

SEIJO CGS WORKING PAPER SERIES

No. **13**

**The Glocal Perspectives on the Contemporary Socio-Cultural Movements :
The Korean Wave and the Transnational Movements
in the Asia-Pacific Region**

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CENTER FOR GLOCAL STUDIES
SEIJO UNIVERSITY

CENTER FOR GLOCAL STUDIES
成城大学グローバル研究センター
2017

Foreword

This collection of 'Working Papers' is composed of 4 papers which were presented at the International Conference held at Seijo University in February, 17, 2017. The final program of this conference was as follows.

The International Research Conference on 'The Korean Wave and the Transnational Movements in the Asia-Pacific Region: The Glocal Perspectives on the Contemporary Socio-Cultural Movements.'

[0] Tomiyuki Uesugi (Seijo University)

“Opening Speech as a director of The Center for Glocal Studies in Seijo University”

[1] Kazuhisa Nishihara (Seijo University) and Mari Shiba (Research Fellow of JSPS, Seijo University)

“The Challenge of Okinawan Social Thoughts: Independence Movements after the Ryukyu Kingdom and 'Uchinanchu'”

[2] Dennis Riches (Seijo University)

“Challenging the Occupation of Hawai'i Under International Law: An Overview of Contemporary Actions and Strategies of the Acting Government of the Kingdom of Hawai'i”

[3] Wonho Jang (University of Seoul) and Jung Eun Song (University of Seoul)

“Understanding Glocalization: With Cases of the Korean Wave”

[4] Kee-Bom Nahm (University of Seoul), Byungmin Lee (Konkuk University), and Changwan Park (University of Seoul)

“Sustainable Tourism Development Factors for the Five UNESCO Living Heritage Cities in East Asia”

Moderators were Professor Ik Ki Kim (Renmin University of China) and Kazuhisa Nishihara. This conference was organized by the Center for Glocal Studies (CGS) in Seijo University in cooperation with The Glocal Culture and Regional Development (GCRD) / Social Science Korea Research Group.

After all presentations, attendants including presenters in this conference discussed the glocal perspectives and many fruitful insights could be shared in this opportunity.

We've just stood, however, in the first stage of our discussions by this gathering. We are going to make an agreement of academic exchange between University of Seoul and Seijo University, especially between GCRD and CGS as a style of 'Memorandum of Understanding between Department of Urban Sociology, University of Seoul, Seoul, Korea and Research Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, Seijo University, Tokyo, Japan. I hope this encounter could surely bear rich fruit.

Kazuhisa Nishihara
(Seijo University)

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Understanding Glocalization: With Cases of the Korean Wave

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Abstract

This study explores the glocalization of the Korean Wave based on the interrelation between both global and local contexts. The glocalizing dynamics of the Korean Wave can be seen in the process of transnational consumption and in the creation of new pop culture in the countries consuming the Korean Wave. The local countries consuming the Korean Wave are now localizing and re-creating the Korean Wave contents. Thus, the Korean Wave can be understood as an exemplary glocal culture. This study focuses on K-pop and webtoon representing the characteristics of glocal culture. The glocalization process of the Korean Wave promotes cultural communications among people sharing cultural identities and tastes through the Korean Wave.

Keyword: Korean Wave, Glocal culture, Cultural community, Glocalization

1. Introduction

In the beginning of spreading the Korean Wave in East Asia, the Korean Wave syndrome had been discussed based on the uniqueness of Korean culture and impact of media development and foreseen as a transient and temporary event. However, the Korean Wave has been developing as a global popular culture with various new media channels, such as broadcast, online and mobile platforms. Korean dramas has been imported approximately to 80 countries, and the number of views and downloads of K-POP on YouTube was more 50 billion in 2015(Jang and Lee, 2016). The Korean Wave is a global cultural trend in the pop culture industry around the world.

The Korean Wave has contributed on building economic and cultural relations between Korea and the countries receiving the Korean Wave. The global fans of the Korean Wave have become active consumers of other Korean cultural products such as Korean food, costumes, and cosmetics in order to experience Korean culture. Korean cosmetics are now among the most popular cosmetics in the world. The Korean Wave has been promoting the familiarity and favorability of Korean culture and Korea in the world.

The regions receiving the Korean Wave also started communicating with it by producing many local cultural products similar to the Korean Wave. For example, in Vietnam, K-POP-style idol groups such as '365' appeared and became a representative local idol group. Also, the Korean Wave has led a cultural circulation where consumers become producers of specific cultural products.

This study explores the concept of glocal culture based on the interrelation between both global and local contexts. This paper demonstrates local socio-cultural characteristics, hybrid features, and transnational consumption of the Korean Wave. This paper defines these phenomena as "glocalizing dynamics," where a local country recreates a new hybrid culture as a way of responding to a global influence on local culture. The new hybrid culture is also consumed transnationally through cultural communications based on cultural similarities and differences. A popular culture industry reacts to hybridize global and local contexts while receiving global cultural contents and promotes for transnational cultural consumption and exchanges in the world. It can be considered as 'glocal culture', and this study believes that the Korean Wave is an exemplary case of glocal culture. Also, the glocalization process of the Korean Wave promotes cultural communications and effects establishing transnational cultural communities where people of different countries share cultural identities and tastes through the Korean Wave. This paper will first discuss the concept of glocal culture and regard the Korean Wave as an exemplary glocal culture. In addition, this paper will demonstrate the participatory culture of the Korean Wave fans based on the cases of K-pop and webtoon consumption.

2. The Glocalization of the Korean Wave

2.1 The Globalization of the Korean Popular Culture

Globalization causes the appearance of a 'mixed identity' leading to a cultural hybridization that creates balance by maintaining local identities in the process of interaction with global cultures. The impact of globalization is decided by "a matter of the interplay of an institutional-technological impetus towards "globality" with counterpoised 'localizing' forces." (Tomlinson 2007: 270, Jang et al., 2012). Korean pop

culture skillfully blends Western and Asian values into cultural products, and presents 'vision of modernization' inherent in Korean popular culture.

The development of Korean Wave could be considered by cultural similarities in regions, common desires for material possession and socio-culture in the process of modernity and consuming society in globalization. The success of the Korean Wave beyond Asia indicates that both cultural proximity and cultural discount are not enough to analyze the influence factors. Cultural proximity can be built by the response of sympathizing with 'real-time' and 'contemporary' societies. (Jang et al. 2012) The flow of the Korean Wave was the result of market development by capitalism and neo-liberalism and of the transnational cultural traffic including digitalization of new media. Korean Wave fans in different regions are "transnational consumers and learners of popular culture for inter-ethnic cultural understanding" based on their active consumption and participation in the Korean Wave. (Oh, 2009: 426)

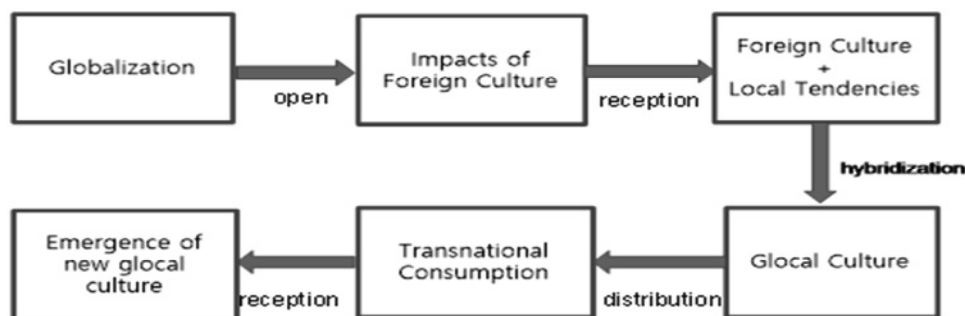
The meanings of Korean Wave was interpreted as 'Korea,' 'passion,' 'popular culture,' and 'Korean economic development,' by foreign receivers. The meanings have recently expanded to include the popularity of anything 'Korean' including fashion products, cuisine, fashion trends, traditional culture and language. With increasing popularity of the Korean Wave, its impact became analyzed in terms of its influence on politics, national image and economy under the interrelation of globalization and local cultures.

2.2 The Korean Wave as Glocal Culture

As for glocal culture, we mainly focus on cultural materials and contents related to pop culture. The term 'glocalization' was inspired by the Japanese business field in the 1980s, meaning local adaptations of global products to respond penetration of global products (Robertson, 1995:16). Glocalization also means globalization of local materials and contents by interplaying of regional tendencies with global political, economic, social, religious, and cultural ethos and by the simultaneity of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies (Robertson 1995, Bae 2000, Mendis et al, 2007, Jang and Lee, 2016). Glocalization is discussed as a counterproposal of cultural differentialism (Vizureanu, 2013; 70).

Glocal culture can empower local communities to make a balance on hybridity of global factors and local characteristics and to meet community needs. (Mendis et al., 2007; p.2) The specific socio-cultural characteristics of local society reshape and change global cultural contents, and produce a new hybrid culture. Since glocal culture has universal characteristics, it can be consumed in other societies. Transnational consumption. Then, the development of another glocal culture in the countries can appear that consume the glocal culture.

<Figure 1> The Process of the Development of Glocal Culture and Its Transnational Consumption



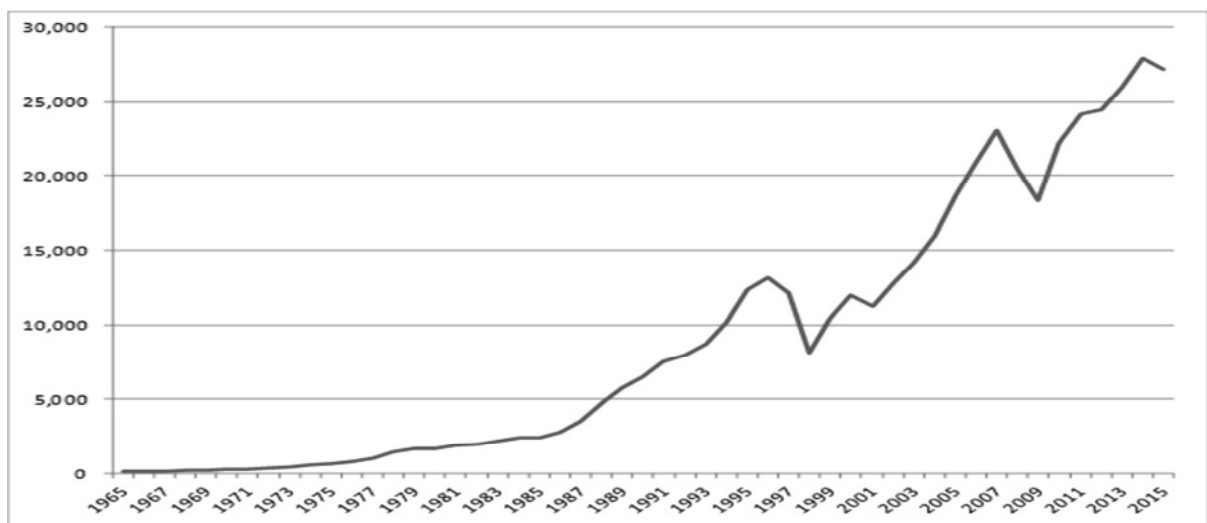
With the understanding that the Korean Wave is an exemplary glocal culture, we need to explain specific characteristics of the Korean wave from the mixture of global impacts and local contexts, and its transnational consumption. In terms of global impacts, Korea experienced a strong US influence when it launched export-oriented industrialization since 1961. It is also true that the Cold War between the US and the Communist block made Korea more dependent on America in politics, economics, and culture. Japanese culture, an Eastern version of global culture, flooded into Korea after 1965 when Korea established diplomatic relations with Japan. Lastly, since the 1990s when the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe became market-based, Korea actively entered into business in the European market and in turn received a strong influence from Europe. With these global impacts, Korean dramas and K-POP have also received heavy influences from the US, Japan, and Europe.

