

KASEAS-CSEAS Joint Conference 2021

A Multifaceted Crisis in Southeast Asia: Challenges and Responses

**November 12, Friday
09:00-18:20(KST/JST) via zoom**



1 SESSION 1. 09:15-11:00 
LIFE UNDER THE PANDEMIC



3 SESSION 3. 14:00-16:20 
**THE PANDEMIC AND
THE POLITICAL CRISIS**



2 SESSION 2. 11:10-13:00 
**THE PANDEMIC AND
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CRISIS**



4 SESSION 4. 16:30-18:20 
**THE PANDEMIC AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**



A Multifaceted Crisis in Southeast Asia: Challenges and Responses**09:00-09:15 WELCOME REMARKS**

HYUNG-JUN KIM President, Korean Association of Southeast Asian Studies (KASEAS)
YOKO HAYAMI Director, Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS), Kyoto University

09:15-11:00 SESSION 1: LIFE UNDER THE PANDEMIC

Chairperson: **Dong-Yeob KIM**, Korea Institute for ASEAN Studies, Busan University of Foreign Studies
 Presenter: **KISHO TSUCHIYA**, CSEAS
 “Pandemic Prevention and Society: Ordinary People's Experience and Responses in Northern Mindanao, the Philippines”
 Discussant: **Dong-Yeob KIM**, Korea Institute for ASEAN Studies, Busan University of Foreign Studies
 Presenter: **SACHI MATSUOKA**, CSEAS
 “Living with the Uncertainty of the COVID-19 pandemic: A case study in South India”
 Discussant: **Jungug Choi**, Konkuk University
 Presenter: **BUBMO JUNG, JUNGHYE LEE, HAYOUNG PARK, HANSOL KANG**, Pukyong National University
 “A study on the life of Filipino Marriage migrants to Korea after separation from their husband”
 Discussant: **Mario Lopez**, CSEAS
 Presenter: **MARIO LOPEZ**, CSEAS
 “Viral disruption and Labor Rearrangement: The Impact of COVID-19 on the Procurement of Migrant Healthcare Workers for Japan”
 Discussant: **Youngran Yang**, Jeonbuk National University

11:10-13:00 SESSION 2: THE PANDEMIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CRISIS

Chairperson: **Woonkyung YEO**, Seoul National University
 Presenter: **ATSUSHI KOBAYASHI**, CSEAS
 “The Influenza Pandemic, Rice Crisis, and Southeast Asian Export Economy, 1918-21”
 Discussant: **Jongho Kim**, Sogang University Institute for East Asian Studies
 Presenter: **CYPRI JEHAN PAJU DALE**, CSEAS
 “Ecotourism in Crisis: The Covid-19 Pandemic and Climate Change in Indonesia”
 Discussant: **Jeong Hun JEONG**, Sogang University Institute for East Asian Studies
 Presenters: **EDO ANDRIESSE**, Seoul National University
PUNTITA TANWATTANA, Environmental Research Institute, Chulalongkorn University
 “The drought threat in Southeast Asia: A case study of the Eastern Economic Corridor in Thailand”
 Discussant: **Kono Yasuyuki**, CSEAS
 Presenter: **HIROKI BABA**, CSEAS
 “Spatial Inequality in Accessibility of Urban Facilities in Thailand”
 Discussant: **Hyun-Jung CHAE**, Duksung Women's University

14:00-16:20 SESSION 3: THE PANDEMIC AND THE POLITICAL CRISIS

Chairperson: **In-Won HWANG**, Gyeongsang National University
 Presenter: **EUNHONG PARK**, Sungkonghoe University
 “National Revolution-Civil Revolution Continuum in Thailand and Myanmar”
 Discussant: **Masaaki Okamoto**, CSEAS
 Presenter: **JUNG HOON PARK**, Institute for East Asian Studies, Sogang University
 “Localized Institutional Impacts on Islamist Political Mobilization in Indonesia: Evidence from Three Subprovincial Regions”
 Discussant: **R. Michael Feener**, CSEAS
 Presenter: **KIA MENG BOON**, Research Institute for Humanity and Nature
 “That things are 'status quo' is the catastrophe: Power and Protest in Pandemic Malaysia”
 Discussant: **Kyungchan Lee**, Youngsan University
 Presenter: **SINAE HYUN**, Institute for East Asian Studies, Sogang University
 “Border Patrol Police in Bangkok: Shifting Boundaries of the Royalist Thai Nation”
 Discussant: **Piyada Chonlaworn**, CSEAS
 Presenter: **KIHONG MUN**, Institute for Global and Area Studies, Pukyong National University
 “Mass mobilisation under Military Rule in Myanmar”
 Discussant: **Heesuk Kim**, Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, Jeonbuk National University

