



**CULTURAL CONTROVERSIES IN ASEAN AND THE IMPACTS
OF BUILDING ASEAN IDENTITY**

BY

MISS KAMONTIP DUEATHONG

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN ASEAN STUDIES
PRIDI BANOMYONG INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE
THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY
ACADEMIC YEAR 2017
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THESIS

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ENTITLED

CULTURAL CONTROVERSIES IN ASEAN AND THE IMPACTS OF BUILDING
ASEAN IDENTITY

was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in ASEAN studies

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ABSTRACT

The study of cultural controversies in ASEAN indicates some ASEAN people lack understanding of their common culture. It becomes the cause of conflicts between two ASEAN countries and affects the being of the community. The objectives of the study are 1) to gather cultural controversies cases from claming over common culture that widely debated on the internet 2) to investigate the causes of cultural controversies among ASEAN members such as controversy of traditions, arts and food including, study ASEAN common culture 3) to analyze the impacts of cultural controversies in term of building ASEAN Identity which is the key of being community, and 4) to study the ways of using social network to reduce disputed over common culture and enhance a better understanding.

To analyze the issue of cultural controversy cases which studied widely debated cases on social media that it was used as fighting space for claims over common culture belongs to one country since January 2007 to December 2017. Even though people can access the internet easily to find the explanations for ending conflicts and make a better understanding of each other but people use the internet to spread the conflicts instead. This thesis used the concepts of cultural nationalism and

cultural economy to explain causes of cultural controversies and point to the backgrounds of common culture in ASEAN to make people understand the connecting of ASEAN culture and strengthen a good understanding among ASEAN people.

According to the study was found that causes of cultural controversies are the concept of cultural nationalism and cultural economy. These concepts cultivated and reproduced a sense of cultural ownership through historical study from basic education and media that reinforce national identity and national culture, as well as create a sense of national's enemy. Especially, when culture becomes cultural products or services that help to increase income for people, it makes people very active to conserve culture belongs to their nation because culture is equal to national benefits. These causes make negative attitudes towards neighboring countries and effect to build ASEAN identity. But ASEAN could hope on young generation to build ASEAN identity because they do not pay much attention to nationalism as before. They also active to learn neighboring cultures and feel more connected through social media that is a good sign unity among people to achieve the goal of being a strong community in the future.

Keywords: ASEAN Culture, ASEAN Studies, Boundary Dispute Management, International Relations

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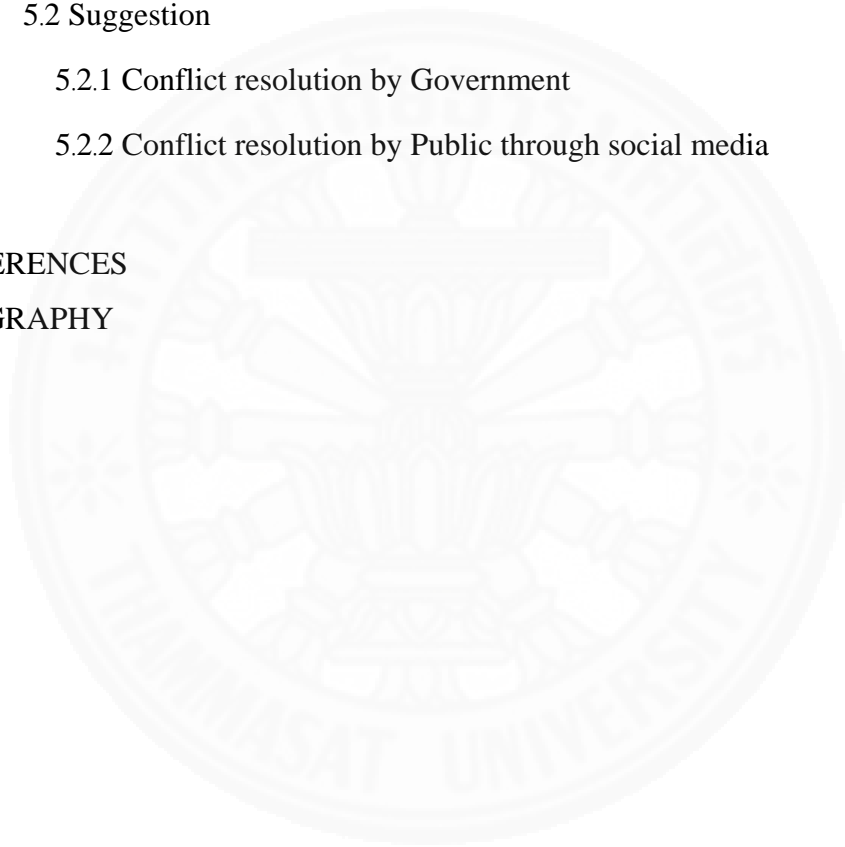
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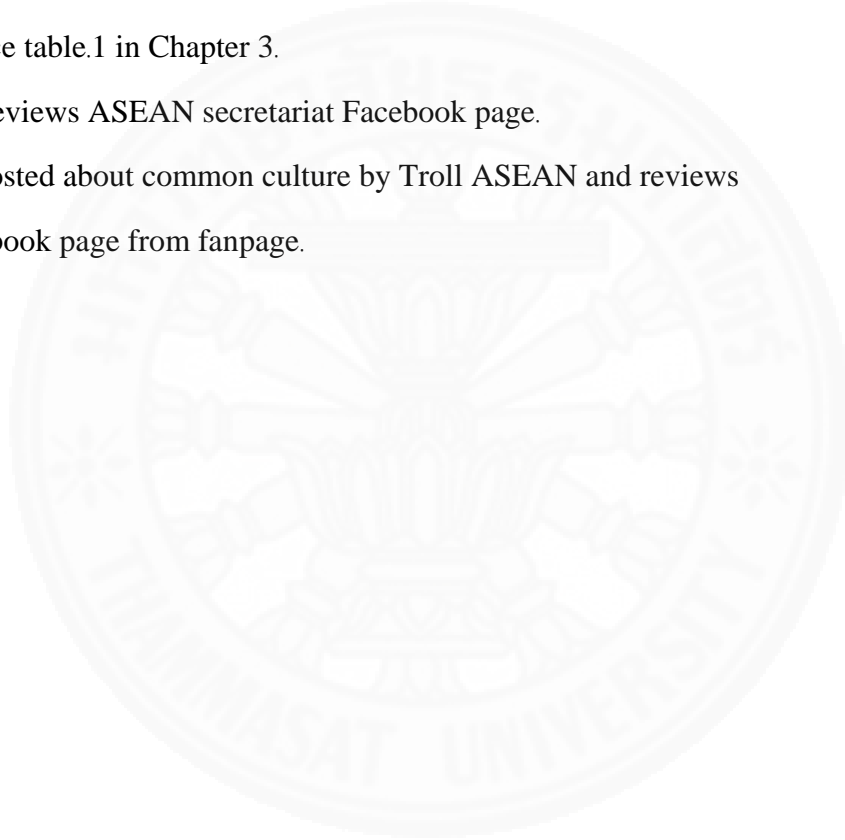


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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Symbols/Abbreviations	Terms
ACC	ASEAN China Centre
ACF	ASEAN Cultural Fund
AEC	ASEAN Economic community
AKC	ASEAN Korea Center
AMCA	ASEAN Ministers Responsible for Culture and Arts
AMRI	ASEAN Senior Officials Responsible for Information
APSC	ASEAN Political Security community
ASCC	ASEAN Socio-Cultural community
ASEAN	Association of South East Asia Nations
AUN	ASEAN University Network
AYNJ	ASEAN Youth Network in Japan
CLMV	Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam
COCI	Committee on Culture and Information
ERIA	Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia
EU	European Union
FOCF	Future Oriented Cooperation Fund
ISEAS	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
JENESYS	Japan-East Asia Network of Exchange for Students and Youths
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MRAs	Mutual Recognition Arrangements
ROK	Republic of Korea
SOMCA	Senior Officials Responsible for Culture and Arts

UNESCO

United Nations Educational, Scientific
and Cultural organization



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem and Its Significance

Disputed claims that common culture belongs exclusively to one country frequently occur between ASEAN members in the Mekong delta (Mainland Southeast Asia) because each ASEAN member desires to be the origin land of the culture. ASEAN members do not wish to share of culture even though the state members shared the common culture before they were separated by boundaries during colonial times. This led to cultural controversies which affect the international relationship between ASEAN members and become a sensitizing issue. Moreover, nationalism of ASEAN members and aggressive attitudes towards neighboring countries along with usurpation of business opportunities from cultural tourism, products and services conflicts over common culture continue eruption. As such, ASEAN members try to register cultural heritages with the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) to show expression of only one cultural heritage owner, giving some neighbor countries displeasure and it may cause conflict to escalate. For example, Thai and Cambodians claim over “Khon” (Ramayana dance) and posture of traditional dance which is called “Jeeb” (touching of the inside of the forefinger with the thumb). In peninsular Southeast Asia such as in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, there were country claims over “Batik” fabric, drums, puppet shadows, or even foods. Even, nowadays people can access information via the internet easily to learn more and connect with neighboring countries but conflicts from cultural controversies seem to erupt and spread more easily than helping people understand each other. This affects the sense of unity among ASEAN people and building ASEAN Identity that is a goal of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural community (ASCC).

Although India played as the key in many aspects of ASEAN culture but never found that India has cultural conflicts with ASEAN. Indian people who went or

settle down in Southeast Asia never force local people to receive Indian culture and did not interested to rule or control local people. Indian people made local people absorb their culture and seem like they are willing to share the culture with people (Sengupta, 2017). The Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi was interviewed by The Hindu newspaper website on 26th January 2018. He said about India-ASEAN relationship that India and ASEAN have long-lasting of relationships, history and culture. They will keep going on cooperation in diverse environment.

India still wanted to encourage cultural connections between ASEAN and India through India-ASEAN cooperation for celebrating 25 years of partnership (Chaturvedy, 2017) but ASEAN countries which brought Indian culture to adapt they are often claimed over the culture among each other.

ASEAN Socio-Cultural community is the one main pillar of three ASEAN Community pillars that consist of ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) pillar, ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) pillar and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). All of ASEAN pillars are important to build community and raise the quality of ASEAN people but most of the people know only AEC. APSC seems like the responsibility of each ASEAN government only and ASCC is disregard. ASCC is not getting attention enough and its mechanism is slow although it is directly involved with ASEAN people. Most people understand ASEAN Community is in the same sense as with AEC which gets the most attention in public discourses and people do not know other pillars of ASEAN Community (Letchumanan, 2015). Also, people misunderstand that AEC is a region that actually is only an agreement of ASEAN Community (Lehmacher, 2016).

ASCC aims to make people aware of the ASEAN Community and be a familiar with social responsibility to achieve unity of ASEAN people by building identity among diverse caring and sharing society. If ASEAN continue to have conflicts because members lack understanding of ASEAN common culture and over nationalism adhering, ASEAN community and feeling of being an ASEAN citizen will not happen.

If ASEAN wants to be a true community, it has to focus more on the foundation of the community that engage better understandings of each ASEAN member. Especially, in term of building ASEAN Identity which wants to promote ASEAN awareness and the feeling of being a community, ASEAN has to focus more on people because it is the key of being an ASEAN Community (The ASEAN Secretariat, 2016). But actually, it is not easy at the individual level because there are many obstacles from nationalism history and the attitudes of people that are difficult to change. The challenge of nationalism history and citizens who constantly, focus on national interest more than regional interest affects building of ASEAN community because nationalism creates a sense of national identities and cultural ownership leading to a feeling of “this is mine, not yours”. Sharing culture is impossible (Chong, 2014, p.63).

So this research will point to the problems of the cultural controversies cases from claiming over the common culture which make the tensions between the ASEAN members and study the causes of cultural controversies to make the better understanding among ASEAN members including, analyze the impacts of building ASEAN Identity. The researcher will study and present the ways to reduce the conflicts and strengthening understanding about disputes over the common culture which helps conflict be managed appropriately and prevent the problem from escalating into violence. It may reduce a sense of cultural ownership and open up minds to accept the similar cultural and patience with the different cultures by using the social network. That because the social network will make people communicate easily and rapidly. It reduces stress and anxiety of communication between people from different cultures. Including, it also creates more networks and increase effective communication and relationships with others. Also include, gathering methods and the ways that the social network used to reduce conflicts and end the problem by analyzing how much that the solution can solve the problems.

1.2 Objective

1) To gather cultural controversies cases from clamming over the common culture that widely debated on the internet from January 2007 until December 2017.

2) To investigate the causes of cultural controversies cases between two ASEAN members including, study ASEAN common culture

3) To analyze the impacts of cultural controversies in term of building ASEAN Identity.

4) To study the ways of using the social network to reduce the disputed over common culture and enhance a better understanding

1.3 Research Question

Why ASEAN members always claim over the common culture for being the owner of the culture which led to the cultural controversies and How its impacts on building ASEAN Identity?

1.4 Hypotheses

1) Cultural controversy has impacts on ASCC in term of building ASEAN Identity because people have a sense of nationalism more than a sense of regionalism.

2) The causes of claiming over common culture are the sense of cultural nationalism and cultural economy reason that ASEAN members do not want to share the market and economic benefits.

3) Cultural Controversies in the future will be lessened because people will access information via the internet and use the social network to settle the disputes over common culture quickly but the sense of nationalism of each ASEAN members still continue because basic education in term of historical studies and media always reproduce the nationalist content.

1.5 Research Methodology

This research is a documentary research by using a qualitative method and a historical method to describe and analyze the information. The researcher will collect the primary information from the official documents, ASCC blueprint, ASEAN declaration, and ASEAN treaty as well as the interviews or speeches of the key persons who have the important role in ASEAN affairs to analyze the cultural controversy cases which impacts the roles of building ASEAN Identity.

Including, the researchers will collect the secondary information from the books, journal, magazines and information sources from the internet that can be a reference to study, analyze and find the answers to the research. As well as, gathering the claiming over common culture cases and studying ASEAN common culture to explain and find the causes of cultural controversies in ASEAN. The researcher will study the ways to reduce the disputed over common culture by the social network for achieving the goals of building ASEAN Identity that want to make ASEAN awareness and the feeling of being a community.

1.6 Scope of the Research

The researcher will study on ASEAN cultural controversies cases that widely debated on the internet and occurred in January 2007 to December 2017 because there are many cases of claiming over the common culture that was widely debated on the internet and at that time people in ASEAN start to use the internet in everyday life. Social media is used as “fighting space” of cultural controversies. The researcher will study the common cultures of each cultural controversies case and use cultural nationalism and cultural economy conceptual framework to explain why ASEAN members claim over common culture. Including, study the impacts of building ASEAN Identity and present the ways to reduce the disputed over common culture and enhance a better understanding by using social network

1.7 Definition

1) Cultural Controversies - The two countries have the same or the similar cultures but they want to be the only owner and origin of culture so they claiming over the culture. It makes a conflict between the people of two countries.

2) ASEAN Identity- The unique features that specify the identity of individuals, societies, ethnicities, languages, religions or cultures of ASEAN by seeking common identities to build a sharing and a caring society. It is the important key to make solidarity among ASEAN people to achieve the being of a strong community. To achieve the desired goals for the ASEAN people, the implementation of building ASEAN Identity is

1. Promote ASEAN Awareness and the feeling of being a community and create a sense of unity of diversity.
2. Conserve and promote of ASEAN cultural heritage.
3. Promote the conservation and preservation of ASEAN cultural heritage.
4. Cultivates ASEAN identity and establish a people-centered is the founding of the ASEAN community by support involvement of all sectors.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conceptual Framework

2.1.1 Cultural Nationalism

A major obstacle of building ASEAN community is a cultural conflict among people who still adhere to a nationalistic conscience. This is not conducive to the creation of a community that requires people to be aware of the “identity among the diversity”. ASEAN people are still “nationalist” not regionalist. A community of conflict is a picture that people are familiar more with a community of cooperation. The concept of cultural nationalism looks at the dimension of using culture as a tool to create a sense of nationalism among the people to gather harmony and national devotion. It expresses patriotic sentiment among people and requests people sacrifice their own interests for the national interest.

The study of Charnchai Kumpanya (2013) implies cultural nationalism is definition that consists of 1) genealogical lineage 2) common languages, and 3) common culture and history. People have the same feelings and it expresses through the uniqueness of appearance, language and behavior. This concept is similar to the concept of cultural nationalism of Daniel Drukman (1994), where a cultural nationalism can divide people into the groups of people who are bound together and reminiscent of the similarities among those people with regards to culture and language. Culture is important to establish the nation. It also includes the establishment of a national identity to make people feel pride to be one of the people of the nation, such as the establishment of national day, national food, national language and belief in the history of the nation. It is a responsibility of people to preserve national identities.

From the explanation of cultural nationalism concepts by Kumpanya and Drukman, it is noted that concept emphasizes the similarity of ethnicity groups which

speak the same language to draw harmonious feelings but does not mention the diversity of ethnicity in a country or how the government goes to deal with the diversity of ethnic groups in order to create a nation.

The study of Peri Pamir (n.d.) can describe the concept of cultural nationalism in terms of the diversity of ethnic groups. Culture is a center of pride for the people in society. The diversity of ethnic groups comes to live and share cultures, languages, and beliefs in the same nation. People will gradually dissolve their self and identity into the main culture. The key concept of cultural nationalism of Pamir is various races coexist in a society and create the cultural diversity in one umbrella. People in the societies may feel proud of the social ideology but do not pay attention or show that they pride in the other race society. This cultural nationalism concept of Pamir corresponds to the modern state that shares a common culture although they have not shared a common background. The ideas and feelings of nationalism are driven by the national ideologies and the main norms of the society.

The study of Peri Pamir (n.d.) can describe the concept of cultural nationalism in terms of diversity of ethnicities. He said, culture is a center of pride for the people in society. The diverse of ethnic groups come to live and share cultures, languages and beliefs in the same nation. People will gradually dissolve their self and identity into the main culture. The key concept of cultural nationalism of Pamir is that various races coexist in a society and create cultural diversity in one umbrella. People in societies may feel proud of social ideology but do not pay attention or show that they have pride in the other races of society. This cultural nationalism concept of Pamir corresponds to the modern state that shares a common culture although they have not shared a common background. The ideas and feelings of nationalism are driven by national ideologies and the main norms of the society.

The concept of cultural nationalism that is consistent with the concept of Pamir is the study of Saichol Sattayanurak (n.d.), in which she uses a historical approach to demonstrate cultural issues and conflicts from national ideologies that

responded politically to build the patriotic consciousness. Regardless of the ethnicity of the people, if they belong to the nation, they must take responsibility and always remember the duties for the nation such as the national motto. The motto is determined national ideology to make people realize the responsibility for the nation, for example; Thailand motto is loyalty to the nation, religion and the monarch.

From the study of cultural nationalism concepts to explain the cause of conflicts from claiming over common culture in ASEAN, it is demonstrated that culture has been used as a tool to create a nation. Cultural nationalism gives cherishment of patriotic culture and history to the people and does not allow other nations to share the national identity. After many countries in ASEAN have gained independence from the colonies, all of ASEAN members got the experience of nation building. Even in the past, ASEAN members are relatives with each other but when they were divided to build nations their relatives are separated by borders. People in ASEAN are separated from each other and cultivated to focus on national interests. People cannot share anything with other nations if it violates their interests. The impact of cultural nationalism makes people forget the truth that people in ASEAN have had a good relationship and high mobility of people and cultures before development of the modern states so people in Southeast Asia shared a common culture before and could not determine the true owner of culture because of its easy migration and transfer when without boundaries.

