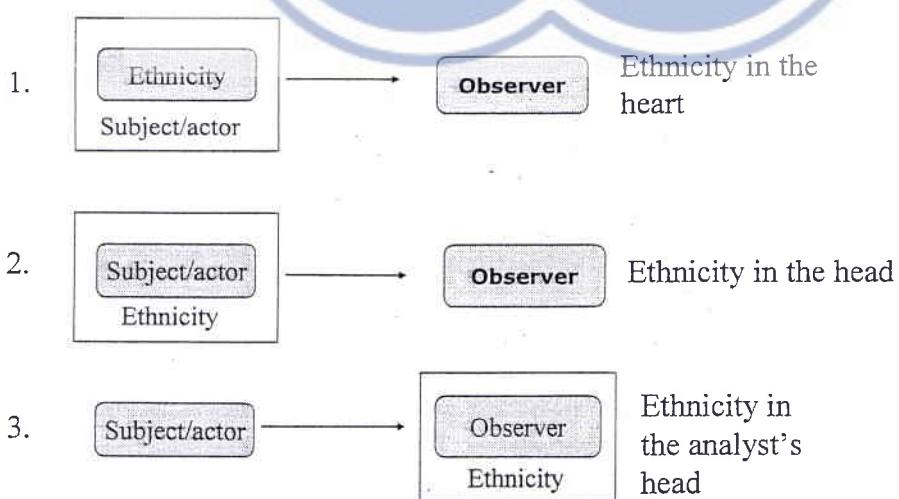| 考試科目	民族學理論與方法	所別	民族	考試時間	5月16日 星期六 第1節

◎ 以下共回答四題，橫直寫均可，不必抄題，請依序回答。

一、請扼要說明民族學研究方法（method of ethnology）與民族學研究方法論（methodology of ethnology）這兩個概念的內容及其相關性。（20分）

二、請分析自第二次世界大戰後以迄今，西方民族學／人類學發展的多樣性過程中，有那些重要的趨勢是特別值得注意的？而在這些趨勢中，對於台灣近六十年來的民族學／人類學發展產生了那些重要的影響？（25分）

三、請回答以下民族認定／民族識別（ethnic identification）的問題：（30分）
　1. 就本質而言，ethnic identity 與 ethnic identification 這兩個概念有何互動關係？（10分）
　2. 請分析當代政府主導下的台灣原住民族的民族認定（如承認噶瑪蘭、德魯固等為單一的「民族」），其「學理」與「事實」之間存在著那些差異或爭議？而你個人又如何看待這種差異或爭議？（10分）
　3. 請扼要說明 1950 年代中國大陸民族識別工作的特色。（10分）

四、請依據你個人對於族群性 ethnicity 的理解，就以下的分析模式來說明 ethnicity 的研究內涵及其特色。(25分)

1. Ethnicity（Subject/actor）→ Observer　　Ethnicity in the heart

2. Subject/actor Ethnicity → Observer　　Ethnicity in the head

3. Subject/actor → Observer Ethnicity　　Ethnicity in the analyst's head

備　考	試題隨卷繳交

考試科目	英文	所別	民族學系博士班	考試時間	5月16日 星期二 第2節

請以中文大約 500 字寫出本論文之摘要（佔總分 50%），並另外以中文大約 500 字寫出對本論文之評論（佔總分 50%）。

1 Globalization, Minorities and Civil Society

Koichi Hasegawa

What is globalization?

Rapid globalization is drastically transforming both the status of minorities and the state of civil society. Of all the various effects of globalization, this volume focuses on its impact on minorities and civil society as the main theme. How will globalization affect issues concerning minorities? Will globalization intensify existing minority issues and make them increasingly complex? What kind of transformation will existing civil societies undergo under the pressures of globalization? Especially in the Asian context, will globalization accelerate the development of civil societies?

Globalization is the most significant trend in social change affecting the entire world since the 1980s. To begin with, then, what kind of social change does globalization represent?

Globalization carries various connotations. Let us sift through the common uses of 'globalization.'

First, it most obviously signifies an increase in economic activities across national borders. In particular, it refers to the increased movement of capital, information and labour. In short—economic globalization. Pioneering research on economic globalization is represented by Wallerstein's world system theory (Wallerstein 1983). According to Wallerstein, the scope of capitalistic economies has been expanding in stages since the sixteenth century. It can be said that economic globalization has today nearly reached its extreme limits.

Second, globalization more generally signifies an increase in various activities across national borders in the political, social and cultural realms, as well as increased interdependence, which goes hand in hand with it. The repercussions that accompany the movement of products, labour and information are not limited to the economic realm, but also carry political, social and cultural significance. In particular, as foreign cultures are introduced with the movement of labour and increased immigration, it generates problems caused by cultural friction. Examples include the treatment of civil rights, as

備考　試題隨卷繳交　　　　　　　　　　（背面還有試題）

Chapter 1

detailed by Tarumoto in Chapter 2 and by Adachi in Chapter 3, and the French scarf ban issue, which is discussed later.