In addition, an increase in cultural exchanges and International co-productions of movies and dramas among Asian countries has resulted in both the growth of Korean cultural industries and cooperation among cultural industries. The diverse responses to the Korean Wave in each country are related to individual interactions to values and experiences in its political, economic, socio-cultural factors. For example, in Indonesia, the meaning of consuming the Korean Wave products would be a way of meeting an “advanced” pop culture. The Korean Wave products such as dramas, and K-pop may stimulate the competitiveness of cultural industries in Indonesia by providing hybrid cultural forms as part of global trends (Kim et al.,2014).

Mixed with the global impacts, the three Korea-specific characteristics have presented at K-POP. The first element is compressed modernization. As shown in Figure 2, the per capita GDP increased from \$108 in 1965 to \$27,213 in 2015, an increase of 224

times during five decades. Compressed modernization leads Koreans and Korean society to experience traditional, modern, and the most modern culture simultaneously (Jang and Kim 2013: 93). The feature of "contemporaneity of the uncontemporary," shown at the Korean Wave is the result of the compressed modernization. The music and dancing of some boy bands express post-modern-style electronic music, but the lyrics express the themes of pure love and friendship instead of the violence and transgression found in Western electronic music.

<Figure 2> Increase of GDP per capita during 1965-2015



Source: Bank of Korea (2015)

A second Korea-specific characteristic is hyper-competition in process of compressed modernization. This is often reflected in the red queen's race in education where everyone works hard but cannot move up in their school standing. This red queen's race can explain why K-POP trainees in entertainment companies do not give up during the long and hard training period. The trainees know that their friends in the school are also in high competition. The trainees anticipate that they should enter a new red queen's race if they give up a training process. As result, the K-pop artists can show a professional performance with the famous synchronized dancing and non-verbal performances made possible through long and hard training.(Jang and Kim 2013: 94, Jang and Lee, 2016).

The third characteristic is a small size of domestic market and limited financial and cultural resources. The limited domestic market has led the Korean Wave to advance into the foreign market. This phenomenon can be explained by "cosmopolitan striving (Park and Abelmann 2004)," which means "the efforts of people living in developing

countries to improve their situation by advancing to the modern and Western economies” (Jang and Kim 2013: 95, Jang and Lee, 2016). The Korean cultural industries including Korean pop music industry have produced and imported their products to foreign markets. In order to raise sympathy with foreign consumers, the Korean cultural industries produce contents based on universal themes, such as pure love, familism, and so on. In short, the Korean Wave has produced its own local economic, social and cultural characteristics such as contemporaneity of the uncontemporary, punctually synchronized dancing, and universal theme by trying to overcome a limited domestic market. According to Kim and Bae (2016), the Korean Wave drama fans emphasized the similarities between the Korean Wave and their own cultures with aspects of their traditional culture such as politeness and family-orientation. Some of the participants stressed globalized expressions of the Korean Wave, considering the creativity of Koreans and the hybridity of the Korean Wave. It is now necessary to show how the Korean Wave is consumed transnationally.

3. Emergence of New Glocal Culture in the Local Countries that Consume the Korean Wave

The glocalizing dynamics of the Korean Wave can be seen in the process of consumption in foreign countries and in the creation of new pop culture in the countries that consume the Korean Wave. The local countries consuming the Korean Wave have interpreted the Korean Wave contents and are now localizing and re-creating them. Thus, the Korean Wave can be understood as an exemplary glocal culture. As glocal culture, this study focuses on K-pop and webtoon representing the characteristics of Korean culture and making a big impact on foreign popular culture.

3.1 Impact of transnational consumption of K-POP

K-pop songs are also consumed internationally since the development of Web 2.0. The K-pop fans delivered the Korean Wave contents through mostly YouTube, Facebook, and online fan pages in order to share the contents without heavy distribution or promotion costs. Recently, the numbers of fans and of music clip views on YouTube for EXO, BTS, and TWICE has been increasing all around the world. The popularity of these groups are rapidly grown up. For example, their new released songs are ranked on the Billboard chart of ‘social 50’ based on the number of views and mentions on SNS, such as Twitter and Facebook. In <Table 1>, the number of YouTube views in several regions and the total number of YouTube views are listed. The 9 regions including South Korea were chosen based on where the Korean Wave has been consistently consumed since 2000. The case of China is excluded as YouTube service is not offered.

<Table 1> The Number of YouTube Views for the Three K-POP Groups during September 2014-March 2017

	EXO	TWICE	BTS
Total number of Views	2,463,442,565	1,502,005,971	3,837,962,786
South Korea	379,661,280	513,364,745	583,577,622
United States	150,703,784	60,375,990	340,812,337
Japan	162,165,220	109,745,224	208,653,748
Brazil	47,746,989	29,360,749	262,367,441
Thailand	376,651,467	84,865,801	238,704,565
Philippines	106,307,435	55,649,946	189,244,695
Indonesia	127,174,243	49,114,683	138,828,869
France	23,6443,047	7,687,862	62,004,554
Hong Kong	39,153,130	38,694,489	40,518,564

*An artist's "total views" is based on both official and fan-uploaded videos claimed using Content ID.

**Source: <https://www.youtube.com/yt/artists>

There are the several examples of newly emerging pop music that has been developed by the influence of the Korean Wave in the countries importing and consuming K-POP. This new pop music can be considered new glocal culture. The emergence of other glocal cultures enhanced the chance of communication and exchange between the artists and fans based on similar musical tastes. As we have explained in the diagram of the concept of glocal culture, glocal culture creates another glocal culture in local societies that consume the foreign glocal culture. The Korean Wave, especially K-POP, has influenced local music and led them to create new-style music following the style of K-POP. We consider the creation of new glocal culture as an example of cultural communities.

<Table 2> Local Pop Groups Inspired by K-POP

Nation	Group	Debut	Member	Sex
Indonesia	Smash	2010	6	Male
	The Hitz	2011	3	Male
	6 Starz	2011	6	Female
	Fame	2011	7	Male

	Be5t	2011	5	Female
	Dragon boyz	2011	4	Male
	XO-IX	2011	6	Male
	Cherry belle	2011	10	Female
	S4	2012	4	Male
Russia	MBAND	2014	3	Male
Hong Kong	As One	2012	4	Female
	Super Girls	2012	5	Female
	Birds of Paradise(BOP)	2014	3	Male
France	ALIIFE	2010	4	Male
China	OK-Bang	2009	5	Male
	Idol Girls	2009	9	Female
Thailand	Candy Mafia	2009	4	Female
Vietnam	HKT ft HKT M	2011	6	Male

*This list was based on the field research to each country.

Resource: Jang and Lee(2016)

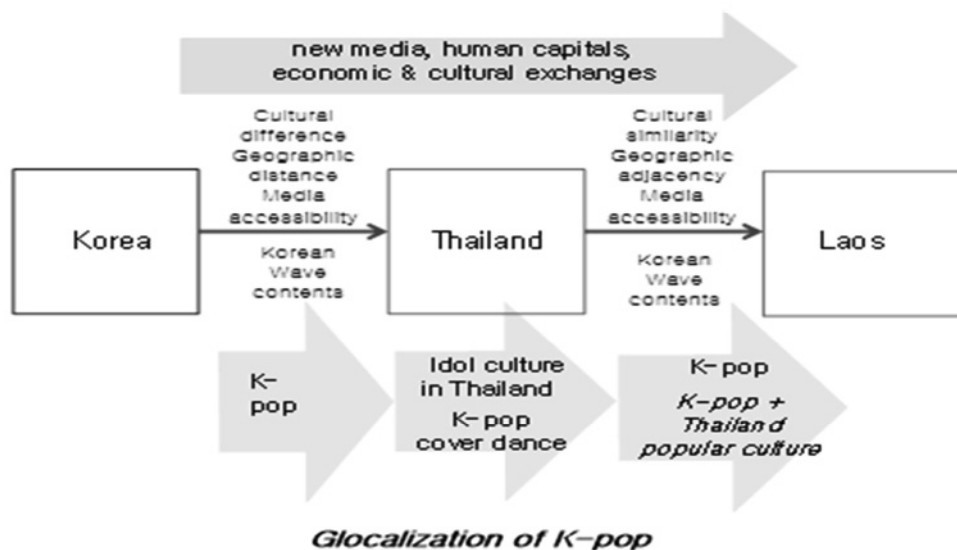
Some of these pop groups are transnationally consumed in other countries, especially groups from Indonesia and Thailand. Indonesian groups are consumed in Malaysia, and Thai groups are consumed in Laos.

K-pop in Laos is a different type of glocal culture. In Laos, K-pop is consumed through the Thailand's mediators, such as new media, entertainers, and K-pop fans. Korea and Laos have developed the economic relationship based on trade and economic assistance. With the popularity of the Korean Wave in Laos, the image of Korea and Koreans has been improved and the sales of Korean brand products have been increasing. However, due to the cultural proximity and geographical condition, Laos frequently receives a variety of popular cultural resources from Thai's TV broadcast. Laotians easily access to the 'Thai version of the Korean Wave', and it may be attractive for them more than the original version of the Korean Wave (Kim, 2015, p.140; Kim and Bae, 2016). The Korean Wave in Laos is influenced by Thailand's media than Laos and earns popularity due to similarities on language, styles, and look.

The Korean Wave fans in Thailand delivered the YouTube video contents to other SNS including Facebook, in order to spread and re-create the Korean Wave contents.

With consideration of the Korean Wave as globalized expressions, the “Korean Wave is in on-going process for dynamically transformed, hybridized, and indigenized (Kim, 2015; 140).” So-called ‘Thai version’ of the Korean Wave can be resulted as the localization of the Korean Wave, and the Thai version of the Korean Wave was delivered to Laos and interacted with Laos’ culture (Bae, 2010; Kim and Bae, 2016). This transnational flow of the Korean Wave can be explained with the process of glocalization. This example suggests to consider how to sustain the popularity of the Korean Wave in each region and how to react difficulties in the glocalization process of K-pop.

<Figure 2> Glocalization of K-pop in Laos



3.2 Webtoon as a New Glocal Culture of Korean Cartoon

The term of Webtoon consists of two words, Web and Cartoon, and is used to describe South Korean webcomics or manhwa published online.¹ Manhwa means all genres of Korean cartoons including comics, and it is the brand of Korean cartoons different from Japanese Manga. With the development of IT and the increase of web users and bloggers, Korean cartoons were made by amateurs appeared in 1999 and became substantially published online. The increase of internet users and of their digital cultural consumption made a big impact on fostering the platform and production of webtoon and on building a webtoon industry. The spread of webtoon was contributed on changing negative prejudices on Korean cartoon(manhwa) from copying for Japanese manga and/or less

¹ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Webtoon>

diversified stories to easily accessed, fun and ordinary story-based content. Of all, webtoon was a new form of publishing Korean cartoon(manhwa) online and an unique case of global cartoon markets. In other words, webtoon was a new form of online comic and differentiated from digital comics which scanned a printed comics and published online in other countries.

