of the Human Rights Council. By applying a human rights-based, and participatory approach, the Council examines the human rights situation, identifies shortcomings, elaborates mitigating recommendations, addresses them directly at the Local Government and Administration, and, finally, evaluates the local authorities' commitment to these recommendations. This is achieved by alternately publishing two types of Reports, namely the State-of-the-art Report, which identifies human rights challenges and elaborates recommendations, and the Follow-up Report, which evaluates the previously developed recommendations one year later.

In 2020, the Human Rights Report detected human rights relevant deficits in Graz, which became even more visible when faced with the COVID-19 Pandemic at the beginning of the year. The Report indicated that the majority of problems are directly related to the right to adequate housing and provoked a constant deterioration of the housing sector in Graz. One major finding was that Graz was not resilient enough to sustainably withstand the challenges brought forth by the Pandemic. The remaining, vital question was: How can Graz become more resilient in order to make the City more inclusive, safe, and sustainable. At this point, the objective of the Human Rights Report 2021 was to elaborate a set of recommendations to strengthen the overall resilience of the City by improving the non-discriminatory implementation of the right to adequate housing for all citizens. However, this would need to be done outside the established dual reporting system. A new Recommendations Report 2021 had to be defined in place of the regular Evaluation Report, using a new methodology to reflect

the complexity of the COVID-19 Pandemic and its implications, and within which to embed the recommendations to the Local Government.

Urban resilience defines a city's capacity to respond to and prepare for future disruptive events harming the city's functioning and increasing vulnerabilities among citizens. These negative events, which decrease a city's resilience, can be long-term stresses or very suddenly erupting shocks, like the COVID-19 Pandemic. A holistic resilience strategy incorporates measures on the economic, social, institutional, and ecological dimensions. It is a key factor in responding to such events and improving a city's overall resilience. The goal is to achieve a new state of improved normality, and not to return to the way things were before the stress/shock hit. Local governments are seen as experts on their cities, meaning they dispose of the necessary expertise and means to appropriately react to disruptive events, and conduct risk management.

In line with this, the specific socio-economic, and geographical context of the City of Graz showed that the right of adequate housing was of particular importance, and needed to be fostered to reduce inequalities among citizens. The term adequate housing was specified by incorporating the seven vital aspects of the General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (1991) of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) of the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. Following the established participatory approach, individual inquiries stating several identified issues with regard to the right to adequate housing in Graz were sent to relevant local actors. They were asked to provide their expertise, and possible solutions for the named problems. Based on this input, a summarised general assessment of the urban resilience of Graz with regard to adequate housing from a human rights perspective was provided by structuring it along the four resilience dimensions.

Finally, a set of ten recommendations was elaborated by the Human Rights Council along the four dimensions of urban resilience. This means that the recommendations either cater to the social, economic, ecological or institutional spheres, thereby providing policy suggestions for a holistic, human rights-based, and participatory urban resilience strategy for the City of Graz aiming at improving the realisation of the right to adequate housing for all citizens.

The general practice of elaborating the Human Rights Report in the City of Graz together with the newly developed methodology linking the human rights-based, participatory approach of the Report with the holistic concept of urban resilience proved to be effective for mitigating the challenges of the COVID-19-Pandemic at the local level. It was possible to elaborate ten recommendations facing the problems of the non-discriminatory implementation of the right to adequate housing in the City by directly referring to the four dimensions of urban resilience, thereby providing a holistic strategy for the improvement of the City's resilience. The practice of the Human Rights Report proved its flexibility by responding to the challenges of the Pandemic in a straightforward, and transparent manner. It can be easily transferred to other cities since it is very versatile and adaptable to the specific socio-economic, and geographical context of each city. Finally, by incorporating the concept of urban resilience it can be viewed as a driver for positive change and improvement from a human rights perspective by putting human rights relevant issues at the core of its process.

References

- Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. (1991). CESCR General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/47a7079a1.html>
- Figueiredo, L., Honiden, T., & Schumann, A. (2018). *Indicators for Resilient Cities*. OECD Regional Development Working Papers, 2018/02. OECD Publishing.
<https://doi.org/10.1787/6f1f6065-en>
- Fischer, G., & Oberleitner, G. (2020). *Localizing International Law, Internationalizing the City - The Human Rights City of Graz*. ILA study group on the Role of Cities in International Law, City Report: Graz. International Law Association.
<https://www.asser.nl/media/680283/city-report-graz.pdf>
- Gomes, K., & Möstl, M. (2020). Implementing Human Rights and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development at the Local Level. Key Issues and Examples. In Oberleitner, G., & Starl, K. (series eds.). *Human Rights Go Local Publication Series*, Volume 1, HRGL Publishing.
- Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz. (2008). *Menschenrechtsbericht der Stadt Graz 2007*, [Human Rights Report of the City of Graz 2007]. Stadt Graz.
https://www.graz.at/cms/dokumente/10152653_7771447/cbf07524/MRB-Bericht-2007_.pdf
- Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz. (2010). *Menschenrechtsbericht der Stadt Graz 2009*, [Human Rights Report of the City of Graz 2009]. Stadt Graz.
https://www.graz.at/cms/dokumente/10152653_7771447/63a8ac43/MRB-Bericht2009-web.pdf

Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz. (2012a). *Menschenrechtsbericht der Stadt Graz 2011*, [Human Rights Report of the City of Graz 2011]. Stadt Graz.

https://www.graz.at/cms/dokumente/10152653_7771447/e0a84375/MRB-Bericht2011-Web_.pdf

Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz. (2012b). *Menschenrechtsbericht der Stadt Graz 2012* [Human Rights Report of the City of Graz 2012]. Stadt Graz.

https://www.graz.at/cms/dokumente/10152653_7771447/88241ed3/MRB-Bericht2012_Web_.pdf

Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz. (2019). *Geschäftsordnung des Menschenrechtsbeirates der Stadt Graz vom 6. Juni 2007 idF vom 22.1.2019*, [Rules of procedure of the Human Rights Council of the City of Graz as of 6 June 2007 as amended by 22 January 2019]. Stadt Graz.

https://www.graz.at/cms/dokumente/10153819_7771489/380c3e99/Gesch%C3%A4ftsordnungMRB_ge%C3%A4ndert_Fassung22012019.PDF

Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz. (2020). *Menschenrechtsbericht der Stadt Graz 2020* [Human Rights Report of the City of Graz 2020]. Stadt Graz.

https://www.graz.at/cms/dokumente/10152653_7771447/0f37d3a5/Menschenrechtsbericht%202020.pdf

Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz. (2021a). *Mitglieder des Menschenrechtsbeirates der Stadt Graz, Stand März 2021* [Members of the Human Rights City Council of the City of Graz as of March 2021]. Stadt Graz.

https://www.graz.at/cms/dokumente/10153819_7771489/7e6a8d4c/Mitglieder%20MRBeirat%20Stand%20M%C3%A4rz%202021.pdf

Menschenrechtsbeirat der Stadt Graz. (2021b). *Menschenrechtsbericht der Stadt Graz 2021*

[Human Rights Report of the City of Graz 2021]. Stadt Graz.

https://www.graz.at/cms/dokumente/10152653_7771447/5a79d47e/MRB-Bericht2021_web.pdf

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014). *Overview paper on*

resilient economies and societies. [https://www.oecd.org/mcm/C-MIN\(2014\)7-](https://www.oecd.org/mcm/C-MIN(2014)7-ENG.pdf)

[ENG.pdf](https://www.oecd.org/mcm/C-MIN(2014)7-ENG.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2016). *Resilient Cities. Policy*

Highlights of the OECD Report (Preliminary version).

<https://www.mlit.go.jp/common/001136418.pdf>

Silva, J., Kernaghan, S., & Luque, A. (2012). A systems approach to meeting the challenges

of urban climate change. *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development*,

4(2), 125–145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19463138.2012.718279>

Starl, K. (2016). Human rights and the city: obligations, commitments and opportunities. Do

human rights cities make a difference for citizens and authorities? Two cases studies

on the freedom of expression. In Oomen, B., Davis, M., F., & Grigolo, M. (eds.),

Global Urban Justice: The Rise of Human Rights Cities, 199–219.

United Nations. (2021). *Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient*

and sustainable. <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal11>

White, Iain, & O'Hare, P. (2014). From rhetoric to reality: which resilience, why resilience,

and whose resilience in spatial planning? *Environment and Planning C: Government*

and Policy, 2014, 32, 934–950. <https://doi.org/10.1068/c12117>

World Health Organization. (2020, January 30). *Statement on the second meeting of the International Health Regulations (2005) Emergency Committee regarding the outbreak of novel coronavirus (2019-nCoV)*. [https://www.who.int/news/item/30-01-2020-statement-on-the-second-meeting-of-the-international-health-regulations-\(2005\)-emergency-committee-regarding-the-outbreak-of-novel-coronavirus-\(2019-ncov\)](https://www.who.int/news/item/30-01-2020-statement-on-the-second-meeting-of-the-international-health-regulations-(2005)-emergency-committee-regarding-the-outbreak-of-novel-coronavirus-(2019-ncov))