2.1.2 Cultural economy

Cultural economy is another concept which explains the reason of cultural controversies from claims over culture in ASEAN. This concept is change of cultures into cultural goods and services which are unique. It adds more value to the products and services. Being an originated country of culture will help that country have high income from cultural goods and services more than non-original countries. The concept of cultural economy is part of a new economy or a creative economy. It is added to the value by human thought (Wisetmongkol, 2010). The creative industry will

be a key driver of economic development. It consists of 5 main economic sectors: 1: Digital Economy, 2: Bio-economy, 3: Creative Cultural Economy, 4: Social Economy and 5: Silver Economy (NSTDA Thailand, 2017).

Bringing culture to be cultural goods and services will help generate income and promote the preservation of the culture at the same time. The concept of the cultural economy by Teresa Amabile and Mukti Khaire (2018), said that the new economy will use art, music, and culture to be the key to drive the economy because the consumer not only purchases a product or service but also buy the culture. The study of Krairuerk Pinkeaw (n.d.), also support the cultural economy concept of Amabile and Mukti that the consumers will learn the culture from the cultural products and services such as, if the consumers buy Kimono (Japanese traditional dress), they will learn to wear it also or if the consumers eat Chinese food, they will learn to use the chopstick. The exotic cultural products and services will stimulate the demand of consumers.

When cultural products and services are unique and support the consumer tastes, it will increase revenue and the rate of economic growth for the country of original culture. If the cultural products and services are with guarantees that it is an original product and service from the original country, it will increase the confidence for consumers that they will receive the genuine product. The significance of bringing culture to be cultural goods and services is indirect preservation of culture. While trying to preserve the culture, it has to make people see the benefits from preservation of culture as well.

The conceptual framework of cultural economy from the study of Celia Tuchman-Rosta (2014) said, in order to support economic benefits it should involve cultural preservation because today, culture has changed from being a way of life to being sacred to economic benefits. Every culture, tradition or performing art has played a significant role in the ritual and created a way of life during the ancient times but now it should adapt to the challenges of modern society. The cultural goods and services will give economic benefits for the country and enhance culture preservation

at the same time. In the case of her study, the royal Cambodian dance in the past was reserved for the king and the royal family only, but now it came out to promote the tourism of the country. If the royal Cambodian dance has not been carried out to provide a benefit for the country, the dance will be dissolved.

Due to ASEAN is the region of rich culture, the promotion of the cultural industry is the mission of the Ministry of Culture in all ASEAN countries to support economic growth. Including, the restoration of cultural heritage both of tangible heritage and intangible heritage is necessary to do. To promote the cultural products and services is needed to improve the economy and tourism competition, so this framework has clarified clearly why ASEAN members have many conflicts from claiming over common culture because it is the interests of the country.

To maintain the benefits from the cultural goods and services many countries in ASEAN consider registering cultural heritages with UNESCO for showing that they are the only one who can take the benefits from that culture. Cultural heritage registration with UNESCO seems like the symbol of guaranteeing the cultural owner status. From the study of Jinn Winn Chong (2014), discussion about the cultural economy concepts in terms of economic benefit, ASEAN countries are increasingly interested in intellectual property rights and copyrights. This makes ASEAN countries want to register their own culture to become a world heritage because they can show their ownership. Also, they can be the only one to take the cultural benefits regardless of if there is shared culture or similar culture in other countries or not. On the other hand, UNESCO says registration of cultural heritage does not mean giving the rights to be owner of that cultural heritage but it is ensuring that the country will continue to protect the original culture from loss. However, ASEAN countries still apply for registration of cultural heritage with UNESCO because it is like a symbol of ownership and victory over another country that is cause of international problems.

From the concept of cultural economy, the researcher considers that the cause of the conflict, in addition to cultural nationalism, is also the issue of economic

benefits. This makes the conflicts from claiming over common culture are inevitable. The researcher uses this conceptual framework to analyze claiming over common culture based on the economic. This indicated that they do not want to share the market of cultural goods and services such as when Singapore and Thailand disputed over Songkran festival 2014. Singapore is desire to organize a “Songkran” festival in Singapore but Thai people understand that Singapore wishes to steal Thai festivals to attract many tourists and income from Thailand. It is a good example case to explain by use of the cultural economy concept. Or the disputed over Batik fabric when UNESCO enounced Batik technique is Indonesia cultural heritage that made the Indonesian government announced the National Batik’s day to emphasize the victory of Indonesia over Malaysia. Moreover, Indonesia could increase Batik export as well. This could be conclusion that cultural economy concept is the cause of conflicts from claiming over common culture because ASEAN members do not wish to share economic benefits.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Common culture review

Actually, the controversies from claiming common cultures seems like small thing that people should not be argued to each other because ASEAN had common culture before they were separated territory to be modern state as today. People should realize and learn about common culture to understand each other. Southeast Asia at the ancient time, there is no clear boundary and no one knows where the original of common culture is. The ancient states were regime by using Mandala model or Thai scholar called light “candle state” that power of King and culture will be strong at center of state but it will dilute follow the distance that far from the center (Nunsong, 2008). There are cultural exchange and flow of cultural interaction. ASEAN people live in same monsoons both in mainland and maritime so

many common cultures that have been inhabited for thousands of years made people have similarities.

Historical evidence pointed out that ASEAN members have common culture since the ancient time and pass important time together. In the study of Sujit Wongtes (2016), describe that ASEAN members live under the same monsoon and pass the important era together so it will have similar experience. This could be separated into three periods when the external culture mixed with the local culture: 1) getting Hindu and Buddhism 2) getting Islam, and 3) getting western culture (colonial periods). All three periods made ASEAN has hybrid culture that quite a similar culture such as tradition, foods, and festival. "If ASEAN people stand together without cloth and not talking, we cannot separate where they are from because of the appearance very similar." Another study that consist with Sujit Wongtes, is the study of Southeast Asia people relation through archeology evidence by Pasuk Indrawud (2014), it supports Sujit's thought that people in Southeast Asia were influenced by India cultures such as Hindu and Buddhism mixed with animism (worship the supernatural) of the local culture. Most common culture of ASEAN at the ancient times came from China and India but most Southeast Asia Empire prefers to get Indian culture than Chinese because Chinese culture at the ancient time came to Southeast Asia with Chinese occupy. China forced the tribute state to send the tributes to Chinese royal and use Chinese civilization in areas that Chinese occupied, such as Vietnam. But Indian culture came to Southeast Asia through trade. The merchant brought religions and Indian routine to local people. There are praying to the gods through the beautiful god statues and make merits by donation food and other things to the local people so Indian culture was attractive for local people more than Chinese culture. The popularity of Indian culture in Southeast Asia emerged many large Hindu and Buddhist empires, such as Suvarnabhumi, Chenla, Champa, Pyu, Sri Vijaya and Dvaravati where was influenced by Hinduism, and Mahayana Buddhism. It reflected through architecture, ceremony, and monarchy. The boundary of ancient empire does

not clear so people could move freely. That why people have similar nationality and language because it was easy to move and exchange people and culture at that time.

Hindu and Buddhist empires in Southeast Asia are not the same regime as modern state because it has no certainly border. The concept of regime in ancient empire is called Mandala state. The Mandala state had high mobility of culture including, easily to exchange and transfer human and culture because it has no boundary so people will have the similar appearance, ethnicity, and language. They always have been interacting with each other for a long time until now.

Even though ASEAN has similar cultures but it could separate into three cultural groups follow geographic and popular cultures in that area. Information from Culture, Sports and Tourism Department Bangkok (2014), describe that ASEAN culture could divide into 3 main cultural groups. The first cultural group is Mekong River (Thai-Lao-Cambodia-Myanmar-Vietnam). This group is influenced by Buddhism culture. The second is Malay cultural group (Malaysia - Indonesia - Brunei - Singapore). This group is influenced by Muslim culture and people also use the same language to communicate with each other. That is called "Bahasa Riau". And the third group is Filipino cultural group. That is influenced by Western cultures such as Spain and American. The similar cultures in ASEAN are plentifully such as culture of eating rice and pickled food such as pickled fish, fish sauce, Budu (fish sauce), shrimp paste. Costume culture such as weaved clothing, silk, cotton, wearing Sarongs in Myanmar that is influenced by wearing Dhoti cloth from India or Ao Dai dress in Vietnam that is similar to Chinese Qipao. Also include, Malay Peninsula women wearing Batik cloth that using candle wax paint on the fabric. In terms of performance, similarity of traditional dances in ASEAN is Ramayana Dance every country in ASEAN has Ramayana Dance with base on the story from Indian epic. Dancing and performing will differ in each country such as Thailand is called Khon, Cambodia is called La Korn Khon Phra Karuna or Lao is called Pa Lak Pa Lam. Including, playing a puppet in ASEAN, there are many different types of puppet such as Water puppetry in

Vietnam, Myanmar puppet and shadow puppet in Indonesia that is called Wayang Kulit, Malaysia is called Wayang Melayu and Thailand is called Nang Talung.

Information from Culture, Sports and Tourism Department, Bangkok about ASEAN's common culture could show evidence of similarities and interrelations of culture in ASEAN. Especially, Malay cultural group that people can speak the same language is the best evidence to show that they are close relatives. Even though, Malay cultural groups are quite similar in terms of culture and ethnicity but they have a lot of conflicts from clashing over common culture. After Malay Peninsula countries getting Islam culture, Hindu and Buddhism culture still considered as the national culture because it could make people proud of long history and help to attract tourism benefits include, stimulate the economic growth from cultural products and services. Moreover, Hindu and Buddhism culture also helps to enhance the image of rich cultural country. For example, Indonesia promoted tourism in Bali and Borobudur in Java or Malaysia promoted tourism under plural of ethnicities campaign like "Malaysia Truly Asia". Although in fact, Malaysian government gives priority welfare for Malay-Malay first before Malay-Chinese or Malay-Indian under "Bhumiputra" policy. This helps to indicate that culture is used as a tool to get highest benefits of the nation no matter it will contrast with main religions or not.

The interesting of reviewing common culture literature is ASEAN children games because children games have never been found that it was a dispute of claims over common culture. The study of Huu Tien and Quang Ming (2009), explore ASEAN Children Songs, Dances, Games and Story-Telling. It found that children games are quite similar across ASEAN. For example, "circles dance" with music that could be found in Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia. Thailand is called Ram Vong. Laos is called Lam Vong. Hammer-paper-scissors is similar to Noy-ork in Thailand or Gatrik in Indonesia. Children will show their forehead or backhand to separate groups. Playing Go on and Go out, in Thailand is called Ree-Ree Kawsarn, in Malaysia called Jan Jan Jala that two children will set up like a human barrier to catch their friend to be next

barrier. Children will along in line and walk through human barrier, when the song is ended, the children who were caught will be the barrier in next game. ASEAN Children games represent a cultural similarity and all games never been causes of a cultural conflict. Children can share and play together.

This literature reviewing found that the children games are free from conflicts between cultural nationalism and cultural economy concepts because it does not relate with national interest. They can share to play without the problems. Reviewing the literature of ASEAN common culture could help to learn similarities of culture and relationship of ASEAN people but the literatures could not help to reduce conflicts from clamming over common culture. So this research will use information from reviewing of common culture literature to describe history of common culture in terms of enhance better understanding to reduce conflicts because it may reduce conflicts, if ASEAN people understand common culture.

2.2.2 Claiming over common culture and impacts on ASEAN community review

Disputed over common culture among ASEAN members affect the ASEAN community and building ASEAN identity because it hard to create unity among people. From the study of Pakin Nimmannorawong and Nuttapong Duangkaew (2015), said, ASEAN Socio-Cultural cooperation is defined by the leaders and officials level although it should be defined by ASEAN people. Even though Clamming over common culture in ASEAN seems like a small thing whether it is music, food or dance but it could be conflicts at all time. It causes a sense of hate towards neighboring countries and looks at them with negative attitudes. This article introduced the concept of nationalism to explain the causes of conflict among ASEAN members, saying that each ASEAN country should accelerate on enhancing understanding of neighboring countries in terms of culture and history. If ASEAN does not enhance understanding, the hope of being a true ASEAN Community is still far away.

The study that consists with Pakin Nimmannorawong and Nuttapong Duangkaew is the study of Jinn Winn Chong (2014). She studied on disputed over shared culture between Malaysia and Indonesia. This article supports cultural nationalism to explain the causes of ASEAN members claim over common culture. Jinn Winn Chong calls on ASEAN to fulfill its promise of accelerating building ASEAN identity in order to enhance understanding of the cultural and historical background of ASEAN people to reduce disputed over common culture and also calls on ASEAN people participate in terms of understanding neighboring culture.

Reviewing literature of claiming over common culture and impacts on ASEAN community, it is interesting to gather and update of claiming over common culture cases and analyze the causes of conflict include, people expression when they join disputed over common culture on the internet. This thesis will learn more about using the social network to support understanding among ASEAN countries and reduce conflict to build ASEAN identity.

2.2.3 Building ASEAN Identity review

Conflicts from claims over the common culture of people in ASEAN contrast with the government of each ASEAN member desire to be in terms of building regional Identity. It is difficult to be true ASEAN community because the cooperation in every dimension of ASEAN has focused on national benefits not regional benefit so it create challenging to build ASEAN identity.

The literature review which presented building ASEAN Identity among the challenge of nationalism and conflicts from cultural controversies for trying to build ASEAN community is the study of Thanet Arpornsuwan (2014), From his studies, there are 3 consistent of Non-Governmental Organization in ASEAN to explain informal relationship of people. The first is common relative of nationality, the second is mutual beliefs and the third is having a common land that is overlap between countries. Belief and culture in Southeast Asia come from many civilization sources in the world such as India, China, Arab, Europe or even Japan. Southeast Asia

has the concept of being regional for a long time such as “Suvarnabhumi Empire” that was accepted as a region from the archaeological documents by Chinese, Egyptian Greek and Roman. It connected people without the boundary like the region that ASEAN expect to be. But currently, the sense of ASEAN regional seems like the meaning of British-American command called this area “South East Asia” during World War II. The word “South East Asia” of British-American command does not relate to the concept of Suvarnabhumi and ASEAN community but it just focused on specification area only. Thanet desire to use a sense of “Suvarnabhumi” to connect people without boundary and make people can imagine of expected ASEAN community. ASEAN itself is a newly invented region and does not come from a natural perception of people so awareness of people to realize about ASEAN community is a big challenge. It should bring the spirit of cross-community to create a community. The spirit of cross-border community is developed from long-lasting families, ethnicities, history, and economic links, such as northern of Malaysia and southern Thailand, or eastern Malaysia and Indonesia. Currently, People connecting in ASEAN are a connecting of middle-class people who have left the local culture to the urban culture. They recognize and link to ASEAN community while people in rural area are facing with conflicts and cultural disputes. They focus on preserving identity and maintain local culture and history. Thanet suggested that ASEAN should build transnational community, which combines people from different cultures together for creating new identities and characteristics that dissolve the old identities in order to discover new identities.

But the study of Jakkri Sangkhamanee (2014), see the differences from Thanet studies that building ASEAN Identity should not start with grouping the people to dissolve the diversity but should try to point out that in amidst of social flows, there are similarities and differences, how ASEAN people live together peacefully. The attempt to make ASEAN unity of the each ASEAN government is not easy because they found that they could not make unity in ASEAN until ASEAN can reconcile amidst the diversity. It consists of four frameworks which must understand

about ASEAN. 1. ASEAN geography is not connected because mainland and maritime is not unified. 2. Hybridization of ASEAN cultures that derived from many civilization areas. 3. The mobility of people and culture in ASEAN occurs all the time for a long time such as economic movements and civilization movement and 4 Marginalization in ASEAN that effect to build stability and integrity of ASEAN because ASEAN could not bring a diverse marginalized people into the same society. ASEAN should integrate these differences fragmentation before ASEAN being true community.

Two articles of building ASEAN Identity could identify ASEAN identity in terms of understanding people relationships and sense of being regional. But now, the relatives among ASEAN people that important to build ASEAN Identity still challenge because people forgot the way of people connecting like the ancient time. Including they are familiar with being people of modern state so it difficult to build ASEAN community and feeling of being ASEAN and citizen. It may take a long time.

From all of the literature reviews about common culture, clamming over the culture that impacts on ASEAN community, and building ASEAN Identity, found that most of the studies are about gathering the common culture in ASEAN and disputed over common culture cases. But there is no answer to research question that needs to analyze the direct impacts on building ASEAN identity and does not offer the ways to solve problems. The ways of the solution from the literature review is calling on governments of each ASEAN country encouraging people to understand their neighboring countries through the mechanisms of ASCC. But any study does not say or mention about using the social network to promote understanding and reduce the conflicts from claiming over common culture. This research will focus on the solution by using the social network to enhance understanding and promote good relations among ASEAN members. The social network can change “the fighting space to the space of understanding” because it is a communication channel that people can communicate quickly and efficiently. So this research will study the ways to reduce conflicts and impacts of building ASEAN Identity by analyzing the ways that social media was used to solve the problem to estimate how it is effective.

CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL CONTROVERSIES IN ASEAN

3.1 Widely Debated of Cultural Controversies cases in ASEAN on the Internet

This chapter gathered cultural controversy cases which are a widely debated on the internet from January 2007 to December 2017 that the internet was used as fighting space of ASEAN members for claiming over the common culture belong to their home country.

Nowadays, people use internet and technology in everyday life. The internet has an important role and influent to perception of people. Social Networking formed a large online society without borders. People can contact to each other and exchange information easily. Sharing information and informally transmitting through the the social network is known as the Electronic Word of Mouth (E-WOM), which has a high response rate and can communicate both positively and negatively, so the information was disseminated rapidly, and it is difficult to control (Christy and Dimple, 2012).

Controversial discussion on website by personal reasons or personal feelings can be distorted information and build the conflicts of people on the social network. From the Study of Online Drama by Pannawat Chaipatpanich and team researcher said, the communication behavior that is distorted and distracted, out of the point or unreasonable retaliation in online platform is called "online drama". It spread on the internet via Negative Electronic word of mouth. It spreads rapidly and goes to be the causes of conflicts on the social network. In this article also show attitudes which appears on the social network. There are three categories: 1. Positive attitude which expressing opinions, or interacting in a good way on the social network. 2. Negative attitudes which expressing negative comments or interacting in a negative way. 3. Neutral attitude which expressing silence on the problem. (Chaipatpanich, et al, 2015).

All 3 attitudes, positive, negative, and neutral could be found on claiming over common culture cases but most attitudes that often appear on the social network is the negative attitude. Disputed over the common culture between ASEAN members have impacts on the international relationship and building ASEAN identity. It reflected through cultural controversy cases from cultural nationalism concept and cultural economy concept that create a sense of ownership and does not wish to share the cultural market or national income to other countries.

3.2 Cases of the dispute over the common culture from Cultural nationalism reason

The cause of claims over common cultures in ASEAN from cultural nationalism concept noted that culture was used as a tool of nation-building. The conflicts showed attitude of people that if other country claims over the national culture that country is thief. Losing national culture is equal to losing the national prestige.

3.2.1 Performance

I. Ramayana Dance (Thailand-Cambodia)

Ramayana Dance is a traditional dance based on the story from the Indian epic named Ramayana. It is traditionally performed with different styles in each ASEAN country. This dance is unlike Indian dances which are very nimble and strong than traditional dances in Southeast Asia. With regards to dancing in Southeast Asia, there is a common main stance posture. It is the knee stretching and squatting. This imitates to the holy frog which is an animal that represents fertility of the land (Wongtes, 2016b).

