

✓ **Southeast Asian Human Security: A Regional Citizenship Approach****

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1. Introduction

In the last half of the twentieth century, developing economies in Southeast Asia have varied greatly in size, trajectory of economic development of each country as well as the level of industrialization in the region. By the end of the Cold War the majority of Southeast Asian countries had been on the rise in terms of economic expansion and growth as the conflicts of political ideology that had spilled out over the period and rebels against the various regimes had largely subsided. In the last two decades, poverty as measured by the international poverty line has been eliminated in several economies and the number of people living in poverty across the region has undergone dramatic reductions. Although the economic expansion and the elimination of poverty of the developing economies in Southeast Asia have been considered with a certain level of success when compared to others regions around the globe, major socioeconomic and political structural and systematic differences have existed within and among the countries in this region. Despite economic progress, a large part of the population in Southeast Asian countries continue to face serious problems concerning social and economic security, health care, education as well as food and housing that remain in an unsatisfactory condition.

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**For the presentation at the international conference on “Japan’s Policy and Contributions to Human Security in Southeast Asia”

Due to the expansion of industrial development and cash crop agriculture, environmental pollution within the region has also reached dangerous levels. While a large part of the population has number of people have been marginalised and excluded been moved up from under the poverty line, still, a largely by unequal distributed economic development and unjust growth. As the political situations in most Southeast Asia countries have been more stabilized by the end of the Cold War and most political refugees and displaced persons had either moved to third countries or returned home, ethnic, cultural and civil conflicts have created major uncontrolled migration, pandemics, terrorism and human rights violations within the region. The human vulnerability that continues to exist in Southeast Asian countries calls for attention on security discourse and institutional building, dealing with human security among the member countries at both domestic as well as regional levels. The regional security agenda that has been previously practiced by focusing on traditional security through the national security and the state diplomatic approach by each Southeast Asia nations should be broadened and integrated into the socioeconomic, political and environmental perspectives through a regional citizenship approach that focuses on these following strategies; strengthening the fundamental human rights that cover the social rights among the population within the region, regulating the regional competition through the consideration of basic social rights of the citizen in the region as an integral part of socioeconomic development, and the extension of ASEAN's mission into human security or welfare aspects. Such an approach quests for equal responsive to the needs and concerns for the security of individual inhabitants both at the national and regional levels, particularly in dimensions of education, health care, adequate income, food and housing as much as traditional or national security within the whole region of Southeast Asia.

2. Socioeconomic conditions in Southeast Asia

In the last few decades Southeast Asia countries have enjoyed economic prosperity as the conflicts over on socioeconomic and political ideologies ended and market economies have been well received in the region. Except for a few countries in the region, the majority of Southeast Asian countries have shown high economic growth in both total and per capita terms from the 1970s through the 1990s. The economic growth was suddenly tarnished and the growth has slowed down in most countries in the region due to the economic crises that took place at the end of the century. As market economies continue to expand in the area and the public sectors have tried to overcome the crises through more liberal market policy and by taking immense economic structural changes. Taking a short look at the surface of the official reports, most of the countries in the region have declared recovery from the crises and the economic growth is again well perceived throughout the region as shown in the Table 1.

Table 1 Real GDP Growth of ASEAN countries, 1992 - 1999
and the projected% change in 2006 - 2007

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2006	2007
Malaysia	8.9	9.9	9.2	9.8	10.0	7.5	-7.5	5.4	5.5	5.8
Thailand	8.1	8.4	9.0	8.9	5.9	-1.8	-10.4	4.2	4.5	5.0
Indonesia	7.2	7.3	7.5	8.0	8.0	4.5	-13.2	0.2	5.2	6.0
Philippines	0.3	2.1	4.4	4.7	5.8	5.2	-0.5	3.2	5.0	5.4
Singapore	6.6	12.8	11.4	8.0	7.5	8.4	0.4	5.4	6.9	4.5
Brunei	-1.1	0.5	1.8	3.0	3.6	4.1	1.0	2.5	3.7	2.6
Cambodia	4.8	7.5	7.0	7.7	7.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	5.0	6.5
Vietnam	8.6	8.1	8.8	9.5	9.3	8.2	3.5	3.5	7.8	7.5
Myanmar	9.7	5.9	6.8	7.2	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	5.5
Lao PDR	7.0	5.9	8.1	7.1	6.9	6.5	5.0	6.5	7.3	6.6

