LUDOVIKA UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE Doctoral School of Military Sciences

THESES

Hajnalka Szilágyi-Kiss

Human security challenges and responses at international and local level in northern Iraq

Ph.D. dissertation

AUTHOR'S SUMMARY

Supervisor:

Dr. Lóránd Ujházi

Budapest, 2024.

Table of Contents

1.	Background and Relevance of the Topic	3
	Scientific Problem	
	Research Objectives, Aims and Research Questions	4
	Hypotheses	7
3.	Methodology	7
4.	Summary	11
	Result of the Hypotheses	12
	New Scientific Results	14
	Recommendations – Practical Applications of Research – New Research Directions	15
	Related Publications of the Author	16
5.	The Author's Professional Biography	17

1. Background and Relevance of the Topic

After 2014, the focus was mostly on traditional, military security issues in relation to Iraq, in the northern part of which the Islamic State (IS) took power. After they were pushed back in 2017, crisis response and assistance from their operations became the most important priority, especially in the governorates of Nineveh, Anbar, Diyala, Babyl, Salah al-Din, Baghdad, and Kirkuk, liberated areas of Iraq. Three other northern governorates, Dahuq, Erbil and Solaimaniya, belong to the Kurdistan Autonomous Region, are also under investigation. Together, I call them Northern Iraq. Today, many other countries around the world are more in need of humanitarian assistance than Iraq, leading donors to close aid projects and relocate to other countries where emergencies exist. Iraq must increasingly stand on its own two feet and create the conditions for its citizens to feel secure and economically develop. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, international actors, led by the United States of America, intervened in the fate of the people living in the studied area. They changed the lives of a particularly ethnically, religiously and thus culturally diverse population. It was impossible to foresee the consequences. The Middle East is the cradle of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, but it is also the main arena of their confrontation. The roots of the conflicts are religious, ethnic and geographical factors going back centuries, whilst the current tensions are more responsible for external intervention, which has been able to address these factors inadequately, and the consequences affect not only the local population, but also the world, Europe and our country. In recent times, corruption, political manipulation, the inadequate functioning of the state and lack of development have caused discontent and unrest until October 2022. Before that, the pandemic had also caused particularly great damage. There is relative calm almost only from the start of the new government. Humanitarian aid can make a significant contribution to the management of unexpected situations or disasters. In both pre- and post-disaster interventions, cooperation with recipients of assistance from outside is important, because this is all the more fruitful the more local challenges are addressed. Planned and structured cooperation plays an important role, because it gives the parties the opportunity to get to know each other, because when an extraordinary event happens suddenly, there is no time for this. Longer-term cooperation and development can only be a consequence of mapping local needs and responding to them. This issue is particularly relevant in the current migration situation, when masses of people from the Middle East are flocking towards Europe in search of peace, jobs and a better livelihood. In some parts of Europe, the labour market is still open to those coming from the East, but an increasing number of European countries, including Hungary, would curb migration by all available means, because they consider that the mass influx has more negative than positive consequences. The fewer people leaving dangerous areas of the Middle East, the lower the risk of conflict in the destination countries, which stems primarily from different ethnic, religious and cultural differences. To ensure its security from the south, the EU signs joint declarations, bilateral and multilateral agreements with Mediterranean countries, including Iraq, supports the coalition fighting IS, and maintains missile defence, cyber defence and the protection of the EU's maritime borders. NATO also attaches great importance to assistance to so-called "dysfunctional states" (including Iraq), which includes military training, assistance and advice based on the Afghan model. After the collapse of the bipolar world order, Hungary joined the international circulation from 1989, before that it only provided aid lending, charitable assistance and professional training in relations aligned with socialist ideology. We came into contact with Iraq when we started to develop and implement our independent development policy as a result of our membership of the OECD, NATO and the EU. Our development strategy for Iraq is aligned with our own national security (2011 and 2020), international development (2014 and 2020) and foreign policy (2008 and 2011) interests, and we strive to contribute to peace and security to the best of our ability. Since 2017, the Hungarian government has been working for stability in the region through cooperation with local Christian communities in order to provide humanitarian aid and manage migration locally. The most significant security challenge from Iraq is the survival of IS in cells and the possible revival of the movement. It is important for the world to have security in Iraq and it is important for Iraq to be connected to the world, because this can contribute to its renewal.

