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**Editor
Putiviola Elian Nasir
Maryam Jamilah
Abdul Halim**



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TRANSFORMATION FROM STATE-CENTERED TO PEOPLE-CENTERED SECURITY IN ASEAN COMMUNITY: MILESTONE OF THE ASEAN APPROACH TO HUMAN SECURITY

Suyani Indriastuti

International Relations Department, University of Jember, Indonesia

Email: s_indriastuti.fisip@unej.ac.id

Abstract

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) through the establishment of the ASEAN Community in 2015 has formally entered a new milestone in its security perspectives, from solely focus on state-centered to people-centered security. Previously, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1994 introduced the people-centered approach to security, namely human security. The United Nations (UN) has emphasised that the human security framework facilitates member states to handle widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood, and dignity of their people. Nevertheless, while ASEAN community concerns on people-centered security, it has not made any reference to the term human security in its formal documents. The purpose of this paper is to examine the ASEAN version of people-centered security, whether substantially following the UN's human security or creating a new different version. This study applies process tracing analysis and found that ASEAN develops its own version of people-centered security embraced by ASEAN Way as the governing value in ASEAN. The study brings a new contribution to human security studies by proposing ASEAN version of human security in addition to the UN, Japanese, Canadian, and the Europe Union approach to human security.

Keywords: ASEAN, Human Security, ASEAN Way, Structure and Agency

INTRODUCTION

Human security is a people-centered approach to security which was first used by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in its annual Human Development Report (HDR) of 1994. The essence of UN's human security is the protection and preservation of fundamental human freedoms, including freedom from want, fear, and to live in dignity. As the security of the individual, human security concerns on a broad range of security including economic, food, health, environment, political, personal, and community security. More specifically, it focuses on the threats to survival, livelihood, and dignity which causes vulnerability of individual such as genocide, slavery, natural disaster, endemic diseases, food insecurity, direct violence, and other daily threats [1]. The importance of the human security framework is emphasized by the United Nations (UN). Accordingly, the human security approach is useful for assisting member states in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood, and dignity of their people [2].

ASEAN has formally undertaken a new milestone in its security perspectives. The establishment of the ASEAN Community in 2015 shows a transformation from the state-centered to people-centered security. The notion of people-centered security is reflected in the three pillars of ASEAN Community consisting of ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCP) [3]. Nevertheless, ASEAN has not made any reference to the term 'human security' in its formal documents. In such circumstances, it is legitimate to investigate whether ASEAN has virtually adopted the UN's human security or created its own version of people-centered security.

Scholars have concerned about the security issues in ASEAN. Acharya [4] emphasizes that Asia Pacific countries through the idea of comprehensive and cooperative security have developed the notion of human security before the promulgation of the human security framework by the UNDP. Indeed, Trihartono [5] reveals that APSC is useful for addressing human insecurity in Rohingya crisis. On the

other hand, Von Feigenblatt [6] identifies different focus between the human security framework and ASEAN Way. While human security focuses on the security of individual with global agents as the enforcer, the ASEAN Way focuses on the security of nation-state with the sovereign state as the enforcer. In line with Von Feigenblatt [6], Nishikawa [7] argues that the ASEAN way contrasts markedly with the notion of human security since it places states as the center of security in ASEAN.

Howe and Park [8] stress that the ASEAN Way can be reconciled with the notion of human security. However, their argument is not followed by the explanation of how the ASEAN Way could embrace the notion of human security. From the existing scholarly investigations, it is abundantly clear that this research is not the first, and will not be the last, to investigate the security issues in ASEAN. The present research departs markedly from others in terms of its content, focus, and methods. This study aims to identify the ASEAN approach to human security using process tracing methods based on the analysis of structure and agency. Therefore, this paper is intended to provide a new contribution to ASEAN studies by proposing the ASEAN version of human security. The central argument in this paper is that ASEAN develops its own version of people-centered security, which focuses on freedom from want and indignity, governed by the state. The ASEAN Way, as the governing value in ASEAN, embraces the ASEAN approach to human security.

The paper is organized into five sections. This introductory section provides general explanations about the research problem, previous works, and the contribution of this study. The second section explains a qualitative process tracing research approach as the appropriate research methods for addressing the research problem. It is followed by presenting the result of the research and also discussion in section three. The last section provides the conclusion that ASEAN seeks to establish its own version of the people-centered approach to security facilitated by ASEAN Way. Dictating by global and regional structure, ASEAN Community more focuses on freedom from want and indignity than freedom from fear.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is qualitative research that applies process tracing as the analysis methods. Qualitative research is selected due to its ability to accommodate a complex set of causal relations of human experiences and behaviors [9]. This study uses primary and secondary data derived from document survey methods. The primary data from literary sources include official acts issued by the UN, ASEAN, or other institutions. Meanwhile, secondary data are gathered from publication in mass media, journal articles, or papers. In terms of data analysis, this study applies process tracing methods for analyzing the institutional change in ASEAN from state-centered to people-centered security.