16:30-18:20 SESSION 4: THE PANDEMIC AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Chairperson: **HYUNG JONG KIM**, Yonsei University
 Presenter: **VICENTE ANGEL YBIERNAS**, Changwon National University
 “Vaccine Diplomacy, Duterte-style”
 Discussant: **Takamichi Serizawa**, CSEAS
 Presenter: **JEONGHYEON KIM**, Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, Jeonbuk National University
 “Refugee policy as Foreign Policy: South Korean Public Opinion toward Myanmar Refugees”
 Discussant: **Decha Tangseefa**, CSEAS
 Presenter: **JIHYOUK LEE**, The Export-Import Bank of Korea
INJUNG CHO, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University
 “The Evolution of Regional Norms: Reconstructing the ASEAN Way in Myanmar Crisis”
 Discussant: **Pavin Chachavalpongpun**, CSEAS
 Presenter: **JINYOUNG LEE**, Jeonbuk National University
 “Sub-group dynamics within ASEAN: ‘Island’ and ‘Mainland’ blocks”
 Discussant: **Jaehyon Lee**, The Asan Institute for Policy Studies

SESSION 1: LIFE UNDER THE PANDEMIC

KISHO TSUCHIYA

Assistant Professor, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University

Title: Pandemic Prevention and Society: Ordinary People's Experience and Responses in Northern Mindanao, the Philippines

This paper explores how ordinary people in Northern Mindanao experienced and responded to the Covid-19 pandemic. It narrates the social construction of "New Normal" from a bottom-up perspective based on the author's ethnographic experience and interviews. Thus it reveals how interactions of the people, government policy and the pandemic transformed the local social reality.

SACHI MATSUOKA

Researcher, CSEAS, Kyoto University

Title: Living with the Uncertainty of the COVID-19 pandemic: A case study in South India

Our lives are filled with uncertainty. The COVID-19 pandemic has made this clearer. Since ancient times, to live with such uncertainty, people have developed various cultural, social and scientific technologies, including medicine, social systems and religious thought. In this presentation, I will discuss how people in South India, where modernity and tradition coexist, have used such technologies to react, try to adapt, and deal with the unknown incident of the COVID-19 pandemic that began in February 2020, by referring to remote interviews with local people, local newspaper reports, and literature.

BUBMO JUNG

Assistant Professor, Division of International and Area Studies, Pukyong National University

JUNGHYE LEE

Ph.D Candidate, Department of Global and Area studies, Pukyong National University

HAYEONG PARK

Ph.D student, Department of Global and Area studies, Pukyong National University

HANSOL KANG

MA student, Department of Global and Area studies, Pukyong National University

Title: A study on the life of Filipino Marriage migrants to Korea after separation from their husband

Being different from common expectation, separated Filipino marriage migrants in Korea would rather stick to stay in the host country than go back to their home country. Either alone or being with their children, majority of separated wives want to stay in Korea even though their survival is very tough. The Korean nationality or the citizenship which can't be automatically obtained after marrying Korean spouse could be very crucial to their rights and options to settle in Korea. However, even as undocumented status many choose to stay in Korea. In this regard, the paper tries to trace the stories of Filipina who failed in marriage with Korean men.

