From Comprehensive Security to Regional Resilience: Coping with Nontraditional Security Challenges

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Introduction

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) turns 50 in 2017. Having come this far, ASEAN has much to celebrate and reflect on as it charts its future direction with new challenges ahead that could well test its relevance as a regional organisation. ASEAN has indeed been gearing up for these challenges, as reflected in the latest articulations of its envisioned future trajectory. *The ASEAN Vision 2025: Forging Ahead Together* has laid out a set of bold plans 'to realise a politically cohesive, economically integrated, socially responsible, and a truly people-oriented, people-centred and rules-based ASEAN', and an ASEAN that 'is able to respond proactively and effectively to the emerging threats and challenges presented by the rapidly changing regional and global landscape' (ASEAN, 2015: 16). Together with the ASEAN Vision document, the ASEAN Political–Security Community (APSC) Blueprint 2025 was released. It further expressed the aspirations of ASEAN to 'ensure a rules-based and inclusive community in which peoples enjoy human rights, fundamental freedoms and social justice, live in a safe and secure environment with enhanced capacity to respond effectively to emerging challenges..'.[1]

The ASEAN Vision 2025 document and the APSC Blueprint are significant on at least three counts. First, the consistent use of the language of community in describing ASEAN's plans in the decades to come. Second, the emphasis on being able to proactively and effectively respond to emerging threats. And third, the iteration of ASEAN's desire to be a rules-based community to uphold its raison d'être of maintaining regional peace and stability. These three elements are inextricably linked and indicative

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[1]   ASEAN Political–Security Blueprint 2025 in the *ASEAN Vision 2025* (ASEAN, 2015: 19).

of where ASEAN sees itself after half a century of existence and how it positions itself in a rapidly changing global security environment. More importantly, underpinning the future of an ASEAN political–security community is the need to build resilience 'for the common good of ASEAN, in accordance with the principle of comprehensive security'.[2]

Against these developments, the aim of this chapter is two-fold. One is to examine how prepared ASEAN is to face the complex security challenges that have defined the rapidly changing security environment. The key premise here is that the kinds of security challenges confronting the region and beyond are nontraditional and transnational in nature and will have salient implications for the security and well-being of the people in ASEAN. Nontraditional security (NTS) also tests the capacity of its member states to deal with these challenges. The other is to assess how NTS challenges are pushing ASEAN to review its principle of comprehensive security and adopt more progressive security practices, which, in turn, impinges on the nature of regional security governance and the institutional design of ASEAN. It may be premature to argue that ASEAN's preference for less institutionalised and more flexible security practices will, by force of circumstances, lend itself to more formal and structured security arrangements that compel its members to go beyond the 'ASEAN way' of informality and consensus-driven modality. But a confluence of endogenous and exogenous factors are paving the path for evolving patterns of security governance that push the boundaries of established ASEAN processes.

As a number of transborder NTS threats such as climate change, migration, pandemics, and others affect different communities globally, dealing with and managing the complexity of these challenges bring about multiple and often fragmented responses from several actors, aside from the state. The state, represented by the national government, does not always have sufficient resources and capacity for effective management of NTS issues. This gives rise to a new need to mobilise resources and manpower from as many sources as possible. We have seen, therefore, the proliferation of actors in the security domain. In addition to government agencies and inter-governmental organisations, non-state actors like the epistemic communities, civil society groups, faith-based organisations, and multinational companies are playing an increasingly prominent role in identifying, managing, and addressing NTS challenges (Krahmann, 2003).

That the state is no longer the only provider of security, therefore, presents new challenges to how ASEAN and its member states had envisioned and designed the ASEAN community to unfold in the years to come. To be sure, transnational NTS

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2   See section 5.2 of the ASEAN Political–Security Blueprint 2025 (ASEAN, 2015: 20).

challenges necessitate multi-actor engagements at multiple levels. Yet, ASEAN responses to security threats are mostly, if not all, state centric – relying only on inter-governmental and inter-agency cooperation. In fact, ASEAN's history of multilateral functional cooperation to deal with regional challenges – be they economic or political–security in nature – have been limited to interactions amongst regional officials and bureaucrats representing the different sectoral bodies of ASEAN, as seen in the two examples of NTS cases discussed in this chapter. There has hardly been any significant engagement with non-state actors and/or civil society organisations. Arguably, this prevailing practice is incongruous with ASEAN's more recent pronouncements of building an ASEAN Community that is people-centred and people-oriented.

The rise of NTS threats alongside traditional threats such as territorial disputes, nuclear proliferation, and great power rivalry has made regional security no longer just about managing competition for material power. Security is now also about navigating contesting ideas of how affected, insecure communities can be made more secure. Consequently, the approaches to deal with NTS threats go beyond traditional military means to one of calibrated governance that extends functional multilateral cooperation to multi-actor and multilevel approaches to managing regional security. The extent to which these new developments have informed the ASEAN Vision 2025 will be examined in more detail below.

Nontraditional Security Challenges and ASEAN's Notions of Comprehensive Security and Regional Resilience

Before discussing how NTS challenges affect ASEAN's vision of a safe and secure community, it would be useful at the outset to briefly review ASEAN's interlocking concepts of comprehensive security and regional resilience. Unlike the conventional notion of security, which is narrowly defined to mean defending state borders from military attack, comprehensive security is a much broader conceptualisation of security that '[goes] beyond (but does not exclude) the military threats to embrace the political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions' (Alagappa, 1998: 624). Muthiah Alagappa, one of the pioneering Asian security scholars, had pointed out that the notion of comprehensive security had been the organising concept of security in Southeast Asia, particularly during the formative years of ASEAN from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. An example Alagappa quoted to reflect this kind of thinking in the region was a statement of a former Malaysian Prime Minister who declared that 'national security was inseparable from political stability, economic success and social harmony.

