

Chapter 3

Mainstreaming Human Security in the ASEAN Economic Community

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Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, the term 'security' has been undergoing a process of transformation. Traditional views used to focus on state protection and military capability, ultimately placing the responsibility of protecting citizens on the state. However, with a changing world and the rise of non traditional threats increasingly reducing the power of states, the definition of 'security' has had to broaden to include non traditional threats in security discussions. The focus of security is also evolving and leaning towards development and away from arms.

Human security is a relatively new concept in the security discourse focusing on the individual instead of the state as seen in traditional notions or state centric views on security. Formally introduced through the United Nations 1994 Human Development Report, the roots of this concept draw heavily from human development,¹ human rights, and international humanitarian law. Defined as 'freedom from fear and freedom from want', human security focuses on protecting individuals from violent conflicts, recognizing that such threats are associated with poverty, the lack of state capacity, and other inequities.² It also advocates a holistic approach by going beyond the traditional focus on violence alone, incorporating issues such as disease, natural disasters,

¹ United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

² APEC and Human Security, JICA-ASEAN ISIS International Symposium, 'ASEAN Integration and Human Security: Implications for the APEC's Approach to Human Security' ISIS Presentation, Tokyo, 1 November 2010.

and hunger as inseparable concepts in addressing the roots of human insecurity.

According to the UNDP 1994 Human Development Report, increasing human security entails the following:³

- Investing in human development, not in arms;
- Engaging policy makers to address the emerging peace dividend;
- Giving the United Nations a clear mandate to promote and sustain development;
- Enlarging the concept of development cooperation so that it includes all types of flows, not just aid;
- Agreeing that 20 per cent of national budgets and 20 per cent of foreign aid be used for human development; and
- Establishing an Economic Security Council.

Since its introduction, human security has increasingly been integrated into the international security dialogue.⁴

Within the ASEAN framework however, the term human security remains a contested issue with little consensus among the Member States. That said, does this mean that human security is not part of the ASEAN agenda nor is a definition really needed before ASEAN begins to formally address elements of human security?

Though ASEAN has not formally adopted the term 'human security' in its official documents, ASEAN officials have addressed it in speeches with former ASEAN Secretary General Ong Keng Yong, for example saying at an ASEAN-UNESCO Workshop, asking if the protection of

³ UNDP, *Human Development Report 1994*.

⁴ Wolfgang Benedek, Matthias C. Kettmann, and Markus Markus (eds.), *Mainstreaming Human Security in Peace Operations and Crisis Management. Policies, Problems, Potential* (London: Routledge, 2010).

individuals should be limited to the freedom from fear and freedom from want but should also include the 'freedom to grow'.⁵

With ASEAN clearly moving forward through the creation of a shared vision of building an ASEAN Community that is 'outward looking, living in peace, stability and prosperity, bonded together in partnership in dynamic development and in a community of caring societies',⁶ ASEAN has shown commitment to addressing elements that relate to human security. ASEAN further sealed its commitment to total human development as expressed in this vision through the formation of the three (3) pillars of the ASEAN Community, i.e., the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). The question remains, however: Is ASEAN doing enough to mainstream human security within its blueprints?

It must also be pointed out that economic and other policy measures can be 'double-edged swords' with both positive and negative consequences. For instance, the AEC - which promotes economic integration through liberalization that allows the free movement of goods, services, and skilled labor, and also the freer flow of capital - will impact human security. With closer integration and movement of the factors of production, industries will be restructured with the objective of generating higher economic growth and raising the income of the people. This would improve the standard of living of ASEAN's population, reduce poverty, and eliminate hunger and thus fulfill one of the key elements of human security.

On the other hand, the pursuit of higher economic efficiency and profitability will result in the restructuring of industries which are expected to relocate to places that offer the best opportunity for business. This restructuring of industries may, however, result in the retrenchment of workers and cause job insecurity, a phenomenon

⁵ Ong Keng Yong, Welcome Remarks at the ASEAN-UNESCO Concept Workshop on Human Security in Southeast Asia, Jakarta, 26-27 October 2006.

<http://www.aseansec.org/18885.htm>

⁶ Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), *ASEAN Vision 2020*.

<http://www.aseansec.org/1814.htm>

illustrating the negative face of measures whose original goal is the enhancement of human security.

Likewise, there are other examples of developments and components of the AEC that will affect ASEAN's human security both positively and negatively. Lower import tariff, especially on food items for instance, will reduce the cost of food and increase its supply. This can eliminate hunger and improve nutrition. Mutual recognition of qualifications will facilitate the movement of professionals in the region and this will offer better employment opportunities as well as help solve the problem of shortage in human capital. In contrast, rapid growth produced by economic integration can damage the environment if land use is not controlled effectively. This environmental degradation can cause flooding and other related disasters that adversely affect the people including the emergence of health problems.

Just the same, economic integration can significantly influence and affect human security and thus, it is vital to analyse the mainstreaming of this concept in the AEC. Accordingly, this chapter will provide in its *first* section a brief background on ASEAN integration and the AEC. The *second* section will examine the main components of the AEC Blueprint, while the *third* section will analyse the elements of human security in the AEC Blueprint. The *fourth* section will identify ways by which these human security elements can be mainstreamed in ASEAN integration, with the *fifth* section making a preliminary assessment of the state of implementation of human security elements in the AEC through its blueprint. The concluding part of the chapter will provide recommendations on what future steps can be taken to advance human security elements in the implementation of the AEC Blueprint.

The ASEAN Economic Community and Regional Integration

ASEAN has evolved greatly from a grouping with geopolitical objectives to a bloc with a desire for economic development, as well as political, security, social, and cultural goals linked to it. Over the years, ASEAN's evolution has been a reaction to external and regional pressures as well as its internal need to remain competitive and to achieve high growth. Coupled with the slow progress in negotiations under the World Trade Organization (WTO) and China's rapid

economic growth, ASEAN Member States chose internal integration, liberalization, and regionalism as a collective policy to generate higher growth, increase its competitiveness, and assimilate with the global economy.

The Progress of ASEAN Economic Integration

ASEAN's effort to form a single market began in earnest in 1992 with the formation of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). The objectives of AFTA are to:

1. Accelerate regional economic growth by liberalizing trade and abandoning import substitution industrialization;
2. Respond to the emerging trade blocs around the world such as the North America Free Trade Area (NAFTA), the deepening of the European Union (EU), and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC); and
3. Serve as an effective platform to intensify cooperation among ASEAN Member States.

