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**Institutionalization of Regional Metagovernance  
Framework to Enhance Human Security in East Asia\***

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## 1. Introduction

With increasing trends of globalization and economic growth evolved a concern of the conflicting nature between economic development and the environment. The Brundtland Commission was created by the UN General Assembly to address issues regarding the human environment and natural resources and its relationship to economic and social development; in 1987 it published a report dealing with the importance of sustainable development, i.e. development that “meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”<sup>1</sup> Today, it is understood that there exist three pillars necessary towards achieving sustainable development, economic, environmental and social spheres, and these three pillars are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the significance of alleviating poverty and promoting economic growth in impoverished regions to enhancing sustainable development is evident. Furthermore, the gaining awareness of human rights issues within the realm of social development emphasizes the interrelated nature between poverty alleviation and promoting human rights. While these concerns are a global phenomena, the historical and cultural characteristics of the East Asian region, make the current issue in East Asia distinct from the problems that have been faced in other regions. As such, the solutions to the problem cannot be replicas of successful frameworks from the West, but a new framework must be constructed that is applicable to the conditions that are characteristic of East Asia.

When East Asian countries experienced fast paced economic growth that shocked the international community, many scholars attempted to explain the causes of the

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations. 1987. *Our Common Future, Report of the Commission on Environment and Development*. General Assembly Resolution 42/187, 11 December 1987.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations. 2005. *World Summit Outcome Document*. General Assembly Resolution 60/1, 24 October 2005.

development. However, the historical and cultural characteristics distinguished the region from traditional approaches to understanding the economic development and a new model was developed to promote understanding of the phenomenon. What is interesting is the fact that the ideas and concepts that were widely accepted by the academia came from within East Asia, e.g. the Asian Values idea, although it lost popularity after the financial crisis in 1997, was first introduced by Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, and the Flying Geese Paradigm was developed by Japanese scholars, Akamatsu, Kozima and Ozawa.

As aforementioned, the distinct historical and cultural dimensions within East Asia make it critical that it is studied by academia that can understand these inherent differences. Similar to the development of the frameworks to explain the miraculous economic development in East Asia, the characteristics of the human rights violations and the need to understand and conceptualize human security are also unique within the region and continuous efforts by regional scholars must be made to achieve an understanding of the problem and develop a plausible solution.

This paper will elaborate on the relationship between poverty alleviation and human security, the significance of the concepts, how they are mutually reinforcing and how they can contribute towards achieving sustainable development. In doing so, it will concentrate on East Asia and emphasize the importance of the Millennium Development Goals as a guideline for promoting action within the region. Finally, a metagovernance<sup>3</sup> framework will be introduced that is based on the collaborative efforts of multilateral actors, including IOs NGOs and nation states, which is applicable to the East Asian region to enhance human security and contribute to poverty alleviation.

## **II. Conceptualization of Human Security**

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<sup>3</sup> Metagovernance is a newly evolved theory with increasing interests in good governance. It will be explained in detail in V. East Asian Metagovernance Structure.

The traditional views of security were based on the concept of national security, i.e. security that was concentrated within the boundaries of individual populations or people residing in a particular nation state. This was largely due to the power that was possessed by nation states in the international arena, after the development of the sovereign state with the Westphalian Order. A new international order advanced and has radically changed situation since the 17<sup>th</sup> century when state power and state security was established to sustain order and peace.<sup>4</sup>

Today, however, there are more internal conflicts within states than international conflicts, and in many cases states were found to threaten the security of its people. Other new threats emerged with trends of globalization; threats to human security were no longer restricted to those within a nation's borders but began to include transboundary issues such as environmental pollution, transboundary terrorism, or infectious diseases. Thus, as the traditional concept of state security diminished, there evolved an interest in the individual persons security, and the concept of human security emerged.

Human security was developed to encompass the limitations of national security, and as such, complements state security. It further protects and enhances human rights and contributes to human development. While scholars have not yet found a concrete conceptualization of human security, most studies agree that human security brings together the human elements of security, of rights and of development. Many efforts have been conducted on a global level with the UN leading the progress; in 1994 the UNDP introduced new dimensions of human security in its Human Development Report, and in 1999 the Human Security Network was established by 14 countries from all regions, and in 2003 the Commission on Human Security published a report entitled *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People*.

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<sup>4</sup> Commission on Human Security. 2003. *Human Security Now*.

The Commission on Human Security defines human security as protecting the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance the human freedoms and human fulfillment. In addition the Commission identified four respects in which human security complements state security; first, its concern is the individual and the community rather than the state; second, menaces to people's security include threats and conditions that have not always been classified as threats to state security; third, the range of actors is expanded beyond the state alone; and fourth, achieving human security includes not just protecting people but also empowering people to fend for themselves. Human security attempts to protect individuals from direct threats to their well-being, but a second aspect is the power for people to act on their own behalf, which means that in order to promote human security, individuals must be encouraged to build and develop capabilities and awareness of human dignity, which will lead to avoiding future threats.

