PUBLIC OPINION AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION
# Public Opinion and Regional Integration

1 – Public Opinion in the European Union

Hadrien Hamana

2 – Refugees in ASEAN and the EU

Kou Kou

3 – ASEAN-EU cooperation

Victor Phuangketkeow

4 – Regional Integration in East Asia

Kyohee Park

5 – CEPA Between Mainland China and Hong Kong

Meilin Du
I – PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

HADRIEN HAMANA
Eurobarometer

- Since 1973
- Bi-yearly basis
- More and more subjects, EU-wide
- Policy feedback, and basis for next
QA9. In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image? - % EU

![Line chart showing the percentage of positive, neutral, and negative perceptions of the EU over time.](chart.png)

- **Total 'Positive'**
- **Neutral**
- **Total 'Negative'**
- **Don't know**

- **Dates and Percentages:**
  - Sp-2006: 15%
  - Aut-2006: 14%
  - Sp-2007: 15%
  - Act-2007: 15%
  - Sp-2008: 17%
  - Act-2008: 15%
  - Sp-2009: 16%
  - Act-2009: 15%
  - Sp-2010: 20%
  - Act-2010: 20%
  - Sp-2011: 28%
  - Act-2011: 29%
  - Sp-2012: 30%
  - Act-2012: 31%
  - Sp-2013: 35%
  - Act-2013: 38%
  - Sp-2014: 37%
  - Act-2014: 39%
EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

- Proportional representation

Rise of Nationalism

- May 2014
  - UKIP – UK
  - FN - France
QA11. Please tell me whether each of the following statements evokes a positive or negative feeling for you.

- Immigration of people from other EU Member States:
  - Positive: 52%
  - Negative: 41%
  - Don't know: 7%

- Immigration of people from outside the EU:
  - Positive: 35%
  - Negative: 57%
  - Don't know: 8%
2 – REFUGEES IN ASEAN AND THE EU
Definition:
According to the 1951 convention and the UNHCR a refugee is someone who “owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of"

- 1. race,
- 2. religion,
- 3. nationality,
- 4. membership of a particular social group or political opinion,

is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country or return there because there is a fear of persecution..."
REALITY CHECK

- Many refugees do not cross borders because they know there is a possibility of international protection. They do so because there is no choice.
- In many cases there is a very fine line distinguishing a refugee or stateless person from an “economic” migrant.
- This could be because they are unaware or having refugee status does not necessarily change their situation.
- In Thailand and many countries, refugees (recognized by UNHCR) cannot work legally. They may also be detained indefinitely.
- People need to survive, and having a livelihood is crucial.
- Getting recognized as a refugee is a long drawn process in the region which can take anything from 1-6 years, even after which there is no guarantee of “actual” protection.
- A small number of the total refugee population do get resettled, but local integration and return to their home countries are virtually nil, especially in this region. Push - Pull Facto
CASE 1 – ASEAN ROHINGYA

Regional responses to irregular migration:

- In the last few months alone there are reports that more than 3000 Rohingya have possibly left in boats towards Malaysia.
- There are disturbing news reports that many traffickers are in connivance with authorities where those interdicted at sea are sold and resold to traffickers.
- The more there are barriers erected the more vulnerable irregular migrants become, especially when avenues for safe migration are tiny and unable to respond to the overwhelming demand.
- Countries regularly flout international law in preventing the disembarkation of people rescued at sea, like case of M.V Nosco Victory that had rescued 40 Rohingya and was prevented by Singapore to enter its waters.
In spite of the current refugee situation and on-going local conflicts in parts Southeast Asia, only two Asean Member States, Cambodia and the Philippines, have signed the 1951 Refugee Convention.

The ASEAN Economic community blueprint has precious little for people who are migrants.

“A5. Free flow of skilled labor

33. In allowing for managed mobility or facilitated entry for the movement of natural persons engaged in trade in goods, services, and investments, according to the prevailing regulations of the receiving country.”
The Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network envisions a region wherein all refugees, asylum seekers, stateless persons and displaced people have equal and adequate access to assistance, protection and timely durable solutions as owed, and governments, non-governmental and intergovernmental agencies engaged in regional protection efforts collaborate effectively towards this common purpose with respect for their respective strengths and their differentiated roles and responsibilities.
CASE 2 – EU REFUGEE
CURRENT SITUATION

- The number of people seeking refugee status has continued to climb in the first half of 2014, driven by the wars in Syria and Iraq, as well as conflict and instability in Afghanistan, Eritrea and elsewhere.

