CHAPTER II
THE STEPS OF DEVELOPING IDENTITY

When we talk about a community, of course, we will talk about the identity of the community. In the 1950s, it was the psychologist named Erik Erikson who initiated the concept of identity. But in its development, no dictionary can determine the definition of identity in daily use and social science. According to James D. Fearon (1999) in his article entitled "What Is Identity (As We Now Use The Word)?", Explained that identity formed as a social category that determines the characteristics of its category members and where these characteristics determines by attributes or expected behaviors or distinguishing features that make a person unique. This view is also in line with Alexander Wendt's (1994) thought, which reveals that in the context of social identity it is a sets of meanings of the actor's own attributes that are seen through the perspective of others and which makes observable actors a social object so that this forms a cognitive scheme that makes a person could determine who I am / we are in a social structure situation and position of shared understandings and expectation.

Looking at and comparing the definition above, the researcher can conclude that identity is a distinguishing factor for individuals and groups where the different variables used are attributes, expected behaviors and distinguishing features that make a person or group unique based on observations from the perspective of others. By understanding what is meant by identity, we can categorize individuals, community communities and even national groups which in this paper will focus on the identities of the countries in Southeast Asia or the ASEAN Identity.

A. The process of developing a regional identity.

The concept of regional identity developed after the end of the cold war. When countries start to believe that cooperation between countries in a region could give a good impact for sectors such as social and economical, they start to think about

how to unite a regional territory with the same spirit and goal. In Garri Raagmaa (2002) point of view, Regional identity relates with people's will to reach common goals, raises personal activity and influence in order to establish regional development and planning. This view brings a conclusion that regional identity is driven by development. However, is such intention enough to establish a regional identity? The answer is not enough.

For identity to be grown, several factors support the establishment process. Anssi Paasi from the department of geography, University of Oulu, present an idea that "Regional identity' is, in a way, an interpretation of the process through which a region becomes institutionalized, a process consisting of the production of territorial boundaries, symbolism, and institutions." (Paasi, Region and place: Regional identity in question, 2003). From this view, the idea of regional identity is not the only objective based to achieve regional development, but also involving the establishment of territorial boundaries, symbol, and institutions.

While indeed that the idea of regional identity is becoming more wider in recent day, two contexts still being used by scholars to determine a regional identification, which is in the cultural-historical context or political-economic context. From this two context, we could elaborate the several variables under both contexts of regional identity analysis.

Table 2.1: Regional Identity Variables

Cultural-Historical	Political-Economy
Territory	Trade
Linguistic	Domination
Ancestors	Political thoughts
Shared History	Common enemy/goals

The analysis on the variable of both contexts raise by this researcher also supported with the view from Dr. Petra Zimmermann-Steinhart from Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg. His underlying assumption is that the historical process of nation-building is the framework to understand the creation of regional identity (Steinhart, 2005). Common language, culture, ethnicity, as well as collective memory and symbols are the bond between communities within a region to be connected in a single identity.

In the first phase of regional identity building, the community should start to feel that they are different from the others. This process in Steinhart (2005) perspective is the process of dissociation in identity building. Meanwhile from this phase, according to Raagmaa (2002), the regional identity building may express in two different ways: regional pride or regional inferiority complex.

Anssi Paasi (1986) also mentioned that there are four shapes of the model in the formation of regional identity:

a) Constitution of territorial shape
b) Symbolic shape
c) Institutional shape
d) the emerging socio-spatial consciousness of the inhabitants and the establishment of the region/locality in the regional system

Even though that the process did not have any exact sequences, each model coincided with the development process of a regional identity.

A territorial space, for instance, places an essential role in shaping a regional identity. With territory boundary, regional consciousness established within the inhabitant of the boundary. Creating a feeling of living together in one area, later on, could increase interaction between communities. Paasi

(1986) furthermore elaborate that the role of territorial space is referred to as the localization of social practices.

Meanwhile, symbols represented with the establishment of the name of the region, local language (dialect), landmarks and infrastructure. In today's practices, the symbol could be a name of the region, such as Europe Union (EU) or ASEAN. Other forms of symbols could be found such as a flag and emblems. Along with the establishment of symbols, Institution could accelerate the spread of the identity by its concept. With this institution also as a symbol of regional identity, shared values, local culture, relations, and social capital and trusts could boost the "we feeling" up into the last spectrum.

