Globalism and Education for Sustainable Development

SOME VIEWPOINTS

Edited by
Osamu Abe
Bishnu B. Bhandari

Asian Studies Frontier Project (ASFP)
Rikkyo East Asia Environmental Institute (R-EAEI)
Development Education Association and Resource Center (DEAR)
Japan Environmental Education Forum (JEEF)
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Notes from the Editors

The Environmental Education Project of the Institute for Global Environmental Strategies (IGES) and the Rikkyo University are pleased to publish the report of the two day Rikkyo International Symposium on Globalism and Education for Sustainable Development in the Asia-Pacific Region held from 31 July to 1 August 2003 at Rikkyo University, Tokyo Japan.

The Symposium was jointly organized by the Asian Studies Frontier Project (ASFP), the Rikkyo East Asia Environmental Institute (R-EAEI), the Development Education Association and Resource Center (DEAR), the Japan Environmental Education Forum (JEEF) and the Institute for Global Environmental Strategies (IGES).

Its purpose was to examine the current status of environmental education, development education and other global education movements, as part of a larger discussion about how to realize the aims of the UN-sponsored Decade of Education for Sustainable Development. Also, it was intended to take up the issues confronting humanity's quest to build a sustainable global society, by asking whether "global citizenship" or "Asia-Pacific citizenship" are realistic concepts and whether such concepts can really help resolve those issues.

The Symposium had a total of four thematic sessions and one open session. The sessions were as follows.

- Education for Sustainable Development in the Asia-Pacific—In View of Environmental Education
- Education for Sustainable Development in the Asia-Pacific – In View of Development Education
- Mapping the Asia-Pacific Imaginary: Prospects for Regional Identity and Community
- Global Issues and the Future of Transnational Citizen Consciousness
- Globalism in the Asia-Pacific and Education for Sustainable Development

The last open session began with a keynote presentation on "Education for Sustainable Development in the Asia-Pacific", followed by the interaction from the panelists and then the floor discussion. The session was attended by over 200 representatives of DEAR from across Japan, faculty members and students of Rikkyo University and local communities.

The first four sessions were attended by 17 participants (Please see the lists of participants). Five countries which made representations to the Symposium were: Nepal, the Philippines, Malaysia, Australia, the US and India. All the 17 papers presented in the symposium are included here.

We would like to offer our deepest gratitude to the co-organizers, the moderators, the authors and the participants for their support and valuable contribution in the Symposium.

Besides, many organizations and individuals also helped us provide their assistance and logistic support. It is not possible to include their names here. We like to express our thankfulness to them. However it will be remiss if we do not mention the names of several individuals who made special contribution to the Symposium. The first and foremost is Prof. Haruhiko Tanaka of Rikkyo University for conceptualizing and materializing the idea of the Symposium. Without his involvement this Symposium would not have taken place. The-

others are Mr. Masahiro Takahashi, Mr. Akihiro Nakahata and Ms. Miki Yamashita of IGES, without their support and untiring efforts, the report would not have come to this shape. We offer our big "thank you" to all of them.

Finally we have hurriedly put together these materials; we tried to make language corrections to the minimum; we have tried our best to maintain the original thoughts of the authors. Nevertheless, many errors and distortions are bound to happen, for which we, the editors, are solely responsible. Any comments or suggestions about the Symposium, or this report are most welcome.

The Editors
1 January 2004

Opening Remarks

Haruhiko Tanaka
Rikkyo University

Good morning everyone. Welcome to the Pikkyo Symposium on Globalism and Education for Sustainable Development in the Asia-Pacific Region. My name is Haruhiko Tanaka, one of the coordinators of this symposium. I wish to thank all of you for attending, especially our oversea guests from Nepal, Malaysia, the Philippines, Australia and the USA.

Please let me explain the origins, purpose and format of this symposium. The Asian Studies Frontier Project, here at Pikkyo University, has been sponsoring a series of symposia on globalization since 1999. I first met Dr. Mark Lincicome, co-coordinator of today's symposium, when we served together on a panel during one such meeting in July 2000. We began planning this symposium last summer, together with Prof. Akio Igarashi, Director of the Asian Studies Frontier Project. Our original intent was to explore the topic of popular consciousness toward citizenship and Asia-Pacific citizenship.

However, it so happened that the Rikkyo East Asia Environment Institute organized its own international symposium on environmental issues facing East Asia around the same time last year. In light of the Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development that took place in August 2002, the Institute took special interest in the concept of education for sustainable development, or ESD. This interest is shared by the other co-sponsors of today's Symposium: the Development Education Association and Research Center, the Japan Environmen-

tal Education Forum, and the Institute for Global Environmental Strategies, which have built closer ties with each other following the Johannesburg Summit, as they prepared for the Decade of ESD.

Since the themes of globalization and education for sustainable development are interrelated, we eventually decided to join forces and organize this symposium on globalization and education for sustainable development in the Asia-Pacific region. We thank these five sponsors for their kind cooperation and support.

Although citizenship under globalization and education for sustainable development are interrelated, I confess that there was some initial hesitation about attempting to treat these big themes in one seminar. Were the topics too broad, and the issues too complicated? Would we be able to identify certain key issues and give them the attention they deserve? Would we be able to reach any meaningful conclusions? So it was reassuring to read the presenter7s remarks beforehand, and to discover that our anxiety was groundless. Having already held two preliminary seminars on these two topics with Rikkyo graduate students in recent weeks, Dr, Lincicome and I are confident that the potential insights to be gained through this undertaking are well worth the risks I have mentioned.

Let me say a little about these two main themes, beginning with education for sustainable development. During the last session of the United Nations, it was resolved that the year 2005 will mark the official start of the Decade of ESD. The major issues of ESD include development education and environmental education, but its scope is wider than that, encompassing global issues such as peace, human rights, poverty, and gender discrimination. There is general agreement that citizen education is essential to promote popular support for, and participation in, ESD. Citizenship in this context does not mean narrow nationalism, but transcends national borders and addresses global problems Thus, ESD leads us to the second topic of this symposium: global citizenship and Asia-Pacific citizenship.

Implicit in this second theme is the problem of citizens' consciousness towards globalization. The rapid advance of economic globalization has had tremendous impact upon the countries and people

of the Asia-Pacific. Among the residents of this region it has promoted new forms of behavior and ideas that transcend national borders. However, compared to the relative ease of transnational economic expansion, the process of altering people's attitudes is slower and more complicated. This international symposium takes up issues confronting humanity's quest to build a sustainable global society, by asking whether "global citizenship" and "Asia-Pacific citizenship" are realistic concepts, and whether such concepts can really help to resolve those issues.

The first theme, "education for sustainable development" will be taken up in Sessions 1 and 2, from the perspectives of environmental education and development and education. Since environmental issues are deeply connected with developmental issues and the so-called "North-South Problem" we need to discuss sustainable development and ESD from various points of view.

The second theme, citizenship or popular consciousness beyond borders, will be addressed during Sessions of 3 and 4. Analyzing both the potential and the perils of globalization in the Asia- Pacific region, we seek to assess the possibility of forming regional identities and the conditions educations necessary for this to occur.

The fifth or final session is an open forum. We will have opportunity to exchange views over 200 environment and development educators and researchers. The main focus of the session will be on citizenship education to promote ESD in the Asia-Pacific.

Although this symposium is only two days long, we want to have fruitful discussions with researcher from the Asia and Pacific regions. We encourage active participation from the floor also. I believe that participation is the only way to resolve the difficult problems that our world is facing.

Thank you for your attention.

Part 1

Perspectives on Education for Sustainable Development

ESD in the Asia-Pacific: From the Eyes of the Environmental Educator

Bishnu B. Bhandari[1]
Institute for Global Environmental Strategies, Japan

The primary purpose of the paper, as the title designates, is to outline how environmental educators look at education for sustainable development (ESD) in the Asia-Pacific region. The author has organized his views into four parts, followed by a short conclusion.

1. Environmental education and ESD are one and the same thing
2. Debate on Environmental Education and ESD
3. Overall situation, commonality and issues
4. Lessons from a good example
5. Conclusion

Environmental Education and ESD are one and the same thing

ESD is the extension of environmental education (EE). According to Huckle and Sterling (1996), ESD is the "dynamic extended environmental education". Tilbury (1995) believes that sustainability is the new focus and justification of EE. In other words, EE is the bed-

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rock for the evolution of ESD, which has been gradually accepted as a new thinking in education. In this part, the author provides some evidences that EE and ESD are synonyms.

