

ASEAN Integration: The Domination and Subordination among Member Nations

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Abstract

The ASEAN from its original purpose of conception has evolved into what it is envisioned now of integrating the 10 individual economies into a single regional economy. Its traditional practice of consensus and consultation poses a challenge and as a factor in lagging behind the development of its implementation. But what state from among the ten members is the best candidate to lead the organization remained to be a question. This research explores the possibility of determining the potential leader of the organization by considering several variables like corruption perception index, global competitiveness, government effectiveness, GNI, etc. and utilized the process known as exploratory data analysis or data mining in gathering data. Data gathered were then processed through the use of statistical software to cluster the variables. Cluster analysis was then performed to establish relevant relationships, similarities, or differences of the data collected. Results and data gathered from several relevant studies about the topic were also collectively analyzed to determine the gap of perspectives from other notable scholars and to gain new insights to fill in that gap. Based on this method of analysis, it was revealed that there's a single country that stands out from the rest and is the best candidate to lead the ASEAN Integration. A new paradigm shift is beginning to surface from collective to a single leadership.

Keywords: ASEAN integration, competition, cooperation, economic disparity, regional cooperation

1.0 Introduction

In any civilized society, organizations of different categories are naturally formed. What draws individuals to unite is possibly rooted on common interests or shared principles. Driven by the same ideology, countries in the southeastern part of Asia have found the same reason to come together and form an alliance. Thus, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN, was conceived out of the common need of political affiliation and territorial protection among ten Southeast Asian countries (ASEAN Official

website; Grimm, 1992; Ba, 1997; Alave, 2006; Wah, 2007; Medalla, 2012; Morada, 2012; Rafi and Lewis, 2012; Blizkovsky, 2013). ASEAN countries have a communal vision of creating a regional peaceful community anchored in the attainment of economic prosperity and political stability. In fact, ASEAN envisions becoming a single Southeast Asian community with the integration of its economic, security, political, and socio-cultural domains. Coming together might prove them stronger to compete globally than when working independently. This is supported by Nwosu, Orji,

Urama & Amuka (2013) when they said that the difficulties and adversities of individual countries may seem less challenging when they forge alliance and respond to these challenges collectively by merging their varied available resources.

This strategy of pooling resources, however, poses a question on the quality and quantity of resources that each member country can contribute to the association, considering the fact that Southeast Asian countries are of diverse economic - human, natural, capital - resources. This then leads to some doubts of whether or not ASEAN can sustain its vision of cooperation among neighboring states since such disparity of resource contribution can possibly be an avenue for bigger economies to carry out their vested interests. According to Kim (2011), it is always the rational self-interest of every sovereign state to secure its own national interests over the supranational ones. This creates a power struggle among member countries and may possibly turn the deepening of the regional integration into a distant reality. At the same time, this will challenge the principle of cooperation that each member nation tries to uphold as it triggers competition among each other.

Decision-making in ASEAN, dubbed as the "ASEAN Way", is based on consultation and consensus as stipulated in the ASEAN Charter. It becomes a challenge to the ASEAN if it can sustain such kind of leadership and how it can manage interdependence of conflicting national interests; uplift the individual national goal of economic growth and development without compromising the collective vision of cooperation and unity. According to Roberts (2010) as cited by Rafi and Lewis (2012) mentioned that the incapacity of the

individual state and its disparate political structure are the most crucial deterrent to regionalization and not only triggers the internal security but also the association with the other members. In the analysis of Areethamsirikul (2008) with respect to a deeper economic integration, ASEAN failed to possess a strong policy coordination because there is still a big disparity on the economies of each member and the lack of harmonization in the differing standards. Bayuni (2007) mentioned in his article in *The Jakarta Post*, given the number of ASEAN member states and the variety of their political systems, forging consensus has been a grueling and time-consuming task. This manner of reaching a decision may no longer be apt in a highly competitive world that requires quick responses. And every institution or organization that is formed requires a good leader to transform the organization into something that it envisions to become. Funston (1999) added that non-interference as an ASEAN key principle is no longer considered relevant as global interconnectedness in terms of development is now the prevalent theme.