Webtoon was rapidly spread by the support of portal websites and one of the largest webtoon services, such as Daum, NAVER, and so on. The portal websites encouraged both amateurs and professional comic and manhwa creators to regularly publish their works. Also the websites provided a majority of webtoons to website users by free. This support was resulted as the development of webtoon in Korea in a short period and as the expansion of cultural industries. The success of webtoon led to boost Korean cartoon(manhwa) industry that was decreased with a recession of publication industry. Also, many of webtoons were recreated as diverse genres, such as film, drama, game, etc. This one-soure-multi-use strategy was caused for the enlargement of webtoon industry and Korean cultural industries.

Due to the debut of the services of Korean portal website and mobile application in foreign countries, webtoon could be consumed by foreign web users. Korean manhwa industry also promoted webtoon to foreign comic markets, such as France, Japan, South East Asia countries, etc. Webtoon was not easily accepted by foreigners who was used to consume comics by reading a book or magazine, such as Japanese manga.

However, global cartoon readers become exposed to web comics through Internet and smartphones. Naver has offered to 18 million global readers with English service China and Indonesia since July 2014. Kakao's Daum Webtoon launched its global service earlier than Naver, in January 2014 in the US-based Tapas Media. Daum offers Korean Webtoons in English and Chinese. The webtoon is still at the very beginning stage but is a highly potential digital content in cartoon market.²

<Table 3> Global Market Sizes of Webtoon (Unit: Million Dollar)

Year/ Market Size	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Printed Cartoon	72.01	71.08	64.79	63.51	61.97	60.36	58.65	56.87	54.97
Webtoon	3.30	4.26	4.57	5.38	5.91	6.47	7.07	7.71	8.40

Resource: <http://www.hankookilbo.com/v/7a33b9e49ba14b0f83f22b283977d8da>

² <http://www.theinvestor.co.kr/view.php?ud=20160816000937>

Korean government also provided an indirect support the webtoon industry by regulating unnecessary rules, developing cultural platforms for increasing OSMU activities, and providing a translating service in both domestic and foreign webtoon markets. Korean webtoon have been spreading by the debut of webtoon industry and Korean mobile suppliers and also by the webtoon fans online. Webtoon has been offered to internet users by free from the beginning, and this was one of the important causes to spread webtoon works shortly. Korean webtoon became very popular on the channels of Social Network Services and mobile applications in foreign countries where have received Korean dramas and K-pop for a long time. Actually, it appeared that foreign webtoon fans actively participated on translating and on sharing with other webtoon fans even before the Korean webtoon suppliers officially provided a webtoon service in foreign cartoon markets.

4. Concluding Remarks

This research concludes that the Korean Wave in ongoing process of hybridization by incorporating local cultures. The paper has described the global impacts of the Korean Wave, Korea-specific socio-cultural characteristics that, with the mixture of global impacts, have produced the unique style of the Korean Wave such as contemporaneity of the uncontemporary and generalization of Korea-specific culture, etc. The globally-competitive Korean media industries supported by transnational networks enabled the Korean Wave to spread among inter-regional markets. Among the examples, it is interesting that the Thailand is acting as a key mediator to deliver the Korean Wave contents between Korea and Laos while dynamically interacting and hybridizing with locality of Thailand. Also, Thailand K-pop fans are one of key elements with regards to localization of K-pop and spread of K-pop to Laos. The participatory culture of the Korean Wave fans should be highlighted in the process of glocalization.

The glocalizing dynamics of the Korean Wave can be seen in the process of consumption in foreign countries and in the creation of new pop cultures in the counties that consume the Korean Wave. Out of the reactions toward the difficulties, the localization-process of the Korean Wave by diverse actors should be considered at first. Also, mutual understanding between Korea and the recipients of the Korean Wave should be an ultimate goal of the localization of the Korean Wave more than its economic effect. It is an important factor for the creation of transnational cultural communities where people of different countries share cultural identities and tastes based on the Korean Wave, and develop mutual understanding and cooperation.

Regarding the international success of the Korean Wave, various suggestions have been raised for utilizing the Korean Wave. Focusing on economic benefits, some scholars

and bureaucrats argue that Korea should develop collaboration between the cultural contents and other industries such as electronics and cosmetics. Others contend that Korea should use the Korean Wave to enhance the soft power of Korea. However, if Korea tries to use the Korean Wave only for enhancing the interests of Korea, either economically or culturally, it will face opposition and anti-Korean Wave movements in other countries who would also protect their own interests. The authors, therefore, believe that building transnational cultural community and thus enhancing inter-cultural understanding and cooperation are the keys to the sustainable development of the Korean Wave. In the long-term, this will lead to an increase of economic benefits and cultural influence.

Let us finish with a story from Jerusalem. This episode was also reported in BBC. In Jerusalem, the areas of Jewish and Palestinian people are strictly divided, and so there has seldom been communication between them. A Palestinian student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem had never talked with Jewish people until she met some friends at the K-POP fan club. There, she came to know Jewish students and share ideas with them about K-POP, which led her to understand Jewish people. She has now become friends with many Jewish students and enjoys the Korean Wave with them. This, we believe, is the future that the Korean Wave should pursue. That is, providing contents with hope and bridging conflicting groups in transnational cultural communities.

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Sustainable Tourism Development Factors for the Five UNESCO Living Heritage Cities in East Asia

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Abstract

This study compares the sustainable tourism development factors for the 5 UNESCO living heritage cities in East Asia, say, Shirakawago in Japan, Luang Prabang in Laos, Lijiang in China, Hoi An in Vietnam, and Hahoi Maeul in Korea. It compares the cities utilizing 3 major criteria such as administrative & tourism service factor, living environment factor, and tourism content factor, including 18 sub factors. The critical elements for developing sustainable tourism include increasing rate of residential population, tolerance for outsiders, residential participations for tourism, cultural content provisions, and lastly, constancy and scale of the cultural content. All in all, sustainability of residents and current lifestyle is of utmost importance, in other words, democratic governance system among local government, residents, and local associations to guarantee the happiness of the residents is quintessential for sustainable tourism development of the living heritage cities.

Key Words : living heritage, tourism development factors, governance, Shirakawa, Luang Prabang, Lijiang, Hoi An, Hahoi Maeul.

1. Introduction: Heritage and Tourism: A Critical View

Heritage is a new form of cultural production that ‘produces something new’ by adding values of ‘pastness’, exhibition and difference that convert locations into destinations,

which can become ‘museums of themselves’ that can be marketed as tourist resources. Through this process, heritage is closely associated with tourism in which heritage provides resources and itineraries for sightseeing. Tourism is heavily dependent on the material of heritage as a source of attraction assets, thus it becomes a relentless process of touristic representation and the re-representation of places and spaces

Heritage tourism can be defined as a set of discursive and representational practices that work to diminish its breadth of meaning and act to protect dominant and essentially conservative views of the national past. This view is called a reductionism and depletion of meaning compared for the broader meaning of heritage tourism. The production and consumption of heritage may facilitate representation and representational practices that reconnect people with places and pasts within a transparent discourse that creates its own authenticity in the construction of subjective experience (Loulanski, 2006a, 2006b).

This paper compares the five living heritage cities, *Shirakawago* in Japan, *Luang Prabang* in Laos, *Lijiang* in China, *Hoi An* in Vietnam, *Hahoi Maeul* in Korea utilizing the three major factors, Public policy, Community Conviviality, and Tourism Content with 18 sub-factors in order to analyze key ingredients for the sustainable heritage tourism development and to have lessons for the ‘subtle harmony between living heritage preservation and tourism development’

2. Living Heritage and Tourism

The place-making efforts in order to develop tourism in living heritage cities including the conservation of historic structures, the rehabilitation of historic landscapes and the provision of tourism infrastructure reveal the contradictory nature of heritage tourism as an industry, which depends on global demand for distinctively local products. Commodification of place might transform the ways of life, traditions and the complex symbolism into saleable products in view of the tourism development can cause serious problems. Thus, we need a control over the development and the marketing of tourism resources for living heritage cities (Auclair and Fairclough, 2015).

As widely known, tourism can create both direct and indirect employment opportunities, generate a multiplier effect through the recycling of tourists’ expenditure in the local economy and stimulate local products such as souvenirs and crafts. In this value-adding process, the important economic activity for historic cities particularly, as their cultural heritage constitutes an important resource that attracts the international tourists.

Heritage destinations with distinctive local identities entail representation process of the ‘other’ that differs from their own sociocultural backgrounds. During this process the image marketing influences for tourists by demonstrating the historic urban landscape’s unique selling proposition (USP), because personal experiences or collective memories are

affected by historic conservation, design and rehabilitation as well as tourism development(UNESCO, 1999).

There needs a subtle harmony between living heritage preservation and tourism development. Though the harmony or consensus we can solve the dissonance between the collective universalisms that represent the imagined communities of the nation-state and the particularisms that represent the local values (UNESCO, 1998). The historic landscape becomes the interface between the local inhabitants and the international tourists by understanding the underlying processes that shape its production (place-making) and its consumption (place experience) for each of the local inhabitants and the international tourists. There usually remain the unsolved conflicts between the constituents of its distinctive identity of the local communities and the development of the tourism infrastructure.

The well-known principle on the tourism and heritage announced by WTO(1986) is “Do not harm the heritage”, which means to avoid, minimize, or mitigate adverse impacts on cultural property, and WTO will not finance projects that damage cultural heritage. This policy was relatively passive and limited to chance for bring cultural assets into the country’s economic development circuit. Furthermore, when deprived of preservation resources, these core assets deteriorate silently and rapidly. Living Heritage, however, can be regarded as “cultural assets”, which also have a huge economic value, at the same time, educational value for history and identity, because living heritage is collective memory of regions and nations. In this vein, the sustainable tourism development for living heritage should be reappraised and pursued by sound partnership between local residents and public sector (UNESCO, 2011).

Modern living environment consists of rather long time prism including past and present times. Sustainable tourism development for living heritage can be implemented in 4 ways: (cf. Ashworth and Larkham, 1994)

- Traditional and contemporary living atmosphere at the same time: cultural heritage not only represent inherited traditions from the past but also contemporary local practices in which diverse cultural groups take part.
- Inclusive: social cohesion, encouraging a sense of identity and responsibility, helping individuals to feel part of different communities and to feel part of society at large.
- Representative: cultural heritage is valued as a cultural good for its exclusivity or its exceptional value. It can only thrive on its basis in communities and depends on residential recognition
- Community-based: cultural heritage can only be heritage when it is recognized as such by the communities, groups or individuals that create, maintain and transmit it.

All in all, communities themselves must take part in identifying and defining cultural heritage. Communities are the ones deciding which practices are part of their cultural heritage.