Without these, all the guns in the world cannot prevent a country from being overcome by its enemies, whose ambitions can be fulfilled, sometimes without firing a shot'.[3] Comprehensive security found similar formulation in the concept of 'total defence' in ASEAN countries like Singapore and Thailand. Jawhar Hassan, another well-known Asia security analyst, further argued that the ASEAN region has always regarded security as multi-dimensional and comprehensive in nature.

But while comprehensive security indeed offers a broader conceptualisation of security, it is still very much state-centric in nature in that the referent of security is the state with less or no attention given to the security concerns of individuals and communities. In fact, several studies on security in Asia have shown that comprehensive security had for a long time been associated with the notion of regime security (Alagappa, 1998). Over the years, the state-centric focus of security had been critiqued by a number of security scholars, particularly in the post-Cold War period and found a lot a traction beyond the policy and academic communities to include social activists and civil society groups. The criticism against the privileging of state security over individuals/groups/societies paved the way for the introduction of a new security framework and the concept of human security. Human security, broadly defined, is about ensuring the safety of individuals and communities from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression and protecting them from 'sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities' (UNDP, 1994: 23). The human security concept has largely influenced the notion of NTS – a point that will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

Regional resilience, on the other hand, can be seen as a foundation for and a means to achieve comprehensive security. The seamless relationship between comprehensive security and regional resilience is encapsulated in the Indonesian notion of '*ketahanan national*' (national resilience), which is defined as 'the ability of a nation to cope with, endure and survive any kind of challenges or threats in the course of a struggle to achieve national goals'. According to Indonesian scholar Dewi Fortuna Anwar, national resilience is built on the foundations of: (1) economic development, and (2) a need to avoid involvement in international ideological confrontation (Anwar, 2006: 82–83). Although national resilience is characteristically inward-looking and nationalistic in orientation, its application at the regional level retains much of the focus on economic development and a 'non-aligned' stance towards major power competition while promoting and fostering closer regional cooperation. National and regional resilience also underscores the need for ASEAN Member States and ASEAN as a whole to rely on their own capacities and strengths to be secure without having to rely on outside powers to provide their security.

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3   Mahathir Mohamed, cited in Alagappa (1998: 624).

In brief, the twin concepts of comprehensive security and regional resilience had basically defined the conduct of intra-regional political and security relations and cooperation in ASEAN. Put simply, the ASEAN security framework can be understood as follows: for regional security to be maintained, the region must be resilient and this resilience starts with each ASEAN Member State being domestically resilient by having a strong economic foundation and a foreign policy that is not aligned with any major powers. Indeed, this security framework is clearly reflected in many of ASEAN's official documents and declarations since its establishment until its most recent ASEAN Vision 2025 documents. These include: Bangkok Declaration (1967), ASEAN's Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN, 1971), ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC, 1976), the Bali Concord I (1976), Bali Concord II (2003), and Bali Concord III (2011). In all these declarations, the need to unite together to prevent external interference and create a stable regional environment for member states to focus on domestic affairs were consistent themes.

Dealing with Nontraditional Security Threats

What is nontraditional about the kinds of security challenges we face today? And, how do NTS challenges impact on ASEAN's notions of comprehensive security and regional resilience? Clearly, the backdrop of the global security environment in an ASEAN at 50 has dramatically changed. Unlike 2 decades ago when ASEAN Member States were still mainly preoccupied with nation building and domestic affairs, while promoting and deepening intra-ASEAN political and economic relations, the rapid structural changes brought about by an increasingly globalised environment had begun to be felt in many ways by the countries and peoples of the region.

Starting from the late 1990s, ASEAN's much vaunted record of peace and security was dealt a severe blow when a series of crises hit the region. From 1997–1998, ASEAN Member States had to grapple with the devastating impact of the Asian financial crises that crippled the economies of the region – in particular Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, and even Singapore. What had started as a financial liquidity problem in one state – Thailand, leading to a devaluation of its currency – very quickly spread and affected the rest of the region. What was extraordinary about the so-called *Tomyam* effect was that the financial crisis had rapidly spiralled out of control and became not only an economic crisis but also a political and security crisis with far-reaching proportions. Politically, the financial crises led to the downfall of ASEAN's longstanding leader, President Suharto, and paved the way for democratisation in Indonesia. It caused a political backlash in Thailand with the replacement of one government led by Chaovalit by that of Chuan Leekpai. It also caused an indelible crack/fissure within Malaysia's dominant political party, the United Malays National

Organisation (UMNO), with the unprecedented sacking and jailing of the country's then Deputy Prime Minister, jolting the country's rather placid political environment.[4]

The economic crises also resulted in outbreaks of ethnic conflicts in Indonesia between the Muslim and Chinese communities in Jakarta and other cities of Indonesia. These were violent conflicts previously unseen in Indonesia's postcolonial history that seriously challenged the multi-racial harmony carefully nurtured under the Suharto regime. Further, the economic crisis also resulted in massive displacements of labour migrants, forcing receiving countries like Malaysia to send back migrant workers to their home countries, which in turn caused bilateral tensions between ASEAN neighbours.