With the emergence of skepticism about the integration like what Akraseranee (2000) contend that the ASEAN traditional way of "consensus system" is no longer functional and even the major impediment of a dragging development in the integration since the direction may deviate to the consideration of the weakest members or to the one with the most number of unresolved internal problems or issues, one country would predictably lead the organization instead of going by the consensual decision-making. But who will take control? And who will likely take orders? Primarily, what does it really take to lead a relatively large group of members with wide-

ranging economies? According to Bretherton and Vogler (2006), leadership means being able to plan out and implement effective strategies to address issues concerning the region despite the possible risks the solutions might entail. It is also imperative for the ASEAN to have an influential state leader with sound judgment and foresight of possible problems and more importantly, can initiate collaboration among its members in developing strategic solutions (Young, 1991). Furthermore, a strong state leader serves as an anchor in synchronizing policies and regulations in the regional cooperation (Mattli, 1999). ASEAN members, coming from different national realities, naturally have different national priorities. Influencing others to settle to your terms and to your nation's advantage requires skill that only an effective leader can do. This can be done either in a very subtle manner sometimes disguised as heroic deeds and benevolent assimilations or in a cunning and intimidating way of the bullies. As such, leadership requires the ability to persuade other members to agree to your ideas. Again, the question becomes – who among the ASEAN member nations possesses such characteristics?

That is what this paper aims to find out – which nation will control the decisions of the association? This study intends to predict who might prove to be superior and inferior in the ASEAN Integration in terms of making decisions.

Some ASEAN dialogue partners have their own bets as to who will possibly lead the organization. Caplen and Ooi (1991) observed that Singapore strategically programs its succession of political leadership. A potential leader is selected for up to 20 years earlier and is prepared for office 10 years before his official reign. For example, Lee Kuan Yew prepared Goh Chok Tong for the highest seat in

the government by providing him an avenue to be exposed in the domestic and even in international affairs of the state. Similarly, when he was installed as the Prime Minister, he was eyeing on Lee Hsien Loong, Lee Kuan Yew's son, as his successor and even gave himself a ten year reign period. Such meticulous and comprehensive system of political succession makes Singapore stand out from the rest of the ASEAN states.

Smith (1999) said that Soeharto of Indonesia used to dominate ASEAN and now it wants to regain the prestige of leadership it once enjoyed in the regional organization (Bellman and Vaughan, 2011). Indonesia does this by assisting other developing members in improving their economy to consequently put itself in the global spotlight. But with its political unrest due to the large influence of the military plus the lack of a unified system of determining a successor, it can hardly restore its leadership (Purba, 2002) and can no longer be considered as the most fitting leader of the ASEAN.

Thailand is in the same situation with Indonesia as it seems to be using a military coup d'état as the mechanism of succession. Although having some political struggle as mentioned, it had achieved a remarkable distinction in the actualization of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) strategies, particularly the equitable development and the integration with the global economy. There is an exodus of workers towards Thailand that even makes some Thai nationals apprehensive that they would lose their jobs to the more qualified and more English proficient migrants. Such evidence of global economy integration afforded Thailand an 86% rating in the implementation of AEC measures. This exceeds the collective ASEAN average of 80% (Chongkittavorn, 2014). This shows

the strong commitment of Thailand in upholding and implementing the mechanisms of the AEC.

In the paper presented by Ashikin (2015), it was revealed that Japan and China are confident that Malaysia can lead the group towards a stronger alliance. Now that the ASEAN chairmanship is handed to Malaysia (Oh, 2015) the pressure is rising as it is faced with two crucial issues. One is the territorial claim over the South China Sea, second is the continuing pursuit of the regional economic integration. With these two issues confronting Malaysia, its objectivity and good judgment will be put to test (Ho, Singh & Teo, 2015).

Dr. Adoracion Navarro from the Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS) related in a forum on ASEAN Economic Community that Philippines is not that ready in facing all the hurdles of the AEC integration especially when it comes to facilities and infrastructure. However, Villanueva (2014) as mentioned in the Philippine News Agency (September 2014) said that the technical and vocational education and trainings in the Philippines are ready for the ASEAN 2015 as the country increases its budgetary allocation for intensive training, in addition to the fact that it has been granted an ISO certification. But does such preparation qualify the Philippines to take the seat of leadership? Will this strength is in comparison to or overwhelm the competitiveness of the other members?