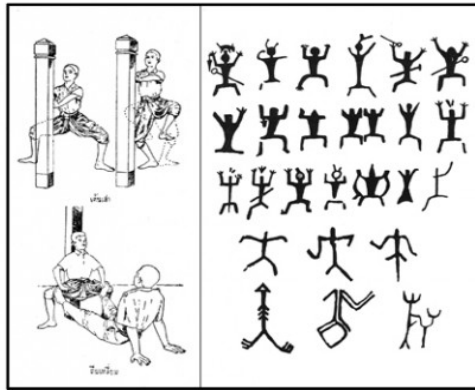


Figure 1(Left) Shows how to practice Khon (Right) Shows the painting of frogs to pray for rainfall on a cave in Southeast Asia 2500 years ago (Wongtes, 2016b)

On the 6th of June 2016, the meeting of the Committee on the Promotion and Conservation of Cultural Heritages, Thailand prepared to submit the list of "Khon" (Thai Ramayana performance) to UNESCO as an intangible cultural heritage because Khon is a distinctive performance that is clear and reflects the complete cultural wisdom of Thailand. After this news was released, young Cambodian people posted pictures and objectionable messages through social media that Khon did not belong to Thailand but belongs to Cambodia only. This sparked of nationalism and became a national agenda because Thai people very dissatisfies and created large debates on the internet (MGR Online, 2016).

Phnom Penh Post, Cambodia is reported that the Thai government is preparing to register Khon performance as a cultural heritage to UNESCO. Phnom Penh post has pointed the Cambodian Ramayana show based on the Ramayana epic from India and believe that Khon of Thai royal has cultural roots from Cambodia by quoting from the book, "Acting: An International Encyclopedia of Life", written by Beth Osnes, it says Cambodian Ramayana show was introduced in Thailand during the Cambodian invasion before it develop from the original to Thai Khon (David, 2016).



Figure 2 (Left) Cambodian people post the pictures Khon does not belong to Thailand (hilight.kapook.com, 2016) (Right) The ASEAN plus Ramayana festival from 8 ASEAN countries (Press Reader, 2016) (Left).

There was organizing the International Ramayana Festival in 2011 and 2016 in Thailand to show that neighbor countries in Southeast Asia also have a Ramayana show but it is just a different style. The countries that participated in this event include Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand (Press Reader, 2016). This event should make people understand about common culture but it is not successful as much as expected because the ASEAN festival expo 2016 was arranged ASEAN Ramayana dance before widely debated of claiming Ramayana dance between Thai and Cambodian.

Where does Khon come from?

In order to understand Khon as common culture of ASEAN, it is necessary to describe Indian culture civilization in Southeast Asia ancient empires first. Sujit Wongtes describe, that Khmer empire (Cambodia) was the first place where adopt Indian culture in Mainland Southeast Asia especially in terms of regime system and the rituals of the royal court. Khmer Empire was prosperity and cultural rich empire but after the Khmer empire declined another ancient empires mainland in Southeast Asia were grown up and also influenced by Khmer royal court. Especially

Ayutthaya (The old capital city of Thailand), the Khmer language was used to communicate in royal court before changed to Thai, but some Khmer words still use in royal palace until today. This is called the “Rajasab” in Thai (royal language) which is spoken to the king and royal family. Khon at the ancient time did not allow showing for ordinary people. It was conserved to watch for the King and royal family only because there is belief that King is Vishnu (Hindu god Vishnu) avatar and comes down to defeat misery in the land and Khon is the telling story of Pra Rama (One of many Vishnu avatar) so this performance was limited in the royal palace only (Wongtes, 2017).

The oldest evidence of Khon in Southeast Asia is stone carvings of demons name “Ravana” that have ten heads and twenty hands or Thai people know as “Tossakand” is located at Banteay Srey temple (the citadel of women) in the north of Cambodia which was built in 967 (Wongtes, 2016b). The pattern of Ravanna demon all ten heads are lined up to like a pyramid, which is a special feature of Southeast Asia style unlike India that the ten heads of Ravana are lined up horizontally.



Figure 3 (Left) Ravana demon in Indian culture all ten heads are lined up horizontally (Cartwright, 2016). (Middle) Ravana in Thai and Khmer (Anonymous, n.d.) (Right) culture all ten heads are lined up to a pyramid (Lewis, 2011).

Khon in Thai is assumed that has been influenced by ancient performance which is called Chak-Nak-Duek-Dam-Ban and choreography from swordplay adapt to fighting art and dancing to be Khon today. Chak-Nak-Duek-Dam-Ban ancient dance was assumed that influenced by Tuek Tabal dance in Khmer empire. The story of Tuek Tabal dance is the legend of churning the Ocean of Milk. It gives many magical items included, Apsara angle and magical water. The legend tells about war between god and demon scramble for magical water to be immortal. There is costume like a monkey and demon in Chak-Nak-Duek-Dam-Ban dance but was not called Khon. After that, the development of the performance has become a current Khon (Wongtes, 2017). Although Thai Khon has been influenced by Khmer dance but it does not mean Thais copied Cambodian culture because Thai Khon has developed and combined with the various filed of arts to create its own style which the details are very different.

The Exchange and Movement of Khon performance

At the time of Khmer empire declined, Ayutthaya rapid prospered in the reign of Majesty King Borommarachathirat II or Chao Sam Phraya, He led Ayutthaya's army to occupy Angkor Thom (Khmer empire) and forcibly people and arts come to Ayutthaya kingdom (Wongtes, 2016b). The war of the Southeast Asia ancient state was not a battle to occupy land, because land was abundant at that time but there are a few people. So, this was a war to increase manpower for strengthening the kingdom. This could describe why people in ASEAN are diverse of ethnicities before they became the population of the modern state.

Costume of Khon Ayutthaya imitated to royal costume. The performers who play as monkey and the demon will wear the mask covering the head, except who play as human or god no need wear mask. Conversation in Khon drama will be narrated and interspersed with singing along with Thai music which is called "Pee Path" (Fernquest, 2014). Thai language in Royal accent (Suphanburi accent) is used to talk in Khon conversation. The scholar assumed that accent is similar to Luang

Prabang accent (Kawainnamon, 2011). This indicated that there are diverse ethnicities came to live together in Ayutthaya Kingdom.

In Thonburi period and early of Rattanakosin, there is evidence that four Cambodian kings lived and studied in the Thai royal court before being re-established as Khmer king. So the King brought Thai Khon and some royal culture to develop to be its own style (Pakdeekham, 2014). In the reign of King Chulalongkorn, there is the evidence that M.C. Chaweewad was escaped to Cambodia with the troupe of Khon and relied on the Khmer kings. She had published and taught Khon and Thai dance in the Khmer royal court (Wongtes, 2016a). In the later period of Rattanakosin, Cambodia had sent people to study traditional dance in Thailand because there are Cambodian genocide during the Khmer Rouge regime that is cause of a great loss of professional expert of Khmer arts and culture. The killing field under Pol Pot regime made Cambodian next generation needs to revitalize the Khmer culture and made the people pride of the country again by glorified Khmer history since the ancient time (Thairath Online, 2016). This may help people pride again but it also encourages nationalism and sense of cultural ownership that cannot share or accept common culture.

To summarize Khon belongs to whom is difficult because each country has a different style. Every ASEAN countries also perform Khon. There are different names and details. At the ancient time, Thai Khon had influenced by Cambodian but it was developed in Thai style and return to Cambodia for the restoration of Khmer art and culture. It indicated that mobility of people and culture in this region is normal and easily before become a modern state.

II. Gordong Sembilan Drum (Indonesia-Malaysia)

“Gordang Sembilan” is a 9-piece drum set in a local sacred ritual rite of “Batak” people in Mandiling district of Sumatra in Indonesia. It is becoming a controversial topic between Indonesia and Malaysia after the Malaysia authorities

announced the Gordang Sembilan drum and local dance called Tor Tor, which is originated in Indonesia to be the National Heritage of Malaysia. Indonesian Minister of Education and Culture expressed dissatisfaction, urging the Malaysian authorities to explain this situation. Moreover, the Indonesian protesters stormed stones and eggs with anger into the Malaysian embassy in Jakarta and burnt Malaysian flag. This conflict is not only stayed on the internet but go out to express with the violence (Lamb, 2012). The tensions between the two countries are not new because Indonesian media are always presenting a kind of this story for a long time and often to accuse Malaysia or Singapore, those who steal cultures away from Indonesian people. There is a concern that the conflict does not end at the cultural aspect because it starts with another dispute such as persecution, sexual assault or physical harm to Indonesian migrant workers more often by Malaysian employers. The Malaysian government has called the Indonesian ambassador In Kuala Lumpur to meet and express concerning this violence. The governments of both countries have tried to solve this situation by explaining to their people that a misunderstanding of the Mandailing folk who lives in both Sumatra and Malaysia tourism promotion plan. Registration of the drum and Tor Tor dance, it is not claiming or wants to be an owner, but it is culture conservation (Auandomchaisakul, 2012).

Gordang Sembilan drum belongs to whom?

Gordang Sambilan drum is a cultural heritage of the Mandailing people who live in both of Malaysia and Indonesia. Gordang Sambilan is very important to Mandailing life. It consists of nine drums ranging in size from large to small. Each drum has a name depends on each Mandailing village gives the name to their all nine drum. Mandailing people use the Gorgang Sembilan drums in sacred ceremony to call the spirit of ancestors come to the conjuror for giving some rescue to people when the disaster or infection disease occurred in the village. Sometime Gordang Sambilan drum was played alongside with the Sarama dancer. The dancer is mediator of spirit when the ancestral spirits want to predict future or talk to descendants. Moreover,

Gordang Sambilan drum was used to pray for rainfall in dry season and also pray for stop raining when the village is flooded. It was used in weddings ceremony and burial ceremony as well. After Mandailing people getting Islam, Gordang Sambilan drum was used for traditional rituals as before but added celebrating of Muslim such as the Eidul Fitri festival at the end of Ramadan month (Nasution, 2014).

People always misunderstand that Mandailing is Batak people in Indonesia or Malays ethnic in Malaysia. Actually, Mandailing people are one of ethnics groups who live in Southeast Asia for a long time. They live in North Sumatra before migrate to settle down across the Malay Peninsula. Nowadays, the majority of Mandailing people live in Indonesia and secondly, Malaysia where Mandailing live in Perak and Selangor more than 100,000 people. Many Mandailing people in Malaysia are still going to Indonesia to visit their cousins and show remembrance for Mandailing ancestors (Lubis, 2010). This showed that Mandailing people try to keep relationships and strong unity among people even though they are not the same nationality now.

Mandailing people who live in Malaysia wish the Malaysian government realize about importance of their culture by registering art and culture for protection (The star online, 2012). It does not mean Mandailing people let Malaysia claims over Mandailing culture, but conflicts with Indonesian people still emerge. Also include, folk dance is called Tor Tor, it is also the Mandailing folk dance that Indonesian people ask for Mandailing culture belongs Indonesia by having the dispute claims over culture with Malaysia. They use the "Hashtag" as a keyword for searching the groups of people who agree that TorTor dance belongs to Indonesia on social media such as #TorTorPanyaIndonesia or #TorTorBelongsToIndonesia for showing the power of Indonesians who want to protect national culture. It spread the hates between Malaysian and Indonesian people (Pietsch and Clark, 2014).



Figure 4 #TorTorPunyaIndonesia or # TorTorBelongsToIndonesia from Twitter

It does not matter what the country that Mandailing people live but people should make understanding that Tor Tor folk dance and Gordang Sembila drum are cultural heritage of Mandailing ethnic who live in Southeast Asia before the creation of Malaysia and Indonesia. Mandailing still maintain their cultural identities until now, no matter where they live that country has duty on preservation and promotion of their culture not for claiming culture.

III. Rasa Sayang Song (Indonesia-Malaysia)

Rasa Sayang song or feeling of love song is going to be conflict between Malaysia and Indonesia in 2007 because the Malaysian Ministry of Tourism used this song to promote tourism and mention that Rasa Sayang song is a Malay Peninsula song. While the governor of Maluku, Indonesia, Karel Albert Ralahu claimed that song belongs to Indonesia. This folk song reflected the culture of Maluku since the ancient time. He will gather evidence that proves this song belongs to the Maluku. The Minister of Tourism Malaysia said Indonesia have no evidence to prove that song belongs to Indonesia because it is a common song in the Malay Peninsula (Reuters Staff, 2007). Now, this conflict has already compromise between two countries

because they accepted that Rasa Sayang song is a part of Malay Peninsula culture (Nusantara).

In addition to Rasa Sayang, there are also claimed of Wayang kulit (Shadow puppet), Keris (a dagger), and Angklung (musical instrument) that Malaysia has always caused of arguments. Especially in case of Keris (a dagger), Hishammuddin Tun Hussein who is the Deputy President of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) held Keris to the annual meeting of UMNO in 2007. His speech on the meeting showed that Keris is a cultural heritage of Malaysia and it is a symbol to call for Malay racial unity. It made Indonesian people protested about it because UNESCO decided Keris is Indonesian cultural heritage since 2005 included shadow puppet in 2003 (Tippimon, 2016). Claiming over cultural heritage make Indonesian people against Malaysian and called Malaysia is Malingsia which is a parody word means a thief or burglar and Indonesian people also printed the word "Visit Malingsia" on t-shirts to against Malaysian tourism campaign. Moreover, many websites from both countries attacked each other with the war of word (Marks, 2009).

Rasa Sayang belongs to all

Rasa Sayang song is well known in the Malay Peninsula. It is a really common song of the Malay Peninsula because it has no difference in melody and lyric. This song had been sung for a long time. Composer of Rasa Sayang song could not be identified. As everyone in the Malay Peninsula knows, Rasa Sayang is a folk song for Nusantara (Malay Peninsula) because it has no evidence who is owner.

Some Indonesian people said Indonesian government should sue Malaysia in order to take Rasa Sayang song for promoting Malaysian tourism. The chairman of Indonesian Copyright Board, Enteng Tanamal said "prosecution to Malaysia is unlikely to be succeeding because it could not identify the true owner, Malaysia can use this song to promote Malaysian Tourism (The star online, 2007).

If Rasa Sayong could not identify who is the owner of the song, it could be considered as Nusantara's song because Nusantara concept reflects the intimacy

and mutual belonging of each empire in the Malay Peninsula which describes common identity of people in this area. The word Nusantara was discovered in the historical record in the 9th Century of Bali, Indonesia that is the time of Majapahit Empire. The Empire has a center in the east of Java Island. To gather unity of people in the Malay Peninsula is the goal of Nusantara. In addition, there is describing of Nusantara concept as a historical area linked to Islamic that is the land of Muslim in maritime Southeast Asia (Evers, 2016).

Nusantara countries have Malay culture as a culture that generally appears in the Malay Peninsula. There are similar culture and pass the historical time together, both before and after getting Islam. So the cultural similarity in Malay Peninsula is not surprising. The idea of being the owner of cultures is the idea of Western because cultures belong to people no matter where they are and the idea to be owner of culture never appeared in Southeast Asia before the arrival of Western colonialism.

3.2.2 National Customs

I. Thai national costume (Thailand-Cambodia)

In 2017, there was online drama between Thai and Cambodia about Thai National costume of the beauty contest “Miss Universe 2017”. “ASEAN Beauty Pageant” Facebook page posted the picture of Miss Thailand Universe wearing the Thai national costume “Mekhala Lorkeaw” or “chasing the light” was inspired from the local story about giant “Ramasoon” who is the god of thunder. He wants to catch Mekhala, the goddess of light. Miss Thailand Universe plays as Ramasoon with the lifted-size doll of Mekhala (Coconut Thailand, 2017). Some Cambodian people comment on this post with negative attitude because they think Thailand copied the local story of Ramasoon and Mekhala from Cambodia and they also find evidence to prove this culture is originally from Cambodia. Thai people were angry with Cambodians who claim the culture so they react to Cambodians with negative comments as well and then they fight with each other and argue regarding other

content that is not related with the point of Mekhala. For example, Cambodian people posted the ancient map of Chenla (the ancient empire of Khmer) and asked Thai people “Where is Siam ... kingdom”, Thai people also post the map of Rattanakosin B.E. 1839 when Siam occupied Khmer and ask back “Where is Cambodia hahaha”. Some Thai people try to explain that Thais and Cambodians are very similar in terms of culture because we have common culture and the culture comes from the same place. (ASEAN Beauty Pageant, Facebook Page, Posted 4 November 2017).



Figure 5 Thai National costume/Comments from Thai and Cambodia Facebook users fight to claim over culture that is the inspiration of Thai National costume and some

of them comment something that is not related with the point of conflict (ASEAN Beauty Pageant, Facebook Page, Posted 4 November 2017).

Mekkala and Ramasoon Thai and Cambodia folk tales, the same or the difference

Both Thailand and Cambodia also have Mekhala-Ramasoon folktale. This folktale could explain the natural phenomenon of lightning and thunder and could not found this folktale in India. Mekhala Ramasoon folktale in Thailand is a folktale of central of Thailand. It is a literary work by the King Phra Phutthayotfa Chulalok (King Rama I) and the famous poet name is Sunthorn Phu in the reign of Phra Phutthaloetla Naphalai (King Rama II) make up the story more to use as one part of Khon performance (Rammakien). Including, the folktale was appeared in Chalerm Tripop literature wrote by Phraya Rajabhat. This book tells about astrology, ideology, and traditions and also describes natural phenomena based on beliefs of people at the ancient time (Satjapan, 2012).

Mekhala-Ramasoon in Thai version tells that when rainy season is coming, many gods and goddesses come to celebrate at the heaven. Mekkhala is the goddess who preserves the peace of the ocean. She is one of those gods that come to celebrate the rainy season. She got a magical crystal that makes she able fly and has a power. While she is traveling to the celebration she met Ramasoon demon who has a magical ax as his weapon. Ramasoon a greedy demon has a craving for a magical crystal of Mekkhala. He came to Mekkhala for snatching her magical crystal so Mekkhala uses the magical crystal to emit the light from the crystal make Ramasoon could not be able to see her. Ramasoon was very angry so he throws his magical ax to Mekkhala but it always misses. It makes the light across the sky and thundering noise. Arjun god saw the fighting between Mekkhala and Ramasoon. He disagrees that Ramasoon fights with the goddess so he joins the battle to help Mekkhala but he fails to fight with Ramasoon. Ramasoon kill Arjun god by hitting him with the Meru

Mountain. It make Meru Mountain was moved so Indradev god let Sukreep and Pali monkey army of Rama help to make the Meru Moutain be the same. Ancient people believe that the light from the magical crystal of Mekkhala is the cause of the lightning, while the magical ax throwing of the Ramasoon is the cause of thunder (Phraya Anuman Rajathon, 1964).

For the folk tales of Mekkhala-Ramasoon of Cambodian version, there are different details from Thai version but still maintain the concept of describing natural phenomena of lightning and thunder. The name of this folktale is “Konnert Ronteah” (Legend of lightning). The folktale tells that, there are two students name Mekkhala and Ramasoon come to learn the magic and serve the anchorite who has a magic and power. When the two students finished learning everything from the anchorite, the anchorite said if someone can find a full glass of dew, he will enchant to a full glass of dew to be the Manora crystal that helps you able fly and has magical power. Mekkhla finished the mission first so she got Manora Crystal from the anchorite. Ramasoon is very sad. The anchorite feels sorry to Ramasoon so he gave the magical ax to Ramasoon for snatching Manora crystal from Mekkhala and told Ramasoon that Mekkhala will come to bath the rain. When rain is falling, Ramasoon saw Mekkhala and throw the magical ax to her so Mekkhala emits the light from Monora crystal to Ramasoon. It makes him not able to open his eyes but he tries to throw the magical ax to Mekkhala but it always misses. The fighting between Mekkhala and Ramasoon makes the light across the sky and thundering noise (Phum Komsan HD, 2018).