Process tracing is selected since it is one of the qualitative analysis methods which concerns the causal mechanism or causal relationship. It describes and evaluates causal claims concerning social and political phenomena [10], [11], [12], [13]. Indeed, it is suitable to investigate the causal mechanism in the institutional change in ASEAN's security perspective from state-centered to people-centered security. The application of process tracing analysis methods requires a historical analysis to provide a detailed data on spiral actions and reactions within which a causal factor leads to a particular outcome [10], [13]. It presents 'a time series or a chronological order of the sequence of events' which is started by deciding a good snapshot or starting point as well as making a list of the sequence of events [11]. In order for examining the causal mechanism, this study elaborates process tracing analysis with several themes, namely structure, agency, and institutional change. While the debate of structure and agency is still in going [14], this study argues that structure and agency play critical roles in the dynamic of institutional change [15]. Agency means the capacity of an actor to take action within a particular situation. It is the property of actors such as individual, community, state, or organization, to play their roles especially in making and implementing decisions. From the agency point of view, institutional change may happen due to harmonization of interest among the members; in contrast, the institutions may also change because of conflict of interest among the actors [16]. On the other hand, structure refers to situation, condition, or environment within which actors act their roles. It might support or inhibit the role of actors [17], [18].

In this context, this paper defines agency as the property of ASEAN, whereas structure is global and regional structure. The role of structure and agency is like a spiral within which structure influences the

agency and vice versa. Nevertheless, this paper more focuses on the structure as opposed to the agency of ASEAN. The capacity of ASEAN in acting is determined by norms and rules derived from the agreement of its member states. On the other hand, the member states act and respond upon conditions which occurred both domestically and globally. This paper defines structure as social, functional and political structure which can be identified as the driving factors of institutional change in ASEAN [19], [20].

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The UNDP's human security can be acknowledged as a zero point of the evolving human security idea or people-centered approach to security. It is the primary 'key step' [21], or 'pioneering concept' [22] of the people-centered security. The notion of security has been defined narrowly for so long solely as protection of territory, national interest, and national identity. Therefore, in the 21st century, it is necessary 'to revolutionise society' based on the human security framework [23]. The essence of human security is protection and empowerment due to which people can take care of themselves especially promoting their freedom from want, fear, and living in dignity [23], [24]. It concerns on a wide range of potential daily threats which might come from several dimensions: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political problems [1].

The current development, nevertheless, shows that the notion of human security has been defined differently by institutions according to their own objectives, cultures, or interests [21]. The differences can be seen in the approaches to human security proposed by Japan, Canada, and the Europe Union (EU). The Japanese approach to human security is in-line with the UNDP perspective. It emphasises that humans should be vouchsafed freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to live in dignity and also protected from all kinds of violence [25], [26], [27]. It can be considered as a broad approach to human security which covers all potential threats to the security of the individual in their daily life.

Canada has criticised the human security approach proposed by the UN/UNDP and Japan as too broad and vague. Hence, Canada proposes a narrow approach to human security within which human security is defined in a narrow scope of freedom from fear. It advocates that human security must solely focus on protecting people from direct threats or physical violence in the conflict arena through humanitarian intervention [28], [29], [30]. In line with the Canadian approach, the EU approach to human security focuses on crisis management especially in terms of crisis prevention, crisis mitigation, as well as post-crisis recovery and reconstruction [31]. The EU proposes the establishment of legitimate political authority including civil-military relations for achieving stabilisation and peace which working under multilateralism. The EU commits to work with international institutions under international procedures such as the UN framework. It focuses on bottom-up approach within which the EU has coordination with state and local communities [32].

This paper argues that ASEAN also develops its own version of human security which distinct from the approach proposed by the previous proponents of human security. The differences, at least, fall into several categories as follows: the scope of people-centered security, the governance to save people, whether through intervention or non-intervention and also the actors. ASEAN approach to human security focuses on freedom from want and indignity. It places states as the main actors and follows the principle of non-intervention in protecting and empowering people; therefore, it can be addressed as state-led human security. The ASEAN's conception of human security is shaped by the agency of ASEAN as well as a global and regional structure, including the principles of ASEAN Way.