It can be deduced from the aforementioned studies that there is cynicism about the regional integration and that different countries are named to possibly lead the association. Each prediction was established on a particular consideration. Some based it on government stability, others on economic health. While still others constructed it on educational strength, others relied on the

depth and breadth of political influence. This study pooled together all these different factors to identify which Southeast Asian country is the most appropriate candidate in leading the organization. Hence, this study determined the country that will influence ASEAN's decisions on the basis of studying the following variables: Gross Domestic Product, Gross National Income, Literacy Rate, Government Effectiveness, Employment to Population Ratio, Global Competitiveness Index, Corruption Perception Index, Ratio of Population Above Poverty Line and Fiscal Balance.

This research aims to reveal the most qualified leader which excels in the aforementioned key elements because again, while the ASEAN Economic Integration is projecting cooperation and equality among its members but the integration itself can possibly mask the competition with supposed cooperation (Kim, 2011) and can even become a hub of power play as evident in its differing political (Bayuni, 2007) and socio-economic conditions (Rafi and Lewis, 2012). As Das (2012) puts it that the AEC blueprint is too much of an aspiration considering trade barriers still exist in the intra-ASEAN trade and creating a single market and production base largely require immense scale of production, infrastructure and capital. With the given incongruity of the respective national conditions of each nation members, it only implies that other members are ready, in particular the ASEAN-6 while others like the CMLV countries are still grappling to reach the minimum standard. Its demarcation line in terms of 21st century skilled people, technological sophistication, and resource accumulation is relatively inequitable. Narrowing the developmental gap means drastic changes or reforms in domestic policies are imperative so as to compensate the disparity and to be compliant

with the timetable of the AEC. More likely, the country that initiates cooperation, coordination and facilitation of assistance is the one that has the influence of leadership and the economic and political means. In the end, only those who have the means will meet the envisioned end.

2.0 Design and Method

The researchers utilized the process known as exploratory data analysis or data mining in gathering and analyzing data. All data were obtained from reliable sources like World Bank and Asian Development Bank: Asia Regional Integration Center and were analyzed using statistical software to establish relevant relationships, similarities, or differences of the data collected. Data gathered from several relevant studies about the topic were also collectively analyzed to determine the gap of perspectives from other notable scholars and to gain new insights to fill in that gap.

The study focused on ASEAN member nations: Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Viet Nam. The following variables are considered as indicators to determine the country that would be the best candidate to lead in the ASEAN Economic Integration.

1. Gross Domestic Product Per Capita. GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by midyear population. GDP is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources. Data are in U.S. dollars and based on World Bank 2014.

2. Gross National Income. According to Investopedia, it is the measure of a country's income – domestic and overseas. If a country has a good GNI, it means that it has a healthy economy and can therefore lead the other ASEAN nations. All data are from World Bank 2014 and are denominated in US billion dollars.

3. Literacy Rate. This reflects the percentage of people ages 15 and above who can both read and write with understanding, simple statements about daily living. Literacy can be a good barometer for economic and political status of a country. Good education means high economic returns and sound political judgment (UNESCO Report, 2006).

4. Government Effectiveness. It refers to how quality is the formulation of a national policy and how well it is implemented. It is the strongest macro-level indicator of democratic support (Magalhaes, 2014) where the higher the government effectiveness of a country the higher is its level of democratic support. This is based from the Asian Development Bank's publication on the Framework for Inclusive Growth Indicators 2014 (FIGI) that provides a framework of 35 quantitative indicators for measuring inclusive growth among its 48 regional member economies. This captures the perception of the stakeholders worldwide of the quality of public service provision, quality of the bureaucracy, degree of insulation of the civil service from political pressures, as well as quality of policy formulation and credibility of government commitment to such policies.

5. Employment to Population Ratio. This ratio is the proportion of a country's working-age population that is employed and is an indicator of the economy's ability to provide employment (World Bank). All information are based on the 2013 data.

6. Global Competitiveness Index. According to Governance Assessment Portal, the GCI measures “the set of institutions, factors and policies that set the sustainable current and medium-term levels of economic prosperity” (in other words, those factors that facilitate or drive productivity). The index is composed of 12 pillars of competitiveness. It attempts to take into account the countries’ different stages of economic development, and organizes the pillars into three sub-indexes: Efficiency enhancers, Innovation and Sophistication factors. The Global Competitiveness Index (GCI) attempts to quantify the impact of a number of key factors which contribute to create the conditions for competitiveness, with particular focus on the macroeconomic environment, the quality of the country’s institutions, and the state of the country’s technology and supporting infrastructure.