While many global level studies on human security have reached a consensus on the comprehensiveness of human security, the concrete conceptualizations must be done on a regional level<sup>5</sup> to incorporate the conditions and situations that exist within a particular region. For example, Western European countries have categorized human security into seven different agendas, socio-economic security, health security, environmental security, migrations security, cultural identity, personal liberty, and political security.<sup>6</sup> Similar to these efforts, East Asia must be able to reach a consensus on what constitutes human security within the region.

This paper identifies human security in three regards in light of Kofi Annan's assessment. In 2000, he based the concept of human security on three building blocs, the freedom from fear, freedom from want and the freedom of future generations to inherit a

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<sup>5</sup> Ali Kazancigil. 2007. *The Significance of Statehood in Global Governance*. Regulating Globalization: Critical Approaches to Global Governance. United Nations University Press.

<sup>6</sup> J. Peter Burgess et al. 2007. *Promoting Human Security: Ethical, Normative and Educational Frameworks in Western Europe*. UNESCO 2007.

healthy environment<sup>7</sup> which is relative to the three pillars of sustainable development, i.e. economic development, human rights, and protecting the environment.

The economic development patterns in East Asia differ from those of other regions; the most significant cause being the existence of a strong government which interfered with Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' in the market. While East Asia achieved economic development at miraculous rates, giving birth to the Asian Tigers, Southeast Asian countries continue to suffer from extreme poverty. The income gap among countries in the region is unbelievable, and with the 2000 Millennium Development Goals set to eradicate poverty by 2015, East Asian countries have split into recipient and donor countries. Under this context, it is necessary to understand the poverty issues in the region and constructing a roadmap that will lead to achieving the MDGs will help promote human security in the region.

If economic development relieves the material and temporal dimensions of human security by providing a freedom from want, in order to protect people from fear, enhancing human rights is a method of promoting human security.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the need for institutionalizing regional human rights efforts is evident. While many other regions have been successful in establishing human rights regimes, East Asia is still without any specific framework. An inspection of the historical and cultural characteristics of the region that have prevented the establishment of a human rights regime will lead to a possible solution to the problem.

Finally, environmental security is a transnational phenomenon that contributes to degradation of the physical environment on which people depend. It affects individual's well being and health and influences economic productivity which indicates its direct relation to human security. However, efforts of protecting the environment must be differentiated from the above mentioned two pillars of sustainable development since many of the current

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<sup>7</sup> United Nations. 2000. *We the peoples: the role of the United Nations in the 21st century*. Speech to General Assembly by Secretary-General, Press Release GA/9704, New York, 30 March.

<sup>8</sup> Commission on Human Security. 2003. *Human Security Now*.

environmental problems are transborder issues that have no boundaries. For example, recently, the United Nations Climate Change Conference was held in Bali to discuss the global climate change and greenhouse gas emissions. Although some environmental issues are regional issues and emphasize the significance of efforts of direct stakeholders, many are global phenomena and the cooperation and efforts of all countries are necessary; since many emerging phenomena cannot be limited to the regional level, they have gained recognition and global coordination on all levels is necessary to provide a solution.

The scope of this paper is concentrated on the regional institutionalization of a human security framework, therefore, it is limited to socio-economic and human rights aspects of human security. Through a comparative analysis methodology, characteristics that are unique in East Asia will be inspected to identify features that need to be understood before building a possible East Asian framework that will lead to promoting human security in the region.

### **III. Regional Efforts to Building Human Security in the International Arena**

The debate among universalists and relativists in perspective of human rights has continued over the years. A universal consensus has formulated implying that universal human rights do indeed exist. In the view of Donnelly, he disclaims that human rights can be derived from “God, nature or the physical facts of life”; instead they are said to be grounded in “man’s moral nature” in the need for “human dignity.”<sup>9</sup>

However, through these discussions, the study of human rights has continued and with increasing efforts to globalize and institutionalize human rights, a general conceptualization of human rights has developed. Today, about 90 regional and subject-

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<sup>9</sup> Fred Dallmayr. 2002. “Asian Values” and Global Human Rights. *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 52, No.2.

oriented international human rights regimes currently exist around the world. Most of these regimes are state-oriented, or based on mutual agreements among nation states.<sup>10</sup>

In Europe, a regional human rights regime was created under the Helinski System to promote stability and peace in the context of the post-cold war Europe. The European Human Rights regime was established by 40 member states of the European Council to protect human rights and fundamental freedom.<sup>11</sup> The European Human Rights regime extends beyond the boundaries of Europe by including provisions that require member states to suggest human rights conditions when providing overseas assistance to developing countries. In light of these efforts, it is possible to assess that efforts to prevent human rights violations and promote human security are coherent with policies that concentrate on economic development within not only member countries but also those of developing countries.