3. Comparative Methodology

In this paper, we employ John Stuart Mill's traditional comparative method. Utilizing his 3 ways of agreement and difference researchers we can descriptively compare the 5 living heritage cities. The methods include:

- Direct method of agreement: *If two or more instances of the phenomenon under investigation have only one circumstance in common, the circumstance in which alone all the instances agree, is the cause (or effect) of the given phenomenon* (Mill, 1843: 454).
For instance, A B C D occur together with w x y z, A E F G occur together with w t u v. then, A is the cause, or the effect, of w(Wikipedia). Utilizing this principle, we can extract general factors for the 5 living heritage cities, say, scale of content, consistency of traditional life style, and convenient tour guidance.
- Method of difference: *If an instance in which the phenomenon under investigation occurs, and an instance in which it does not occur, have every circumstance save one in common, that one occurring only in the former; the circumstance in which alone the two instances differ, is the effect, or cause, or a necessary part of the cause, of the phenomenon* (Mill, 1843: 455). For instance, A B C D occur together with w x y z, B C D occur together with x y z, therefore A is the cause, or the effect, or a part of the cause of w(Wikipedia). Utilizing this principle, we can extract distinct factors such as strong global supports and weak tourism service education for Laung Prabang in Laos.
- Joint method of agreement and difference: *if two or more instances in which the phenomenon occurs have only one circumstance in common, while two or more instances in which it does not occur have nothing in common save the absence of that circumstance; the circumstance in which alone the two sets of instances differ, is the effect, or cause, or a necessary part of the cause, of the phenomenon* (Mill, 1843: 463). For instance, A B C occur together with x y z. A D E occur together with x v w also B C occur with y z; therefore A is the cause, or the effect, or a part of the cause of x (Wikipedia). Utilizing this principle, we can extract differential factors such as incentives for residents and residents' satisfactions are differ among cities and selectively affected by policy practices.

For comparing the 5 East Asian Living Heritage Cities, say Shirakawago in Japan, Luang Prabang in Laos, Lijiang in China, Hoi An in Vietnam, Hahoi Maeul in Korea, we select 3 factors and 18 sub-factors including:

- Public policy: Public & local policies, Global supports, Distinctiveness, Convenient tour guidance, Lodging, Facilities, Amenities, Place marketing
- Community conviviality: Tourism education for residents, Incentives for residents, Residential satisfaction, Local associations, Consistency of traditional life style, Number of population, Tolerance for tourists, Residents' participation
- Tourism content: Variety of local content, Place-specific content, Eco-tourism, Availability of content, Scale of content

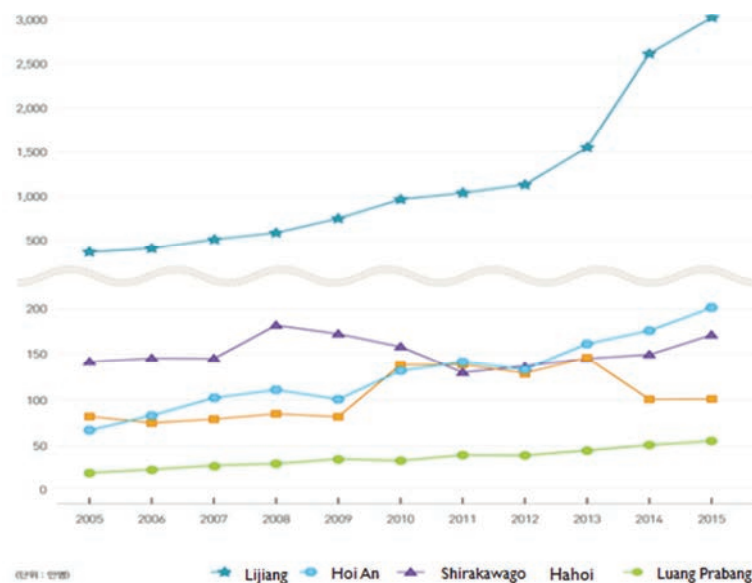
4. Sustainable Tourism Development Factors

Two Japanese and Korean cities, Shirakawago and Hahoi Maeul have been experiencing gradual decreasing number of tourists, from 1.9 million tourists in the year 2008 to 1.7 million in the year 2015 for Shirakawago in Japan, and from 0.7 million tourists in the year 2008 to 1.0 million in the year 2015 for Hahoi Maeul, respectively. On the contrary, Lijiang in China has shown tremendous increase, from 6.2 million tourists in the year 2008 to 30.1 million in the year 2015. Two other living heritage cities, Luang Prabang and Hoi An have also shown gradual increase of tourists, from 0.3 million tourists in the year 2008 to 0.6 million in the year 2015 for Luang Prabang, and from 1.1 million tourists in the year 2008 to 2.5 million in the year 2015 for Hoi An, respectively.

<Table 1> Changes in the Number of Tourists for the 5 Living Heritage Cities (1,000 pop)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Shirakawago	1,861	1,861 (0.0%)	1,590 (-14.6%)	1,306 (-17.9%)	1,379 (5.6%)	1,432 (3.8%)	1,501 (4.8%)	1,727 (15.1%)
Luang Prabang	344	375 (9.0%)	367 (-2.1%)	411 (12.0%)	410 (-0.2%)	467 (13.9%)	531 (13.7%)	560 (5.5%)
Lijiang	6,255	7,581 (21.2%)	9,099 (20.0%)	11,830 (30.0%)	12,380 (4.6%)	15,980 (29.1%)	26,630 (66.6%)	30,550 (14.7%)
Hoi An	1,120	1,030 (-8.0%)	1,352 (31.3%)	1,470 (8.7%)	1,370 (-6.8%)	1,600 (16.8%)	1,780 (11.3%)	2,516 (41.3%)
Hahoi Maeul	862	829 (-3.8%)	1,397 (68.5%)	1,315 (-5.9%)	1,257 (-4.4%)	1,473 (17.2%)	1,055 (-28.4%)	1,019 (-3.4%)

* The number in the parenthesis is annual growth rate of tourists.




<Figure 1> Changes in the Number of Tourists (1,000 pop)

1) Shirakawago in Japan

• Administrative and tourism services: Shirakawago is Japanese traditional town, located in mountainous area and isolated for a long time. In order to adapt to the winter snowfall, they developed distinct detached house called Katshozkuri(合掌造り) with trust structure roofs. For a long time, the Governor of Ken which comprises Shirakawago has tried to boost tourism and place marketing (IT Media Mobil, 2015). The three principles by local community assembly, ‘Do not sell, lend, and destroy’ of the Katshozkuri has

inscribed authentic and genuine sense of place. Shirakawago community has found local association for ‘protecting natural environment of Shirakawago, Ogimachi’, which aims for tourists’ lingering over such a gaze which is then normally visually objectified or captured through photographs, postcards, films, models and so on. These enable the gaze to be endlessly reproduced and recaptured (Urry, 2002). Recently they utilize social media and webpage, which shows in 7 languages.

- Living Environment: Shirakawago still has problems of inconvenient living environment and marks low residents’ satisfaction rate, because of the difficulty for attracting new residents and the aging population can be read as warning sign for the sustainability of the site. Furthermore, the traffic jam, trespass over the residential areas, natural environmental damage caused by tourists annoy the local residents (Hada Matsui Ichikawa, 2016)
- Tourism content: The long standing local festival, Doburoku Matsuri is famous Sake festival, which devotes to God, prays for family’s harmony, safety, and peace (<http://shirakawa-go.org/mura>). Shirakawago is famous for the catchment area for the brand ‘I lohas’ mineral water and 越光 (コシヒカリ) , which are the model case for making regional branding and successful tourism content development(Harbos Business Online, 2015). The Storytelling utilizing the animation ‘When They Cry [ひぐらしのなくころに] and the Toyota-Shirakawago Nature School have the place as one of the best eco-tourism spot in Japan.



	Main factors	Strong points	Weak points
	Public policy	Global awareness	Poor accessibility & weather
	Community conviviality	Depth of tradition	Limits to growth, inconvenience, low tourists satisfaction
	Tourism content	Various local tourism factors	Limited content & durability

<Figure 2> Characteristics of Shirakawago

2) Luang Prabang in Laos

• Administrative and tourism services: Luang Prabang is famous for harmonious mixture of the beautiful natural environment, Southeastern Asian traditional architecture, and 19th-20th century French mode of architecture. The city government of Luang Prabang has made regional development plan for preserving cultural and natural diversity at the same time, promoting tourist industries, which was supported and funded by Chinon city of France as a token of long-term friendship and official development assistance program (Portal Worlds, 2015). Thanks to the systematic implementation of the regional development plan, tourists accessibilities have been improved and local residents’ craftsmanships, such as handicraft, sculpture, and jewelry has also promoted. Major local government projects include cultural heritage protection,

public-private partnership, and long-term tourism development.

- **Living Environment:** La Maison du Patrimoine of France has supported Luang Prabang for improving living environment, which increased local population up to 60 thousand in 2015 with rising residents' satisfaction level(Yamaguchi, 2006). Also residents positively take part in the preservation of the living heritage and tourism development, which is the main thrust of sustainable tourism development for the developing countries.

- **Tourism content:** Laos government has been implementing the Namtha project, local-based eco tourism development plan and been training more than 200 eco-tour guides for agro-tourism development, which was evaluated as one of the successful eco-tourism development plan. The critical reason for the ethnic minority's voluntary participation lies in the profit sharing program, 8% of profit is invested in building infrastructure and education for residents. The 500m-long night market selling various souvenirs and religious mendicancy[托鉢] ceremony are the killer content for the sustainable eco-tourism.

	Main factors	Strong points	Weak points
	Public policy	Global support, esp. France National strategic place	Over investments, Over-dependence on overseas aids
	Community conviviality	Tourism education, residents' participation, increasing inflow	Social polarization, Declining traditional culture
	Tourism content	Ecological diversity, nature-related tourism	-


<Figure 3> Characteristics of Luang Prabang

3) Lijiang in China

- **Administrative and tourism services:** The moto of Chinese central government policy for Lijiang is protecting heritage and encouraging tourism. The revenues of the entrance fee for Lijiang old castle area are reinvested for the preservation of cultural heritage, training government-licensed 3,000 professional guides and protecting Nakhi(Nàxī zú) and Dongba Literature Manuscripts. However, Lijiang is suffering from over-commercialization, over-commodification, and too many same style modern concrete buildings, resulting in making the place as typical cheap mass tourism place.

- **Living Environment:** Lijiang is suffering from the environmental contamination and degradation because of rapid increase of tourists, it has changed from clean region to contaminated area, town temperature has been raised, amount of snow of Snow Mountains has been decreased, and level of water of lakes has been lowered, resulting in the decreasing local residents by 30% during last the last 10 years(Lin, 2015). Also, the conflicts among ethnic groups stemming from the differential attitude for tourist among tourism industry employees, new comers, and non-tourism-related residents (Zhu, 2016, Du, 2014).

- **Tourism content:** Lijiang is very famous for the successful ‘impression of Lijiang[印象麗江]’ made of 16 ethnic groups, performed at the 3,200m-high Jade Dragon Snow Mountain[玉龍雪山]. All the performers are local residents, who are working at the farm at day-time, and performing the drama at night. There are 3 main nature-related eco-tourism courses, usually guided by well-trained Nakhi women.