2. Scientific Problem

Research Objectives, Aims and Research Questions

I am focusing on Northern Iraq and what is happening in the Middle East, on minorities and other groups with fewer opportunities, such as women or religious minorities, including Christians. I focus on the northern areas because of the increased need for restorative, humanitarian aid and development work there following the destruction of IS. Ethnically and religiously, this is one of the most diverse areas, the majority of Christians among minorities also live here, and the Nineveh Plateau plays a central role. In this dissertation, I examine what challenges are characteristic of northern Iraq as a result of historical, cultural, social and political influences, how they can be prevented or responded to, and what role humanitarian aid and development or initiatives led by NGOs and small communities play in this. Of course, I will place the main emphasis on the Hungarian aspects. My personal motivation is to deal with this topic (development work of NGOs, community initiatives and constructions) in Hungary

as well and to see its practical benefits when the community need is formulated, then the path to realisation is formed and the project starts. My choice of topic is justified by the fact that during my work in the Hungary Helps Programme (hereinafter HHP) over the past eight years, I have been able to study not only the work and cooperation practices of world humanitarian organisations, but also those programmes that have been implemented in Iraq in international and ecclesial cooperation in order to relaunch the country on the path of development. The Nineveh plateau and its surroundings are also interesting to me because as a result of the developments, Christian families have largely resettled in this area. Based on my national and international experience gathered for the research, I see the need to summarise them with scientific methods. My personal motivation is that recently I have been responsible for the Middle East, including Iraq, in connection with the distribution of donations provided by the Hungarian government and the Scholarship Programme for Christian Young People. I have always been impressed by the stories of Iraqis. I think many people might benefit from putting these experiences into science. After reviewing the past and present of the Iraqi people, I examine the social and economic characteristics that pose a challenge to ensuring security among the population. I am looking for good practices that can contribute to raising the level of human security. This plays an important role in the dissertation because the focus is on prevention instead of dealing with consequences, and on people and communities instead of interstate interactions. I will review the impact of donors working closely with those who know the needs most locally and how partnerships with local NGOs and community initiatives can contribute to raising social well-being in northern governorates that were affected by the crisis caused by the rise of IS in 2014-17. I examine what developments have been implemented as a result of community cooperation in the area and time I have defined where community initiatives are typical, and what impact these have, i.e. what opportunities lie in the cooperation of the local community, how bottom-up initiatives can contribute to increasing the level of social development index and well-being, how developments respond to basic human needs and contribute to increased human security. I examine whether it is worth contributing through voluntary activities to the creation of their own human security and the improvement of their level of well-being, especially where the state withdraws from performing functions that have traditionally been its task. I explore the opportunities of civil cooperation, what tools are available to organisations and what they can do to help people get the most out of what they have. I depict on a map the locations where active work is carried out. A country is not in a vulnerable position if it is better able to care for those in need on its own and is less dependent on international assistance. The more challenges are tackled at local level, the less dependent

the country is on external actors in all three sectors (private, civil, public). Historically, I go back to the late 1910s, because that was when circumstances emerged that affect today's conditions. To this day, a society based on tribal foundations cannot deal with the artificial framework imposed on it. These political and social problems, based on ethnic challenges, are compounded by emerging security challenges such as global climate change, desertification, water scarcity and energy scarcity. These are difficult for the oil-rich country to manage and, despite its natural resources, are very vulnerable. The subject of research is the who? how? what? question is given. I am looking at a limited group of Iraqi people in space and time, especially those who, through an organization or local community initiative, want to do something to change their own circumstances for the better. My experience is that it is disadvantaged groups, members of minorities, most often Christians and mostly women, whom I was able to get to speak during questionnaire queries or interviews. In terms of how to respond, challenges can be addressed internationally (through humanitarian aid and development) or locally (the community and the individual within it). Finally, in the field of social science issues of defence, human security will play a prominent role among the security challenges. In connection with the scientific challenge described above, I have set the following objectives:

- 1. I examine whether a bottom-up initiative from the individual can lead to an increase in human security through cooperation at local level, through community initiative. My aim is to examine what steps the state has taken to encourage the civil sector.
- 2. I research whether international development organisations benefit from collaborating directly with those who are local.
- 3. What will be the future evolution of support for international donors and the Iraqi state, and what are the consequences?
- 4. I will examine the results of HHP from the perspective of how much Christian communities living there in the Nineveh Plateau have contributed to the feeling of human security over 7 years through cooperation with Christian communities at local level, which began in 2017. I am looking at the most effective methods of providing assistance, how can the population be prepared to deal with the challenges despite the fact that humanitarian resources have dried up? Based on the defined research goals, I formulated the following research questions:
- 1. Is there cooperation between Iraqi NGOs and can they do anything to increase human security? Has the state taken action to make people feel safer?
- 2. Do international development organisations seek to take local needs into account? In what way?

- 3. If subsidies dry up, will well-being levels deteriorate? How has the withdrawal of donors affected wellbeing? Have you found another way to improve? What other options for development are there?
- 4. Can the Hungarian example be considered successful? How much have we contributed to the human security of Christians in the Nineveh Plateau?

Hypotheses

In order to establish the hypotheses of the research, I consider it necessary first of all to delimit the research. My investigation covers the analysis of the framework, principles and working methods of humanitarian, but increasingly development activities carried out by international and Iraqi organisations – in the aforementioned northern Iraqi area – as well as the identification of tools to examine and support effectiveness, to examine processes and to present results. Research includes the study of the civil sector, the possibilities and extent of cooperation between local communities and social organisations and its consequences for social (psychosocial) well-being and human security. I present the cooperation and make visible the role of communities and the individual, which can contribute to further development or at least to achieving a sustainable state in Iraq despite the cessation of humanitarian aid. In accordance with my objective, during my research I examine active, active organisations. In view of the above, I confirm or reject the following hypotheses:

- 1. By examining local civic engagement, it is possible to identify resources that enable the local community to contribute to human security in Iraq. Local, regional and central leadership aims to increase the well-being and safety of residents, therefore they develop the civil sector and support local community initiatives.
- 2. If international development organisations cooperate with local organisations and build on local needs, it results in longer-term cooperation.
- 3. If donors withdraw and the state does not develop, the natural consequence will be that the security situation and the level of well-being will deteriorate.
- 4. Keeping Christians in place contributes to human security as much as HHP is effective in working with local communities.

3. Methodology

Keeping in mind the purpose of the research, after studying the literature, I prepared a detailed research plan. I defined the scientific problem: goals, research questions and hypotheses. This was followed by the conceptualisation of concepts related to research: risk, security, human security, geopolitics, community-led local development, social capital, wellbeing, culture and

their relationship. After conceptualisation, operationalisation followed, i.e. procedures and steps leading to the measurement of the given concept: I defined the methods by which the concepts defined during conceptualisation can be measured, taking into account the purpose of the research. Keeping in mind the reliability and validity of the research, I used several methods:

- 1. I studied and processed the national and international literature, as well as the legal environment, decrees, laws and other official documents related to the research topic. I did other qualitative content analysis on press and other media content.
- 2. In order to collect data, I continuously applied the technique of observation and the principle of "one source is not a source", i.e. I worked by comparing at least two sources, where possible, supplemented by my own experience and the experiences of the interviews.
- 3. In order to meet the research objectives, general research methods such as analysis and synthesis were used in terms of examining processes. I separated the literature into units according to the research areas by analytical method, then I drew theoretical conclusions and synthesized them with practical findings.
- 4. I tried to divide the object of the study into logical units and perform data analyses on the databases accordingly. When drawing logical conclusions, I worked with the method of induction and deduction.
- 5. I performed a secondary analysis of the available data and statistics (secondary research). Humanitarian aid and development organizations and projects (such as USAID, UN, IHF ... etc.) was able to re-examine them and draw conclusions on this issue. I examined the 2021 and 2023 Democracy Index, the 2021 and 2023 Social Capital Rankings, and the NCCI report prepared in May 2020 to draw conclusions based on these.
- 6. I consulted with national and international experts. The interviews conducted increased the background material for the examination of the topic.
- 7. For the preparation of questionnaires and quantitative testing (primary research) I used my own previous experience and the results of consultations with experts gathered in connection with the secondary analysis of the data. I edited a questionnaire for students who came to Hungary from Iraq and studied here as scholarship holders, for Iraqi women who can be accessed through the Internet and other social network tools, and for the leaders and staff of Iraqi NGOs currently active. The purpose of these questionnaires was to find interviewees who would be happy to share their opinions. At the end of the questionnaires, I asked if they were available for an interview, I would contact them. As a result, I was able to have conversations with many people.

- 8. I also used the snowball method to find the interviewees, because several people recommended stakeholders who were suitable for sampling.
- 9. During the qualitative study, semi-structured interviews were conducted, also as part of the primary research. In addition to interviewing students who came to Hungary from the Middle East and studied here as scholarship holders, I also interviewed researchers from the region, leaders and responsible staff of international and local NGOs, government staff, and Iraqi women living abroad and in their home countries, primarily in English. Methods of selection: based on recommendations and suggestions, using the snowball method, as well as finding key informants relevant to the topic through professional networks. All interviewees requested that their names not be included in the material due to the sensitivity of the topic.
- 10. The sampling was not representative and was mainly used to find interviewees. Data analysis tool: SPSS and excel.
- 11. As a result of the collaboration with my teacher Éva Remek, we created a new definition, I introduced the term of "helyiesítés". This is the translation of English localisation into Hungarian, the process when the state or regional leadership involves local communities in development activities to a greater extent than before, and thus is much more able to respond to local needs.
- 12. I published my research results in professional publications, at Hungarian conferences, in Hungarian and English, and incorporated the opinions into my conclusions and suggestions.
- 13. My own experience of working with the local community helps a lot in forming opinions and complements the secondary data collected through scientific research. During my work assignment, I had a practical insight into humanitarian aid and later into development. My interest in community initiatives goes back 15 years to volunteering at the Association of Community Developers for years and then attending a multi-month training in Virginia. The practical component of this was to get involved in a local initiative there. The task ended in Hungary when I launched a local community initiative in Fót in a domestic environment. A summary of the research objectives, questions, hypotheses and applied methods is presented in the table below:

	Research Aim	Research questions	Hypotheses	Methodology
	Examining bottom-up initiatives and	Is there cooperation between Iraqi	By examining local civil society partnerships,	
	their impact on human security. What	NGOs and can you do anything to	resources can be identified that contribute to	
	is the role of the state in this.	increase human security? Has the	increasing human security. Local, regional and	
		state done anything about it?	central leadership aims to increase the well-being	
			and safety of residents, therefore they develop the	
			civil sector and support local community	
1.			initiatives.	
	Do international development	Do international development	When international development organisations	Study of
	organisations try to take local needs	organisations seek to take local	cooperate with local organisations and build on	literature,
2.	into account? In what way?	needs into account? In what way?	local needs, it results in longer-term cooperation.	examination of
2.	Examining the support of international	How does donor withdrawal affect	If donors withdraw and the state fails to develop,	databases and
	donors and the Iraqi state and their	wellbeing? What other options for	the natural consequence is that the security	statistics,
	consequences.	development are there?	situation and the level of well-being will	preparation and
3.			deteriorate.	conduct of
	Examination of the outcome of HHP	Is the Hungarian example	Keeping Christians in place contributes as much to	interviews and
	and other methods of assistance.	successful? How much have we	human security as HHP is effective in working	questionnaires,
		contributed in 7 years to the sense of	with local communities.	study of laws,
		human security of Christians living		regulations,
4.		on the Nineveh Plateau?		laws.