Strategy

- Preventing loss of life at sea
- Building and maintaining effective asylum and protection systems
- Securing durable solutions
- Preventing and resolving statelessness
The economic situation in the region is having an impact on the capacity and readiness of many countries to strengthen their protection systems.

Lack of adequate attention to the national asylum systems

Impact of the conflict in Syria, and increasingly in Iraq, will continue to be felt in the region

Lack of awareness of issues of statelessness among stakeholders
CONCERNS

- People are very concerned that immigration is not under control.
- People question the genuine-ness of asylum seekers.
- Asylum seekers are associated with illegality and deviance and are perceived to be economically motivated.
- The perceived numbers of asylum seekers are seen to be a great problem. This, together with concern about genuine-ness of asylum seekers, constitutes a threat to society including religion, values, ethnicity and health and to the British economy through criminality, increased competition and an economic burden.
- People feel that asylum seekers are given preferential treatment and are better off than the average
3 – ASEAN-EU COOPERATION

PAVIKKORN PHUANGKETKEOW (VICTOR)
POLITICAL-SECURITY COOPERATION

- Overview
- Various meetings held annually ex. ASEAN-EU Ministerial Meeting
- 20th ASEAN-EU Ministerial Meeting
- ASEAN-EU Informal Troika Summit
- Representative offices
ECONOMIC COOPERATION

- Trade and Investment Relations
- Foreign Direct Investment
- Tourism
- ASEAN-EU FTA
- ASEAN-EU Business Summit
- EU-ASEAN Aviation Summit
- ASEAN-EU Policy Dialogue on Connectivity
SOCIO-CULTURAL COOPERATION

- Regional EU-ASEAN Dialogue Instrument (READI)
- Education
- Science & Technology
- Environment and Disaster Management
- ASEAN-EU Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC)
- Financial Support
PUBLIC OPINION ON AEC

- Support the establishment of AEC.
- Support the free flows of goods and services in the region.
- Support the free flows of skilled/professional ASEAN workers in the region
- Support that ASEAN business people should be freely allowed to establish companies anywhere in the region
4 – REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN EAST ASIA
OUTLINE

1. Regional Definition of East Asia
   1.1. Regional Definition
   1.2. Diversities in East Asia

2. Regionalism in East Asia
   2.1. The Interview with Thai Ambassador in Japan
   2.2. Public Opinion in Southeast Asia about ASEAN
1. REGIONAL DEFINITION OF EAST ASIA

1.1. REGIONAL DEFINITION

- What is Region?

  ➡ More than Geography!

  ➡ “Regional Definition” reflects political intention and international order
1. REGIONAL DEFINITION OF EAST ASIA

1.1. REGIONAL DEFINITION

- Difficulties to identify “East Asia”

✓ Who is in? Who is out?

✓ Which countries can be considered ‘authentic,’ unambiguous members of a region?

✓ On what basis should inclusion or exclusion occur?
I. REGIONAL DEFINITION OF EAST ASIA

1.1. REGIONAL DEFINITION

- **Regionness** (Björn Hettne, 1999)

  - Geographical barriers
  - Ecological characteristics

  + Social system to transcend the local and effectively constitute a regional security community

- **Diversity** in East Asia
- **Conflicts** & regional competition in Northeast Asia

- **Lack of convergence** in regional integration in East Asia
I. REGIONAL DEFINITION OF EAST ASIA
1.2. DIVERSITIES IN EAST ASIA

- Economic Circumstance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>GDP nominal (millions of USD)</th>
<th>GDP PPP per capita (millions of USD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>9,181,377</td>
<td>9,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>4,901,532</td>
<td>36,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>1,221,801</td>
<td>33,189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>387,156</td>
<td>9,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>170,565</td>
<td>4,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>870,275</td>
<td>5,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>295,744</td>
<td>64,584</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(International Monetary Bank, 2013)

- Political System

-Democracy & Communism

- Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>country</th>
<th>Projection of population 2015</th>
<th>Annual growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1,370,783,000</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>5,541,000</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>126,865,000</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>255,462,000</td>
<td>1.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. REGIONALISM IN EAST ASIA

- **East Asia**
  - *De facto* Regionalism: one way of thinking about the potential for regional cooperation
  - Very different ideas about boundaries of region and purpose of grouping

- **ASEAN** (The Association of Southeast Asian Nations)
- **ASEAN + 3**

- **Europe (European Union)**
  - *De jure* Regionalism: formal and legal organization for regional cooperation
2. REGIONALISM IN EAST ASIA

