

Critical Human Security Studies and the Emancipation from Stress: The UN in Cambodia (1991-1993)

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Abstract

This paper bridges the practical and academic realms of human security with a focus on the reconceptualization of it. The use and feasibility of the reconceptualization presented within this paper is shown through the case of the United Nations (UN) operations in Cambodia between 1991 and 1993. In the spirit of the Welsh School, UN operations and their contributions to human emancipation shall be analyzed and evaluated. For this purpose, the framework of immanent critique is applied (1) to uncover the sub-optimal operations of the UN in Cambodia; and (2) to engage in a discussion about the dialectics of humanitarian operations whereby this paper's framework is proposed and justified. The objective desired here is human emancipation in a post-Western manner by focusing on psychological stress as a transnational lowest common denominator not bound by cultural constraints. The means to this end, however, are deemed highly context-dependent.

Keywords:

Critical Human Security; Cambodia; Immanent Critique; Emancipation; Stress; Psychology

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INTRODUCTION

Now better known as a tourist destination, Cambodia underwent periods of colonialism, genocide and other crises. Nearly a million deaths during the Khmer Rouge-led (KR) genocide form the foundation of a nation's decades-long trauma. The aftermath of the Khmer Rouge continues to have omnipresent reverberations on the streets of Cambodia which UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) was designed to remedy. While some improvements can be noted and attributed to the UN's presence in Cambodia from 1991 to 1993, it is considered a curious endeavor to investigate to what extent the UN has addressed the human sufferings in Cambodia on a more psychological level.

The aim of this paper is thus to propose a reconceptualization of Human Security (HS) by means of analyzing the effectiveness of the UN mission in Cambodia. Criteria used for such an evaluation are newly established cross-disciplinarily. This paper explores the feasibility of a sub-individual level of analysis by focusing on the psychological stress of individuals. A different path toward emancipation is thus proposed, namely by providing infrastructure for social and individual psychological healing. As such, this research presents a multidisciplinary outreach extending to Critical Human Security Studies, Anthropology, as well as Social Psychology. UNTAC shall be evaluated in this spirit. The research question underlying this paper is thus: What is the cross-cultural essence of human security and how can it be operationalized and applied practically without being perceived as an imposition?

The paper is structured as follows: Section one reflects relevant literature concerning (critical) Human Security and possible niches for accommodating the variable of psychological stress. Section two provides a detailed account on the proposed framework. Section three is an overview of the UN operation in Cambodia from 1991 to 1993, while the subsequent sections four and five are comprised of an application of immanent critique and thus deal with deconstruction (uncovering the counterproductive foundation of the UNTAC operation) and reconstruction (assessing the UN's potential with regards to contributions to human security by means of applying this paper's stress-based framework), respectively.

The selection of Cambodia for this research endeavor may be justified on the grounds that UNTAC is the most comprehensive and expensive UN

project to date. Moreover, as a multidimensional peace operation, it was the first of its kind and may thus be considered a manifestation of liberal peace. Furthermore, Cambodia is an interesting 'state-species' in that, historically, its governmental structures have been rather weak (Lizée, 2000). Given these relatively shallow roots of Western political structures and liberal institutions in Cambodia, it presents itself as an interesting case for investigating the introduction of Western values through UNTAC to Cambodia. Moreover, it presents itself as a good case for applying a reconceptualization of Human Security that is heavily based on social psychology and thus on the networks and interactions between people.

The use of immanent critique as well as the distinction of stress-based emancipation from, for instance, the Japanese conception of human security is justified as a Hegelian (as opposed to Marxist) immanent critique is metaphysical and thus more constructivist in nature. This is so as it links the subject (here: security) to the agency of the spirit and the drives of desire. Hegel considered the path toward emancipation to be through the unfolding of labor within a person's consciousness. Given the ideological pillars of psychology and their manifestations in inter-human relations, the application of the Hegelian conception of immanent critique is deemed insightful. It is precisely this link to the relevance of metaphysics and the role of psychological variables that is missing in Japan's (or the Commission on Human Security's) broad conceptions of HS. Ideal-typically, Japan's HS is rather moderately Marxist-emancipatory as it focuses on economic emancipation, while neglecting (1) the political structure/domination (see Japan's refusal to tackle matters of sovereignty through HS); and (2) the psychological dimension.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CRITICAL HUMAN SECURITY

Before turning to a re-conceptualization of emancipation, one would do well to delve into the myriad of definitions and applications of human security. While most scholars such as Newman (2001) concur that one of the primary traits of human security is its contra-Westphalian focus on the individual as a referent of security, its constituent fragments are more heavily debated. One such contestation is its relationship with liberalism. Christie (2010), for instance, asserts that human security is grounded in liberalism. Others tend to disagree as they consider human security a de-

parture from Western liberal internationalism and thus approach it from a post-interventionist perspective which focuses on prevention, empowerment and agency (Chandler, 2012). Referring to the diversely worded but often inherently similar definitions of human security such as its binary of meaning safety from chronic threats such as repression and hunger on the one hand, and from the deracination of livelihoods, on the other, Paris (2001) issues the infamous warning that human security lacks a precise definition and can thus be used to refer to discomforts of any kind.

Human security's numerous definitions go hand in hand with equally numerous conceptualizations. While e.g. Chandler (2012) recommends distinguishing between HS's focus on resilience and the R2P's (Responsibility to Protect) focus on Liberalism, Richmond (2007) sees these two components to be an inherent part of Human Security itself. Christie (2010), on the other hand, classifies critical Human Security into (1) the broadening and deepening discourse; (2) feminism; (3) emancipation; and (4) the ethico-political perspective. Indeed, there appear to be as many classifications of human security as there are Human Security scholars.

Another segment of Human Security scholarship focuses on its practical avail and analytical feasibility. While referring to the aforementioned vagueness of Human Security, Martin and Owen (2010) assert that one can hardly distinguish it from the concept of Human Rights. This, along with its conceptual overstretch by UN organs are cited as primary reasons for its limited practical use and for the predominance of the concept of R2P over Human Security (Martin and Owen 2010). This exemplifies the analytic dilemma of a conceptual overstretch on the one hand and a narrow, exclusionary as well as potentially dogmatic conceptualization of human security, on the other.