In 1957 the European Economic Community was launched after six countries (the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, West Germany, France and Italy) signed the Treaty of Rome. Following on from this, the European Union, consisting of twelve countries, was later established in 1993. This later expanded to include fifteen countries, and in 2004 it expanded to twenty-five countries, including former Eastern European countries such as Poland and the Czech Republic. At present, in 2007, there are twenty-seven member states. The European Union's expansion is a concrete illustration of how globalization crosses national borders. The number of immigrants increased since immigration policies became more accepting of immigrants after the Second World War. Not only that, the European Union, which allowed the open immigration of labour within its borders and is now referred to as the 'new immigration continent' (Thränhardt 1992), can perhaps be referred to as the 'laboratory' of globalization.

Third, globalization of the economic, political, social and cultural realm has, as it is often cited, been brought about by the increased compression in time and space through developments in the transportation network and the Internet. Today it is possible to communicate with someone on the other side of the planet in real time. The 'domino' collapse of the Soviet-style socialist regimes (from the late 1980s to the early 1990s) is proof that they were unable to weather the storm of globalization.

Fourth, globalization challenges the validity of existing concepts in which the nation-state is perceived as a whole society that is complete relative to other societies, and it signifies the increasing importance of perceiving the entire globe as one world or a whole society. A sense of 'Spaceship Earth,' which we first grasped when man landed on the moon in 1969, turned from being an abstract idea into reality for ordinary citizens. In China the word 'globalization' is expressed as 'quan qiu hua,' using three characters, which means 'shifting to the whole globe.' The connotation of the word has been cleverly expressed visually using ideographic Chinese characters. Beck is critical of how sociology has in the past used the nation-state as the presumed framework under the guise of 'methodological nationalism,' and argues that it is high time that the paradigm of sociology is shifted to one based on a cosmopolitan perspective (Beck and Willms 2004: 13–6; Beck 2005).

Globalization, Minorities and Civil Society

Fifth, globalization signifies a stronger link between the local and global levels through the increased interdependency occurring across national borders. Global influences now easily appear at the local level. No current society can exist independently from the rest of the world, as did Japan during its period of isolation in the Edo era. Even small communities located deep in the mountains are constantly being exposed to the pressures of global capital and information. For example, a local product from a particular area that previously held an established position within the domestic market may gradually lose its market due to an increase in cheap imported goods from China and the like. In this sense, it can be said that borders are being erased with the onslaught of globalization and 'there is no longer an *outside* on this planet' (Machimura 2007: 315). While it may differ in strength, every corner of the earth is currently being exposed to the strong pressures of globalization.

Global warming is another lucid example of how the effects of globalization can be felt at the local level. More importantly, the global warming issue is the result of individual activities that produced greenhouse gases at the local level, which then accumulated on a global scale over the long term and are now predicted to generate a destructive impact at the global level. In fact, the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident in Russia, which occurred in April 1986, is a classic example of how a local accident resulted in radioactive contamination on a global scale, because radioactive materials finally reached Japan and other remote place on the opposite side of the globe.

Interestingly, it can be said that in discussing globalization, most sociologists have focused on how it plays itself out at the local level.

Sixth, globalization is often treated as being equivalent to Americanization. Today, more and more people believe that obstacles in the form of national borders and states should be broken down. With the spread of the principles of free market competition, we also see the appearance of a world run by the principle of 'survival of the fittest' in the guise of *free trade*. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, which represented the only other superpower, the United States has become the sole superpower. Hence, *global standard* often means *American standard*. In particular, those who are critical of globalization argue that globalization is not about spreading a universal value, but is more about how local culture is being destroyed due to American standards being imposed on them. The *Slow Food movement*, which started in Italy to ban a McDonald's hamburger shop from expanding into

Globalization, Minorities and Civil Society

extraordinary record for this type of academic publication. It evoked a massive response, especially in Europe, because it was published, coincidentally, immediately after the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident. The April 1986 Chernobyl accident occurred right after Beck had finished proofreading the book (Beck and Willms 2004: 116). Prior to Chernobyl, accidents were limited in their impact in terms of the number of victims claimed and how far the damages extended over space and time. In contrast, the number of deaths in the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident could not be narrowed down without considering the impact it would have on future generations. Beck argues that Chernobyl presented a new type of accident in that it was impossible to calculate the impact of damages over space and time. It was an accident where neither the final impact nor the final responsibility could be defined in any concrete terms (Beck and Willms 2004: 115).