People of ancient Cambodian believe that when the rain is falling and seeing the lightning and thunder, there is a battle between Mekkhala and Ramasoon. Furthermore, in Cambodia, there is the dance performance based on Mekkha Ramasoon to pray for rainfall and worship of the god (Cravath, 1986).

The Legend of Mekkhala-Ramasoon, whether in a Thai or Cambodian version is the explanation of the natural phenomenon. The structure of two pieces of literature is the same but the details are very different. Claiming over Mekkhala-

Ramasoon folktale is not necessary because it hard find who the original version is. People should realize this folktale has both Thai and Cambodian version and it is not imitated or copy to each other. In Thailand, there is also a different version from King Rama I version and local version in Suphanburi province, Thailand that Mekkhala open her yoni to make Ramasoon angry and follow her to snatch her magical crystal (Sornsuphan, 2011).

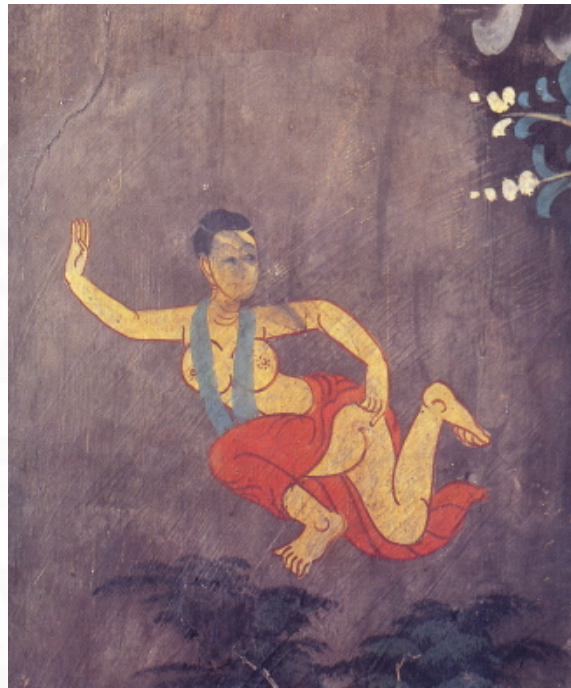


Figure 6 Wall paintings at Pratoosarn temple, Suphanburi province, Thailand of Mekkhala is flying away from Ramasoon that she opens her yoni instead of using the magic crystal (Sornsuphan, 2011).

II. Laos national costume (Thailand-Lao)

The first Miss Universe Lao 2017 wore a National costume that is inspired from Loy Kratong festival (worship to the Goddess of the river ceremony). These will be online drama to criticism of Lao's national dress because some Thai people feel like Laos is stealing a Thai traditional festival. Facebook Page "Lao Morng Thai" posted the picture to compare Thai and Lao national costume and said Thailand has inspiration from Thai folk literature but why Laos has inspiration from Thai

festival. Some Thai people said Loy Kratong is a Thai festival and asked why Lao claims this culture to be an inspiration of the Lao National costume. Especially, the floating lanterns on the Lao National dress it is very clear that Lao is stealing the Thai traditional festival because Thailand has been launching floating lanterns festival (Loy Yipeng) in Chiang Mai every year. But some Thai people said, Loy Kratong is common culture of Southeast Asia. It does not belong to Thailand only.

Some Lao people say that Loy Krathong is originally from Laos since the ancient times. It makes Thai people angry and creates arguments with Laos people. Both Lao and Thai people use impolite and inappropriate words to claim over Loy Kratong Festival. This argument is inordinate because some Thai people want to make a real war and burn Vientiane. Some Lao people said they do not agree with the Lao National costume because Laos has another idea to show Lao culture better than Loy Kratong. (Lao morng Thai, Facebook Page, Posted 20 November, 2017)

Many Thai news agencies try to create a better understanding of Loy Kratong festival to stop online drama. They report the situation on social media between Thai and Lao and try to publish the understanding of common culture of Southeast Asia's ancient times. Also, a Thai news agency suggested that Thai and Lao should not argue about claiming over culture because Thailand and Laos are like brothers (Rueang Lao Chao nee, 2017). Moreover, the Thai news agency "Khaosod" reported that low relief in the Bayon temple of Cambodia may tell the story of Loy Krathong which is older than the Sukhothai period (Thailand). This low relief is the oldest empirical evidence in Southeast Asia which records Loy Krathong tradition in the region (Khoasod, 2017).



Figure 7 Laos National costume/Comments from Thai and Laos Facebook users claim over Loy Kratong festival ideas on Lao National Costume Miss Universe 2017(Lao morning Thai, Facebook Page, posted 20 November, 2017).

Loy Kratong festival in ASEAN

Loy Kratong festival is not only a popular festival in Thailand but also popular in Buddhism countries in Southeast Asia such as Cambodia, Myanmar, and Laos. The difference of festival is local beliefs and the details of ritual. Phraya Anuman Rajathon who is Thai educational savant assumed that Loy Kratong festival is an ideology of agriculture land gives the most important to water. When the plant is growing along with water season, people in agriculture land will realize to the kindness of the river so there is a festival of worship the river. The objective of Loy Kratong festival is thank and apologize to the goddess of river name Kongka goddess or Ganga the same name with the goddess of Ganga River in India. It is similar others ideology of agriculture land. When people harvest the crops, they will bring the crops to worship the god or goddess for showing that they respect the supernatural and spirit of ancestors who passed away (Phraya Anuman Rajathon, 1970).

Loy Kratong festival in Thailand will provide every year follow the lunar calendar on full moon day of the twelfth Luna month (around the end of October - November). The activities in Loy Kratong festival are making Kratong to be a lotus

shape by using banana tree and leaves. People will decorate Kratong with the colorful flowers, candle, and incense. They will bring Kratong to float in the river and pray to Kongka goddess or ask for their wishes including cut their hair, nail and put money into Kratong to float the unlucky out of their life. Moreover, there is beauty competition which is called Nang Noppamas who Thai people believed that she is the first creator of Kratong in Thailand.

Loy Kratong in Laos knows as Boon Huea Fai (Lai Reua Fai in Thai) or illuminated Boat Procession festival has been provided after the end of Buddhist lent day. This is a full moon day around October and the beginning of November. The objective of Boon Huea Fai in Laos is to remember the grace of the mother father, and the ancestors. Laos people will make illuminated boat to float in the river. They believe that illuminated boat will bring the merit to their parents and ancestors who passed away. This magnificent cultural tradition is passed through generation to generation. Some people misunderstand that Boon Huea Fai is the same festival with Loy Kratong but actually is not the same festival. Making Kratong in Laos is making the item for exorcising misfortune. Kratong will make like a tray shape and put some food and dessert into it. After that people will float Kratong to the river or lay down it in some places such as under the tree or corner of the road (MGR, 2005). Now, it could found Kratong in lotus shape like Thai style in Boon Huea Fai festival at Laos also. There are many activities on Boon Huea Fai festival such as a long boat racing and illuminated boat competition including, floating sky lanterns and floating Kratong to Mekong River after sunset to celebrate this festival. Both of floating sky lanterns and Kratong in Laos was influenced by Thailand because it is not the original activities in Boon Huea Fai festival.



Figure 8 Boon Huea Fai festival in Laos (Palsonpn, 2016).

Floating sky lantern is very similar to the famous festival in Chaing Mai that is called “Loy Yepeng” which held on the same day as Loy Kratong. This festival is assumed that floating sky lantern in Lanna Empire (the old name of the north ancient empire of Thailand that Chiang Mai was the center of empire) has influenced by Myanmar because Lanna was occupied by Myanmar over 200 years. In Myanmar, floating sky lantern festival is called Tazaungdaing festival (festival of Lights) to celebrate the end of rainy season on full moon day of November or the beginning of December. Burmese people will create a big sky lantern in various shapes to worship to the Buddha and also offer the new robes and alms for monks (Voice TV, 2014).

The oldest evidence of Loy Kratong festival in Southeast Asia is the stone carving at Bayon Khmer temple, Angkor Cambodia. This temple was built in the late 12th century of King Jayavarman who is Mahayana Buddhist. The wall of outside terrace and the wall of the second terrace at Bayon temple have the stone carving that tells about the traditional rituals of Bayon royal court. The traditions are only preserved to the royal family that they have to maintain the traditions every year. The ordinary people of the Bayon Empire no need to practice. Loy Kratong stone carving was found on the wall of the temple which telling about royal tradition story. The wall shows the picture of the king sitting on the throne, the queen, and the courtiers on the

royal yacht. Below of the picture, there are many ladies-in-waiting carry oblation look like Kratong in lotus shape near by the river that has the stone carving showing many fishes and kingfisher bird. It looks like the group of lady-in-waiting is doing the royal ritual. Some of them raise the Kratong or bend their head down to Kratong. This picture shows prayer behavior that is blessings to invisible supernatural (Voice, 2017).

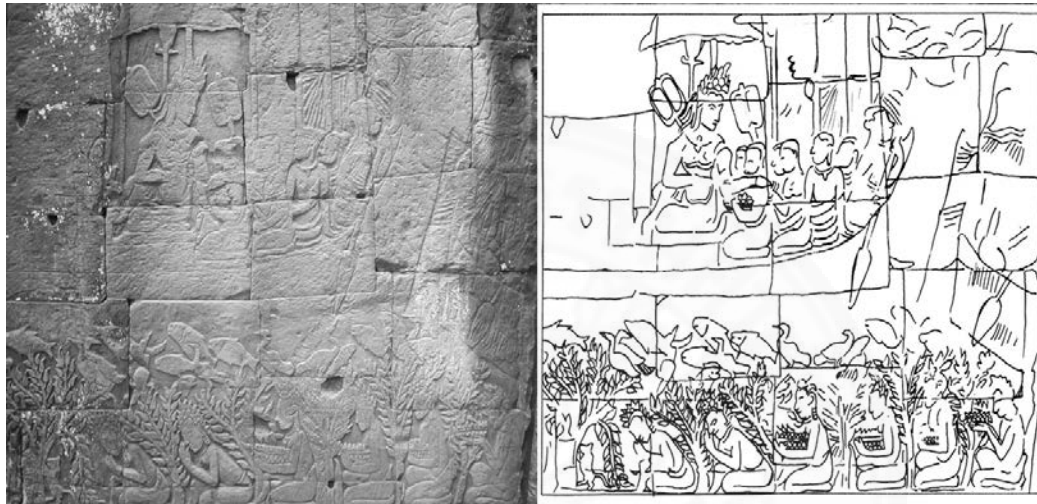


Figure.9 (Left) The stone carving of Loy Krathong tradition at Bayon temple and (Right) hand sketching picture of Loy Krathong tradition at Bayon temple (Wongtes, 2016c).

The stone carving of Loy Krathong in Bayon temple shows that Loy Krathong festival is not the tradition for ordinary people but today this festival has become a tradition for everyone. Nowadays, Loy Krathong in Cambodia is called "Boon Om Touk" (Water Festival). This festival will hold around November for apologizing to the river and giving merit to spirit including, cutting the hair, nail or adding the coin to Kratong to floating unlucky with Kratong. There is a boat racing like Laos to celebrate the festival also (Krosem, 2007).

Loy Krathong is common festival in ASEAN Buddhism countries. Each ASEAN country inherited a beautiful tradition depends on its belief and local ritual. This festival helps people respect to the river that nourishes the human life as well as plants and animals. Fighting to claim over Loy Krathong belongs to Thai is not

necessary to argue and accuse neighboring country because culture and traditional are the way of life, people certainly have their own way to adapt with their life.

3.3 Cases of disputed over the common culture from Cultural Economy reason

National identity, culture, and heritage are used to increase income for the country. Tourism, cultural goods and services are used for making maximum benefit to the nation. Being original land of culture or owner of genuine culture will attract tourists and customers that increase income for people. It is responsibility of the people for protecting economic benefits by protecting national culture from another nation that wish to claim over national culture.

3.3.1 Fabric and textile

I. Batik (Indonesia-Malaysia)

Batik is fabric that uses a technique of wax-dipping and dyeing applied to the cloth with the various pattern. In 2009, UNESCO has announced the wax-dipping and dying of batik technique is the world heritage of Indonesia. For Indonesian people, it seems like the announcement of UNESCO has praised batik technique belongs to Indonesia. It makes Malaysian people are not satisfied because they believe that Batik technique belongs to them as well while Indonesians people accused Malaysians people that they are stealing batik techniques from Indonesian. At the same time, the former Indonesian President Mr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono announced to support Indonesians people to wear batik clothe on every Friday and established 2nd October is a national Batik day for emphasizing the victory above Malaysia.

But the reason that more important than who is the original culture is the economic reason on the article, "Mine, Yours or Ours?": The Indonesia-Malaysia Disputes over Shared Cultural Heritage, by Jinn Winn Chong (2014) describe that, from the list of cultural heritage that is Malaysia and Indonesia have cultural disputes, batik is the most problematic because Malaysia is very successful on batik market.

Malaysia has potential to export batik to the United States, France, and England in 2003. Many Indonesian economists criticized about the inability of Indonesian heritage marketing because they saw abandonment from government and the direct effects on economic potential of country. It is ridiculous that the evidence points to the prosperity of Malaysia batik industry, particularly on the east coast of Malaysia. Most experts on Batik are the Indonesian migrant workers. They settle on Malaysia because of better income and living. After several decades that Batik is not popular in Indonesia because it is not fashionable but Indonesia wants batik become a major export of Indonesia. So Indonesia planned to give the importance to batik again by creating a stream of interest such as batik competition in both domestic and international and gave a Batik mark certification for entrepreneurs in Indonesia and it success (Chong, 2014, p.80).

The history of Batik is over than 2,000 years ago but the land of original Batik is unclear. The evidence of wax-dipping and dyeing technique of Batik was found in Egypt, Persia, and Japan also (Gelling, 2009). Both of Indonesian batik and Malaysian Batik are like brotherhoods which come from the same cultural roots. It just only colors and patterns are different. In terms of the raw material has no different. Batik in Thailand is initially influenced by Malaysia and also popular in southern part (Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat). In fact, UNESCO gave the right to Indonesia as the protector of batik technique is not the owner of culture so Malaysia have right of produce batik cloth does because each country has its own traditional methods.

Batik in Malay Peninsula

Batik is Java word which is a local language of Java Island in Indonesia means the dots pattern on the fabric. The word "tik" is from the word "Titik" that means little dots so Batik means the spotty fabric. The land of original of Batik could not be identified. Some Western scholars assumed that the original place of Batik is India before it becomes popular cloth in Indonesia. Some scholars assumed that Batik technique came from Egypt or Persia because it was found the ancient Batik fabric in

Egypt and Persia includes India and even Japan. However, Indonesian people believed that Batik belongs to Indonesia because the word Batik is Indonesian word especially each process of making Batik also has nomenclature in Indonesian word (Jahangiri, 2013).

The colors for dyeing come from Indonesia plants that never been found in India and Batik techniques in Indonesia are higher level than India also. Batik is the original culture in Southeast Asia before it had interaction with India. Even though, there are found Batik evidence in other lands but it is different from Indonesian Batik in terms of techniques and patterns. Indonesia Batik also has been distributed to other lands particularly, in Malay Peninsula (Kerlogue, 2005).

Batik fabric has been used in general since the ancient time. Most Batik makers were women who are free from farming. It is not only preserved for royal court until the 13th century. Batik fabric was monopolized by Sultan and considered as royal art. There were many high-class women in royal made Batik that is called *Kraton* at that time. That is handmade batik which nowadays is called *Batik Tulis*. Batik was no longer popular among the elite. It is back to popular among people again so the monopoly Batik of the Sultanate had ended. The ancient Batik had the only indigo and white colors. The other colors such as red, brown and yellow from the plants had been discovered in the 17th century and later people learned to mix the colors to be various new colors. There were making Batik patterns printing which is called "Cap" by making a block from copper or metal in the 19th century. "Cap" could help to print Batik patterns faster than hand drawing so it is the beginning of Batik household industry (Expat Website Association Jakarta, Indonesia, n.d.). People started to produce Batik fabric professionally even men began to assist in the Batik industry unlike formerly that only women who made Batik.

Batik had distributed to Malaysia in the 13th century through trading relations between Melayu royal court and Java so Malay Batik has influenced by Java Batik. Malaysia has developed Batik both of the design and techniques to be Malay

style. The luxury Batik fabric could tell the wealthy status also. Malaysian woman like to wear Batik Sarong with the long shirt called “Kebaya”. It is popular to wear in Malaysia because it proper with the climate and it is airy. Batik printing also inspired to patterns of wooden block printing also. It is called “Kain Pukul” in Kelantan state and “Kain Terap” in Terangganu state in Malaysia. Most pattern of Malaysian Batik is the natural pattern such as flowers and butterflies includes geometric because it relates with Islamic believe that not allowed to draw the picture of human or animal for decorating cloth (Yunus, 2011). Moreover, the method of making Malaysian Batik is different from Java Batik such as Malaysian Batik is colorful more than Java but Java batik has a complex pattern while, Malaysia focuses on a simple pattern (Al Jazeera English, 2006).

Batik has become cultural products in 1960. Malaysia has developed its own beautiful and special designs that different from Java including, there are many migrants from Indonesia who is Batik expert came to settle down and work for Batik industry in South of Malaysia so Malaysian Batik was very successful as Batik exporter before Indonesia registration Batik technique as intangible world heritage with UNESCO. (Lorraine, 2012). However, it necessary to understand that even UNESCO announced Batik techniques is intangible world heritage of Indonesia but it does not mean Batik belongs to Indonesia because UNESCO gave the right to Indonesia to preserve Batik technique not given the right to force Malaysia do not make Batik and judge Indonesia is the only one owner of Batik.

3.3.2 Festival

I. Songkran Festival (Thailand and Singapore)

Songkran is the Sanskrit word which means moving. It is a New Year's Eve tradition of Buddhist states in Southeast Asia following the lunar calendar. Myanmar calls it “Yeh-Bwey-dow” (water festival), Laos calls it “Wan Sang Khan”, Cambodia calls it “Jol Cha-nam Ta-mey”, Malaysia calls it Songkran but only

Malaysian people who are the Thai ethnicity in Perak (MGR Online, 2014). The tradition will use water as the symbol to moisturize each other in the hot summer time. It is the main element in this ceremony. There are blessings from adults and making merit to give gratitude to ancestors. For modern Thai society, Songkran is a family day. Thai people will visit hometown and make merit with family to start a happy new year. Nowadays, Songkran is also tourism promotion as a water festival, which cuts off traditional beliefs.

In the case of Singapore promoted Songkran festival 2014, it sparked criticism of Singapore on social media because Thai people think Singapore want to attract the tourists from Thailand to Singapore during Songkran festival. On March 17th, 2014, on the Facebook page of Pongsuk Hiranprueck, the famous IT moderator in Thailand, there was a lot of social media criticism of Songkran festival in Singapore. His status post on Facebook said, "when Thai Songkran festival, it is not good as the ancestor's intentions so Singapore steals this water splash festival to do by itself and claim that will be the biggest Songkran festival to attract the tourists from Thailand". Thai people think it is a good opportunity for Singapore to steal the tourists from Thailand during political turmoil and we will lose tourism income to Singapore (Prachachat Online, 2014). These comments are published via Pantip.com (A Famous Thai community on the internet), Facebook and other social media. There was a rumor that the Thai Ministry of Culture threatened to sue Singapore and seek a the patent for Songkran which brought more criticism from some Thai people that the Ministry of Culture is protecting Thai culture in the wrong way. But now the Thai Ministry of culture refuses the news and asks the media to present the news carefully because it is a sensitive issue that could affect international relations.