	Main factors	Strong points	Weak points
	Public policy	Reinvestment of profits, Strong conservation policy	Over commercialization
	Community conviviality	High tourism-education level, sustainability of pop. level	Residential out-migration, environmental degradation
	Tourism content	Successful ‘impression of Lijiang’, nature-related tourism	Consistent demolition of natural environment, domestic tourists

<Figure 4> Characteristics of Lijiang


4) Hoi An in Vietnam

- **Administrative and tourism services:** Hoi An has long been technologically supported and funded by USA, Canada, and Japan including Japanese Agency for cultural affairs and Nihon University. The city has established long-term development planning and precise strategic action plans, including traffic ban for the old city area, scheduled education and training for local residents, and preservation of traditional architectures, with networking several other heritages, say Mison and Hue in Vietnam. The efficient investment and profit sharing for reinvestment, preservation, and subsidy for local residents seems to be successful for preserving both tangible and intangible cultural heritage and satisfying the residents. The share of tourism revenues is over 70% of the urban economy and the growth rate for tourism shows more than 10% annually.

- **Living Environment:** Since 2000 the rapidly increasing tourists has caused consistent increasing resident population, which in turn has made possible for the sustainable living environment and has increased the tolerance for tourists. The gradual improvement of tourism services and increase of tourism-related activities & employees, however, has caused social polarization, such as income disparity between tourist workers and traditional farmers & fishermen, and environmental degradations. These social polarization and gentrification problems have dispelled neighborhood retail services for the residents and former retail tenants and employees have experienced displacement because of skyrocketing land prices and rents.

- **Tourism content:** Hoi An presents more than 50 all-the-year-round festivals including the most famous lantern festival monthly held every 15th day in lunar calendar, where local residents actively take part in. These festivals provide tourists with experience-based values and satisfaction and boost the feeling of belongings, conviviality for local residents. The case of Hoi An local government has been trying to combine tourism experience of eco-tourism, health-tourism, and cultural-tourism, which seems to

be successful so far.

	Main factors	Strong points	Weak points
	Public policy	Overseas support, long-term planning	Over commercialization
	Community conviviality	Development of tourism services, sustainability of pop	Polarization of living standard and income, gradual degradation of traditional culture
	Tourism content	Diversity of content, tradition-based content dev't	-


<Figure 5> Characteristics of Hoi An

5) Hjaheo Maeul in Korea

- Administrative and tourism services: Haheo Maeul has been registered in the year 2010, consisted in 124 residential houses and 437 old weed-roof houses. This area has been stably supported both from local and central governments, including designating 6 national treasures for well-maintained traditional houses and protecting the intangible traditional life style by restricting commercial and tourist facilities. Local residents have also subsidy of 40% of the entrance fee and other subsidies from Culture and Art Promotion Fund and Lottery Fund. The community master artisan program[34 people in 14 fields] and community conservation association have enriched various shows & events for tourists, However, the limited public support and content, red tapes and bureaucratic attitude toward cultural content and creative activities have been the barriers for further development and sustainable planning.

- Living Environment: Because of the fact that the size and number of residents are relatively small, convenient facilities are limited and gradual closing of the tribal village[67% of pop is one surname[柳] basis out 240 residents] with dilapidated facilities have been the factors for the decreasing tourists. Also the aging population with limited recruiting combined with introvert tribal living culture are the weak points.

- Tourism content: Haheo Maeul has very limited scale of content. The only one famous 'Andong International Mask Dance Festival', the 10 day-long somewhat modest scale festival, only by which it is not so easy to attract both domestic and foreign tourists. Moreover, it is hard to expand and associate with other tourist-attracting content in this region.

	Main factors	Strong points	Weak points
	Public policy	National support, symbolic value, residential participation	Limited community motivations
	Community conviviality	Dilapidated facilities	Decreasing residents, closed tribal village, aging pop
	Tourism content	Traditional goods and masks	Limited scale of content

<Figure 6> Characteristics of Hahoi Maeul

6) Comparing Sustainable Tourism Development Factors

- **Public policy:** Hoi An and Luang Prabang show very active and systematic policy planning and implementations supported by international networks. In terms of tourism and public relations services, Korea, Japanese, and Chinese living heritage cities show relatively more modernized and differential services.
- **Community conviviality:** It is very quintessential for sustaining continuous increase in the number of residential population. Most of the successful tourist cities have the trend that gradual inflows of residential population, even though the existing households are getting old, the new influx of residential population has the effect of lowering the average age. Another crucial factor is ‘tolerance’ or openness for the incoming tourists, followed by residents’ active participation for tourism program. These three factors contribute to the successful and sustainable tourism development for the 5 living heritage cities. Hoi An shows the highest score, compared to the lowest score of Haheo Maeul, reflecting that sustainable tourism environment structurally backed by increasing resident population is utmost important and attitude toward tourists [tolerance] and residential participation & motivation are important factors
- **Tourism content:** Special one-time event or festivals only for tourists are hard to last long time period and to be accepted local residents. The programs and activities of which local residents have actively participated in planning, preparing, operating, and evaluating seem to be ever-last and be linked to everyday lives of local residents, resulted in sustainability. Lijiang and Hoi An show good performance in this index, compared to the low indices of Shirakawa and Haheo Maeul

<Table 2> Comparing Sustainable Tourism Development Factors

	Factors	Shirakawa	Luang Prabang	Lijiang	Hoi An	Hahoi Maeul
Public policy	Public & local policies	M	M	M	H	M
	Global supports, Distinctiveness	M	H	M	M	M
	Convenient tour guidance	H	M	H	M	H
	Lodging Facilities, Amenities	M	M	H	H	M
	Place marketing	H	M	H	M	H
	Tourism education for residents	H	M	M	M	H
Community conviviality	Incentives for residents	L	M	L	H	L
	Residential satisfaction	M	M	M	M	M
	Local associations	M	M	M	H	M
	Consistency of traditional life style	M	H	M	H	M
	Number of population	L	H	H	H	L

	Tolerance for tourists		L	H	H	H	L
	Residents' participation		M	M	H	H	L
Tourism content	Variety of local content		M	H	H	H	M
	Place-specific content		M	H	H	H	M
	Eco-tourism		M	H	M	M	L
	Availability of content		L	H	H	H	M
	Scale of content		L	M	H	H	L

5. Conclusions

For the sustainable living heritage cities, subtle harmony between living heritage preservation and tourism development is very important, yet not so easily achievable goal. Every city, especially tradition-and-heritage-based tourist cities make efforts for the conflicting goal, the conservation of cultural heritage and boosting tourism. The evaluation results, however, shows that differential outputs, outcomes, and impacts according to each cities' public policies, living environment, and residents' participation and the degree of 'openness' and 'tolerance'.

How to boost synergy and to sustain equilibrium among these various components are of utmost importance. The balance between public and private, between tourists-centered and residents-centered, between grow-centered and intangible heritage-centered, and finally, place-based, bottom-up governance is essential for sustainability. Furthermore, the balance between sustaining traditional life style and accepting modern innovation, preserving intangible heritage and maintaining education & training is also quintessential for the living heritage cities' development.

All in all, the five factors for tourism development: Growth rate of resident population, Tolerance for tourists, Residents' participation, Consistency and Scale of content. Specifically, availability, consistency, and scale of content is significant factors for the sustainable tourism. Sound sustainability of local community, communications and democratic governance between government and residents, i.e., community are the key institutional ingredients for the happiness of people. In other words, sustainability of life style of living heritage cities in keeping with tourism development is the best option both for the residents and local governments. Public policy should start from the appreciation of authenticity of cultural tradition, the intangible heritage and understanding and boosting community life based on conceit and the feeling of belongings of place, of which place-specific community-based tourism content development policies are strongly recommended.

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This is not America:

The Acting Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom Goes Global with Legal Challenges to End Occupation

by Dennis Riches

(Revised notes from the presentation given at the International Research Conference on The Korean Wave and The Transnational Movements in the Asia-Pacific Region: The Glocal Perspectives on the Contemporary Socio-Cultural Movements, Seijo University, February 17, 2017. For the full article on which this presentation was based, see item 1 in the list of sources.)

This presentation was a summary of an article and interview published in 2016 by the Center for Glocal Studies at Seijo University:

Dennis Riches, “This is not America: The Acting Government of the Kingdom of Hawai’i Goes Global with Legal Challenges to End Occupation,” *グローカル研究叢書 5 社会接触のグローカル研究 成城大学グローカル研究センター (guroukaru kenkyuu souchou 5 shakai sesshoku no guroukaru kenkyuu seijo daigaku guroukaru kenkyuu sentaa)* March 16, 2016, 81-32, ISBN 978-4-906845-18-131.

Outline

1. History of Hawai’i: Late 18th to early 21st century
2. Political and sociological approaches vs. legalistic approaches
3. Formation of the acting (provisional) government
4. Methods, goals and prospects for success
5. A model for other Pacific Island nations?

1. History of Hawai’i: Late 18th to early 21st century

The Hawaiian Islands in the late 18th century

Before Western contact the Hawaiian islands were not unified. Each island was its own political entity, with factional fighting within each one and occasional conflict between the islands. The land produced a surplus which enabled the rise of a hierarchical, feudal warrior culture.

Upon the first encounters with Europeans, the Hawaiian kings found they shared a common political structure with these newcomers. In spite of wide differences in culture and religion, they “spoke the same language” of rule by monarchy. Hawaiians cautiously allowed missionaries, traders and sailors to enter, learning from them while being wary of losing their autonomy.

The Hawaiian Islands in the early 19th century

By 1795, Kamehameha I had unified the islands as a single political entity, in some cases

by violent conquest. He made use of Western advisors and technology, and was quick to understand that the islands had to be united because Hawai'i faced a threat of subjugation from one of the great powers—Russia, France, the Netherlands, Britain or the United States.

Subsequent monarchs followed Kamehameha's policy. They quickly established equal treaties with many nations, established Western forms of law and governance (constitutional monarchy), and thereby achieved recognition as an independent state. This was quite a remarkable achievement because other non-Western powers were having difficulty gaining recognition as independent states. Hawai'i was ahead of Japan in this regard, and the Meiji Emperor even sought the assistance and advice of the Hawaiian king in 1872.

The Hawaiian Islands in the late 19th century

Although Hawai'i had success in modernizing and catching up to the West, there was a price to pay.

A modern state required a well-supplied treasury, thus the monarchy allowed an industrial-scale, plantation economy to develop. This had a disastrous effect on traditional agriculture and demographics. Plantation owners brought laborers from various nations. Meanwhile, the native population declined quickly due to poverty and exposure to new diseases.

Later in the 19th century, there was growing international awareness of the strategic importance of Hawai'i, which had the only deep water port (Pearl Harbor) for thousands of miles.

These trends led to the crisis of the 1890s. The economic demands of the oligarchs led them to demand political control. Many of these men had become Hawaiian citizens but they were culturally American or European.

In late 1892 and early 1893 the monarch expressed a wish to reform the constitution in a way that would protect the native population and culture. Meanwhile, the oligarchs plotted with the American ambassador to use the crew of an American navy vessel to support their overthrow the kingdom. The queen was taken prisoner but refused to surrender, and she appealed to the American president to help resolve the illegal use of American forces, but the situation remained unresolved.