The ASEAN 6 countries (i.e., Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand) agreed to eliminate all tariffs on intra ASEAN trade by 2010. The newer members of ASEAN – Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam (CLMV) – were given an additional five (5) years by 2015 to comply.

Most of the ASEAN countries have met their AFTA commitments, which means that most goods are being traded freely. However, there are a small number of goods which still have high import duties because they are regarded as sensitive items.

Apart from promoting the free flow of goods, ASEAN member nations are also committed to promoting the free flow of services through the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS). AFAS deals with the liberalization of services through successive rounds of negotiations with the aim of submitting increasingly higher levels of commitments for priority areas as well as mutual recognition agreements on professional services. Priority areas for liberalization include air transport, e-ASEAN, healthcare, and tourism by 2010, while the

professions for mutual recognition agreements (MRAs) include architecture, accountancy, surveying, medical, and dental practitioners.

The ASEAN Investment Agreement (AIA) was formed whereby investment liberalization will be progressive with a view towards achieving a free and open investment environment in the region.

At the 14th ASEAN Summit, ASEAN Leaders decided to further consolidate the integration process by signing a new ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement (ATIGA) that superceded AFTA's agreement on the Common Effective Preferential Tariff – ASEAN Free Trade Area (CEPT AFTA). Various chapters on Technical Barriers to Trade, Sanitary and Phytosanitary, and Temporary Modification and Suspension of Concessions were included to ensure consistency with key principles of the Trade in Goods Agreements with ASEAN's Dialogue Partners.

As for the free flow of investments, the ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement (ACIA) was signed in pursuit of which investment liberalization will be progressive and have clear timelines. With limited exceptions, national treatment and most-favored-nation (MFN) treatment will be extended to ASEAN investors before and after the establishment of their firms.

Despite the progressive tariff liberalization already undertaken, intra ASEAN trade is stagnant at around 25 per cent, with trade between Malaysia and Singapore alone accounting for more than half of intra ASEAN trade. The low intra ASEAN trade is mainly due to the competitive nature of the member economies, high administrative costs, low margins of preference, and complicated rules of origin (ROOs).

As a response to this situation, the ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEMs) endorsed the Import Licensing Procedures Guidelines to address non tariff barriers that hinder intra ASEAN trade. There are also other on going initiatives taken by the AEMs with a view to facilitate and address the slow progress of intra ASEAN trade such as the pilot project on self certification, improvements in ROOs, creation of an ASEAN Trade Repository, and the ASEAN Single Window.

Bali Concord II: The First Step Towards Greater Regional Integration

Weeks after the collapse of the WTO Ministerial Meeting in Cancun in September 2003, the ASEAN Leaders met in Bali to record ASEAN's concerns with the economic trends surrounding the global trading system. Thailand and Singapore were of the opinion that the initially agreed regional integration target by 2020 might be too slow in adapting to external changes due to the effects of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis (AFC) and the influence of China in the global trade production chain. Without a greater sense of urgency in regional integration, they feared that ASEAN might lose its edge as a favorable destination for foreign direct investment (FDIs) that it enjoyed throughout the 1980s and 1990s. As a result, the ASEAN Leaders adopted the Bali Concord II which seeks the realization of an ASEAN Community with three (3) pillars – security, economic, and socio-cultural – also as a next step to realize the 1997 ASEAN Vision 2020.

At the 12th ASEAN Leaders Summit in January 2007 in Cebu, the ASEAN leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the Bali Concord II and agreed to hasten the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community by 2015 with a view to transform the region into an area with free movement of goods, services, investment, skilled labor, and freer flow of capital. At the following ASEAN Leaders Summit in Singapore, the AEC Blueprint was adopted in order to address equitable economic development, reduction of poverty and socio-economic disparities in the region. The progress of the Blueprint was to be monitored by a system of an AEC Scorecard.

The AEC Blueprint

The AEC Blueprint marks ASEAN's serious initiative in turning the region into a single comprehensive market by 2015. By then, the AEC is envisioned to be responsible for a community of over 500 million

people where goods, production assets, people, and capital can easily move across borders. According to it,⁷ the

AEC [is] to transform ASEAN into a single market and production base, a highly competitive economic region, a region of equitable economic development, and a region fully integrated into the global economy.

There are four (4) elements in the AEC Blueprint, namely:

1. Single market and production base;
2. Competitive economic region;
3. Equitable economic development; and
4. Integration into the global economy.

Single Market and Production Base

The *first* element of the Blueprint focuses on integrating ASEAN's production network by ensuring that goods, services, investments, capital, and skilled labor are well connected based on twelve (12) priority integration sectors. There are nine (9) goods and three (3) services priority sectors.

This integration will be done through the following agreements:

- ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement (ATIGA)
- ASEAN Framework in Services (AFAS); and
- ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement (ACIA).

Competitive Economic Region

The *second* element aims to create a competitive economic region with a set of common rules (such as the prohibition of cartels and abuse of government subsidies) to avoid abuse and discrimination as a result of an integrated region by promoting fair competition policy, consumer

⁷ Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), *ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2008).

protection, intellectual property rights, infrastructure development, tax reform, and e-commerce.

Among the important agreements and policies to achieve these goals are:

- ASEAN Regional Guidelines on Competition Policy;
- ASEAN Committee on Consumer Protection;
- ASEAN Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) Strategic Plan 2011-2015; and
- Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity.

Equitable Economic Development

The *third* element aims to bridge the human development and economic gaps within the ASEAN region through small and medium enterprises (SMEs) development and the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI).

The key initiatives for this purpose include:

- ASEAN Blueprint for SME Development 2004-2014;
- Strategic Plan of Action for ASEAN SME Development 2010-2015; and
- Initiative for ASEAN Integration for CLMV, Greater Mekong and BIMP-EAGA (the latter is constituted by Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines).

Integration with the Global Economy

And finally, the *fourth* element is ASEAN's initiative to integrate the region with the world through establishing free trade agreements (FTAs) with key economies and regions. Most of these FTAs are expanded to become cooperative partnerships, which go beyond liberalization to include cooperation measures to help ASEAN strengthen its productive capacity. These agreements have extensive coverage including trade in goods and services, investments, intellectual property rights, and health standards.

ASEAN countries have established many FTAs either through individual bilateral agreements or as a group. Among the key ASEAN based FTAs are:

- ASEAN-China FTA;
- ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership;
- ASEAN-Korea FTA;
- ASEAN-India FTA; and
- ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand FTA.