First, in terms of the scope of people-centered security, it can be argued that ASEAN's people-centered security concerns on freedom from want and freedom to live in dignity with less focus on freedom from fear. This fact can be seen in the three pillars of the ASEAN Community: APSC, AEC, and ASCC [3]. APSC aims to strengthen political and security aspects such as enhancing democracy, good governance, and the rule of law, as well as promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms based on shared value and norms. Moreover, AEC seeks to encourage economic integration to increase economic productivity and sustained high economic growth. In terms of ASCC, it aims to enhance a committed, participative, and socially responsible community and also an inclusive community that promotes a high quality of life. Furthermore, ASCC seeks to enhance a sustainable community that supports social development and environmental protection. It also aims to realise a resilient, dynamic, and harmonious community that is aware and proud of its identity, culture, and heritage [3].

The pillars of the ASEAN community, moreover, reflect macro development goals as opposed to micro aspects of security in the daily life of the individual. It is in line with the practice in ASEAN such as in the ASEAN comprehensive security which has close meaning with human security [33]. However, under state governance, ASEAN comprehensive security focuses on economic and political problems at the macro or aggregate level of population. It is in contrast to the UN's human security which concerns on a micro aspect of the security of the individual, including vulnerable people in the context of their daily life [34]. As stated by the UNDP that human security is about 'safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression' as well as 'protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, in jobs or in communities' [23].

Second, ASEAN and Western institutions have a different perspective in terms of the governance of people-centered security, whether implementing intervention or non-intervention principle. The ASEAN approach proposes non-intervention and pacific ways to solve humanitarian issues. ASEAN Way guides ASEAN approach to human security based on which ASEAN enhance consensus or informal mechanism to resolve humanitarian crisis. As opposed to use force in the humanitarian intervention, ASEAN prefers to establish dialogue among its member [35]. In contrast, Western institutions allow intervention in domestic affairs if it is necessary; as stated by Kofi Anan, the Secretary-General of the UN (1997-2006), that —in the face of massive and ongoing abuses, the Council should consider: ... the limited and proportionate use of force, with attention to repercussions on civilian populations and the environment' [36]. Kofi Anan's statement reflects that the principle of non-intervention, which is one of governing value in ASEAN, is not suitable in the situation of human right crisis [1].

Third, in terms of the actors, ASEAN places member states as the main actor in protecting the security of people. The heads of state/ government of ASEAN have mandated the ASEAN Community Councils which consists of representatives of the official government of the member states to realise the objectives of ASEAN Community. As stated in the document of ASEAN Community vision 2025:

We, therefore, task the ASEAN Community Councils to fully and effectively implement the commitment contained in the ASEAN 2025: Forging Ahead Together and to submit their reports to the ASEAN Summit, in accordance with the established procedure [37].

ASEAN Community Councils consist of three bodies, i.e. ASEAN Political-Security Community Council, ASEAN Economic Security Council, ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Council. The composition of the three bodies comprise representatives of the official government of member states such as minister of foreign affairs; ministers related to trade, commerce, and economics; minister related to youth, education and culture. Hence, it is evident that the state is the driving actor in ASEAN Community [37].

In contrast, while the role of the state is significant, the UN's human security emphasises the importance of collaborations between international organisations, non-government organisations (NGOs) and also local authority [38], [39], [6]. According to the Human Security Unit (HSU) of the UN, 'human security requires the development of an interconnected network of diverse stakeholders, drawing from the expertise and resources of a wide range of actors from across the UN as well as the private and public sectors at the local, national, regional and international levels' [40].

The ASEAN approach to human security that is focusing on freedom from want, placing state as the main actors based on the principles of non-interference and pacific dispute settlement can be investigated by tracing the influence of structure and agency in the institutional change in ASEAN. The time frame of the investigation is from the establishment of ASEAN in 1997 to the establishment of the ASEAN Community in 2015. The establishment of ASEAN in 1967 is the momentum in which the member states define the security as state-centered security [41]. Global and regional structure dictate ASEAN and its member state in defining its state-centered security perspectives. In regard to global structure, ASEAN was established due to the need for survival and bargaining position as new nation-states in the post-colonial era, especially in the Cold War era. At the regional level, ASEAN encounters several interstate conflicts, for instance, the Sabah conflict between Malaysia and the Philippine, and also a confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia. In this respect, the association aims to enhance a security community

within which member states shares interests and identity for avoiding war and the use of force, increase regional peace and stability as well as providing pacific settlement of conflict [4], [33], [35].

