Understanding ASEAN's Response to Climate-Induced Human (Im)mobility through a Postcolonial Lens

Master's Thesis

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Abstract

Climate change has emerged as a paramount crisis with profound implications for human mobility and decision-making processes. The intricate interplay of climate-induced migration with political, economic, and social dynamics has reshaped historical patterns, particularly in vulnerable regions like Southeast Asia. This paper aims to understand how Southeast Asia's historical experiences with colonization influence its response to non-traditional security threats, focusing on climate-induced human mobility. While the securitization discourse has gained attention, the role of postcolonial contexts in shaping Southeast Asia's climate migration strategies remains underexplored. This research investigates the nexus between historical legacies and contemporary responses, uncovering how colonial influences shape the region's approach to challenges posed by climate change. The study addresses an overarching research question and three sub-questions through a case study of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). By analyzing policy documents, language use, and the presence of principles like non-interference and state sovereignty, the research provides insights into how ASEAN balances human and state security while addressing climate-induced mobility challenges. Through nuanced analysis, this study contributes to understanding the factors shaping Southeast Asia's climate mobility response and its implications for regional security.

List of abbreviations

AEC: ASEAN Economic Community

APSC: ASEAN Political and Security Community

ASCC: ASEAN Socio Cultural community

ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations

CIHM: Climate-induced human (im)mobility

COP: Conference of Parties

GCM: Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular MIgration

NTS: Non-traditional security

SEA: Southeast Asia

TAC: Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia

UN: United Nations

UNFCCC: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

1. Introduction and research aim

1.1 Background

Climate change has emerged as the preeminent crisis of our time (UNHRC, n.d.), yielding far-reaching implications for the intricate facets of human mobility and the associated decision-making processes across various levels, from individual to regional, on a global scale (Mombauer et al., 2023). While the phenomenon of climate-induced migration has been a persistent thread woven into the fabric of human history, often serving as a natural adaptation mechanism (Black et al., 2011b; Barnett and McMichael, 2018), the contemporary epoch of climate change is ushering in a reconfiguration and amplification of these longstanding patterns and the vulnerabilities intertwined with them. This evolution is intricately interwoven with political, economic, social, and demographic variables (Black et al., 2011a), culminating in a complex interplay wherein climate-driven alterations converge with multifaceted dynamics and inherent risks. Notably, climate-induced human mobility assumes a central role in regions where economies are closely entwined with climate-sensitive resources, exposing industries, settlements, and societies to heightened susceptibility to escalating climatic perils (Afifi et al., 2016; Martin et al., 2022). This unique context accentuates the likelihood of substantial disruptions surpassing local capacities to manage and sustain functionality (IPCC, 2022; IFRC, n.d.). This convergence of challenges is acutely palpable in Southeast Asia, where the aftermath of both abrupt and gradual climatic transformations accentuates concerns about human security encompassing diverse domains such as cultural heritage, identity, health, and economic subsistence (UNDESA, 2023).

Within the realm of governance, the formal recognition of climate-induced migration and displacement has historically been a notable absence, often relegated as a "technical, academic, and peripheral discussion" (Jakobsson, 2021). This paradigm began to shift during the 14th Conference of Parties (COP14) in 2008, where references to climate-induced migration and displacement first found a place within the documents of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) assembly, although these sentiments were not subsequently reflected in COP outcomes (Wilkinson et al., 2016; Gemenne, 2023). Since then, the discourse encompassing migration governance exists as a variegated mosaic of disparate institutions addressing multiple facets, encompassing human rights, mobility, refugee status, and migration control. These diverse components intricately shape states' responses to the fluid nature of cross-border population movements (Betts, 2011; Lahav and Lavenex, 2012). With an increasing number of individuals confronting the prospect of cross-border migration due

to gradual climate-induced shifts such as sea-level rise and droughts, the imperative for collaborative endeavors among neighboring regions is becoming progressively pressing (Cristani et al., 2020).

In 2010, the Cancún Climate Change Conference assumed a pivotal role by catapulting climate-related cross-border displacement onto the global stage (Warner, 2012; Jakobsson, 2021; Gemenne, 2023). Through the adoption of Paragraph 14(f), nations were exhorted to augment understanding, coordination, and cooperation at national, regional, and international strata in the realm of climate change-induced displacement, migration, and planned relocation (Kälin, 2012; Warner, 2012). The Nansen Principles further emphasized the necessity of regional frameworks and international collaboration to adeptly address displacement, safeguard affected communities, and devise sustainable solutions (Kälin, 2012; Gemenne and Brücker, 2015). Building upon this momentum, the definitive draft of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration (GCM) in 2018 aptly underlined the pivotal role played by the regional level in tackling environmentally induced migration (Pécoud, 2021). The GCM underscores the urgency of harmonizing and cultivating approaches at subregional and regional tiers to confront vulnerabilities stemming from both abrupt and gradual natural disasters (GCM, 2018; Pécoud, 2021).

The need to move beyond individual domestic solutions and embrace harmonized legal approaches is clear. The regional level serves as the prime platform for developing cohesive legal frameworks, nurturing cooperation, and generating context-specific solutions (Jubilut and Ramos, 2014; Mayer, 2015; Fornalé, 2017; Cristani et al., 2020). This allows for effective handling of varying climate impacts and migration patterns, tapping into diverse regional knoweldge and practices (Kälin, 2010; Cristani et al., 2020). However, this trajectory is far from uniform across regions, as the hesitancy observed in Asia suggests variable levels of enthusiasm for regional mobility regulations (Khadria et al., 2019; Cristani et al., 2020).

Considering the intricacies of Southeast Asia, migration has been cast as a security concern (Caballero-Anthony, 2018) and thus securitized. Consequently, the discourse surrounding this matter is informed by a specific understanding of climate migration as a security concern, in turn influenced by historical contexts, prevailing narratives, inherent characteristics of the region, and the very structure of its environment (Salter, 2008). Thus, such a securitizing regional approach is not solely a context-shaping endeavor; it is profoundly context-dependent. Without comprehending the context within which these processes have unfolded in Southeast Asia, a comprehensive understanding of the region's approach to climate migration remains elusive (Geddes, 2021). However, the examination of context's impact on securitization theory is relatively limited. Particularly, the literature presents scarce consideration of the

region's colonial history and how it has influenced today's approach to climate migration.