As mentioned earlier, a system of monitoring the implementation of the AEC Blueprint is the AEC Scorecard. The Scorecard was devised by the ASEAN Secretariat (ASEC) as directed by the ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEMs). The AEC Scorecard progress report is presented to the ASEAN Economic Ministers in four (4) biennial phases during 2008 - 2015.

Current State of Implementation of the AEC Scorecard

The AEC Scorecard was criticized as vague with loosely defined qualitative measures in assessing the AEC Blueprint's overall schedule and implementation process.⁸ Despite this, ASEAN has made good progress in implementing all 111 measures, including six (6) individual country measures in the Phase 1 of the AEC Scorecard. To date, ASEAN has completed 83.8 per cent of Phase 1 measures with the remainder of 17 outstanding measures under the following areas:

1. Ratification of ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement (ACIA) – Thailand has yet to ratify it;
2. Three (3) commitments under the Seventh ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS); and
3. Pending ratification of transport agreements and their protocols – ASEAN Framework Agreement on the Facilitation of Goods Transit (AFAFGIT), ASEAN Multilateral

⁸ Hank Lim, "Progress Towards ASEAN Economic Community in 2015", *ASEAN Monthly Commentary* (February 2011).

Agreement on the Full Liberalization of Air Freight Services (MAAFS), and ASEAN Multilateral Agreement on Air Services (MAAS).

As shown in Table 1 below the implementation rate - calculated as a ratio of measures that are fully implemented to a total of measures targeted - is 83.8 per cent.

Table 1: AEC Scorecard Key Deliverables January 2008- December 2009
(ASEAN-Wide)

Key Areas	Fully Implement	Not Fully Implement	Total Measures
Free flow of goods	9	0	9
Free flow of services	10	3	13
Free flow of Investment	5	1	6
Free flow of capital	1	0	1
Free flow of skilled labour	0	0	0
Priority Integration Sectors	28	0	28
Food, agriculture and forestry	8	0	8
Competition policy	2	0	2
Consumer protection	2	0	2
Intellectual property rights	0	0	0
Transport	12	13	25
Energy	0	0	0
Minerals	1	0	1
ICT	2	0	2
Taxation	0	0	0
E-Commerce	0	0	0
SME Development	1	0	1
Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI)	2	0	2
External economic relations	5	0	5
TOTAL	88	17	105

* Implementation rate = 83.8%, (88/105)*100.

Source: ASEAN Secretariat

On the other hand, Table 2 - which combines the deliverables both at the national and regional levels - shows a much higher rate of implementation for each of the Member States.

Table 2: AEC Scorecard Key Deliverables 1 January 2008- 31 December 2009
(by country)

ASEAN Member State	Fully Implement	Not Fully Implement	Total Measures*	Implementation Rate**
Brunei Darussalam	104	5	109	95.41%
Cambodia	102	5	107	95.33%
Indonesia	94	15	109	86.24%
Laos	101	5	106	95.28%
Malaysia	103	7	110	93.64%
Myanmar	101	6	107	94.39%
Philippines	104	6	110	94.55%
Singapore	104	4	108	96.30%
Thailand	103	7	110	93.64%
Vietnam	103	5	108	95.37%

* Total measures for individual Member State is higher as it includes both ASEAN-wide and specific country measures

** Implementation rate is calculated as the ratio of measures that are fully implemented to a total number of measures targeted.

Source: ASEAN Secretariat

Phase 2 of the AEC Scorecard, however, fared much lower with an implementation rate of 68.6 per cent. There are 189 measures (172 collective and 17 individual measures) identified for the 2010-2011 period as shown in Table 3. The Phase 2 progress is made in the areas of trade in goods and services, capital, investment, agriculture, competition policies, and SME development. With 89 outstanding measures, problematic areas are most notably under the Customs Integration sub heading that includes:

1. Pre arrival clearance to expedite customs clearance and release of cargo – Presently, Malaysia and Singapore are the only Member States that have implemented the pre arrival clearance;
2. Advance ruling systems for tariff classification, value assessment for customs purposes, and origin determination; and
3. A guidebook on the compilation, publication, and information dissemination of classification rulings to traders for reference by Member States.

Table 3 below shows the implementation rate is 68.6 per cent where 19 measures were implemented ahead of the target date for the period of review (i.e., from 1 January 2010 to 31 October 2011).

Table 3: AEC Scorecard Key Deliverables January 2010- December 2011 (ASEAN-Wide)

Key Areas	Due		Not due yet		Total measures
	Fully implemented	Not fully implemented	Fully implemented	On-going	
Free flow of goods	20	18	3	6	47
Free flow of services	11	1	1	17	30
Free flow of Investment	2	2	0	9	13
Free flow of capital	5	0	0	0	5
Free flow of skilled labour	1	0	0	0	1
Priority Integration Sectors	1	0	0	0	1
Food, agriculture and forestry	0	1	5	5	11
Competition policy	2	0	0	0	2
Consumer protection	1	4	3	1	9
Intellectual property rights	1	1	2	1	5
Transport	6	5	0	3	14
Energy	0	0	0	3	3
Minerals	0	0	4	3	7
ICT	4	0	0	0	4
Taxation	0	1	0	0	1
E-Commerce	1	0	0	0	1
SME Development	4	1	0	2	7
Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI)	0	0	1	1	2
External economic relations	5	4	0	0	9
TOTAL	64	38	19	51	172

Note: Period of review is 1 January 2010 – 31 October 2011

* Implementation rate = $68.6\% [(64+19)/(64+38+19)]*100$, as 19 measures were implemented ahead of the target date.

Source: ASEAN Secretariat

Presently, the overall implementation rate for Phases 1 and 2 of the AEC Blueprint is 76 per cent as shown in Table 4. The main reason for this shortfall is the delay in translating agreements made at the ASEAN level into national domestic laws.