Source: IMF World Economic Outlook, April 2000

Economic growth in southeast Asia has kept on going well through the turn of the century as indicated by another source of data on economic projection focus on the major economies in the region as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Southeast Asian's projection on economic growth during 2004-2007

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007
Southeast Asia	6.0	5.1	5.2	5.6
Indonesia	5.1	5.6	5.5	6.2
Malaysia	7.2	5.2	5.5	5.5
Philippines	6.2	5.0	5.5	5.7
Thailand	6.2	4.5	4.5	4.6

Source: World Bank East Asia Region, Washington, D.C., October 2006

High economic growth in Southeast Asian countries, to some extent, has contributed to the reduction of poverty in the region towards the end of the century as illustrated in the Table 3.

Although the decline of poverty in Southeast Asia has recently come to an abrupt end due to the economic crises and as the region has again faced higher unemployment rates more of the population are now living in poverty. By and large most Southeast Asian countries have experienced a decline in poverty approximately at a rate matching their economic growth rates in the last few decades.

Table 3 Poverty in some Southeast Asian countries,
Percentage of Population

	1975	1985	1995
Indonesia	64.3	32.2	11.4
Malaysia	17.4	10.8	4.3
Philippines	35.7	32.4	25.5
Thailand	8.1	10.0	<1.0

Source: Ahuja, Vinod et al (1997) Every's Miracle: Revisiting Poverty and Inequality in East Asia, Washington DC: World Bank

High economic growth in Southeast Asia may result in the decline of poverty in the region. The achievement of poverty decline is due to the growth in Southeast Asia but it sharply contrasts with the equal distribution of the economic growth. The Table 4 indicates income inequality in some Southeast Asian countries for certain periods from 1960s to 1990s. According to World Bank, in Southeast Asia, inequality has increased between urban and rural areas, between well-educated workers and less educated workers and households of a different socio-economic status.

Table 4 Income Inequality in Southeast Asia, Gini Coefficient

Indonesia	n.a.	1976: 0.470	1982: 0.440
Malaysia	1967: 0.498	1976: 0.529	1990: 0.445
Philippines	1965: 0.491	1970: 0.480	1988: 0.445
Singapore	1966: 0.498	1976: 0.440	1989: 0.490
Thailand	1968: 0.429	1975: 0.451	1990: 0.504

Sources: Asra, Abuzar(1988), Krongkaew, Medhi(1994), and Shari, Ishak (1998),

Although poverty alleviation in Southeast Asian countries has been improved during the period of rapid economic growth,

increasing income inequality may continue to worsen. The inequality and poverty among a number of marginal and excluded populations in the region are the most pressing issues a study of poverty among the countries in Mekong region, Kaosa-ard, (in Kaosa-ard and Dore, J 2003 pp. 103 - 4) indicates that relative poverty in the region will continue for a various reasons, including the fact that natural resources on which a large segment of the poor depend are deteriorating and public resources in the region tend to be used for large physical construction projects rather than social investment projects.

In most Southeast Asian countries there is a certain amount the population who are classified as ethnic minorities. There are approximate 20 million people belonging to this groups that include indigenous people with social or cultural identities distinct from dominant or mainstream society, which makes them vulnerable to being disadvantaged in the processes of development (ADB, 1998).

Labor migration in Southeast Asia is more visualized during the period of rapid growth in the region. Since growth and economic prosperity are uneven among areas and country members, millions of people throughout the region migrate from their home countries either on a permanent or seasonal basis in order to seek better jobs and higher income in other countries. There are a number of migrant workers from Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos who cross their borders to seek jobs in Thailand while a number of migrant workers from Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia seek jobs in Malaysia and Singapore. The migrant workers without citizenship are often burdened with their illegal status in the working countries and most of them are vulnerable to exploitation, discrimination and abuse.