1.2 Research problem

While the global recognition of climate change as an unprecedented crisis has prompted intensified focus on its implications for human mobility and decision-making processes, the intricacies surrounding the regional response, particularly in Southeast Asia, remain inadequately explored. The research problem at the heart of this study lies in comprehending how the regional response to climate-induced human mobility in Southeast Asia is influenced by the postcolonial context, and how this, in turn, affects the securitization of climate migration within the region. While existing research acknowledges the significance of context in shaping securitization dynamics, the role of the postcolonial context in Southeast Asia's response to climate migration and its subsequent securitization remains relatively unexplored. Thus, this study seeks to bridge this gap by investigating how historical legacies, narratives, and structural factors in the postcolonial milieu intersect with the securitization of climate-induced human mobility. This endeavor is crucial to gain a holistic understanding of regional responses to climate migration and the nuanced factors that influence securitization processes within the Southeast Asian context.

1.2 Research aim

The aim of this research is to investigate how Southeast Asia's historical experiences with colonization shape its current approach to addressing (non-traditional) security threats, with a specific focus on climate-induced human mobility. By delving into the intricate relationship between historical contexts and contemporary responses, this research endeavors to elucidate the ways in which colonial legacies influence the region's strategies for dealing with challenges posed by climate change.

Certainly, the selected theoretical framework greatly influences the way I discuss and present the findings. However, my intention is to offer one of many interpretations of ASEAN's approach to climate-induced human mobility in Southeast Asia. Ultimately, I aspire for this work to contribute to comprehending ASEAN's climate policy decisions based on the evidence generated by this study. Throughout the thesis, I navigate complexities, research limitations, and acknowledge my standpoint.

1.3 Research question(s)

To delve into this topic, the overarching research question this thesis seeks to address is, 'How does Southeast Asia's historical response to colonization shape its current approach to addressing non-traditional security threats, notably climate-induced human (im)mobility?' To effectively answer this, the analysis is guided by three sub-questions, informed by the theoretical framework, (1) 'Who serves as the referent point for security in ASEAN's discussions regarding climate-induced human mobility (CIHM) as manifest in policy documents?', (2) 'How does the language employed in ASEAN's policy documents frame CIHM?', (3) 'To what extent are the principles of non-interference and state sovereignty evident in ASEAN policy documents concerning CIHM?'.

This study unfolds as follows. First, the theoretical foundation is laid to include securitization discourse, Non-Traditional Security (NTS), particularly climate-induced human (im)mobility (CIHM), and the postcolonial dimension unique to Southeast Asia. Following, the methodology entails a case study of ASEAN, covering further explanations for sub-questions, research methods, data selection, analysis techniques, and ethical considerations. Chapter 4 presents the findings, shedding some light on how ASEAN navigates the delicate balance between human and state security, addresses CIHM challenges, and upholds the principle of non-interference. Through a discussion that aligns findings with the theoretical framework, this study tries to contribute insights into the intersection of historical context, security dynamics, and current policies in Southeast Asia. The conclusion encapsulates key takeaways and potential implications derived from this exploration. Through a nuanced analysis of these dynamics, the research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the factors shaping Southeast Asia's response to climate-induced (im)mobility and its broader implications for regional security.

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework employed in this study serves as a comprehensive guide, beginning with an exploration of securitization theory and its various dimensions. Given the region's perception of migration as a security concern, an exposition of this theory is crucial to interpret the regional approach to the topic. The framework then delves into the realm of non-traditional security, elucidating its characteristics and positioning climate-induced human mobility within its purview. Moving forward, the framework delves into the postcolonial dimension, positing its influence on the governance of climate-induced human mobility. Through an exposition of the understanding of postcolonialism within this study, the framework

proceeds to examine how Southeast Asia is framed in postcolonial studies, substantiating the argument that this dimension remains understudied. Culminating with the presentation of a conceptual model, this comprehensive framework establishes the bedrock for the subsequent analysis of findings, facilitating a thorough exploration of the research objectives.

2.1 Securitisation discourse

Theories of security expound on how a phenomenon evolves into a security concern (Baldwin et al., 2014). As a concept, security is subject to contention and varying interpretations across different schools of study deriving from "different underlying understandings of the character and purpose of politics" (Booth, 2007: 11). Based on this, perspectives on security are contingent upon one's political outlook and philosophical worldview (Booth, 2002). According to realist scholars, "a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice is it legitimate interest to avoid war and is able if challenge to maintain them by war" (Lippmann, 1943: 5). The sentence condenses a succint and clear articulation of the statist conception of security, accordinng to which the military is the sole security sector and the state the sole referent object.

Critical scholars have contested this perspective and have been advocating for an expanded security agenda (Buzan et al., 1998; Sense, 2019). Buzan's, Waever and de Wilde's work contends that a prerequisite for this involves identifying the 5 sectors of security: military, environmental, economic, political, and societal. Each sector has distinct "existential threats" and safeguarded entities, termed "referent objects. Threats can challenge governing authority or legitimate power holders, including non-state actors (Buzan et al., 1998). This identification is essential to determine the legitimacy of exceptional and extraordinary measures, as the perception of existential threats hinges on the specific identity of the referent object (Buzan et al., 1998; Caballero-Anthony, 2006). This implies that the state is not the automatic referent object and that various other actors such as people, businesses, the environment, and the planet can also be considered (Caballero-Anthony, 2018). Critical scholars thus advocate in favor of expanding the scope beyond the state (deepening the agenda) and shifting focus from the military realm to encompass sectors like the economy, environment, politics, and society (broadening the agenda) (Jones, 1999; Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2020). While security's referent may vary depending on context, survival remains its fundamental core (Caballero-Anthony, 2018).

Comprehensively, this querelle translates into two principal viewpoints: the perspectives of human security and state security. The state-centric stance, part of the traditional securit paradigm, places greater emphasis on the national level, encompassing border controls, political oversight, and military readiness

(Butros et al., 2021). Conversely, the human security perspective presents a more comprehensive interpretation of security, centering on individual well-being, emphasizing the safeguarding and security of citizens, and attributing the responsibility to the state (Butros et al., 2021). The predominant security standpoint shapes political incentives and decisions (Bello, 2022), exerting significant influence on climate-induced mobility policies, given that climate-driven migration is frequently framed within the political sphere as a security issue (Baldwin et al., 2014; Bettini, 2014; Geddes & Somerwille, 2012).