**Table 4: AEC Scorecard Key Deliverables
1 January 2010- 31 December 2011(by country)**

ASEAN Member State	Due			Not due yet			Total measures*	Implementation rate**
	Fully implemented	Not fully implemented	Subtotal measures	Fully implemented	On-going	Subtotal measures		
Brunei								
Darussalam	78	29	107	29	41	70	177	78.68%
Cambodia	77	32	109	26	45	71	180	76.30%
Indonesia	76	32	108	27	43	70	178	76.30%
Laos	73	31	104	29	44	73	177	76.69%
Malaysia	87	24	111	31	39	70	181	83.10%
Myanmar	74	31	105	21	52	73	178	75.40%
Philippines	78	31	109	25	45	70	179	76.87%
Singapore	82	24	106	33	37	70	176	82.73%
Thailand	81	28	109	28	42	70	179	79.56%
Vietnam	80	29	109	26	45	71	180	78.52%

Note: Period of review is 1 January 2010 – 31 October 2011

Source: ASEAN Secretariat

The progress in the implementation of the AEC Blueprint can be summarized in the following:

- There are 111 measures listed under the Scorecard I. ASEAN has completed 83.8 per cent of the Phase 1 measures (See Table 1 above);
- The achievement of the Phase 2 or Scorecard II is much lower at 68.6 per cent (See Table 3 above).
- As of October 2011, ASEAN countries have achieved 75.7 per cent of the targeted measures for Phases 1 and 2 (See Table 5 below); and
- The achievement of the AEC according to the four (4) elements is seen in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Overall Implementation of the AEC

Characteristics	Number of Measures	Achievement
Single-Market and Production Base (liberalization and facilitation of free flow of goods, services, investment, skilled labor, capital)	68	82%
Competitive Economic Region	34	50%
Equitable Economic Development	3	100%
Integration with the Global Economy	5	100%

Source: Mahani, 2012

Table 6: The AEC Scorecard Key Deliverables, January 2008- December 2011 (ASEAN-Wide)

Key Areas	Due		Not due yet		Total measures
	Fully implemented	Not fully implemented	Fully implemented	On-going	
Free flow of goods	29	18	3	6	56
Free flow of services	21	4	1	17	43
Free flow of investment	7	3	0	9	19
Free flow of capital	6	0	0	0	6
Free flow of skilled labour	1	0	0	0	1
Priority Integration Sectors	29	0	0	0	29
Food, agriculture and forestry	8	1	5	5	19
Competition policy	4	0	0	0	4
Consumer protection	3	4	3	1	11
Intellectual property rights	1	1	2	1	5
Transport	18	18	0	3	39
Energy	0	0	0	3	3
Minerals	1	0	4	3	8
ICT	6	0	0	0	6
Taxation	0	1	0	0	1
E-Commerce	1	0	0	0	1
SME Development	5	1	0	2	8
Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI)	2	0	1	1	4
External economic relations	10	4	0	0	14
TOTAL	152	55	19	51	277

Note: Period of review is 1 January 2010 – 31 October 2011

* Implementation rate = $75.66\% \left[\frac{(152+19)}{(152+55+19)} \right] \times 100$, as 19 measures were implemented ahead of the target date.

Source: ASEAN Secretariat

Following the request made by the AEMs during their 41st meeting in Bangkok, the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) undertook a study to further improve the scorecard monitoring process by providing substantive analyses and independent reviews of the implementation of the AEC Blueprint. The main feature of the study is the methodology of the scoring mechanism - ERIA's scorecard is more analytical compared to the ASEAN Secretariat's compliance type/accomplishment based scorecard.* In addition to the study's report, ERIA is of the view that ASEAN needs a stronger political push in establishing an AEC national level coordinating committee to disseminate information on the AEC and ASEAN integration.

* Editors' Note: A copy of the ERIA Scorecard could not be obtained at the time of the present publication.

ASEAN Integration: Still 'Work-in-Progress'

In addition to globalization and external pressures, ASEAN faces a daunting task in implementing its initiatives due to the lack of focus in output monitoring and evaluation systems. There are implementation issues that ASEAN needs to address as the Secretariat's mandate is only confined to "provide for greater efficiency in the coordination of ASEAN organs and for more effective implementation of ASEAN projects and activities".⁹ Unlike the EU, decisions made by ASEAN Member States are determined by each of them through consensus and not by ASEAN as an organization.

Similar to any business models, consumers need to recognize the existence of and need for a product through brand awareness. In this regard, awareness about the benefits of regional integration in ASEAN is rather limited to government officials, think tanks, non governmental organizations (NGOs), and multinational corporations (MNCs). ASEAN needs to promote its 'products' beyond its market players, including especially its citizens. As highlighted by the Indonesian Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa recently, ASEAN has to move beyond promoting awareness and start instilling a 'sense of ownership' with more 'people centred' and 'people relevant' policies.¹⁰

Human Security Elements in the AEC Blueprint

Having looked at the status of the implementation of the AEC Blueprint in its totality, it is now the task of this section to identify 'human security' elements in the AEC Blueprint. This would enable a preliminary assessment of these elements in ASEAN integration and community building.

⁹ *The ASEAN Secretariat: Basic Mandate, Functions and Composition*
<http://www.asean.org/11856.htm>

¹⁰ Erwida Maulia, 'It's time for ASEAN to 'move beyond awareness promotion', *The Jakarta Post*, World Section, 21 January 2012.

What is Human Security?

Emerging in the few years before the end of the Cold War, the term human security was formally and broadly described in the United Nations Human Development Report of 1994 as 'freedom from fear and freedom from want' as already noted above. A shift from traditional security which focuses on state security or national security, the concept of human security evolved from a multidisciplinary understanding of security that was state centric to include ideas derived from human rights, development studies, strategic studies, and international relations. The latter fueled the debate that a proper reference to security should not only defend the borders of states from external threats but should also include protecting the security of the individual from other sources of harm.

However, a rational understanding of the concepts of traditional security and human security suggests that they are mutually reinforcing. Secure states have never meant secure peoples.¹¹ The notion that governments are responsible for the well being of their peoples became current after the atrocities of the world wars and the realization that more people have been killed by their own governments than by foreign armies.

The proponents of the concept of human security agree that the focus of security is the well being of the human person. However, its broad and vague definition tends to be heavily criticized as a means by which 'political activists' are suspected to promote their own agenda. Consensus breaks down, however, when defining what threats fall under the purview of human security. Among human security advocates there is a division between those who argue for a narrow definition and those who favor a broad definition of the concept. Narrowly defined, violent threats to individuals and communities are deemed human security issues. When broadly defined, issues surrounding the environment, health, hunger, threats to human dignity, and livelihoods are also considered issues of human security.

¹¹ *Human Security Report Project*, <http://hsrgroup.org/press-room/human-security-backgroundunder.aspx>

Still a widely contested issue, human security creates non coercive policy implications which include preventive diplomacy and conflict management. Human security promotion addresses the root causes of conflict by building state capacity and promoting equitable economic development.¹²

Still and all, the concept of human security seems elusive. In the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, seven (7) areas were identified within the scope of human security.