Regional human rights regimes also exist in South America and even Africa.<sup>12</sup> In the case of South America, the human rights regime has contributed to political stability and peace, and has promoted human rights, however, in Africa, they have not been as successful with their efforts as in the other regions. Despite the limitations in their achievements, the efforts of Africa to incorporate their needs into developing a unique framework must be valued.

East Asia is the only region that has not constructed human rights regime. The awareness within East Asia of human rights violations and threats to human security has

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<sup>10</sup> UNESCO Korea. 1995. Principal International Documents Regarding Human Rights.

<sup>11</sup> The European Human Rights Regime is headquartered in Strasbourg, France and was established based on the European Convention, ratified in 1950. In addition, the European Social Charter works to induce change in social policies and constitutions in European Countries by introducing clear standards for social and economic rights. Agreements exist regarding gender equality or racial discrimination.

<sup>12</sup> Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court established under the OAS of 1959 form the American Human Rights Regime. The American Human Rights Regime differs from that of the European Human Rights Regime in that it is not based on separate human rights principles. Instead, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights concentrates on increasing awareness of human rights, producing recommendations, reviewing individual petitions as well as conducting investigations of violations. The Human Rights regime in Africa is a part of the African Union(AU), and was established based on the African Charter on Human and People's rights. It is characterized by an emphasis on individual rights, collective rights and people's rights. It also contains rights to development and peace.



heightened during the past decades, but an effective mechanism structure is still in need of development. Despite the lack of success in implementing a regional framework in East Asia, there have been several significant efforts to promote human security, e.g. several individual states, Japan, Korea, or Thailand are exemplified of state level efforts that have made important contributions. More importantly, there have also been regional level efforts within East Asia, i.e. ASEAN.

ASEAN was established in 1967 in Bangkok and currently contains 10 member countries.<sup>13</sup> The objectives and purposes of the ASEAN Declaration are stated as accelerating economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region, and to promote regional peace and stability.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, three pillars, ASEAN Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community, and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community were established in 2003 by ASEAN leaders. In order to promote security in the region ASEAN understood the necessity of cooperation and dialogue within Asia-Pacific, e.g. in 1994 the ASEAN Regional Forum(ARF) was established in recognition of the importance of security interdependency in the region. Diverse regional security issues were under discussion such as non-proliferation, counter-terrorism, transnational crimes. However, the concept of human security is not at issue within the ARF and the efforts emphasize more traditional security issues and have yet to consider human security that concentrates on the individual persons. Although the efforts to improve dialogues among countries to promote security are critical, ASEAN was unable to incorporate non-state actors into the discussions. Present participants

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<sup>13</sup> The original member countries were Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Myanmar, and Cambodia have also gained membership as of today.

<sup>14</sup> See <http://www.aseansec.org/64.htm>

are limited to the state level and also include states that are not geographically located within the region, such as the United States or Canada.<sup>15</sup>

Under such conditions, a constructive framework that implements multilateral dialogues of diverse non-state actors is necessary. However, this framework must be adaptable to the unique conditions that are inherent in the East Asian region. In order to be able to establish a plausible framework within the region, the characteristics of the historical and cultural circumstances that differentiate East Asia from other regions must be analyzed and understood.

#### **IV. Understanding East Asia: Characteristic Threats and Conditions**

The situation in East Asia is more complex and must be understood in light of two significant factors. The first, is the threat posed by the North Korean regime. The violations of human rights in North Korea are dire, as is the difficulties faced by the people due to a lack of resources and food. The serious food shortage has led to mass starvation and it is reported that 1~2 million people, which accounts for 10% of the total population died of malnutrition. According to a report by Good Friends, a South Korean NGO devoted to the issues of peace, human rights, and refugees, it is estimated that the mortality rate of children under 9 is 40.5% and that of elderly people who are 60 and over is almost 80%.<sup>16</sup> In a 2004 report, UNICEF and WFP research surveyed 4,800 children under 6 years of age and found that 23% were underweight, 37% suffered from malnutrition, and 7% were in the state of

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<sup>15</sup> The present participants include: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Canada, China, EU, India, Indonesia, Japan, DPRK, ROK, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, the Russian Federation, Singapore, Thailand, the US and Vietnam.

<sup>16</sup> Ahn-Sook, Jung. *North Korea's Food Shortage Problems and Current Situation of North Korean Refugees*. Good Friends.

extreme malnutrition.<sup>17</sup>

Inequalities of distribution of the Northern developed nations compared to the Southern less developed nations has gained recognition within the global arena, but similar to this wide gap of wealth, a difference of wealth exists within East Asian nations, with developed countries like Singapore, Japan and Korea ranking in the top largest economies in the world, while others such as Vietnam and Cambodia continue to struggle to provide necessities to its people.<sup>18</sup> This problem is becoming more severe in the region due to the negative aspects of China's economic development. Thus, the second major threat in East Asia is posed by the increasing inequalities persisting in China. China is a developing at a very rapid pace, and despite its economic development it has achieved after opening market economy, inequalities of income and wealth is prevalent in the country, which poses another severe problem to the region.