Trafficking in women and children is becoming a serious problem in Southeast Asian countries. Although there is no accurate data on the number of women and children involved in human trafficking, research concurs that there is a certain amount of women and children who have been trafficked from southern China, Myanmar, Lao PDR and Cambodia to be sex workers and some other labor

purposes in Thailand and other neighboring countries. The problem of human trafficking has recently received a lot of attention from many governments in the region but the problem continues largely due to the lack of effective measures to deal with such a problem.

Terrorism is an important concern in the region as terrorist attacks pose a threat on the daily life of local inhabitants and have an impact on investment and tourism industry in many Southeast Asian countries. Although the Islamic population in Southeast Asian countries has been perceived as tolerant, moderate, and pluralistic and most Muslim inhabitants of Southeast Asia support the secular state but some minority groups advocate and fight for the establishment of separatist organizations throughout the region. There have been terrorist acts by Muslim militants in Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia as well as the southern part of Thailand that focus the attacks on their own domestic agenda.

Drug use and HIV/AIDS pose great threats to the region particularly on the vulnerable population in Southeast Asia. The epidemics of drug usage and HIV/AIDS infections, particularly among the young population, are at alarming rates. Along with the mobility of the population through trade and employment within the region, drugs and HIV/AIDS have also spread across borders and are increasingly affecting all the region's countries as shown in Table 5.

Table 5 HIV/AIDS in the Countries of Mekong Region

Country	All Adults	Women	%HIV	Prevalence Estimated Death
Cambodia	160,000	74,000	2.70%	12,000
China	850,000	220,000	0.10%	30,000
Lao PDR	1,300	350	<0.10%	<150
Myanmar	510,000	180,000	1.99%	48,000
Thailand	650,000	220,000	1.80%	55,000
Vietnam	130,000	35,000	0.3%	6,600

Source: UNAIDS, 2002. "Report on the global HIV/AIDS epidemic 2002".

Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS.

The Political ideological conflicts in the past decades in Southeast Asia resulted in the destruction of human settlements of refugees and individuals of different race and national origins. Although the old conflict of political ideology in the region has passed, new socio-economic and political conflicts have arisen, particularly among ethnic minorities in each Southeast Asia nations. These new ethnic minorities conflicts to some extent cause the problems of stateless and displaced persons in the region. There are a number of ethnic minorities who were born and now live in Thailand who have been deprived of their nationalities due to number of factors including the ethnic insensitivity of the authorities as well as the lack of access to basic public services on domicile registration among the ethnic minorities. There is also a number of transient ethnic groups who have fled from the hard socio-economic and political situations in their own countries and settled in the areas of other neighboring countries. These particular groups of the population are classified as stateless and internally displaced persons who are generally deprived of the basic public services of their exile countries and most importantly they are more vulnerable to human rights violations.

In 2005, almost 102,000 refugees were officially registered

in a number of refugees camps along the borders of Thailand and Myanmar. (UNHCR 2005, p.344) Thailand has been hosting Myanmar for over two decades as a result of the conflict between the Myanmar Government and ethnic armed groups who have called for self-government independence. Between 2003 and 2006, UNHCR received reports of wide ranging protection incidents taking place in and around the nine refugee camps on the Thai/Myanmar border, ranging from rape of young children, murder and killing of refugees by other refugees, and recruitment of Child soldiers.

3. Citizenship approach as a rationale ideology

Globalization and the recent financial and economic crises have critically deteriorated equality and social welfare provisions, adding millions of people to the ranks of those living in poverty. Empirical evidence suggests that the mandates of neo-liberal reforms due to globalization that followed the crises have produced an unprecedented number of human vulnerabilities, migration of labor, unemployed as well as displaced persons within the region. The existing social safety nets that are based on both traditional and non-traditional-values systems are not sufficient to handle the current human vulnerabilities and the worsening social inequality. While traditional or national security remains its major role among the Southeast Asian nations, the worsening inequality and the imperative of human vulnerabilities of individuals in the region urges the Southeast Asian community to pay more attention on the well being of their own individual citizens and those individuals who are either forced or voluntarily settled in other neighboring countries in the region. Each nation needs to treat the human security of the individual as an essential component of traditional or national security.