The transborder impact of the Asian financial crisis, which was said to have originated in one country and spread to others, was but one of the many examples of the kinds of crises that posed risks and threats to regional security. From the effects of transborder pollution caused by forest fires in the Indonesian provinces of Kalimantan and Sumatra, to the transnational impact of infectious diseases like the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), H5N1, and Zika, human trafficking/smuggling and drug trafficking, and scarcity of water, food, and energy – all these issues severely affected the security of many communities in the region.

These transnational security challenges now constitute the concept of nontraditional security, which in the last few years has found its way into the security lexicon of ASEAN leaders, the policy and academic communities, and civil society groups in the region. Scholars have defined NTS as a concept that refers to 'challenges and threats to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources, such as climate change, resources scarcity, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, people smuggling, drug trafficking, and transnational crime. These dangers are often transnational in scope, defying unilateral remedies and requiring comprehensive – political, economic, social – responses, as well as humanitarian use of military force' (Caballero–Anthony, 2016: 6).[5]

Aside from these issues being non-military in nature, NTS threats also share common characteristics, namely:

■ NTS threats do not stem from competition between states or shifts in balance of power.

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[4] There is a rich literature on the impact of the Asian financial crisis. See, for example, Haggard (2000). On the impact on regional security, see amongst others, Caballero–Anthony (2006).

[5] For a comprehensive conceptual discussion on nontraditional security, see Caballero–Anthony (2016).

- Threats are often caused by human-induced disturbances to the fragile balance of nature, with dire consequences for both states and societies.
- Consequences of these threats are often difficult to reverse or repair.
- National solutions are often inadequate and would thus essentially require regional and multilateral cooperation.

  The object of security is no longer **just** the state (state sovereignty or territorial integrity), but also people (their survival, well-being, dignity), both at individual and communal levels (Caballero–Anthony, 2016: 6).
- While many NTS issues are also human security issues, their transboundary impact often makes it difficult for individual countries to effectively deal with such NTS challenges on their own. This has added a new dimension to the nature of security cooperation in ASEAN. To be sure, the capacity of developing countries to deal with the impact of climate change on food, energy, and water security; to tackle transnational crimes like drug trafficking and human trafficking; to combat pandemics; and to prevent transboundary pollution is not only fully stretched but also acutely inadequate. The effective governance of NTS issues, therefore, requires deeper cooperation and coordination amongst states, and more cooperation and collaboration between state and non-state actors. How they work together to address NTS threats in ASEAN is explained further below.

NTS Issues and the Dynamics between Regional Security and Regional Resilience

It is increasingly evident that NTS issues like climate change, pandemics, and migration destabilise state and human security. While there are a number of NTS threats confronting ASEAN, for the purpose of a more manageable discussion this chapter only discusses the challenges posed by climate change and migration to regional security and resilience.

Climate Change and its Attendant Threats

There have been many studies that show that Southeast Asia is highly vulnerable to the effects of climate change. This vulnerability is multi-layered, and is impacted by issues ranging from inescapable physical characteristics to malleable political, economic, and social systems. Regional vulnerabilities are also variable – individual countries and communities face unique climate challenges and have differing capacities to respond to them. The discussion below briefly highlights some of the effects of climate change on the security of states and societies in ASEAN.

■ Economic security

Climate change has contributed to extreme weather events that have led to several of the worst natural disasters in the region. From 1970–2010, Southeast Asia's annual average loss of life and damage due to natural disasters, both per capita and relative to land mass, was a colossal US$4.3 million per 1,000 square kilometres, or US$4,285 per square kilometre (ADB, 2013). Amongst ASEAN Member States, the Philippines and Indonesia lose more than US$1 billion annually to natural disasters (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: **Climate Change and Natural Disasters**

	Annual Average Direct Economic Loss		
	US$ million	% GDP	% Annual Government Expenditure
Brunei Darussalam	0.4	0.0	0.0
Cambodia	74.2	0.7	3.3
Indonesia	1,303.5	0.2	1.0
Lao People's Democratic Republic	52.3	0.7	3.0
Malaysia	174.6	0.1	0.2
Myanmar	184.8	0.9	8.2
Philippines	1,602.9	0.8	4.8
Singapore	2.2	0.0	0.0
Thailand	255.6	0.1	0.3
Viet Nam	786.4	0.8	2.4

GDP = gross domestic product.

Source: World Bank and Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery (2012) in ADB (2013: 25).

Climate change exposes 563 million Southeast Asians living along coastlines, or about 80% of the population in Southeast Asia living within 100 kilometres off the coast, to rising sea levels. The agriculture-dependent regions could also become vulnerable to droughts, floods, and tropical cyclones associated with global warming. Over the past decade, heat waves, droughts, floods, and tropical cyclones have increased in intensity and are becoming more frequent, contributing to a comparable increase in loss of life and damage to property. In 2009, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) estimated that government's inaction on climate change can cost an annual 6.7% of the combined GDP of Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Viet Nam by 2100, twice the global average loss. Typhoon Haiyan, the strongest typhoon recorded in Philippine history,

caused US$90 million in damage and left more than 6,000 people dead. In 2015, ADB revised its figures, noting that the economic losses from the impact of climate change in ASEAN could be 60% higher than previously estimated, and could reduce regional GDP by up to 11% by 2100 (ADB, 2015a).

In terms of human loss, from 2004 to 2014, more than half of the total global disaster mortality was in Southeast Asia, that is, 354,000 of 700,000 total deaths in disasters worldwide. It is also estimated that about 191 million people have been displaced and rendered homeless (either temporarily or permanently) as a result of disasters, affecting a total of 193 million people. This meant that one in three to four people in the region had experienced different types of losses to property and life.

