CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. Background

As a geopolitical, economic organization, Association of South East Asian Nations which established on August 8\textsuperscript{th}, 1967, aim to increase economic cooperation by regional cooperation. In another literature, the establishment of ASEAN also driven by the communist insurgency that gave a significant threat towards the five-founding father of ASEAN: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand (Eccleston, Dawson, & McNamara, 1998). However, despite the existence of political and security urgency that shape the regional cooperation of Southeast Asia, ASEAN as the lead organization of the region has been successful to bridge the security coalition into economic cooperation. With the concept of cooperation, amity and non-interference as the core principle of ASEAN, this association become one of active association across the Southeast Asian region. The increase of its member also proves the success of ASEAN. From only five countries, ASEAN has been growing into ten members state including the Philippine, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia. Application of country to join ASEAN also continues even until today. Ex Indonesia’s 27\textsuperscript{th} province, Timor Leste, for instance, express their intention to join as the eleventh member of ASEAN as well as Turkey and Mongolia.

Although enlargement of ASEAN member state shows positive progress, there are still issues and challenges within the membership of ASEAN. Member state relationship not described as only cooperation, but conflict and dispute also give different colors towards the association. Problems such as a border dispute, culture acquisition, ethnic conflict, and political rivalry also appear as the challenges of the region.

Even after 50 years of its establishment, ASEAN still encounters notably challenges for its development. Professor at
Tokyo University of Science noted that besides the South China Sea dispute that needs to be solved by the organization, ASEAN Charter universal values such as development of democracy, protection of human rights, the rule of law establishment and implementing principal of good governance is necessary for stabilizing the political situation in member countries (Oba, 2017). Furthermore, to encounter challenges today, ASEAN need to look back on its declaration as it reminds the aims and purpose of ASEAN. Acceleration of Economic growth, Social progress and cultural development in the region should become the primary objective of ASEAN.

With this vision, ASEAN Community 2020 established for the realization of a unified ASEAN society. With the three pillars to support it (ASEAN Political-Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community, and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community) ASEAN believes towards the establishment of what it called ASEAN Identity. The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community blueprint also stated that the envisions an ASCC where people enjoy the benefits of being part of ASEAN (ASEAN, 2017). With this aware and proud of ASEAN as identity should be established in order to realize the ASEAN-Socio Cultural Community.

Center for Southeast Asian Social Studies, University Gadjah Mada in an article titled: Building ASEAN Identity highlighted that within the six core elements of ASCC Blueprint, there is “building ASEAN identity” as the ingredient of ASCC itself (Dalimunthe, 2016). This particular element put an emphasize of such identity that owned by ASEAN Community which they feel they are the same with one and another. With this, the benefit of ASCC also not only collective identity but could spread into another sector. For instance, with the same identity and better understanding of cultural differences, aspects like business, education and social could be developed faster. Another implication of the implementation of the identity is the realization of a more natural conflict
resolution process as the countries start to behave and act by following the ASEAN-Way. However, the most important is that the feeling of togetherness that could boost cooperation way more effective and better than before. The ASEAN identity may also increase the security inside the ASEAN region as countries would likely not to fight but rather than to cooperate. But to think about those benefits is not as simple as the realization of such an identity.

On the contrary, many scholars argue that such identity could not be successful due to the condition of the region itself. Amitav (2017) stated that the main challenges for ASEAN Identity to be realized beside internal tensions is that the rise of China and India globalization as well as the rivalry between China and US that begins to spread its influence towards the Southeast Asian countries. However, such challenges are typical for a new regional institution like ASEAN. In comparison to EU for instance, it is a long process for countries in the European Union to develop their regional institution.

In its early development, ASEAN at its annual summit in December 1997 in Kuala Lumpur Malaysia drew upon its vision that the entire Southeast Asia to be by 2020 an ASEAN community that aware of its history, cultural heritage and bound by common regional identity (Jones M. E., 2004). At that time the concept of common regional identity and the effort to achieve it still unclear that leaves the question of how is the realization of it. Later on, ASEAN Vision 2020 has completed with the establishment of ASEAN Community 2015 that clarify the ASEAN Identity.