2.1. THE INTERVIEW WITH THAI AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN

Mr. Sihasak Phuangketkeow
- Present Thai Ambassador in Japan
- Former Foreign Minister of Thailand

◆ Promotion for economic growth in East Asia
  - infrastructural building to advance intra-regional connectivity
  - Industrial cooperation & combination of market in East Asia
  - Attraction of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

◆ No supranational regional integration
  - Different domestic circumstances in politics and economy
## 2. REGIONALISM IN EAST ASIA

### 2.2. PUBLIC OPINION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ABOUT ASEAN

### Awareness of the Public

| Have you ever heard about the ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC)? |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Malaysia                    | 53%     | 47%     |         |
| Indonesia                   | 46%     | 54%     |         |
| Singapore                   | 55%     | 45%     |         |
| **Average**                 | **51%** | **49%** |         |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have you ever heard/read about the ASEAN Charter 2007?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Public unawareness
- Lack of interaction, information and promotion to the public
- Concerns of leaders

### General Public Attitude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I supported the formation of the APSC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The formation of the APSC good for my country and society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Majority of respondents support the organization

(Asian Network for Scientific Information, 2013)
2. REGIONALISM IN EAST ASIA

2.2. PUBLIC OPINION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ABOUT ASEAN

- Public Opinion on the Principle of Non-interference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes</th>
<th>Disagreed or completely disagreed</th>
<th>Neither agreed nor disagreed</th>
<th>Agreed or completely agreed</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I supported the principle of non-interference in the foreign and security policy of each ASEAN country</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>4.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>3.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>3.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Support for the ASEAN’s principle for non-interference and respect of national sovereignty

The future of regional cooperation in East Asia is expected to be different from supranationalism of the EU.
5 – CASE: CEPA BETWEEN MAINLAND CHINA AND HONG KONG

MEILIN DU
CEPA: Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement
Signed on 29th June, 2003
I - ABOUT CEPA

- Main content: Three parts
- 1 Trade in goods:
  - Reduce or eliminate tariffs and non-tariff barriers on trade between the two sides
- 2 Trade in services:
  - Be liberal in trade of services
- 3 Trade and investment facilitation:
  - Promote trade and investment facilitation
2 - THE INFLUENCE OF CEPA

- On Mainland China:
  - CEPA 0 tariff policy accelerated the manufacture product of mainland and increased the working rate

- 1) Accelerated the development of manufacturing purpose: 
  - reduce tariff
  - facilitate the transaction
  - reduce discriminatory treats
  - promote investment
2 - THE INFLUENCE OF CEPA

Chart: the total amount of export between mainland China and Hong Kong from 1998 to 2011
Chart: the total amount of mainland China goods transaction export to Hong Kong between 2002-2012
2) The investment of Hong Kong improved the economy of mainland China

3) Accelerated the academic communication and the flow of talent
2 - THE INFLUENCE OF CEPA

- On Hong Kong:

Chart: the occupation of the primary industry, secondary industry and tertiary industry in Hong Kong’s economy
2 - THE INFLUENCE OF CEPA

- 0 tariff policy reduced the cost of Hong Kong traditional manufacturing
- 0 tariff policy facilitated the high tech products of Hong Kong flow into mainland China
- The investment of mainland China developed the local economy
- Promoted Hong Kong tourism
2 - THE INFLUENCE OF CEPA

Chart: The number of mainland travelers to Hong Kong between 1997-2011

图 5 1997-2011 年内地赴港旅游人数（万人次）
数据来源：旅游中国网，《2011 年内地游客赴港旅游人数已达到 2810 人次》
http://www.china.com.cn/travel/2012-07/06/content_25833553.htm
Chart: The unemployment rate of Hong Kong between 1997-2011.
3 - PUBLIC OPINION ON CEPA

- **Individual Visit Scheme:**
  - From 28 July, 2003
  - It allowed travelers from Mainland China to visit Hong Kong on an individual basis
  - Prior to the Scheme, Mainland residents could only visit Hong Kong on business visas or in group tours
### 3 - PUBLIC OPINION ON CEPA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Q1]</th>
<th>頻數</th>
<th>百分比</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>應該增加</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>應該減少</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>60.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>保持不變</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>唔知／難講</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>合計</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 - PUBLIC OPINION ON CEPA

- Hong Kong people against individual visit scheme
February 2015: The chief executive of Hong Kong Leung Chun-ying:

Hong Kong’s reception capacity is limited, and going to negotiate with China’s Central government about tightening up the individual visit scheme.
Thank You