Moreover, with the collaboration of Social-history and political-economy drove by the process of institutionalization and transformation, social consciousness and regional identity could develop the feeling of togetherness and brotherhood within the region.

From the elaboration of the process of how regional identity develops, this researcher would like to put a highlight on the best way to understand the process to build an identity is to take a look on the historical development of regional identity itself. Because with looking back on the history, we could trace back and identify each variable elements that contribute towards the regional identity itself.

B.   The historical development of Southeast Asian Identity

We need to know that Southeast Asia and ASEAN are two different things. Generally speaking, Southeast Asia refers to an area in the southeastern part of the Asian continent spread from southern China to countries such as Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippine, Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, East Timor, and Papua New

Guinea. Not only that, Jeff Wade of the Asia Pacific Institute, Australian National University in the news published by British Guardian in 2014 revealed that in the future with the Singapore-Kunming high-speed train, would transform Yunnan province as the de facto capital of Southeast Asia. This news was also uploaded again by the Ministry of Commerce, the People's Republic of China which shows that the Chinese government indirectly legitimizes that the southern part of China is also the region of Southeast Asia. The situation will put Macau, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, as well as the southern part of China in the list of Southeast Asian countries.

On the other hand, ASEAN stands for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations which is a regional institution of Southeast Asia itself. Whereas ten Southeast Asian countries were members with Papua New Guinea and East Timor in observer status. ASEAN is the only regional institution that currently still have a significant influence in Southeast Asia. Previously there were several predecessor institutions and of the example is APEC. However, because of the monetary crisis, its influence now is not as significant as when initiated. Now the Southeast Asian community relies on ASEAN in three sectors, namely Economic, Social, and Security.

To understand the ASEAN identity, we need to look further at the root of its identity, namely in the Southeast Asian community itself. However, because it is quite complex, most of the history books circulating in the Southeast Asian community only stimulate Southeast Asian history after the end of the world war. So, what can be obtained is only a brief description of the history of the formation of countries in Southeast Asia. Giving the impression that in the beginning Southeast Asia had been divided based on national boundaries.

Even if we trace it a little deeper, there is an era in history where Southeast Asian society is an inseparable unity because they interact socially with each other. This idea is explained by Dr. Farish A. Noor (2017) Political Scientist from

the Rajaratnam School of International Studies. He argues that the border concept is a western product that separates the central identity rather than the Southeast Asian community itself. So the Southeast Asian identity that was previously upheld by the Southeast Asian community has become extinct during the development of regional modernization. Also, the *divide et impera* strategy is one of the reasons why the lost of Southeast Asian identity.

Therefore, to better analyze the history of the ASEAN Identity, the researcher would like to divide it into three eras. Those eras are: The Austronesian Era, Colonialization Era, and the ASEAN Era.