Although China has advanced its economy and showed a strong growth rate of gross domestic product (GDP) 9.37% per year, on average,<sup>19</sup> according to its 2005 MDG country report, the population below the international poverty line has shown improvement since 1990, the 85 million suffering from extreme poverty has decreased to 26.1 million in 2004, which is 2.8% of the rural population. In addition, reported cases of HIV infection are close to 50,000 and estimates of HIV/AIDS prevalence range between 650,000 and 1,020,000 million. Nearly 40% of the population in rural areas does not have access to clean drinking water, while under five mortality rate is at 25%. Gender inequality is another direct violation of human rights, with less than 50% of girls participating in primary education in 2002.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Changrok, Soh. 2007. *Enhancing Human Security in North Korea Through Development of Human Rights Regime in Asia*.

<sup>18</sup> According to the Global Competitiveness Report conducted by the World Economic Forum(WEF), in the 2007-08 report, Singapore ranked 7<sup>th</sup>, Japan 8<sup>th</sup>, and Korea 11<sup>th</sup>. Compared to these high rankings, Vietnam ranked 68<sup>th</sup>, while Cambodia ranked 110<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Statistical Yearbook 2003, p.57

<sup>20</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, United Nations System in China. 2005. *China's Progress Towards the Millennium Development Goals*.

While the 2002 data present that all provinces in China have reached the 0.5 UN global cut-off that indicate 'medium' development; improvements in the Human Development Index have grown from 0.522 in 1975 to 0.726 in 2000, and ranked 96 out of 173 countries in the 2002 Human Development Report. However, the problem is that the inequalities that persist within China are at a difference of 30% among the richest and the poorest. As of 1999, China is no longer a low-income country,<sup>21</sup> and although there are continuous discussions as to the nature of China as a threat, or a beneficial factor to the East Asian region, it is evident that the severe inequalities of distribution that are prevalent in the country and further within the region is an issue of utmost concern, within the agenda of promoting human security.

These two significant threats, in the form of individual nation states, North Korea and China, distinguish the East Asian region from that of Europe or the Americas. Nevertheless, the model frameworks that have been studied and advanced in these western societies provide a basic foundation for constructing a framework that is applicable to the East Asian region.

Another distinctive characteristic of East Asia can be analyzed within the success of its fast paced economic development. While the international arena was more oriented towards laissez-faire market policies, many East Asian countries were dominated by strong government policies that monitored and assisted the private sectors market behaviors. Strong states are able to deploy state institutions to perform certain public policy functions despite the existence of other public policy functions,<sup>22</sup> as such, they are able to play a significant role in designating the course of the market. Thus, although the effects of the state power on the market economy are still under study, i.e. the positive and negative

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<sup>21</sup> In 1999, the World Bank raised China's classification to a lower middle income country when China's per capita income surpassed the \$755 cut-off point for low-income countries. Information is taken from *China's Progress Towards the Millennium Development Goals*, MDG Country Progress Report.

<sup>22</sup> Grainsborough, M. (2002). *Political Change in Vietnam: In Search of the Middle-Class Challenge to the State*. Asian Survey, Vol. 42, No. 5.

aspects of state interference, the fact that the market was influenced by the state within East Asian development patterns is undeniable.

The importance of constructing a regime that is applicable to the unique conditions of East Asia can be supported by the difficulties that were faced in explaining the East Asian economic miracle. Literature indicates that the Flying Geese Paradigm, coined by Kojima, a Japanese scholar, is the most widely recognized as explaining the patterns of economic growth in the region. The Flying Geese Paradigm was a development of Akamatsu's<sup>23</sup> discussion of industrial diffusion across nations and Vernon's interpretation of investments made by exporting economies in the form of FDI or ODA which increased trade and economic growth. East Asian countries were identified as following a pattern of growth with less developed countries following precedent forerunners.

The Flying Geese Paradigm, or catching-up product cycle model, identified spillover effects and benefits that neighboring countries received from Japan. This led to a development of the East Asian market, which resulted in increased inflows of capital from Western industrialized economies. Bruce Cumings later interpreted the Flying Geese Model in light of Japanese colonialism. According to Cumings, while most western countries exploited the resources found in their colonies; the inflow of capital was from the colonized country to the colonizer, in the case of Japan, it invested heavily in its colonies. Cumings interprets this by understanding Japanese colonialism in the context of national expansion.

What is significant within these interpretations of East Asian economic growth patterns is the fact that they incorporate the unique conditions that are prevalent in the

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<sup>23</sup> Akamatsu's Flying Geese Paradigm explains the industrial development through analysis of a sequential phenomenon of production related to trade. Akamatsu applied the Flying Geese Paradigm on both domestic and international levels. The "intra-industry" product cycle is made by the emergence of new product groups within each industrial sector. The second diversification is more important for the analysis of this paper; the "inter-industry" product cycle shows the level of development within a national economy and is characterized by a shift in the relative mass of production from consumer to capital goods.