It is internationally agreed that the word "EE" was formally used in 1948 at the Paris meeting of IUCN-The World Conservation Union. Since then the word has made a long journey. The Stockholm Conference of 1972 stipulates that *"education... is essential in protecting and improving the environment in its full human dimensions"*. The goals and guiding principles of EE, as framed in the 1974 Belgrade Charter, were officially endorsed in 1976 by the Intergovernmental Conference on Environmental Education in Tbilisi (Bhandari and Abe 2001). The guiding principle of EE in the Tbilisi Conference *"considers the environment in its totality—natural and built, technical and social* (economic, political, technological, cultural-historical, moral, aesthetic) and *"education is..... a continuous lifelong process"*. This form of EE is no different from ESD, which includes the interface of the three "E's", the environment, the economy and equity (Tilbury et al. 2002)

Agenda 21 in Chapter 36 recommends the governments to reorient education towards sustainable development. It stipulates that education is one of the means to achieve the goal of sustainable developments and it should deal with the dynamics of physical, biological, social, economic and spiritual environments. The bottom line is that the scope of education has to be broadened to accommodate the concerns of sustainable development. The 1997 Declaration of Thessaloniki recognizes education and public awareness as the main pillars of sustainability together with legislation economy and technology. It stipulates *"Environmental education, as developed within the framework of the Tbilisi recommendation and as it has evolved since then, addressing the entire range of global issues included in Agenda 21 and the major UN Conferences, has also been dealt with as education for sustainability. This allows that it may also be referred to as education for environment and sustainability. So EE corresponds to education for sustainability, which, in turn, is synonym to ESD"*.

According to the UK School Council, environmental education comprises three "core" threads of learning process. These threads are characterized as "*education in, about and for the environment*" (Palmer, 1998). The first form, education "in" the environment, tells us that experiential learning fosters both awareness and concerns for the environment. It uses the environment as a resource in two ways; (a) as media of enquiry and discovery and (b) as source of materials for activities. In this form, education might be described as "weak" education for sustainable development. This tends to support the technocratic approaches to sustainability. The second form, education "about" the environment focuses on awareness, interpretations, understanding, discovery, knowledge and amassing information. It often neglects the integration of natural and social systems. It is understood that sustainability issues are taken as falling naturally into the disciplinary areas as fact, concept, principle, example, etc. These two forms of education still prevail and do not challenge the dominant social paradigm. The third form, education "for" the environment, is the most radical but least practiced one. This form corresponds to a reconstructionist and transformative education. This puts emphasis on developing an informed concern for the environment. Its objectives go beyond the acquisition of skills and knowledge and require involvement to the extent that values are formed which affect behavior. Its aim is to develop attitude and level of understanding which leads to a personal environmental ethic. This coincides with what ESD is advocating for.

The IUCN Commission on Education and Communication recognizes ESD as a stage in the evolution of EE and claims that ESD has a strong link with the adjectival educations (Hesselink et al. 2000). Figure 1 shows how the focal point of EE is shifting towards ESD. The original meaning of environmental education comprised changes in behaviors, understanding, knowledge, awareness and skills. Over time, it gradually moved to include other aspects shown in the center. Through this, EE reaches the stage of ESD, where equity, quality of life, human rights and environmental quality are achieved. In other words, it shows ESD as the successor of EE.

On the basis of historical evidences, professional discussion and trends, we can say without hesitation that EE and ESD are synonyms and have been used interchangeably.

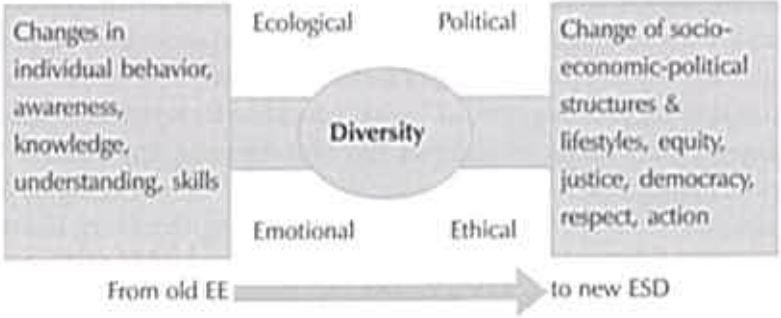


Figure1: Environmental Education in Transition: Broadening the scope or a new paradigm? Source: Hesselink *et al.* (2000:4)

Debates on EE and ES

Some educationists argue that if ESD is the extension of EE, then why do not we call it EE? Why do we need this new vocabulary? Why do we call it ESD? If it differs from EE, then what are the main differences? Some of the answers are given in this part.

Firstly, EE as mentioned earlier belongs to the category of the adjectival educations (such as environmental education, peace education, development education, global education, etc.). It is alleged that the adjectival educations are not broad enough to include concerns other than the ones designated by their adjectives because they tend to meet the concerns of some selected interest groups only. In this regard EE is no exception.

Secondly, EE views the environment within the context of human influences i.e., in terms of economics, social equity, culture, political structures, etc. In other words, EE is environment-based and attaches its values on the environment.

Thirdly, the Tbilisi principles focus on values related to "environmental sensitivity" and demands the active involvement of learners in "planning their learning process". Participation and equity values are meant only for students, but not for society or community in general. Environmentalists and some educationists presented the three E's as a series of necessary trades off; one can be had at the loss of other.

On the contrary ESD educators help communities to achieve sustainability by teaching the three "E's". They attempt to decouple the environmental, economic and social relations of environmental deterioration, explain the understanding of their relations and use these relationships as resources to improve the quality of life. ESD demands that the environment, the economy and equity are considered a whole and involves promoting all three E's together, not one at the cost of other. Thus, ESD goes beyond EE to grapple the more complex issue of how to promote all three "E's" together.

This is how the phrase ESD became the consensus work in WSSD and other international meetings.

Conceptually, no significant difference exists between EE and ESD. However, at the operational level, there are some differences, especially in their approaches and methodologies (see Table 1 for details). Despite these differences, environmental education experts such as Fien, Tilbury, Huckle, Paden, Wheeler, Hesselink and many others are of consensus that ESD and EE are synonyms.

Overall situation, commonality and issues

Since ESD and EE are synonyms, a bird-eye view of EE is presented here to give the reader some idea of how ESD is moving ahead in the Asia-Pacific region. Details can be found in Bhandari and Abe (2001). Just as the region is diverse economically, culturally and economically so problems and situations also are varied and complex in nature.

1. The level of environmental awareness is high in the region. En-

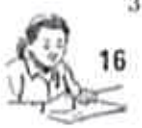
Table 1: Difference between EE and ESD

DESCRIPTION	EE	ESD
1. Content	Knowledge of natural systems, understanding of social and political systems that influence natural systems. Positive attitude towards the natural environment.	Environment in the context of social, political, economic. Focus on local to global issues and solutions. Add contents about economics and equity. More contents on technology as a solution, and on business as more than in the 70's
2. Context	Formal and non formal (zoos, museums, course, etc. for adults and children).	Lifelong learning process (both formal and informal)
3. Method	Interdisciplinary, learner-centered, experiential, inquiry-based, interactive. Emphasis is on bringing people to natural environment.	Interdisciplinary, learner-centered, experiential, inquiry-based, uses broad array of interactive techniques. Stresses on partnership (with government, business, NGOs, educators) and emphasizes on systemic thinking.
4. Action	Emphasis on appropriate skills for decision making and citizen action. Practice environmentally sound behaviors.	Focus on citizen action skills
5. Values	Environmental protection in social and economic context	Environmental sensitivity. Add positive values about social equity, economic prosperity, inseparability of the three E's.

Source: Wheeler and Biju. (2002)

vironmental concerns are found in the school and the out- of-school activities. Prior to the Earth Summit the issues used to be found only in physical science but now they can be found in social science as well. This is a big shift in paradigm. Yet, bias is skewed towards physical science (Yencken et al. 2000)

2. Leadership recognizes that education is the key to a sustainable society. Yet, governments have not taken the entire government approach. Every thing is taking place in bits and pieces and is site- and sector-specific.
3. Greening curriculum has already commenced. Yet, nationally



controlled curriculum and examination systems are posing problems at all levels.

4. Lack of national policy has resulted virtually in poor allocations of resources, budget and manpower which, in turn, have led to the lack of coordination and the marginalization of educational activities. In some places, words are there without any actions.

Still EE and ESD suffer in the region from formidable problems such as the lack of trained teachers, the book-based method of teaching, the unavailability of data and information, inadequate physical facilities, and the perennial problem of coordination at institutional and policy levels.

Despite these extreme diversities in the region, there is a general consensus on the urgent need of education in promoting sustainable development. Some of the points of these common interests are mentioned below.

1. Finding appropriate process of education that enhances the transition into a sustainable future.
2. Improving the existing curriculum and pedagogy
3. Formulating regional as well as national strategies
4. Providing training and re-training to educators, facilitators and practitioners
5. Setting up a databank on ESD
6. Fostering a new creative partnership for ESD

Lessons from a good example

The legends and folktales are practical and based on an extensive empirical knowledge of the immediate environment. They have been passed from parent to child. Characters are animals, birds and plants which are personified as human beings. They use the ethics of conservation such as do not waste what one has; do not take more than required; do not be jealous and greedy, etc. Below an example of

indigenous practice has been cited from Palau, a South Pacific island country for a model example of ESD (Meki 1999).