In order to maintain peace and stability in the region, in 1976, ASEAN issued two essential documents, namely the ASEAN Concord and the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC). While there is no agreement on when ASEAN Way was launched, the documents can be considered as the foundation of the rise of the ASEAN Way. The ASEAN Way, thus, can be considered as the governing values in ASEAN based on which ASEAN manages both its internal and external affairs. It consists of several principles such as non-interference in the internal affairs; territorial integrity; non-use of force or peaceful settlement conflict; consensus, consultative, and informality in the decision making [35], [42], [43]. This paper argues that ASEAN Way is useful for guiding the member states to establish consensus and consultative to handle threats to human security, including internal conflicts of the member state. Moreover, informality principle allows a member state to apply lobbying using personal influence and approach.

Despite scholar's skepticism [44], [45], this paper considers that the ASEAN way has been successful in maintaining peace and stability in the region in the context of state-centered security [42]. Nevertheless, the transformation and development of global and regional structure challenge the agency of ASEAN. At the global level, international political security moves from bipolar to multipolar security. It has a parallel with the extension of security challenges which occurred at global, regional, and national level such as globalisation, drug, and human trafficking, transnational haze, terrorism, endemic diseases [46]. Traditional security perspective oriented on state and military security is unable to address these new challenges. The extension from traditional to non-traditional security, therefore, requires a new approach, namely people-centered security.

In addition, the 1997 economic crisis hit ASEAN member states brings severe impacts on ASEAN member states which 'there seems to be no relief'[47]. It causes unemployment, poverty, and political-economic instability as figured out by the ASEAN Secretariat in its publication entitled 'Celebrating ASEAN: 50 Years of Evolution and Progress'. Accordingly, there is an increasing trend in the total unemployment rate in ASEAN from 5% in 1997/1998 to 6.9 % in 2005. More specifically, the youth unemployment rate sharply increased from 15% in 1997/1998 to 21.4% in 2005 [3].

Building on the fact, ASEAN needs to find a new strategy to handle the impacts of the crisis and also for enhancing economic development in the region. For this purpose, ASEAN began to consider the basic idea of people-centered security which formally promulgated in the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II in 2003. Finally, the notion of people-centered security finds its momentum in the promulgation of ASEAN Community based on Kuala Lumpur Declaration in 2015. This event can be acknowledged as a formal launching of the people-centered security in ASEAN. In this respect, ASEAN Way dictates the agency of the member states in achieving ASEAN's people-oriented security. Yet, it leads the uniqueness of ASEAN people-oriented security compared to the UN's human security which 'distinguish it from other multilateral settings', especially Western [4]. Hence, this paper argues that ASEAN approach to human security is a people-oriented security focuses on political economic development for achieving security and fulfilling the basic needs of the people governed by the state.

CONCLUSION

This paper has investigated the notion of people-centered security in ASEAN Community. More specifically, it examines whether ASEAN adopts the term human security proposed by the UN or establishing its own version of the human security approach. This study also analyses the underlying factors that shape the idea of people-centered security in ASEAN Community. The investigation is necessary because of the following reasons. The UN has developed the notion of human security; nevertheless, ASEAN whose member states are also member of the UN has not used the term human security in its formal documents. ASEAN prefers to use the term people-centered security as opposed to human security. To address the research problem, this study utilizes process tracing methods that is elaborated with themes of structure, agency, and institutional change. Building on the methods, this study traces the development of security perspectives in ASEAN from state-centered to people-centered security. More specifically, it examines the causal mechanism that occurred within the relations between structure and agency.

This study found that ASEAN has developed its own version of human security. Embraced by the notion of the ASEAN way, ASEAN has developed 'state-led human security' as the ASEAN version of human security. Several differences between the ASEAN approach to human security and the human security proposed by the UN have been identified as follows. *First*, while the UN focuses on a broad range of security of individual consists of freedom from want, fear, and freedom to live in dignity, ASEAN specifically focuses on freedom from want and indignity. *Second*, ASEAN Community places state as the main actor in realizing the people-centered security. On the other hand, the UN emphasizes the vital role of collaborative governance between various actors such as international institutions, states, non-governmental organization, local government, and also local communities. *Third*, ASEAN Community follows the principle of non-interference of internal affairs of the member states as a mechanism to pursue human security. In contrast, Western institutions and developed states such as the UN, EU, Japan, and Canada applies humanitarian intervention which is in contrast to the principle of ASEAN's non-interference.

The findings of this study bring contributions to the field of human security studies. This study identifies the ASEAN approach to human security in addition to the UN, EU, Japanese, and Canadian approach to human security. Thus, it represents the human security framework in the context of Asian developing countries. Nevertheless, the author admits that this study needs further investigation. Therefore, the author suggests some recommendations for future research. The future research could investigate human security in ASEAN based on two-level analysis, i.e. member state level and ASEAN level. For instance, the extent to which the ASEAN member states adopt the UN's human security, and how it influences the discourse of people-centered security in ASEAN level.

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