The illegally-installed Republic of Hawaii willingly allowed itself to be annexed by the United States at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war in 1898. In this slow transition to American dominance that lasted from 1893 to 1898, the Hawaiian Kingdom was never extinguished through a treaty of surrender, and treaties with other nations (including the treaty with the United States), remained in force. The contemporary Acting Government of the kingdom builds its case upon the illegality of both the 1893 overthrow and the 1898 annexation by the US Congress. Unilateral annexation of one country by another is an obvious and absurd violation of international law.

The Hawaiian Islands in the early 20th century

When Hawai'i became a US territory in 1898, the territorial government adopted a program of de-nationalization—the erasure of language, religion and culture accompanied by the forced Americanization of the population.

Knowledge of the true nature of the kingdom (an independent, multi-cultural, bilingual modern state) was replaced with a conception of native Hawaiians as an indigenous Indian tribe with an unsophisticated political structure—a “playhouse kingdom,” as Mark Twain described it during his visit to the islands.

Superficial aspects of Hawaiian culture (hula, surfing, traditional clothing etc.) were maintained to lessen resentment of the Americanization of the islands, but in general the culture was wiped out. Under the laws of occupation, every aspect of the de-nationalization process was a war crime. The arrival of Americans led to the importation of racism and other American social problems that didn't exist previously.

Under international law an occupying power cannot:

- degrade the natural environment or exploit it for its own gain.
- make the local population vulnerable to nations hostile to the occupying power (i.e. In Hawai'i this would be such actions as establishing the naval base that was attacked by Japan, storing nuclear weapons during the Cold War that were targeted by the USSR).
- settle its own citizens or citizens of other nations on the occupied territory.
- strengthen or reinforce its own position.
- take actions which erode local culture, language and traditions.
- enact laws that are contrary to the letter, spirit and intent of local law.

The Hawaiian Islands in the late 20th century

Hawaii was declared an American state in 1959. The arrival of Boeing jets transformed the islands by bringing the era of mass tourism. The economic boom enabled the expansion of education.

The progressive trends of the 1960s and 1970s (such as the anti-war movement, the American Indian Movement) inspired a revival of Hawaiian culture and awareness of past injustices. Hawaiian language and culture studies were established and expanded over the next decades at the University of Hawaii.

The Hawaiian language was revived and is now taught and used throughout the state. The state government refers to it as an “official” language, but the use of this adjective is controversial. The Hawaiian language has not been given the status and domains of use normally associated with official languages in other nations. For example, the state is not required to provide all services in the Hawaiian language or teach it in public schools.

The Hawaiian Islands in the early 21st century

The Acting Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom was established as an alternative to

the approach to independence taken since the 1970s. It uses a legalistic rather than a social sciences approach. The social sciences approach “indigenized” the status of Hawaiians—defined a person as Hawaiian by blood lineage and falsely described Hawai‘i as having been colonized. Being Hawaiian was viewed as an ethnicity rather than a nationality.

The approach in the social sciences sought corrective measures for ethnic Hawaiians for past injustices, and argued for self-determination or special status and privileges within the American state of Hawaii.

2. Political and sociological approaches vs. legalistic approaches

The problems with accepting indigenization

The Acting Government saw the social sciences approach as deeply flawed. The blood quantum requirement (a legal determination of Hawaiian ethnicity) would lead eventually to the extinction of Hawaiian culture and ethnicity, through inter-marriage and immigration. It denies the fact that in the Hawaiian Kingdom, people of various ethnicities were Hawaiian citizens. It denies the fact that the Hawaiian Kingdom was illegally overthrown and annexed in the 1890s, and is still an occupied state under international law.

The documents that support this view have been preserved in archives—there are treaties, passports, citizenship papers, legal documents and so on. This documentation has enabled people alive today to prove, by tracing their ancestry, that they are citizens of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and thus they have been able to bring cases as individuals to international courts.

3. Formation of the acting (provisional) government

The Acting Government was formed in 1995, and it has become a recognized provisional government, like other well-known provisional governments in history, such as the French and Belgian governments in exile during WWII.

Professor Sai has been active in two capacities, as a student and later a faculty member at the University of Hawaii and as the interior minister for the Acting Government (AG) of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i.

The AG has brought several cases against various entities: the US government, the state of Hawaii, Switzerland, Canada, and it has gone to the International Court of Arbitration in The Hague.

The AG has also challenged the legality of land title in Hawaii, highlighting the illegitimacy of land registration, mortgage lending and mortgage insurance in the state.

Why does the Acting Government take cases to Switzerland, Canada and other countries?

All the countries which have treaties with the Hawaiian Kingdom have a problem they

have never resolved. They have conducted business in the state of Hawaii without ever extinguishing their old treaties with the kingdom. Foreign consulates in Honolulu are in a similar predicament. These consulates should really be embassies representing their respective nations in the Hawaiian Kingdom.

The AG went to Canada in 2015 to lodge a complaint of war crimes against a Canadian company that is a partner in the Thirty Meter Telescope project on the island of Hawai'i. This company obtained permits from the state of Hawaii, but because the state is an occupying force, it does not have the authority to permit construction which alters the natural environment. Nor does it have authority to arrest protesters, under US federal or state law, who are Hawaiian citizens.

In this way, the AG demonstrates that all activities in Hawai'i that require legal authorization (business registration, marriage, death, taxation, land registration, licensing, diplomacy) are illegitimate or in violation of the laws of occupation.

4. Methods, goals and prospects for success

International law has no power to prosecute. It cannot force parties to appear to face charges, and the United States has never appeared in an international court to answer the claims of the AG. The United States government refusal to acknowledge the charges is a notable contrast with the other possible option: the choice to deny the charges.

Because the United States possesses superior military and economic power, many people may be tempted to say that the activities of the AG are futile. However, the AG has chosen this path for several reasons:

- It creates a solid framework for understanding Hawaiian history and corrects the false understandings of earlier approaches.
- It will lay a foundation of knowledge among people in Hawai'i, preparing them for the day when the issue of ending occupation will be in the spotlight and a misinformed American backlash of public opinion is likely to follow.
- Attention can be directed at foreign countries that have to operate in Hawai'i—foreign consulates have no legal basis for being in Hawai'i as supposed representatives of their countries in an American state, tourists should not be obliged to pay hotel tax, Swiss banks are not authorized to open branches, and so on...
- When these foreign nations realize they must act in order to stop being accessories to war crimes, things may change quickly.
- Russia and China could take up the issue at the UN Security council if the US continues to accuse them of disrespect for international law on other matters.

5. A model for other Pacific Island nations?

This dilemma has enormous strategic implications for the United States. The US Pacific Command is located in Hawaii and American military policy is based upon global force projection. The United States has declared that they would never “give up” Okinawa, which presumes they would annex Okinawa by force if Japan ever asked them to leave.

Thus, giving up Hawai'i would be beyond consideration for the US as long as it maintains its goal of operating a global network of military bases.

West Papua is another Pacific Island nation that has been fighting for independence since the end of Dutch rule. There was a deeply flawed referendum of 1969 that resulted in continued rule by Indonesia, but West Papua's struggle needs to be viewed as a case of de-colonization done incorrectly, as an illegitimate transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands to Indonesia. Unlike Hawai'i, it is not a question of ending the occupation of a pre-existing independent state.

As for Okinawa, does the strategy of the acting government of the Hawaiian Kingdom offer a model for those who would like to expel American bases and restore the independence of Okinawa, formerly known as the Ryukyu Kingdom?

An assessment of the Ryukyu Kingdom compared to the Hawaiian Kingdom

There are conflicting interpretations possible regarding the status of the Ryukyu Kingdom in the framework of international law which is based on Western norms. Whether there are comparisons to be made to the status of the Hawaiian Kingdom is a question best left to experts in the history of the Ryukyu Kingdom; however, a brief discussion is attempted here.

Okinawans also have options to pursue independence through direct referendum according to rights granted for self-determination by the Japanese constitution and the United Nations. They do, after all, have a distinct history and culture upon which to base this claim. However, there are some reasons Okinawans would have more difficulty than Hawai'i in building a case under international law.

It would be difficult to prove, as the AG does, that the Ryukyu Kingdom was a fully independent state illegally annexed in 1879 and is still under a state of occupation in the present day. The Ryukyu Kingdom existed for centuries under a unique system of paying dual tribute to both Japan and China. This tradition was highly unusual and could not be classified at the time under Western international law, so Japan was able to interpret the tribute system as evidence that it had "effective rule" over the kingdom, and since this meant the kingdom was partially subject to the laws of another state, it could not be recognized as independent. This is how Japan justified its annexation, even though its historical control of the kingdom was minimal.

As a counter-argument, Okinawans could say that the Ryukyus had their own legal codes and traditions, and the tribute could be considered a form of extortion paid for the sake of being left alone, not as evidence of being subject to the laws of another state—the crucial determinant of being considered a fully independent state.

However, another factor working against the Ryukyus was that they had signed only three treaties with Western powers in the 19th century, and these were unequal treaties which did not bestow status as a recognized independent state. These treaties were just a first step on the way to full membership in the emerging international order. Under these treaties, foreign nationals were exempt from Ryukyu Kingdom law. Japan also had

unequal treaties with the Western powers at this time and was having much trouble gaining recognition as an independent state.

The disposition of the Ryukyu Kingdom by Japan could be compared to Kamehameha I taking O'ahu and other islands by force into the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1795. Both events occurred before the conqueror and the conquered had been recognized as independent states under the system of international law.

Kiko Nishizato summed up the shortcomings of the Ryukyuan Kingdom's situation, and its strategy, at the time Japan annexed the islands:

Had those Ryukyuan, who evolved a 'Ryukyuan Salvation Movement,' instead of treating the tribute order as absolute been able to respond to the dawning of the new era, taking account of the proposals of Ueki Emori and Guo Songtao as possible ways forward and forging links with the kingdoms of Korea and Hawai'i or with Vietnam, they might have been able to find a new way forward. But the Ryukyuan who plunged into the Salvation Movement treated the traditional tribute order as absolute and just sought the help of the Qing [Chinese] authorities to restore the Ryukyu Kingdom. That was their historical limitation.

International law was and still is a game made in the West, and the laws and traditions of non-Western nations had to find ways to adapt to it. Japan exploited ambiguities between its legal system and Western legal systems in order to say it had effective rule over the Ryukyu Kingdom.

Finding that Okinawa has a weak case under international law should not be seen as a dismissal of the injustices suffered by Okinawans since annexation, and it does not negate other approaches to fulfilling the morally justifiable goal of local populations having the power to decide what happens on their land. The history merely suggests that aspirations for independence might be best pursued as a political cause in need of popular support rather than as a legal case in need of corrective action by international courts. This study of the approach taken by the acting government of the Hawaiian Kingdom illustrates that because independence struggles emerge from unique historical contexts, each independence struggle has to find the strategies best suited to its past and present circumstances.