People in Palau hunt the Micronesian pigeon annually but the hunting is guided by the community rules. They begin their hunting only after receiving permission from the chief. The chief is well versed in the local ecosystem. He has the intimate knowledge of pigeon's habitat (such as the mating and feeding habit, nesting, trees and fruiting, population situation, best season to eat pigeon and so forth). Before making any decision, he would go to "read the fields". When positive signs appear, then the chief would beseech the gods, asking for permission to open the season for hunting. That is how the hunting season begins.

In case of adverse condition (famine and poaching), the chief would discuss with people to enact a moratorium on hunting. The moratorium is indicated by a woven coconut frond which is wrapped around a tree at the entrance. The chief would fine any one violating the rules. The fine would bring the stigma of shame upon violators and their families. If not complied, then the violator would face banishment from the community.

What does this mean to the educator? As the educator, we can draw the following.

1. Parents tell these tales again and again to their children and to grand children so that by the time they become old enough to do the practice, eco-consciousness and knowledge were thoroughly instilled in them.
2. The chief is the model person and demonstrates his skills wisely. They have a deep knowledge and understanding of nature's cycles and appreciation of the enormous impact upon the ecosystem when they wreck it. So they engage themselves in practices that allow them to live in harmony with the environment. They adopt the practice that protects those resources for their children and their children's children.
3. Children hear and learn as they do. While doing the actual activ-

ity they learn many ethics. They are taught to tell this to their children. They are given practical education to instill in them the responsibility and conservation ethics.

We can draw some lessons from this example. Paluans believe that all they had was due to the beneficence of the supernatural being. This was extended to the realm of knowledge. Infractions against the gods could mean many unpleasant things to them, families and communities. Thus the chief was made answerable to communities and to the supernatural being. This was the driving force to keep this practice sustainable. This unquestioning belief was corroborated by their solid knowledge about their immediate environment. This is what I have chosen to call education for sustainable development or ESD. This is the type of ESD, the people of the Asia-Pacific region are seeking for; we should document them and disseminate in the region.

Conclusion

ESD is the key to realize sustainable development. However, its concept need to be improved constantly and promoted across the region. This may be achieved through the following ways.

1. Promote advocacy to raise the profile of ESD. The United Nations on Decade on Education for Sustainable Development (DESD) that would commence on January 2005 would be a great opportunity for promoting ESD.
2. Mobilize resources and networks
3. Encourage action research, particularly documenting best examples that maintain the intimate knowledge between man and nature and find out reasons of their success, method of dissemination, etc.

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Environmental Education in Japan and Challenge of ESD: From the Viewpoint of Globalization

Yukihiko Asaoka
Tokyo University of Agriculture and Technology

How has environmental education changed in Japan?

When did we hear the word, "Environmental Education" in Japan? We must examine the change in the concept of environmental education to find the answer to the question. That is because we have been using terms such as "education against environmental disruption"(or "Kogai education" in Japanese), "nature conservation education" and "outdoor education" before we recognized the word "Environmental Education." especially, Kogai education was introduced to school education in urban areas about the time of the "pollution congress" in 1970; a turning point in Japanese environmental policy. We can also find some famous practices in the field of adult education too, such as the movement against a petrol complex in Mishima and Numazu cities, and the study that took place at SANROKU women's class in Tobata-city which demanded regulation of the factory's ash dust.

In Japan, Makoto Numata, one of the pioneer scholars in environmental education, created a controversy by describing Kogai education as an "Unfortunate Beginning" for Japanese environmental education. However, the concept of environmental education itself is changing greatly under the theory of "sustainable development." It was UNCED held in Rio de Janeiro (1992) that brought world's attention to the con-

cept of sustainable development. This conference adopted the "Rio Declaration" and its action plan, "Agenda 21," to make sustainable development a viable approach that could strike a balance between the environment and the economic development. These agreements have greatly affected environmental policies in many countries and the activities of all NGOs. In the Rio Declaration, Article 10 refers to the facilitation and encouragement of public awareness and participation of citizens in environmental issues. In Agenda 21 the need for environment and development education is emphasized in Chapter 36 "Promoting Education, Public Awareness and Training".

Strongly affected by the environmental education Act in the USA (in Oct. of 1970), the concept of Environmental Education was first proposed at the UN Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm Conference) in June 1972. As the concept passed through the International Environmental Education Workshop (Beograd Meeting) in 1975, and Intergovernmental Conference on Environmental Education (Tbilisi Conference) in 1977, it has evolved into the concept of education for sustainability (EFS) that was presented at the International Conference on Environment and Society: Education and Public Awareness for Sustainability (Thessaloniki Conference) in 1997. Article 11 of the Thessaloniki Declaration states that *"The concept of sustainability encompasses not only the environment but also poverty, population, health, food security, democracy, human rights and peace."* Here we can see that the concept has expanded to include the *"moral and ethical imperative in which cultural diversity and traditional knowledge need to be respected."* This broad concept of "environmental education" gained further recognition through the World Summit on Sustainable Development in August of 2002, and through the adoption of the "Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD)", from 2005 through 2014, during the UN General Assembly last winter.

In Japan, regardless of Article 25, "Education and Learning on Environmental Conservation" of the Basic Environment Law which was enacted in 1993 following a series of environmental education policies set forth in the Basic Environmental Plan, the concept of en-

vironmental education is still narrow Even though the Japanese government proposed DESD affirmatively in response to the movement of Japanese NGOs, both the study and practice of ESD have just started. Despite the conditions, the Japanese government is eager to pass the "Promotion of Environmental Conservation and Environmental Education Act" at the 62nd Regular Diet (2003) without enough explanation or discussion among citizens involved in education.

Various trends in environmental education in Japan

Generally speaking, there are two trends in environmental education in Japan. One attaches importance to social justice, which has its roots in Kogai education (education for environmental pollution), while the others centers on nature conservation, which has its roots in education for nature conservation. The trend toward positioning, environmental education from a global perspective appeared about the time of UNCED.

To understand the goal of environmental education practice and research at present, I categorize the current environment pedagogy that affect environmental education in Japan into five segments: (1) school education, (2) the Institute for Global Environmental Strategies (IGES), (3) nature conservation, (4) education for sustainability (EFS), (5) Kogai education (education for environmental pollution).

(1) School education

Beginning with the Elementary and Secondary Education Bureau, the bureaucrats belonging to the former Ministry of Education and other researchers connected with the Ministry produced "Environment Education Guidelines" in 1991. With this as a turning point, they have proposed an "Integrated course" on environmental education practice, based on the new curriculum guidelines. This step holds the possibility of further evolution, by revising the "Environmental Education Guidelines" and introducing nature experience activity into the middle schools.

(2) Institute for Global Environmental Strategies (IGES)

This IGES was established by the Planning and Coordination Bureau of Environment Agency (now called the Global Environment Bureau of the Environment Policy Bureau in the Ministry of the Environment). The Institute studies environmental education and environmental media literacy as part of an environmental conservation strategy. With the adoption of DESD by U.N. General Assembly, the challenge now is to coordinate the environmental education projects of IGES.

(3) Nature conservation

This began as so-called nature conservation education. The establishment of the Nature Conservation Society of Japan(NACS-J) in 1951 was the first step, and NACS-J established a nature observation society and leader training program. Later, it produced several environment educational NPOs such as the Naturalist Association (in 1973) and the Japan Nature Game Association (in 1987). Nature conservation-type environment education lead to the Kiyosato Environment Education Forum (in 1987), and the Japan Environment Education Forum (in 1992), supported by the Nature Conservation Bureau in the Ministry of the Environment. On the other hand, the relationship with the Lifelong Learning Policy Bureau of the Ministry of Education, Sports, Science and Technology was reinforced by taking advantage of a nationwide meeting, "Nature is the Master" in 1996 and the Council for Outdoor & Nature Experiences (CONE) established in 2000.

(4) Education for Sustainability

The concept of "sustainability" emerged in relation to debates over "sustainable development" following UNCED, and led to the advocation of "education for sustainability" at the 1997 Thessaloniki Conference. As DESD proceeds, "education for sustainability" may emerge as a core concept.

(5) Kogai education

This started through an exchange of opinions among teachers over many years at schools and classrooms beginning with the Japan Teacher's Union Meeting in 1971. Researchers and teachers in the "Industrial Pollution and Environment Study Group" have worked as leaders. They seek to join with people in community to study pollution problems and to recognize the importance of the teacher's role from the standpoint of "education as a human right."

These various trends in environmental education in Japan undergo fundamental reorientation under the influence of ESD—the new concept of environmental education—and advancing globalization since 1990.