The synchronized terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 on the New York World Trade Center and the Pentagon in Washington DC, both of which represented nerve centres of the United States, deeply impressed upon the world that we are indeed living in a risk society. The threat of terrorism lies in the invisibility and unpredictability of terrorists. They disappear and lie in wait among average citizens without anyone knowing when and how they will attack. It is this unpredictability that instills fear among people.

The environmental and social issues that we face today, such as radioactive pollution, dioxin, endocrine-disrupting chemicals, BSE (mad cow disease) and global warming, are characterized by their invisibility. None of these can be perceived through the five senses of the average citizen. With some issues even the experts differ greatly in their risk evaluation. For example, some view even minute traces of endocrine-disrupting chemicals as a paramount threat, while others play down the threat.

Living in fear of invisible risks marks the world we live in today. 'Risk society' is a term that describes precisely the psyche of the modern era. Compared to ambiguous adjectives that use the prefix *post*, such as postindustrial society and postmodernism, this term cleverly captures the current situation, especially the crisis we face today.

Beck argues that current society is seeing an increase in risks that are difficult to control and carry an invisible impact. This represents his main thesis. According to Beck, we are shifting from an industrial society (he calls it 'simple modernity' or 'first modernity') defined

Chapter 1

Rome, and then spread all over the world, is a classic example of an anti-globalization movement relating to food.

Needless to say, the change is not necessarily linear and each perspective stresses one side of the multi-reality of globalization. According to Held (Held *et al.* 1999), there are three perspectives to globalization: that of the *skeptics*, the *hyperglobalizers* and the *transformationalists*. The above description is closer to the perspective of the hyperglobalizers, who tend to focus on transforming impacts of globalization. The skeptics hold the view that the role of the state is still important, and in fact the state is playing an even greater role. Meanwhile, the transformationalists believe that globalization is taking a complicated zigzagged path, and they highlight the importance of a new role for the state and a reorganization of the state.

Another concept that has been in use in Japan for a long time and is related to globalization is *internationalization*. It is a concept that is relatively unique to Japan. Premised on the previously closed nature of Japanese society, it expresses the importance of increasing and promoting international exchange (it is closer in meaning to the second definition of globalization given above). In English, *internationalization* has a typical meaning of bringing something under international control, like bringing Antarctica under international control—a usage that differs from its common usage in Japan (Kajita 2001a: 1–3).

Globalization and risk—contemporary society as a global risk society

Let us first consider globalization and risk as a premise for examining the issues surrounding globalization and minorities, as well as those surrounding globalization and civil society. Among all the sociological studies conducted on globalization, Beck's global risk society theory offers the most interesting and stimulating discussion (Beck 1986, 1999).

With the advance of globalization, the latter half of the 1980s saw the word *risk* replace *growth* and *prosperity* as the keyword symbolizing modern society. *Risk Society*, written by the German sociologist Beck (1986), was a philosophical and speculative piece of work that was difficult to understand. It was not presented in a systematic way. In spite of this, it became a bestseller. The English version carried a preface that stated that 60,000 copies of the German version alone were sold over the five years prior to 1991. This was an

考試科目 英文　所別 民族學系博士班　考試時間 5月16日 星期六 第2節

by struggles over the distribution of wealth, as in class conflict, or the distribution of abundance, to a risk society (called the 'second modernity') defined by struggles over risk distribution and risk avoidance. The core idea, which constitutes Beck's criticism of modernity, is clearly expressed in the subtitle for *Risk Society*, which is, 'Towards a New Modernity.' It is also expressed in the concept of the 'second modernity,' as well as the concept of 'reflexive modernization.' (Beck, Giddens and Lash 1994). We live in a society terrified of exchanging abundance for risks or global risks. We have not simply been freed of the Cold War structure. Informatization and globalization produce more than just blessings. Under this banner we entered an age in which lurks invisible terrorism and the fear of an invisible enemy. The enemy is no longer limited to foreigners. They can be our neighbours or even a family member. Enemies are also lurking somewhere in the future. The increasing ferocity of nature as a result of global warming may also be the other enemy, as seen in the massive hurricane that hit New Orleans in August 2005.

The new risks are imperceptible and uncontrollable. The types of risks inherent in a severe nuclear accident, destruction of the ecosystem and global warming issues are risks that cannot possibly be guaranteed under the insurance system, which was originally designed to handle risks. As exemplified by the Chernobyl accident and the global warming issue, we live in a globalizing risk society today, or a 'world risk society' (Beck 1999). The risks have no regard for space, time or generation.

As the struggle over risk becomes more dominant, all sorts of realms, including corporate activities, scientific activities, law and the media, will become politicized. Everything will start to carry political significance and become 'subpoliticized' (Beck 1986). Risk is primarily a social construction. Objective knowledge concerning risks does not exist. The phenomenon of the *politicization of science* is an issue that has strongly dictated society since the twentieth century, or at least the latter half of the twentieth century, as seen in the debate over military technology, nuclear power and global warming, as well as bioethics and medical ethics.