On the international level, "international economy" implies existence of hierarchies within regional economies. This "international economy" explains that industrial transfers are caused by resources and technological capacities. The Flying Geese Paradigm explains patterns of industrial development on the basis of less-advanced country's economy entering into an international economic relationship with advanced countries.

region. It is evident that the nation-state played a dominant role in undertaking development policies and it is important to recognize such historical and cultural conditions that are characteristic of the region.

It must be recognized that an aspect of concern in the region is the power struggle among the three largest economies, Korea, China and Japan. The political tension that persists among these countries are a hindrance to enhancing human security in the region and make it more important to find a method that will encourage these countries to cooperation and collaborate their efforts to promote human development and well being in the region.

Within the sphere of human security, in constructing a new framework that is unique to the East Asian region incorporating its characteristics and conditions, it is important to understand the role that the government played in achieving economic growth. A similar framework that recognizes the possibility of the government can be utilized to construct a metagovernance model that incorporates the historical past of East Asia, while transforming the role that was played by the state into a new more appropriate one.

## **V. East Asian Metagovernance Structure**

Governance was first formed as a mechanism to reliably measure and determine objects of international assistance and promote effective regulation in answer to the MDGs efforts to eradicate poverty by 2015. The UN Millennium Declaration addressed the “collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity”<sup>24</sup> in light of the MDGs, which explicitly indicates the relationship between poverty and human security.

Efforts to formulate a governance structure at a regional level are important because of the strategic role it can play in democratized multilevel global governance. Two specific

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<sup>24</sup> United Nations Millennium Declaration Section 1 Article 2.

reasons are given by Kazancigil, the first being that regional integration efforts and intergovernmental regional organizations are instruments for articulating and defending the interests and policies of governments, and second, to offer a solution to the perennial dilemma of the transnational system and global governance system.<sup>25</sup>

Within the context of the East Asian situation it is necessary to moderate the role of the nation-state and collaborate the efforts on a governmental level with non-governmental efforts. Furthermore, due to the dramatic differences in development among states, a coalition needs to be formed among leading nations, or nations that can provide a leading role in solving the problem, which can moderate and facilitate the actions of other nation states in the region. In short, a Flying Geese Paradigm, must be constructed among the participating nation-states, and the roles of each individual state in promoting human security will differ accordingly.

Although most human rights work has aimed at holding the state accountable for rights violations, especially political and civil violations, which occur within its borders,<sup>26</sup> while it must be accepted that the state is a major actor of human rights violations, by limiting responsibility to state actors, it is impossible to grasp the entire scope of human security. The view that the state is responsible for human rights violations is more acceptable within the boundaries of the traditional national security concept; human security is a far more complex and comprehensive concept, encompassing violations of not only state actors, within national borders but also the actions of other states, inter-state, and private actors, which contribute directly and indirectly to a wide range of human and environmental rights violations.<sup>27</sup>

Under such context, although the state must continue to play a significant role in

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<sup>25</sup> Ali Kazancigil. 2007. *The Significance of Statehood in Global Governance*. Regulating Globalization: Critical Approaches to Global Governance. United Nations University Press.

<sup>26</sup> Grahame Russell. 1998. *All Rights Guaranteed, All Actors Accountable: Poverty is a Violation of Human Rights*. Development in Practice.

<sup>27</sup> Grahame Russell. 1998. *All Rights Guaranteed, All Actors Accountable: Poverty is a Violation of Human Rights*. Development in Practice.

advancing human security, the efforts must be on a multilateral level, including the collaboration of IOs, NGOs, and the private sector; thus a metagovernance system must be created to incorporate these various actors into a well functioning good governance model.

Global governance is an attempt to effectively functionalize multilateral institutions. “Traditional” multilateralism refers to an exclusively state centric, top-down approach that is focused on inter-state efforts. The limitations of this approach have led to a “bottom-up” or “cosmopolitan” multilateralism, which emphasizes the role of NGOs and civil actors.<sup>28</sup> Metagovernance incorporates the limitations of both of these approaches and collaborates both the efforts made by nation-states in a top-down approach and civil actors of the bottom-up approach.

Metagovernance attempts to modify the relative balance among various governance mechanisms and modify their relative importance, in short by managing the complexity, plurality, and tangled hierarchies found in prevailing modes of co-ordination and involves the judicious mixing of market, hierarchy, and networks.<sup>29</sup> It refers to all government arrangements including the containing process of regulations on the supragovernmental level. Through a metagovernance system, new boundary-spanning roles and functions are defined which create linkage devices and sponsor new organizations. Metagovernance functions to facilitate the effective usage of the networks that exist among the diverse actors and arrangements, or objectives. Furthermore, through a metagovernance system it is possible to effectively regulate among governance partners and enhance discussions among political units.