■ Food and water security

In addition to natural disasters, climate change has and will affect food security, particularly food productivity. The Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) has predicted that food productivity in Asia will decrease by as much as 20% due to climate change as the geographical boundaries of agro-ecosystems, as well as species composition and performance, will change (Thornton, 2012). In addition, more permanent shifts in seasonal climatic patterns that bring on more frequent and intense weather extremes will be badly disruptive to agriculture, fisheries, and the natural resource base of the region. Rice yield in Southeast Asia is projected to fall by about 50% in 2100 relative to 1990 yields (ADB, 2014). Declines in crop yields are expected due to long-term changes in temperature and rainfall and increased climate variability. An estimated US$1 billion in annual yield losses in South and Southeast Asia is due to flooding of about 10 to 15 million hectares of rice fields (Bates et al., 2008). This may lead to higher food prices, an exacerbation of chronic poverty and malnutrition, and undernourishment amongst vulnerable sectors of society (farmers, and rural and urban poor) affected by extreme climate events such as droughts and flooding (Beddington et al., 2012; Carter and Barrett, 2006).

It is also estimated that by 2050, the higher occurrence of extreme drought will increase water stress and further affect food security in the region (Bates et al., 2008). It is also projected that by 2025, 15–20 million hectares of irrigated rice will experience varied degrees of water scarcity (Bouman, 2007). In Asia alone, per capita water availability has been declining by between 40% and 65% since 1950, and the World Bank had estimated that by 2025 most states in the region will be facing serious water shortages unless strong action is taken. But this is compounded by the fact that 20% of the global increase in water scarcity is directly attributable to climate change (and the remaining 80% to growing demand).

■ Health security

The 2012 World Health Organization (WHO) report noted that climate change affects the social and environmental determinants of health – including clean air, safe drinking water, sufficient food, and secure shelter. A University College London study commissioned by *The Lancet* showed that with an average annual temperature increase relative to 1980–1999 by 5 degrees (°C), the effects include: increased health burdens from malnutrition, diarrhoea, and cardiorespiratory and infectious diseases; increased morbidity and mortality from heatwaves, floods, and droughts; changed distribution of some disease vectors; and a substantially greater burden on health services (Costello et al., 2009).

Global warming since the 1970s had caused 140,000 excess deaths annually by 2004. In 2000 alone, climate change-related deaths based on disability adjusted life years are estimated by the WHO to be more than 2 million in the Southeast Asia and Western Pacific subregions (which includes ASEAN). The WHO estimate on the direct damage costs to health from the impact of climate change is between US$2 and US$4 billion annually by 2030. Climate-sensitive diseases and infections such as diarrhoeal diseases, malnutrition, malaria, and dengue are expected to worsen with climate variability. Health conditions related to extreme weather events; cardio-respiratory diseases; temperature-related health effects; malnutrition; vector-borne diseases, and waterborne diseases are main concerns for developing countries highly vulnerable to climate change (GlaxoSmithKline, 2011). ASEAN has already seen this in the rising cases of dengue in part of the region, and the most recent outbreaks of Zika.

■ Political and community security

Last but not least are the political and security impacts of climate change. These can be seen in the way climate change affects demographics and people's mobility. Climate change-induced migration has contributed to the insecurity of many communities especially those affected by sea-level rises and extreme weather events. The International Organization for Migration has already identified environmental or climate change-induced migrants as 'persons who for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment that adversely affects their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad'.[6]

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[6]   https://www.iom.int/definitional-issues

It was back in 1990 that the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change noted that climate change will have its greatest impact on human migration. However, such migration has not yet been recognised in any international treaty or law. Similarly, no international organisation has been mandated to protect the rights of environmental or climate migrants when they move across borders temporarily or for good. Yet in 2013 alone, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (2014) reported that floods, storms, and earthquakes had already displaced almost 19 million people in Asia, with about 7.2 million displaced in the Philippines alone.
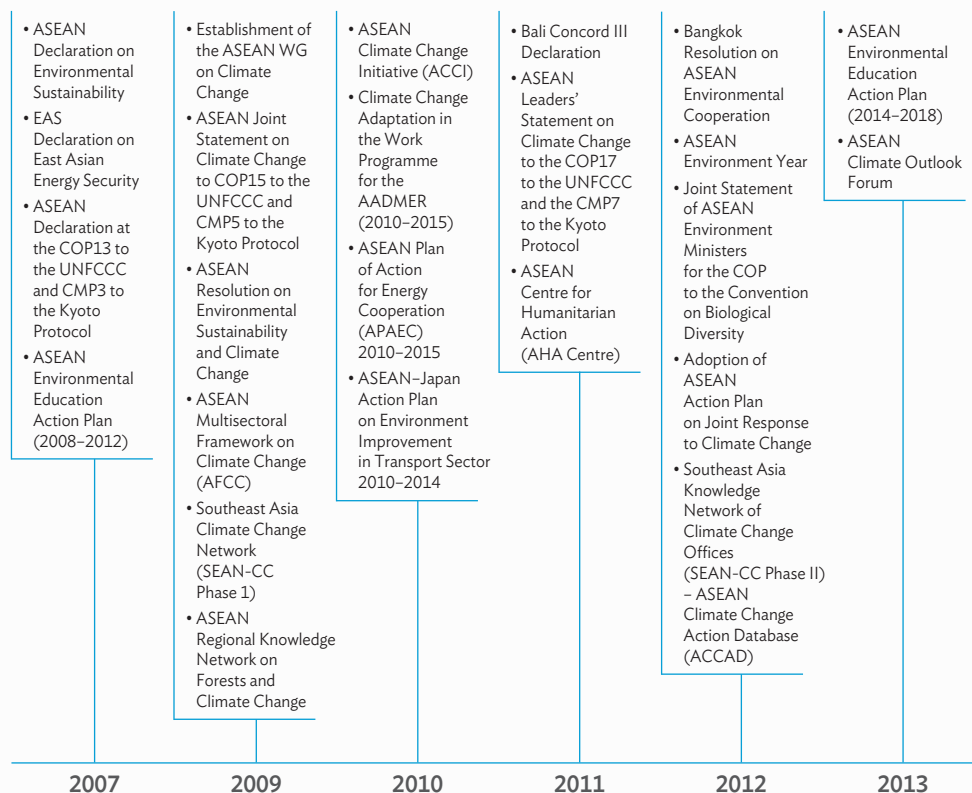
ASEAN and Climate Change