Summary of Objectives, Research Aim, Questions and Hypotheses. Main Research Methodology. Source: Own editing

4. Summary

Following the security and geostrategic situation of the researched area, examining the ethnic, religious and cultural background from the past to the challenges of the present, I point out the most important connections and results. I examine the fulfilment or rejection of hypotheses set at the beginning of the thesis. The conclusions present the new scientific results, their practical application and the possibilities for continuing the research. In my dissertation I sought answers to four research questions. This is consistent with the purpose of the research and the hypotheses put forward. Chapter by chapter, along the who, what and how questions, I presented the causeand-effect relationships related to the topic about which I gained knowledge. In addition to the introductory and concluding chapters, the thesis consists of eight chapters. I guide the thought process and the scientific problem through these, together with the causal relationships and mechanisms of action affecting it. In the introduction, after formulating the scientific problem, I defined the purpose of the research, the questions and hypotheses based on them, and finally the theoretical framework and methodology. In the second chapter, I focus on Iraq's place in the world and its security situation. I tried to present spectacularly the main planes of thought that determine the investigative aspects of the thesis. First of all, I look at the researched area from a security perspective and examine its regional and global position as a geopolitical pillar. Starting with the third chapter, I highlight the events important for the researched topic in chronological order. Moving from the past to two unmissable tragic events of recent times, we arrive at the present. From the fifth chapter onwards, I draw attention to the present consequences of past facts and present some of the most disadvantaged and vulnerable groups in order to research the possible reaction and response to the given challenge. The thesis is accompanied by this idea of cause and effect, happening and consequence. From the sixth chapter I deal with the response to the challenge, which can basically take place internationally or domestically, locally. At international level, I examine and present the issue of development in Chapter Seven, and at domestic level, the civil sector and community-led local development in Chapter Eight, because these are tools that can have an impact on well-being and people's security. I found that it is most effective when international partners cooperate with local NGOs. I will also touch tangentially on the role of the state. The predominance of the presentation of civil society and community initiatives at the end of the thesis indicates the tendency that characterises the Iraqi state today to withdraw and retain its role mainly in the military and law enforcement areas. In the ninth chapter I highlight the links between the Sustainable Development Goals, social development indicators, security and well-being, and in the final

chapter I draw conclusions. I was the first to examine community-led local development in northern Iraq, the operation and cooperation of NGOs, and in this context I introduced the term "localisation". Security challenges are more addressed in this area, but the issue of human security and social focus are also new. In relation to security challenges, I have thoroughly reviewed the situation of women and presented it based on interviews with the leaders of several women's rights organisations. The practical experience of charities was key, as was the NCCI report prepared in May 2020. Through content analysis, I pointed out the direction of development that can also be seen in the Iraqi civil sector, that there is more and more cooperation between organizations. As humanitarian resources dwindle, the primary way for the population to prepare to deal with these challenges is to become self-sustaining. The achievement of the research objectives of the thesis in the examined area of northern Iraq is, in my assessment, successful, as it emerged from the documents examined, the study of laws and regulations and the results of the qualitative examination. With the experience I learned, I was able to test the hypotheses.

Result of the Hypotheses

The verification or rejection of hypotheses and related research contribute to Hungary's humanitarian aid and development activities, to the development of its relationship with Iraq, to the alleviation of conflicts between different religious denominations there, and to the promotion of interreligious dialogue. All this is essential for stability in the Middle East, which in turn contributes to the security of Europe and the world. In the thesis, in accordance with the purpose of the research, the research questions, I formulated four hypotheses, the results of the research can be summarized as follows:

The first hypothesis has been partially confirmed because by examining local civic partnerships, it is possible to identify the resources that will enable the local community to contribute to increasing human security in northern Iraq. I have proven that flexible adaptation, cooperation with other organisations, especially joint meetings, support programmes or awareness-raising campaigns, have a positive impact on the level of well-being of the population. This can be stated based on interviews with 10 organizational leaders, 8 fellows, 11 key informants, and questionnaires completed by 95 Iraqi women and 31 organizational leaders. I created a resource map to ensure the human security of the population of northern Iraq, thus creating a model of civil cooperation in the researched area. Only local leadership aims to care about NGOs, community initiatives and local cooperation, while regional and central leadership is less concerned with improving the well-being and safety of residents. The state has not significantly

changed its attitude towards the population in the past year. The more we manage to first join forces with local actors, respond to local challenges and then help them to stand on their own feet in the long term, the easier it will be for international forces to withdraw from the given area in the future. I have not been able to obtain investigative material for the public and private sectors, politicians have refused. The experiences of the first hypothesis can provide a pattern for further development and development of strategies.

The second hypothesis has been fully confirmed. It is useful for international development organisations to cooperate directly with those who know local needs best, because they can build longer-term development processes based on them. Bottom-up initiatives lead to increased human security through cooperation with international organisations at local level and contribute to the prevention of major societal problems. The planned and structured cooperation helps to build human security by getting to know each other beforehand, which results in rapid intervention in case of emergency. I have created a register of Iraqi (132) and international (116) NGOs.

The third hypothesis has not been confirmed. Humanitarian donors withdrew from Iraq at the end of 2022, aid activity ceased, leaving only international development organisations on the ground. The security situation and the level of well-being are not rising spectacularly, as the state does not seek development either. At local level, forced solution search, development activities and the takeover of certain functions from the state take place. There are many community good practices, as evidenced by the increase in the level of social capital. I created a risk analysis of Iraq (external and internal, religious, ethnic).

The fourth hypothesis is also correct. I proved that the Hungarian state cooperates effectively with local Christian communities in the examined area, applying community-led local development. In particular, traditional, rural populations have remained in their homeland or returned, which contributes to people's sense of human security at the local level. Keeping Christians in place contributes to human security to the extent that HHP is effective in working with local communities. For Christian minorities suffering disadvantage, the Hungarian government's method of supporting Christian local communities proved to be effective, because the amount provided was spent entirely for the purpose itself, as opposed to the amounts given by famous international donors, three-quarters of which disappeared in the process. Hungary has combined the humanitarian model with elements of international practice, resulting in effective assistance, including through work with disadvantaged groups of Christian or other religions in Iraq. This is based on personal contact with local communities and results in people returning to their rebuilt cities, renovated churches and schools, becoming stronger, creating

new jobs and thus sustaining their existence, and income can contribute to economic development. Twenty-five thousand Christians returned to Qaraqosh and six thousand to Bartella. Many Christian families still need time to restore a sense of human security and to look to the future with hope again. Nevertheless, there is a chance to avoid the disappearance of Christians from the Middle East region, and their survival contributes to the security of the Euro-Mediterranean region, which in turn has a positive impact on global security. From October 2016, the Hungarian government also appointed a government unit to unite HHP: currently known as the State Secretariat for Programmes Assisting Persecuted Christians of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. I created a model of community-led local development of Christians in the researched area and a register of Hungarian developments in Iraq from 2017 to the present.

New Scientific Results

The scientific work analyses the cooperation, results and other local opportunities of international and local civil society communities and organizations providing assistance to the population in the examined area, drawing conclusions that can be used not only for the civil sector but also for the private and public sectors between autumn 2022 and autumn 2023. In my assessment, the thesis and new scientific findings relate to both policy and scientific fields. It is particularly useful for research in the field of security, especially migration and terrorism, or the Middle East. Following the former US-dominated unipolar world, any knowledge that brings a key region to the centre will be appreciated. It is increasingly important to analyse the characteristics of different regions and their relative situation, especially as regional cooperation is becoming more important nowadays. The role of the Middle East region is particularly important because of oil. As a global superpower, the US is interested in maintaining a proper relationship with Iraq, although this is declining. China and Russia are increasingly the two big rivals. The Middle East in a broad sense, the MENA region, forms a unity in Barry Buzan's approach to security policy and Samuel Huntington's theory of civilization. This region is the birthplace of the Islamic world, from where it is expanding rapidly into sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia. The research results can be used in the security and defence policy, international studies departments of the National University of Public Service and for the Doctoral School of Military Sciences, and it can also provide additional materials and practical examples for students studying BA and MA in national security when teaching regional security and migration. The dissertation may also be useful for students studying humanitarian aid and development as an educational resource. It is also useful for awareness-raising among those working on local community initiatives or women's rights