According to Amitav Acharya, “Southeast Asia’s identity, which is the basis of the identity for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a regional organization, is socially and politically constructed, through interactions amongst its governments and societies.” (Acharya, 2017) This statement justifies that despite the diversity of culture within Southeast Asia, the development of identity is possible due to
the interactions of the society. Thus, in the establishment of identity inside ASEAN, people interaction placed an essential role in building the identity.

For ASEAN, it is not limited only for elitist, politician, government and academic communities, ASEAN integration also targets all people of ASEAN. For civilians, it is the challenge of them to participate in the establishment of such identity. People should understand what the basis of ASEAN Culture is and what attitude that could interpret as ASEAN Identity. Governments Institution also hold essential roles on ensuring that their society could actively participate in the development of ASEAN Identity by organizing more than just government to government dialogue but also a community-based activity that leads towards the enactment of people to people connectivity. This people-centered activity that now becomes the challenges of ASEAN. Because the need to establish people to people connectivity in building ASEAN Identity, studies on the development of ASEAN people-centered program is necessary to push the implementation of ASEAN Identity.

B. Research Question

In refers to the background elaborated previously, the question raised by the researcher is: **What are the steps taken by ASEAN in its effort to construct ASEAN Identity?**

C. Purpose of Research

The main purpose in conducting this undergraduate thesis paper is to describe the program that has been established by ASEAN in its effort to endorse ASEAN Identity and analyzing the types of the program into a specific category to provide a better analysis on the effectivity of each program.
Another purpose is to understand how far ASEAN Identity building has reached the society of ASEAN.

Finally, this paper is written to implement the knowledge from studying in the Department of International Relations and becomes the requirement to attain the bachelor degree from International Relations department, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

D. Theoretical Framework

In this undergraduate thesis, the researcher will elaborate efforts of ASEAN on Building its own Identity by using the constructivist perspective of Regional Identity by Amitav Acharya. Moreover, also the theory of Strategic Segmentation that derived from the marketing communications studies.

1. Regional Identity Concept

In understanding identity, we would like to refer to the sociological perspective of what it called collective identity. Klaus Eder from Humboldt University elaborates that “The basic assumption is that collective identities are narrative constructions which permit the control of the boundaries of a network of actors.” (Eder, 2009). Constructed within boundaries in which the actors interact. In his article, he explained how national identities which based on reliable and exclusive stories could be open towards a collective identity with the process of Europeanization. With this process, the boundary constructions space could open and shape what it called European identity. ASEAN Identity is slightly the same.

On the other hand, Amitav Acharya (2017) from American University believe that an actor’s feeling of being unique and distinctive because of social and physical values,
attributes and patterns of behavior that create an identity. It is the sense of being different from other entities. It also serves two main factor functions. How the actor sees themselves and how others see that actor. Later a person or group sense of being different might be stronger than what the outsider think about them. For instance, the recognition of ASEAN Identity is arguably stronger inside than when observed by the outsiders. Amitav (2017) also believe that identity is a key to build a community. In the ASEAN context, ASEAN Identity placed an essential role for ASEAN community as it bonds the diversity of such community.

Moreover, Amitav also elaborated that “Identity is socially constructed, combining instrumental logic with habit-forming socialisation, norms, and institutions.” (Acharya, 2017). In comparison towards Klaus Eder, we can sum up that Identity constructed in a sociological pattern that could lead towards actor recognition of themselves from other actors. Identity building also not entirely disconnected from cultural and historical ties, instead, it reinforced by it. However, to build a real community needs a perfect balance of both cultural and historical ties that could legitimize national and international cooperation. Only with the perfect balance of that could reinforce the rationale for collective action.

Regional identity can be imagined like a community. With cultural and historical ties of pre-colonial Southeast Asia for justification of ASEAN identity. To reconstruct the identity of ASEAN by referring towards the identification of structural boundaries and connectivity in the historical context is possible. Instead, the lessons from Southeast Asia kingdom which has been connected since the seventh century could be a basis for shaping the idea of ASEANization (Taufik, 2017).