How to perceive globalization

Globalization seems to be a big tide that people cannot resist. This word first became popular in the early 1990s, as socialism collapsed in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and as the economy globalized and adopted a market-based ideology. "Globalization" is quite different from "international" or "worldwide," because it centers on the free movement of information and capital that transcends national boarder and local diversity. And the supporting idea of globalism calls for "structured reform" of the social system of a nation so as to standardize market activity (quotation from Keisi Saeki). It is easy to see how much globalism influenced structural reform in Japan.

But now, it is obvious that "globalization" has acquired many meanings and nuisances. Even if we focus on the relation between capitalism and globalization, we find there are two perspectives: (1) globalization as an economic phenomenon, as advocated by the IMF or R. Gilpine; (2) globalization that encompasses politics, society and culture, as described by A. Giddens and J.S. Nay. (Quotation from Kenji Imamiya, in 2003) From this point of view, we can see that its modern characteristics are: (a) computerization resulting from the information revolution since the 1970s (especially the advancement

of the Internet), (b) bloated financial markets caused by the floating exchange system at the beginning of 1970s' (c) implementation of global standards by USA since the late 1980s involving information, finance and military affairs.

However, we must remember the "empire" theory (in 2003) described by A. Negri and M. Hardt, which argues that fundamental global shifts result from "empire" more than globalization. That is, *"with globalization of market and production networks, a global order, a new logic and system for dominance, and in other words, a new style of sovereignty appeared."* It warns that *"whenever and/or wherever any war or any mass violence could occur,"* the new world order of "empire" forms without a clear core.

Poverty under globalization becomes the most critical issue for education for sustainable development (ESD). The gap between the rich nations and the poorest nations has doubled during the past 40 years. So, local environmental conservation and elimination of poverty and starvation were on the main agenda at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg Summit in August of 2002), on the basis of the fact that 840 million people in the world are suffering from malnutrition.

J. Freedman (1995) understands that *"poverty must be one style of deprivation of social power."* And he has been reviewing the concept of "poverty" on the basis of "deprivation of power" which is an anti-empowerment model. The premise of that model assumes that *"a poverty family unit cannot have social power to improve the life conditions for the family members,"* and *"it centers the family unit economy upon social power."*

Surely, through his "deprivation of power" model he attempts to review the basic policy line which was a cornerstone of the existing development model in order to explore alternative approaches to development in the mid-1970s. And it also looked promising as a *"model of collective individual empowerment."* However, Freedman's idea of "deprivation of power" is similar to the deprivation concept in Eng-

land that paid attention to the existence of impoverished members and to the clarification of methods of reproduction. It does not involve another poverty concept that would comprehend structurally the existence of surplus population produced in the advanced industrial countries. Here I want to focus on the movement (quotation from Toshimasa Suzuki) to integrate these two concepts in order to comprehend "poverty = self-alienation" and empowerment of the individual (the theory of learning).

Prospects for community development and environmental education

From this point of view, "community development and environmental education" has become an important theme of environmental pedagogy and they have started to explore ways at the level of citizens movements (NGO/NPO) and publicly suppoted social education(in community halls, etc. "Komin-kan" in Japanese). Here, I would like to think about an actual image to connect environmental education with social education (i.e. adult and community education) by following three views: (1)"community learning facing the problem of development or pollution," (2)"learning for community development that revives the environment," and (3) "learning in conjunction with new citizens movement."

1) Japanese environmental education started from education about pollution. The Basic Law of Environmental Pollution Control was enacted in 1967. The first White Paper on Pollution was issued in 1969 and the so-called "Pollution Parliament" established the Environment Agency in 1970. As just described, in Japan environmental administration itself started as the administration of pollution control. However, two practices of environmental education addressed and achieved an epoch-making success before the establishment of environmental administration. First, from 1963 through 1964, the people of Numazu, Mishima and Shimizu experienced a movement opposed to a petrol complex. It was regarded as the "birth of the citizen" by Kenichi Miyamoto in conse-

quence of "the movement to prevent pollution through scientific learning." Second, study of the SANROKU women's class, started in 1963 exerted an influence on the city government and companies through the movement based on scientific data and learning.

2) Later, Kogai education rooted in citizens' right to a livelihood was gradually transformed into learning for community development. Its manifestations include: a community development movement encouraging urban agriculture (in Kokubunnji city); a citizens' movement to create their own city plans to preserve the cityscape (in Kunitachi city); the Totoro Forest Trust movement and the movement for country hill conservation against the construction of an industrial waste disposal facility (in Sayama-hills). In these ways, nature conservation in urban areas was linked with conservation or utilization of country hills and farm lands. Farmland in urbanizing areas is the basis for urban agriculture, and the continuation of agriculture can supply not only fresh and safe crops but also a better natural environment for the city people. Musasino's combined wooded and farmland area revives the original landscape, and we can rediscover the worth of nature sustained by people's hands, although we will continue to study the issue of harmonizing artificial structures and nature.

3) Furthermore, the last half of 1990s saw the birth of environment education in the community supporting new types of citizens' movement, such as the first movement to carry out a local referendum in Japan (Makimachi in Niigata prefecture, August in 1996); a partnership-style environmental renewal movement representing a "groundwork movement"; and a movement to seek community development without US military bases, in response to a local referendum (Nago city in Okinawa). Among these learning movements, we can find the real image of civic environmental education and learning as indispensable to the realization of sustainable development. In this way, it seems that the closing years of the twentieth century provided a major turning point for citizens' movements dealing with environment issues.

Education for Sustainable Development in the Asia-Pacific: In View of Development Education

Hiroyasu Iwasaki
Tezukayama Gakuin University

Before I encountered development education, I had been involved in UNESCO activities, promoting education for international understanding. In March 1981 , Japan UNESCO Association sent a group of high school students and teachers to Thailand and Cambodia for about a week. I was one of the members. We visited a slum in Bangkok, a refugee camp in Thailand and a refugee village in Cambodia. After we returned to Japan, students and I visited refugee camps in Japan. The contracts with refugees gave me an opportunity to shift to development education from education for international understanding. Development education seemed to focus on problem solving, and I felt development education helped to change self, society, structure and system. Development Education was appealing to me in that sense.

When the economy was in good shape a couple of decades ago, even trade union members did not pay attention to the exploitation structure between the north and the south. They worked hard for a better living and they earned what they wanted. Members of the Teacher Union seemed to ignore the problems between the north and the south. They pointed out that there was poverty in this and that country, but they did not relate this to the structure of the world. Pupils and students learned a lot about North America and Europe, but not much about Asia, Africa South America and the Pacific. Such

attitude meant that they did not understand the problematic issues within Japan, or the "north and south problem in Japan either.

Meanwhile, development educators and teachers in Japan tried to introduce global issues into their classrooms. One distinctive aspect showed was that development, the environment, human rights and peace issues are all interrelated. Over-development in the north causes under-development in the south; that is over-development is linked with under-development. Since we, the people, have caused the gap, no other creatures but we, the people, can change the situation. Education can be conducted in such a way as to inspire future generations. Development educators, therefore, visited Northern and Western Europe, Canada, the US and Australia to search for development education resources. Many teachers took part in study tours in Asia. Fruitful materials and methods were introduced into the Japanese educational arena. Translated resources from the UK have become quite popular and influential especially the participatory learning method has been welcomed and appreciated among some school teachers. Facilitators from the UK, the US and Australia gave a lot of lessons to earnest teachers. The attitude to bring the new in from overseas allowed many people to think that development education is very similar to education for international understanding, that is, to teach something about countries overseas.

Now let me give you several examples of what is going on here in Japan in the field of development education.

1) In recent years, Japan has seen Asian facilitators from the Philippines, Nepal and so on, which enables us to be closer to our neighbours. One of my friends and I had a talk three years ago to bring Kamal Phuyal to Japan. He is an internationally well- known PRA facilitator for rural development. A PRA facilitator visits a village to help people there by strengthening relationship in class and in the village. Kamal's first workshop tour was quite successful. He visited schools and universities, NGO meetings and a remote rural village. The PRA tools he introduces stimulate people because they really are "participatory". He is not annual

visitor but he visits Japan several times a year, and he is here now.

2) The Kansai NGO Council had a serious discussion with the JICA Osaka International Centre before it launched a joint programme for Asian NGO workers five years ago. Because JICA is a governmental organization, its counterparts had always been NGOs and it was not easy to invite NGO staff with its budget. JICA Osaka was wise and brave enough to decide to start a new programme in cooperation with NGOs around the Osaka area. The NGOs' partial intention was to let the Asian NGO workers know the negative side of development in Japan as well as to give opportunities for Asian NGO workers to meet each other and create a future network . This program always includes at least two field trips—to Hiroshima and Kamagasaki in Osaka . At Kamagasaki you see many—one day laborers and the homeless. They are the same kind of people that Asian NGO workers see every day in their field. They show their sympathy to them and some weep, or even cry, to find the common people left alone in the same social structure in Japan and in their own countries. This is the moment that participant shares the issue and begins to work together.