Beck's second assertion is that risk awareness as outlined above corresponds to the individualization of people. Risks tend to become a private matter as they are assumed by the individual. Beck's concept of 'individualization' is unique to him.

Beck argues that we are, for the first time in history, living in an era when the unit of social reproduction is the individual. The next

generation is not necessarily reared by a class or a family. Social categories are becoming increasingly ambiguous, fluid, multipolar and complex. The concept of the household, which is the basic unit of social science and supposed to be the most basic unit for various statistical surveys, such as the population census, is becoming ambiguous. Beck states that it is gradually becoming more and more difficult to define the household. Even when we call to mind the reality in Japan, the household is not necessarily as self-evidently defined as a unit in which people 'eat and live together' or have a 'shared family budget' as it used to be. Even marriage partners are not necessarily of the opposite sex. Many forms of marriages are now possible, and remaining unmarried is also an option.

Even the concept of *couples*, which forms the core of the household, can only be defined by a nebulously subjective feeling of *love* between the two people involved. The difficulty in defining the household or family makes us aware that the household and family are a type of fiction and a unit where anything is possible. Beck introduces a stimulating definition of couple, 'dirty laundry' (Kaufmann 2000), which is also the title of a work by the French sociologist Kaufmann (Beck and Willms 2004: 22). It comes from the idea that couples become a couple depending on whether or not they are able to wash their dirty laundry together. Being able to wash their dirty laundry together symbolizes, most of all, their respect for each other. A fresh sense of this definition can be felt when the love that has been described romantically over a long period of time can now irradiate, in turn, from the care shown towards what appears to be negative, such as dirty laundry or waste.

The breaking down of norms and social categories signifies two aspects of individualization. First, it implies that people can be based on nothing other than the essence of the individual. Second, it implies that the individual is gaining more and more choices and freedom. As the ambiguity of various social categories increases, we are left with none other than the individual to rely on as the final authority. It is, as Descartes says, 'I think therefore I am.' Neither the state, class, region, nor society can act as a bulwark.

Globalization and civil society—the danger of a weakening social capital

As outlined above, according to Beck's thesis, globalization occurs when there is a global transformation towards risk society, which, at

8　　9

Chapter 1

the same time, brings about individualization. Now, then, how does globalization transform civil society?

First, in terms of the stream of sociological theory, Beck's thesis on individualization could be recognized as an argument stressing the dissolving and malfunctioning of an intermediate group between the state and the individual, together with Fromm, Riesman and Kornhauser. The weakening of civil society is an another example of a dissolving intermediate group. As such, the one who has to face the global risk society is the exposed naked and atomized individual void of any ties to a society to rely on.

The reason Putnam's social capital theory flourished corresponds to individualization. Putnam's book on current American society carries the symbolic title of *Bowling Alone*. The cover features someone bowling alone in a bowling lane (Putnam 2000). In the United States bowling is typically a group sport. The emphasis here is that even this sport is played alone. Based on various quantitative data from the late 1980s, he suggests that what he refers to as the 'social capital' is weakening in the United States, and that social networks are becoming increasingly brittle and people are becoming progressively isolated. It is with alarm that he makes this suggestion. The weakening of existing social capital such as family or relatives, community, clubs and a variety of voluntary associations reveals the weakening of civil society. Individualization has the danger of bringing about the 'segmentalization of society'.

Second, as the genealogy of social disorganization theory within sociology has stressed through the mass society theories of Durkheim, Fromm and Riesman, individualization, people's isolation and atomization are often linked to *intolerant* political opinion. It carries the danger of encouraging people to seek national heroes or fearing foreigners, as well as the risk of accelerating fundamentalist thoughts.

In fact, from the late 1990s and into the beginning of the twenty-first century, various European countries saw the rise of radical right-wing parties that called for the exclusion of immigrants. Parallel to this was the stagnation of social democratic parties as then-ruling parties. For example, even countries that took pride in a mature social democracy feared the spread of intolerant political opinion, as seen in the call for the exclusion of immigrants. Denmark saw a conservative government rise to power in November 2001, and the Netherlands saw a conservative centrist government come to power in May 2002. Even the conservative Christian right-wing forces supporting the Bush

government in the United States may be a reflection of the weakening of social capital and the increasing isolation of people.

Third, some argue that globalization makes social integration an increasingly difficult task. This is due to the extensive contact it brings about between different cultures, and, in turn, gives rise to a myriad of new conflicts revolving around multicultural coexistence. I delve further into this matter later when discussing the French 'scarf affair.'