Therefore, the referent object acts as a dynamic force, influencing the contours of security discourse. However, this paradigm is not isolated; it is intertwined with the outside-in influence of context. Securitization choicesare contingent upon the "particular history, dominant narrative, constitutive characters, and the structure of the setting itself" (Salter, 2008: 330). Indeed, distinct settings operate according to their own languages and logics, to which securitizing actors must be attuned. Thus, securitization is not solely a context-shaping endeavor; it is profoundly context-dependent. Without comprehending the context within which these processes unfold, a comprehensive understanding of securitizing actors, audiences, referent objects, and securitizing maneuvers themselves remains elusive (Williams, 2003: 514). Critiques concerning the role of context have significantly fortified and broadened securitization theory. This has given rise to a diverse body of scholarly work that concentrates on particular contextual dimensions, such as the regional context (Sense, 2019), and the political-historical context (Huysmans, 2000). Similarly, noteworthy contributions have extended the theory's application beyond European settings (Caballero-Anthony et al., 2006; Wilkinson, 2007; Vuori, 2008; Karlström, 2012). Despite these advancements, the examination of postcolonial context's impact on securitization theory remains relatively limited.

2.2 Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Challenges

Against this backdrop, Non-Traditional Security (NTS) challenges have emerged to broaden the security concept and enrich our comprehension of contemporary non-military security challenges (Caballero-Anthony, 2018). NTS challenges, such as climate change, resource scarcity, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, and transnational crimes (Ewing and Caballero-Anthony, 2013), threaten the survival and well-being of two referent objects: people and states. NTS challenges exhibit distinctive characteristics. Firstly, people and states are not competing, mutually exclusive referent objects; instead, they are mutually reinforcing, as state security hinges on individual safety, and individual security relies on state stability (Caballero-Anthony, 2018). Secondly, NTS

challenges transcend national borders, encompassing global reach and impact. Consequently, these challenges exceed state boundaries, making independent control and management by individual states difficult. While the military may still offer resources, the efficacy of military force is largely limited in addressing NTS challenges rooted in uncontrollable forces like climate and environmental change (Srikanth, 2014). Given the non-military nature of these challenges, effective solutions necessitate the involvement of non-state actors capable of employing non-military mechanisms (Srikanth, 2014). Given the heightened complexity, scale, and urgency of NTS challenges, enhanced cooperation and coordination across actors of varying scales become imperative. This context also underscores the shift from a conventional government-centric, state-focused, hierarchical approach to a governance-centered, society-oriented, non-hierarchical framework (Caballero-Anthony and Emmers, 2017).

2.2.1 Climate-induced human (im)mobility (CIHM)

In the broader discourse spanning different global regions, the phenomenon of migration has garnered recognition as a non-traditional security concern (NTS) (Kicinger, 2003; Caballero-Anthony and Cook, 2013; Emmers, 2017). Within the intricate interplay connecting climate-related risks and human mobility (Thalheimer et al., 2021), various terms and definitions have emerged to capture the multifaceted nature of this phenomenon. These definitions exhibit varying scopes and focal points, with some exhibiting overlap while others highlight contextual nuances. This study adopts the term "climate-induced human mobility" to denote the movement of individuals or groups from their customary dwellings, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, temporarily or permanently, within national boundaries or across international borders. Such movement predominantly arises due to environmental changes attributed to climate change (IOM, 2019). This encompasses a spectrum of movements ranging from displacement and migration to relocation, encompassing both involuntary and voluntary scenarios (Baldwin et al., 2014). The term "mobility" assumes a neutral stance that enhances its analytical applicability, accommodating diverse movement scenarios, even incorporating the concept of "immobility," where individuals may remain involuntarily confined or choose to stay or leave and return (de Haas, 2021). Thus, the term "climate-induced human (im)mobility", sometimes shortened as CIHM, will be consistently employed throughout this study, with occasional exceptions for specific topics, policies, and contextual references.

This terminology holds substantial relevance in comprehending the rationale and processes underlying the securitization of climate-induced human mobility. The confluence of climate change and human mobility has elicited significant scholarly attention since the late 1980s (Baldwin et al., 2014; Ligouri, 2021). Early assertions postulated that unmitigated climate change would precipitate large-scale human displacement,

with projections of millions becoming "environmental migrants" or "climate refugees" (Baldwin et al., 2014; Ligouri, 2021; Piguet, 2022). Envisaged mass migrations from the Global South to the Global North even raised concerns about global instability and conflict (Bettini, 2013; Ligouri, 2021). These notions resonated among policymakers and institutions, framing the projected scenario as a security threat to Western nations (Baldwin et al., 2019; Bettini, 2014). In response, scholars within the migration domain scrutinized methodologies employed in major reports projecting climate-induced mass displacement (Bettini, 2014; Ligouri, 2021). The foundational assumption of a linear cause-and-effect connection between climate change and mobility came under scrutiny, leading to a division within the discourse on climate-induced movement (Baldwin et al., 2014). The "maximalist" or "alarmist" standpoint, driven by concerns over alarmingly high migrant figures attributed to climate change, collided with the "minimalist" perspective prevalent in migration research. The minimalist view posits that migration is intricately multifaceted, resisting attribution to a single cause, often downplaying climate change as a major driver (Baldwin et al., 2014; Ligouri, 2021).

The intersection of climate change and human mobility naturally gives rise to multi-dimensional issues with far-reaching implications encompassing political conflicts, climate justice concerns, and direct threats to life and human rights (Bettini, 2014; McAdam, 2009). However, both maximalist and minimalist viewpoints possess limitations: the maximalist stance oversimplifies explanations, while parts of the minimalist approach underestimate climate change's impact on mobility (Boas et al., 2019). Within academia, the minimalist perspective has gained prominence, particularly in critical social sciences and demography (Baldwin et al., 2014). This perspective does not negate the climate-mobility connection but contends that movement is not solely driven by climate change; political-economic factors play a substantial role (Kashwan & Ribot, 2021). The maximalist view, asserting that climate change substantially threatens societal stability and security, has gained prominence in global politics since the early 2000s, a period during which climate change was notably perceived as a security peril (Baldwin et al., 2014; Boas et al., 2019). This framing endures, prompting states to often adopt neoliberal governmentality approaches to secure against climate-related disruptions through economic stability (Jackson et al., 2023). Climate-induced migration, having gained prominence, frequently serves to underscore climate change risks across diverse platforms, including the United Nations, popular culture, and non-governmental organizations (Baldwin et al., 2014).

Within this context, CIHM gains prominence for analysis due to its convergence with the crisis status of climate change and its intricate intertwining with human movement. This dynamic accentuates the vulnerability of Southeast Asia, as its economic reliance on climate-sensitive resources amplifies

exposure to climatic hazards, triggering concerns encompassing cultural heritage, identity, health, and economic stability. This intricate backdrop underscores the importance of comprehending the region's response to these security challenges. The historical, socio-cultural, and political underpinnings that have shaped Southeast Asia's security strategy offer fertile ground for exploring the intricacies of climate mobility within this milieu. Consequently, delving into the interconnectedness of climate-induced human mobility, regional reactions, and the postcolonial backdrop provides not only academic curiosity but also vital insights into Southeast Asia's multifaceted security dynamics.