issues, full of practical examples. For launching development projects in Iraq, the parts of the NCCI and NGOs related to operation and cooperation can be used as basic documents. In addition, it can serve as useful background material for decision-making processes related to foreign policy and international development. Some parts of the dissertation prepared with scientific needs and methods can be used by the staff of the Ministry of Interior and the Hungarian Defence Forces to prepare for mission tasks in Iraq. The parts of the dissertation published in English may be useful for foreign research institutes and educational centers on this topic. The practical applicability I have formulated and the further lines of research will contribute to paying more attention to the processes taking place in Iraq, especially in terms of impact on society.

Recommendations – Practical Applications of Research – New Research Directions The dissertation deals with Iraq as part of the Middle Eastern cultural circle from a general and global perspective, but focusing on the northern part, it examines a narrow area, communityled initiatives and their impact as a result of the withdrawal of the state from certain functions. In connection with this topic, I recommend further investigations on a topic that could not be analyzed in this dissertation due to the limitations of the research activity and the length of the thesis. Due to financial and time constraints, I was not able to travel to the affected area of northern Iraq and talk to public sector representatives there and conduct another qualitative study based on further interviews. This is definitely possible with a local presence. Through cooperation with an international organisation active in the field, it was suggested that the employees working outside would take on the enquiry, but privacy obstacles intervened. It may be interesting to examine the longer-term plans of international development organisations, how they were able to incorporate the experience gained during cooperation with local organisations into their further planning processes, and what further changes they have made in their work besides close cooperation, especially since humanitarian aid tasks are no longer relevant.

This research can be a starting point for a SWOT analysis to examine what opportunities and dangers lie in public, private and civil sector cooperation and what tools are available to it in order to map out what can help people improve their human safety and living conditions, how to achieve the best results based on what is available? Based on conversations with former officials, I see that future state intentions would require a more detailed examination, especially with regard to cooperation with civil society organisations, possibly supplemented by subtasks delegated to the private sector. Such a detailed investigation would only be possible on the spot. On the public side, it may be worthwhile to be prepared to deal with the challenges, especially

as humanitarian resources have dried up and external assistance is increasingly limited. I propose to examine community-led local development as an effective tool in other countries in the Middle East in crisis where the state does not take care of citizens, e.g. Syria. It may also be interesting to study how the results achieved can be applied to another country. This thesis may motivate the conduct of possible international comparative studies in the topic of community-led local development, to which I would like to provide guidelines in this thesis. Since no similar research has been conducted so far, which has focused on human security issues, the article can be a good starting point for this in the future.