Against the projected impact outlined above, how has ASEAN dealt with climate change? It was not until 2007 that climate change entered the lexicon in ASEAN through the *Singapore Declaration on Climate Change, Energy and the Environment*. The title already reflects a very broad focus, starting from energy efficiency, countering deforestation, calling for individual and collective actions by a broad range of sectors, as well as encouraging active participation in the process of developing an effective, comprehensive, and equitable post-2012 international climate change arrangement under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) process. The aim of the 2007 declaration, however, was for ASEAN Member States to arrive at a common understanding and aspirations towards a global solution to the challenge of climate change, as well as express their resolve to achieve an ASEAN community resilient to climate change through national and regional actions.

Following the 2007 Declaration, a series of regional initiatives were taken that eventually culminated in the adoption of an ASEAN Action Plan on Joint Response to Climate Change in 2012. Figure 1 presents the evolution of ASEAN's climate change framework.

For the last 9 years, despite the establishment of the ASEAN Climate Change Initiative, there has not been a singular, focused initiative that brings together a more targeted and focused regional policy on climate change. The absence of such singularity is understandable given that climate change has multiple effects – hence responses and policy interventions have to be made at different points and at multiple levels. Although ASEAN's approach based on declarations and stations is multi-pronged, involving all multiple sectors from the three ASEAN communities – the socio-cultural community, the economic community, and the political security community – it is unclear how these will work in providing targeted responses to the direct impact of climate change on the lives and security of the people in the region.

Figure 1: Timeline of ASEAN Initiatives on Climate Change

2007
- ASEAN Declaration on Environmental Sustainability
- EAS Declaration on East Asian Energy Security
- ASEAN Declaration at the COP13 to the UNFCCC and CMP3 to the Kyoto Protocol
- ASEAN Environmental Education Action Plan (2008–2012)

2009
- Establishment of the ASEAN WG on Climate Change
- ASEAN Joint Statement on Climate Change to COP15 to the UNFCCC and CMP5 to the Kyoto Protocol
- ASEAN Resolution on Environmental Sustainability and Climate Change
- ASEAN Multisectoral Framework on Climate Change (AFCC)
- Southeast Asia Climate Change Network (SEAN-CC Phase 1)
- ASEAN Regional Knowledge Network on Forests and Climate Change

2010
- ASEAN Climate Change Initiative (ACCI)
- Climate Change Adaptation in the Work Programme for the AADMER (2010–2015)
- ASEAN Plan of Action for Energy Cooperation (APAEC) 2010–2015
- ASEAN–Japan Action Plan on Environment Improvement in Transport Sector 2010–2014

2011
- Bali Concord III Declaration
- ASEAN Leaders' Statement on Climate Change to the COP17 to the UNFCCC and the CMP7 to the Kyoto Protocol
- ASEAN Centre for Humanitarian Action (AHA Centre)

2012
- Bangkok Resolution on ASEAN Environmental Cooperation
- ASEAN Environment Year
- Joint Statement of ASEAN Environment Ministers for the COP to the Convention on Biological Diversity
- Adoption of ASEAN Action Plan on Joint Response to Climate Change
- Southeast Asia Knowledge Network of Climate Change Offices (SEAN-CC Phase II) – ASEAN Climate Change Action Database (ACCAD)

2013
- ASEAN Environmental Education Action Plan (2014–2018)
- ASEAN Climate Outlook Forum

AADMER = ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response; ASEAN = Association of Southeast Asian Nations; CMP3 = Conference of the Parties Serving as the Meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol; COP = Conference of the Parties; EAS = East Asia Summit; UNFCCC = United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change; WG = working group.

Source: Author's compilation from various ASEAN documents.

Within the APSC Blueprint, climate change impact is dealt with through strengthening cooperation on disaster management and emergency response. In 2005, the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Disaster Management (AMMDM) came up with the *ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER)* and within this framework a number of cooperation frameworks have been established that bring together civilian agencies and military forces.[7] A key initiative here is the Civil–Military Coordination in Disaster Relief and Humanitarian Response (HADR) Operations as well as the Standard Operating Procedure for Regional Standby Arrangements and Coordination of Joint Disaster Relief and Emergency Response

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[7]   AADMER is the first legally binding HFA-related agreement in the world and has been considered as one of ASEAN's significant achievements in building regional capacity in disaster management.

Operations (SASOP), which began in 2009. Since the signing of the AADMER, member states have been involved in the ASEAN Regional Disaster Emergency Response Simulation Exercise (ARDEX).