3) The development Education Study Society in Kyoto has been active since 1989 and we—let me say "we" because I have been involved in this society from the beginning—have published two books filled with development education teaching plans and materials for teachers. And now we have a new plan for a third book. The focus is in issues in our society. Japan's food self-sufficiency rate is 40% —why is that, and what we are going to do? Is the Japan-US Security Treaty for world peace? What problems do Japanese young people face? These issues are not isolated, but rather a part of the global structure. If we see these issues in global perspective and try to be endogenous, world situation can be a little different. If it were not for US bases in Okinawa, US attacks on Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq would see other proc-

can waste resources to make rubbish. We wish to pursue this hope through education. We believe that a globalist is a localist and vice versa, so education about local issues in global perspective can help lead our global society to be sustainable. Development, environment, human rights and peace issues are everywhere. Global issues are matters for which every global citizen is expected to be responsible.

Conclusion

At the Johannesburg NGO Forum last year, we saw a woman from Soweto. She said, "*We are willing to improve ourselves in education which will make us to survive the end of the day by creating jobs for other people or ourselves.*" She added, "*Please come to our church.*" The voices of the most people in the world are not yet to be heard. Education for sustainable development (ESD) is an opportunity to listen to their voices and work together with them. Without this, it would end up as another ODA distribution battle. In order to avoid this, and to keep the discussion on human dignity level, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) should be the priority to fulfill the basic human needs, although the goal is still not high enough.

Education for Sustainable Development in the Asia-Pacific: In View of Development Education

Natividad Bernardino
Resource Center for People's Development (RCPD),
Philippines International South Group Network (ISGN)

I would like to congratulate the organizers of this international symposium for their optimism and perseverance in pursuing the theme, sustainable development, despite the discouraging outcome of the UN World Summit on Sustainable Development held last year in Johannesburg.

Most of you probably knew that in this summit, nothing concrete and substantive was achieved to at least move forward the agreements and commitments made during the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro. Worse, there were some setbacks. Thanks to the US delegation, who were consistent in towing the unilateralist policy of the Bush administration, for blocking all attempts in the summit to agree on time-bound targets and reversing some important agreements already achieved in Rio.

Nonetheless, there are still many people especially those in civil society like you who believe that sustainable development is not a lost cause despite the tremendous odds in the world that we are all facing at present. The Japanese initiative for a UN Decade on Education for Sustainable Development offers at least an opportunity that can be maximized in the manner that the organizers of this symposium are now doing.

The topic assigned to me is "Education for Sustainable Development in the Asia-Pacific: In view of Development Education". What is sustainable development and what is development education.

We are all familiar with the definition of sustainable development and how the concept evolved in the UN Conference on Environment and Development based on the Bruntland report, "*Our Common Future*". It basically redefines development in the broader context of ensuring that the earth's resources are protected and managed in a sustainable manner, capable of providing the needs of the present and future generations.

Development education on the other hand predates the concept of sustainable development in the sense that it came about in the same period when the issue of development for poor countries was high in the official agenda of governmental and intergovernmental bodies. Hence came about the World Bank categorization of developed, developing and least developed countries. And development here as defined in the 70s basically meant giving official development aid and loans to poorer countries so that presumably poverty can be alleviated or eradicated. From thereon, it's a long story why and how after three decades, poor countries have become poorer and the wealthy even more wealthier.

Practitioners of development education have also varying practices and definitions of the concept. For some, it simply means raising awareness about the dire conditions of poor people in poor countries in order to elicit some acts of charity and compassion from their citizens or constituents. Others have expanded the concept into global education, which means "*education that opens people's eyes and minds to the realities of the world, and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all*". Global education here "*is understood to encompass development education, human rights education, education for sustainability, education for peace and conflict prevention, etc.*", all of which are believed to be the dimensions of education for "global citizenship".

Off hand, the second definition appears more appropriate because it goes beyond simple charity and invokes such bigger themes as justice, equity and human rights for all. However, it is not the intention of my presentation to indulge in conceptual definitions. In my opinion the relevance of development education or global educa-

my opinion the relevance of development education or global education lies on its ability or potential to effect social change by making people act and work for change based on their critical and analytical understanding of global realities.

Development education does not simply stop at showing photos of starving and malnourished African children but goes further to explain why there is such poverty and hunger in Africa. It is not just about evoking emotions of concern for endangered species and diminishing rainforests but also brings about popular movements to stop the wholesale plunder of our natural resources by corporate interests. If we are to develop "globalism" or "global citizenship", people must be educated about global realities and develop a social consciousness to bring about a world of greater justice and equity for all.

Present realities in the world today are very far away from our ideals of greater justice, equity and peace. Saddam Hussein has been toppled but the economic and social condition of the people of Iraq has never been as worse as after the war. The humanitarian crisis in Iraq is bringing tremendous hardship to the people; there is no water, electricity, food and jobs. The American and British occupying forces have not attended to this humanitarian crisis and are busy quelling sporadic armed resistance and mass protests by the Iraqi people. But what is also disturbing is the fact that until now, both the US and UK have not found a single credible piece of evidence that there were indeed weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Their main justification for waging an illegal and illegitimate war against Iraq is now obviously false in the eyes of many people, especially the American and British public who felt duped with fake intelligence reports by their own government and military establishments. But President Bush is not at all remorseful. He has publicly announced that a war against Iran is not a remote possibility. Closer to home, North Korea is another target. And who's next?

The American quest for complete military, political and economic dominance at the world strategic level and in every region is today the most immediate threat to global peace and security. It imposes its

military supremacy on all nations and peoples and blatantly violates international law by insisting on unilateral and preemptive military strike against all perceived threat to US dominance. Whether or not these threats are real or just concocted as in the case of Iraq's supposed weapons of mass destruction, America's ultimate agenda is absolute hegemony in every geo-political region, especially the oil-rich regions of the Middle East and Central Asia.

The Asia-Pacific region is not exempted. Whether the supposed threat is North Korea or the suspected Al Qaeda cells in Southeast Asia, the US has since reinforced its military presence in the region, increased its forward deployment of troops, and enhanced joint military capabilities with its allies in the region. Aside from Tony Blair, Bush counts on his most reliable allies from the region, who supported the war on Iraq and are now active politically in a diplomatic maneuver to contain North Korea.

In the present context, it is difficult to speak about sustainable development without addressing the most immediate issue of war and militarism. War means total destruction and loss of human lives and property, economic dislocation, and environmental disaster. It is an anathema of sustainable development.

There is, moreover, another aspect of the current situation that equally rages against people and nations --- it is the crisis of neo-liberal globalization that has manifested itself into the worst economic crisis that the world economy has faced since the Great Depression. There is overcapacity in almost all areas of investment, markets are saturated, and the over-accumulation and over-concentration of capital find reprieve only in speculative financial investments. Bankruptcies lead to mergers and buy-outs which result into further capital concentration in the hands of an ever fewer number of multinational corporate giants ruling the world economy. The worst impact is on labor as companies resort to mass layoffs, wage cuts, and labor flexibility schemes such as contractualization or casualization, which basically erode established core labor standards.

Our own experience in the region could not have been worse. The 1997 Asian financial crisis exemplified the worst that could happen to economies that have fully integrated into the so-called "globalized" economy and followed the dictum of neo-liberal policies. And yet the IMF in its assessment blamed the Asians for not having fully liberalized their markets as the reason for the crisis. In reality, were it not for the full liberalization of finance and capital markets in Thailand, speculative capital could not have wrought such damage as to trigger the crisis in the whole region. As national currencies tumbled, the more fundamental problem of overcapacity and overexposure by the banking system surfaced in the more advanced industrial economies such as those of Korea, Japan and Taiwan.

We all know what happened in the aftermath of the crisis. National debts soared as governments were forced to assume private debts. Bankrupt local capital including state enterprises became easy pick for foreign multinational giants. At present, even if Asian GNP growth rates have improved, full economic recovery has been slow and fragile especially because the crisis has already reached the nerve centers of the global economy, i.e. the US and EU, with Japan still submerged in recession for more than a decade now.

It is not surprising why trade negotiations in the WTO are in a deadlock. No one among the big players, specifically the US and EU, would want to give up their protectionist trade barriers that come in the form of subsidies and tariff walls. At the losing end are the developing countries, which have earlier opened up their markets, only to be made dumping ground of highly subsidized cheap imports from the North. On the other hand, exports from developing countries could hardly access Northern markets because of unfair competition with the highly subsidized products of the North aside from facing discrimination through the imposition of sanitary and phyto-sanitary standards.