The justification for yet another reconceptualization of human security underlying this paper is its psychological and therefore sub-individual level of analysis which enables a focus on the fundamental root-cause of people's intolerable discomfort – existential stress. It is accommodative and yet precise. Over-simplifications as well as exclusionary definitions are thus reduced.

EMANCIPATION AND THE INTEGRATION OF THE STRESS-VARIABLE

When reflecting on *Critical Human Security Studies* or, more specifically, on the Welsh School, the justification for the use of the psychological variable of stress becomes apparent. Ken Booth (1997) perceives human security as emancipation in the form of people being freed from social, physical, economic, political and *other* constraints that prevent them from making free choices. This conceptualization appears to be very accommodative of an analytical frame based on psychological stress. A clear link can be drawn between stress and the emancipation's objective of providing individuals with opportunities to re-invent themselves, as well as with means to strengthen their resilience vis-à-vis systemic structures of domination (Booth, 2005). Indeed, several scholarly accounts appear to provide a fruitful ground for the creation of a stress-based conception of emancipatory Human Security. Examples of such are the acknowledged need for interdisciplinarity (Christie, 2010) or Chandler's (2012) focus on resilience and capacity-building.

McDonald (2002) points out that even emancipation may be considered an imposition of yet another set of Western values (both in academia and in praxis) and is thus, in some cases, a mere replacement of one set of dogmatic and imperative developmental standards with another (for a similar account see Hudson, 2005). Regarding this paper's case, one remedy and path of circumvention for this issue is the fact that, while stress-focused emancipation may be a universal objective – as we all are ultimately human beings consisting of emotions, the means toward this end are, however, highly context-dependent.

A focus on intolerable stress experienced by people is what links traditional security and peacebuilding with development beyond levels achievable via liberal measures (Richmond, 2007). In this respect, Krause and Jütersonke (2005) call for a focus of efforts on fighting the most urgent evils, rather than striving for the best cause and the greatest good. As such, a stress-based conceptualization of human security seems to be in accordance with Conteh-Morgan's (2005) interpretation of emancipation, namely a long-term focus on (1) culture and identity, as well as (2) material and socio-cultural contextuality. He distinguishes between personal, institutional, as well as social structural/ cultural sources of human insecurity such as banditry, torture, and unemployment, respectively. All of these

arguably relate, either directly or indirectly, to the experience of psychological stress by the individual. Likewise, increasing the psychological wellbeing of individuals leads to greater resilience vis-à-vis future stressors. These sources of insecurity are furthermore predominantly local and thus require customized remedies. A focus on customized stress-alleviation measures is thus expected to contribute positively to human security.

I. THE FRAMEWORK: EMANCIPATION, IMMANENT CRITIQUE AND INTERDISCIPLINARY DIALECTICS

The subsequent figure is a visual representation of the stress-based focus on human security in an emancipatory manner. As can be seen from the right part of the figure, particular emphasis is put on resilience and capacity-building.

The left half of the figure comprises dominant scholarly accounts on the topic of *practical* human security. A general misperception appears to prevail among Human Security scholars, namely to treat the absence of war (negative peace) and structural violence (positive peace) as the ultimate objective. It is the stance of this paper, however, that such measures to end humanitarian crises are merely means to another end, namely the alleviation of intolerable psychological stress. After all, it is assumed that their ultimate aim is not to end fear *per se*, but to decrease the existential psychological stress of individuals. This can be achieved in the various ways shown in the subsequent figure:

The stress-based framework can be treated as a complement or alternative to liberal peace. Moreover, as it is rather impractical to measure the stress levels of large population groups, it is more practical to depart from the insights of social psychology and to assume that where stress-sources are present, and coping-mechanisms are missing, an implementation of this framework is likely to have a positive impact on aggregate sufferings. A focus on the identification of stress-sources and coping mechanisms is considerably more feasible than an analysis of specific stress-levels. This approach would furthermore obviate the need for a differentiation between deleterious and negligible kinds of stress. Both kinds can, in most instances, be addressed simultaneously.

The analytical frame presented in this paper consists of stress-sources on the one hand, and coping-mechanisms, on the other. Regarding the for-