7. Corruption Perception Index – is a measure of how corrupt the public sector is as 175 countries were ranked based on perception by its citizens belonging to that individual country (Transparency International, 2014). The index is scaled from 0-100 wherein 0 indicates the country as highly corrupt while a score of 100 means that the country is seen to be free from corruption. The information used is the CPI as of 2014. Such data presents the pressing issue of corruption that every country faces and how it is susceptible to undermining the economic growth and development of the country. This also shows how the governments of these countries can possibly respond to it through adopting measures that will protect the poor and the vulnerable.

8. Ratio of Population Above Poverty Line. This is based on the United Nations Millennium Declaration where member nations commit themselves to a global partnership to reduce

extreme poverty and created a target to be fully implemented in 2015 known as Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Countries were ranked based on the percentage of population whose income exceeds the pegged poverty line of 1.25 US dollars a day according to its purchasing power parity (PPP) adjusted dollar that has the same purchasing power in all countries at 2005 prices. Data on this indicator are taken from the Asian Development Bank, ranging from 2010-2013. Specifically, information for Lao PDR and Myanmar are based on 2010 data; Cambodia, Malaysia, Philippines and Viet Nam are based on 2012 data. Indonesia’s rating is from 2013. A high ratio is a reflection of a government’s good economy.

9. Fiscal Balance. Based on the business dictionary, this refers to the amount of money the government has from tax revenue and the proceeds of assets sold, minus any government spending. When the balance is negative, the government has a fiscal deficit. When the balance is positive, the government has a fiscal surplus. A sound fiscal balance means strong fiscal policy. All data are taken from Asian Development Bank’s database (2014).

Results from above indicators were clustered and analyzed. From such analysis, conclusions about the indicators that can determine the leadership in ASEAN Economic Integration were drawn.

3.0 Results and Discussion

The researchers wanted to find out who among the ASEAN member countries would emerge as a leader and possibly take control in the economic and political aspects of the ASEAN Integration.

Table 1. Raw Data of the Variables

ASEAN Member Nations	GDP Per Capita	GNI	ALR	GE	EPR	GCI	CPI	RPAPL	FB
Brunei Darussalam	40976.6	15.1	95.98	0.8	62	4.95	60	100	11.4
Cambodia	1094.6	14.4	77.19	-0.8	82	3.9	21	81.1	-1.8
Indonesia	3491.9	939.3	93.88	-0.3	64	4.6	34	88.6	-2.3
Lao PDR	1793.5	9.8	79.86	-0.9	77	3.9	25	74	-5.6
Malaysia	11307.1	309.8	94.64	1	58	5.2	52	98.3	-3.9
Myanmar	1203.8	68.1	93.09	-1.5	76	3.2	21	74.4	-4.9
Philippines	2872.5	321.8	96.29	0.1	61	4.4	38	74.8	-1.4
Singapore	56284.3	294.7	96.76	2.2	66	5.6	84	100	8.7
Thailand	5977.4	359	96.67	0.2	72	4.7	38	86.8	-1.8
Vietnam	2052.3	156.4	94.51	-0.3	76	4.2	31	82.8	-4.7

In order to determine which member countries would be superior and which would be inferior in terms of decision-making of the organization the following data are looked at:

X1 = Gross Domestic Product Per Capita (GDP Per Capita)

X2 = Gross National Income (GNI)

X3 = Adult Literacy Rate (ALR)

X4 = Government Effectiveness (GE)

X5 = Employment to Population Ratio (EPR)

X6 = Global Competitiveness Index (GCI)

X7 = Corruption Perception Index (CPI)

X8 = Ratio of Population Above the Poverty Line (RPAPL)

X9 = Fiscal Balance (FB)

In the different variables treated, it can be noted that Singapore tops in six (6) out of the nine (9): gross domestic product per capita, literacy rate, government effectiveness, global competitiveness

index, corruption perception index, and the ratio of the population above the poverty line while Vietnam, Myanmar, Lao PDR, and Cambodia ranked at the bottom four. The data imply that Singapore gives primacy to education. The quality standard of living among its people is a reflection of its high gross domestic product per capita and is supported by the fact that none of them live below the poverty line. This gives a high confidence and trust of the people to its government. Similarly, the strong integrity of the government in terms of transparency and capability enables it to compete globally. Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam join the rank of Singapore, occupying the top three posts in government effectiveness (GE), global competitiveness index (GCI), and corruption perception index (CPI). What offers a country a higher potential to integrate itself in the global economy is its capacity to optimize itself in terms of developing its diverse resources: natural, human, and capital (Groff, 2014).