- **Economic Security**
This refers to the assurance of a basic income for individuals either through productive and remunerative work or through publicly financed welfare. This addresses the issue of unemployment which is seen as an underlying factor of political tensions and ethnic violence in society.
- **Food Security**
This means that all people should have physical and economic access to basic food at all times. There is the understanding that the problem lies in the poor distribution of food and the lack of purchasing power of people rather than food shortage(s). This area of human security addresses issues of access to assets, work, and assured income which is part of the basis of the AEC Blueprint.
- **Health Security**
This means a minimum guarantee of protection from diseases. Malnutrition and insufficient access to health services, clean water, and other basic necessities as health security threats are greater in poorer, rural areas and among the most vulnerable population.

¹² *Ibid.*

- **Environmental Security**
This is about the protection of people from the short and long term ravages of nature caused by man made threats and deterioration of the natural environment. This includes the lack of access to clean water resources, exposure to air pollution, global warming, rising sea levels, greenhouse gas emissions, to name a few.
- **Personal Security**
This is about protection from physical violence not only caused by the state - whether domestic or foreign - but also domestic abuse at home, physical violence by predatory adults and through violent crime.
- **Community Security**
This means protection from inter ethnic strife, sectarian and ethnic violence, and the loss of traditional relationships and values of groups of people in society.
- **Political Security**
This refers to honoring basic human rights, protection against political repression of ideas and information, systematic torture, ill treatment, and involuntary disappearance.

According to Gonzalez and Mendoza, an adequate concept of human security includes at least the distinct elements listed below.¹³

1. A distinct focus on human lives;
2. An appreciation of the role of society and of social arrangements in making human lives more secure in a constructive way or avoiding a socially detached view of individual human predicaments; and

¹³ Eduardo T. Gonzales and Magdalena L. Mendoza, "Mainstreaming Human Security in the Philippines: Options and Prospects for Non-State Actors in Light of the 'ASEAN Way'", *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies (AJSEAS)* Vol. 3, No. 2 (2010): 211-240, http://www.seas.at/aseas/3_2/ASEAS_3_2_A6.pdf.

3. A fuller understanding of the scope of human rights, which has to include not just political freedom and personal liberties, but also societal concerns with food, medical attention, basic education, and other elementary needs of human beings.

ASEAN is seen to be shifting from a state centric security focus to a concern for protecting its citizens from major disruptions in their daily lives. This has become a legitimate ASEAN concern as seen in its recent activities.

Elements of Human Security in the AEC Blueprint

As noted above, ASEAN has yet to adopt the term 'human-security' in any of its official documents. The term human security however has been addressed in speeches by ASEAN officials but the lack of consensus has meant that the term has not been formally included in official documents and understandably so. This situation, however, does not mean that ASEAN is not an advocate of what constitutes a broader meaning of human security. On the contrary, despite a lack of a regional consensus, ASEAN is moving forward as seen in the ASEAN Vision 2020, Bali Concord II, and the APSC, AEC, and ASCC together with their respective blueprints.

The three (3) pillars of the ASEAN Community include comprehensive security measures that reflect a broadening of the agenda of security from the focus on direct violence to the state to addressing issues of poverty, epidemics, food security, human rights, and the looming effects of climate change.¹⁴ Each blueprint charts the path of achieving the goal of building an ASEAN Community.

Together with the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) Strategic Framework, and IAI Work Plan Phase II (2009-2015), the Roadmap for an ASEAN Community 2009-2015 was formed.¹⁵ These efforts together with their respective policy measures demonstrate ASEAN's

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ ASEAN Secretariat, *Roadmap for an ASEAN Community* (Jakarta Indonesia: ASEAN Secretariat).

commitment to addressing human security issues even though the grouping may not have formally adopted the term human security just yet.

Since the adoption of the ASEAN Charter and the Blueprints, ASEAN has proved its commitment through addressing issues such as terrorism, natural disasters, disaster relief, economic crimes, pandemics, and even environmental pollution. All of them project a shift from state centric to people centred policies and a shift to focusing on comprehensive security to include human security. ASEAN Connectivity reaffirms a vision of an 'ASEAN Community in a Global Community of Nations'.

Among other examples of a shift in ASEAN's security perspective towards consideration of human security are the following

- Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) and Narrowing the Development Gap (NDG);
- ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER);
- Regional Framework for the Control and Eradication of Avian Flu;
- ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze;
- ADMM Plus – Deepens cooperation on non traditional security issues such as natural disasters, human assistance, disaster relief;
- ASEAN Coordinating Center for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Center);
- Joint Military Response to Disasters: ASEAN Militaries for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR);
- ASEAN Plus Three Emerging Infectious Diseases Program;
- ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers;
- Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in the ASEAN Region;
- ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR);
- Eight (8) priority areas in non traditional security and joint partnership with China and Japan on cyber crime;

- ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation; and
- Protocol of the Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (SEANWFZ)

These examples clearly show that there has been a gradual conceptual shift within ASEAN, changing its focus from a strict adherence to the concept of national security to include human security.¹⁶

Mainstreaming Human Security in the AEC

The term 'mainstreaming' generally refers to the act of bringing an issue or issues into prevailing current thought or popular opinion. It is commonly used with respect to gender, environment, and education. Based on the way that it has been used in policy circles, the act of mainstreaming human security involves assessing the implications for peoples of any planned action, including declarations, agreements, policies and programs, in all areas and at all levels. In other words, mainstreaming seeks to integrate human security concerns and experiences in the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programs in the political, economic, and societal spheres so that an adequate standard of human security is perpetuated in these policies and programs.

ASEAN makes numerous decisions each year and, cumulatively, has reached agreements in many areas that have both a direct and indirect impact on the central issue of human security. It can be argued, however, that these decisions and agreements, while vital and valuable, suffer from the lack of a comprehensive and integrated approach. Mainstreaming can contribute by ensuring that rather than being treated as separate approaches and endeavors, human security becomes a common denominator in all the efforts that ASEAN takes. This would be a much more effective strategy than dealing with a multitude of different instruments which require effective coordination.

¹⁶ Ramesh C. Thakur, "Human Security Regimes", in William T. Tow, Ramesh C. Thakur, and In-Taek Hyun, eds., *Asia's Emerging Regional Order: Reconciling Traditional and Human Security* (Tokyo: UN University Press, 2000), pp. 229-255.

Before this can happen, however, it would be extremely helpful if the term human security itself is unpacked into its relevant components so that it can be operationalized. If the term is construed too widely and there are too many components, it is likely that policymakers will find it very difficult to fully take them into account. On the other hand, if the term is constructed narrowly, it is likely that it will be incomplete, inadequate, and ineffective.