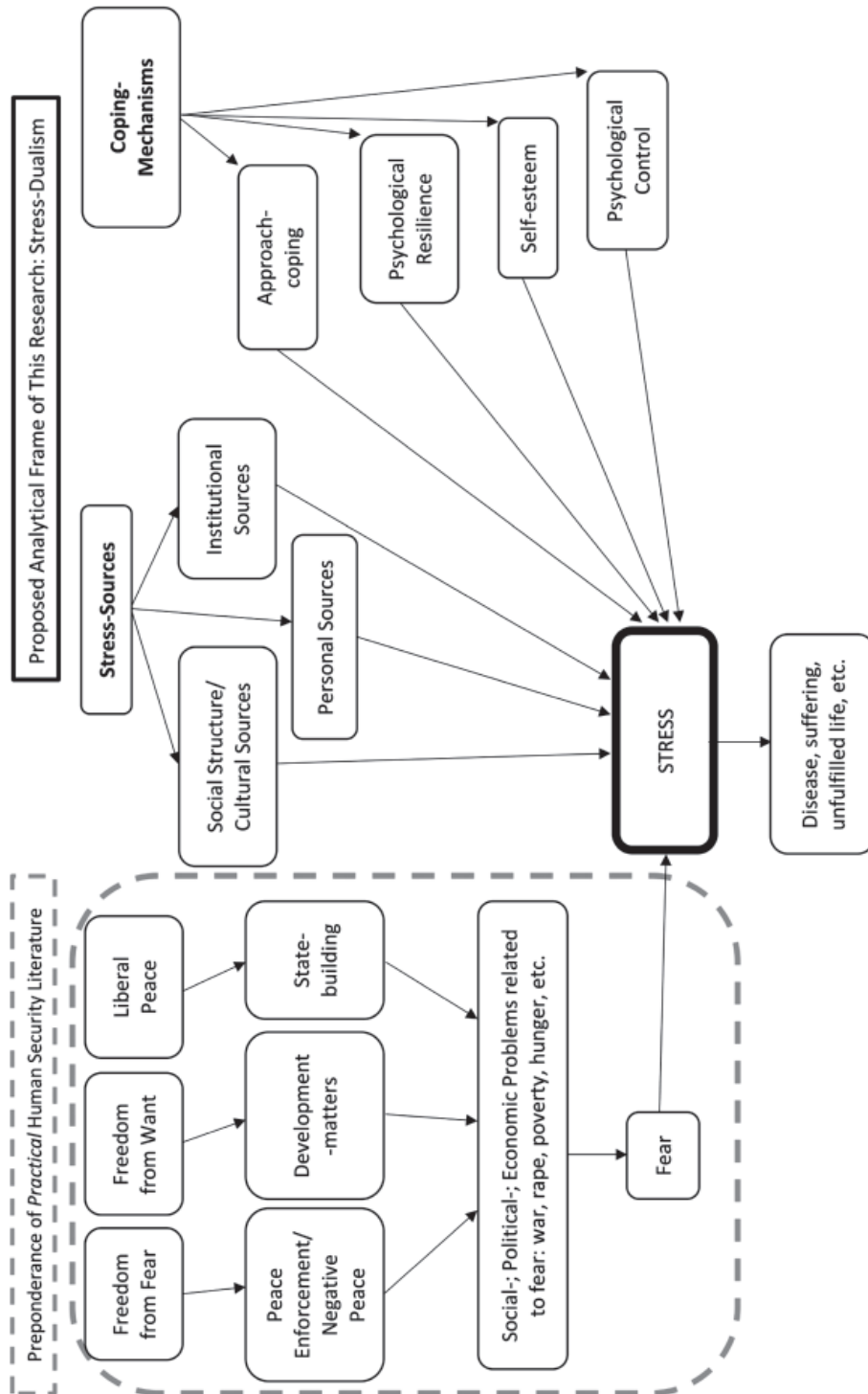


Figure 1: Stress-Based Alleviation of Suffering Versus Predominant Liberal Narratives

mer, fundamental causes of stress may be classified into problems concerning basic needs, stability, predictability, uncontrollable events, and stress-anticipation (Taylor, 2010). A great congruence may be discerned between these and Conteh-Morgan's (2005) classification of sources of human insecurity. The latter is thus integrated in the frame.

Concerning the operationalization of these independent variables, (1) personal sources consist of, amongst others, banditry, looting, riots, and hate crimes; (2) institutional sources comprise concerns such as oppression, corruption, torture, and state repression; and (3) socio-structural/ cultural sources include poverty, hunger, unemployment and other inequalities (Conteh-Morgan, 2005). This paper considers all these variables as direct causes of the psychological stress of individuals. They are furthermore what liberal peace- and statebuilding projects, in actuality, are seen to aim at.

However, if liberal variables are treated as ends rather than means, as is done by most scholars and practitioners in the realm of Human Security, obvious and crucial remedies easily go unnoticed. Such remedies make up the second half of the framework. While direct efforts to decrease stress sources are key, simultaneous (or, ideally, preceding) measures to increase people's stress-resilience are of equal importance. To recognize the need for and existence of such means, it is necessary to consider crises such as wars or structural violence not as ends to be solved but as causes of psychological stress.

Turning to the coping-mechanisms, insights from Social Psychology identify the following variables: approach-coping; psychological resilience; self-esteem; and psychological control (Taylor, 2010). Approach-coping refers to dealing with stress in a direct manner. Social support and possibilities for emotional expression are essential for effective approach-coping – particularly for women (Taylor and Stanton, 2007). These insights can be integrated into the realm of Human Security via international psychosocial intervention in the form of stress-management workshops provided by nongovernmental organizations or governments.

Psychological resilience comprises positive life events, as well as opportunities for relaxation (Taylor, 2010). While it may appear absurd, at first glance, to speak of relaxation in the context of humanitarian crises, one should bear in mind that psychological resilience may be described as an antecedent stress-relief measure. It is unlikely that humanitarian cri-

ses and the stress caused thereby are experienced only by individuals without any stress prior to the respective crisis. Pre-existing low- or medium levels of stress can lead to a considerable exacerbation of crisis-born stress. Such pre-existing stress-levels are particularly prevalent among the poor and the youngest. In the context of human security, measures to strengthen the psychological resilience might thus include community- and cultural centers, as well as leisure infrastructure where non-political expressions such as festivals or cultural events provide chances for stress-relief.

Another coping-mechanism that plays an important part in pre-crisis resilience building is the consolidation of the self-esteem of individuals (Taylor, 2010). Self-esteem is highly dependent on the individuals' education and social ties. As such, strengthening social capital, the civil society, and an education infrastructure is capable of stimulating the self-esteem of individuals as they are likely to be given (new) social roles and thus an identity within the society.

Lastly, there is the variable of psychological control which refers to the ability of individuals to determine their own undertakings, alter their ultimate environment and, in so doing, bring about desired changes to their lives (Taylor, 2010). This has a direct impact on the potential of individuals to cope with stress as they grow increasingly optimistic and confident. This insight can be utilized within the context of human security through a focus on the increase of the psychological control of individuals via the following means: information provision to the individual to enable her/ him to make informed decisions; awareness creation by NGOs; education; counselling services; and the empowerment of women.