1. The Austronesian Era: The roots of Southeast Asia.

When we look at Southeast Asia in history books, of course, refers to is a unity of territory in the corner of the Asian continent which located between the State of India and the State of China along with the cluster of islands that lie ahead. In the Southeast Asian history book Professor Wasino (2006), describes geographically Southeast Asia is divided into two major regions which include the countries of Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Malaysia called "Great Land of Southeast Asia" or better known as "Indochina." For Indonesia and the Philippines, because it has an island topography, it is called the "Southeast Asian Islands."
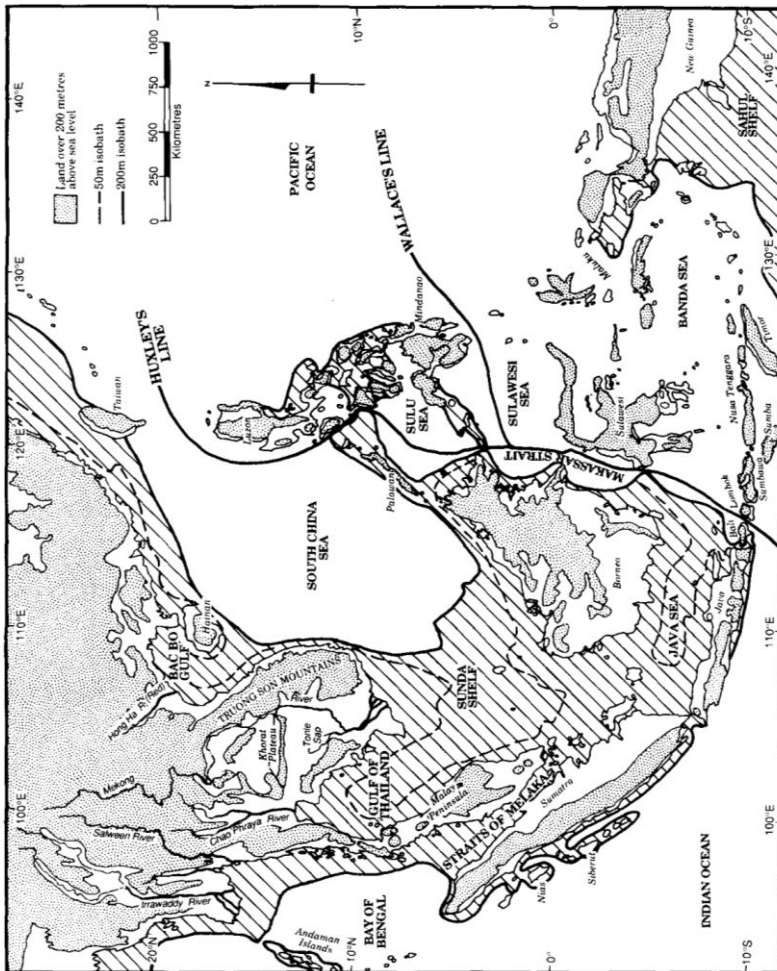
Figure 2.1: The Physical Geography
Source : (*Bellwood, 2008*)

In the map above also shows that Sumatra and Java are joined together with the Malay Peninsula and the Asia mainland. Moreover, Peter Bellwood (2008) elaborates that in Asia in middle and late Pleistocene time are connected by land thus the connection between communities at that time is quite intensive due to the absence of challenges for populations of *Homo erectus* to travel across Asia. This condition becomes the first manifestation that before the modern history of Southeast Asia, communities connected from the prehistoric time.

The idea that Southeast Asia's identity had been established even from prehistoric times was also presented by Professor Farish Noor (2017). According to him, in an era where sea levels were 150m lower than today, Austronesians who were ancestors of Southeast Asians carried out large-scale migrations. "The extended movement and migration of the Austronesians all the way from present-day Taiwan to all of maritime Southeast Asia, all the way to present-day Nias, Nusa Tenggara, Timor, and Papua." (Noor, 2017).

Southeast Asian identity has also been built in this era with identity products in the form of language. At that time three language families used in the Southeast Asian community, namely Austronesian, Austroasiatic or Sino-Tibetan (Bellwood, 2008). Although it is clear that Austronesian is a group of different ethnic groups, they have the same Austronesian language family, Austronesian. Furthermore, linguistic historians can show that many languages exist in southeast Asia that still maintains the roots of the Austronesian language until now.

Through this era, there are several things we can conclude. Their ancestors have built southeast Asian identity even since prehistoric times with social interaction, migration, and cultural exchange. A language which is an element of identity has also discovered with the existence of the

Austronesian language family that is still inherent in Southeast Asian society even today. Although in the end, this era had to close with rising sea levels which made the interaction hampered because the ocean blocked it and although in the end, these separate communities formed nation-states, the ancestral heritage of movement, migration and cultural exchange among Southeast Asian societies still happened even now.

2. The southeast Asian Kingdom and Colonial Era

Several main factors drive the movement of people from mainland Asia to Southeast Asia. Benefit of strategic geographic location for example. In the northern part, mountain ranges separate vast Asian lands from Indochina, while different island groups between Maluku and Irian can be found in the southeast. Forests, mountains, and large river rivers such as Mekong, Chao Praya, Salween, Irrawaddy, and the Red River make fertile valleys downstream. Large deltas in estuaries used as fisheries and trade routes. Supported by a tropical climate, Southeast Asia was a suitable place to migrate and develop businesses. So it is natural that many royal kingdoms were established at that time.

Tropical climate, abundant natural conditions, coupled with reasonably good monsoon winds make Southeast Asia a strategic area at the crossroads of world trade. This season's winds are sea breezes. Consequently, Southeast Asia generally gets enough annual rain. During the ancient voyages, Southeast Asia played an important role as a place to stop and connect trade from India to China or vice versa. As a result, the coastal area developed into a port city, a trading city, a city of government in the form of a royal capital.