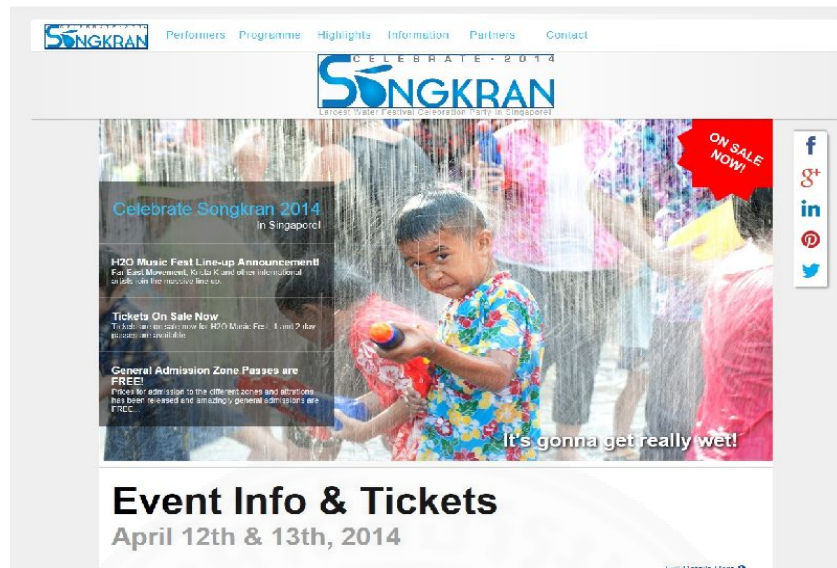


Figure 10 Website Promoting Songkran festivals 2014 in Singapore (Prachachat Online, 2014)

The website, “www.celebratesongkran.com” has been promoting to celebrate Songkran 2014 in Singapore. It was organized by a private Singaporean company whose name is JBozz Consultants. This event was provided in the Padang the business district without sponsorship from government agencies. The organizer's newsletter indicated the purpose of the event was to publish a good understanding of Thai culture with an exciting international atmosphere. This is the largest celebration of Songkran Festival 2014 in Singapore but it will not have “water splashing” because they wish to organize this event in line with the water saving campaign of Singapore Government. The organizer does not want to waste water on activities like splashing water. They got a lot of feedback from the public that it is unreasonable to waste water when the country is suffering from drought. It is a dry Songkran but does not mean Songkran festival in Singapore will be canceled. On the other hand, this is a new dimension of Songkran. There are exhibitions on water conservation and promotion of a water-saving campaign. Entertainment activities such as Muay Thai (Thai boxing), a street market, parade and concert from Thai artists still go on (Thairath Online, 2014).

Songkran does not belong to one country

In fact, Songkran is not only Thai festival because many countries in ASEAN also have Songkran such as Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar even Tai minorities in Vietnam, Yunan or Xishuangbanna in South China. Songkran festival that widely held in ASEAN Buddhism countries even is the original ritual of Hindu. The ancient empires received the ritual and made it sacred to raise the power of the royal court. It is not the tradition for the people. After the tradition spread to people, it was mixed with the local culture such as making merit at the Buddhist temple, building the sand pagoda, goddess of Songkran beauty contest, watering adults of the family for blessing and added splashing water later (Khaosod, 2015).

Songkran in Thailand is held on 13th-15th April every year. There are activities such as splashing water, building a little sand pagoda and making merit including, visiting the family and Nang Songkran competition (goddess of Songkran beauty competition) (Thai PBS, 2018). Wan Sangkan Luang or Pee Mai (New Year) in Laos is similar to Thai Songkran. There are splashing water, local sports competition and set Bangfai (skyrocket) (Gilliland, 2001). Thingyan in Myanmar, people will make merit at the temple, clean the house and their mind to prepare themselves for New Year celebration. Including; providing food and dessert to apologize the parents for some mistakes in the last year and going to splash water with friends (EPA-EFE, 2018). Chol Chanam Tmey in Cambodia, there is also celebrated for 3 days. The first day is making merit's day at the temple. People will build the little sand pagoda at the temple. The second day, people will live with family and the third day will do watering to adults of the family (Krosem, 2007).

Some people misunderstood that Songkran has influenced by Holi (Colors splashing festival) in India but actually not. Holi festival is defined by Lunar calendar to celebrate spring season is coming that people will start to plant but Songkran is the new year eve of Southeast Asia follows astrology that defined by the solar calendar. The activities in Holi festival are indicated that it is the rituals of agriculture. The first

day of Holi will be held on lunar day around March or the beginning of April. People will burn “Holika” model to worship the god and bring the ashes to anoint the forehead for luck. When tomorrow has come the people will splash colors to each other that the main colors are red (blood), green (the full of plants) and yellow (sperm). Nowadays, color splashing festival is highlighted for tourism benefits (Auitekkeng, 2016).

The difference between Songkran and Holi demonstrates that Songkran is the common festival in ASEAN that brings Hinduism ideology mixed with local culture but today, beautiful tradition such as watering to adults in the family or making merit in Songkran festival is less important than water splashing that is highlighted for tourism benefits also. People should not focus only the tourism benefits and forget the real importance of Songkran festival and that is important to the way of Buddhist life in Mainland Southeast Asia. The similarities of culture and beliefs that people in this region continue to practice our aim to maintain a good tradition and protect the tradition before it getting lost. Songkran festival in ASEAN is a unique festival which gets more attention from the foreigners who hope to celebrate once a time of life. If Singapore wants to organize water splashing festival, it can do because Songkran has more detail of tradition. It has no copyright for water splashing in the summertime.

3.3.3 Food

I. Nasi Lemak Burger (Malaysia and Singapore)

The recent conflict of calming over the food in 2017 is Nasi Lemak Burger, after McDonald's in Singapore was released Nasi Lemak Burger to celebrate the national day on August 9th, 2017. Malaysian people dissatisfied with this burger because they think, there is nothing better about describing Malaysian food than Nasi Lemak. Moreover, it is not available in Malaysia. Malaysia has retaliated back on Singapore claim over Malaysia's National food by the famous burger restaurant “myBurgerLab”. MyBurgerLab will release Nasi Lemak Ayam Rendang Burger on

Friday, August 4th, 2017, to celebrate Malaysia's National Day on August 31st, 2017 also (Kong, 2017). MyBurgerLab uses the social media to express dissatisfaction to Singapore. Some Malaysian people have commented about this issue that Malaysia should be the first place of Nasi Lemak Burger menu because it is a national dish or McDonald released Nasi Lemak burger in the wrong country. Before Malaysia and Singapore claim over for Nasi Lemak burger, in 2009 Malaysia claim over Hainan chicken rice and chili crab from Singapore as well. Including, Indonesia claim over Rendang (spicy meat) and spring roll from Malaysia. In case of spring roll that is called Popiah in Malaysia and Lumpiah in Indonesia, there is a group of Lumpiah protection to claim over the spring roll is belong to Indonesia, not Malaysia. Malaysia people debated on the social media that if Indonesia wants to bring the spring roll back can we bring our Bahasa language back from Indonesia because we are the origin of Bahasa (Tonight Thailand, 2015). Actually, spring roll can find over ASEAN for example, in Thailand is called Popiah same as Malaysia or Nam San in Vietnam. Moreover, there is no evidence to prove who cook first.

Nasi Lemak is Melayu dish

Nasi Lemak is popular breakfast in Malaysia. It is jasmine rice that cooks with coconut milk and pandan eat with the side dish such as fried fish, boiled eggs, fried peanuts and sambal (fried chili sauce) or Rendang curry (coconut with curry paste). This food is commonly found in Malaysia and it is considered as Malaysian national dish. It is also popular in Maritime Southeast Asia such as Singapore, Sumatra island in Indonesia, Brunei, south of Thailand particularly, Narathiwat and Mindanao the south of Philippines (Anonymous, 2015).

Nasi lemak will serve with several foods such as chicken fried, the tiny fish fried, boil eggs, seafood, Rending curry or spicy salad. It is a popular dish and widely eaten both in Malaysia and Singapore. People can buy Nasi lemak because it is a famous street food. Moreover, Nasi lemak could be eaten every meal even at the night time (Dwayne, 2011). The recipe for Nasi leak is different depends on the

cultural eating of Malay Peninsula people. For example, Nasi lemak of Malay Indian has no beef because most of them are Hindi. Nasi lemak of Malay Chinese is popular to eat with pork curry because they can eat non-Halal food. Indonesian Nasi lemak will have seafood as the side dish. Singaporean people like to eat Nasi lemak with chicken fried and add green color from screwpine leaves in cooked rice. The taste of Singaporean Nasi lemak is sweeter and less spicy than Malaysia. South of Thailand called Nasi lemak is Kawman (oily rice) Melayu (Poramanusit, 2013). It indicates that the cultural eating of Nasi lemak is special and different depends on area. Malaysian should not argue with Singaporean because it has different taste and side dish menu. Nasi lemak should not be the cause of hates between Malaysia and Singapore that both of the countries have long relationship and ever been the same country before.

Although Nasi lemak could generally found in the Malay Peninsula after the Nasi lemak burger conflict, Malaysia had emphasized Nasi lemak is Malaysian national dish by using Nasi lemak to be the inspiration of National costume of Miss Universe 2017. This national costume makes a sensation to Malaysian people and neighboring countries. Moreover, in Malaysia, Nasi lemak was made to Pizza taste, ice cream or even condom for Nasi lemak lovers (BBC, 2017).

However, Nasi lemak could unit Malay Peninsula people in 2018. Zaleha Kadir Olpin, Malaysian woman who joined the MasterChef UK (food competition), she made Nasi lemak Rendang Ayam (chicken curry) for showing that menu is the most important to her but the two referees of MasterChef UK, John Torode, and Gregg Wallace did not like her dish because chicken skin in Rendang curry was not crispy enough. It made Malay Peninsula people angry with their comments because of chicken in Rendang never crispy. The two referees were against by Malay Peninsula people. John Torode posted to make an excuse on Twitter that "Maybe Rendang is Indonesia!! Love this!! Brilliant how excited you are all getting...Namaste". It made people become angrier because Indonesian people disagree with chicken crispy in Rendang and Namaste is the Indian word, not Bahasa Melayu or Bahasa Indonesia.

Although John Torode said Rendang belongs to Indonesia but actually Rendang is the common food in the Malay Peninsula. It could be found in Malaysia Singapore and Brunei. Most of the comments said that "do not criticize what you do not know (Chen, 2018). The food culture of each nation is different. There is a lot of criticism in social media from Malaysian people and Indonesian people through the hashtag #rendanggate #RendangIsNeverCrispy. The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Najib Tul Razak, also commented on his twitter about this issue that "Who eat Rendang with crispy chicken".



Figure 11 The twitter from the former Prime Minister of Malaysia Najib Tul Razak and the Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad commented about Rendang chicken issue on their private Twitter.

The cultural heritage and food are often the cause of cultural controversies between Indonesia and Malaysia, but this phenomenon is the unity of Malay Peninsula that people came out to protect the way to eat Rendang Ayam. Nasi lemak Rendang helps

people have a sense of harmony and indirectly accept that it is a common food in Maritime Southeast Asia.

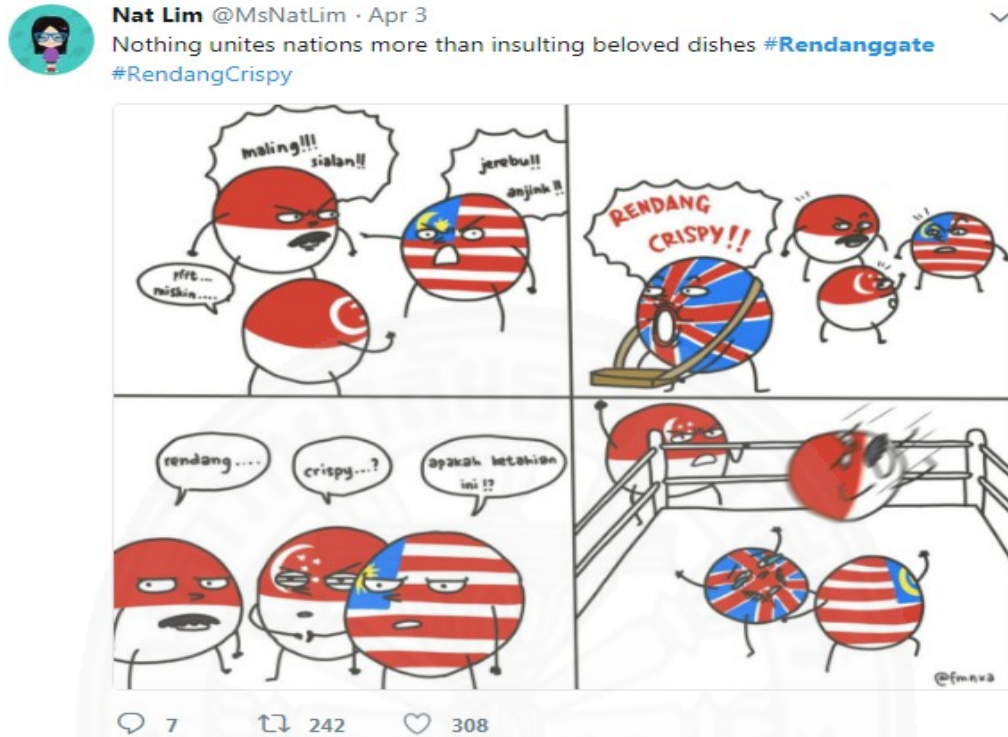


Figure 12 Unity from Rendang chicken (Nat Lim, 2017).

CHAPTER 4

IMPACTS ON BUILDING ASEAN IDENTITY

4.1 Building ASEAN Identity

Before studying the impacts on building ASEAN Identity from the cultural controversies conflicts, people should know what building ASEAN Identity is and why it is the key to make ASEAN be the true community. ASEAN cooperation in the imagination of the majority ASEAN people is only the integration for economic prosperity community. Meanwhile, other cooperation which aims to encourage peace and understanding among people do not get attention enough from people. ASCC pillar takes responsibility to make a prosperity and better quality of life to ASEAN people. The components of ASCC are 1) ASCC is the people-centered community. 2) ASCC is a Caring and Sharing Society. 3) People realize the same identity by building ASEAN Identity. 4) People have a quality of life and get better welfare and 5) people are a good neighbor and understand each other (The ASEAN Secretariat, 2016).

Building ASEAN Identity is one of the main goals of ASCC that reinforce the mutual understating of people to live together in diverse environment. That will make unity and solidarity in ASEAN. Including, it supports mutual respect among people. In terms of making understanding of ASEAN culture to building ASEAN Identity, there is mechanism to manage protections and promotions activities of ASEAN culture by AMCA (ASEAN Ministers Responsible for Culture and Arts), which responds the declarations of culture and cultural strategy plan (ASEAN.org, 2017). ASCC blueprint determined the efficiency guidelines to achieve the goals that need to create a sense of being an ASEAN citizen and ASEAN cultural belonging for the conservation and preservation.

This research aims to focus on studying of Building ASEAN Identity to increase better understanding and make the feeling of being a community that consists with 1) promotion ASEAN awareness and the sense of being community through

various public relations, 2) conservation and promotion of ASEAN cultural heritage, 3) Encourage cultural and industrial creativity and 4) community involvement through government agencies in each member country such as the Ministry of Culture or the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security.

4.2 Building ASEAN Identity Mechanisms

4.2.1 ASEAN Strategic Plan for culture 2016-2025

Making ASEAN awareness and building ASEAN Identity, people should start with making understanding of ASEAN culture and history. In terms of culture, history and ASEAN values, ASCC vision for 2025 has “ASEAN Strategic Plan for culture 2016-2025” to achieve the goals of making ASEAN awareness and building ASEAN Identity. This plan emphasizes to push the deeper sense among ASEAN people and make people realize that ASEAN people had been shared the past of community through trade and people mobility before, so ASEAN should share the future of community, includes protection and promotion of cultural heritages both tangible and intangible together by enhancing mutual respect and understanding among people (The ASEAN Secretariat Community Relations Division, 2016).

The ASEAN Strategic Plan for culture 2016-2025 regards to many cultural declarations such as the “Hue Declaration on Culture for ASEAN Community’s Sustainable Development” that pronounced in Hue, Vietnam 2014, the Declaration on “ASEAN Unity in Cultural Diversity” in Bali, Indonesia, 2011 and “ASEAN Declaration on Cultural Heritage” in Bangkok, Thailand, 2000. The objectives of cultural strategic plan 2016-2025 are 1) increasing ASEAN awareness and feeling appreciation for cultures, histories, cultural traditions and ASEAN values, 2) building the sense of cultural ownership to ASEAN people for conservation, prevention and promotion of cultural heritage, 3) Using culture for creation and innovation to increase business opportunity.

The key strategy of the ASEAN Strategic Plan for culture 2016-2025 are cultural cooperation with multi-stakeholder both government agencies and private sectors within ASEAN and external ASEAN to promote ASEAN Identity for raising the importance of ASEAN cultures, traditions, arts, food, and histories through cultural exchanges that focus on people to people connectivity particularly, ASEAN youth to make them understand the diversity of ASEAN. Moreover, there are supporting on ASEAN-related studies such as regional integration and cultural studies by education academies or multi-media including, encouraging ASEAN youth preserve and promote ASEAN cultural heritage. All activities and programs of the ASEAN Strategic Plan for culture 2016-2025 try to strengthen the relationships among ASEAN people and advance understanding to against violence from the cultural conflicts that may happen because of a lack understanding of common culture. In terms of increasing understanding of ASEAN-related, this plan focuses on integrations of common cultures, social valued and peaceful coexistence in society especially, schools and intuitions. Also include, organizing ASEAN research network through institutions or schools to raise the importance of ASEAN culture and increase the business abilities for cultural products and services.

4.2.2 ASEAN Declaration on culture

The ASEAN Strategic Plan for culture 2016-2025 was created from the declarations of culture that ASEAN countries realize the importance of culture for building ASEAN Identity and being a strong ASEAN Community. The declarations on culture and art follow as below was took the information from an official ASEAN website (asean.org) on the topic of Culture & Arts - Agreement and Declaration.

I. The ASEAN Declaration on Cultural Heritage (Bangkok, 2000)

The ASEAN Declaration on Cultural Heritage was signed in Bangkok, Thailand on the 25th July 2000. The declaration gave the importance to the rights of ASEAN people to express their diverse culture and respect to the different identities without discrimination in race, ethnicity, gender, language or religion because

ASEAN believes that respect of diverse culture is an effective way to bring ASEAN people together and recognize their regional identity. Including, indicated ASEAN concerns about protection and preservation of ASEAN cultural heritage from globalization, modern society, and tangible cultural heritage trafficking.

The cooperation of the declaration focuses on protection of ASEAN cultural heritages at regional level which is main duty of ASEAN counties to protect, promote, develop and transmit to next generation. ASEAN recognizes that cultural heritage of each member countries is a cultural heritage of regional, so ASEAN will cooperate to protect cultural heritages together. In terms of preservation, ASEAN will design learning programs for people who live in rural and urban area include, strive to set up local knowledge and wisdom centers in community to promote traditional art or original technique and establish reward system for successful community. Supporting cultural exchange programs on cultural awareness and sharing historical linkages will create a sense of being regional identity.