2.3 The postcolonial dimension

The term 'postcolonial' has garnered attention in the field of international relations studies (Barkawi and Laffey, 2006), yet its application often lacks precise delineation and spans a range of meanings (Sense, 2019). For example, 'postcolonial' may denote a field of study (postcolonial studies), suggest a form of resistance (similar to 'anticolonial'), or denote a temporal period (akin to 'post-independent') (Ashcroft et al. 2013). Due to this ambiguity, the word and all its derivatives tend to be considered slippery (Mishra and Hodge, 2005). So, "how can we find a way to talk about this?" (Young, 2020: 1).

While acknowledging the complex nature of the concept, I aim to move beyond this debate so as not to detract attention from the more fruitful reasoning that can arise from actively engaging with the concept. With these considerations in mind, the subsequent paragraph will elaborate on my interpretation of the term "postcolonial" so as to provide a structured framework for the subsequent analysis but also to highlight what the term does not imply within the context of this paper.

Postcolonial(ism) has come to be associated with a specific interdisciplinary academic approach encompassing political, theoretical, and historical dimensions. This approach serves as a transnational platform for studies rooted in the historical backdrop of colonialism and addresses the contemporary challenges posed by present-day events (Young, 1998; Mishra and Hodge, 2005). Here, 'postcolonial' will be thought of and used as an analytical category that is, in a way that is quite similar to Crouch's (2004) usage of the prefix 'post' in his concept of 'post-democracy', that I came to know and understand through the work of Behrouz Alikhani (2017). Crouch proposes the image of a historical parabola through which a concept that is attached to the prefix 'post' can be understood as moving. In rather abstract terms, Crouch (2004: 20) explains how:

"Time period 1 is pre-X, and will have certain characteristics associated with lack of X. Time period 2 is the high tide of X, when many things are touched by it and changed from their state in time 1. Time period 3 is post X. This implies that something new has come into existence to reduce the importance of X by going beyond it in some sense; some things will therefore look different from both time 1 and time 2. However, X will still have left its mark; there will be strong traces of it still around; while some things start to look like they did in time 1 again." (Crouch: 2004: 20).

In this thesis, the term 'postcolonial' is interpreted as a unique category distinguished by a range of discursive, material, and power structures that stem from historical and global processes. These structures are also evident in pre-colonial and colonial contexts (Quijano, 2008; Lim, 2017). This confers a temporal dimension to the postcolonial, denoting its occurrence after both the pre-colonial and colonial periods. At the same time, it implies a 'beyond' aspect, as certain aspects will appear distinct from both pre-colonial and colonial times (Hall, 2002).

"So, postcolonial is not the end of colonisation. It is after a certain kind of colonialism, after a certain moment of high imperialism and colonial occupation, in the wake of it, in the shadow of it, inflected by it, it is what it is because something else has happened before, but it is also something new." (Hall, 2002, as cited in Mishra and Hodge, 2005: 377).

2.4 ASEAN historical backdrop

ASEAN has been described by some scholars as one of the few enduring regional organizations in the 20th century (Acharya, 2009: 493; Deinla, 2017). Established in 1967 by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand, the intergovernmental group came together with the signing of the Bangkok Declaration to counter the spread of communism and set the foundation for the organization's collaborative approach to economic, social, and political cooperation, as well as its commitment to regional stability and prosperity (ASEAN, n.d.; Masilamani and Peterson, 2014). This event marked a breakthrough, ending the historical pattern of separation stemming from colonial times and culminating in the decolonization process initiated after World War II which ultimately led to the emergence of independent nations (Rajaratnam, 1992). By the late 1990s, Cambodia's civil war resolution, the end of the Cold War, and normalized U.S.-Vietnam ties fostered regional stability, prompting Brunei (1984), Vietnam (1995), Laos, Myanmar (1997), and Cambodia (1999) to join ASEAN, spurring further collaborative initiatives (ASEAN, n.d.; Wakkumbura, 2021). Presently, ASEAN comprises ten member

states with a population of 649 million, constituting 8.7% of the global population (ASEAN Secretariat, 2019 as cited in Wakkumbura, 2021).

The depth of ASEAN membership expanded in 1976 with the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC), a document that reflects the notions and ideals of the United Nations (UN) Charter, underlining convergence on the principles of mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and national identity of all nations, the right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion, and non-interference in the internal affairs of one another (Lian and Robinson, 2002). As acknowledged by the organization itself, the TAC remains the primary political tool governing inter-State relations in Southeast Asia, particularly in the realm of norm shaping and sharing (ASEAN, 2015). In 2007, the ASEAN Charter was adopted, establishing a legal framework and institutional structure (ASEAN,). This Charter encapsulates fundamental principles, criteria for membership, and a tripartite vision encompassing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC).

Nonetheless, the literature suggests that ASEAN's current stance on addressing security challenges reveals fragmentation (Caballero-Anthony, 2018; Murray, 2020; Wakkumbara, 2021; Council on Foreign Relations, 2022). Conventional security threats, primarily tied to military aspects, find alignment with the ASEAN way due to their focus on internal matters. However, this alignment is not as straightforward when dealing with non-traditional security threats, which encompass a range of issues such as China's territorial claims in the South China Sea, human rights violations, narcotics trafficking, refugee influxes, natural calamities, irregular migration, and terrorism (Caballero-Anthony, 2018). These complexities present challenges for ASEAN, rendering it an intriguing case to explore whether, and to what degree, vestiges of colonial history influence contemporary security approaches.

2.5 Conceptual model

The conceptual model maps the complex interplay of key dimensions shaping Southeast Asia's approach to security challenges. At its core, "Securitization Theory" influences the perception and response to security threats, with "NTS Challenges" stemming from it, encompassing the diverse realm of non-traditional security issues such as climate-induced human mobility (CIHM). Within NTS challenges, factors like the "transboundary nature" and the imperative to go "beyond the state" highlight the need for regional cooperation. The dimension of "Context" stemming from securitization theory signifies the

