

Seminar 'ASEAN reinforcement and Regional governance', Dili, 11 December 2013
Abstracts of the presentations

Session 1 – Politic and Security

Democracy in ASEAN

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This paper will assess the extent of democratic practice and democratic consolidation among the 10 members states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. As a definitional guide, the paper will employ a five point scale of democratic practice, including the defining features of each scale point, as developed by Collier and Levitsky (1996). It will also more fully develop definitions of democracy employing overlapping ideas of other theorists. The paper will then define what is meant by the term 'democratic consolidation', based on definitions developed by Schmitter and Schneider (2004a, b) and Lijphart (1999). It will also note critiques of the 'consolidation' paradigm, in particular by O'Donnell (1996). Each of the ASEAN states will be assessed against both the democratic scale and the extent to which they have, or have not, consolidated that democracy. Attention will be paid to the explicitly non-democratic states (Vietnam, Laos and Brunei) and the extent to which they meet any of the criteria ordinarily reserved for formal democracies. It will also assess the transitioning state of Myanmar and its prospects for democratic outcomes. Cambodia, Singapore and Malaysia will be assessed as partial democracies, fulfilling some of the basic requirements of the term, but either failing or choosing not to fulfil other 'requisites' (Lipsett, 1959). Indonesia and the Philippines will be understood as 'democratic', but with qualifications as to the extent or depth of democratisation. Thailand will be classed as democratic, also with qualifications, but also as being chronically unconsolidated. The status of democracy will, finally, be assessed within the context of ASEAN as an organisation.

ASEAN and Regional Security

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This presentation will outline the main traditional and non-traditional security challenges in East Asia and ASEAN's efforts to address them. The traditional (interstate) international security context in East Asia is largely shaped by the relationship between the United State, China and Japan, with security 'hot spots' clustered in Northeast Asia. Southeast Asia's main traditional security issue is the disputes over the South China Sea. Despite its endless institutional innovations, from the ASEAN Regional Forum to the East Asia Summit, and its claims to occupy the regional 'driving seat', ASEAN actually plays only a very modest role in managing these problems. As the main institutional 'hub' for security cooperation in East Asia, ASEAN occupies a unique position among developing-country organisations. However, it does so largely by default, because of a fundamental lack of consensus among ruling elites for more forceful and meaningful regional cooperation. Consequently, ASEAN can only ever promote minimalist cooperation, rarely progressing beyond dialogue and confidence building. This is not a surmountable failure of political will but reflects the region's fundamentally divergent interests. In an effort to circumvent these, a range of novel, functional regional governance mechanisms are emerging, notably around non-traditional security, and often outside of the formal ASEAN framework. These often seek to circumvent the political blockages that hamper deeper interstate cooperation by networking domestic technical agencies together to address transboundary threats, such as terrorism, transnational crime, pandemic disease and environmental degradation.

However, these incipient forms of 'regulatory regionalism' remain politically and socially contested, with extremely uneven outcomes.

Session 2 - Socio-Economic Issues

Economic Integration and Income and Spatial Inequalities: Challenges for ASEAN Economic Community

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Our contribution will focus on the effect of regional economic integration on inequalities. The European experience shows that countries do not converge spontaneously and that public policies are necessary to reduce gaps between countries. In the case of ASEAN, our contribution shows that there is a limited convergence of the income level between some ASEAN late members and Thailand, taken as a benchmark, but no convergence between Thailand and the richest ASEAN countries. More, there are rising income inequalities and spatial inequalities within most ASEAN countries. One major reason is the dominance of global production network in ASEAN countries trade which tends to disperse and agglomerate economic activities and incomes in an unequal way. Our contribution shows that the ASEAN Economic Community will not change this trend because it is focused on free trade and competition which magnify gaps instead of the necessary public policies to reduce them.

Can the 'ASEANization' of corruption be thwarted?

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This paper argues that there is a daunting task of tackling corruption facing ASEAN countries, if they want 'the one community' to be more than just a dream. ASEAN countries must work hard to combat corruption, given that corruption has been entrenched in the economic, social and political systems of member countries to varying degrees. In the last ten years, most ASEAN countries except Singapore have ranked very poorly in global corruption rankings. Various efforts, both nationally and regional, have been put in place to tackle corruption in these countries; however, the results are still far from optimal. Therefore, in addition to reviewing national strategies and mechanisms to combat corruption, the current regional anti-corruption mechanisms adopted by ASEAN should also be examined in order to strengthen counter-corruption measures. This is pivotal in order to avoid 'multiple communities' from emerging, instead of the 'one community' imagined by ASEAN.

Labour Migration in ASEAN

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The presentation will give a general overview of the push and pull factors linked to labour migration and specifically discuss existing trends and characteristics in ASEAN countries, as well as intra-ASEAN migration patterns. It will outline the ASEAN legal and policy framework for labour migration, discussing in detail the *ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers* and ASEAN Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration. Today, there are over 600 million individuals living within ASEAN, which hosts an estimated 8.5 million migrants, 60-90% of whom are from ASEAN countries. As ASEAN Governments prepare for the single economic community in 2015 and the free-flow of skilled labour, significant challenges exist with respect to ensuring effective labour migration management and the

protection and promotion of migrant workers' rights. The presentation will discuss policy options and present recommendations to tackle existing implementation issues, including those concerning regular vs. irregular migration, undocumented vs. documented migrant workers, human trafficking and migrant smuggling.

Session 3 - Socio-cultural Issues

Paradox of Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction in the Context of the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER)

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Large catastrophic events in the Philippines' recent history highlight a basic flaw in the promise of the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER). As a regional legally-binding platform for regional cooperation in reducing disaster losses and intensifying joint emergency response, the provisions of AADMER is constrained within national boundaries; not translated into local actions and the benefits does not trickle down to the local communities. Local vulnerabilities are not addressed by regional capabilities and consolidated regional resources are not directly accessible for dire communities. This presentation highlights the paradox of AADMER as a regional platform for disaster risk reduction and the vulnerable communities' access to the provisions of AADMER in building their capacities. The challenges of implementing the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010 vis-a-vis the relevant provisions of the AADMER will be identified. Recommendations to reconcile the paradox will be explored for consideration in future large catastrophic events in the region.

Tourism & territorial Governance in Asean

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The current trend in Tourism development in Southeast Asia shows new shapes and new rhythms of construction, with an increasing number of large-scale infrastructures in urban areas, economic development corridors and coastal areas, and often with little care for historic or natural Heritage, for Sustainable development indicators, and for the legal framework (international or local regulations, laws, norms). At the same time, while some economic spaces have gain an apparent 'modernity', collective infrastructures and basic services remain often weak. Some explicative factors will be given: poor enforcement of the law and corruption are among the main ones. Nevertheless, at local scale, we also observe territories better governed and managed. 'Governance' is one major key-concept to carry on a study on Spatial planning and Development in Southeast Asia in the 21st Century. This will be done through the 3 following prisms: "Landscape", Social Cohesion, and Elites (and related Education). Our presentation will assess the work of ASEAN, as organization, in marketing the Region, facilitating travels intra-ASEAN, establishing some quality professional Standards, but it will also highlight the yet limited effect of these efforts to address the heavy trends mentioned above.