II. The Declaration on ASEAN Unity in Cultural Diversity (Bali, 2011)

The Declaration on ASEAN Unity in Cultural Diversity was signed in Bali, Indonesia on 17th November 2011. The declaration recognizes ASEAN as a community of people center that has responsibility to create harmony among ASEAN people by building ASEAN identity and building a sharing and a caring society. This declaration tries to promote awareness of ASEAN diversity, cultural heritage and respect to the different cultures, languages, and religions. ASEAN will focus on creating a sense of unity in diversity and enhance mutual understanding among ASEAN people base on their culture, history, religion, and civilization that had been shared before building ASEAN community in 2015.

To achieve the goal of the ASEAN community in 2015, ASEAN will promote “Think ASEAN” as a framework for designing and creating policies, projects, and regional strategies to respond the goal of building ASEAN Identity. This

framework intended to promote the regional cultural discourse of ASEAN in order to strengthen ASEAN community. Meanwhile, ASEAN will encourage the potential of culture as a mechanism for economic growth but ensure that commercial does not affect the integrity and rights of any ASEAN country along with supporting protection and promotion of cultural heritage. Moreover, ASEAN countries will cooperate in term of human resource development for the preservation and protection of cultural heritage and works through workshops, seminars, training programs, experts exchange programs and people exchanges program.

III. Hue Declaration on Culture for ASEAN Community's Sustainable Development (Hue, 2014)

Hue Declaration on Culture for ASEAN Community's Sustainable Development was signed on the occasion of the 6th AMCA Meeting in Hue, Vietnam on 19th April 2014. This declaration's commitments follow the objective and principles in "ASEAN Declaration on Cultural Heritage" (Bangkok, 2000) and "Declaration on ASEAN Unity in Cultural Diversity" (Bali, 2011) for strengthening the community and making an ASEAN people-oriented. The declaration also reports the progression of "The Festival of ASEAN Cultural Expression 2013-2015" that Malaysia and Brunei took a responsibility to be a co-proposing and organizing of the event was successful in the first phase of the project and it was complete in 2015.

Hue declaration maintains to encourage ASEAN countries to realize the history and cultural linkages that had shared together includes, respect the diversity. The declaration support ASEAN cultural festival such as ASEAN Cultural Fair, ASEAN Youth Camp, ASEAN Festivals, ASEAN Arts Festival, ASEAN Best of Performing Arts, and ASEAN City of Culture, to show the importance of culture in the community and economic growth and strengthen solidarity to increase mutual understanding of ASEAN people. The ASEAN Festivals will bring the good attitude and harmony to ASEAN people that can provide continuity in raising awareness and understanding of the unique history of the people in the region, as well as the

similarities cultures and the differences among ASEAN countries. On the other hand, the cultural festival could activate people consciously to protect and preserve ASEAN culture also. There are the goals to promote ASEAN culture to young generation for a greater sense of ASEAN's belonging through various platforms and information that easy access for all people. ASEAN hope that the community will be the community of full human potential and sustainable community to achieve the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals.



Figure 13 Sustainable Development Goals, 17 goals to transform our world (UN News Centre, 2015)

Including, giving the importance to the ASEAN Senior Officials Responsible for Culture and Arts (SOMCA) and the ASEAN Committee on Culture and Information (ASEAN-COCI) to take main duty on the realization of a people-centered of ASEAN Community and emphasizing on the creation of new cultural products and services from local culture. Moreover, there was opened “Southeast Asia Museum in Hanoi”, Vietnam on 1st December 2013. The museum is kite-shape building. Inside the museum collected the artifacts, photos, and cultural items that

related to cultures, performing art, traditions, and religions of 11 countries in Southeast Asia (include Timor-Leste) (TN News, 2013). There are many activities of Southeast Asia's culture also, for example folk dances from Thai/Laos/Cambodia and Indonesian artists, folk games, workshops on arts such as puppet-making, handicraft painting and learning programs such as the national flags, ASEAN cuisines, ASEAN greeting word and ASEAN cultural heritage (Van, 2013). All activities will help young people interested and make a good attitude to the neighbor countries including, changing mindset for adults to be more regionalist.

4.2.3 Responsible Agencies on ASEAN Identity

To take the responsibility on ASEAN Identity and all of ASEAN cultural dimensions are under “ASEAN Ministers Responsible for Culture and Arts” (AMCA), which is the committee leader in term of building ASEAN community with harmony among ASEAN people by culture and identity. AMCA consist with all ASEAN countries Minister of culture or the department which related cultural information. The implementations of strategic plan, projects and activities on building ASEAN Identity and culture under AMCA are implemented by the ASEAN “Committee on Culture and Information” (COCI) which has two Sub-committees such as Sub-Committee on Culture and Sub-committee on Information. COCI will consult with “Senior Officials Meeting for Culture and Arts” (SOMCA) and other related sectors to work under AMCA. The implementation of projects and activities under AMCA is funded fully or partially from the ASEAN Cultural Fund (ACF) which was established in 1978 by dialogue partners, international organizations, ASEAN countries, and other public or private sectors (ASEAN-COCI, 2011).

COCI was established in October 1978 that aims to cooperate and promote on ASEAN culture and information to enhance solidarity and understanding among ASEAN people along with development regional. COCI had arranged various supporting on cultural projects such as ASEAN Youth camp, News exchanges of ASEAN media, interaction programs among scholars, artists or writers who experts

on ASEAN culture, arts exhibitions, workshop, seminars on protection and preservation of cultural heritage programs and promotion of cultural heritage includes, cultural products as well as film festival. COCI also gives importance to the issue of human resource development for small and medium-sized of cultural industries. All activities of COCI in both sectors of culture and information involves with implementing to raise ASEAN awareness and generate a positive attitude to ASEAN people especially, young people. For example, workshop on ASEAN Textiles, which focused on Batik-making practiced all over the region (Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, and Thailand), ASEAN City of Culture, and the Best of ASEAN Performing Arts series to promote the rich cultural heritage of the ASEAN Community. In case of development the youth understanding, there were organized student exchange programs among young people such as traditional cultural expressions, the roles of the youth in tangible and intangible heritage management, and cooperation projects of music and art (COCI, 2015).

4.2.4 ASEAN Dialogue Partner for cooperation on cultures and arts

SOMCA also cooperate on culture with major power countries in Asia such as China, Japan, South Korea, and India through SOMCA plus three mechanisms to implement cultural work plans and promote cultures and arts in various fields for example, cultural and arts festival, cultural exchanges, and human resource on cultural heritage development (ASEAN.org, 2017)

I. ASEAN-China

ASEAN-China has the MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) on Cultural Cooperation was hosted by ASEAN China Centre (ACC) which aims to promote cultural cooperation through cooperation on artist exchanges, exchanges research, and education cooperation, information and ideas exchanges between China and ASEAN. The agreement under MOU will support the conservation, protection, and promotion of tangible and intangible cultural heritage through cultural heritage management programs, intellectual property rights, and building networking by

connecting the organizations of cultural heritage protection and interchange. ASEAN and China will increase cooperation in the cultural and creative industries through cultural product development, cultural market promotion, and cultural information exchange through networking among cultural and art experts (ASEAN.org, 2005).

The partner will assist to develop human resources in terms of archeology, traditional culture and contemporary fine arts to create cultural industry and management of art and culture. Cooperation between ASEAN and China will further enhance friendly relations. There are arranged the events under the theme of "Our culture of the future," that jointly organized more than 100 activities. Including, the weekly films festival, ASEAN-China culture festival exhibition, China-ASEAN, and training and exchanges programs of TV program staff, reporters, sports experts, tourism staff and youth. There is also focus on young people programs to enhance better understanding between ASEAN-China such as "China-ASEAN cultural exchange festival for youths in Xi'an, China", "the 5th China-ASEAN Youth Cultural Exchange Festival in Guangdong, China" and "China-ASEAN Cultural Exchange 2014 in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar" (ASEAN-China children's cultural exchanges, 2010). The activities and projects under the MOU on cultural cooperation is reflected believe of China and ASEAN that young people are the future who can encourage ASEAN-China friendship from generation to generation.

II. ASEAN-Japan

The cultural and arts cooperation between ASEAN and Japan is emphasized on ASEAN youth and student to learn and exchange culture of each other. Japan provided youth and students exchanges programs through "Japan-East Asia Network of Exchange for Students and Youths or JENESYS" which was established in 2007. JENESYS invited young people from ASEAN countries including, India, Australia, and New Zealand to visit Japan around 6,000 people that young people attend each year to strengthen mutual understanding of young generation. The

programs and activities of JENESYS are related with 1) learning programs such as the lecture on Japan-ASEAN cooperation at the University, Fine Arts Colleges Network Meeting, Japanese language, Science and Technology visiting to Japan by university students from Indonesia, Myanmar and Viet Nam. 2) Social Community programs such as Civil Society Activities, Disaster Management, Youth Exchange, and Youth Sports Exchange. 3) Media such as information exchange and ASEAN-Japan TV Festival and 4) ASEAN food festival and ASEAN street food Festival (Mission of Japan to ASEAN, 2016).

Apart of JENESYS, There is AYNJ (ASEAN Youth Network in Japan) which was established in 2006. It is the organization that also focuses on ASEAN and Japanese youth cooperation. This organization is a volunteer-based on the entity that aims to connect ASEAN and Japanese young people and contribute prosperity to ASEAN people including, straitening relationships under the vision "To become the leading creative platform for ASEAN youth in Japan". The main cooperation of AYNJ consist of four dimensions 1) ASEAN Cultural Festivals. 2) ASEAN-Japan Sports Festivals. 3) ASEAN-Japan Academic Forums and 4) ASEAN Student's Career Fair (AYNJ, n.d.).

III. ASEAN-ROK (Republic of Korea)

ASEAN-ROK has been initiated cooperation since 1989. ROK became a full Dialogue Partner in 1991. ASEAN-ROK takes a cooperation cover the goals of ASCC is not only Building ASEAN Identity but cover all goals of ASCC so this research will focus on the roles of ASEAN-ROK to enhance Building ASEAN Identity only. In term of people to people connects and exchanges, ASEAN-ROK gives the importance to the fields of youth, media, culture, and academic that funded by the Future-Oriented Cooperation Fund (FOCF). There is ASEAN Korea Center (AKC) is the main mechanism for ASEAN-ROK cooperation which responds the

duties of cultural promotion, tourism, trade, investment and people to people connected (ASEAN Secretariat News, 2017c).

AKC provided the festivals to promote ASEAN culture and ASEAN-ROK cultural exchange to enhance ASEAN awareness both of ASEAN regional and South Korea, for example, ASEAN month in Seoul, 2017 for celebrating the 50th Anniversary of ASEAN under the theme of “Hello ASEAN@50” that there were various programs such as ASEAN Culinary Festival, ASEAN Culture, Traditional dances and music, ASEAN Tourism and Photo Exhibition. In case of youth exchanges programs, there are ASEAN-Korea Youth Exchange and Cultural Community Building Program, ASEAN-KOREA Youth Taekwondo, Cultural Exchange Camp, and ASEAN-Korea Youth Network Workshop. ASEAN and South Korea have been provided many films festivals through ASEAN-ROK Film Community and Exchanges that Southeast Asian and Korean film leaders that were initiated by One Asia in Film (ASEAN Secretariat News, 2017a). It helps people to learn cultures and societies of each other.

Cooperation on higher education, South Korea supports funding for ASEAN-ROK Scholarship for Korean student to learn ASEAN culture by coordinated with ASEAN University Network (AUN). FOCF also funded scholarships for the student of Master Degree in ASEAN specialists including, establish ASEAN-ROK Cyber University in CLMV countries (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam) that focus on e-learning program. The objective of ASEAN-ROK programs and activities aims to strengthen their relationship and celebrate the special occasion in the 50th Anniversary of ASEAN and the 25th Anniversary of ASEAN-ROK Dialogue (ASEAN-Republic of Korea Dialogue Relations, 2017).

IV. ASEAN-India

It is quite surprising that India is the most of influenced culture in Southeast Asia more than two thousand years ago has no cultural cooperation or

dialogue partnership on culture with ASEAN before 2015. The first cultural conference between ASEAN-India is ASEAN-India Cultural Links: Historical and Contemporary Dimensions which held in 2015 to celebrate “25th anniversary of ASEAN-India relationship” (AIC, 2015). In 2017, India needs to boost cultural cooperation and linkages with ASEAN because they need to strengthen cooperation between ASEAN and India by people-to-people connectivity and cultural relations including, focus on the long-lasting cultural relationship across the region. Indian sees that the cultural links between India and ASEAN need to be more strengthened especially, offering the scholarships to ASEAN study at India's University. India has India cultural center in three countries in ASEAN such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Myanmar to emphasize cultural diplomacy in the region. India hopes ASEAN youth will become the true mechanism to enhance India-ASEAN relationships. On the other hand, India will support Indian youth to learn culture that they can understand how ASEAN was influenced by Indian culture and visit ASEAN countries. The important key that India will connect people in term of culture to increase closed cooperation by starting with the connecting of the common culture of Buddhism and Ramayana projects that could be found in many ASEAN countries (ASEAN Secretariat News, 2017b). To celebrate the 25th anniversary of ASEAN-India Dialogue Relations, Ministry of External Affairs, provided the first ASEAN-India Artists Camp from the 20th - 29th September 2017 in Udaipur, Rajasthan. It was a good foundation to make a deeper cooperation in other dimensions between ASEAN and India (Indo Asian News Service, 2018).



Figure 14 India also provided the ASEAN-India Music Festival that was the first time of musicians from ASEAN and India played music together (Indian Mission to ASEAN, Government of India, 2017).

4.3 How Cultural controversies impacts on Building ASEAN Identity

According to ASEAN's efforts of Building ASEAN Identity through cultural mechanisms found that the purposes of Building ASEAN Identity are 1) to promote cultural understanding and respect for differences in order to live together peacefully. 2) To promote the ASEAN cultural diversity with emphasis on long-lasting of culture and history which could bind the region to advance understanding about ASEAN relationship including, the relationships of common culture and understanding of the regional historical links to prevent the violence that may be emerged from a lack of cultural understanding. 3) To require all ASEAN countries have the feeling of being an ASEAN citizen for the great cooperation, especially in the field of culture because culture can make the unity among people in the region that does not divide who the people are, but everyone is ASEAN people. 4) To require

the cultural inheritance could be used in the economic development of the region through cultural products and services without the effects the relationship among ASEAN members and 5) to require ASEAN young generation has a sense of ASEAN citizenship and be friendly with their neighbors.

In all 5 aspects, ASEAN made the great efforts to do activities in terms of promoting ASEAN learning programs and public relations activities to enhance better understanding among people but it is not enough to get attention from people. So it still emerges the conflicts from cultural controversies until the present.

4.3.1 The impacts of cultural controversies on promoting cultural understanding and respect for differences in order to live together peacefully

The efforts of ASEAN to build ASEAN Identity is a big challenge even ASEAN has been doing many activities and projects to enhance understanding and respect for differences in order to live together peacefully. Cultural controversy cases in ASEAN are both of impacts of promoting cultural understanding and indicator that shows ASEAN is quite not successful on building ASEAN Identity. It indicated each ASEAN country still adhere to nationalism, major religion and national norms of their society that why promoting of cultural understanding to create a sense of ASEAN belonging is difficult. Most people in ASEAN give a valued on genuine culture or original culture and look at the similar culture as imitation culture include, ignore the common culture that they could be shared before. Giving importance to original culture and imitation culture is dangerous thinking because it directly impacts with the respect to the differences in order to live together peacefully. The cultural controversy showed that people in ASEAN lack of understanding of mobility in Southeast Asia even, this region had a high mobility of people for a long time. There are transfer and exchange of culture and technology to each other so this region has no culture that could be original culture because people will receive and develop culture approximately with their society. This is not genuine culture or imitation culture but it is making suitable culture with environment of each ASEAN country. The cultural

controversy has impacts on enhancing better understanding for people because it is one cause of ASEAN activities on regional identity unsuccessful and the regional identity also contrasts with the reality of ASEAN people that they still adhere to national identity more than regional identity.

It is not only the conflicts from cultural controversy in regional level but also domestic conflicts from extremely identity of people's group in the country that try to praise their identity in the first priority and disdain to other identities for example religions and ethnic group. It directly impacts on the respect for the difference in order to live together. For example religious bigot that breaks the peaceful atmosphere of the country and region such as the case of the Buddhist in Myanmar, there were the violence situations between Burmese and Rohingya who is Muslim so it made them no place to live and it has negative effect on Muslim Burmese workers who work in Thailand when they need to apply temporary passport to work in Thailand but Myanmar embassy not give them a passport because they are Muslim (Aiemsom, 2017) or some Muslim posted on social media in case of disrespect other religion or traditional such as Muslim do not want Songkran, Loy kratong or Valentine. Although it just campaigns to warn Muslim that should not stay far from Islam restrictions it seems like disrespect to other (Hamadi, 2016).



Figure 15 I am Muslim and I say NO to Valentine's Day (Okmuslim.com, 2018)

Moreover, in case of the famous former singer Toh Weerachon Sathaying or people known as "Toh Silly fools" posted clip video on his online channel that he disagrees with people who worship to Buddha or god statues. It made many Thai

Buddhists even, Thai Muslim criticized him that he should be careful his word and gave respects more to other religions and diverse societies in Thailand (Thaitrakulpanich, 2018). If the hates speech in case of “Toh Silly fools” spread to neighbor Buddhism countries likes Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia it may emerge the violence situation across the region.

Making understanding in terms of culture and identity is very important to make ASEAN people realize the diversity is regional identity, not genuine culture or imitation culture and live together peacefully by open their mind. Although, cultural controversy impacts on believe of ASEAN people that ASEAN hard to make solidarity among each other but ASEAN efforts to make better understanding of culture and regional identity still important. It just need more focus on historical and cultural linkages among ASEAN members through basic education and media by government. It may raise solidarity and good attitude to ASEAN people.

4.3.2 The impacts of cultural controversies on promoting ASEAN cultural diversity with emphasis on long-lasting of culture and history to prevent the violence from a lack of cultural understanding

Cultural controversy has clearly impacts in terms of promoting ASEAN cultural diversity with emphasis on long-lasting of culture and history. It showed ASEAN people do not care on long-lasting culture and history that they were relative before. Moreover, cultural controversy has certainly impact on prevention the violence from lack of cultural understanding. The cultural controversy cases of Gordang Sembilan drum and Tor Tor dance between Indonesia and Malaysia is clearly explain that ASEAN wishes to prevent the violence had failed because Indonesian people threw stones and eggs to Malaysian Embassy and burnt the Malaysian flag. Malaysian people also oppress to Indonesia worker who work in Malaysia because they were angry from that situation although both of Malaysian people and Indonesian people almost no differences such as physical, language and main religion. It is not only cultural controversies between Indonesia and Malaysia showed ASEAN people lack understanding of

culture but cases study in this thesis indicated unity problems in the region. ASEAN has many declarations on culture that enhance cultural understanding and require people to realize ASEAN long-lasting of culture and history to make solidarity among people before open ASEAN community in 2015 but it does not help enough because there still have the emergence of cultural controversies since 2007 until 2017.