Components of Human Security for the Goals of the AEC Blueprint

For the objectives of the AEC Blueprint, it is argued that the following should be the four (4) components:

1. *Economic security.* This comprises ensuring sufficient (a) incomes, (b) employment, and (c) social safety nets. ASEAN countries have always had a strong focus in fostering economic growth, trade, and development and, indeed, the motivation to creating an AEC can be seen to meet this objective.

Poverty reduction is another key part of economic security. ASEAN's policy direction must address the growing gap in socio economic disparity among various segments of the population. ASEAN has to ensure that its rural communities such as farmers, and agricultural and cottage industry workers are identified and addressed in its policies. In addition, the issues of inequality in income distribution between the bottom 40 per cent and the top 20 per cent of the population must also be considered. There are many disadvantages stemming from geographical remoteness and access to finance that when addressed properly will not only prosper the rural population but also help alleviate urban poverty.

Another component of economic security is narrowing the developmental gap between ASEAN member economies. Regional integration and liberalization is expected to produce higher growth for the less developed ASEAN member countries. Consequently, the development gap between the richer and less developed ASEAN countries will be reduced as

the latter's level of development and per capita income catch up with those of the former.

2. *Food security.* Human security cannot be assured without the ability to access food that is required to enjoy the nutrition needed not only to prevent present and future starvation but also to promote normal human development. ASEAN already recognizes the importance of food and nutrition to human development with its food security framework and strategic plan of action.
3. *Health security.* Health security, in particular, transborder pandemics such as avian flu and human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS) have featured prominently in the work of ASEAN health ministers. These efforts at the ASEAN level are in addition to the efforts of most ASEAN Member States to provide an acceptable standard of health services to their people.
4. *Environmental security.* Environmental security is critical as economic activities impact the ecological systems of the countries concerned, and notably, the climate. In ASEAN, transborder air pollution has been a recurring issue over the past decades. Of increasing concern is radioactivity from nuclear power plants that are presently being considered by some ASEAN Member States as a response to increasing energy needs.

Mainstreaming human security in the AEC Blueprint, therefore, involves evaluating how any decisions and planned actions taken by governments will impact these four (4) components of human security.

Mainstreaming Human Security in the Context of the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity

At the 17th ASEAN Summit on 28 October 2010, the ASEAN Leaders adopted the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC) that aims to expedite the bloc's progression towards the realization of the AEC by 2015. The MPAC streamlines the region's connectivity in three (3)

dimensions, namely physical (hard infrastructure), institutional (soft infrastructure), and human ('people-to-people') connectivity. These dimensions are important in building a seamless market and production network as well as complementing the efforts of member countries in fostering a sense of community in ASEAN. The Master Plan also outlines 15 priority projects to be carried out in accordance with the timelines they agreed upon. The goals of enhanced ASEAN Connectivity are to:

1. Enhance ASEAN integration and cooperation;
2. Enhance the global competitiveness of ASEAN through stronger production networks;
3. Enhance the well being and livelihood of the ASEAN peoples;
4. Enhance rules and good governance for ASEAN;
5. Enhance connections to economic centers both within the ASEAN region and within individual Member States and narrow the development gap;
6. Enhance local economic and social development;
7. Enhance efforts to tackle climate change as well as promote sustainable development; and
8. Address the negative impact of connectivity.

Although the MPAC is not part of the AEC, it nevertheless encompasses a direct and indirect reference to the elements of human security in its blueprint. Under *physical connectivity*, MPAC's focus is on its flagship projects, i.e., the ASEAN Highway Network and the Singapore-Kunming Rail Link. These projects suggest greater employment opportunities for the people of ASEAN as a result of migration and well connected regional land transport corridors.

MPAC's *institutional connectivity* aims to link various agreements and protocols to facilitate the flow of goods and services as well as the movement of natural persons across the national borders of the ASEAN Member States. On the other hand, its *human connectivity* will promote greater awareness about being ASEAN citizens, thus contributing to the development of a sense of belonging or a 'we feeling' among them. Needless to say, such a feeling is fundamental in the realization of the ASEAN Community. There are many programs that can be implemented for this purpose including in education, social progress,

and cultural development. Harmonizing labor, human development, and cross border procedures will ensure a wider social safety net with a greater safeguard against transnational crimes, environmental pollution, and health pandemics. This is also consistent with the 2007 ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers.

The Impact of Economic Integration on Human Security

When the three (3) pillars of the ASEAN Community were created, the ASEAN Leaders recognized the importance of economic integration in building a regional community. Even without explicitly saying so, they also must have recognized that elements of human security were necessary for the economic community to be meaningful and as such the target of ensuring the region has an equitable economic development was made a key characteristic of the AEC. The question is how to ensure that economic integration through the free movement of goods, services, skilled labor, and freer flow of capital, harmonization of standards, and improved trade facilitation will likely lead to industry restructuring that will in turn enhance human security.

The East Asian outward oriented development strategy, which is based on openness and liberalization, has shown that economic integration can produce higher growth, increase income, and improve the people's standard of living. However, this does not necessarily mean that the other aspects of human security such as poverty reduction, better income distribution, and elimination of hunger are guaranteed.

In fact, as already recognized earlier the pursuit of higher economic efficiency and profitability leading to a restructuring of industries runs the risk of raising the probability of the retrenchment of workers, creating job insecurity. Likewise, pursuing high economic growth without a concern about environmental degradation will also be harmful to human security because it can result in flooding and other man made environmental disasters.

Economic growth without clear policies for equity is likely to widen disparities between the high and low income groups within a country. Similarly, the widening income gap can also occur between the more

developed and emerging ASEAN Member States if economic integration is not accompanied by development cooperation and assistance.

Although these are possible outcomes of economic integration that can undermine human security, countries that had high growth and created wealth are in a better position to address many of the human security concerns discussed above.

The State of Human Security in the Implementation of the AEC

By achieving good progress as shown in the AEC Scorecard, it is expected that there will be greater opportunities for socio economic growth and this will contribute to improving human security. The logic behind the relationship between human security and the AEC, as well as examples of how ASEAN has tried to address human security concerns even outside the ambit of the AEC are shown in the discussion that follows.

Greater choice of goods and services for consumers will be available through increased intra regional trade. It will also provide larger economies of scale for businesses and industries, increasing productivity while reducing production costs leading to more competitive pricing of goods. Such reduction in production costs can be passed onto consumers who can benefit from lower prices of goods and services. Examples of these include the reduction of import tariffs on food items consequentially reducing the cost of food and increasing food supply. These in turn can eliminate hunger and improve nutrition.