To summarize, the world today is in a precarious situation. The resort to war and militarism by one imperial power in order to achieve absolute global hegemony manifests the intensity of contradictions in

the current situation. Although it may not necessarily lead to a world war similar to the first and second world wars, the war situation now is equally spawned by a severe economic crisis. Historically, wars create new areas of investments by generating a profitable war economy and destroying productive forces so that post-war reconstruction would once again revive productive activity. It has become a means to resuscitate a stagnant economy, which many analysts believe to be the real logic behind US-led war(s) and militarism more than simply the idiosyncrasy of a war freak president. Aside from controlling the vast oil resources in the Middle East, the US military build-up is a boost to the industrial military complex of the US, benefiting American corporations with contracts paid from US public coffers.

However, the aggressive militarist and unilateralist actions of the US also breed resistance and polarization. This was manifested in the resurgence of anti-war movements worldwide, the failure of the US to get a consensus in the UN Security Council for going to war in Iraq, the growing anti-American sentiment among Arabs and Muslims, and the fanning of extremist counter-reaction from suspected terrorist groups.

Indeed the world today has still a very long way to go towards achieving sustainable development on a global scale. We may have modest successes in various forms at the local or community level, but oftentimes these small successes could easily be eroded by bigger or even global problems. It is difficult to speak of sustainable livelihoods at the community level when in a single whip of an economic crisis or a policy reversal by the state the gains of a local community could easily be taken back from them.

I agree with you that inculcating "global citizenship" or social consciousness of global realities is an effective tool to make people understand that they are part of a bigger world and that they can do something to change that world; and that there is a need to link with other peoples and nations in a common struggle. We can make use of advances in communications and information technology to link up with other people across continents which proved useful during the

successful anti-war mobilizations last February 14 and 15 that mobilized millions of people across the globe through a coordinated information campaign using the internet and cable television. (Although CNN or BBC reports are not always reliable.)

Unlike in other regions, the diverse culture and levels of economic development of countries and people in Asia, more so including the Pacific, has oftentimes become an obstacle in building a common language or a regional identity for Asians. Nonetheless, these obstacles can be overcome through various forms of cultural exchange that we use in our development education work. More importantly, the need to stand up for a common cause such as opposing US militarism and war, or the neo-liberal trade impositions in the upcoming WTO ministerial meeting in Cancun, or in our regional context, the human rights abuses in Burma, the oppression of people in Aceh and Muslim Mindanao in the Philippines, etcetera, all provide us Asians with more compelling reasons to bridge our cultural differences towards developing a global and regional social consciousness and common front of struggle for a better and peaceful world with greater justice and equity for all.

Education and Learning in Nepal:
In View of Sustainable Development

Kamal Phuyal

Introduction

First, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the organizers of this International symposium for providing me this opportunity to share my views and experiences on development education in Nepal. I have been in the development field as an activist for the last 16 years. I have spent most of my time in the development field with rural community people; therefore, I would like to share my experience in development, through this paper I am going to present here.

There are many preposterous things in this world. We are living in an unfair world, which is convenient for a limited number of people. A handful of people control a huge amount of resources, where as millions of people are dying of hunger and poor health and hygienic condition. Of the six billion people in the world, 2.8 billion live on less than 2 dollars a day, and 1.2 billion live on less than 1 dollar a day[1]. One in six children are compelled to work as bonded labourers, including millions in slave-like forms of forced labour. Six out of every 100 children born do not see their first birthday, and 8 out of every 100 do not survive to their fifth birthday[2].

1 World development report, 2000/2001

2 UNICEF 2001

In the name of eradicating terrorism, wars have taken place, which have affected innocent people. For example, Iraqi people today are suffering from lack of drinking water, food, electricity and so on. Millions of children in Iraq are suffering from mental disorders.

A lot of resources are used in order to 'create harmony' in the world. A huge amount of money is being spent for poverty alleviation. Many I/NGOs claim that they want to work or have been working for the 'empowerment' of the marginalised people. Many projects are designed to alleviate poverty and reduce all kinds of discrimination existing in the society. In spite of all these efforts, poverty still remains the same or is worse today. Poor people are getting poorer and rich people are getting richer. The gap between the rich and the poor is widening day by day. Vulnerability has been deep rooted. All the resources spent so far have not been able to reach the poorest sectors of the society. There are many questions being raised on the 'development concept' presented by 'development organisations' and 'development experts'. It seems development practitioners are aiming towards modernization and the elimination of traditional knowledge and culture. Their development agenda seems to be nothing else than westernization of the world (Development dictionary 2000). There are some questions that strike my mind everyday. Are development practitioners (or organisations) able to fulfil the desires of the poor people? Is our approach appropriate to address the voice of the poor people? Today, if we look at the development patterns, we need to ask very fundamental questions. Is this the kind of0development we are looking for? What is happening in the name of development at present?

It is not my intention to highlight only the existing problems and inequalities in the world. There are many positive initiatives being taken to question the existing challenges and problems. People have started taking initiatives to promote justice and address the inequalities existing in the world. One such example is the organization of the present international symposium.

Questions have been raised on development and concept itself. Many approaches have been developed to reach the rural poor people enable them to understand the link between their own lives and those of the people throughout the world. We have to continue this discourse at all levels of the society.

Now I would like to share something about Nepal. Nepal is a country of diversity. Geographically it can be divided into three regions; mountain, hills and *Terai* (plane). 83% of its total land is covered with mountains and hills. There are people of various castes and ethnicity and their lifestyle, dress, language, religion, food, way of thinking, etc. differ in many ways. Therefore, Nepal though very small is called a land of diversity. You can observe the diversity of the country, after you walk to the villages, for two hours from the capital city of Kathmandu. You will find that different language is spoken, different foods are eaten, different dresses are worn and the faces of the people are also different. There are more than 60 languages spoken all over the country. According to the last census (2001), the total population is 23 million *including 50.6% female*. Only 16% of the people live in the cities[3]. Likewise, about 80% population rely on agriculture as a source of occupation. The country is renowned for its ecological diversities.

Though Nepal is a beautiful country with a lot of natural beauty, the people of Nepal are facing many difficulties. There is a big gap between the standard of living in the urban and rural areas. Most of the economic, human and other resources are concentrated in the cities, mainly in Kathmandu—the capital.

Four major types of discriminations can be found in Nepalese societies: economic, caste/ethnicity, gender, and regional. Economic category can be divided into five; very rich, rich, middle, poor and very poor. Last two categories (very poor and poor) covers about half (50%) of the population. Other discrimination is about caste system. People are divided into so-called high caste and low caste groups. People from so-called lower caste group are regarded as untouchable

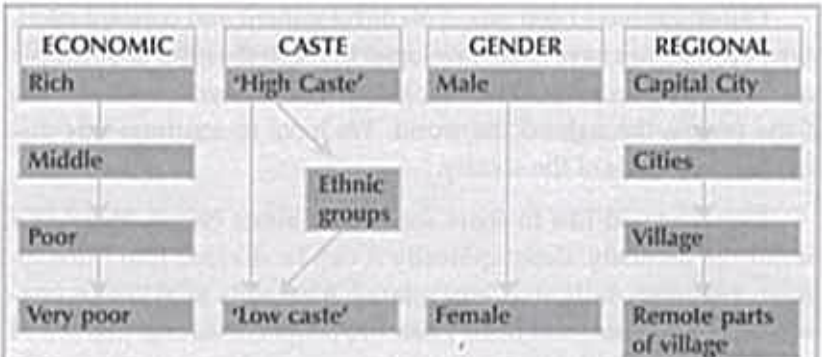

Figure 1: Existing discriminations

and they are suffering from this kind of inhuman inequity for centuries. Third type of discrimination is gender discrimination. Women comprise a little over half of Nepal's 23 million population. The United Nations 'Gender and Development Index' (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Matrix (GEM) show that social, cultural and economic disparities between Nepali women and men are great, even when compared to other countries in South-east Asia. In Nepal's agrarian society, women lag behind men in their access to income, wealth, employment and education. Religion, caste and ethnic beliefs further degrade women's status, depriving them of opportunities for participation and decision-making in the family and community.

In many communities, the women are still suffering from dowry system and domestic violence. The other one is regional discrimination. The gap between the centre (capital) and remote parts of the villages is incomparable. Most of the facilities, opportunities and services are concentrated in the centres/cities though about 84% people live in rural areas. About 95% of doctors are providing services in the cities[1]. This situation has raised many questions to those who talk about development or sustainable development alike; whose development are we talking about? And, whose empowerment are we talking about?