The vibrancy of its economy is measured through its national output and productivity which could lead to productive employment and provision of decent work for its people (Allen, 2015). A greater measure of economic potential growth and development is the gross national income (GNI). Indonesia ranks first, followed by Thailand and Philippines, respectively. GNI measures how well a country's economy is performing in the domestic and international markets. At the most bottom are Cambodia and Lao PDR. This may imply that a bigger reform in the domestic or national level is much needed in these countries. It also suggests that the more advanced ASEAN members like Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand will help promote a more equitable economic development to better meld its newest and less developed members. The prerequisite domestic or national reforms must be laid down so as to stimulate and maintain the momentum of the integration process. Otherwise, it would mean that they won't stand an equitable share of power and leadership and be likely controlled or become subordinates of the command of the more advanced member countries. The envisioned regional integration will stand a less chance to be implemented if internal challenges will not be

resolved and aided.

A sound monetary and fiscal policy is required for any member country to survive in the competition. Brunei Darussalam has the soundest fiscal balance, followed by Singapore and Philippines. The rest of the member countries have negative balance of payments which indicates that importation is higher than its exportation activities. This posits the idea that the lowest on rank like Vietnam, Myanmar, and Lao PDR are not capable of having its single production base as compared to the countries on top. This reality compels its respective governments to look into its commitment to good governance, development, and poverty reduction. Lao PDR and Myanmar remained to be at the lowest bottom in government effectiveness and the ratio of its population above the poverty line ranking. But as the integration deepens, it is a grueling reality that some sectors may lose competitiveness when cheaper goods or services are imported to compete with the existing local market (Groff, 2014). Governments need to be proactive in reallocating resources to the more efficient sectors of the economy, and compensate the losses from integration. In general, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Cambodia, and Myanmar remain to be at the bottom while Singapore stays at the top.

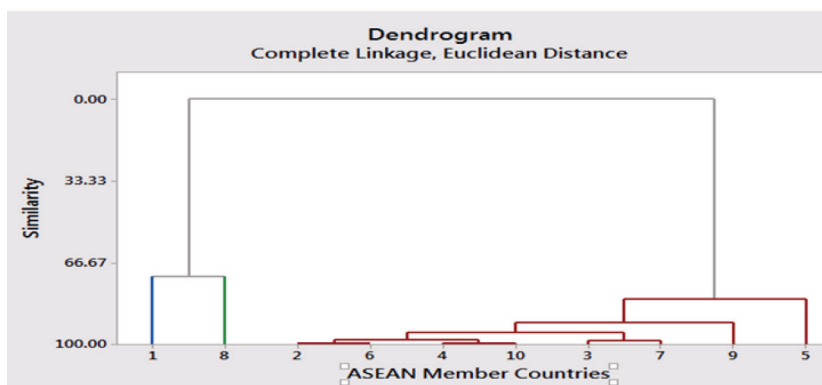


Figure 1. The Dendrogram of the Different Clusters of ASEAN Countries

It can be noted that the clustering of the ASEAN member countries is mainly based on political, economic and educational powers. Cluster 1 is composed solely of Brunei Darussalam. Cluster 2 is composed of Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, and Vietnam. In this cluster, however, Malaysia is better off over the other countries in terms of the above-mentioned factors. Singapore has Cluster 3 all to itself.

The prevalence of certain common but distinguishing characteristics is considered in the clustering. Cluster 1, which is monopolized by Brunei Darussalam, is considered to be second in rank among the three clusters. This country ranked 1st on fiscal balance; 2nd on GDP per capita, CPI and RPAPL; 3rd on GE and GCI. The second cluster is composed of Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Myanmar and

Cambodia. The performance of these member countries in all the variables considered range widely from middle to low. It is important to note that while Malaysia is part of the cluster, it is regarded highly in terms of GDP per capita, GE, GCI and RPAPL as compared to other countries in the cluster. Interestingly, Cambodia, which is almost consistently found at the bottom rank of several variables, topped in the Employment to Population Ratio. It is followed by Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam. Thus, they are considered to be the least in terms of ranking. The third cluster is solely for Singapore. Fundamentally, this cluster is considered to be the best of the three as Singapore reigns supreme in seven out of the nine variables. This could be an indication that Singapore has the strongest political, economic and educational control.