OVERVIEW: THE UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY IN CAMBODIA – UNTAC

Decades of disturbing developments in Cambodia such as the civil war and the Khmer Rouge-led auto-genocide led to increasing demand and willingness for humanitarian intervention. The Soviet Union, China, Indonesia, and Australia were particularly involved in the mediation process (Findlay, 1995). Australia proposed a direct and deep-rooted involvement of the United Nations and created a plan which contained estimates regarding finances, personnel and tasks (Findlay, 1995). This proposal had a

significant impact on the creation of the Paris Peace Accords signed in October 1991 which functioned as the legal and operational framework for UNTAC. Diplomacy towards the Paris Accords was a tedious process given the deep-rooted traumata and animosities between key-stakeholders. While the international community appeared to primarily pursue the resolution of the conflict for self-centered purposes, Cambodian parties were mostly unwilling to cooperate and negotiate (Findlay, 1995). Partial diplomatic momentum was gained by refusing to address the crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge, and for the sake of easing the monitoring-process and cooperation between the parties, each faction was permitted to retain its territorial integrity prior to elections (Findlay, 1995).

The key Cambodian stakeholders were comprised of four factions (Riddle, 2017). One was the royalist Front Uni National Pour Un Cambodge (FUNCINPEC) which was founded by Prince Sihanouk and could be considered the only noteworthy opposition to the Khmer Rouge-permeated government of 1992. The second faction was the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) (Peou, 2005). Third was the SOC – the State of Cambodia which was the governmental body established and maintained by the Vietnamese (Riddle, 2017). Lastly, there was the Khmer Rouge (KR or Democratic Kampuchea) which was the ruling government of Cambodia from 1975 to 1979 and is well-known for its responsibility in regard to the genocide of between one and three million Cambodians (Peou, 2005).

To fulfill the objectives envisioned by the Paris Peace Accords, UNTAC had the following mandate (Chandler, 2008): monitoring and supervising the cease-fire and the withdrawal and non-return of military forces; cantonment, disarmament, and demobilization of the warring parties; the detection and expropriation of military supplies; the undertaking of free and fair elections; advocating and protecting human rights; the management of the military security and the civil administration in addition to upholding law and order; the repatriation and resettlement of Cambodian refugees; mine-clearance and mine-awareness creation; as well as the reconstruction of the economy and infrastructure (Findlay, 1995).

I. DECONSTRUCTION: THE ZEITGEIST OF UNTAC AND ITS DIALECTICS

The following section is an analysis of UNTAC's zeitgeist along the lines of immanent critique and is structured as follows: First is a discus-

sion of the inherent target group of UNTAC. Second, the zeitgeist within which UNTAC was created and executed shall be located. Third is a discussion of the nature of liberal peace and its demerits with regards to human security. This is followed by a dialectical approach concerning existing alternatives, namely Japan's human security conception and hybrid peacebuilding.

It is worth taking a closer look at the conceptions of security that underlay UNTAC which is the outcome of a number of UN Security Council Resolutions. With an 'Eastphalian' mindset, what becomes apparent in Resolution 668 of 1990 is its focus on territoriality when addressing election-related matters with full respect for the national sovereignty of Cambodia. As such, no traits of conditional sovereignty along the lines of R2P were given. This passage is concerning for yet another reason. Historically, territorial Westphalianism in Southeast Asia had not been the norm. Rather, geographic entities were managed through a system of tributary relationships within which, on a less political but rather social level, networks and connections between individuals were the norm (Lizée, 2000).

UNSC Resolution 728 of 1992 was notably more people-centered due to its focus on mines and their impediment for a timely implementation of the mission objectives. The heaviest wording, however, can be found in UNSC Resolution 745 of 1992 which ultimately authorized the creation of UNTAC. Within this document, the only notion of security referred to *regional* and *international* security as well as the safety of UN personnel – not that of civilians.

From the above resolutions, one can sense that what appeared to be of primary importance in the eyes of policy makers was not the individual but negative peace for the sake of undertaking elections by May 1993 "at the latest", as stated in UNSC Resolution 745 – a rather typical feature of liberal peace.

This is very much in line with the system-centric nature of liberal peacebuilding which aims at addressing political as well as economic systems and install a legal framework for the protection of human rights. However, as was demonstrated previously in this research, such system-level undertakings rarely directly address the (ideal-typical) essence of human security – namely the amelioration of critical psychological stress, particularly if liberal peacebuilding is implemented as sub-optimally as in Cambodia.

On the other hand, when considering the documents comprising the structure of UNTAC, referrals to the security of individuals – usually in an indirect manner – are considerably more numerous than in the aforementioned UNSC Resolutions. However, while the individual was a recurring target of its undertakings, UNTAC's projects were largely engaged in *systemic* changes in Cambodia such as its economy and political system. This indirect nature, coupled with the introduction of the free market economy and insufficient management of stakeholders' misconducts, rendered UNTAC-undertakings less effective.

It is moreover important to demonstrate the inappropriate and inherently contradicting nature of UNTAC's objectives themselves – regardless of how perfectly implemented the missions were. This is done by means of the subsequent discussion of the zeitgeist of liberal peacebuilding that underlay UNTAC and its inherent inability to address human security issues (on its own). What follows is the location of the zeitgeist of UNTAC in order to shed light on its constructing forces and drives, as well as the theoretical underpinnings which UNTAC-policymakers are likely to have followed.

UNTAC operated during the dusk of the Cold War. Geopolitically, socialism had not only failed as a model for developing positive peace, political entities on the international stage powerful enough to advocate their system had furthermore collapsed. In consequence, liberalism prevailed in the 1990s over other ideologies. Due to the considerable realpolitik strength of liberal advocates such as the USA, the UN, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the operations of many international regimes were based on the principles of market liberalization and democratization.

Liberal peace can be defined as the institutionalization of peace beyond the minimalistic absence of violent conflict. It moreover involves (1) democratization and (2) liberal economic reforms. This conception came to be widely accepted after the Cold War. While the democratic system is meant to channel violent conflict into non-violent discourse, the objective of economic reforms is to allow for development to take place.

The concept of liberal peace is often considered inherently problematic (which is the basis for this discussion, as the use of immanent critique has as its aim the uncovering of inconsistencies). This is so for a number of reasons. One criticism of liberal peacebuilding is that it is a hegemonic

discourse (Heathershaw, 2008). The narrative and use of liberal peace leads to an artificial construction of a binary of “good vs. bad”. This oversimplification is the cause for a theoretical and practical imposition of norms and standards while downplaying variables of local contextuality.