Due to the characteristics of the region, the need for a metagovernance regime is especially important in East Asia. The historically state-centrism that was prevalent in many East Asian countries, the traditional top-down government structure, and the lack of an anti-corruption mechanism has led the state to become a strong player in diverse spheres, and in

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<sup>28</sup> Ali Kazancigil. 2007. *The Significance of Statehood in Global Governance*. Regulating Globalization: Critical Approaches to Global Governance. United Nations University Press.

<sup>29</sup> Bob Jessop. 2003. *The Future of the Capitalist State*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.



some cases allowed countries to achieve development. However, with regard to human security, states must be moderated and monitored by non-governmental actors to prevent threatening human development.

A metagovernance system provides an answer to the cooperation and collaboration of multilateral actors in East Asia. The state will continue to play a strong role within this new framework, but will be assisted by International Organizations such as the UN which provides broad guidelines for action, and evaluation of state behaviors which will act as a monitoring mechanism against individual governments. Furthermore, IOs will be able to monitor general behaviors of the international community and individual states, which will contribute towards achieving policy coherence.

Civil societies must play a crucial role for the metagovernance framework to be successful; the importance of incorporating the bottom-up approach, which will function as a stronger monitoring and checking system must be recognized. The advantage that NGOs and civil society has compared to International Organizations is that they can concentrate their efforts on specific issues and projects. Whereas, IOs provide broad and general guidelines for action, NGOs are able to critically assess a situation and analyze the actual behaviors that are necessary under given conditions.

The future of sustainable development can be enhanced by the private sector. Multinational corporations have expanded their boundaries to encompass the global market, MNC behaviors are no longer limited to national boundaries but production is outsourced globally to increase efficiency. Since, the behaviors of any corporation are founded on the efficiency and effectiveness to increase competitiveness, incorporating the advantages of corporations into the framework to enhance effectiveness.

More important than the allocation of roles to different actors within the metagovernance system is the effectiveness of relationships among these various actors. All of these actors are interrelated, and must cooperate in order to achieve a functioning good governance system. Since the linkages among multilateral actors are complicated and many

networks must be interconnected, a comprehensive and exhaustive study to provide an understanding of the diversity that prevails within the system is critical to its successful implementation. It must also be recognized that the exact roles of each actor is tentative, so that they will change according to the agenda.

## **VI. Hypothetical East Asian Metagovernance Framework Proposal**

### **Case Study: Towards Achieving the MDGs**

The MDGs are a global level effort, but regional efforts to eradicate poverty will lead to promoting human security. As indicated above, in order to be successful, it is necessary to construct a regional metagovernance framework that reflects the historical and cultural characteristics of East Asia. More important than the allocation of roles to the diverse actors within the framework, which will be elaborated in detail, is the collaborative efforts of all of the actors to cooperate and build relationships that are mutually reinforcing. The complexity of the relationships need not be discussed, but it necessary to recognize that the interconnectedness of the networks that exist among the different actors must be comprehensive and exhaustive to function as a successful mechanism.

### **International Organizations**

The Millennium Development Goals were initiated at the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000 and was adopted by 189 nations.<sup>30</sup> They consist of 8 different goals set for the year 2015, measured by 48 different indicators. The first 7 goals focus on increasing the welfare of less developed nations, whereas Goal 8, Global Partnership, concentrates on the

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<sup>30</sup> Secretary General K. Annan. *Road Map Towards the Implementation of the Millennium Declaration*. UN Document 56/326.

relationship between recipient and donor countries.

While the ultimate goal of the MDGs is poverty eradication, an inspection of the specific goals indicate that many are centered on providing basic human needs, such as providing education opportunities, protecting health or providing sufficient drinking water facilities or infrastructures, and promoting environmental sustainability.<sup>31</sup> The MDGs were developed to “recognize explicitly the interdependence between growth, poverty reduction and sustainable development”<sup>32</sup> and emphasizes respect for human rights, peace and security.

The achievement of the MDGs set by the UN was that they provided substantial guidelines for action and quantified these guidelines to assist practical implementation by the international community. The first step within the proposed metagovernance structure was undertaken by International Organizations, namely the UN in this case, to provide a trigger for action.

Furthermore, as indicated in MDG 8. entitled Global Partnership, by requiring participating countries to report their progress, although non-binding in nature, the UN has implemented an evaluation mechanism. Since it is difficult to establish legally binding legislatures in the case of ODA, peer review among countries was implemented as a possible method of providing evaluation of participation, and to encourage future action. By monitoring the actions of individual countries it will be possible to achieve policy coherence

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<sup>31</sup> UN Millennium Development Goals

- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education
- Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
- Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
- Goal 5: Improve maternal health
- Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability
- Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development

<sup>32</sup> See [www.undp.org/mdg](http://www.undp.org/mdg)

with ODA approaches, e.g. the WTO monitors trade and tariff rates while the UNDP concentrates on analyzing development policies of countries.