Fourth, globalization has the effect of intensifying activities of organizations whose existence is not premised on the state. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are examples of this. With the collapse of the Cold War structure, the late 1980s saw a widespread move towards a global re-evaluation of civil society, a renewed interest in NGOs and non-profit organizations (NPOs), and a reinstatement of public philosophy. The tone of the day was to overcome isolation and atomization, and to reconstruct new bonds by re-evaluating concepts such as solidarity, trust and kindness. Research that focused on making an effort to create a foundation of trust based on rational choice theory that is reliant on individualistic value rose in popularity (Yamagishi, Kikuchi and Kosugi 1999).

Beginning in the early 1990s, rising concerns in non-government circles gradually spread in Japan, leading to a call to grant corporate status to organizations involved in civil activities. After the 1995 Kobe earthquake, 1998 saw the enactment and enforcement of the NPO law. This originally came about after globalization introduced to Japan the activities and organizational realities of NGOs and NPOs in North America and Europe. It was through this that an understanding of the advantages and necessity of the mechanism behind granting corporate status gradually spread in Japan (Hasegawa, Shinohara and Broadbent 2007).

There has been a rapid rise in recent years in experimentation with *regional currencies* in various parts of Japan. This can be seen as a current attempt to revive the principle of *giving* and *exchanging*.

Fifth, most promising is the existing potential for a global civil society. The activities of various international NGOs working in the environment sector are believed to be precursors to a global civil society. Examples of these include WWF, Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and other similar organizations concerned about various global environmental issues such as global warming. However, as described in Chapter 5 by Inaba and Higuchi, while civil society presents us with an appealing ideal, many practical issues remain on how it

Chapter 1

should be led and who should form the main constituency. Rose-tinted spectacles will not help us see the potential in the context of global civil society.

Globalization and minority issues—the double-barreled effect

What kind of impact will globalization have on minority issues? In this case the concept of *minority* exists vis-à-vis the dominant group or majority. It refers to a group of people who are in a disadvantaged position compared to the dominant group in terms of social and legal status, education, employment, income and political power. They are part of a socially inferior group due to the social category they fall under, such as race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, physical disability and age.

Globalization and the institutionalization of human rights relief

On the positive side, globalization has the potential of rectifying institutional discrimination of minorities as progress. It can be made in the institutionalization of aid provision to the weak and of human rights relief. For example, the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and the European Union's Amsterdam Treaty (which was signed in 1997 and entered into force in 1999) have had the effect of converging the efforts of each European Union member state in the area of discrimination of immigrants and human rights issues in Europe (Miyajima 2006: 235).

The institutional advance of women's status in Japan can also be claimed as a positive outcome of globalization. Japan ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (which was adopted in 1979 and entered into force in 1981) in 1985. In order to do this, Japan had to carry out certain domestic measures that were necessary to ratify it, including the revision of the Working Women's Welfare Law (1972) and the Equal Employment Opportunity Law between Men and Women (1985). The citizenship law was also revised in 1984 as part of the premise for ratification. It was revised from a law based on paternity (where a child was granted Japanese citizenship only if the father was Japanese) to one based on both paternal and maternal lineage (where a child was granted Japanese citizenship as long as either the father or mother was Japanese). Education guidelines were

Globalization, Minorities and Civil Society

also revised in 1989, based on the principles of a curriculum for equal education outlined in the same treaty. In 1993 home economics became a compulsory course for both boys and girls in junior high school, and in 1994 home economics, which was previously only compulsory for girls, became compulsory for both boys and girls at the high school level. Although the 'Association for the Promotion of Co-educational Home Economics Course' was created in 1974 and civil movements calling for co-education of home economics had been active since then, there was great resistance from the Ministry of Education. It was the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women that provided the main impetus for realizing the co-educational stance.

The ratification of the International Covenants on Human Rights in 1979 and the Refugees Convention in 1981 led to the revision of Japanese domestic laws, which were not in line with the principles of equality between insiders and outsiders (Tanaka 1995; Kajita 2001b: 208).

Furthermore, the progress made in European Union integration has turned the nation-state into a relative concept and forged the way for decentralization in Europe. Those referred to as national minorities, such as in Scotland, Wales, and the Bretagne and Basque regions, have intensified their autonomism within the framework of the state and their movements, which lean towards regionalism. They are also bringing progress to diversification and multipolarization (Miyajima 2004: 67).

There is a growing trend towards granting denizens or permanent immigrants, who reside in the country for a long period of time as foreign citizens without adopting local citizenship, all civic rights except the right to vote. It is a move towards granting them the legal rights to freedom, including the freedom to live, move and work (Miyajima 2004: 18).

However, these are all mainly related to the legal system, and the move towards regionalism within the European Union was also a type of internal restructuring within Western Europe. Those who pose difficulties in the issue of coexistence are the Muslims and immigrants and refugees who are not from Western Europe.