Another critical position vis-à-vis liberal peace is that it is politicized and thus operationalized into consolidating the status quo of the international system. Proponents of this arguably Coxian position emphasize the link between the nature of liberal peace, on the one hand, and power dynamics in the international system, on the other. This links to the point noted in the foregoing paragraph in that states and political systems are compared, judged, and occasionally re-built via interventions.

Such a re-building and binary classification of *Western-like* and *non-Western* can be discerned from UNTAC and its emphasis on elections. The impact of elections on Cambodia is, unsurprisingly, the changing of the natural political order in Cambodia which previously involved higher degrees of monarchism. Other visible aspects concerning UNTAC’s re-building measures are (1) the consolidation of Westphalian notions of territoriality; and (2) the embodiment of the Western conceptions of governance by the UN’s key donors.

To be more precise, Cambodia has a particular historic and cultural context which renders it less compatible with the Weberian state and liberal peace (Lizée, 2000; Richmond and Franks, 2007). A case in point is the primacy of social networks and the preponderance of factional partially autonomous entities which retain the use of violence as means of perpetuating their local influence (Lizée, 2000). Violence may thus be, in a disturbing way, considered cultural. Therefore, instead of merely attempting to fight violence per se, one should also create coping- and balancing-mechanisms aimed at the mental wellbeing of individuals.

Another criticism of liberal peace is UNTAC’s rush to elections. Elections are a prominent means for staging and/or re-emphasizing a desired international role of actors such as that of the “promoter of liberal values” by introducing a democratic political system in another country. In the case of UNTAC, however, the rushed democratization was not very conducive to structural peace as the imposed elections rather legitimized the Hun Sen’s regime’s authoritarian grip on power. As democracy makes use of mechanisms of competition via non-violent means in the form of discourse, certain infrastructure and governance-frameworks are required

prior to the commencement of elections. In Cambodia, however, this was not the case. Not only did the warring parties continue to be heavily armed, voter intimidation through violent means also took place on an individual level through assassinations and threats.

When reviewing the Cambodian election of 1993 along with the preparations leading towards it, one could not help but feel that the election in itself was an end in the eyes of the international community's policymakers. In addition to the rather shocking incompetence of a large proportion of the UN staff in Cambodia (Riddle, 2017), reference is made to the UN's apparent desire to "rid itself of the Cambodian problem" by using elections as an exit strategy (Findlay, 1995), and the rather unreasonable deadline by which to hold the elections, regardless of the extent of the political calm between the conflicting parties as stated in UNSC Resolution 745.

Likewise, another feature of liberal peace that has not been helpful with the development of human security in Cambodia were market liberalization efforts. These also link to competition-mechanisms. The well-known danger of capitalism is the unequal distribution of financial means and profits. Particularly in Cambodia, this is accompanied by a spatial bias concerning government-led investments whereby rural areas were often neglected. Such handlings left many disadvantaged, facilitated socio-economic inequality and generated fruitful ground for crimes – all constituents of psychological stress.

Market liberalization efforts overwhelmingly enriched the lives of the royals and the Chinese community in Cambodia. The latter, however, did not re-invest into the Cambodian industry (Lizée, 2000). An economic multiplier was thus not given. Although in theory, one can understand the objective of economic liberal peacebuilding, namely, *inter alia*, the development of a capitalist class which creates a political counterweight to potentially authoritarian regimes, unlike in Western economies, Cambodia's economy relies largely on "family-based agriculture" (Lizée, 2000). Thus no sufficiently large capitalist class as it is known in Europe or America came into being in Cambodia.

As such, in the eyes of immanent critique, this section showed that several features of liberal peace underlay UNTAC's operations and mandate. The inherent contradictions present within conceptions of liberal peace are thus also, to an extent, translated onto UNTAC. Instead, as shall be outlined subsequently, a focus on the individuals' psychological stress

and an amelioration of it through non-systemic means which are ad hoc, need-based, customized, as well as pragmatic in nature is deemed conducive to an efficient contribution to (Cambodia's) human security situation.

Before elaborating on the ways a stress-based human security conception could have been used in Cambodia's case, which shall be done in the next section (reconstruction), it is worth considering existing alternative conceptions, namely Japan's human security conception and the concept of hybrid peacebuilding.

Japan's human security conception may be regarded an adaptation and slight transformation of the 1994 UNDP's human security concept. It is distinguished from Canada's R2P primarily via its respect for the sovereignty of the state. In addition, noteworthy features include its focus on development and efforts towards freedom from want through non-military means such as vocational training, food production, or the containment of infectious diseases.

All these are crucial prerequisites for stress-alleviation. However, there are nonetheless considerable differences to Japan's human security conception. First, a theoretical conceptualization of human security which involves a blend of development and psychological remedies does not yet exist. Second, while there may exist partial overlap, the aim of Japan's human security conception is development and freedom from (material) wants, not freedom from stress. Having stress-alleviation as the official aim is key, however, for obvious practical and analytical merits as it would result in substantially different evaluation criteria for the execution of humanitarian operations. Third, Japan's conception does not include direct psycho-therapeutic measures for stress-alleviation. In other words, Japan's human security conception may largely address the *stress-sources* of this paper's framework, while neglecting the *coping-mechanisms*. Lastly, another feature of Japan's human security conception is its diplomatic function as part of its foreign policy apparatus (Akiyama, 2004). This ultimately places the state and its government into the center of Japan's human security undertakings, not the individual.