## **State Actors**

Under the guidelines set by the UN, individual nations have provided assistance to developing countries. However, the majority of assistance is multilateral and project based. This is because multilateral aid is more effectively utilized than bilateral aid, and project based assistance contributes more towards sustainable development than programme based, which is in many cases one-time assistance. In order to effectively utilize multilateral aid projects, again diverse actors must be able to construct an effective method of cooperation.

Among the countries that have provided ODA in East Asia, the efforts of Japan and Korea as individual countries are especially noticeable. In the case of Japan, in 2000 then Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori, declared at the Millennium Development Summit that Japan will uphold human security as one pillar of Japan's foreign policy, and called for the establishment of an international commission on human security to further and deepen the concept.<sup>33</sup> Kofi Annan established the "Commission on Human Security" following this proposal in 2001 and Japan continued its efforts by establishing a Trust Fund for Human Security in the UN, and has continued to hold symposiums, e.g. "Human Security Now(2003)," "Human Security and National Security(2004)," "APEC Human Security Seminar(2005)" and in celebration of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Japan's admission to the UN, "50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Japan's Admission to the UN: International Symposium on Human Security."<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Global Issues Cooperation Division. 2007. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. *The Trust Fund for Human Security For the "Human-centered" 21<sup>st</sup> Century*.

<sup>34</sup> Global Issues Cooperation Division. 2007. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. *The Trust Fund for Human*

Japan started the Trust Fund for Human Security with a contribution of ¥500 million in 1999, as of 2006 total contributions exceeded ¥33.5 billion. As identified within the 2007 report, the objective of the fund was to translate the concept of human security into concrete activities implemented by UN agencies through supporting projects that address diverse threats including poverty, environmental degradation, conflicts, health problems to secure people's lives, livelihoods and dignity.

While there was no explicit concentration on East Asian threats, and the effort was based on a global level, an inspection of the actual projects implemented since its initiation present a preference for assistance to East Asian countries. As of February 2007, a total of 139 projects have been approved, of these 35 are in the Southeast Asian region and another 25 are categorized as Asia, other than Southeast Asia.<sup>35</sup> A further inspection of the individual projects in Asia present that they are categorized under 9 different issues, poverty, health, drug, refugees, crime, conflict, disaster, environment and others. Within Southeast Asia 18 of the 35 projects are categorized under poverty, while 7 are health issues, implying the extreme poverty issues that are prevalent in Southeast Asia. In contrast, in Asia, other than Southeast Asia only 7 of the 25 projects were categorized under poverty.<sup>36</sup> This gap that exists among Southeast Asian countries and East Asian countries is severe, and so developed countries in the region must work to alleviate the inequality gap before the situation becomes more accentuated.

Japan's efforts towards enhancing human security are evident, on both global and regional levels, thus it is obvious that Japan should play a leading role among the nations within the metagovernance framework so that other countries can follow its example. Although Japan has been the leading country in economic prosperity in East Asia, the case of Korea is

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*Security For the "Human-centered" 21<sup>st</sup> Century.*

<sup>35</sup> See table p. 7 Approved Budget: Region. Global Issues Cooperation Division. 2007. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. *The Trust Fund for Human Security For the "Human-centered" 21<sup>st</sup> Century.*

<sup>36</sup> See List of Projects Supported by the Trust Fund for Human Security(As of February 2007). Global Issues Cooperation Division. 2007. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. *The Trust Fund for Human Security For the "Human-centered" 21<sup>st</sup> Century.*

different and provides new implications to recipient countries.

As Jefferey Sachs professed during his visit to Korea in 2007, the fact that Korea was able to transform itself from a recipient country to a donor in the course of a few decades is miraculous; Korea is a model case for other developing countries to envy and follow. Although the contributions that Korea has made in the total amount of ODA is minimal compared to that of Japan, the actual amount of ODA in 2006 was over \$450 million, and was over \$750 million in 2005, it is planning to increase its total volume in 2007. Further, due to the traditional zeal for education in Korea, many of the projects funded by Korea are concentrated on increasing education opportunities, which will improve the qualities of lives in developing nations and provide increasing awareness and skills that allow people to work to sustain them.<sup>37</sup>

More importantly, however, is the fact that the actual implications of Korea as a model country case for developing countries are invaluable. Korea is also distinguishable from other East Asian countries since its democratization process was based on a bottom-up approach. This historical experience will also contribute towards making a well balances effective metastructure that attempts to incorporate the values of top-down and bottom-up approaches.

Furthermore, due to the tension that still exists between Japan and Korea based on their historical ties, the cooperation of Japan and Korea to create a coalition that leads other states within the regime in addition to the symbolic implications of the effort will lead to a stronger and more effective metagovernance framework which could possibly result in providing a substantial halo effect.