[1] Kantipur, daily newspaper, June 10

We can see four types of people when we think about poverty and poverty alleviation. *I have used the term poverty pond for this analysis* (see Figure 2 about poverty pond). First type is the people who are sinking in poverty, those who are suffocating from poverty, and those who are dying of poverty. Second type is those people who are swimming in poverty. These people are not sinking but swimming in poverty. At least their heads are above the poverty pond and they can breathe. But, again they are suffering from poverty immensely and are trying their best to get out of the poverty pond. The third type is those who are watching poverty. They are not feeling poverty but watching the people who are sinking and swimming on poverty pond. The forth type of people are those who have read and heard about poverty. Here a prominent question comes to us - which type of people have control over poverty alleviation and the planning process for poverty alleviation? Who are the people who control all the resources that are allocated for poverty alleviation? The truth is that the fourth type of people control all the resources in the country. If this is the reality, can poverty be alleviated in the real sense?

a) Those who are sinking in poverty
b) Those who are swimming on poverty
c) Those who are watching poverty.
d) Those who have read and heard poverty.

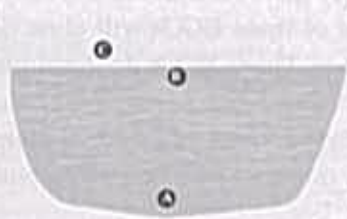

Figure 2: Poverty pond

Who holds the control over poverty alleviation planning process?

Since one and a half decade ago, our government has been focussing on poverty alleviation by including 'poverty alleviation' as the main agenda in its five year plans. Billions of rupees have been

spent to improve poor people's situation. Non-government sector spends a huge amount of money (equivalent to 5% of government's annual budged) every year. Almost, all NGOs claim themselves to be catalyst against poverty. However, the result is very unsatisfactory. Poverty has remained the same. Instead, as mentioned above, the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing. So, we need to ask ourselves here, does the present module of development really work?

The NGO sector does not have a good reputation in Nepal. Some 10,000 or more NGOs are involved in 'development industry' in Nepal. NGOs in Nepal broadly can be categorised into five major types. *This is not any official categorisations, but my own personal opinion being based on the characteristics of NGOs.* The first type is business NGOs. The main motto of these NGOs is to make money. These NGOs are very professional in developing proposals and writing nice reports. They are not pro-community but pro-donors. And, they are also able to cheat donors by showing themselves as the representatives of the marginalised people. Sometimes (if necessary) they even pay commission to get funding. They are based in the centre and they hardly go to rural areas, but they claim to work for the rural people. Most of these NGOs will close down once the donors stop funding money. These NGOs do development programmes, which benefit a limited number of people. But, their main intention is not to alleviate poverty or work in favour of marginalised people. These NGOs have very mechanical relationship with the local people.

Figure 3: Types of NGOs

The second type is Government NGOs. Government provide some funds to their supporters or best – wisher. These NGOs' main intention is to create employment for the workers. These NGOs are not as bad as business NGOs. They work when they get some support. When government changes the NGOs who get support are also changed. These NGOs are not concerned about the change in societies.

The third type is political NGOs run by political parties. These NGOs do various service delivery activities that benefit local people for the time being. But their main intention is to draw votes during the election. These NGOs always try to disseminate their political agendas and thoughts among the local people.

The forth type is average or okay NGOs *(May be this is not an appropriate name)*. They want to do something for the people who are poor and needy. Their heart is good. They mainly do welfare related activities a lot. Knowing or unknowingly (mainly unknowingly) they are not concerned about the necessity of social change for the real empowerment of the marginalised people. Though their intention is good, or they want to improve the situation of the marginalised people, their 'development concept' cannot allow them to fulfil their objectives.

The fifth type is real NGOs *(May be some appropriate name should be given to these NGOs)*. These NGOs are very clear about social issues, good in social analysis, pro-marginalised,and are very clear about their roles for social change. And, more importantly, these NGOs never compromise with the necessity of social change for the real empowerment of the powerless people. They do not agree with the present notion of 'development concept', but they fight for the people's rights. At present, average and good NGOs are in minority. Other types of NGOs (mainly business NGOs) are rampant in 'development industries'.

Here we have to face many questions. How is sustainable development possible in such a situation? How can the marginalised people be empowered? What can be expected from the above mentioned

first three types of NGOs? I, however, would like to say that we are still working on this issue. We have to observe characteristics of NGOs keenly for definite categorisation. But, this is an issue to be discussed a lot, so that we can encourage good NGOs and discourage and harass business-oriented NGOs.

I think now the time has come to review the developmental model that has been in practice so far. How this could not work and what are the mistakes made should be recognised. The concept such as poverty, production, notion of the state, equality should be included in the development discourse. This should be interacted with wider mass and find a new way of dealing with existing injustice in the society. Moreover, we should go to the grassroots and listen to them and facilitate them to analyse their situation and express them to reveal their desires for changing the society. This is what we are doing (or trying to do) in Nepal these days.

I agree with the idea of sustainable development shared by a forum called Ideas-Forum, "*No nation is an island, many interdependencies exist, and as world citizens we are challenged to consider ways in which we can positively influence the global society in which we live. It is therefore understood that much of what we do locally affects our world globally and we are called upon to think globally* before we act locally"[4].

In my opinion, the present globalisation has not supported the powerless people. Rather, it has affected them negatively and supported to increase the gaps between the powerful and the powerless. We, therefore, have to think about 'globalisation of the poor ' or 'globalisation of the powerless' so that our globalisation can support us to fight against the existing injustice in the world. People should be educated and organized for this movement. This is what we are trying to do in Nepal. We want to be globalzed with you for this movement.

4 www.ideas-forum.org.uk/aboutus/dehome.htm

ESD in the Context of Globalization: European Approaches

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Introduction

I will begin by commenting on the concepts of regional and global citizenship and their relationship to national citizenship. What are the implications of these concepts for educators? Secondly, I will comment on education for sustainable developments (ESD) in Britain, drawing on my experience of serving on the Government's Sustainable Development Education Panel. Thirdly, I will reflect on the particular emphasis which has been given to ESD and other aspects of global education by both governments and NGOs in Europe. I argue that we need to redress the balance and to give equal weight to education for political and social sustainability as to other aspects of ESD. Finally, I examine some key concepts in ESD and global citizenship, highlighting what they might mean in practice if ESD is to encompass social and political sustainability as well as environmental sustainability.

Education for regional and global citizenship in Europe

Citizenship education is increasingly seen as a priority in Europe. Since citizenship is a highly charged political issue, citizenship education is inevitably controversial. Citizenship has always been a site of struggle. Citizenship as a status conferred by Nation States is

both inclusive and exclusive. It defines those who are included in democratic processes and also those who are excluded, that is, those who as non-citizens are not eligible to participate fully.

European citizenship excludes two sets of people who could legitimately consider themselves to be citizens in Europe. The first excluded group is made up of those residents of any Member State of the EU(European Union) who are not citizens. The second excluded group consists of citizens of those European States that are not members of the EU. For example, citizens of nearly 30 democratic European States, whilst being citizens of Europe, are not entitled to the legal status of European Citizen.

Member States of the Council of Europe guarantee that all those living in any Member State have equal rights under the European Convention on Human Rights. This applies whether or not an individual holds national citizenship. The European Convention gives legal force to a number of rights from the Universal Declaration. Education for European citizenship is likely to face challenges both from those excluded from it and those radically opposed to it.

Interestingly, education for global citizenship is slightly less controversial in Europe. Our recent study of global education in four European countries found that governments recognized the need for global education and also the need to educate for global citizenship. Education for global responsibility, including ESD is part of the rhetoric of official policy across these countries. It is not yet recognized as a funding priority.

ESD: the British experience

The British government established a Sustainable Development Education Panel in 1998. The aim is to consider issues on ESD in its broadest sense, in schools, further and higher education, at work, during recreation and at home; and to make practical recommendations for action in England.

1 To promote a strategic approach to sustainable development education in England
2 To identify gaps and opportunities in the provision of sustainable development education and consider how to improve that provision
3 To promote an approach which will reduce duplication, increase co-operation and develop synergy between all sectors and groups involved
4 To consider whether and what targets should be set for various sectors
5 To highlight best practice and consider the means of disseminating it more widely
6 To make recommendations to key stakeholders on priority areas of action
7 To assess the effectiveness of this approach.

The panel has been most effective when it has established partnerships with government agencies, non-governmental organizations, trade unions and other bodies. One of the most effective areas of development has been in curriculum development for schools.

The Panel has provided its own working definition for ESD which includes environmental, social and economic sustainability. It has published a draft national strategy on sustainable development education which can found at: *www.defra.gov.uk/environment/sustainable/educpanel*.

Social and political sustainability: missing elements?

Initiatives in Europe, by both NGOs and governments, to promote education for sustainable development have tended to focus on the environmental (and to a lesser degree) the economic aspects of sustainable development, neglecting, in large part, social and politi-

sustainable development, neglecting, in large part, social and political aspects of sustainable development.

Key concepts

To conclude, I take seven key concepts from a list produced by the Sustainable Development Education Panel for England 2001 and exemplify how political, social and economic aspects of ESD might be developed.