contextual factors influencing securitization processes. The trajectories of "ASEAN/SEA" and "Context" converge at the "Postcolonial Dimension," influencing ASEAN's principles of "non-interference" and "state sovereignty," while simultaneously clashing with the imperatives of "transboundary nature" and "beyond the state." This dynamic illustrates the clash of interests within the region's security landscape.
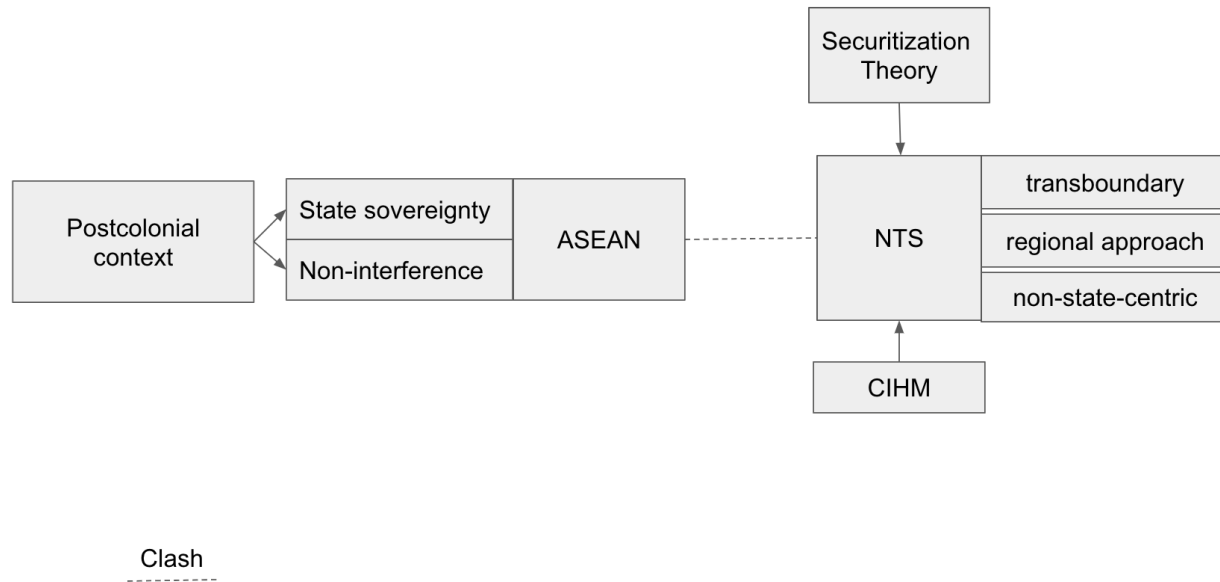

Figure 1. Conceptualization of the interplay between key concepts and their implications for ASEAN's approach to non-traditional security (NTS) challenges (Author, 2023).

3. Methodology

For this research, the SEA approach to CIHM at the regional level was investigated by looking at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as an in-depth case study. Informed by Flyvbjerg's understanding of a case study as an intensive analysis of a single unit emphasizing developmental factors in relation to the environment (2011: 301), the case selection was made on the basis of the information content that the author expected to find, following what Flyvbjerg calls an information-oriented strategy (2011: 307).

The expectation of finding information when looking at ASEAN was justified by the organization's pivotal role in Southeast Asia from a historical, regional, and security-related perspective. Therefore, while ASEAN does not include all states of SEA, it was inferred that ASEAN became an integral part of SEA's identity and has contributed significantly to shaping the region's trajectory over the years.

Building on the urgency to address the governance of CIHM in SEA laid out at the outset, this chapter continues with a description of ASEAN as a regional organization and its link to the governance of NTS. It continues with a presentation of the sub-questions derived from the theoretical framework and the methods of choice, data selection, analysis, and a section on the limits and ethical considerations.

3.1 Southeast Asia as a single case study

"It is as if these conventional geographical units of analysis, fortuitously defined as givens for the intellectually slothful, and the result of complex (even murky) processes of academic and non-academic engagement, somehow become real and overwhelming. Having helped to create these Frankenstein's monsters, we are obliged to praise them for their beauty, rather than grudgingly acknowledge their limited functional utility" (Subrahmanyam, 1997: 742-743).

The term 'Southeast Asia' acquired political significance in 1943 with the establishment of Louis Mountbatten's Southeast Asia Command, governing a territory stretching from ex-British Burma to the ex-Hispano-American Philippines, excluding the ex-Netherlands Indies until July 1945 (Anderson, 1998: 3). Concurrently, scholars, particularly in Anglo-Saxon contexts, began to actively investigate the term (Nordholt, 2004). 'Southeast Asia' emerged as an arbitrary organizational construct rooted in European colonial territorial concerns, broadly encompassing the present ten ASEAN member states and Timor Leste (Nordholt, 2004). In the 1950s, a significant development took place in the United States, where ample resources related to Southeast Asian studies and libraries converged, attracting a substantial number of Southeast Asian scholars to study the region within the U.S. Consequently, this phenomenon facilitated real-life connections, including marriages and the birth of children, in an environment where the concept of Southeast Asia was firmly established. These individuals were among the pioneers to identify themselves as 'Southeast Asians' due to the contextual environment that had materialized (Anderson, 1998: 11).

While its origin may be external, 'Southeast Asia' stands distinct from terms like 'Orient' or 'Oriental,' which situated the world in relation to Europe's geography, and 'Far East,' which did so in relation to the USA's geography. Some posit that 'Southeast Asia' avoids colonial and Eurocentric connotations by deriving from the compass reference of Central Asia, indicating the region between East and South Asia, delineated by bordering countries (Nordholt, 2004). However, Spivak (2008) urges caution against viewing and describing (Southeast) Asia as a monolithic entity, contending that pluralizing Asia is a step towards envisioning a more equitable world (Mains et al., 2013). Nevertheless, Hall clarified in 1981 that

the term does not intend to denote a coherent region with a shared language, ethnicity, or religion, but rather signifies a context marked by the simultaneous merging and preservation of local distinctions (Hall, 1981; Lim, 2017). Addressing this complexity, Heather Sutherland (2005) suggests treating geographic entities as contingent devices, true only under certain conditions, and tools adopted for specific purposes, rather than fixed categories (Sutherland, 2005: 21). This approach informs the direction of this thesis.

Despite its history as a colonized region, postcolonial perspectives on Southeast Asia are notably scarcer than, for instance, in South Asia (Beng Huat, 2008; Lim, 2017). Scholars attribute this phenomenon to the Cold War era, during which Southeast Asia became a proxy battleground for the larger conflict between the USSR and the USA, and colonial legacies were entangled in shaping emerging nations (Beng Huat, 2008). According to this argument, the overshadowing focus on the Cold War and concerns over communism eclipsed colonial history, diverting attention from postcolonial impacts. This era of rapid modernization through capitalism ushered growth and performance legitimacy, while selective historical recollection restricted explorations into colonial narratives (Nordholt, 2004; Beng Huat, 2008; Lim, 2017). Assuming that awareness shapes social consequences, within this 'imagined community' where national identities surpass regional sentiments, the absence of a regional consciousness likely translates into limited engagement with the region's historical past (Mishra and Hodge, 2005; Beng Huat, 2008; Mayer, 2015; Tay, 2016).