Considering this paper's strong emphasis on local contextuality, some might claim that the need for yet another human security concept is redundant given a similar emphasis within hybrid peacebuilding. Hybrid peacebuilding can be defined as the creation of political orders consisting of mixed principles and means of governance from diverse origins – both

local and foreign; liberal and “illiberal”. Here, too, however, obvious dissimilarities exist. The major difference between hybrid peacebuilding and this paper’s psychological emancipation is the former’s arguably strong state-centrism (see e.g. Boege et al., 2009; Kumar and De la Haye, 2012; Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2016). This state-centrism is not Weberian in nature. It rather refers to its focus on a political level while neglecting anthropological and socio-cultural variables. Even hybrid peacebuilding’s reference to informal indigenous social institutions (Boege et al., 2009) utilize this variable’s potential merely with regards to political order, not self-help or human security. Hybrid peacebuilding aims at the systematic level and thus deals with institutional measures which occasionally appear to resemble conflict resolution measures (Kumar and De la Haye, 2012). Psychological emancipation, on the other hand, also focuses on individuals – particularly with regards to non-systemic measures. Efforts toward individual-level stress alleviation are thus considered more direct in the case of the latter.

As is the case with Japan’s human security conception and its focus on development, hybrid peacebuilding would present a conducive foundation to psychological emancipation as their main objectives appears to be the creation of a political infrastructure which reduces peace spoiling (Kumar and De la Haye, 2009). Both, stable negative peace and the provision of basic needs such as food, water, shelter and sanitation are considered highly important for psychological stress-alleviation.

The subsequent section shall demonstrate how psychological emancipation can function either as an alternative or as a complement to Japan’s human security conception and hybrid peacebuilding.

II. RECONSTRUCTION

1. Stress-Sources

(1) Social Structure/ Cultural Sources

Given the significance of social connections and local relationships in Cambodia (Lizée, 2000), evaluating UNTAC in terms of its contributions to the individual’s mental wellbeing appears to be logical. With regards to the sources of psychological stress, tackling those issues in Cambodia with a socio-structural or cultural origin would involve, inter alia, addressing the refugee issue. The hardships of returning refugees are not completely

understood by those who never left the country (Winter and Ollier in Ollier and Winter, 2006). Exile, in particular, is not only a spatial dislocation, but moreover a spiritual one (Um in Ollier and Winter, 2006). Therefore, external or peripheral human security is important as long as those in exile are not able to return due to ongoing peacemaking efforts. In other words, while UNTAC concentrated (geographically) on Cambodia, those Cambodians outside should also be included within the human security narrative – particularly so if human security is interpreted in psycho-social terms. At first glance, this might appear like an unfeasible expansion of the human security umbrella. However, if considering that those living in exile escaped from genocide, prosecution, and possibly had to witness the killings of loved ones, such psychological traumata cannot be remedied by a mere physical dislocation in many cases. What is needed is mental healing. As one cannot know the duration of a conflict ahead of time, those already in exile should not be thought of after, but already *from the beginning* of human security and peacemaking undertakings.

Another socio-structural issue that should be addressed in the name of human security is non-Cambodian human security – to be more precise, the ethnic discrimination of Thais and Vietnamese within Cambodia. All possible merits of liberal peace put aside, it also creates opportunities for human insecurities. While Cambodians in post-UNTAC Cambodia indicate that they perceive greater political freedoms, the support for voting rights for ethnic groups such as those from Thailand and Vietnam is not as omnipresent (The Asia Foundation, 2003). The imposition of elections and a democratic way of conflict settlement has not solved but merely transformed an already existing problem of ethnic discrimination. Already in pre-UNTAC times, Vietnamese have been systematically targeted and massacred by the KR, the KPNLF and FUNCINPEC (Findlay, 1995). These phenomena might be considered symbolic for missing trans-ethnic linkages within the Cambodian society which also links to issues of psychological wellbeing that require socio-political remedies. This case in point exemplifies the link to stress.

(2) Personal Sources

Turning to personal sources of stress, the treatment of women is an issue that plays a major role in (Cambodia's) human security. One problematique is trafficking which is statistically a concern for 94% of the Cambo-

dian population (The Asia Foundation, 2003). It is moreover considered to be facilitated by events such as UNTAC's presence (Takamatsu, 2004). UNTAC enabled an influx of foreign capital, incomes considerably higher than the Cambodian average, and men along with their sexual desires. This led to the establishment of a sex-industry in Cambodia which many women and young girls were trafficked into. Potential remedies might include stricter regulations for UN personnel and adjusted structural reforms of the reformed or newly installed government and its officials due to the frequent involvement of police officers and officials in human trafficking (Takamatsu, 2004).

Linked to the above issue is the more general problematique of how women are treated within the society. Three aspects worth mentioning here are (1) that women are often lured into the sex-industry or otherwise exploitative job arrangements with false promises (Takamatsu, 2004); (2) the high levels of tolerance in regards to domestic violence vis-à-vis women – particularly in times of humanitarian and/ or economic crises; and (3) the, on the one hand, systemic pressure for women to move to urban areas in order to provide for their families, and, on the other hand, the suspicions, loss of face and criticism these women have to face in their immediate social environment for not being a caring mother (time-wise) and for allegedly engaging in disgraceful activities in the cities such as the sex-industry (Derks in Ollier and Winter, 2006). Concerning remedies for these areas, in addition to general education and reforms of systems of law and order, investigative units need to be established for the uncovering of cases of forced prostitution. Moreover, sufficient psychological treatment centers are necessary for those women suffering from domestic violence and sexual abuse as working unwillingly in the sex-industry or being falselyly accused of doing so and thus stigmatized is a considerable psychological stressor.

(3) Institutional Sources

The final stress sources discussed here are institutional sources. One aspect they cover are problems associated with political self-determination. Although UNTAC can be said to have facilitated the creation of various human rights advocacy groups and a legal framework in support of those (Findlay, 1995), this positive environment was rather short-lived as, for instance, in 2005 Cambodia saw a deterioration of its political free-

doms, stricter restrictions of movement, and an increase in nation-wide corruption (Richmond and Franks, 2007). The absence or suppression of such freedoms is clearly related to the psychological wellbeing of (the Cambodian) citizens. Although this statement might sound like a conventional justification for the introduction of liberal peace in a hegemonic or neocolonialist manner, addressing this matter is of considerable importance considering the difficulty of distinguishing political assemblies and organizations from those that are less politicized but rather socio-cultural in nature. Bearing in mind the healing effects of social gatherings in relation to music and art, general freedoms of this kind can be deemed conducive to psychological healing. A stricter implementation and/or enforcement of the 1991 Paris Peace Accords would thus have been a positive step toward greater psychological emancipation (Findlay, 1995). As such, to some extent, individual-level psychological healing does indeed depend on institutional mechanisms.