Southeast Asia grew and developed into a royal kingdom. Vietnam, Champa, Angkor, Pagan, Ayutthaya, Srivijaya, Majapahit (Taylor, 2008) is a kingdom that

developed in Southeast Asia. This royal kingdom interacts with each other regarding trade, security, and cultural and religious exchanges. Aside from the fact that Southeast Asia is abundant in the natural wealth of the agrarian sector, regarding maritime has also been supported by right shipping technology.

The big cities of Penang, Medan, Batavia (Jakarta), Singapore, Manila, Surabaya, Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City) are cities that grow because they become trade routes even in the era of colonialism. The reason is that their location is strategic and is a port city. Relations between the cities are also intertwined because of the movement of the people through the sea. The pattern of spreading culture after rising sea levels centered on the city because humans cannot easily migrate again, they rely entirely on sea transportation such as canoes and sailboats. However, this does not mean that Southeast Asians increasingly excluded.

But fragmentation occurred in the 18th century where competition between cities and the kingdom was unstoppable. *"The early 1800s new dynasties ruled in Burma, Siam, and Vietnam; in the island world Banten and Makassar have both their lost status as independent entrepots, Mataram was divided into two, and Aceh has been torn by two generations of civil strife. "* (Andaya, 2008). Because in the 17th century the centralization of power took place in the royal kingdom competing for the status of entrepots especially in the Mainland Southeast Asia.

The exciting part is that the driving force of the fragmentation comes from the western culture that implemented in the port city. In mainland Southeast Asia, cultural division such as how to dress, what to eat and the lifestyle of the community in the city was different than in the village. The concept of centralized power also being introduced to kingdom such as Ayuthaya that also has a strong connection with the foreigner. In the end, it is true that the modern concept of borders and modernization brought by the western

community was the factor Southeast Asian identity is forgotten. *"To compound matters further, it can be noted that all of the states of Southeast Asia today take their political borders as a given political reality but fail to note that these borders were themselves introduced by colonial powers that emanated from Europe, and were imposed on Southeast Asians by force during the colonial era."* (Noor, 2017).

3. Post-colonial and the beginning of ASEAN.

After the colonialism era in Southeast Asia from 1870 to 1900, many changes happened towards the community. Changes in the political system that adopt the western value made the government becomes more centralized; the implementation of the law; establishment of public order; the concern to maintain security towards the region and the clear division between each country in the global map by implementing national borders. It is indeed beneficial towards the Southeast Asian community since the shift of modernization which brought by the western were indeed change the condition of Southeast Asian community that it became more civilized in the perspective of western culture.

However, there are side effects from such rapid development that brought by the western in Southeast Asia. The loosing of their own culture and national identity, for example, is one of the side effects of the modernization brought by the colonialist. In Vietnam and Cambodia, people are forced to speak in French, in Philippines Tagalog also being replaced by Spanish as well as in Indonesia with Dutch, and English in Malaysia (SarDesai, 1997). They all speak in the language of their colonial rather than their local language which shares the Austronesian roots. So, indeed that the community modernized, but they are losing their sense of belonging as Southeast Asian.

Another thing is with the national border that being implemented limiting the freedom of movement people in Southeast Asia. Before, communities across Southeast Asia are connected due to freedom of navigation and freedom of movement, but with the centralized government, people should have a permit to visit another country. The Visa system at that time was not as easy as today. People need to apply visa for traveling to another country even to neighboring country. The impact is communities becoming exclusive to one another and interaction is not as fluid as before.

However, what is essential at that time was not only the diminishing value of the Southeast Asian identity but also the security problem that occurred after the end of the world war II. In East Asia, conflict happened in Korea and later in Vietnam. Southeast Asia newly establish countries are vulnerable towards not only external threats that came from outside the region but also the domestic threats that may challenge the development process at any time. Thus, regional cooperation, especially in security cooperation in Southeast Asia at that time, would help to secure at least the unstable political condition surround them. Mark Beeson (2009) noted that *"The most significant attempts to establish regional security mechanisms before ASEAN's inauguration, were the Association for Southeast Asia (ASA), which contained (what was then) Malaya, the Philippines and Thailand in 1961, and MAPHILINDO, which was established briefly in 1963 by Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia."*. However, this cooperation was not sustainable due to a dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia that later Indonesia with its policy "Confrontation" that create a tension between the two country. Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) later came as another security agreement that involves not an only Southeast Asian country but U.S. and U.K. however unable to give deep foundations unlike ASEAN establishment later in 1967.