## **NGOs and Civil Societies**

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<sup>37</sup> Statistics taken from [www.koica.go.kr](http://www.koica.go.kr)

Non-governmental actors and civil actors are able to specify their efforts on particular causes and needs; they are more compassionate and committed to the individual tasks and provide the acute personal attention that is needed in many cases.<sup>38</sup> As mentioned above, if international organizations provide general guidelines for actions, NGOs and civil actors can provide specific action plans. Since their interests are limited to specific issues they are able to effectively analyze characteristic conditions in individual countries to assess the direct needs of recipient countries. This is particularly important since recent ODA practices are project-based and conducted on a case-by-case analysis.

By providing in-depth analysis of the conditions and needs within a specific country, taking into consideration the historical and cultural aspects of the recipient country will facilitate assistance efforts from external sources. In addition, because NGOs are able to work closely with recipient countries, they provide an critical link between the recipient country and the donor partner, and can ease discussions and conflicts that can occur because of a lack of understanding.

In order to effectively utilize ODA in developing countries, there is increasing concern of ownership and partnership. Without recipient countries awareness of responsibility and efficient usage of funds, it will be impossible to achieve the MDGs. Unfortunately, however, many developing countries are suffering from corruption, and lack anti-corruption mechanisms. Civil societies must monitor both recipient and donor partners and act to hinder corruption to increase efficiency.

Another important role that civil societies must play is with regard to the evaluation process. Although a peer review evaluation system and progress reports are implemented by the UN, the progress reports are created by the participating countries, which may result in lack of objectivity.

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<sup>38</sup>United Nations Publication. 2005. *A Future Within Reach: Reshaping Institutions in a Region of Disparities to Meet the Millennium Development Goals in Asian and the Pacific*. Thailand. ISBN:92-1-120439-9

## **Private Sector**

With globalization and increasing trade and investments, corporations are now operating in a global market, not limited to importing and exporting manufactured goods but expanding the production process over a number of countries to gain efficiency and competitiveness. An important aspect in East Asia is the increasing intra-regional trade and investment that has led to larger market economy for participating countries. With China emerging as a huge potential market, the majority of foreign direct investment from the West has flown into China, which has raised continuous questions about the potential threat that China poses on the regional economy.

Despite these concerns, many private corporations in the region have grown in size to and today many MNCs exist within East Asian countries. With rising interests in Corporate Social Responsibility, e.g. the Global Compact that was initiated by the UN, including corporations in the future metagovernance structure is beneficial. Private operations are more effective at economic tasks, they have the potential capability to innovate new methods of activities. For example, the private sector service was able to expand mobile telephones, which has made phone services more available to the poor. A Bangladeshi company, Grameen Phone is the country's largest mobile phone provider; women, by a phone with a loan and then sell calls to users.

Since the basic intention of all corporations is profit, extreme caution is necessary with regard to corporate activities, so that they contain responsibility throughout assistance processes. In the case of ODA, it is crucial to maintain a balance between providing efficiency and being open to the needs of the suffering. This balance must be monitored by both international organizations and civil societies.

## **VII. Conclusion**



Human security is a fairly new concept under study by the academia that has gained recognition largely in answer to the limitations of the traditional state security concept and the increasing interests in achieving sustainable development. Although the current conceptualization of human security is not definitive or concrete, continuous efforts to understand and identify the boundaries of human security are necessary.

Under the context that human security has emerged as a more comprehensive and complicated concept that encompasses state security, and includes newly arising threats that have emerged from the new international order, it is obvious that the solution to providing human security is not possible by the singlehanded effort of the state. The concept of the sovereign state itself has changed since its development, and today the power that the state possesses in the international arena is limited.

Thus, the collaborative effort of diverse actors on all levels is necessary to enhance human security. However, the threats to human security that exist differ from region to region, as the historical and cultural backgrounds differ; by creating effective regional efforts to dissolve of potential threats, increasing human security on regional levels will lead to promoting human security in the global arena. It is also possible for regional efforts to reflect an understanding of characteristic situations and conditions that are unique to a particular region which is precisely why an East Asian human security framework, that incorporates the values and conditions unique to East Asia, must be constructed to protect individuals from threats to their well-being, livelihoods, and human dignity.

By implementing a metagovernance framework in East Asia, it will be possible to form a structure of diverse actors, state and non-state actors, that collaborate and cooperate their efforts to increase efficiency and effectively enhance human security. Since there will be complexities inherent in the networks among these actors, in order for this model to be successful, the traditional role of the strong sovereign state that dominated behaviors within

national boundaries must be discarded and the state must transform radically into a new type of state that undertakes the role of managing and moderating the interactions among the diverse actors. By incorporating both the efforts from above and below, the new state role must be able manage effectively to facilitate the efforts of the diverse actors and to further promote efficiency in order to create a strong well-functioning metagovernance framework.

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