MARIO ROPEZ

Associate Professor, CSEAS, Kyoto University

Title: Viral disruption and Labor Rearrangement: The Impact of COVID-19 on the Procurement of Migrant Healthcare Workers for Japan

This presentation offers an analysis of the impact of the severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) pandemic in Japan on the key sector of care. With unprecedented pressure from a rapidly aging population, state-sponsored initiatives have created new migration streams from Southeast Asia, diversifying attempts to procure health care personnel to address labor shortages. This presentation discusses the recent evolution of this supply chain nexus and how it reconfigured during the pandemic with ethnographic data from care homes. It highlights the fragile dependency that Japan now has on an emergent nexus with surrounding countries and the strategies it has taken to ameliorate the vagaries of the ongoing pandemic. This presentation will also suggest that the pandemic offered an opportunity to re-assess the future contributions of migrant care workers in Japan's diversifying care sector.

SESSION 2: THE PANDEMIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CRISIS

ATSUSHI KOBAYASHI

Assistant Professor, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University

Title: The Influenza Pandemic, Rice Crisis, and Southeast Asian Export Economy, 1918-21

In 1918, Southeast Asian regional economy that had been getting out of the turmoil of WWI faced the further problem, the global spread of influenza. The pandemic damaged the mechanism of the region's export economy because the production and exports of primary goods heavily depended on the transboundary movements of labour and commodity. Moreover, the rice crisis broke out in 1919-21 due to the short crop affected by El Nino and the rice trade restrictions carried out by Burmese and Siamese governments, and it shook the groundwork of Southeast Asian export economy established based on the intra-regional trade linkages. This paper explores the socio-economic unrest in Southeast Asia caused by the double crisis regarding infection and food supply during 1918-21, and attempts to illuminate the essential mechanism underlying the long-standing economic development in modern Southeast Asia.

CYPRI JEHAN PAJU DALE

Researcher, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University

Title: Ecotourism in Crisis: The Covid-19 Pandemic and Climate Change in Indonesia

Exploiting the wealth of its biodiversity reserves, Indonesia has been championing ecotourism as a new way of sustainable use of natural resources for economic development and conservation. It is commonly believed that ecotourism can boost investment and pro-poor economic growth, on the one hand, and increase revenues to finance conservation efforts on the other. The devastating impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, however, have exposed the vulnerability of the ecotourism economy. Moreover, the mounting degradation of natural reserves—due to climate changes, deforestation, and the negative impacts of tourism itself—adds another layer of crisis in ecotourism. Based on an ethnographic case study in Komodo National Park, the home of the ancient and charismatic Komodo dragons and Indonesia's newly championed tourism destination, this paper analyses multiple external and internal vulnerabilities of ecotourism in Indonesia. It also argues how crisis mitigation should no longer be sidelined in the ecotourism discourse and policy.

EDO ANDRIESSE

Associate Professor, Department of Geography, Seoul National University

PUNTITA TANWATTANA

Researcher, Environmental Research Institute, Chulalongkorn University

Title: The drought threat in Southeast Asia: A case study of the Eastern Economic Corridor in Thailand

One of the threatening climate change impacts in Southeast Asia is more frequent and intense droughts. While typhoons and floods are visible and short-term events and receive much media attention, droughts are slow-onset in character, less visible, and consequently under-reported. Nevertheless, in the last three decades over 66 million people have been affected by droughts in Southeast Asia. As more dry years appear to be inevitable, it is

important for involved stakeholders to find solutions to fresh water shortage and associated livelihood challenges. This presentation discusses the findings of a study on the Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) in Thailand, considered by the Thai government as an important strategy to achieve high-income status. However, water shortages have become a serious challenge for sustainable and inclusive development. Hence, the aim of this study is to understand the situation and explore community adaptation to drought risk and vulnerability. Results from multi-stakeholder online conferences in February 2021 indicated that socio-economic issues were a major factor influencing drought risk and vulnerability, because of a lack of coordination among stakeholders. Moreover, the government's policy on agriculture promotes the cultivation of monoculture crop production which have led to high water demand. While rainfall shortages and high rate of evaporation were found to be major physical and environmental factors, other factors such as delayed implementation of laws and regulations, budget approval, and land expropriation were found as minor factors. Furthermore, sea water intrusion, high cost of purchasing fresh water, local community conflicts, and food insecurity are important consequences of drought. Local communities adapt to droughts by self-adaptation and indigenous knowledge while the public sector engages in water quality assessment program. This study provides meaningful implications for drought risk reduction policies in Southeast Asia.