A greater demand for goods and services will result in job creation in various industries such as manufacturing, transport, logistics, and communications. Increased trade and investment will help promote greater entrepreneurship and innovation in products and services, producing thereby better variety, quality, and efficiency. When these occur, they are likely to benefit consumers. Moreover, in all likelihood, increased economic integration will strengthen business networks across ASEAN, building growth and prosperity in the process.

As ASEAN enjoys higher levels of employment, a larger middle class is produced, eroding the size of the lower income groups in society. This helps reduce the gap between the rich and the poor, a situation which in turn will promote social stability by reducing social tension. In addition, this will expand markets with more consumers having high purchasing power for goods and services.

These interconnected processes can be illustrated by ASEAN's past experience. For instance, based on the integration process initiated by AFTA, ASEAN had registered a high rate of economic growth. During the 1995-1997 period, ASEAN economies grew at an annual rate of 6.5 per cent and for the period from 2000 to 2008, at 6.1 per cent. This robust economic growth had generated employment which led to a low unemployment rate in the region. Most of the ASEAN countries' unemployment rate was below 4 per cent in 2008/09 with Malaysia having the lowest unemployment rate at 1.3 per cent and Indonesia at the highest with 7.9 per cent. Poverty has also been reduced significantly. For example, the poverty rate for Thailand declined from 21 per cent in 2000 to 8.1 per cent in 2010. Inflation rate was also low. In 2009, the inflation rate for most of the ASEAN countries was well below 5 per cent.

However, the transition to a single market may cause local SMEs to struggle against their more efficient regional peers as a result of increased competition. Without a set of common rules, this will in turn affect the livelihood of the people directly through unemployment, income loss, and migration to other countries. Unfortunately, the AEC does not have provisions to mitigate the adverse effects of economic restructuring such as employment protection or unemployment support.

Likewise, there is no specific measure in the AEC to ensure that the benefit of growth is distributed fairly. No doubt, equitable distribution is important in narrowing the income gap between top earners and the lower income groups. The AEC also does not have direct measures to close the developmental gap among ASEAN countries. These measures can include setting up direct transfer systems financed by surplus funds from Member States that had significantly benefitted from liberalization and regional economic integration.

There are other aspects of regional integration that can contribute positively to human security including human resources development and capacity building, mutual recognition of professional qualifications, enhanced infrastructure and communications connectivity, the development of electronic transactions through e-ASEAN, integrating industries across the region to promote regional sourcing, and enhancing private sector involvement for the building of the AEC.

The probable impact of the AEC on human security discussed above can be summarized according to the four (4) key characteristics of the AEC as seen in Table 7 below.

However, in order to make a preliminary assessment of the implementation and progress of the AEC Blueprint in its human security elements, a number of issues such as economic security (including employment and income), health security, food security, and the environment must be examined.

Economic security is addressed in the AEC. Besides the direct outcome through economic growth, the AEC has indirectly also addressed the issues of employment, income and livelihood, as well as job creation through the free flow of services which includes the launching of the Professional Engineering's Exchange Program (PEEP) and other initiatives through the establishment of the ASEAN Core Competencies on Nursing Services. This includes the creation of a database of foreign nurses and medical practitioners. Further to that, ASEAN has also launched the Graduate Internship Exchange Program for Architects and is looking into other similar initiatives that will mutually benefit ASEAN Member States and Dialogue Partners better. Another example is the movement of professionals through the mutual recognition of qualifications, which facilitates better employment opportunities as well as helps overcome the disparities in the availability of human capital across the ASEAN Member States.

Table 7: Human Security in the ASEAN Economic Community

KEY CHARACTERISTICS	ELEMENTS OF THE AEC BLUEPRINT	IMPACT ON HUMAN SECURITY
Single Market and Production Base	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Free flow of goods • Free flow of services • Free flow of investment • Free flow of capital • Free flow of skilled labour • Priority integration sectors • Food, agriculture and forestry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lower prices of goods and services to consumers as a result of lowering of production costs • Greater demand for goods and services will create jobs and enhance the quality of lives of ASEAN citizens • Local SMEs may struggle to survive against their more efficient regional peers as a result of the increase in international competition. This will lead to unemployment, income loss and migration.
Competitive Economic Region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competition policy • Consumer protection • Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) • Infrastructure development • Taxation • E-Commerce 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A set of common rules to avoid abuse and discrimination (such as cartels and abuse of government subsidies) as a result of an integrated region • Protects the needs of ASEAN citizens through human resources development and capacity building programmes
Equitable Economic Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SME Development • Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To bridge the human development and economic gap within the dynamic region • Reduce the gap between the rich and the poor which will promote social stability
Integration into the Global Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coherent approach towards external economic relations • Enhanced participation in global supply networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minimise exposure to an emergency situation (such as food, health and environmental related issues) that may decelerate progress towards the AEC 2015

Source: Mahani, 2012

Another aspect of human security is *health*. However, this is not directly dealt with in the AEC. It comes under the purview of the ASCC. The health elements of human security are a minimum protection or guarantee from disease, malnutrition, and insufficient access to health services, clean water, and other basic necessities.

Health related insecurity usually affects the poorer and rural areas as well as the vulnerable populations throughout the ASEAN region. Mechanisms protecting human health such as systems of wide provision of healthcare, access to health services, and affordable medicine are necessary and need to be incorporated into the AEC. Better communication and working relationships among the relevant agencies in the ASEAN Member States need to be formed in order to ensure that efforts to address health security are implemented.

Although *food security* as an indirect element of human security is within the purview of the ASCC, this issue is also addressed by the AEC in section A7 under the category of Food, Agriculture and Forestry. This is narrowly defined under the topic of food security in times of disaster and stabilizing prices through the ASEAN Integrated Food Security Framework and its medium term Strategic Plan of Action on ASEAN Food Security. Unfortunately, other important issues such as food availability, access to food, and food quality are not addressed. Within the AEC Blueprint food security elements revolve around the competitiveness of ASEAN's food, agriculture, and forestry products and commodities. However, if basic provisions such as inadequate or absence of food or if the quality of food is questionable, how does one build a stable and viable economic community in the absence of human security in terms of food security?