However, we analyze that the approach of ASEAN identity today is more towards a modern view. That ASEAN identity built upon the shared political cooperation and sociological features that establish people to people connection...
that reinforce the shared culture and sense of regional identity alongside with distinct national identities. That is why several principals of ASEAN that shapes its identity put an emphasize on cooperation between actors.

2. Strategic Segmentation

Strategic Segmentation is a study that could formulate a segmentation on determining the target market and formulating the positioning of a product or service (Restaty, 2014). This strategy derived from marketing communication: market segmentation. To better understand the segmentation on ASEAN Identity outputs, this paper will refer to the concept of marketing communication and modify that to justify the strategy on building ASEAN identity into segmented target.

Promoting ASEAN Identity could be done in two different way in reference to the theory of Strategic Segmentation. First is with a little or no application of subdivision of society so that the program or outputs that being produce become general. Second is by implementing Strategic Segmentation that differentiates society into groups or segments which shares similar characteristics.
Figure 1.1: Bases for Segmentation

*Source:* (Pickton & Broderick, 2005)
Strategic Segmentation divided into several types of segmentation based on a characteristic of communities. In the strategic segmentation, there are demographics segmentation types which focused on general community characteristics such as age, sex, nationality, ethnic origin that categorize the society into a specific group. Demographic information could determine whether a program could be useful or not based on the categorization of the general community.

As it believes that specific group needs its treatment, Strategic Segmentation for this paper focused on the types of demographic segmentation that focus on age categorization. This selection relies on the argumentation that there are three significant segments that place their essential position on the development of ASEAN Identity. In the first and second segment, the young generation of ASEAN holds the future of ASEAN. Children are educated with the core ASEAN identity values, while the Youth start to engage with the community-based discussion. Meanwhile, for the third segment, Adult need specific treatment in order to build the ASEAN Identity. A specific strategical approach such as utilizing mass media to reach adult community would help the integration process of them towards the ASEAN Community. Thus, for this undergraduate thesis, the researcher will elaborate more on the program of building ASEAN Identity based on the segmentation of age demographic clusters and general approach.

E. Hypothesis

In the process of building ASEAN Identity, political and social cooperation has become the core element of the establishment of ASEAN Identity itself. This cooperation builds interaction of actors in the regional boundary that triggered their recognition of shared culture. Furthermore, in order to ensure the exertion such identity, four clusters
differentiate methods of approach. These four approaches are general community approach, and three segmented strategical approaches: children, youth and adult that each of them requires different treatment in integrating ASEAN Identity in their daily life.

F. Research Methodology

In order to complete this research, the writer used the qualitative method. The data collecting method was the library research in which there were several types of sources that the writer uses. First, the writer used the ASEAN Community Blueprint as well as ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint published by the ASEAN Secretariat. This type of source helped to analyze the policy and the basic framework of the efforts on building ASEAN Identity towards the general people of ASEAN. Secondly, the writer used official reports from the ASEAN Secretariat and related office to describe the research problem.

Then, the writer would like to use relevant references, for instance, the academic journals, books and an official report from ASEAN and the governments. Finally, this researchers will use the descriptive analysis to describe the measures taken by ASEAN in order to build the ASEAN Identity as the implementation of ASCC Blueprint.
G. Systematic of Research

The Systematic of Research that will be elaborate more inside this undergraduate thesis will be as following:

CHAPTER I: The introduction chapter, purpose of research, the background of problems, research problems, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research outreach and systematic of research.

CHAPTER II: Explanation about the history of ASEAN Identity from the early development of South East Asia, colonialism, and the modern era.

CHAPTER III: Explain about the Strategic Segmentation Cluster on establishing the ASEAN Identity.

CHAPTER IV: Elaboration of the implication of establishment and analysis on the development of ASEAN Identity.

CHAPTER V: Elaborating the conclusion from the elaboration and summary of the previous chapter.