HIROKI BABA

Program-specific Assistant Professor, Kyoto University

Title: Spatial Inequality in Accessibility of Urban Facilities in Thailand

Accessibility of urban facilities accounts for a major indicator on livability of cities. Although urban accessibility research has been conducted in developed countries linked with capital agglomeration, such studies are rarely conducted in southeast Asian countries. This study explores the spatial differences of the accessibility in major districts of Thailand. The results indicate that the extent of accessible facilities is summarized to three categories, and population size of the districts are positively correlated to each category of the accessibility. This report further considers the factors why such differences happen and addresses issues on spatial inequalities in Thailand.

SESSION 3: THE PANDEMIC AND THE POLITICAL CRISIS

EUNHONG PARK

Professor, Sungkonghoe University

Title: National Revolution-Civil Revolution Continuum in Thailand and Myanmar

This article regards the phase of political confrontations in Thailand and Burma as a prolonged and inconclusive political struggle between national revolution forces and civil revolution forces. It argues that in Thai case, anti-monarchy constitutional revolution has led to a right-wing national revolution based on state nationalism consolidating capitalist economic system by Sarit's military coup, while in Burmese case, anti-British imperialism movement in colonial era has resulted in a left-wing national revolution grounded on state nationalism associating with socialist economic system by Ne Win's military coup. It is also interesting to note that the two cases experienced state nationalism denying autonomous civil society as a process of nation-building in spite of their contrasting ideologies. In both cases, it became inevitable to have national revolution forces clinging to official nationalism and state nationalism confronting with civil revolution forces seeking popular nationalism and liberal nationalism. In particular, unlike Burmese society, Thai society, without colonial history has never experienced a civil war mobilizing anti-colonial popular nationalism including ethnic revolt. This article considers Dankwart Rustow's argument that national unity as a background condition must precede all the other phases of democratization, but that otherwise its timing is irrelevant. In this context, Thai democratization without national unity which began earlier than Burmese is taking a backward step. For the time being, there would be no solution map to overcome severe political polarization between the right-wing national revolution forces defending official nationalism cum state nationalism and the civil revolution forces trying to go beyond official nationalism towards popular nationalism cum liberal nationalism. In contrast, paradoxically before the February 1 coup, belated Burmese democratization had taken a big leap in escaping from serious and inconclusive nature of political struggle between the left-wing national revolution forces to defend official nationalism cum state nationalism and civil revolution based on popular nationalism cum liberal nationalism towards a reconciliation phase in order to seek solutions for internal conflicts. The two case studies imply that national unity is not a background condition, but a consequence of the process of political polarization and reconciliation between national revolution forces and civil revolution forces.

JUNG HOON PARK

Senior Researcher, Institute for East Asian Studies, Sogang University

Title: Localized Institutional Impacts on Islamist Political Mobilization in Indonesia: Evidence from Three Subprovincial Regions

What explains the regionally varying political mobilization of Islamist parties in Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim democracy? Using a three-stage approach inspired by the Lieberman's (2005; 2015) nested analysis, this article is aimed at a better understanding of how adaptability to local political contexts matters in determining the electoral performance of the Islamist Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). The preliminary aggregate

analysis of support for PKS at the district level shows that existing studies highlighting Islamic piety and socioeconomic conditions cannot fully account for voting patterns across the country, especially in the outer islands. Based on a subsequent comparative analysis of two “off-the-line” regions (i.e., Gorontalo City and Ngada District) and one “on-the-line” region (i.e., Mojokerto District), I find that the PKS’s electoral mobilization in non-Javanese regions depends more on whether the party exploits a strong tendency toward personal votes supported by clientelistic networks. In contrast, in Mojokerto, a typical rural Javanese region, PKS’s support base is virtually embedded in specific milieus structured by deep-seated sociocultural cleavages. The findings of the comparative analysis are supported by the evidence produced through additional statistical testing. This article resonates with the broader literature on politics in the Muslim world, indicating strategic considerations of local political conditions as an important factor in electoral support for Islamist parties.