In light of these factors, Southeast Asia emerges as an intriguing and compelling unit of analysis for a single case study due to its intricate amalgamation of historical, conceptual, and geopolitical factors. The establishment of 'Southeast Asia' as a coherent territorial entity was born out of political imperatives and arbitrary definitions, even as scholars delved into its nuanced connotations. This region's colonial history and its subsequent trajectories, as evidenced by the limited attention to postcolonial perspectives, lend themselves to a unique examination of how Non-Traditional Security (NTS) challenges are addressed.

3.2 Sub-questions and methods

In addressing the research question, "How does Southeast Asia's historical response to colonization shed light on the present-day regional governance of climate-induced human (im)mobility as a security concern?", three sub-questions were delineated, grounded in the theoretical framework expounded in Chapter 2. Given the discerned division within the securitization discourse between human security and state security, along with the understanding that the predominant security perspective molds political

motivations and choices (Bello, 2022), the initial sub-question emerges: "Who serves as the referent point for security in ASEAN's discussions regarding climate-induced human mobility (CIHM) as manifest in policy documents?" This question attempts to establish whether ASEAN still centers the discourse on CIHM around the state, thereby signaling a state-centric approach. Next, subsequent to demarcating traditional security (TS) as intrinsically domestic while non-traditional security (NTS) necessitates regional and multilateral collaboration, and recognizing the considerable impact framing CIHM as either one of these two entities could exert on related policies, the subsequent inquiry is framed: "How does the language employed in ASEAN's policy documents frame CIHM?" This exploration intends to reveal whether ASEAN's documented policies acknowledge CIHM as an NTS issue or if it remains unframed as such. Lastly, in light of the premise that ASEAN's strict adherence to the principles of non-interference and the respect for mutual state sovereignty have been partially shaped by Southeast Asia's response to colonization, the third sub-question arises: "To what extent are the principles of non-interference and mutual state sovereignty evident in ASEAN policy documents concerning CIHM?" By delving into the extent to which these principles are invoked and applied within the context of CIHM, we can gauge the degree to which these categories, rooted in historical reactions to colonization, continue to shape ASEAN's policy stance.

The research methodology employed in this study is qualitative in nature. Opting for an in-depth case-study approach to intricately describe a singular phenomenon, the method of document analysis appears particularly relevant in this context (Yin, 1994; Stake, 1995). Given the limitations of available sources and the contextual constraints encountered during the research project, document analysis will be undertaken as a singular method. Although initial plans included conducting interviews with key informants, ultimately only one interview was executed and subsequently excluded from the study. Moreover, considering the intricate and multifaceted nature of the subject under investigation, the primary objective of this approach is not to formulate a concise, universally applicable framework, but to maintain an open-ended interpretation conducive to future research (Flyvbjerg, 2011). Therefore, as the fundamental objective of this research is to offer an interpretive analysis of documents, employing a focused document analysis approach remains a suitable strategy (Bowen, 2009).

3.3 Data selection and collection

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) produces a diverse array of policy-related documents that encompass its multifaceted cooperation. These documents are categorized into various segments, including the ASEAN Constituent Documents, which establish fundamental cooperation

principles and a vision for the ASEAN Community. ASEAN Summit Documents, endorsed by the supreme body of ASEAN, consist of agreements with both internal and external partners. The ASEAN Economic Community documents cover a broad spectrum of economic sectors, from trade and investment to energy and technology. Similarly, the ASEAN Political-Security Community documents address political, security, and legal aspects. The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community documents encompass diverse areas such as disaster management, health, education, and social welfare. Furthermore, ASEAN's external relations are reflected in documents concerning dialogue partners, regional forums, and other external interactions. Additionally, procedural matters, human rights, accession of new members, the ASEAN Secretariat, and other institutional aspects are documented.

In the pursuit of examining how ASEAN portrays climate migration as a security threat, a noticeable observation emerged, that is a distinct absence of a clearly defined framing of CIHM as a security challenge within the delineated document categories. This absence prompted an expansion of the research scope beyond the provided ASEAN documents, directing attention toward seeking supplementary information from sources that potentially address the intersection of climate migration and security in a less explicit manner (Table I). This broader investigation underlines the intricate nature of the subject matter and underscores the significance of consulting diverse sources to gain a comprehensive understanding of how ASEAN engages with the security implications of climate migration.

The primary objective of data selection was to identify documents within the ASEAN context that addressed the topic of CIHM. To achieve this, specific criteria were established to include any policy-related document that discussed the issue from various perspectives. Following a comprehensive review of the relevant literature, which provided insights into potential sources, it became evident that finding documents addressing the issue with uniform terminology posed a challenge (refer to Table 1). Consequently, the decision was made to select documents identified in the literature as synonyms for the term CIHM. This encompassed terms such as "irregular migration", "environmental migration", "climate migration", "climate refugee", and "environmental refugee". This approach yielded a collection of documents that touched on the subject. Given the limited extent of discussions that each document dedicated to the topic, it was necessary to choose a substantial number of documents to ensure adequate data for subsequent analysis. The selected timeframe for document inclusion was from 2010 to 2023, corresponding to the period following the recognition of cross-border displacement and the imperative for enhanced regional governance at the Cancún Climate Change Conference up to the present day.

Table I. List of documents selected for this study.

Document type	Document n.	Document selected	Year	Data analyzed
Consensus (non-binding; used to demonstrate unity and collective commitment to a particular course of action)	1	ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers	2018	Document stipulates the general principles, fundamental rights of migrant workers and members of their families, specific rights of migrant workers, obligations and commitments of ASEAN Member States.
Declaration (non-binding; meant to express shared principles, views, and commitment on specific issues)	2	ASEAN Declaration on the Rights of Children in the Context of Migration	2019	Document was used to investigate the referent object of security with the policy-related discourse of migrant workers as a potential category hiding climate-induced people on the move within it.
	3	ASEAN Declaration on Portability of Social Security Benefits for Migrant Workers in ASEAN	2022	Document was used to investigate the referent object of security with the policy-related discourse of migrant workers as a potential category hiding climate-induced people on the move within it..
	5	ASEAN Declaration on the Protection of Migrants Workers (Cebu Declaration) and Family Members in Crisis Situations	2023	
Report (assessments, analyses, findings, and recommendations on various topics, serving to inform decision-making, monitor progress, promote accountability, and share knowledge within the ASEAN region)	6	ASEAN Security Outlook 2021	2021	Document provides a 2021 assessment of the security landscape in the region, offering insights into various security challenges, trends, and issues that ASEAN member states face
	7	ASEAN State of Climate Change Report	2021-2050	
Strategic document (non-binding; represents a high-level, long-term political commitment to work towards outlined objectives)	8	ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) Blueprint (2025)	2015-2025	Document serves as a comprehensive guide for ASEAN member states to enhance political and security cooperation within the region. It outlines the framework for promoting peace, stability, and resilience, as well as addressing both traditional and non-traditional security challenges.
	9	ASEAN 2025 Forging Ahead Together	2016	Document was used to gain an understanding of the vision of the organization for the coming years.