Building on the AADMER framework, the ASEAN Centre for Humanitarian Action for Disasters (AHA Centre) was established in 2011, followed by the ASEAN Disaster Response and Monitoring System (ADRMS) in 2012 with the ASEAN Emergency Rapid Assessment Team (ERAT) as a core actor in disaster management and response. In addition, the Disaster Emergency Logistics System for ASEAN (DELSA) was established in Subang, Malaysia in 2012, serving as the regional stockpile of relief items and capacity building hub for emergency logistics operations. Since 2012, Delsa has serviced eight disaster emergency response missions including emergency operations for Typhoon Haiyan victims. Within the framework of the ASEAN Defence Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) and the ADMM+ frameworks, joint HADR activities have also formed part of their respective agendas.

Assessing ASEAN's Multi-sectoral Approaches to Addressing Climate Change Challenges

The discussion above shows that ASEAN has not been short on policies and initiatives in addressing climate change in the region and beyond. As described by a former officer at the ASEAN Secretariat, not only does ASEAN have a policy on climate change, it also tackles climate challenges through the ASEAN Community building framework that involves development and collaboration amongst different sectoral areas (Letchumanan, 2010). But the multi-sectoral approach and policies of ASEAN also make it difficult to assess the effectiveness of any of the policies and mechanisms initiated by ASEAN. More specifically, beyond the capacity built in HADR activities, how do these multiple programmes keep ASEAN people more secure and more resilient?

While it is not realistic to provide a comprehensive assessment of ASEAN's response to climate change, it is pertinent to raise important questions. Amongst these are issues related to providing emergency relief and the question of protection of communities displaced by natural disasters. On the first issue of providing emergency relief, the attitude of ASEAN states to outside assistance is important and in this regard the experience of Myanmar during Cyclone Nargis is instructive. Its initial refusal and later on its delay in allowing foreign assistance had cost hundreds of lives to be lost. While this experience allowed ASEAN to take the HADR agenda seriously, the norms of non-intervention had seriously hampered regional and international help that was critical in reducing the extent of the devastation on lives and properties. Thus, against imminent projections of further occurrences of extreme weather events in the region,

the repercussions of strict adherence to such norms in providing protection to affected communities need to be considered seriously by ASEAN as it envisions a resilient Community in 2025. At the very least, the goals of protection and resilience are compelling reasons for ASEAN Member States to start a serious conversation.

On the other hand, there is still the huge issue of capacity building. In the wake of typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines in 2013, one of the most intense tropical cyclones on record, the infrastructure in the affected areas was massively devastated. The Philippine government, however, did not have sufficient resources to undertake a humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR) operation of this scale. Its Armed Forces at that time had only three functioning C130 aircraft, which was below the transportation capacity needed for the relief efforts. Much of the delivery of humanitarian resources and personnel heavily relied on airlifts from the United States military and from other countries (Jacobs, 2013). Hence, against the number of HADR exercises now being undertaken by ASEAN-led frameworks like the ADMM+ and the ARF, it is important to assess how prepared ASEAN is to deal with and lead the kinds of massive humanitarian assistance initiatives that are projected to increase in frequency in the years to come.

The issue of the protection of displaced populations as a result of natural disasters is also a difficult terrain for ASEAN to deal with. Many ASEAN citizens are vulnerable to the impact of climate change. The ADB (2014) noted that many communities are forced below a given poverty line after extreme weather events that cause flooding and displacement, but many countries in the region particularly lack formal social insurance and do not take into account such vulnerabilities when estimating the number of people living below the poverty line. To be sure, the needs of people affected by disasters grow in scope and complexity, compounded by the uncertainties of being able to recover and rebuild. However, disaster spending often does not take into account protecting and assisting displaced people. The bulk of disaster spending is still being used to respond to – rather than prevent – disasters. Underfunding continued to hamper the implementation of early recovery programmes (Lavell and Ginenetti, 2014).

There is also no legal framework in place to deal with the protection needs of people displaced by disasters. Governments have also not been able to reduce the vulnerabilities faced by these people to offset this increasing exposure. Displaced women and children become particularly vulnerable to human trafficking and sexual violence, and while state agencies are preoccupied with dealing with the immediate task of providing emergency medical assistance, and search and rescue, international organisations like the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and civil society groups become important partners in ensuring the protection needs of vulnerable victims.

Hence, despite current efforts at improving HADR operations, there remains a lack of comprehensive national and regional responses to protection issues for displaced people. It is also unclear how ASEAN states and their sectoral bodies engage with other external actors that may demand more action from states to provide protection for victims of disasters.

The lack of protection from disasters is a major hindrance to building resilience both within states and in the region. Hence, despite ASEAN's recent pronouncement on building a disaster resilient ASEAN, without regional programmes targeted at addressing protection in all areas, many of the regional climate change initiatives could only address a small part of the wider protection needs of disaster affected communities.

Finally, ASEAN also lacks a coherent strategy on disaster risk and reduction of disasters. An important challenge for ASEAN states in managing natural disasters is to harmonise their initiatives and programmes with climate change mitigation and adaptation measures as proposed in the ASEAN Climate Change Initiative. The two initiatives complement each other, but ASEAN also needs to act on it rather than just acknowledge it. It remains to be seen how ASEAN Member States will effectively mainstream climate change mitigation and adaptation measures into disaster risk and reduction projects. Mainstreaming and/or integrating climate change adaptation and mitigation in a country's development plans are critical given that during 2004–2014 more than half of global disaster mortality occurred in Southeast Asia. It has also been estimated that the total economic loss during that period was US$91 billion.[8]

And if the goal of ASEAN is to build a disaster resilient region, cooperation in climate change adaptation and mitigation amongst ASEAN Member States through technological exchange, climate financing, and building human capital are practical steps that do not require any more ASEAN statements and declarations.