KIA MENG BOON

Researcher, Research Institute for Humanity and Nature

Title: That things are "status quo" is the catastrophe': Power and Protest in Pandemic Malaysia

Malaysia experienced a political crisis that coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020. After relative initial success in containing the early waves of infection through the imposition of a state of emergency, the suspension of parliamentary democracy, and coercive campaigns against “undocumented” migrants and refugees, the country has since suffered severe and critical setbacks, with large numbers of population infection and deaths. This paper seeks to investigate the continuities and shifts in the modes of power and governmentality at work in the present political conjuncture in Malaysia. It will look at recent episodes of protest in Kuala Lumpur in response to the government’s mismanagement of the pandemic, and what they could mean when compared to political events in the country over the last decade or so.

SINAE HYUN

Research Professor, Institute for East Asian Studies, Sogang University

Title: Border Patrol Police in Bangkok: Shifting Boundaries of the Royalist Thai Nation

The Border Patrol Police (BPP) of Thailand is a paramilitary intelligence force formed to defend border security by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the Thai military government in the early 1950s. There are three notable occasions that the BPP operated in Bangkok: in Thammasat University in 1976 and Siam Square in 2010 and 2020. Why is a border security force called to operate in Bangkok on these occasions? There are three caveats when observing the BPP’s mission. First, Bangkok is outside of the BPP’s usual area of responsibility and operation, hinting that the occasions that they were called in are “unusual.” Second, the BPP has close contact with the royal family through their civic actions. Third, the BPP is in control of one civilian vigilante group called the Village Scouts that used to be the largest social movement in Thailand during the Cold War. Not only the BPP but also the Village Scouts’ location of operation demands further scrutiny on the mission they are tasked with. This presentation focuses on the BPP’s three operations in Bangkok to understand its role as a symbolic missionary of royalist nationalism built through the Thai monarchy’s nationbuilding during the Cold War. The presentation is consisting of

three parts. First, it will investigate the first two occasions when the BPP operated in Bangkok and what role the organization played. The second part will reflect on the BPP's operation in Bangkok in a larger Thai history of the nation-building project. Finally, it will analyze why the BPP's deployment to Bangkok in 2020 has different implications from the previous occasions. Building upon the analysis, the presentation will show how the BPP's presence in Bangkok in 1976, 2010, and 2020 illuminate the changes in the boundaries of royalist nationalism in Thailand.

KIHONG MUN

Senior Researcher, Institute for Global and Area Studies, Pukyong National University

Title: Mass mobilisation under Military Rule in Myanmar

In the 21st century, democracy has been under threat by anti-democratic practices. Authoritarian regimes have maneuvered political institutions such as the constitution, electoral system for their favors. As authoritarian practices have been lingered on, the research questions do authoritarian regimes need popular supports? In this research, I contend that an authoritarian regime would not achieve its designed goals without popular and partisan support for authoritarian rulers' institutional agendas as political institutions undergird its rule. The study suggests that not only can political parties and interest groups contribute to an authoritarian's mobilising capacity, but also a distinctive type of organisation can strengthen this capacity. I theorise that the necessary supports from the mass would come either from mass-formed organisations or political parties. The study focuses on the case of mass mobilisation by the military regime in Myanmar since 1988. The military regime achieved its mobilisation capacity by establishing a government-sponsored organisation, the Union Solidarity and Development Association, formed in 1993. The formation and mobilisation have been geared toward accomplishing the regime's transition plan to disciplined-flourishing democracy. Indeed, it held several pro-government mass rallies across the country under the theme of supporting the regime's policies, such as convening the National Convention for writing a new constitution, anti-subversion law, and seven steps roadmap to democracy. Later, the members of the association joined as the representatives for the constitution-writing process. Furthermore, the organisation transformed itself from a patron organisation into a political party, the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), before the 2010 general election. The party achieved most seats in the new parliament in 2011 and influenced major political decision-making processes in the legislature. The mass mobilisation by the military regime has provided a safe environment in the post-authoritarian society.

SESSION 4: THE PANDEMIC AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

VICENTE ANGEL YBIERNAS

Visiting Professor, Changwon National University

Title: Vaccine Diplomacy, Duterte-style

Sufficient and timely vaccine supply has been one of the biggest challenges facing ASEAN members during this global Coronavirus pandemic. ASEAN countries have been largely forced to utilize diplomatic tools to ensure their fair share of vaccine supply. For the Philippines, it has resorted to some curious rhetoric to procure vaccine from supplier countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, China, and Russia. This paper will assert that the tack used by the Philippines to secure vaccines from supplier countries essentially reflect the unconventional leadership style of President Rodrigo Duterte.