In trying to demonstrate the linkages between traditional security and human security, William T. Tow and Russell Trood (in Tow, William T. *et al*, 2000 pp. 22 - 24) indicate that although

traditional and human securities are different in various aspects such as the units and areas of concerns, while traditional security is concern with state sovereignty, human security focuses more on the individual and community as the center of security matter, they saw the potential linkages between two paradigms of security. According to their analysis, Tow and Trood point out that there are at least four potential linkages between traditional and human securities. First, in the area of conflict prevention as contemporary traditional security tends to be more sensitive to the interests of another nation, human security will be more protected through this trend. Second, both security paradigms employ the cooperative security ideas in order to reduce the vulnerability of the security subject. Third, the linkage on the problem of who is to be governed and who is to be secured. To this potential linkage, a truly global civilization must be based on unity in diversity and the capability to address and manage the current and the future global threats could be done mainly by the reconciling of different civilizations that, through this process, eventually transformed into human communities. Finally, the ongoing crisis of collective security in both the regional and international context as intensified public demands for more accountability from state policy-makers, particularly Western powers, on how they expend national resources.

As we may see the linkage between the two paradigms of securities, one may still wonder what is human security anyway. Such as any other connotations, there are a number of interpretations as out human security given by both scholars as well as practitioners. In trying to conceive a new concept on human security, Kim and Hyun (in Tow. William *et al* 2002 pp. 38 - 42) suggest a redefinition of human security as a “comprehensive security” that deals with various non-military issues including political, economic, societal, environmental, and communal factors. Human security focuses on individual human beings whereas comprehensive security still regards the nation-state as the principal actor. It assumes that basic human needs and interests are necessary conditions for society. To this

assumption, human security or non-military issues also influence national security and that institutions can make a difference by promoting security in the system. They concluded human security as being a condition of relative safety that is free from humanitarian emergencies or profound social crises caused by natural and man-made disasters such as warfare, disease, hunger, and refugee fighting at the national, regional, and international levels. The humanitarian emergencies in one country will not only have an impact on its own people but could spread within regional and international systems. Thus, human security affects not only the human being as a unit of concern but also other units such as nation-states and systemic actors and in addressing issues of human security one could still think in terms of national and international security.

According to the above analysis, human security then encompasses all aspects of non-traditional security including; socioeconomic security, security on governance, environmental security, as well as institutional security. In their introduction to non-traditional security, Ramesh Thakur and Edward Newman (in Thakur, R. and Edward Newman 2004. pp. 5 - 15) elaborate these four perspectives of non-traditional security through various issues accordingly:

First, social and economic perspectives of non-traditional security that is well established with non-traditional security deals with the problems of poverty and material deprivation. These problems are directly related to some other social ills such as illiteracy and poor health care and malnutrition conditions. The material deprivation can also pose a threat to the states as poverty and inequality can undermine social cohesion and cause instability. Material deprivation can also undermine the provision of public services and cause societies to be vulnerable to a range of other threats. The persistence of traditional types of conflict that have happened in Asia, including some Southeast Asian countries, can pose significant obstacles to the eradication of poverty.

Second, non-traditional security also gains a perspective on the role of governance that is related to a broad range of human

rights and welfare needs. The domestic governance is conducive to sound development and stable, plural societies, and that it is related to peaceful relations between and within societies. Unstable, inefficient, undemocratic governance is the source of insecurity both to individuals and communities. The national governments have to be responsible for the provision of public services, the protection of human rights, and the maintenance of a stable and productive economy.

Third, the natural environment has implications for non-traditional security. Environment degradation poses direct threats to individuals who get the effects of pollution, ill health, and vulnerability to natural disasters and also to the coherence and stability of communities as the environment degradation undermines the communities' capacities to operate as productive communities or their capacities for the provision of public services. The environment degradation can also lead to conflict between communities and states, as a result of the spill-over of pollution and competition over resource scarcity.