Migration and Forcibly Displaced Populations

Aside from the complexities posed by climate change to regional security and resilience, the new trends in people's movement is another difficult nontraditional security challenge facing ASEAN. Since the mid-1980s to early 1990s, most of the cross-border migration patterns in the region have been mostly in the form of labour migration.

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[8]   *Global Climate Risk Index 2016* by German Watch.

The Asian Development Bank has noted that Asia is the world's largest source of international migration. In 2013, 79.5 million migrants were from Asia, with South Asia being the largest source contributing 44% of the Asian total, followed by Southeast Asia (ADB, 2015b). As remittances are a key source of income for many ASEAN economies,[9] it is important that international and regional migration flows remain unfettered and that labour migrants are accorded the rights and protection they deserve. One can argue that an ASEAN at 50 should be able to provide a more enabling and people-centred environment that protects the welfare and security of all migrants in order to manage the multi-faceted challenges that both states and societies face in the region. After all, ASEAN in its vision 2025 is supposed to be a more people centred organisation. But so far, ASEAN's response in dealing with migration has been mixed.

On labour migration, it is noteworthy that there are still many countries in Asia and in ASEAN that have not ratified the International Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers since it came into force in 2003. Despite this, ASEAN adopted the *ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers* in 2007, which calls on countries of origin and destination to ensure the dignity of migrant workers. It outlines states' obligations in the areas of protection from exploitation, discrimination, and violence, amongst others. This regional framework has established a set of international and regional (ASEAN) standards proclaiming the aspirations and rights to much greater access to social protection by all workers across ASEAN. More important is the fact that since ASEAN adopted its Charter in 2007, two important regional bodies to promote and protect the rights of ASEAN citizens have been established – the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) and the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC).

Despite these standards and relevant institutions, access to social protection by migrant workers coming from and moving within the Southeast Asian region remains extremely limited. With the exception of the Philippines, which has robustly attempted to increase social protection of Filipino migrant workers overseas, many sending and receiving countries lack clear practices to guarantee wider social protection for migrant workers in and leaving from their countries. Recent studies show that countries have not moved forward to genuinely tackle the issue of wider social protection for migrant workers who travel across borders to work and live (Hall, 2012).

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[9]   Asia accounted for nearly 50% of global remittances (US$583.4 billion) in 2014 with India, China, and the Philippines receiving the most – US$163 billion, or 61% of the Asian total.

Moreover, instead of signing and ratifying the International Labour Organization Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers and take steps to bring their national laws and policies into compliance with it, many governments so far have pursued bilateral agreements and memoranda of understanding to strengthen regulation and coordination of international labour migration. One of the disadvantages of bilateral agreements is the uneven bargaining power between labour-sending and labour-receiving countries, which could make such agreements weak and fail to guarantee key protection issues.

There have been increasing reports of many forms of exploitation of migrant workers in receiving countries, reflecting a lack of observance of international norms. Case studies in Southeast Asia provide reports of exploitation which include low pay and poor working conditions and abusive practices such as the withholding of passports and wages. Other common problems are verbal and physical abuse, long working hours, and lower wages than promised. These abuses show the lack of implementation of the regional framework. Consequently, the international media has also highlighted some of the issues faced by migrant workers in the manufacturing, agriculture, construction, and fishing industries of the region (Wah, 2014; Vandenberg, 2015).

As ASEAN aims to be a full-fledged Community, protecting the rights of migrant workers in the legal framework of countries in the region should become a priority. This is indeed important if the region were to progress towards a caring and sharing ASEAN community underscored by social justice. At the same time, efforts should be made to educate migrant workers about their human rights and rights to protection. For sending countries, the primary concern is to support and protect their citizens when they go overseas and ensure that migrant workers have the information they need to effectively safeguard their rights.

The challenge of forced migration

ASEAN also faces the problem of undocumented, irregular migrants which include victims of human trafficking, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and refugees. Many of these irregular migrants are supported by smugglers. There are also the stateless persons who often have no access to international travel documents and therefore have no option but to resort to irregular migration channels making them more vulnerable to being targeted by traffickers (IOM, 2012).

Although robust international and regional regimes to prevent trafficking in persons are currently in place, most efforts are focused on prevention and prosecution. A common observation regarding anti-trafficking regimes has been the heavy focus on

prevention through criminalisation of the acts of trafficking in persons rather than on the protection and rights of the victims of human trafficking.[10] Hence, states allocate resources to and build capacity to combat criminal activities related to human trafficking and punishing perpetrators, but pay less attention to the protection of victims of human trafficking. One of the consequences of such an approach is the difficulties in identifying victims, which continues to impede efforts at effectively combatting human trafficking. Protection needs of trafficked persons go beyond ensuring personal physical safety and security. They also include having access to legal assistance and protection, access to health care and temporary shelters, and continued assistance in repatriation and integration.