JEONGHYEON KIM

Research Fellow, Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, Jeonbuk National University

Title: Refugee policy as Foreign Policy: South Korean Public Opinion toward Myanmar Refugees

While around 175,000 people have been displaced within Myanmar since coup on February 1, 2021, more than 12,000 Myanmar people have fled to neighboring states for refugee protection (UNHCR 2021). Among those, in June 2021, four Myanmar people arrived in South Korea and filed refugee applications, claiming to have been persecuted by the military for joining pro-democracy movements. South Korea is the first country in Asia legislated national refugee law in compliance with the international refugee protection regime, and it also has the history of achieving a full-fledged democracy through a series of public demonstrations against the military dictatorship in 1970-80s. Therefore, pro-democracy groups not only in Myanmar but also in Thailand and Hongkong often refer South Korea as their role model for democratization, and the international community asks the South Korean government to take more responsibility to accept and protect refugees from those countries in Asia. While the international community's pressure on the government for refugee protection surges, how do South Koreans think about hosting more refugees from Myanmar? In other words, under what conditions, people are more likely to intervene and protect refugee rights? Also, in liking public opinion and policy, is there any democratic deficit in the South Korean government refugee policy making and implementation processes? To answer those questions, this article examines South Korean public opinion toward Myanmar refugees by analyzing survey data the author conducted with Hankook Research from August 26-30, 2021.

JIHYOUK LEE

Senior Researcher, The Export-Import Bank of Korea

INJUNG CHO

Ph.D. student, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University,

Title: The Evolution of Regional Norms: Reconstructing the ASEAN Way in Myanmar Crisis

Burma's entry to ASEAN (1996), Cyclone Nargis (2008), Rohingya genocide (2016-17), and the coup by a military junta (2021) were a series of tests to reconceptualize the

“ASEAN Way” among ASEAN member states. In upholding the ASEAN way, especially the foundational principle of non-interference, the ASEAN member states have incrementally been involved in the Myanmar incidents. This paper takes up the subject of the Myanmar incidents, in which the ASEAN has autonomously and constructively intervened, by employing the concept of norms evolving through actors’ interactions and shared values. This paper especially closely looks at the “comfort level” associated with the ASEAN’s capacity to implement concerted actions and how this concept plays a role in developing the “ASEAN Way.” This paper then takes a further step to suggest in what ways the “ASEAN Way” should be evolved to advance the ASEAN as a regional community with increased mutual cooperation.

JINYOUNG LEE

Assistant Professor, Jeonbuk National University

Title: Sub-group dynamics within ASEAN: ‘Island’ and ‘Mainland’ blocks

The purpose of this study is to analyze the dynamics of subgroups within the Southeast Asian regional rubric of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). Examples of such subgroups include the overlapping groupings of Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore (IMS), Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand (IMT), and Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines (BIMP). This study explores the background of the formation of sub-groups in Southeast Asia and the causes of the evolving constellation of subgroups within ASEAN. Sub-group formation occurs in response to diverse perceived needs ranging from economic interests and political agendas to security concerns. This study will explore the degrees to which such sub-group formations are consistent with or complicate the functions and roles of ASEAN as a Southeast Asian regional cooperative. We will also examine the ways in which sub-regional groupings aim to complement the functions that ASEAN as a whole does not is unable to provide. The study opens with a questioning why sub-groups are formed in Southeast Asia and what differs in the backgrounds of different formations. From this, we will go on to explore the implications of sub-group formations for reconsidering theories of international politics. For example, the formation of sub-groups that bring together – in different combinations – various mainland and maritime island countries of the region have ramifications for balance of power in Southeast Asia. Other issues include the evaluation of the extent to which the leading state of a sub-group is chooses to prioritize regional stability in relation to national interest, and the degree to which sub-group formations reflect global concerns such as climate change, rather than more specifically regional ones. Special attention is also directed toward questions of development gaps within and across different sub-groups.