Another institutional source of psychological stress concerns the basic needs of individuals to survive such as food, shelter, and sanitation. This matter is as much a socio-structural problem as it is institutional since matters concerning floods and droughts face a spatial bias within the Cambodian government – particularly with regards to the oft-neglected Southwestern region (The Asia Foundation, 2003). This problematique can be referred to as spatial human insecurity, although it is not a surprise that those most vulnerable with regards to natural disasters are usually the poorest and those most neglected by their respective administration.

2. Coping-Mechanisms

The above paragraphs have elaborated on one side of the framework of psychological emancipation, namely the decrease of stress-sources. Complementarily, coping-mechanisms of individuals during, before, and after humanitarian crises deserve equal attention. As will become apparent in this section, the specific coping-mechanisms proposed for Cambodia are largely less structural or political, but more socio-cultural in nature.

Partially due to the influence of Buddhism and Brahmanism, one finds a pyramid-like social order in Cambodia where the role of the individual is not the center of socio-political concerns (Lizée, 2000). While the individual as the ultimate target of psychological emancipation remains key, individual-level human security in Cambodia should also focus on

communitarian measures to ensure the emancipation of individuals as social psychological research presents a repertoire of measures for psychological emancipation – not only individual or systemic, but also local and collective in nature¹⁾.

(1) Approach-Coping

Applying the first specific measure of this paper's framework's coping-mechanism (approach-coping) onto Cambodia, three means are proposed here: addressing the peoples' traumata through tribunals, through social support events, or through social support institutions – or a combination thereof.

Khmer Rouge Trials could bring about mental healing for the many victims in the form of justice and revenge. Statistically, given that 48% of the Cambodian population support the idea of KR-leaders being put on trial (The Asia Foundation, 2003), and considering that almost every Cambodian household is affected by either the death or the disappearance of a family member (Um in Ollier and Winter, 2006), such tribunals do indeed carry the potential of assuaging the psychological suffering of a considerable part of the nation. Moreover, trials function as a message to future potential perpetrators that crimes do not go unpunished.

The contrary, however, is equally meaningful, namely the absence of proper trials after the considerable crimes committed by the KR, and the fact that many former KR-leaders were even given posts in the Hun Sen regime (Peou, 2005). While such scholars assert that peace in Cambodia resulted from amnesties rather than trials, such accounts fail to note that this sort of peace was merely negative. Nonetheless, considering the possible demerits of trials against the Khmer Rouge, a considerable segment of the Cambodian population believes that it would re-open old wounds (The Asia Foundation, 2003).

Given the many ways toward psychological healing, it is presumed here, that those victims of past KR-aggressions who do not strongly de-

1) By reading the following section, one will surely notice that the examples of some of the upcoming coping mechanisms appear to be very similar or even identical. It is important to highlight at this stage that their respective objectives vary considerably. As such, while the objective of art as part of the approach-coping mechanism might be to re-define social roles and create a sense of unity among the participants, art events as part of the coping-mechanism of psychological-control are meant for individuals to independently deal with the past.

mand trials or even oppose a re-opening of the case have, in the meantime, found mental soothing through other ways such as economic success or another fragile tolerable stability in life which they do not want to see endangered due to a re-opening of old wounds. As such, this stance should not be categorically considered as indifference vis-à-vis justice, but rather as a form of pragmatism for the sake of perpetuating current comforts in life. In addition, given the integration of former Khmer Rouge functionaries into the Hun Sen government (Peou, 2005), externally imposed trials would be another dangerous breach of sovereignty and perceived as a (Western) offensive against the ruling regime. In contexts such as Cambodia where communitarianism plays a major role in grass-root level politics, alternative ways toward trauma-management exist and should also be taken into consideration such as the following.

Another manifestation of approach-coping might entail the organization of social support events. To be more specific, sport-, music- or art-festivals could be organized and held under the unifying history of the “proud Angkor Wat” (Winter and Ollier in Ollier and Winter, 2006). A precedent of this existed in Rwanda in the form of sport-events which helped unite the Hutus and the Tutsis after the 1994-genocide. Art, especially graffiti in the case of Cambodia is seen to function as a stimulus to memory and as a means of dealing with past traumata (Edwards in Ollier and Winter, 2006). Such events could unite former victims and perpetrators and transform these opposing roles into one – namely that of Cambodian citizens.

Lastly, approach-coping could also take place via social support institutions. The repertoire of such institutions can be expressed as a spectrum with institutionalized stress-management workshops at the one extreme, and the institutional support for framing the past in a way conducive to individual or collective psychological healing, at the other. While the objective of the former is rather self-explanatory, the latter functions as a measure to actively deal with the traumatic past by, for instance, fetishizing or memorializing the despotic egotism of the KR rule in the form of the Khmer Café in Phnom Penh which functions as a constant reminder of those who died. In general, the ideas proposed in the previous paragraphs are meant to assist individuals to deal with the past, to selectively forget and, most importantly, to re-establish a sense of continuity in their lives (Um in Ollier and Winter, 2006).