Last, but certainly not least, is the plight of internally displaced people from conflicts. According to the 2015 study on IDPs in Southeast Asia by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Norwegian Refugee Council, the IDPs in most of the region's displacement camps lacked access to basic necessities such as food, clean water, and adequate sanitation facilities (NRC/IDMC, 2015). In July 2015, the United Nations highlighted the 'deplorable' living conditions in camps in Myanmar's Rakhine state, where tens of thousands of people displaced in 2012 by inter-communal violence between Rakhine Buddhists on the one hand, and Rohingyas and other Muslims on the other, had been living for more than 2 years without access to adequate water, sanitation, or healthcare. The Special Rapporteur on human rights in Myanmar said that some displaced Rohingyas had died in their camps because they had no access to emergency medical assistance.

The worsening plight of the Rohingyas has continued to be a major challenge to ASEAN Community building. Up until recently, many in ASEAN have been silent or chose to ignore the urgent humanitarian needs of refugees fleeing conflict and persecution, and so far the practice of some states in ASEAN has generally been to grant temporary refuge with minimal rights protection (NRC/IDMC, 2015). The result has been only ad hoc and temporary solutions, which has allowed regional governments to avoid collective responsibility (Pitsuwan and Parameswaran, 2015).

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10 For international trafficking protocol, see Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, also known as the Trafficking Protocol or UN TIP Protocol, which entered into force in 2003. Most recently, in 2015, ASEAN adopted the *ASEAN Convention against Trafficking in Persons* (ACTIP), which established a legal framework to effectively address the issue of trafficking in persons in the region. Other regional frameworks include the *Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Trafficking* (COMMIT), which brings together countries in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (Cambodia, China, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Thailand, and Viet Nam), and the Bali Process, also known as the *Conference on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime*, which brings together countries beyond the Asian region.

The lack of response from ASEAN is again always attributed to its policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of member states. Whether this could change in a fast changing environment is difficult to ascertain. More recent developments appear to show that there are some pressures now being applied to the Myanmar government by its ASEAN neighbours to address the problem. In late November 2016, reports of violence had again erupted in Rakhine, which led to allegations of killings and rape of women and children. The incidents saw hundreds of protesters take to the streets in the ASEAN capitals of Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, and Bangkok. In an unprecedented move, Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak described the violence against the Rohingyas as ethnic cleansing, causing Yangoon to file a protest against the Malaysian government for interference in Myanmar's domestic affairs.[11] But days later, Myanmar's Aung San Suu Kyi called for an ASEAN meeting to respond to regional concerns – a call that surprised many but is certainly noteworthy given this is the first time Myanmar has turned to its ASEAN neighbours on this issue.

Conclusion

Nontraditional security issues such as climate change and migration have shown how different the security concerns of ASEAN are today compared with the last 3 decades or so. As discussed in the first part of this chapter, the increasing interconnectedness of people and places and the wide range on non-military, nontraditional security threats are rapidly changing the conditions in which people live and the way states operate. The reality is that the capacity of ASEAN states to deal with these complex, crosscutting transborder threats is seriously challenged. And this has, in turn, significantly affected their ability to control and manage security within their borders.

To be sure, comprehensive security and regional resilience as conceptualised by ASEAN in the 1970s are no longer sufficient to deal with new transnational security threats. For the region to be resilient to the multiple threats caused by climate change, it is no longer enough for the region to rely on its own capacity to deal with these issues, nor can it afford to refuse the involvement of other actors. As shown in the ASEAN experience during the Aceh tsunami disaster, Cyclone Nargis, and Typhoon Haiyan, the assistance of bigger powers like the United States, Japan, Australia, and others in humanitarian operations was critical, and so was the participation of international organisations like the International Red Cross, the World Food Programme, and local civil society organisations to provide immediate help to victims on the ground.

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[11]   Reuters World News, Malaysia says Myanmar violence against Muslim Rohingya 'ethnic cleansing', 2 December 2016, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-rohingya-malaysia-idUSKBN13S03k (accessed 15 December 2016).

What this means for an ASEAN at 50 is that the old prisms of comprehensive security and regional resilience based mainly on economic development and regime security should now meaningfully give way to a multi-level security governance that recognises the role of other actors in the management of regional security. To achieve regional resilience, community participation and the engagement of other stakeholders should be integrated into a more pro-active ASEAN response to transborder problems. So, whether it concerns dealing with climate change or addressing the protection needs of irregular migrants and refugees, these tasks can no longer be left to ASEAN governments alone.

The involvement of different actors from local communities, civil society organisations, the private sector, regional organisations, and other international agencies are important given the complexities of the challenges involved. The meaningful engagement of local communities and non-government organisations in providing assistance to populations displaced by disasters and conflicts, victims of human trafficking, and refugees lessens the burden of state authorities and United Nations agencies working on these issues. Local communities can also help mitigate security concerns out of fear and misperception of migrant communities and engender a more secure regional environment to help vulnerable communities.

However, while there are indeed compelling arguments for ASEAN to actively engage with other stakeholders, this has also given rise to multiple tensions between states and non-state actors. The zealousness exhibited by states in protecting their sovereignty, the unwillingness of state authorities to open up spaces for other sites of governance to deal with NTS challenges, as well as the desire shared by many states to preserve the ASEAN norms of non-interference and consensus are all serious impediments to realising the goal of a secure and resilient ASEAN community.

Thus, as ASEAN Member States come to grips with the multifaceted NTS challenges facing the global community today, there should at least be critical elements that ensure the development and maturity of a secure and resilient ASEAN at 50. Foremost amongst these is the shared determination to strengthen its fledging institutions like the APSC, the AICHR, the ACWC, and the AHA Centre and make these work, as well as the support and participation of civil society groups and other stakeholders underpinned by the vision that ASEAN's security is a shared responsibility.

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