Table 4.3.2

*The cultural controversy cases that emerged in ASEAN since 2007-2017 (Nimmannorawong and Duangkeaw, 2015) *Cultural controversy cases that wide debated on social media*

Cultural Controversy cases	Country	Year
Angklung (music instrument)	Indonesia-Malaysia	2007
Keris	Indonesia-Malaysia	2007
Wayang shadow puppet	Indonesia-Malaysia	2007
Batik textile*	Indonesia-Malaysia	2007
Raya Sayang song*	Indonesia-Malaysia	2007
Rendang curry	Indonesia-Malaysia	2007
Preah Vihear temple	Thailand-Cambodia	2008
Negaraku (melody of Malaysia anthem)	Indonesia-Malaysia	2009
Yu Sheng/Lo Hei salad	Singapore-Malaysia	2009
Laksa /NasiLemak/Buk Kut The (food)	Singapore-Malaysia	2009
Jeep position/ Nang Yai (Shadow play)	Thailand-Cambodia	2011
Tor Tor dance Gordang Sambilan drum *	Indonesia-Malaysia	2012
Songkran Water Festival*	Thailand-Singapore	2014
Khon (Ramayana dance)*	Thailand-Cambodia	2016
Mekkhala-Ramasoon folk tale*	Thailand-Cambodia	2017
Loy Kratong Festival*	Thailand-Laos	2017
Nasi lemak Burger*	Singapore-Malaysia	2017

Note. From “ASEAN Community 2015, Conflicts of History and Culture,” by P. Nimmannorawong and N. Duangkeaw, 2015. <https://www.tcjthai.com/news/2015/26/scoop/5422>

From the table.1, cultural controversies cases are still the impacts on Building ASEAN Identity especially, realizing of regional historical and cultural relationships since the ancient time. Although ASEAN tries to link culture and history to create a sense of unity it could not succeed because the basic history that each ASEAN student has to learn in their country emphasized on the history of ancient state war and national unification. It does not enhance a good attitude to neighboring countries. Moreover, students in each ASEAN country are quite not studying the history of society and the way of life in Southeast Asia before the emergence of modern state. So the student could not imagine how historical and cultural linkages in the region are. The study of common culture in ASEAN is useful for building a peaceful community but do not study extensively yet. The historical curriculum which students should study at the present does not encourage understanding among people. Moreover, it makes people have no good memory of their neighboring countries and ignore historical and cultural linkages so cultural controversies still happen until today. It became the impacts of building ASEAN identity which efforts to increase the potential of regional cooperation in all dimensions.

Nowadays, there are various media try to enhance better understanding among people and respect of diversity because diversity is ASEAN identity such as “ASEAN Today” TV program on air on October 28, 2011, in Indonesia (ASEAN Secretariat News, 2011), and “ASEAN Story” on NBT channel on air in December 18, 2012 in Thailand (NBT, 2012) which are under AMRI (ASEAN Senior Officials Responsible for Information). AMRI has a responsibility to create quality ASEAN content and strive to create quality the unique of ASEAN identity, values, heritage and culture including, spreading the ASEAN story to a wider audience but it does not help enough to raise ASEAN awareness because main media of each ASEAN country are still encouraging nationalism contents (Media Inside Out, 2014).

4.3.3 The impacts of cultural controversies on requiring all ASEAN countries have the feeling of being an ASEAN citizen

Cultural controversies are the obstacle of building ASEAN Identity which aims to require the feeling of being an ASEAN citizen because it emerged from adhering to the nationalism of people and people still lacked the sense of regional belonging. Each country believed that they have different history and culture through the basic historical education and media which their entire lives are familiar with. Particularly, ASEAN area could separate as mainland countries and maritime countries in one region so some members have no common experience or common history. While people did not know the vision of establishing ASEAN Community that is effective enough so ASEAN people still regard themselves as people of their nation and do not see the benefits of being an ASEAN citizen.

Each country does not know their neighboring countries enough so people still lack of learning common culture including, ASEAN itself lack of effective mechanisms to contribute learning neighboring countries program to all people because the current mechanisms on building ASEAN Identity is mechanism for government level and institutions not for all people to make a good relationship for public level. Building relationship and raising awareness among ASEAN people are an important issue and it is a foundation of integration community but infarct, it does not get importance enough when compared with the economic issue.

The poll of ASEAN turns 50: A study of Southeast Asian Perceptions from Black box research showed that after ASEAN 50th Anniversary was founded ASEAN people strong support for ASEAN community but lacks regional identity. Black box research did the citizen survey from 3,040 ASEAN citizens. The major population of the public survey is adults (aged 18 and over) from ten ASEAN countries that conducted in October 2017. The citizen survey in terms of commonality across the region showed that ASEAN people think that they have something in common 89% and nothing in common 11 %. In terms of Identity founded that ASEAN people think of themselves as Asian people more than Southeast Asian people.

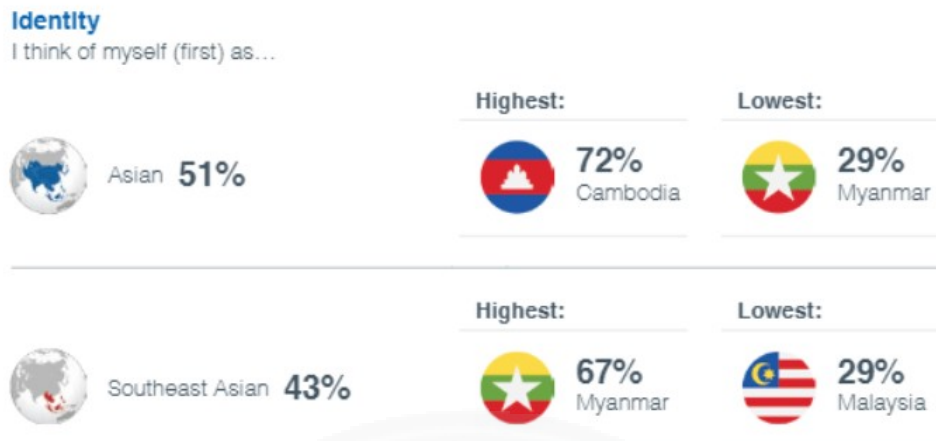


Figure 16 In term of regional identity, the survey was founded ASEAN people think of themselves as Asian more than Southeast Asia (Black box research, 2018)

This indicated that people know they are something familiar but they ignore regional identity because they do not see the benefits of being an ASEAN citizen and necessity to build ASEAN Identity. Bangkok Poll by Bangkok University Research Center reveals results of survey “How do Thai people think of being ASEAN people and united in the ASEAN community after 6 months of opening ASEAN Community in 2015” by collecting information from 1,132 people across the country. It founded that people moderate feelings of being ASEAN people 53.6%, felt the least level 24.7% and felt the highest level 21.7%. And the survey of What Thai people see the most change after opening ASEAN community are many migrant workers come to work Thailand 87.3%, and increasing of competition of job hunting 74.5% (MGR online, 2016b).

People in ASEAN accept community as the community that makes benefit and prosperity to their home country but not for taking benefits from regional integration equally or growing together. That why people still disregard of building ASEAN Identity and feeling of being an ASEAN citizen.

4.3.4 The impacts of cultural controversies on requiring of the cultural inheritance could be used in economic development without the effects of the relationship among ASEAN members

Nowadays, cultural preservation and conservation come along with the economic benefits because cultural products and services could increase incomes for the country. Including, it could make income and property include, distribute income to local area. This has no surprise if the region of cultural rich likes ASEAN focuses on promoting cultural tourism and traditions. Each member country aims to be the land of original culture because it will make the highest benefits for their nation. So cultural controversy became the best evidence to indicate each ASEAN country tries to prevent the economic benefits from other countries. Sharing culture with other countries is equal to lose the economic benefit. In terms of the cultural inheritance could be used in economic development without effects the relationship among ASEAN members is not impossible for ASEAN because cultural controversies from claiming over common culture showed how much of each country needs to protect their national benefits combined with a strong sense of nationalism make it hard to share benefit more and more.

ASEAN has made efforts to cooperate on mutual benefits which all countries could get benefits equally. In fact, it is difficult to share mutual benefits because member countries have different development gap so the distribution of benefits in ASEAN could not be equal. This indicated that ASEAN hard to grow together because of the economic gap (Chareonwongsak, 2007). Moreover, ASEAN also compete to each other in terms of trade and attraction of foreign investment includes tourism. So building a community base on sharing benefits from culture without effects relationships among ASEAN members is impossible. Including, the key norms of building ASEAN Identity which require each country follows and practices is declaration which does not force members to follow but it requests base on voluntary. This make ASEAN could not get consensus to cooperate and also affect mechanism for development ASEAN.

ASEAN will be the world's fourth-largest economy, after China, India, and EU (the European Union) but the slowness of community integration especially, slowness of building regional identity, it makes more slowness of building community because National identity still strong. Even though, people should be realize to make a sharing and a caring society to grow together but awareness of people that still focus on national benefits so it became impact on building a strong community until today.

4.3.5 The impacts of cultural controversies on requiring ASEAN young generation has a sense of ASEAN citizenship and be friendly with their neighbors

It seems like cultural controversies have the least impacts on Building ASEAN Identity in terms of the requiring of ASEAN young generation that has a sense of ASEAN citizenship and be friendly with their neighboring countries because today ASEAN young generation interested to learn their neighboring cultures and languages include, want to visit all ASEAN countries particularly, learning neighboring languages to increase job opportunities. Today CLMV countries active to learn Thai language because Thailand has various job opportunities include, the perspective of CLMV people that they think Thailand is more prosperity and opportunity. Meanwhile, major tourist groups who travel around CLMV countries are Thai people also, so this makes Thai language is interesting to CLMV people (Charoensook, 2017). Moreover, "Bahasa Melayu" also gets interested from ASEAN students because there are people more than 300 million who speak this language such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Brunei include, deep south of Thailand. This will help people who want to expand the market of Halal products and services or job opportunities because they are Muslim countries (Yapha, et al, 2017). Including, there are many courses of learning ASEAN languages now so it could increase job opportunities in various fields both of governmental sectors and private sectors.

ASEAN university student survey in 2007 about “Attitudes and Awareness toward ASEAN: Findings of a Ten Nation Survey” showed a result of a good attitude to regional integration. ASEAN university student survey was supported by the ASEAN Foundation from the Government of the Republic of Korea. The researcher, Dr. Eric C. Thompson from the National University of Singapore and Dr. Chulanee Thianthai, Chulalongkorn University did the survey on the sample of 2,170 university students from one university per country. The average age of total student was over 20 years old but the majority of the students were between 17 and 25 years old that represented 97.6%. The result of survey under the title “I feel that I am the citizen of ASEAN (%)” is quite high and the average of total agree is 76.8% while the average of total disagree is 23.3%. Nine out of ten ASEAN countries are total agree that they are ASEAN citizen except in Singapore where the percentage of total agree is lower than total disagree (Thompson and Thianthai, 2007).

Table 4.3.5

The results under the title “I feel that I am ASEAN citizen” of each ASEAN country (Thompson and Thianthai, 2007).

TABLE Q12
I feel that I am a citizen of ASEAN. (%)

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total Agree	Total Disagree
Brunei	26.4%	55.8%	13.7%	4.1%	82.2%	17.8%
Cambodia	66.4%	26.3%	6.9%	.5%	92.7%	7.4%
Indonesia	22.5%	50.5%	18.8%	8.3%	73.0%	27.1%
Laos	48.5%	47.5%	4.0%	0%	96.0%	4.0%
Malaysia	36.0%	50.8%	11.6%	1.7%	86.8%	13.3%
Myanmar	28.0%	31.5%	11.0%	29.5%	59.5%	40.5%
Philippines	19.1%	50.5%	25.9%	4.5%	69.6%	30.4%
Singapore	8.1%	41.2%	36.0%	14.7%	49.3%	50.7%
Thailand	19.5%	47.5%	23.5%	9.5%	67.0%	33.0%
Vietnam	45.1%	46.6%	6.4%	2.0%	91.7%	8.4%
Average	32.0%	44.8%	15.8%	7.5%	76.8%	23.3%

Note. From "Attitudes and Awareness toward ASEAN: Findings of a Ten Nation Survey," by E. C. Thompson and C. Thianthai, 2007, *ASEAN Foundation Report*, p.53.

In term of the results "I would like to know more about ASEAN", all ten countries have a high percentage of the totals. Especially, Lao that represented 100% of total agree while the percentage of Myanmar is the least represented 77.8 but it is still high.

Table 4.3.5

The results of "I would like to know more about other countries" (Thompson and Thianthai, 2007).

TABLE Q17
I would like to know more about other ASEAN countries.

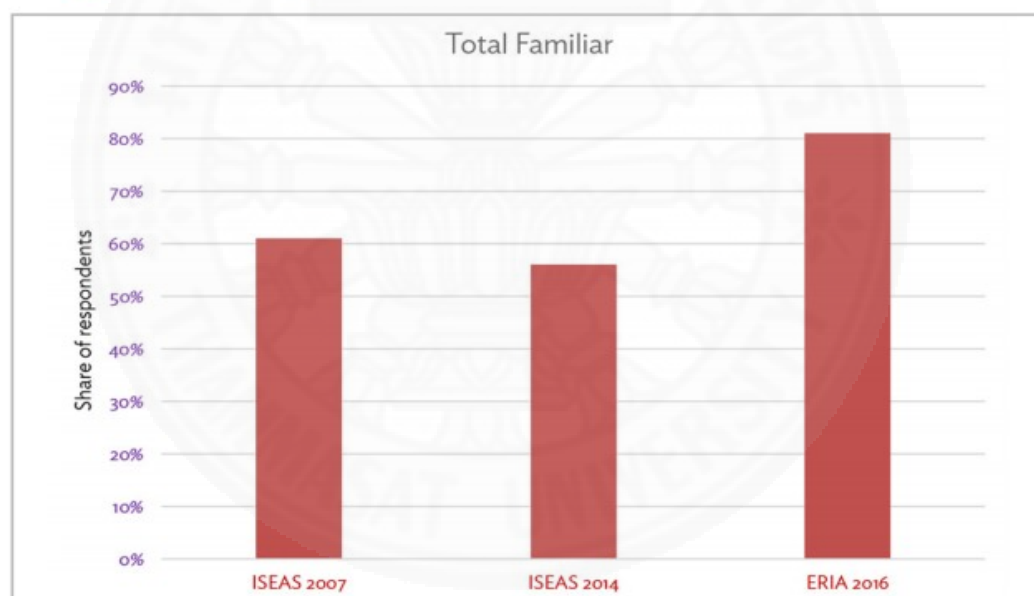
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total Agree	Total Disagree
Brunei	20.8%	66.0%	12.7%	.5%	86.8%	13.2%
Cambodia	83.9%	15.7%	0%	.5%	99.6%	0.5%
Indonesia	39.9%	50.9%	7.8%	1.4%	90.8%	9.2%
Laos	79.5%	20.5%	0%	0%	100%	0%
Malaysia	32.6%	60.3%	7.0%	0%	92.9%	7.0%
Myanmar	37.4%	40.4%	7.1%	15.2%	77.8%	22.3%
Philippines	59.8%	37.4%	2.7%	0%	97.2%	2.7%
Singapore	18.8%	65.4%	14.7%	1.1%	84.2%	15.8%
Thailand	33.7%	53.8%	10.6%	2.0%	87.5%	12.6%
Vietnam	91.1%	7.4%	1.0%	.5%	98.5%	1.5%
Average	50.8%	41.0%	7.2%	0.9%	91.8%	8.1%

Note. From "Attitudes and Awareness toward ASEAN: Findings of a Ten Nation Survey," by E. C. Thompson and C. Thianthai, 2007, *ASEAN Foundation Report*, p.56.

In 2017, ERIA (Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia) did citizen survey under the title "What Does ASEAN Mean to ASEAN Peoples?" by

collecting data from 2,322 participated of all ten ASEAN countries. The affiliations represented participant from many sectors such as students, labour, business, government officials, civil society, academic, and others. In terms of respondents participant who age of 15 - 30 years old represented 50% of total people and they are student 29% of this survey. ERIA did a comparison of student survey with ISEAS (the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) under ASEAN Foundation that conducted in 2007 and 2014. The comparison of ASEAN awareness from student survey showed increasing of ASEAN awareness significantly from ISEAS's survey in 2014 represented 56% to 87% in 2016 that the ERIA's survey.

Figure 3: Comparison of Student Awareness of ASEAN



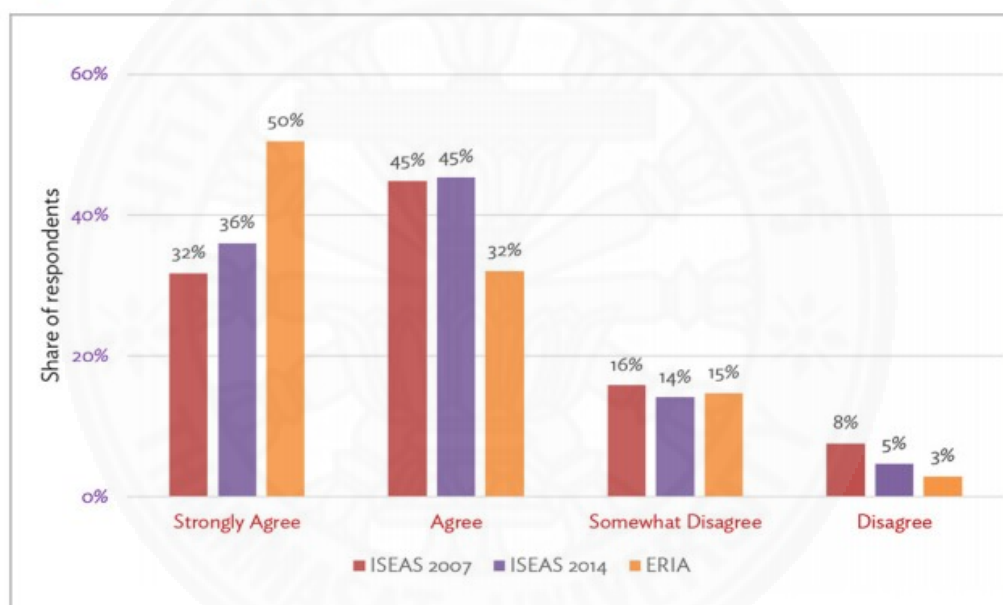
Sources: ERIA (2016); Thompson, Thianthai, and Thuzar (2016).

Figure 17 Comparison of student Awareness of ASEAN (ERIA, 2017).

The survey results of “I feel that I am a citizen of ASEAN”, ERIA also did a comparison of student survey with ISEAS. There are increasing of strongly agree result from 32% in 2007 and 36% in 2014 that conducted by ISEAS and jumped to 50% in 2016 that conducted by ERIA. The significant increasing of ASEAN awareness and feeling of being an ASEAN citizen came from the opening

of ASEAN Community in 2015 which strongly promote a community from government and media sectors. ASEAN youth begin to see benefits of ASEAN awareness which is a foundation of community and relate to the economic cooperation or AEC pillar. This could make better job opportunities and income for them. All the polls indicated that ASEAN has hope on building ASEAN identity to be better community from ASEAN young generation. Particularly, this showed ASEAN efforts on promoting ASEAN through many channels quite successful on young generation.

Figure 5: Comparison of Feeling of Being an ASEAN Citizen



Sources: ERIA (2016); Thompson, Thianthai, and Thuzar (2016).