Notes and Other Sources:

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The Challenge of Okinawan Social Thoughts:
Okinawan Glocal Network and Independence Movements
after the Ryukyu Kingdom

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In this paper¹⁾, I want to show an aspect of the Okinawan people's social thoughts as an example of 'glocal' studies. Dealing with the local issues in Okinawa leads inevitably to discussing the transnational and global viewpoints beyond the narrow framework of the modern nation-state. I'll try to outline the essential orientation and feature of the plan of my Okinawan study as a part of the study on the theory of nation-state.

The 6th Worldwide Uchinanchu Festival was held at Naha, Okinawa, at the last week of October, 2016²⁾. More than 7,000 people who are Okinawan Migrants and their families joined this festival from 27 countries/areas³⁾. This Festival started in 1990, and it is held every 5 years in principle. Especially, the pre-event march in the 24th of October was splendid. About 6,000 overseas Uchinanchu having their own present national flags or banners telling their messages to homeland Uchinanchu walked the main street called International Street in Naha city.

This paper discusses several Okinawan social thoughts closely related to the future images of Okinawa. In 2013, ACSILs (The Association of Comprehensive Studies for Independence of the Lew Chewans) was established. Before that, Yasukatsu Matsushima wrote a small paper on a declaration of independence of Ryukyu from Japan in a journal with his friend (Matsushima and Ishigaki, 2010, see Appendix in this paper). Actually, since the middle of the 1990s, the independence problem of Okinawa/Ryukyu has been a prominent issue. In this paper, I will try to grasp the thoughts behind this trend.

Ryukyu, which is the old name of Okinawa, used to be an independent country. It was built in 1429, and it was called 'Ryukyu Kingdom.' However, in 1906, Satsuma Han (Han means domain: now Kagoshima Prefecture, one of 47 prefectures in Japan) invaded Ryukyu Islands and controlled them, although the Ryukyu Kingdom partly retained its autonomy. Finally, however, the Japanese Government forced the Ryukyu Kingdom to become the Ryukyu Domain in 1872. This meant substantially the fall of the Ryukyu Kingdom, and at last it was annexed to Japan in 1879 as a Japanese prefecture. After that, Ryukyu people have been in economically difficult conditions and suffered political discrimination within Japan. So, not a few Okinawan people wanted to emigrate to the

other countries and some of them actually did. In 1899, the first 26 emigrants from Okinawa boarded a ship headed for Hawaii. After that, a lot of Okinawan people emigrated to not only Hawaii but also Brazil, Peru, Argentina, Bolivia, and so on.

1. Okinawan Diaspora: Focus of our research

My focus in this paper is on the following points: 1) The social networking activities of Okinawan people transnationally and domestically including the 'Worldwide Uchinanchu Festival' mentioned above, 2) Investigating the social movements of Okinawan people, referring to the Anti-US Military Base Movements and furthermore showing my sociological theoretical viewpoints on these movements. After mentioning the former focuses in section 1 and 2, I will discuss the latter in the last section.

It is said that postwar Japan is not an open country for foreign people⁴⁾. But prewar Japan was not necessarily a closed country for Japanese emigrants. So, in the prewar period, a lot of Japanese including Okinawan people moved to many countries. For example, there were more than one hundred thousand Japanese in Manchuria, around seven hundred thousand Japanese in the Korean Peninsula, about four hundred thousand Japanese not only in Sakhalin but also in Taiwan in 1941 (Nishihara and Shiba 2015). However, these places were a kind of colonies of the prewar Japanese Empire. So, in the same year, we can find the number of Japanese migrants in a narrow sense as follows: 230,547 in Hawaii, 188,715 in Brazil, 107,253 in The US (mainland), 90,072 in the Southern Islands, and so on (cf. Okabe 2001: 14f., Shiode 2015: 284f.). Among these places, we can particularly focus on Hawaii.

In 1940 (just before the Pearl Harbor Attack), there seemed to be 157,905 Japanese immigrants living in Hawaii Islands, the percentage of which was 37.3% of all ethnicities in Hawaii⁵⁾. In those days, the Japanese population was in total about 40 % of all residents in Hawaii (the percentage of Japanese in 1920 showed 42.7% in Hawaii Islands). How about the contemporary situation in Hawaii?

According to the data shown by the Japanese Embassy in Hawaii, we can count 24.7 % White, 14.7% Filipino, 13.6% Japanese, 5.9% Hawaiian, 4.0% Chinese, 1.8% Korean, 1.6% Black, and 1.3% Samoan (<http://www/honolulu.us.emb-japan.go.jp/jp/yoran2013.10.pdf>). The real number of Japanese living in Hawaii is about 185,000. Compared with the real number in 1940, the number increased, but the percentage decreased from 37.3% to 13.6%. Instead, the real numbers of White and Filipino drastically increased, and this point is one of the main factors to make the percentage of Japanese go down.

However, we can pay special attention to Okinawan people in Hawaii. The percentage of them seems to be about 30 % of all Japanese people. The Hawaii United Okinawa

Association (HUOA) is composed of around fifty thousand Okinawans. In addition to this, HUOA has its own buildings of its Center (the Hawaii Okinawa Center) close to Pearl Harbor apart from the building of the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii (JCCH). Okinawan people in Hawaii have also their own organizations other than this HUOA, which cover political, social, ethnical and cultural fields.

HUB is one of these organizations. Some of Okinawan established HUB (Hawaii Uchinanchu Business Network) in 1993 in Hawaii. The scope of its activity had been enlarged worldwide, then WUB (World Uchinanchu Business Network) started based on this HUB in 1997, which is now composed of Okinawan diaspora in 22 countries/areas including in the US, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, etc. A secretary-general told me that WUB's main activities were oriented to business, community, and education (Nishihara 2016b). WUB makes a worldwide network of people in Okinawa and Okinawan diaspora living in foreign countries. This is just an example of Okinawan's transnational activism⁶.

2. Social Movements in Okinawa since 1995

In 1941, the Pacific War began with the Attack on Pearl Harbor by Japanese Army. After the long battles in the Pacific region, the American Force landed on the Mainland Okinawa in April, 1945, and the war was finally over in August, 1945, just after releasing two atomic bombs to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As a result, Japan had been occupied by the Allied Forces until 1952. Main Okinawa Islands, however, had been occupied for 27 years (from 1945 to 1972). Okinawa's return to 'homeland' was in 1972. Since then, about half a century has passed.

Nowadays (=December in 2016), in Okinawa Islands, there are 74% of the U.S. military bases in Japan. The area of Okinawa Prefecture is, however, only 0.6% of the national landmass of Japan. We may say that Okinawa is in the "sacrifice system" (Takahashi 2013) of Japanese political structure. Therefore, the social movements to remove all military installations from Okinawa Islands happened so often. Especially, after the middle of the 1990s the Anti-US Military Base Movement have been more and more enlarged. In particular, '1995' is a turning point for the social movement like that, or for Okinawan independence problem. In this year, the incident of the rape of a schoolgirl by the American Servicemen happened in Okinawa. Since then, several kinds of social movements have been developed and a part of Okinawans has begun to insist strongly and seriously the independence from its mainland Japan. And finally, in 2010, two Okinawans contributed a manifesto (draft), The Declaration of Independence as 'Autonomous Republics of Ryukyuanesia' in a Japanese journal (Matsushima and Ishigaki 2010). Then, Yasukatsu Matsushima as one of main leaders of this movement also established an academic association in 2013, i.e. ACSILs: The Association of

Comprehensive Studies for Independence of the Lew Chewans (=Okinawans), which is also an example of the some trends of social movements.

We can read the following sentences in this ACSILs' Charter (issued in May 15, 2013).

... By gaining independence from Japan and removing all military bases from our islands we Lew Chewan wish to achieve our long sought-after goal of becoming a sovereign island of peace and hope that exists in friendship with other countries, regions and nations of the world.

... We do not hesitate at the possibility of independence, but want to take it seriously as both an object of study and a political project. We wish to address both for ourselves and others the questions related to making an independent Lew Chew a reality. What are the steps we need to undergo to realize this aim? What kind of decolonizing processes have been taken by other colonies around the world? What kind of economic policies should be in place before and after independence has been achieved? We will multilaterally and comprehensively study and discuss politics, public administration, international relations, prescriptive concept of the Lew Chewan people, identity, language revitalization, language right, art, education, gender, public welfare, environment, discrimination against minorities, issues of disparity, settler colonialism, and more. We will also conduct human resource development for the independence of the Lew Chew.

...Based on these collaborations of scholarship we will also participate in forums and commissions of the United Nations, international conferences, in order to carry out a movement aimed at Lew Chewan independence. ...

(<http://www.acsils.org/english>)

In contrast to Matsushima's above-mentioned idea, other ideas were published in some books. The plan by Shin-ichi Kawamitsu, who had already contributed his own draft on the future constitution named 'Constitution of Ryukyu Republic Societies' in a journal (Kawamitsu 1981), was re-carried (Kawamitsu 2010) and another plan by Ben Takara named 'Network Constitution of Ryukyu Federal Republic Societies' was also added in another book (Kawamitsu and Nakazato 2014).

These three constitutional charters including Matsushima's one insist on militarily 'unarmed neutrality' in their articles of each constitution plans just like the contemporary Japanese constitution, but the latter two (Kawamitsu's and Takara's) plans tried to go beyond the idea of the modern nation-state itself. The first article of Kawamitsu's constitution declares "the abolition of the nation-state" itself. Article 11 declares that this 'society' is mainly composed of those who agree with this constitution and want to join this society. This plan is very similar to Takara's 'Network Constitution' mentioned above.

Furthermore, we can add another conception to these ideas; that of Akira Arakawa's idea which was shown in his book published in 1971 just before 'Reversion of Okinawa to Japan.' Arakawa wrote in this book that we should not insist on our returning to an independent nation-state (=Japan), but rather we must deny or reject "the existence of the nation-state itself" based on the experiences of Okinawa (Arakawa 1971: 101).

Here, we should mention two more stimulating social movements. One is a new type of the Anti-US Military Base Movements, the other is a movement for expanding the autonomy of Okinawa. The Anti-US Military Base Movement proposes to move the US bases in Okinawa to mainland Japan, criticizing severely 'Japanese Colonialism.' Above all, Koya Nomura, Ushii Chinin, Tetsuya Takahashi insist strongly on moving the US bases in Okinawa to mainland Japan. 'Okinawan base problem' is not the Okinawan problem, but mainly the mainland Japanese problem, therefore first of all it should be considered by Yamatonchu or Yamatunchu (=both words mean the mainland Japanese people) themselves. The main reason of this assertion is because The US-Japan Security Treaty and its related treaties could be abolished only by the Japanese Government.

Another social movement we should pick up in this paper is the movement for expanding of autonomy of Okinawa including the political proposal to introduce Do-Shu-system, or Federal State system in Japan. This means an administrative reform proposal, or the proposal of the integration of 47 prefectures into 7-10 States in Japan which was often suggested by the labor unions' members.

So far the four movements were shown. If it were permitted to change their turn, they are the following movements: (a)creating the Ryukyu Constitution Draft, (b)declaring the Ryukyu Independence, (c)moving the US base to mainland Japan, and (d)pursuing the Okinawan autonomy. But we may add another movement, (e)performing the change of status quo of Okinawa, orientating to the creation of new tight relationship in East Asia Region by the leadership of Okinawa, within the Japanese political system (which is called 'Okinawan Initiative'). This view could be included in the conservative movements, but it may be counted here as a movement for the social change (Takara 2017).