Coexisting with Islam—the issues posed by the scarf affair

Contemporary issues and the complexity of minority issues in the face of globalization were typically exemplified in the controversy

14　Chapter 1

surrounding the establishment of the 'anti-hijab law' in 2004 in France. The law stipulated that children and students at public elementary schools, middle schools and lycées are banned from wearing any conspicuous religious insignia and other attires. Let us here introduce the issue based on Miyajima's critical comment about the law (Miyajima 2006: Ch. 7).

Three female Muslim immigrant students went to a public middle school in the outskirts of Paris in September 1989 wearing headscarves in accordance with Muslim teachings. When the principal banned them from attending classes while wearing the scarves, they resisted. This created a ripple effect, stirred up a controversy and turned into a major incident.

Unlike the United States, Germany or Great Britain, France is a society that has strictly separated the church and the state. Equal rights as *citizens of the Republic*, irrespective of one's religious background, have acted as the major principle since the French Revolution. Basically, it is a country that has adopted *assimilationist policies* in order to ensure equal rights as citizens of the Republic for immigrants. The principles behind the separation of the church and the state and the *freedom of faith* exist to prevent politics, governance and public education from coming under the influence of any particular religion. This major principle of the separation of the church and the state acted as the underlying reason why the school principal banned the female students from attending classes while wearing their head scarves. Some also interpret the donning of the head scarf by women when travelling outside their homes as a symbolic manifestation of Islamic male dominance over women, and as an act of discrimination against women.

However, some argue that the act of wearing a scarf itself is an expression of individual freedom and an issue of religious freedom. They argue that it should not be seen as a propaganda tool of one particular religion. Furthermore, the original aim of the principle of the separation of the church and state was to remove the influential power of the 'organized church authority' of the majority, in other words that of the Catholic church. In contrast, Islam is a religion of a French minority. Muslim residents are considered a minority that makes up approximately 10% of France's population. Should not the principle of equality as a citizen of the Republic, irrespective of religious background, then be applicable to Muslim residents? To exclude those female students from public education due to the scarf issue has a high possibility of reproducing inequality and poverty

15　Globalization, Minorities and Civil Society

because they can be deprived of the opportunity of education. On the other hand, those in support of such regulation perceive the hijab as a symbol of Muslim fundamentalism, which has come to the forefront on the international scene.

The scarf issue has thrown the question of whether or not it is possible for Muslim residents to coexist in a multicultural setting straight into our faces. It is an issue in which the principle of the separation of the church and the state at public schools and the protection of minority rights collided head on.

Environmental Justice, and issues of minorities and the periphery

Globalization could possibly aggravate city and regional rivalries, and finally lead to a concentration of waste material in regions that are left behind. As pointed out by the "environmental justice" theory, which started with R. Bullard (Bullard 1994), dangerous facilities and waste material tend to be concentrated in socially peripheral areas, such as places inhabited by racial minorities, in the poorer segments of society, and in sparsely populated distant areas that fall outside the high-speed transportation network. At the global level they tend to concentrate in the peripheral areas of Third World countries.

Those who are positioned at the center of society have a higher income, and enjoy relatively better access to information and human resource networks. In other words, they enjoy more power to mobilize resources to resist environmental harms. Therefore they are highly independent and have a relatively easier time attracting alternative industries and developing their regions. They are hardly chosen as sites for dangerous facilities. In contrast, the more peripheral the area, the more likely it is to become a site for dangerous facilities. Furthermore, areas that have been polluted have a tendency to create new sources of pollution, one after another: environmental harms double and triple, and even bring about further environmental harms in multiple layers.

In 1996 Maki-machi (now a part of Niigata City after it was incorporated in October 2005) in Niigata Prefecture was the first site in Japan to successfully avoid becoming the site for a nuclear power station when residents expressed their opposition by voting against its establishment. The underlying reason was that while most other nuclear sites were found in sparsely populated areas, Maki-machi was located along the freeway and *shinkansen* (bullet train) lines. In recent years the population has increased, and part of the town is

characterized by the way it is turning into a sleeper community for the neighbouring prefecture capital, Niigata City (Hasegawa 2004: Ch. 8). In contrast, Rokkasho Village in Aomori Prefecture has found itself as the area of the highest nuclear waste concentration in the world as a result of being a site for nuclear fuel cycle facilities. This village is located near the northern edge of Honshu Island and is plagued with snowstorms during the winter and often by cold-weather damage caused by *yamase* (a seasonal cold wind in summer) during the summer. As a result, development projects in the postwar era have failed one after another. It is a region that has always been afflicted by its peripheral nature in terms of history, geography and weather. Its choice as the site of nuclear fuel facilities, such as nuclear fuel reprocessing plants, was a result of last-ditch efforts brought about by the failure of the Mutsu-Ogawara development project.