Table 2. The Cluster Centroids

Variable	Cluster1	Cluster2	Cluster3	Grand Centroid
GDP per capita	40976.6	3724.14	56284.3	12705.4
GNI	15.1	272.32	294.7	248.8
Literacy Rate	96	90.77	96.8	91.9
Government Effectiveness	0.8	-0.31	2.2	0.1
Employment to Population Ratio	62	62.63	66	62.9
Global Competitiveness Index	5	4.26	5.6	4.5
Corruption Perception Index	60	32.5	84	40.4
Population Above Poverty Line	100	82.6	100	86.1
Fiscal Balance	11.4	-3.3	8.7	-0.6

From the figures, it can be noted that cluster 2 countries fared lower than the average rating in almost all variables. On the contrary, cluster 3 member rated consistently higher than the grand centroid. And Brunei Darussalam, which has cluster 1 all to itself, fared relatively well in all aspects

except on the GNI, where it found itself to be part of the bottom three.

The ASEAN, being an economic and political organization, is founded on the principles of economic development, social progress, and intercultural enlargement. That being said, one or

more would likely influence the other members in its economic reforms anchored by its political tenets. By prediction, Singapore, which belongs to cluster 3 but which also consistently rates better as compared to Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand, may be the most influential in effecting change in the region. Caplen and Ooi's (1991) confidence for Singapore to be the most qualified leader because of its comprehensive and strategic system of succession are affirmed by Kamil and Singh (1999) with its initiative on free trade agreements with Australia, U.S. and Japan and by Vatikiotis and Mcbeth (2003) with its bold move in shifting to a bilateral agreement it coined "two plus X" together with Thailand where two countries in mutual agreement of bringing the integration forward can pursue the plan without the blessings from the other member countries but are always encouraged to participate. Since any organization requires a leader to initiate some radical actions, Schwarz (2004) is convinced that Singapore is more prepared and can sustain the leadership in bringing the integration into acceleration.

According to Ming (2014) that despite of the delayed and slower pace of the economic integration it still attracts foreign investors and business opportunities and that Singapore is taking advantage of the opportunity. Thus it created a gap in the regional economic integration. This is supported by the result of the econometric test of the degree of co-dependence of the original ASEAN economies conducted by Rafi and Lewis (2012) showed that there is not much sign of economic integration and a rather big gap among member nations. The least developed countries, which are those that fall in cluster 2 is the least cluster, run the risk of being controlled or dominated in the guise of financial and other forms of assistance

extended upon them to have an efficient delivery of the economic integration. Unless managed properly, the AEC may not translate into benefits for everyone and could only increase existing inequalities.

4.0 Conclusion

A deeper ASEAN integration will be insufficient if weak leadership particularly political and economic ones will surface and the acceleration prospects of economic integration and the shortening of the developmental gaps within each member nations will remain to be challenged. Balance of power remains to be a question since each member state, although sovereign, differ in terms of governmental stability, power, integrity, wealth, and influence such that it creates a disparity of power. It is also interesting to note whether the regional integration can fill the gap of power or will feed the power struggle in the service of the perceived ruler and at the expense of the identified weak. To realize the vision of the ASEAN integration in delivering more and better jobs, decisive action is necessary, including better management of structural change, ensuring that economic gains lead to shared prosperity, while strengthening regional cooperation and dialogue. Ultimately, the success of ASEAN regional integration will depend on how it affects the labor market - and therefore how it improves the quality of life of women and men in the region. This requires a very strong political will and a transformative leadership of the government leaders of every member country anchored by high integrity of governance.

However, if the integration in its truest sense does not prosper for the Southeast Asian countries, it can be deduced that there will eventually dominate the association. As far as

the ASEAN organization is concerned, it needs a single powerful state leader that can collectively bring all national interests and concerns into a unified vision. Singapore would likely emerge as the very potential leader of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations because of its political stability, boldness and risk-taking ability, economic vibrancy, and global competitiveness.

Leading an assemblage of countries challenged with variability takes not only wealth nor political power, but of a balanced mix of both. Effective leadership is thus, anchored on a country's healthy and equally-managed economic and political systems.

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