Related Publications of the Author

- 1. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: Az Iszlám megjelenése és térhódítása Mezopotámiában (*The emergence and spread of Islam in Mesopotamia*) In: Teológiai Szemle 2020/2. 99-105.
- 2. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: A biztonság és a fejlődés összefüggései, illetve hatásuk a jóllétre Irakban (*The connection of security and development and their impact on well-being in Iraq*), In: Honvédségi Szemle 151/3 (2023). 52-69. https://doi.org/10.35926/HSZ.2023.3.5
- 3. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: Irak, mint geopolitikai pillér Eurázsia peremvidékén (*Iraq as a geopolitical pillar on the periphery of Eurasia*), In: Felderítő Szemle 19/4 (2020). 172-181.
- 4. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: Társadalmi változás Irakban *(Social change in Iraq)*, In: Szakmai Szemle 2022/5. 94-112.
- 5. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: A társadalmi változásra adható válasz: nemzetközi összefogás Irakban (*The response to social change: international cooperation in Iraq*), In: Honvédségi Szemle 150/5 (2022). 69-82. https://doi.org/10.35926/HSZ.2022.5.5
- 6. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: Az Iszlám Állam megerősödésének logisztikai háttere (*The logistical background of the rise of the Islamic State*), In: Honvédségi Szemle, 149/5 (2021). 133-140. https://doi.org/10.35926/HSZ.2021.5.10
- 7. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: Az Iszlám Állam visszatérésének veszélye az iraki kisebbségekre nézve (The threat of the return of ISIS for Iraqi minorities), In: Hadtudományi Szemle, 14/3 (2021). 131-145. doi: 10.32563/hsz.2021.3.10
- 8. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: Hungary Helps in Iraq Security Policy Aspects of Hungary Helps Program, In: Budapest Report on Christian Persecution 2020, 325-338.
- 9. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: Irakban Magyarország segít A Hungary Helps Program biztonságpolitikai vonatkozásai (Hungary Helps in Iraq Security Policy Aspects of Hungary Helps Program), In: Budapest-jelentés a keresztényüldözésről Mondat Kft., Vác, 2020, 321-334. vagy 326-330 ISBN: 9786155569159

- 10. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: Situation of Iraqi Christians as a Security Challenge, In:
 National Security Review, 2021/1. 125.
 https://www.knbsz.gov.hu/hu/letoltes/szsz/2021 1 NSR.pdf
- 11. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: Az iraki háború vizsgálata az igazságosság keretrendszerében (Examining the Iraq War in the Framework of Justice), In: Szakmai Szemle 1, 19/2 (2021). 124-144. http://real.mtak.hu/128299/1/Chileimegujuloenergia.pdf
- 12. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: A nők helyzete Irakban *(The situation of women in Iraq)*, In: Felderítő Szemle, 2022/2. https://www.knbsz.gov.hu/hu/letoltes/fsz/2022-2.pdf
- 13. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: Nemzetközi összefogás Irakban, ahol az Iszlám Állam sejtekben még jelen van (International Cooperation in those Regions of Iraq Where Islamic State Cells are still active), In: Budapest-Jelentés a Keresztényüldözésről 2021, 235-249. ISSN 2786-4480
- 14. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: International Cooperation in those Regions of Iraq Where Islamic State Cells are still active, In: Budapest Report on Christian Persecution 2021, 239-251. 2786-4480
- 15. Szilágyi-Kiss Hajnalka: A helyi közösségi kezdeményezések és az együttműködés lehetőségei és hatása Irak északi területein a "korai felépülési" *időszakban (Opportunities and Impact of Local Community Initiatives and Cooperation in the Northern Areas of Iraq during the "Early Recovery" Period)*, In: Hadtudományi Szemle 16/4. (2023). https://epa.oszk.hu/02400/02463/00061/pdf/EPA02463 hadtudomanyi 2023 04 073-100.pdf

5. The Author's Professional Biography

The author studied sociology and economics at Corvinus University (the major was opinion research). In addition, she has a pedagogical degree, lived in England for nearly 2 years, monitored a Cambodian development program for 4 months, taken part in a training program at McGill University in Montreal for 3 months and met a community-driven local development scholarship program in Virginia for 4 month. In this field, he also researched in Athens with the support of the Erasmus program.

She has worked for several years at an international multinational company, then in the church and civil sector, where she sought to implement community-driven local development within the domestic framework. The founder and president of the Common Bridge Association. From 2017, she took on the tasks in the public sector, first at the EMMI, then at the Prime Minister's Office, she finally dealt with the Middle East, especially Iraq. She was involved in the

Scholarship Program for Christian Young People, but also took on other tasks in the Hungary Helps Program, attended Iraq in spring 2018 and gained personal experience.

She speaks in English and German, these are also used as working language. She has currently 20 records in the Hungarian Science Bibliography (HSB). Her publications in English and Hungarian were published in domestic journals. She has given several conference presentations in Hungary and online.