All identified documents were sourced and retrieved from the online ASEAN Main Portal. The utilization of this authoritative platform ensured access to reliable and up-to-date materials that formed the basis for the subsequent analysis of ASEAN's approach to climate-induced human mobility and its governance.

3.4 Data analysis

In this study, document analysis combines content and thematic analysis (Bowen, 2009). In the process of developing analysis codes, a hybrid approach involving both deductive and inductive methodologies was employed, drawing inspiration from Fereday and Muir-Cochrane's methodology (2006). The deductive codes were firmly grounded in the existing literature and the established theoretical framework. These codes were applied to address specific aspects outlined in the sub-questions. In parallel, complementing the deductive strategy, inductive codes emerged during a comprehensive review of the documents, revealing latent themes and subjects not previously identified in the literature review. The initial examination of the documents utilized deductive categories (codes) from the literature review, followed by a systematic assessment guided by keywords such as 'climate', 'migration', 'mobility', 'sovereignty', and 'non-interference', resulting in the categorization of pertinent information (Bowen, 2009). This process further evolved to identify and code recurrent data patterns (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

3.5. Limitations and ethical reflections

Document analysis presents its own set of challenges, arising from inherent limitations (Bowen, 2009). A key issue pertains to the depth of information contained within documents, which might not fulfill the requirements for comprehensive research. Documents, crafted for purposes outside of scholarly inquiry, often lack tailored content for investigative needs. Another constraint involves the prospect of biased selectivity. Given the constrained scope of this thesis, only a subset of documents was considered, leading to a limited portrayal of ASEAN's discourse. This selection was necessitated by the substantial volume of policy documents available and the multifaceted discussions on the subject in varying contexts.

While these limitations are potential drawbacks, they do not necessarily diminish the overall value of employing document analysis. It is imperative to acknowledge that due to the scope restriction, the study is unable to fully capture the temporal progression and evolution of the discourse, which is pivotal for comprehensive discourse analysis involving longitudinal shifts. Consequently, this study furnishes a snapshot of the current discourse surrounding climate-induced human (im)mobility. Notwithstanding these limitations, the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of document analysis outweigh the constraints, rendering it an invaluable investigative instrument within the context of this research.

Regarding ethical considerations, it is crucial to recognize the potential influence of the researcher's bias on the study's outcomes. As a European without firsthand experience of Southeast Asia, relying on online

resources, the author's subjective perceptions, societal context, personal experiences, and worldview could impact the interpretation of both documents and discourses. While complete objectivity can be elusive in research, maintaining transparency and acknowledging potential biases are paramount. Consequently, throughout this study, a conscious effort will be made to engage in self-reflection and rigorous scrutiny to identify and mitigate any potential bias.

4. Findings

This chapter presents the findings produced by the document analysis conducted according to the methods outlined earlier. Seven policy-related documents were consulted in total, all of which non-binding due to the inexistence of binding documents on the topic, comprising 1 consensus, 2 declarations, 2 reports, and 2 strategic documents (Table I).

4.1 Balancing Human and State Security

The selected policy-related documents reveal that ASEAN is inclined towards maintaining an equilibrium between state security and human security, treating both as significant points of focus within the security discourse. Human security, particularly within the economic and health dimensions, and to some extent in relation to climate change impacts, emerges as the primary reference point. However, except for the 2021 ASEAN State of Climate Change Report acknowledging heightened regional vulnerability due to internal migration towards disaster-prone areas (page 508), the intricate interrelation between human security and the consequences of climate-induced human mobility remains unexplored. This is underscored in the ASEAN Security Outlook report (2021: 150), which states:

"Climate change continues to yield concerning ramifications in the region, encompassing elevated sea levels, heightened incidents of severe flooding and prolonged droughts, among other manifestations, thereby triggering an array of persistent security challenges including water and food security, as well as human security."

Nonetheless, this report does not further explore the migration aspect. The concept of human security guides ASEAN's approach to NTS concerns, though it remains confined to certain dimensions, such as economic, health, subsets of migrants like fishermen and children, and transnational crime, without

encompassing the nuanced dimensions of CIHM.

State as the referent object of security is viewed in terms of mutual obligation between states and individuals, often entailing dual responsibilities. The documents emphasize compliance with laws and regulations across the migration process, highlighting stakeholder roles in adhering to Sending and Receiving States' policies (ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Worker,). Both Sending and Receiving States' legitimate concerns are recognized, stressing the need for comprehensive migration policies, especially concerning labor intermediaries (ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Worker, 10).

4.2 The Great Absent: CIHM

None of the presented documents offers a precise definition for climate-induced human (im)mobility or its synonymous terms, complicating the discernment of ASEAN's conceptualization. However, this gap led to a thorough investigation, revealing an aspect unexplored in the literature review. Notably, certain migration forms, including climate-induced human mobility (CIHM), could be encompassed under broader labels like 'irregular migration' or 'illegal migration', as indicated in the ASEAN Security Outlook 2021:

"In addition, the Lao PDR has been working closely with the international community to address non-traditional security challenges of common concern and interest such as terrorism, violent extremism, territorial disputes, illicit drugs, natural disasters, pandemic, climate change, irregular migration, refugee crisis, trafficking in persons and armed conflicts and confrontation" (ASEAN Security Outlook 2021).

However, CIHM is not explicitly mentioned in this context. Another important theme revolves around 'crisis situations'. The ASEAN Declaration on the Protection of Migrant Workers and Family Members in Crisis Situations defines "crisis situations" as encompassing public health emergencies, natural disasters, and other crises determined by ASEAN Member States where such crises occur. While this document tangentially touches upon climate change and human mobility, it refrains from in-depth exploration of the intricate relationship between these phenomena. The document closely intertwines 'migrants' and 'workers'; nevertheless, it remains unclear whether this classification includes migrants compelled by climate change impacts to relocate, even if capable of work. The definition of 'crisis situations' is limited to public health emergencies, natural catastrophes, and 'other crises' determined by member states during

crisis periods.