Fourth, institutional perspective of non-traditional security deals with the range of regional institutional development in addressing non-traditional security challenges. In the analysis of non-traditional security approaches in Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), William T. Tow (in Ranesh Thakur and Edward Newman, 2004. pp. 245 - 269) points out that they clearly function in a developing-regional context rather than in the context of the Western settings. However, Tow argues that intra-ASEAN consultation is becoming more difficult to sustain as Southeast Asian politics are consumed with domestic political crises and economic survival of each individual member. Tow suggests the mix of three alternative security approaches; constructivism, securitization, and human security in order to strengthen the regional security of Southeast Asia.

The second and the fourth connotations of non-traditional security provided by Thakur and Newman are of particular concern

to the rights of the basic needs of the individual as a citizen of the nation within the region, thus, the rest of this article will focus on these two issues concerning human security and non-traditional security. First, the issue of rights to basic needs or social rights as an approach for human security. Second, the issue of the regional institutional cooperation on non-traditional security among the members of Southeast Asian countries. These two particular issues, the social rights and the regional institutional cooperation to support the development of human security, are clearly related to the current situations of Southeast Asian countries. The period of rapid growth that came inevitably with the worsening of inequality in the region was perceived as unjust growth and will eventually lead to profound social crises in a number of ways, members of the Southeast Asian countries should respond to the basic needs of individuals in their own nation as well as in the region as a whole through the establishment of social rights as fundamental human rights to the citizen of each nation and through the strong institutional cooperation in order to provide the basic needs to the citizen of Southeast Asian countries on a regional basis.

4. Fundamental social rights as the element of human security

Although the issue of citizenship arose originally in the social-class based movement as the working-class struggled for admission to main social institutions back in the 18th century. The citizenship model in contemporary welfare has been multiplied as part of the broad social struggle involving gender, ethnicity, age, disability, sexuality to secure and attend what T.H. Marshall called social rights (Marshal, T.H. 1950) when the comprehensive welfare scheme that provided free access to the basic needs; health care, housing, and educational services as the universal welfare programs for the British citizen was introduced after the Second World War. Welfare citizenship, thus, can be understood as the development of

universalistic social values opposed to the particularistic values of traditional welfare system in the feudal or paternalistic societies. Roger (Roger, John J. 2000 pp. 46 - 47) has illustrated the citizenship rights that have grow out of the process of institutionalizing the legal, political, and social gains won by those social groups and interests fighting to gain membership of welfare capitalist societies. Thus, in response to the attacks on Marshall's conception of the citizenship model of welfare, the struggle for social citizenship can be understood as an integral part of the enlightenment project or the economic development process and served the purpose of protecting and embodying the basic principles of justice, equality and rationality in modern societies.

In reviewing the development of the European Community fundamental rights, Manfred Weiss (in Hepple, Bob. 2002 pp. 73 - 94) concludes that the European Union cannot fall behind the stage which has already been reached in integrating civic and social fundamental rights. The classical fundamental rights, civil and political rights, and the fundamental social rights are two sides of the same coin. They cannot be separated, but have to be integrated. Ivan Hare (In Hepple, Bob. 2002 pp. 153 - 181) argues that social rights which are the offspring of the first generation of civil and political rights should be considered as fundamental human rights and constitutional rights that are enforceable through substantive judicial review and protected by the ordinary legislative process. In the broader sense social rights have the potential to be genuinely universal. These basic rights are not confined to those members of the community who are economically active.

The rich and the poor have the same right to access these fundamental human rights. In the narrow sense social rights are limited to four basic rights; right to education, right to adequate housing, right to health care and right to work and to the minimum means of living.