Anyway, if I try to posit these five movements from the radical one to the conservative one, I may show that the most radical/idealistic one is (a), and the next is (b), via the views (c) and (d), to the most conservative/realistic one (e).

3. Listening to the voice of Okinawan people about their future society

As I mentioned above, Kawamitsu (1981), Takara (2014), and Arakawa (1971) wanted to go beyond the autonomous ethnic nation-state, and they were in opposition to Matsushima's focusing on and emphasizing Okinawan ethnicity/identity. Kawamitsu's and Takara's trials aim at showing the transnational orientation to the future society

through the independence movement from Japan (which is just a nation-state).

Therefore, I think we may say that Matsushima's idea is one of his politically strategic plans to be independent from Japan and to gain its own autonomy. On the other hand, it is obvious that Kawamitsu's and the other's idealistic plans are not realistic political thinking in the contemporary inter-national circumstance. Nowadays, however, can't we say that a new "glocal" thinking beyond the nation-state, that is, "not domestic inter-national thinking but transnational inter-subjective thinking" will be required for their future, especially in the age of globalization? Intersubjective relationships going beyond national borders, in this context, may be a possible image of a future society (Nishihara 2010). In other words, this point may be very important in imaging vividly the future world society. Therefore, I want to say that we should give more attention to the Constitution (draft) proposed by Kawamitsu and Takara. This is not a real-political social movement, but a cultural-transnational social movement. This is the first tentative proposition in this paper of mine.

Nevertheless, politically thinking, Koji Taira's suggestion which was shown in 1974 and 1981 was very interesting and it is still alive as having a real political possibility. Taira showed us the following 3 points in order to realize politically the autonomy of Okinawa (Taira 1974:5-10):

- 1) Getting Local Autonomy
- 2) Building Network-State
- 3) Changing the old Nation-State

These points are crucially important because Okinawan public opinion shows the possibility of getting political autonomy. We can pay special attention to an opinion survey implemented by the Ryukyu Shimpo. According to the article of it in January 1, 2017 (<http://english.ryukyushimpo.jp/2017/01/11/26302/>), this survey reveals '35% of Okinawans favor increased autonomy, less than half support the status quo⁷⁾.'

Regarding the question "What do you think Okinawa's position within Japan should be going forward?," 46.1%, or less than half answered "Okinawa should remain a part (prefecture) of Japan." Compared to the same survey implemented in 2006, this answer decreased 15.7 percentage points. On the other hand, the percentage of respondents who said that "Okinawa should have greater authority in the domestic and diplomatic arenas, including supporters of independence" was 34.5%.

Regarding some future ideal conditions of Okinawa's local autonomy, we can see the following percentage of each question as a result of this survey.

- 17.9%: “Okinawa should adopt a framework where it has increased authority to compile Okinawa-related budgets and other domestic authorities (e.g. becoming an independent state, locally autonomous state, or special prefecture within Japan),”
- 14.0%: “Okinawa should adopt a federal framework where it has increased domestic authority and also authority equal to that of the national government in terms of diplomacy and security,”
- 2.6%: “Okinawa should become independent.”

The result of this survey shows us the increasing autonomous orientation of Okinawan people. It may be thought that one reason that people believe Okinawa should have increased local autonomy is that people have strong complaints against the Japanese government’s policies including the construction of new installation in Henoko. The Ryukyu-Shimpo suggested that Okinawan people felt unhappy that the Japanese national government does not take Okinawan views on the U.S. Bases into consideration.

In addition to this result of the survey, we should pay another special attention to overseas Okinawan, that is, Okinawan Diaspora. As shown in the first paragraph and section 1 of this paper, there are a lot of transnational networks between Okinawa Islands and the other countries/areas. We should consider the possibility of making tight networks among them in the future condition of Okinawa. It may have one possibility of creating a new state without any border just as Kawamitsu and Takara suggested in their draft of constitution. It will be, for the time being, just a kind of dream, but it should be taken into consideration for not so distant future of ours.

Final Remarks

At the same time, however, the Okinawan social thoughts which I mentioned above imply the existence of the other research fields, from the problem of nationalism of the modern nation-state (modernity and subjectivity are main core of discussions), via the post-modern thinking including the conception of intersubjectivity beyond the modern human self-image with subjectivity (cf., Schutz 1966, Nishihara 2010) and the thought of post-colonialism criticizing the new version of colonialism or imperialism, to the intersubjective/equal transnationalism which will be finally orienting to Cosmopolitanism (Nussbaum 2006, Delanty 2012, Nishihara 2016a).

Unfortunately, there isn’t any space to discuss these socio-philosophical viewpoints in details. At least, we want to say that the concept of “glocalization” itself should be re-examined also in this socio-philosophical context. This is a point where we should learn from the past and present experiences of Okinawan people, and I want to state as a final

remark that this is another tentative proposition in this paper to be examined.

Notes

- 1) Although this paper is based on the original paper presented by Nishihara and Shiba in 2017, but I revised some sentences of my part of this original one and added some paragraphs to it. The part of the original one presented by Shiba was basically shown in Nishihara and Shiba (2016). Therefore, the part presented by Shiba is not included in this paper.
- 2) 'Uchinanchu' in Okinawan language means 'Okinawan people.'
- 3) According to the related articles of Okinawan local papers on October 27, 2016 such as Ryukyu-Shimpo and Okinawa Times.
- 4) Cf., Nishihara & Shiba (2014).
- 5) We can show the other ethnicities' percentage and its real number (shown in parentheses): 16.5% White (112,082), 15.2% Hawaiian (64,310), 12.4% Filipino (52,569), 6.8% Chinese (28,774) and 1.6% Korean (6,851). See Okabe (2002: 14f.), Shiode (2015: 284f.).
- 6) We can mention another interesting example. It is WYUA, the World Youth Uchinanchu Association. It started in 2010 and it held a worldwide conference called the World Youth Uchinanchu Summit in Naha in 2016. The next annual conference will be held in Peru in 2017.
- 7) This survey was implemented from October to November 2016. As a survey methodology, random sampling was performed. Okinawa's 41 cities, towns and villages were divided into five districts, and picked randomly 55 locations corresponding to population ratio. Surveyors visited each household there, and finally 1,047 individuals over 20 years old responded to questions.

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-----Appendix -----

The Federation of Autonomous Republics of Ryukyuanesia

The Declaration of Independence

In this year of 2010, we declare independence of Ryukyu as a “Federation of Autonomous Republics of Ryukyuanesia. At present, the prefecture of Okinawa that is but 0.6% of the national landmass of Japan is compelled to host 74% of the U.S. military bases. Clearly, this is a discrimination.

In 2009, Mr. Yukio Hatoyama, President of the Democratic Party of Japan, vowed before the Ryukyuanes that “at a minimum,” he would transfer the bases out of the prefecture. Although he became Prime Minister of Japan as a result of ruling party

changes, his earlier vow to Ryukyuan was shredded and thrown away like waste paper under the U.S.-Japan Agreement of May 2010, which embodied the decision to build a new base at Henoko.

Furthermore, the government of Japan is planning to move the U.S. troop training to Tokunoshima within the area of Ryukyuan culture. In effect, the government of Japan has offered the entire Ryukyuanesia as a sacrificial lamb to the United States. The government of Japan has chosen to honor the U.S.-Japan alliance while destroying the lives and peaceful livelihoods of Ryukyuan who are Japanese nationals.

Ryukyuan have continuously demanded the withdrawal of the U.S. military bases since before the reversion of Ryukyu to Japan in 1972. But the bases still stand in proximity to Ryukyuan communities.

What are the problems the people of Japan have with the U.S. military bases? Can the Japanese other than Ryukyuan justify the peace and prosperity of Japan based on the sacrifices of Ryukyuan? They should not impose the U.S. bases on us Ryukyuan by ignoring our general will and our collective right to live as a people. Being under the control of Japan that itself remains tethered to the U.S., we Ryukyuan live in constant fear of the threats of war, unable to find peace in life.

We Ryukyuan declare independence from Japan now. The island groups (Amami, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama) of the Ryukyuanesia each forming a self-governing republic, together form on an equal footing to one another a Federation of Autonomous Republics of Ryukyuanesia.

Historically, the Ryukyu Islands after the Era of Three Kingdoms (mid-14th early 15th century) were integrated as the Ryukyu Kingdom in 1429. Then in 1609, the Satsuma army invaded the Ryukyu Kingdom and placed Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama under indirect Satsuma rule, while separating Amami as a directly controlled area. In mid-1850s, the Ryukyu Kingdom concluded treaties of amity with the United States, Holland and France.

In 1872, Japan unilaterally defined the Ryukyu Kingdom as a domain of Japan and in 1879 abolished it accusing it of insubordination and annexed it to Japan an incident known as Ryukyu Shobun --Disposition of the Ryukyu Kingdom.

During and after Ryukyu Shobun, the Ryukyu loyalists exiled themselves to China (then Qing) and engaged in movements for Ryukyu independence. Ryukyu was under Japanese rule from 1879 to 1945 and from 1972 to 2010 --- only 104 years. The history of Ryukyu as an independent country is much longer.

Look to the small island states of the Pacific Ocean for a few lessons. There you will see that islands as small as ones with populations no more than several tens of thousands have become independent and joined the United Nations. In these island states, in order

to safeguard the self-support and self-existence of peoples, each individual, “self-conscious of self-government,” has chosen the path to independence.

“Peoples’ right to self-determination” is guaranteed in international law. It goes without saying that Ryukyu can also be independent of Japan.

In the days to come, the government of Japan will try to control and manipulate Ryukyuan with money in the name of “economic stimulus and development,” the real objective being the promotion of more base construction everywhere beginning at Henoko.

However, the Ryukyuan with a long history and deep-rooted culture as well as abundant nature will never sell our pride as a people, our life in peace, and our splendid natural environment to anyone for money.

Our great leader and pioneer of “Okinawa Struggles”, the late Shoukou Ahagon of Iejima, roared “Land lasts ten thousand years; money just a meager year” and fought the U.S. military against forced taking of Ie Island’s land.

In order not to allow any more land of Ryukyu to be used for U.S. military basing, we declare independence from Japan. And on attaining independence, we will at once return the existing U.S. military bases to Japan that is so fond of them.

Memorial Day, 23 June 2010

Submitted by Yasukatsu Matsushim and Kinsei Ishigaki

Translated by Koji Taira

(Cited from <http://ryukyujichi.blog123.fc2.com/blog-category-19.html>: In this citation, the style was a little bit changed but the content wasn’t changed.)

2017年6月1日

表紙デザイン：久保田智史／前田瑞穂

The Glocal Perspectives on the Contemporary Socio-Cultural Movements:
The Korean Wave and the Transnational Movements
in the Asia-Pacific Region

ISSN1883-7670/ISBN 978-4-906845-27-9 C3036

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TEL : 03-3482-1497
FAX : 03-3482-1497
URL : <http://www.seijo.ac.jp/glocal-center/>
印刷 三鈴印刷株式会社
〒101-0051 東京都千代田区神田神保町 2-32-1
TEL : 03-5276-0811 (代表)