4.3 Non-interference and State sovereignty

The principles of non-interference and state sovereignty, integral to ASEAN's values, are prominently reflected in the selected documents. Each document underscores these principles, laying the groundwork for subsequent issue treatment. A common thread in these declarations acknowledges,

"RECOGNISING the sovereignty of ASEAN Member States, and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of ASEAN Member States as enshrined in the ASEAN Charter, in determining their own policies."

These foundational principles permeate the documents, influencing various matters, including migration. Notably, the ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers clearly illustrates this, stating,

"RECOGNISING further the sovereignty of states in determining their own migration policy relating to migrant workers, including determining entry into their territory and under which conditions migrant workers may remain."

This statement reaffirms individual states' autonomy to shape migration policies. Noteworthy is that migrant workers constitute one of the few migrant categories recognized and addressed by ASEAN. The report ASEAN State of Climate Change Report highlights the theme further, as it relates to the Preparedness for the Enhanced Transparency Framework, emphasizing its nature as "intended to be facilitative, non-intrusive and respectful of national sovereignty" (page 71). Another notable mention of state sovereignty and non-interference is found in Chapter II of the strategic document ASEAN 2025 Forging Ahead, which highlights fostering principles of independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, non-interference, and national identity, alongside efforts to disseminate knowledge of ASEAN Charter, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC), and other key ASEAN instruments to the public, including incorporating this knowledge into school curricula (page 21).

5. Discussion

ASEAN policy-related documents reflect a tendency to seek equilibrium between matters of state security and human security by displaying elements of both perspectives, recognizing the importance of both state security and human security within the regional security discourse. The acknowledgment of human security dimensions, particularly in economic and health realms, reflects the organization's commitment to safeguarding citizens' well-being. This recognition aligns with the tenets of the human security perspective, which emphasizes the responsibility of states to ensure the security and dignity of their populations. However, a significant gap emerges in the documents' treatment of climate-induced human mobility (CIHM). While the ASEAN State of Climate Change Report acknowledges the security challenges posed by climate change, including human security concerns, the nuanced relationship between climate-induced mobility and human security remains underexplored, aligning with what was evidenced in the literature. This observation underscores the complexities of integrating climate-induced migration into the existing security discourse. The securitization theory's concept of referent objects becomes relevant in this context, as the documents' lack of explicit attention to CIHM suggests that it may not be seen as an immediate challenge to state security or welfare. Alternatively, it could signify that the issue might be considered too significant to be acknowledged at present.

The absence of explicit recognition of CIHM within the ASEAN policy documents underscores the challenges in effectively capturing and addressing the intricacies of this phenomenon. This absence prompts a more in-depth examination to discern whether CIHM is indirectly encompassed within broader migration categories or whether its significance is yet to be fully recognized by the organization. The observation that certain migration forms, including CIHM, could be categorized under existing labels like 'irregular migration' or 'illegal migration' within the ASEAN Security Outlook 2021 suggests that there might be an implicit acknowledgment of the challenges posed by climate-induced movement. However, the absence of direct mention or specific consideration of CIHM raises questions about the comprehensiveness of ASEAN's approach. The document's focus on various other non-traditional security challenges and its inclusion of climate change within this framework underline the complex nexus of issues the organization addresses. Yet, the absence of dedicated attention to CIHM leaves room for further exploration into how the organization conceptualizes and responds to this specific dimension of climate change-induced challenges.

Conversely, the consistent presence of the principles of non-interference and mutual state sovereignty in ASEAN's approach to security. These principles, deeply rooted in ASEAN's historical backdrop, emerge

as central tenets guiding the organization's stance also on migration dynamics. The consistent acknowledgment of member states' sovereignty within the policy documents reinforces the historical commitment of ASEAN to uphold individual state autonomy. The explicit recognition of sovereignty of ASEAN Member States emphasizes the organization's dedication to safeguarding members' independence and their right to formulate policies without external coercion or intervention. The connection between history and contemporary practice is evident in how these principles translate into respecting the internal affairs of member states. This mirrors the historical objective of countering external interference during ASEAN's inception and remains integral to addressing CIHM in a manner consistent with its principles.

6. Conclusion

The study aimed to unravel the impact of Southeast Asia's historical experiences with colonization on its approach to contemporary security challenges, specifically focusing on climate-induced human mobility. The central research question guiding this inquiry was: "How does Southeast Asia's historical experience with colonization shape the current response to non-traditional security threats, particularly those related to climate-induced human (im)mobility?" ASEAN was selected as a case study to gain insight into how a region like Southeast Asia, marked by unresolved historical legacies and increasing climate-related risks, addresses the issue of people moving due to climate changes within the framework of non-traditional security.

To explore this, a total of seven policy-related documents were analyzed. The analysis revealed that ASEAN's approach to security aims to achieve a balance between state security and human security, recognizing the significance of both aspects in regional security discussions. While these documents emphasize human security dimensions in economic and health domains, reflecting ASEAN's commitment to citizens' well-being guided by human security principles, they lack a comprehensive exploration of the complex relationship between climate-induced human mobility and security. This observation suggests ASEAN's willingness to consider 'non-state actors,' such as individuals, as pertinent to security, aligning with non-traditional security characteristics and departing from a solely state-centric approach. However, it is important to acknowledge that this conclusion may be influenced by the coding framework used for human and state security.

Regarding the language employed by ASEAN to describe climate-induced human mobility (CIHM), the analyzed documents lack a precise definition, posing challenges in comprehending ASEAN's perspective.

While CIHM could be categorized under broader labels like 'irregular migration,' the ASEAN Security Outlook 2021 does not explicitly mention CIHM. The ASEAN Declaration on the Protection of Migrant Workers and Family Members in Crisis Situations references climate change and human mobility within 'crisis situations,' yet does not delve deeply into their intricate relationship, leaving uncertainties about the classification of migrants compelled to relocate due to climate change impacts.

In terms of the principles of non-interference and state sovereignty evident in ASEAN policy documents concerning CIHM, these principles consistently permeate ASEAN's approach to this issue. Rooted in ASEAN's historical context, these principles underscore the organization's commitment to the autonomy and independence of member states, aligning with its historical objective of countering external interference while respecting each member state's internal affairs. Consequently, these principles are notably present in ASEAN's approach to addressing CIHM.

In summary, Southeast Asia's historical experience with colonization continues to shape its response to contemporary security challenges, especially climate-induced human mobility. The analysis of ASEAN's documents highlights how this historical influence is reflected in various aspects of ASEAN's security perspective. This study lays the groundwork for further research, including the examination of a broader range of documents or the application of different methodologies to deepen understanding of this evolving security landscape.

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