The development of social rights, since its inception, has been varied from one country to an other. According to the citizen-

ship model of welfare, fundamental social rights are claims by citizens on governments. The basic social welfare programs for the marginalised and disadvantaged citizen can be promoted through government action. Numbers of industrialized countries had developed welfare programs to provide basic welfare needs for their citizens for various periods and occasions. Although governments in many industrialized countries are able to provide sufficient basic welfare benefits; education, health care, housing, and work with minimum means of living for their own citizens, social rights or rights to basic needs is not well accepted in some countries.

The agricultural and developing countries, however, face a number of constraints in order to provide the basic welfare programs for those who are in need in their countries. The governments in developing countries, compared to some western or industrialized countries, have to choose between the security of the nation and the welfare for individuals in allocating the scarce resources. Fundamental social rights are not well perceived in a number of developing countries. Some of the developing countries have denied basic welfare services; education, housing, health care, work and minimum means of living as fundamental social rights to their individual citizens on the reasons of welfare for the nation as a whole. A number of the governments in developing countries resist setting up social security programs for all citizens, instead state employees and the workers in the large establishments are protected. Social rights or rights through basic needs in developing countries, including those countries in Southeast Asia, is by no means a newly developed ideology.

5. Application of the citizenship approach in Southeast Asian community

Despite a lack of consensus for it's definition, the human security concept has gained support in certain levels by both

academic as well as policy decision-making communities that in the post-Cold War era, security has to be viewed in a comprehensive manner where human security is well incorporated into the issue of security. This approach has introduced the concept of human security to be established as an essential facet of the security norm at both internal and international levels. At the regional level Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific has provided the definition of comprehensive security as “ ...the pursuit of sustainable security in all fields (personal, political, economic, social, cultural, military, environmental) in both the domestic and external spheres, essentially through cooperative means.” (CSCAP, 1995. Memorandum No.3) that needs to be understood as cooperative security by each member of Asia and Pacific regional community. Describing the linkages between human security and comprehensive security in ASEAN countries, Mely Caballero-Anthony (in Thiparat, P. 2001 pp. 21 - 52) concludes that the linkages idea starts with the individual as the referent of security and working out its needs against the various security issues identified under the rubric of comprehensive security then a more coherent security framework can be established to enable one to use both concept in discussing security issues.

As the concept of human security has to be linked to comprehensive security, in constructing a security community within the region of Southeast Asian states need to strengthen social rights for their citizens. In order to do so, legal development in a number of jurisdictions in this particular region are to be considered that social rights are now protected through the same mechanisms of judicial enforcement as civil and political rights. Thus, the basic rights to education, health care, housing, and employment and minimum means of living among the citizens in each country are legally protected. As many Southeast Asian countries have provided for the basic needs to their own citizens still a number of arguments exist on the level of social rights protection among these countries that such rights are provided by policy or the administrative law standards not at the constitutional norms when compare to civil and

political rights. Even though these arguments are going on in some other countries including industrialized countries, there are number of the constitutions in developed countries expressly protecting certain social interests such as the right to social security of their own citizens. The legal protection of social rights for the citizen is of particularly relevance to the situation in Southeast Asian countries as the problems of poverty and inequality that lead to the other threats such as poor education, insufficient housing, ill health and extreme low income directly pose threats to the security of individuals, communities and eventually to the states and the region as a whole. As the social rights are to be legally recognized either by the constitutions or the administrative laws among the Southeast Asian countries, the minimum standards of living that directly respond to the fundamental human rights among the citizens within the region are to be well developed and protected.

In order to provide human security measures to institutional security, numbers of the regional traditional-valued systems that support individual welfare among the members such as the extended family and communal tradition of Southeast Asian communities need to be preserved and restored. As Southeast Asian economies are well developed into market and industrialized economies, as the expansion of industrial and service sectors and the numbers of agricultural and informal labor forces are decreasing while the number of labor forces in formal and industrial sectors are increasing, well being and welfare for the majority of the population in Southeast Asian countries are still largely based on the traditional welfare sectors, the family and community, that provide the basic welfare needs to their members. The traditional extended family and the communal type of welfare systems are common practice among the Southeast Asian communities such as in some other Asian countries. These traditional welfare systems are to be preserved in order to provide the more coherent and sustainable human security measures for individual members in this particular region.