Figure 18 Comparison of Feeling of Being an ASEAN Citizen from student survey (ERIA, 2017)

Today, ASEAN young generation tends to do not pay attention to nationalism as before and attitude of disdain neighboring countries is unacceptable. New generation is being developed into urbanized society that is a good sign for future regional integration (Apornsuwan, 2014). The internet will have an important role to connect among young people in ASEAN. This could make them learn more

about their neighbors apart from learning in school or mainstream media in their country only.

Even, cultural controversies from claiming over common culture in ASEAN are still the obstacle and the big challenge of building ASEAN Identity but it does not mean anyway to overcome this problem. ASEAN should start with the cooperation of all sectors, whether government, private or public to make better understand among people and enhance a good relationship with neighboring countries. This will become causes of a good attitude of people and be able to gradually solve the problem. Dr. Surin Pitsuwan, the former ASEAN secretariat gave interview that, the most important priority of ASEAN community integration is people that must have a feeling of being an ASEAN citizen first. It means ASEAN have to achieve on building ASEAN Identity first because the importance of having ASEAN Identity will help people feel to be one community. Including, it will bring a flow negotiation among people. When people feel that they are an ASEAN people, they will begin to grow together (Thairath, 2013).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

5.1 Conclusion

This chapter will answer all hypothesis follow 1) Cultural controversy has impacts on ASCC in term of building ASEAN Identity because people have a sense of nationalism more than a sense of regionalism. The power of nationalism in ASEAN has clearly emerged after the Second World War in which Southeast Asia nations fought for independence from the colonies. It has created a sense of nationalism to create a national identity and patriotic image together by creating mutual enemies to make the people feel the need of the unity. Each ASEAN country has established historical enemies such as Myanmar and Thailand. Thai people know as well that Hongsa (Burmese) burnt Ayutthaya, the old capital of Thailand. Cambodia and Thailand on the textbook of Cambodia has called Thailand “a great thief Siam” and Thai also do not trust Cambodia (Tippimon, 2017). Thailand looks at Laos as a brotherhood (in terms that Laos is younger brother) but looks down to Lao. Thai people call someone who is not beautiful or out of fashion as “Lao”. Nationalism history is the cause of attitude to look down on neighboring countries and influence the memory of society. Formation of identity and cherishing national identity creates a sense of ownership and limits sharing the national identity to other nations. If any nation brings our identity to be itself then that nation is a thief. This affects ASCC in terms of building ASEAN Identity. If people could not understand how ASEAN identity important, a sharing and a caring society will not happen. It will affect the progress of ASEAN cooperation because each ASEAN countries will have high barriers to protect their own benefits first. If cooperation agreement could not give the highest benefits to their country, it will make the progress of cooperation slowly more and more.

For example, the cooperation on MRAs (Mutual Recognition Agreements) of ASEAN free flow workers that consist with 8 occupations of professional workers such as Doctor, Dentist, Nurse, Architect, Engineer, Accountant, Surveyor, and Tourism professional. ASEAN allows these workers go to work across the region. But actually, each ASEAN country has own restrictions and domestic laws to screen ASEAN worker who comes to work in their country to protect and preserve the employment for domestic workers first. ASEAN worker under MRAs must register professional qualification which requires standard tests from the destination country to apply for work permit and must comply with the rules of that country (Miss Career 2013). Such as, If ASEAN doctor who wants to be a doctor in Indonesia, the doctor has to pass the doctor's test in Bahasa Indonesia or if ASEAN architect wants to work in Thailand, the architect should have work experiences 10 years at least (The Government Public Relations Department, 2015). It seems like domestic restrictions and laws are the barriers of ASEAN free flow workers because each ASEAN did not look at people as ASEAN people but people are the people of the nation. People are lacking regional identity that is the important key to be a strong community. It indicated why cultural controversies still happen in ASEAN because it is the results of nationalism that is reproduced all the time.

2) The causes of claiming over common culture are a sense of cultural nationalism and cultural economy concept that ASEAN members do not want to share the market and economic benefits. Nationalism and cultural economy make people realize the national interests only. If ASEAN people are nationalism, people will focus on national interests and do not care about regional interests. It is going to be obstacles and effect of ASEAN cooperation mechanism. Cultural nationalism and cultural economy are still important because wounds history always reproduces through history education and media of each ASEAN country. This leads to the wrong attitude and becomes a conflict between ASEAN members. Consideration from cultural controversy cases in ASEAN, it emerged because people want to pride their nation and preserve benefits from cultural heritage. Culture is the heritage from ancestor that

could make money and income for the country. That why ASEAN people will sensitive when UNESCO has registered cultural heritage to give the right to protect and preserve culture for only one nation because it seems like UNESCO give the right to be owner and guarantee the original place of culture to that nation. Even though that culture is a common culture which could be founded in many ASEAN countries. So it certainly affects national benefits and impacts on people's income.

3) Cultural Controversies in the future will be lessened because people will access information via the internet and use the social network to settle disputes over common culture quickly but the sense of nationalism of each ASEAN members still continue because basic education in term of historical studies and media always reproduce the nationalist content. After liberation from colonialism, many countries in ASEAN chose to make history to define a common identity. The region has created the wound history by creating a common enemy to let people love each other and create a myth of hates about neighboring countries. History book that people have to study since primary school usually focus on self-reliance, courage and ancestors sacrificing blood to protect the country including the unity of the people.

For example, a historical textbook in Thailand is all students have to learn the history of the central area of Thailand. It is all about the ancient states of Thailand, such as Sukhothai and Ayuthaya, but Thai student did not learn the history of Lanna, which is the northern ancient state of Thailand, or Langkasuka, which is currently Pattani province. Moreover, a history that we learn is the history of war. This creates a sense of enemies and hate for neighboring countries. Despite, this ancient state at that time is totally different than Thailand today. It is just a history of ancient kingdoms. Studying history in other dimensions, there is not much in Thai textbooks. The battlefield in ancient times was not a battle to defend the "nation" or the "national state," which had exact boundaries but it is the king's war that needs to dominate another empire. The war only happened because the king wanted to increase power. In ancient times, power also meant "manpower." The best way to increase the population

is force people of another empire to move to the king's empire through war (Chaisingkananon, n.d.).

In the case of Laos, Lao people are still angry with Thai people who look down at them. Moreover, many Lao people still relish the history that Thai people took the "the Emerald Buddha" away and burned Vientiane, the capital city into an abandoned city during King Anouvong War. Thai people see King Anouvong as a rebel, but Lao people see him as a national hero who liberates Laos from Siam (Chanapan, 2017). These contents are important to create a sense of nationalism among the people. Moreover, the reproduction of the media is much emphasized on nationalism issues, especially in Thailand. Thailand has various movies about Myanmar fighting with Thailand during Ayutthaya war. It reinforced the loss of country at that time, for example, Suriyothai, Bang Rachan and the legend of King Naresuan with 6 episodes. Getting to know neighboring countries in ASEAN through the basic education and media, it just basic information such as capital city, a national language, national symbols and basic greeting words. To study for more information and make understanding common cultures in ASEAN is the responsibility of people who interested in ASEAN culture has to find information by themselves.

In terms of cultural controversies in ASEAN are lessened founded that the frequency of cultural controversies that emerged in ASEAN was decrease from 2007 but still emerged (Please see figure. 19). It showed that understanding ASEAN culture of ASEAN people is quite not increasing. In 2017, people still have conflicts from common folktale, festival, and food. Comments from netizen under the posted of cultural controversy cases on social media indicated people still adhere to nationalism and look down to neighbor.

Even in 2017, it had been founded three cases of cultural controversies but the violence of cultural controversies was limited on social media. The internet could help to stop the conflicts from claiming over common culture rapidly because after cultural controversy case were shared on the internet, many news agencies online had written and shared the contents of controversy case and try to describe the

truth of culture to make better understanding among people. This helps people understand and stop the violence from cultural controversies, for example, the cases of Khon, Songkran, and Loy Kratong. People can find the contents that describe common culture of that cultural controversy cases through the internet easily.

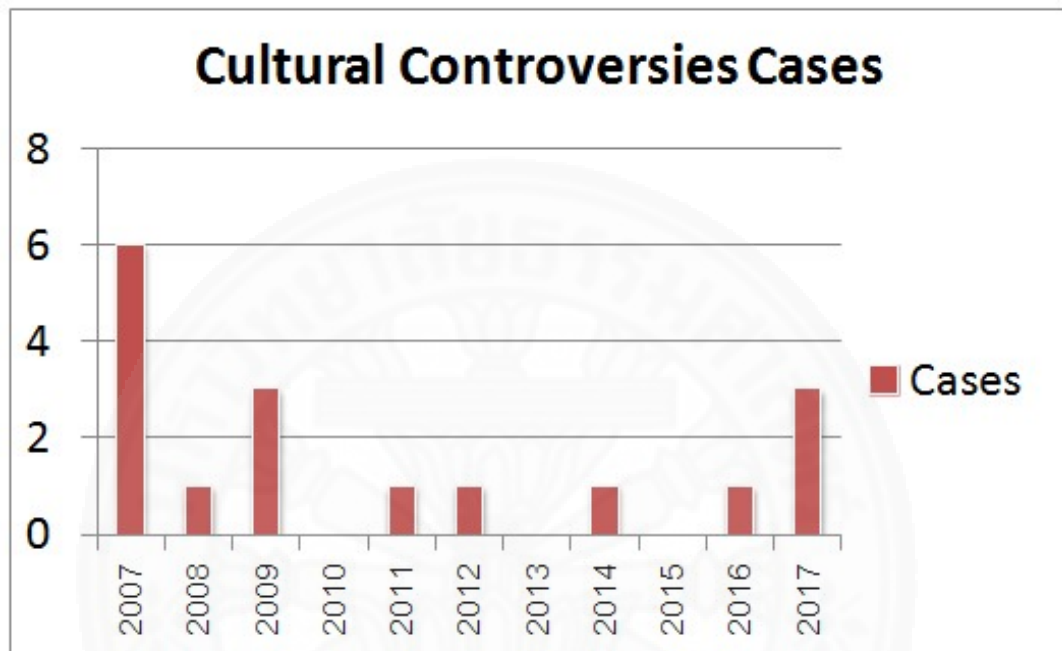


Figure 19 The frequencies of cultural controversy cases from 2007-2017 source table.1 in Chapter 3.

5.2 Suggestion

Cultural controversy from claiming over common culture still emerged because ASEAN people are lacking cultural understanding because reproduction of wound history and nationalism concept that people had learned from basic education and media. So Building ASEAN Identity should start with updating the curriculum of history contents about ASEAN members which focus on peace and better understanding to neighboring countries more than study only history of the war that creates a sense of enemy. So the suggestion will present the roles that government should do to reduce conflicts, including, the ways of using the social network to reduce the disputed over common culture and enhance a better understanding by public level.

5.2.1 Conflict resolution by Government

The government of each ASEAN member should abolition of nationalism ideas which make people against neighbors and other ethnic groups through the basic education, especially history studies. Added the study of common culture, the way of life in the region and do not focus on the ancient state war too much. Student necessary to understand war of ancient state is not modern state war. The obstacle to drive ASEAN to be a strong community is history studies that stuck in the independence era after World War II. So it is responsibility of government to update curriculum of history studies that enhances better understanding among people and screen media contents to protect international relationships, includes, making people look at neighbors as relatives not enemy. Now, ASEAN community still contrasted with people thinking so education and media will have important role to prepare people thinking which consist of the feeling of being a regional citizen.

In term of resolution to reduce conflicts from cultural controversies, the concept of Bahasa Riau agreement is the best concepts to solve problem. Because Bahasa Riau is accepted from the countries where people who speak Melayu such as Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, and Singapore to call the language that they can communicate to each other as Basaha Riau for making mutual understanding of common language in Malay Peninsula. Cultures should have an agreement which could make mutual understanding of culture also such as agreement on common festival, dance or food, etc. ASEAN should arrange the committee on ASEAN common culture which has the roles like UNESCO to register common culture in the region to give those countries help each other to protect and preserve cultural heritage within regional. Include, publishing ASEAN common culture knowledge to people and force the knowledge of ASEAN common culture into basic subjects that every ASEAN student must learn.

In terms of Media, now ASEAN media have to adapt itself in the era of social media influenced to people around the world because most of people reach to news and information from social media and other online platforms especially, Facebook and Twitter than Television or Newspaper. On the other hand, people are

decreasing to reach news and information from mainstream media such as television, newspaper, and radio. Trend of using the internet is increasing so it is a challenge of media in each ASEAN country has to develop itself to support the habits of people and focus more on the digital-first concept (Thai PBS, 2015). To promote ASEAN awareness and building ASEAN Identity, ASEAN also desire to use various social media by the created official account on Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube to reach people across the region (ASEAN Secretariat News, 2013).

Apart of social media, each ASEAN government should cooperate with private sectors to support media such as movies, novels or music as soft power tools which could change attitude of people in positive way to neighboring countries. For example “Ilo Ilo” (2013) Singaporean movie that presents lives of Singaporean family with Filipino maid. This movie tries to make better understanding between Singaporean and Filipino people include, giving importance to workers right because each year, there are many Filipino maids come to work in Singapore and they always have problems about cheating wage with their employer (Dalton, 2013). Or “From Bangkok to Mandalay” (2016), this film is an official joint venture between Thailand and Myanmar. It is the first chance in 50 years that Thai could film in Myanmar. The story is about the love of two couples who tells the story of the past through the letter. The film showed the beautiful places in Myanmar and Burmese society since 50 years ago. That made the audiences see Myanmar culture and socially valued at that time (Dokfon, 2016). This made Thai people also see different dimensions of Myanmar because Thai people more familiar with movies that presented ancient war between Hongsa (Myanmar) and Ayutthaya (Thailand).

Preparing people to live in the diverse environment and familiar with shared culture is necessary that government should do in urgent case because it is the foundation to live in diverse community. The country where is the best example to live in diversity is India because there are many ethnic groups in one country, includes having many shared culture but they never have cultural controversy. India is diversity in terms of geography, climate, race, linguistic and religions but in facts,

there are also have common culture (Indiacelebrating.com, 2017). India has no cultural controversies because Indian people are familiar with diversity and they know that their country is rich of culture so they never claim over common culture. The government of each ASEAN country has responsibility to prepare people to be familiar with diversity and understand common culture, including control the way to be strong community for better cooperation in the future that will make prosperity and better quality of life for ASEAN people.

5.2.2 Conflict resolution by Public through social media

To stop the conflicts from cultural controversies, ASEAN could place hopes on ASEAN youth because they are a future of the community and they are connected more through the internet easily. Nowadays, Social media had influenced to young people. Information from “We are social” the world Agency which collected the data of Internet-using in Southeast Asia for business co-working with “Hootsuite” survey the most popular social media in ASEAN. It found that ASEAN people use Facebook the most and Youtube the second. The average age of user is 18-34 years old so social media will be the best tool to make better understanding and promoted building ASEAN Identity.

Table 5.2.2

Facebook Users in ASEAN source 2018 source (We are social and Hootsuite, 2018).

No.	Country	Populations	Facebook User	%
1	Brunei	433 thousands	410 thousands	94.69
2	Singapore	5.7 million	4.8 million	84.21
3	Laos	6.95 million	2.4 million	34.53
4	Cambodia	16.22 million	7.0 million	43.16
5	Malaysia	32 million	24million	75
6	Myanmar	53.81 million	18 million	33.45

7	Thailand	69.17 million	51 million	73.73
8	Vietnam	96.4 million	55 million	57
9	Philippines	106.3 million	67 million	63
10	Indonesia	266.5 million	130 million	48.78

Note. From “Digital in 2018 in Southeast Asia Part 2 - South-East,” by We Are Social, 2018. <https://www.slideshare.net/wearesocial/digital-in-2018-in-southeast-asia-part-2-southeast-86866464>

The 10th Facebook pages are popular page by search engine “Google”, Keyword “ASEAN Facebook ” was searched in June 2, 2018, founded the number one of popularity Facebook page is “ASEAN”, the official page of ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, Indonesia (<https://th-th.facebook.com/aseansecretariat/>). There are people who like this page 682,240 people. From 10 popularity of Facebook page, it could separate by the main contents of Facebook page into 3 groups 1) Official group 2) ASEAN sport group (ASEAN football) and 3) Promoting socio-cultural in ASEAN group. It indicted interested of ASEAN people that they search to access the contents from Facebook and showed how Facebook can be the best tool to make better understanding and building ASEAN Identity because ASEAN people have high rate of using Facebook. It makes people get closed and connected to each other.

Table 5.2.2

The 10th Facebook pages that are popular page by search engine “Google”, Keyword “ASEAN Facebook” in June 2, 2018

No.	Facebook Page	likes/person	Group of Content
1	ASEAN	682,240	Official page
2	ASEAN 2017	199,134	Official page
3	Troll ASEAN	153,085	Promoting Socio-cultural

4	ASEAN Football News	95,696	Sport
5	ASEAN FOOTBALL	42,901	Sport
6	ASEAN Skyline	38583	Promoting Socio-cultural
7	ASEAN DNA	38548	Promoting Socio-cultural
8	ASEAN Foundation	30,951	Official page
9	ASEAN Thailand	23,263	Official page
10	Asean Football Fanpage (English)	18,317	Sport

Note. Created by the author

Many comments of review these Facebook pages, most comments are positive. It found that, each Facebook page helps people to understand ASEAN and feel solidarity among people. The interesting presentation content among 10th of the popular Facebook page is Troll ASEAN (The third rank). Troll ASEAN used the way of satirizing and make a parody on the truth of ASEAN to present on Facebook. It makes people agree and laugh with its posted while they can update ASEAN news and situation in region.

Reviews

4.5 ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ 1,634 Reviews



Tell people what you think



Vat Souvat Phanethaly

★★★★★ · May 23, 2018

I do love this page is very useful I can know a lot of asean and help me improve my english. I always love to read caption of this page because when I read it made me feel like I need whole book in the world for reading while I read this the caption. Thanks asean page #ASEAN

Figure 20 Reviews ASEAN secretariat Facebook page (ASEAN Facebook, Posted in May 23,2018)



Figure 21 Posted about the common culture by Troll ASEAN and reviews Facebook page from fan page (Troll ASEAN Facebook posted in April 12, 2018)

This information showed a good sign of building ASEAN Identity in the future because social media is comfortable to share the knowledge of ASEAN culture and community. Social media will help people to reduce until end cultural controversy conflicts rapidly and increase the feeling of being an ASEAN citizen. This solution which uses social media to end cultural controversy may take a long time but the issue of nationalism and wound history may be solved by new generations because people in ASEAN get connected more by social networks. If some people showed their negative attitude to neighboring countries posted on social media, it could not accept any more because now, young people do not pay much attention to nationalism and wound history. They are active to learn neighbor and want to know their neighbors more such as learning languages, culture and history of people. Learning ASEAN language is necessary for the new generation because mother language and English

are not enough to compete in the labour market. So now, there are many courses of ASEAN languages in each ASEAN countries including, online course both free and not free. Social media like Youtube is continence platform that could be founded on many video files which teach ASEAN Language or learn more of ASEAN for free. ASEAN is diverse environment. People have their own spoken language so communication is the key to live together peacefully. Social media will become a big role to connect ASEAN people. If ASEAN people can communicate to each other, this will help to make friends and make people respect to each other. Finally it will reduce cultural controversy including, people may feel of being an ASEAN citizen.

To reduce cultural controversies, it important to make people see the benefits of being a community and citizen of ASEAN. Since the opening of ASEAN Community in 2015, people active to join the benefits from being the community but they could not leave the national benefits because people still lack ASEAN identity and understanding of ASEAN members. However, a good sign of community is in hand of new generation and technology that will make people connected more in the future.

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