Similarly, if the *environment* and natural resources are damaged, an economy will suffer greatly. This is particularly important for ASEAN economies which are highly dependent on natural resources and the environment. Though most if not all ASEAN countries have participated in multilateral environmental agreements such as the Vienna Convention, Montreal Protocol, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Kyoto Protocol, Convention on Biological Diversity, Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) which has seen 100 per cent ratification in ASEAN, Stockholm Convention, Cartagena Protocol, World Heritage Convention, Basel Convention with 80 per cent ratification, and Rotterdam Convention with 50 per cent ratification, matters of the environment such as the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze are under the purview of the ASCC and not the AEC. Furthermore, agreements such as the ASEAN

Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) need to work in tandem with all three (3) pillars as natural disasters impact on both the APSC and the AEC. Besides, disaster relief also needs the support of all parties. Climate change and environmental pollution not only affects the health of the people but it also ultimately affects the economic capability of a country.

Recommendations

ASEAN has directly and indirectly addressed many elements of human security through the three (3) blueprints and other agreements and programs. However, ASEAN has not adopted the term 'human security' in its formal documents due to lack of consensus on its definition and the challenge posed by efficacy of implementation since it would involve the national sovereignty of its Member States.

In addition, assessing, measuring, and monitoring the progress of human security can be challenging due to the lack of available and accurate data. The nature of human security, which often involves cross border elements but which originate in individual counties poses a challenge that requires close cooperation and understanding among neighbors.

Nevertheless, as ASEAN economies become developed or Member States become middle income countries, the attainment of human security becomes paramount because economic growth must also be accompanied by improved societal well being. Thus, the following are the recommendations for mainstreaming human security in the AEC:

1. *Make human security a goal in AEC declarations, agreements, and programs*

As ASEAN progresses with its integration, human security will be integral to the way ASEAN conducts its affairs because, in addition to economic growth, the peoples of ASEAN will demand improved quality of life. Member States will then have to agree on the definition and norms as well as the implementation of human security in the ASEAN Community. This is likely to advance the welfare of the

population and ultimately influence the success of economic integration under the AEC.

Even though human security is primarily under the purview of individual Member States, the ASEAN Secretariat can play an essential role in coordinating programs and projects.

2. Increase consultation with all stakeholders and create awareness of community within ASEAN Member States on human security

Currently many Member States do not promote the ASEAN agenda of community building and human security. Often, ASEAN citizens cannot identify themselves as ASEAN citizens and are not aware of the human security dimensions in economic integration such as job security, protection of migrant workers, and social safety nets. There are not many awareness programs, articles in newspapers or public forums which can be accessed by ASEAN citizens on these issues.

In order to mainstream human security, ASEAN governments should consult more with all stakeholders of the AEC. Presently, most consultations are done with business groups. This consultation process is especially useful with groups affected by economic integration including in the broader civil society. Academics and civil society should be consulted for inputs in negotiating agreements related to the AEC. In addition, media should allocate more space to ASEAN related developments, updates, and programs on human security.

3. Include human security targets in the AEC Scorecard

The Scorecard has been identified as the mechanism to monitor the progress of the AEC. Thus, it is most appropriate for human security targets to be included in the Scorecard to ensure a systematic and consistent measurement of the progress made in the area of human security using the only officially available means.

4. Forge a closer link between the AEC and the ASEAN Connectivity Master Plan

Key elements of human security such as job security and higher income are outcomes of high economic growth. In turn, a sustained high growth can only be achieved if infrastructure is available. Infrastructure is also a vital input for opening up access by peoples in marginalized locations to health and educational facilities. ASEAN has a Connectivity Master Plan that will oversee infrastructure development which will connect the vital parts of the region. A closer link between the AEC and the ASEAN Connectivity Master Plan can help realize effectively the goals of economic growth and the attainment of human security.

5. Close the development gap among ASEAN Member States through mainstreaming human security in ASEAN integration.

A constant concern among ASEAN Member States circles around the development gap between the CLMV countries and the older ASEAN members, namely Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines Singapore, and Thailand. Narrowing this gap is a demanding task because economic liberalization as required by the AEC may limit the ability of the CLMV countries to develop their own industries, retain uncompetitive industries, and preserve employment. The CLMV countries need further assistance in capacity building, human resource development, and institution building, with a view to narrow the development gap as envisioned in the AEC Blueprint. Thus, for the CLMV countries, the AEC goals, initiatives and programs should include human security elements.* In this way, these countries can achieve economic growth and human security at the same time.

* *Editors' Note: This requirement should apply to all ASEAN Member States, even as greater efforts must be exerted for the CLMV which are assumed to lag behind older Member States in other social and economic indicators.*

6. Incorporate human security protection mechanisms into FTAs

FTA negotiations are perceived to lack transparency because of the limited consultation with stakeholders outside the business sector. These non business groups may be negatively affected by the liberalization outcomes. There is the concern that FTA agreements are negotiated to the benefit of larger economies or big businesses. For example, there were cases where farmers had protested because their livelihood will be adversely impacted by cheaper agricultural imports.

Although consultation has been done to reduce the negative impact on human security particularly job protection, it is nonetheless essential that a clearer mechanism be included in the FTA negotiations to give priority to human security. This is essential for ASEAN to realize its vision of creating a regional community of 'caring and sharing societies'.

7. Initiate joint meetings of AEM and AMAF

Mainstreaming human security, almost by definition, necessitates greater horizontal interactions among key decision makers. The ASEAN Integrated Food Security (AIFS) Framework and the Strategic Plan of Action for Food Security (SPAFS) are two (2) of the more important initiatives taken to ensure that member countries have access to food supplies. As the agricultural supply chain includes industry players, it is worthwhile for the AEMs and Ministers of Agriculture and Forestry (AMAF) to meet on a periodic basis to take joint action to ensure food security.

8. Initiate joint meetings of AEM and AHM

The AEM, who has the sole responsibility for the implementation of the AEC Blueprint, should have periodic joint meetings with Health Ministers so as to (1) exchange latest developments and current initiatives undertaken, and (2) consult with one another on actions that could be taken to improve health security within their respective purviews. Occasional joint ministerial meetings, to be supported by meetings of their senior officials will facilitate the achievement of this

goal by sensitizing the AEMs to the health security issue and motivate them to take actions that they might not otherwise take.

9. *Enhance the provision of social safety nets*

ASEAN Member States are at different development stages. This reality feeds into the kind of social safety nets that are woven into each country's national policies. As part of a broader poverty alleviation mechanism, developing a common code and standard can play an important role in ASEAN's development policy. The ASEAN Action Plan on Social Safety Nets¹⁷ is an important initiative that has started discussion on this issue and has the potential to redistribute income across societies and across the region. It will also assist the most vulnerable populations through the provision of livelihood options to them. Social safety nets such as pension and unemployment support enable governments to be more efficient in their strategies in mapping their country's economic planning.

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