The Mutsu-Ogawara development project site still has approximately 1,500 hectares of unused land. In store for the future are plans to construct a MOX fuel-processing plant. It is anticipated to concentrate other nuclear facilities, such as a second reprocessing plant, and hazard facilities related to industrial waste and recycling. Nuclear power plant sites carry the risk of a vicious circle described as follows: 'Depopulation → entices nuclear power plants → intensifies conflicts within the area → nuclear power plant starts to operate → ends the cycle of rising demand in construction work of nuclear and other related facilities → population decreases → local government relies financially on the nuclear power plant → construction of additional nuclear reactor → increases radioactive waste and stockpiling within the site → construction of interim storage facility for used fuel....'

Rokkasho Village in Aomori Prefecture and areas surrounding a nuclear power plant site demonstrate that the more peripheral an area, the more concentrated the environmental harm. As a result, the typical mechanism at work is that such areas attract further environmental harm.

It is a similar case with the issue of global warming. There are growing concerns about the risk of flooding in the Pacific islands and low latitude regions closer to the equator due to the rising sea level. Globalization carries the risk of speeding up the pace at which wealth becomes concentrated in the hands of the winners, and splitting the winners and losers into polar opposites. It carries the risk of letting the structure of the 'global rich' and the 'local poor' (Bauman 2000) becoming entrenched. The losers who are unable to adapt to globalization are faced directly with the prospect of the 'expansion

of poverty and restructuring that crosses national boundaries' (Kajita 2001a: 25). As a minority, they risk facing the miserable fate of social exclusion. The anti-global movements discussed by Inaba and Higuchi in Chapter 5 voice their objections based on this perspective.

How to measure coexistence—the possibility of governance and open discussions

What kind of paths will improvements to the minority issues take, then, in the face of various fundamental difficulties?

Governance and consensus building

In recent years the word *governance* has come to replace *government* in various contexts. Government, as represented by its three powers of legislation, administration and judicature, is a functional and institutional concept. It has always been premised on the existence of a hierarchy of powers and legal force backed by the institution (in short, the law).

In contrast, governance is based not necessarily on institutional backing, but is, rather, a concept that attaches a great deal of importance to the practical process of consensus building. In short, it emphasizes the importance of working together and collaborating with various major multi-stakeholders. It refers to the framework and form taken to manage the coordination of interests and consensus building. Apart from *global governance*, which is closely linked to globalization, the word is also used in many ways, such as *corporate governance* for the management of corporations, *local governance* for the management of the local government and *environmental governance* for the management of environmental issues.

Government suggests that citizen are *the governed* and their participation in politics has been limited mainly to voting as an electoral constituency. The top-down style represents the existing government-style political method.

In contrast, governance suggests that the citizen can actively take part in the consensus-building process as a constituent member of civil society. Specifically, the citizen can play the role of various interested parties as a local resident, as a member of a trade organization or as a member of all kinds of NGOs.

It is called governance when policies on specific issues are gradually formed and executed through the hearing and coordination of

opinions among interested parties through non-institutional, as well as institutional, means. Institutional means include various commissions, public hearings and public commenting. Non-institutional means include unofficial panels and workshops that are also attended by government agents.

In the case of environmental issues, government-style regulation methods were effective for curbing industrial pollution. Examples of regulation methods include charging fines and levies for polluting enterprises that exceed emission standards, and issuing licenses. However, it proves difficult to ameliorate the global warming problem or resolve waste issues using only regulation methods in which governments one-sidedly issue orders from above. Guiding enterprises by providing financial incentives in the form of subsidies and tax cuts also has its limits. Cooperative behavior prescribed by the voluntary will and interest of enterprises and citizens is essential. It is important to provide opportunities for them to be involved in the policy making and consensus building processes from their initial stages.

However, leaving it completely to grassroots initiatives would create confusion and carries the risk of stagnating progress, as each step forward is canceled by a step backwards. It is vital to have a certain management style and method supported by collaboration and consensus.

Furthermore, it is inevitable that governance will create ambiguity as to who is shouldering responsibility. Some criticize governance in itself as a type of government method (Yoshihara 2002).

The international community offers a classic example of a social system that lacks a centralized government and is based on interdependency. Interdependency means that governance evolves and functions within this social system based on interest, coordination and consensus. Good examples of forms of governance can be found in the global governance representative of the United Nations, European Union and G8 (a summit for leading states). In recent years we have seen an increase in cases where NGOs are also heavily involved in global governance. In particular, the European Union leads the world in the area of governance.

The five basic principles of good governance can be found in the *White Paper on European Governance* (Commission of the European Communities, 2001). The five principles are (1) effectiveness, (2) reinforcement of democracy, (3) legitimacy, (4) better and more consistent policies, and (5) collaboration with civil society organizations. In the European Union the five principles are described as those that will strengthen the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality (the principle that states that European Union intervention may only be carried out to the extent that it is needed to achieve the objective, and the respect for state and individual freedom). The White Paper also states that the basis for today's legitimacy is found in the feedback, network and involvement at various levels of the policy formation and execution process. Furthermore, it stresses the importance of target-based tripartite agreements and contracts made at the three levels represented by national, regional and local players as demonstrations of multi-level governance. In particular, governance is discussed in relation to collaboration with civil society organizations.