Southeast Asian nations should respond to global and regional

competitions, through the cooperative economics which is a crucial means for economic growth among the country members within the region. The undergoing of the liberalization on trade and labor force among the countries members need to be done by promoting basic needs of individual inhabitant at the national and regional levels. There are a number of activities among the country members that have been initiated to but strong efforts are needed to be focused on in order to create a secure community within the region. Member countries need to cooperate on regulating regional competition through the realignment of state-market relations that facilitate growth at both national and regional levels. The roles of the state are to be adjusted for more reinvigoration in accord with the changes of economic realities, and to be focused more on sustaining growth and distributive justice within the region.

In order to reinvigorate the processes of socialization and consensus building and employ minimum rules, a regional diplomatic community of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) needs to take an active role and expand its mission into rule-based institutional building for human security agenda within the region. The Association needs to stress its role more on introducing and supporting the nation members to the alternative security system that has moved from a traditional concept of security to a more comprehensive and more pro-active view that addresses the causes of conflicts and inequalities among the social groups that have the impacts on the well-being of individuals both at domestic and regional levels.

The existing welfare paradigm in each Southeast Asian country that narrowly deals with domestic welfare and selective welfare programs need to be adjusted towards a more institutional and regional orientation that consider the area population to be both national and global citizens who are entitled to basic needs; education, health care, housing, employment and minimum means of living as their social rights which are fundamental human rights. A regional safety net on basic needs to be created for the area popula-

tion by the national and regional governments as well as international organizations. Basic and emergency healthcare and education should be provided for the citizen of each nation and for those who are in need regardless of their nationality status, which is already practiced in some country members in Southeast Asia. Under the liberal market policy, the regional labor force policy needs to be initiated and the region needs to be treated as one labor market that requires a more liberal labor migration policy of each country member.

The existing welfare capitalism policy in Southeast Asian countries that narrowly defines social security programs and focuses on welfare entitlements mainly to those who are in the formal industrial and service sectors has to be expanded towards a more liberal social welfare policy that encourages universal welfare coverage to the general population as well. The insufficient traditional residual welfare practices under the welfare state model that poses state governments' obligations on welfare programs is to be adapted toward more of the welfare society model that requires the communal and the collective obligations among the welfare stakeholders; state governments, local governments, local and non-governmental organizations, civic societies, private sectors, as well as the welfare beneficiaries to take part in human basic needs and welfare matters. The initiative implementation of a regional collaboration of the existing social welfare and social security systems such as the public assistance, the social insurance, as well as social service programs is to be considered among the country members in order to enhance and empower human security within the region.

6. Conclusion

Growth of world capitalism that came with the collapse of the cold war had an enormous impact on the Southeast Asian regions as any other regions. The economic growth within the region reflects

only one side of the whole picture of the Southeast Asian region. The period of globalization that allows the capital and labor force to move around freely within and outside the region has also introduced income disparity and poverty among the population in most countries. Numbers of the regional population do not equally share the products of growth and most of them have been left behind without the opportunities to catch up with the main stream. Inequality has led to extreme poverty among certain social groups within the region. Conflicts between groups of the population as well as with the regimes are also going on in certain areas that cause a number of forces migrants to move and settle outside their homelands. The expansion of global capitalism and the problems of poverty have created massive labor migrations at both internal and external levels.

Threats of global and regional migrations, and the transnationalism of the degradation of the natural environment requires the shift in international policy on security matters. The issue of individual and human security through the development of social rights that entitle the individual citizen to basic human needs demands more recognition and concern among the country members of the Southeast Asian community. The existing citizenship model in welfare service provisions of the countries in the region needs to be reviewed in terms of their limitations in certain aspects. The regional citizenship welfare model should be introduced in order to create ways and means for effective service provisions to all levels and status of population within the region. The globalization and regionalization of social welfare policy practices and the socialization of regional politics on welfare matters are also to be initiated among the country members so that the well being of the Southeast Asian area population who are the potential contributors for both the economic as well as the social developments is well preserved.

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