The impact of westernization in Asia is not only modernization and separation between Southeast Asians, but also the rise of contra-west values. Lee Kuan Yew, Mahathir, Ishihara, Mahbubani later in the second half of 1990's coincides with Asian economic enhancement introduce what it called Asian's Value. Gerald Languth (2003) in his article furthermore describe there are three motives of ASIAN Values which hinges on the notion of the enhancement of "we feeling" and the sense of brotherhood among Asians to counter the lousy impact of westernization. We could say that it could become the basis of ASEAN Identity since there is a similarity in character which both values represent an effort to preserve the pre-existing identity and foster integration within the Asian community. Even though Asian values inherit the core principle that creates a pattern of interaction among Asian such as the concern for economic prosperity among them, its development stopped when the Asian financial crisis occurred in 1997.

Later ASEAN founded with an absorbing condition in which there are still some tensions between its member. People are unsure about the possibility for them to come and make an association. However, the value of peace and stability by respecting justice and the rule of law in the Declaration's are quite firm to ensure that all the member are respecting others. Moreover, even though that not all of the member state is upholding the democracy, in contrary with what European Union do, ASEAN is more towards respecting the system that had been established. This kind of attitude could give an impose that actually in nature; the Southeast Asian country could sustain a relationship even when the conflict and disputes are unavoidable.

As ASEAN grows into a more prominent, and the organization has many programs to be achieved, people are started to realize that as the Southeast Asian they start to interact again with one another. For instance, the "ASEAN Backpacker" which represent the Southeast Asian people that enjoy the free

passage to all member state relatively increases through the year. As people become connected towards each other, migration of community inside ASEAN also occurred. The latest ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community along with the other pillars for instance foster the establishment of what it called as ASEAN Identity is the re-establishment of an identity of people in Southeast Asia. The community that not only based on cooperation but also a deeper foundation towards a stronger association.

C. What is ASEAN Identity?

In the process, the development of the identity in Southeast Asia relies on the interaction between communities. Indeed, that before the modern types of interaction the causes of why such identity is justified is on the connection between Southeast Asians and their ancestor the Austronesian. However, more than that, the Southeast Asians are now bound by an association that shares universal value with all the member.

Even though debates on what kind of values that become the main characteristic of ASEAN Identity is not clear yet due to the ongoing debates between scholars, but in this thesis, the writer would like to point out that mutual cooperation of Southeast Asian people is the basic principle of ASEAN Identity.

Amitav Acharya and Allan Layug (2012) furthermore elaborate the norms and value of ASEAN Identity. For the value, ASEAN pursue several principles such as: respect for justice; rule of law; freedom; sovereignty; democracy and human rights, while for their peaceful co-existence they also struggle with: regional cooperation; regional resilience; regional autonomy; regional independence; regional peace, harmony stability and prosperity (Acharya & Layug, 2012).

While for the norms two prominent norms embodied on ASEAN Identity that is Legal rational that concentrate on respect other national sovereignty with non-interference principle towards domestic affairs and Socio-cultural norms that concentrate on consultations (*musyawarah*) and consensus (*mufakat*). This norms and values create unique ASEAN characteristic which cannot be found in other regional institution.

In its realization, we could see this value and norms of ASEAN Identity embodied in the way they conduct cooperation. In settling conflict south china sea for instance, even though the condition of the disputes is quite tight, ASEAN still use consultation and consensus to settle the problem. The other example for the principle of non-interference also could be seen in conflicts like Rohingnya that never been put up in any ASEAN summit declaration due to its status as a domestic affair.

Moreover, what makes the cooperation is exceptional because of the cooperation is not based on similarity of belief like the Europe Christianity value in European Union or similarity of races, as well as culture as whole but to the diversity of Southeast Asia. Thus, what we can see from the development is that the diversity that exists in Southeast Asia triggered people interaction that creates mutual cooperation.

This value that later on develops a sense of belonging that as the ASEAN with communities connected. Thus, with the enactment of ASEAN Identity in ASCC that provides a robust framework for the goals of the Southeast Asians, the realization of such a framework is what the ASEAN should pay attention afterward.