The current style of governance is characterized precisely by the pluralistic and multi-tiered involvement and consensus forming of a diverse range of subjects. Governance can be explained as the politics of problem solving which emphasizes the importance of participation and consensus. From the point of view of citizens and minorities, governance can represent a practical route to reach the public, as well as an institutionalized route to voice opposition. From the point of view of the government, the main challenge is to create a forum for transparent and open governance based on the involvement of various stakeholders, including minorities.

Taming risks through open dialogue

The negative effects of risks these days and in this age of globalization are especially significant in relation to minority groups. As expounded by Klaus Eder (2000), before we do anything else, we need to 'tame' risks through open dialogue that are as extensive as possible and involve a range of multi-stakeholders, including non-experts. The governance method is one that expresses this general principle.

Specifically, the taming of risks via open dialogue is being put into practice, for example, in Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden, through ventures in consensus meetings and the like.

Various attempts are being made across the world to restore civics in response to all that has become distant from civics. This is an attempt to resist the limitations to the rigidified three powers of judicature, administration and legislation, and the limitations to the bloated mass media, which is characterized by its increasing oligopolization and commercialization. Apart from consensus

考試科目	英文	所別	民族學系博士班	考試時間	5月16日 星期六 第2節

Chapter 1

20

meetings, other experiments include the civilian jury system and civilian media (Shinohara 2004).

As emphasized by Habermas's discussion on rational discourse (Habermas 1984), the trust placed in consensus forming through communication and deliberation is precisely the hope of humankind for taming risks to create a sustainable society.

Needless to say, an open dialogue always carries with it an inherent danger of degenerating into a political pose or propaganda. It also carries a high risk of taming social movements, protest movements and NGOs instead. Also, as even the open dialogue becomes more and more institutionalized, they will carry a double-barreled danger of becoming inert and ritualized, as was the case when social movements became institutionalized. Furthermore, other challenges, such as whether or not minority groups have been provided with real opportunities to participate or with proper language support, also exist.

In this day and age, the spirit of the times should be characterized by a *wisdom* to endure unseen risks and to step up efforts to tenaciously engage in dialogue between experts and non-experts. The only way to clear a path for making progress in minority issues and strengthening civil society is to persist in making a step-by-step effort using this as a starting point.

考試科目	日文	所別	民族系	考試時間	5月16日 星期六 第2節

翻成中文

一、（25分）

　　今朝も急いで出かけてきた。起きるとすぐにトーストにコーヒーの簡単な朝食（ちょうしょく）を済ませ、朝刊（ちょうかん）にさっと目を通して家を出る。子供たちはまだゆうべ帰ったときと同じようによく眠っていた。課長になってから残業が増え、子供たちの顔がゆっくり見られるのは週末ぐらいしかない。その大事な休みも、付き合いゴルフなどでなくなってしまうことが多い。

　　週日の忙しさは言うまでもない。昨日（きのう）だってそうだった。午前中は手紙やレポートなど書類の山を片付ける。午後は客と一緒に昼食（ちゅうしょく）をとりながら、会議が一つ。やっと契約（けいやく）が済むと、次にまたほかの打ち合わせ。そして、それが終わったときにはもう五時。勤務時間はここまでだが、これで帰れるはずもない。

二、（30分）

　　「產業分野の決定に當つては、日滿支三國の立地條件と夫々の經濟發展階段を考慮し其の有機的一體として綜合的にこれを決定することが肝要である。皇國は今後高度の精密工業、機械工業の劃期的振興を圖り、重工業、化學工業及び鑛業等の基礎産業を大いに發展せしむることが必要である。滿洲國に於いては、鑛業及び電氣事業の劃期的發展を期待すると共に、重工業及び化學工業に對しても、我が國は必要なる援助を提供するものである。支那に於いては、今後鑛業及び製鹽業を發展し、工業原料の大量生産を期待すると共に、立地的條件から見て重工業及び化學工業の發展の餘地あり、今後に期待するものである。又將來皇國は輕工業、就中纖維工業及び雜工業を逐次整理し、これが大陸移動を考慮するの要がある……」

三、（15分）

　　本族ハ靈魂不滅ノ說ヲ信ジ人ハ死スルモ其心魂ハ永ク宇宙ニ存在スルモノナリトセリ然レドモ本族ニハ未ダ父母祖先ノ靈ヲ祭ル慣習ヲ有セズ

四、（30分）

　　用日文寫研究計劃（約四〇〇—三五〇字）

備考	試題隨卷繳交