(2) Psychological Resilience

A further coping-mechanism is psychological resilience. The concept of psychological resilience in this paper treats stress as a variable that requires counter-balancing. Applying this insight onto humanitarian crises as well as the periods that precede and follow them, one aspect that requires particular attention is violence. Unlike in the West, where the state ideal-typically possesses the monopoly over the use of violence, in the non-Weberian context of Cambodia violence can be considered as *one* cultural force that regulates social order on a micro-social level (Lizée, 2000). Given Cambodia's cultural predisposition regarding violence, it is unlikely to be completely terminated in an Eastphalian non-interventionist manner and should thus be (also) counterbalanced psychologically. This can be achieved via a focus on recreation and leisure opportunities – particularly for children. Some dynamics of this rationale might resemble the games in the Colosseum in ancient Rome through which the Plebs were appeased and provided with diversions from the hardships of everyday life. From a critical theoretical point of view, such carrots for the society are usually the target of heavy criticism – particularly from Marxists. However, from a social-psychological perspective, such resilience measures are considered to be effective counter-balancing mechanisms for stress and thus for the in this paper newly conceptualized human security.

(3) Self-Esteem

The third coping-mechanism is self-esteem. Applied onto the case of human security in Cambodia, using this insight for the sake of stress-alleviation would involve two steps: The creation of a post-crisis national identity and society, as well as the integration of the most vulnerable individuals into this society. Economic development is key at this stage. Measures within Japan's conception of human security have thus not been dismissed in a previous section of this paper. One example of such economic development was the consolidation of Cambodia's garment industry which was significantly facilitated by the World Bank's and IMF's Structural Adjustment Programs (Winter and Ollier in Ollier and Winter, 2006). Such measures, however, were designed and enacted in a capitalist and de-humanizing manner. In consequence, while enabling individuals to receive a small income, opportunities for self-actualization were not the norm (Winter and Ollier in Ollier and Winter, 2006).

The indispensable nature of variables such as Angkor Wat and the garment industry both for Cambodians to identify themselves with their homeland and for tourists presents policy-makers with the unique opportunity as well as the need to link these two factors in a non-exploitative manner conducive to a healthy national identity and proper working conditions. Given that national symbols are crucial for collective healing in Cambodia (Um in Ollier and Winter, 2006), these should thus not be used solely for exploitative economic purposes, but also for self-actualization chances as tourism can help with social healing (Winter in Ollier and Winter, 2006). In this context, it is crucial to bear in mind that the use of national symbols such as Angkor Wat for the purpose of national unification and identity-creation risks actively excluding those members of society who are not ethnically Khmer such as the Chinese or Vietnamese communities and, in turn, presents them with additional dangers of structural violence.

The need for social roles conducive to psychological healing gets further underlined by the fact that, first, civil society in Cambodia is a product of UNTAC and international stakeholders and is considered politically weak, dependent on donors and thus ineffective (Richmond and Franks, 2007); and second, that UNTAC's repatriation and re-integration programs have largely failed. An identification with the nation and the job, as well as a community link and a role therein – all these in a non-exploitative manner – are needed for increasing the self-esteem of individuals and, in so doing, to facilitate psychological healing.

(4) Psychological Control

The fourth and last pillar of those coping-mechanisms deemed applicable to the realm of human security is that of psychological control. The perception of being in control (of at least a number of variables) in times of crises and not being entirely at the mercy of chance or others is regarded as an influential psychological factor that can alter an individuals' stress levels considerably as it directly links to the individuals' degrees of optimism and levels of confidence (Taylor, 2010). In order to be, or perceive to be in control, one of two conditions must be met: First, the legal infrastructure must be given; and/or, second, individuals must be provided with sufficient information in order to make informed decisions on their own. Moreover, one can distinguish between control in times of crises and post-

crisis-control which refers to the individual's agency when dealing with stress after a crisis has reached its zenith.

In regard to psychological control in times of crises, individuals can be assisted through information provision e.g. about possible pathways to safety; awareness creation and updates on the ongoing humanitarian crisis; counselling services more generally; and through the empowerment of women – either through educational- or enforcement measures.

Concerning post-crisis contexts, the psychological control of individuals can be strengthened or provided through legal infrastructure that allows for freedom of expression. This is of considerable importance as victims would politically be able/ allowed to publicly deal with their traumata through art, music or even activism. The re-narration of painful memories through rap (Ollier in Ollier and Winter, 2006) and the expression of one's memories through graffiti (Edwards in Ollier and Winter, 2006) are examples noted by anthropologists in Cambodia.

CONCLUSION

This paper has reconceptualized human security through the application of insights from Social Psychology. Rather than treating negative peace, democratization or other systemic measures as ends in themselves, this paper's framework considers these as means to another end, namely the alleviation of detrimental stress. Psychological stress is considered a direct pathway toward diseases, suffering and an unfulfilled life – phenomena which human security measures arguably ought to focus on. It is moreover regarded as the lowest common denominator in this niche of social sciences as all humans, regardless of where they stem from, can experience suffering.

On a final philosophical note, liberal peace can lead to many fatal consequences. One rarely noted example is the creation of false hope – the plantation of seeds of thought concerning culturally distant paradigms such as liberalism into the minds of the civilians of Cambodia. In the event of premature elections used as an exit strategy, such a planted seed is likely to create hope for future support from e.g. the USA. This often-times misplaced hope encourages uprisings such as those during the Arab spring. If the call for external liberal intervention is not answered accordingly, it risks ending in hundreds of thousands of deaths.

This is not to mean that I am against democratization. Neither am I for it as it is a mere ideal-type representing merely *one* socially constructed ontology. Emancipation is key. However, it is overly idealistic to expect citizens in a conflict or post-conflict setting to become emancipated enough to be immune to insufficient half-hearted liberalism and its problems. Thus, the primary focus is proposed to be on psychological stress. While the conceptualization of stress might appear as just another concept from the West, as might its mental/medical remedies, it is worth pointing out that similar concepts and approaches can be found across the world. Examples include the concept of emotional healing within traditional Chinese medicine. The insights drawn from (Western) social psychology thus function as merely one case in point which is deemed feasible given its sub-human level of analysis.

More generally, even though the writing of a critical paper on applied HS is more challenging than on the teleology behind it, the quest of the former endeavor appears to lie in the art of emancipating to the greatest extent possible, while keeping potentially dogmatic and neocolonial prescriptions to the bare minimum. This is because emancipation completely cleared of any imposition is deemed not practicable.

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