- Interdependence
- Citizenship and stewardship
- Needs and rights of future generations
- Diversity
- Quality of life
- Sustainable change
- Balance

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Globalization and Education for Sustainable Development in the Asia-Pacific Region

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Development of international exchange activities in Japan

Today many Japanese feel close to the Asia-Pacific region. However, as Japan is an isolated island country, it has only been a few decades since Japanese have had a chance to interact directly with people from other counties. In the 1970s it was still difficult to spot Westerners even in major cities and only during the last twenty years has Japan witnessed a large increase in foreign population.

After WW II, the United States was Japan's main international partner. During the occupation period from 1945 to 1952, Japan was very much influenced by the US, not only politically, but also economically and culturally. Even at the grassroots level, the burgeoning international ties were dominated to a large extent by Japan's relations with the US. The first sister city affiliation was concluded between the city of Nagasaki and St. Paul, USA, in 1955. At that time, then US president Eisenhower made an effort to promote people-to-people exchange between the US and other countries, even the USSR. The sister city program was one of the core projects in the people-to-people program. Japanese citizens, who shared anti-war sentiments and who were seeking ways of reconciliation with the rest of the world, jumped at the US sister city proposal. The number of sister cities

increased gradually in the 1950s and rose drastically in the 1960s. During this period grassroots ties existed predominantly with the US.

In those days participation in the sister city program was limited only to the upper echelons of society. For ordinary citizens it was rare to have a chance to talk with foreigners or even see them in the community. The first home stay program was initiated by the city of Sapporo in 1968 to host guests from Portland, Oregon, a sister city of Sapporo. It was a harbinger of international exchange programs through which ordinary Japanese had opportunities for direct encounters with foreigners. In the 1970s the number of such programs open to all citizens gradually increased. In the 1970s Japan also resumed its diplomatic ties with China, and sister cities with other

Asian countries, mostly Korea and China, started to be established. In the 1980s, grassroots exchange with Asia began to blossom and new ties with cities in other Asian countries such as Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia were formed.

In the 1990s, the impact of globalisation was starting to be felt even at the community level. An aspect of this phenomenon was the increase in Japan's foreign population. As of 2001, there were almost 1.8 million foreign residents, 1.4% of the total population, living in Japan. Moreover, the rate of international marriages reached one out of 20 in 2001. Japan's oft-cited homogeneous and uniform society has become an illusion today. The focus of international activities at the local level has changed from an exchange of goodwill with people overseas to living harmoniously with foreign residents in Japan. This new phase, living within a multi-cultural society, began during the 1990s. Another aspect of globalisation is the hollowing out of the local economy. Local governments are now forced to manage their communities under an international perspective and formulate strategic steps for international exchange and cooperation.

Movement of global citizens

The phrase "global citizen" was first used in international NGO circles. Gradually the term circulated among the mass media and local governments. Local governments used the phrase vigorously to promote international activities at the local level. Most prefectural governments have formulated international policy guidelines, and guidelines of prefectures such as Iwate, Fukushima, Kanagawa, Ishikawa, Okayama, Hiroshima and Ehime, refer explicitly to the phrase "global citizen". According to these guidelines, international exchange activities should be carried out by the citizens themselves and that it is the responsibility of individual citizens to cultivate the mindset of a global citizen. Today, the word "global citizen" is well known and its relevance is well recognized by society.

Not only the usage of the word itself, but also the actions towards becoming a "global citizen" have increased. Ordinary citizens have more opportunities to interact beyond their national borders, and international exchange and cooperation activities are more widespread. At educational institutions, education about developmental issues permeates the school curriculum and the younger generation has more interest in global affairs today.

At the same time, the national government and related agencies such as JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) and JBIC (Japan Bank of International Cooperation) are seeking ways to work with NGOs and local governments in an international setting, and participation of the general public in ODA (Official Development Assistance) is being strongly advocated. If more Japanese citizens are involved in international cooperation activities, this will serve to enhance global citizenship and thus foster comradeship among people in the Asia-Pacific. Through increased opportunities for international cooperation, a wide range of citizens will be able to understand the different cultures in the region, and a spirit of mutual help based on an equal footing will be cultivated.

Challenges and prospects

The recent spread of global citizenship in Japan offers hope for a bright future with enhanced relationships between peoples. However, in reality this does not translate into unbridled optimism. One question is, whether grassroots international exchange and cooperation is deeply rooted in society. Yokohama is known as one of the most international port cities in Japan. However, only 4.4% of its citizens are interested or involved in international activities. This means the other 95.6% have no interest. Therefore, in reality, international grassroots activities have not taken root in the communities. To make them more community based, international activities should be more people-friendly. In other words, an innovative approach is needed which attracts the attention of ordinary citizens. Flexibility in international activities is needed to broaden the popular base and further cultivate global citizenship. Another problem is that the current Japanese mood is shifting towards a more realist conceptualisation of international affairs, including military enhancement in the face of threats from North Korea.

A nationalistic atmosphere is being nurtured by the news media reporting on ominous events in North Korea. The peaceful mood prevalent in Japan immediately after the end of the Cold War has recently become more tense, and global citizenship is coming to be regarded as too idealistic or unrealistic. Nevertheless, global citizenship based on direct interaction among people beyond national borders is important. The expansion of direct people-to-people exchange is even more important today to counterbalance the rise in hard line sentiment.

Education for a Sustainable Community: Experience from Okinawa

Ms Junko Oshima

Background

This presentation focuses on the work of the Kunigami village to empower the local people in the processes to attain a sustainable tourism. It is a case study of community education in a rural area for sustainable development in Japan. Being unsatisfied with the existing processes of development of the region, and feeling increasingly excluded from the planning of new development the people of the Kunigami region began learning about what is ecotourism, what are the expectations and needs of the public, how to manage themselves, conduct research, etc.

Okinawa is a small archipelago in the south of Japan, and is struggling to develop locally sensitive government and economic sustainability after years of US administration and economic support after World War II. Currently Okinawa receives income from three main areas 1) government/public investment, 2) tourism, and 3) military bases. Since its return to Japan in 1972, public works funded by the Tokyo-based government as well as tourism have become the main areas of economic input. There are complex problems in the local community such as aging, rapid depopulation, caused by the migration of young people in search of work, restriction of investment on 'hard' investment (such as public

works)construction and service industry and attracting of resorts and universities to Okinawa

Kunigami is a small village on the Okinawa mainland, which is currently well-known domestically and is a popular ecotourism destination because of its pristine subtropical rainforest environment unknown on the mainland Japanese . Unique to this island is an environment of native birds, frogs, reptiles and flora that attract the current generation of "nature lovers". Recently interest has increased in this region as an ideal location for ecotourism by the Tokyo-based tour operators. This has involved the Government as well as planners and consultants in creating the use concepts as well as the formation of new policy to govern the land use of this region. However this process has been largely without the involvement of regional communities, local people and conservation groups in

One of the major reasons for the existence of the pristine environment on the island is the presence the United States Marine corps, marine bases and various Warfare Training Centers. However in 2003 the areas controlled by the United States Marine corps around Kunigami will be returned to local control. Accordingly the usage and maintenance of theses areas, natural ecology as well as the local populations, economic needs are presently under discussion. One plan is to create a national park. Local people believe that sustainable tourism is of increasing significance to Okinawa as the other sources of income are declines significantly.

Community-based project: Local people contacted me to assist them with the development of ecotourism industry the sustainable economic development and to preserve the existent environment of the region. To do this, local people need skills, leadership and research capability, as well as understanding about ecotourism. Hence, a workshop was organized for the local people. The objectives are given below in box.

Sustainable Tourism

1) Conserving the local area
2) Stimulating economic development
3) Providing control over local resource

Empowerment means education

1) What is eco-tourism ?
2) How to work with the government ?
3) How to conduct research ?
4) Developing leadership skills

Workshop for skills development

Objective 1: To change from what is an unconscious knowledge into a conscious understanding

Objective 2: To enable the community to actively participate in the planning and implementation of government schemes and usage plans

Objective 3: To enable community leaders to effectively assert present themselves

Outcomes of the workshop

As a follow up, I conducted a focus group interview to identify what they had gained from the workshops. Here is the summary.

- A change in their view of how to see problems and find solutions
- Improvement in the relationship between themselves and the local government
- Grasping of the issues involved in the interplay between conservation and sustainable usage
- Knowledge that usage of an area can be compatible with conservation and protection of the area
- Development of the political skills needed to negotiate with the government and other community members
- In recognizing weaknesses that they had in dealing with the government bureaucracy, and now they are able to focus on the improvement of the area

The feeling of the group was that what members had done so far was very productive and useful. Everyone felt that they are now better eqipped to deal with and understand local government, and that they had improved their relationship between themselves and local government. They can see tangible evidence of this improvement. They have successfully changed the methods of local government to include Kunigami leaders in the consultation process. Local government now actually seeks and recognizes the value of their input and suggestions.

Lessons

Found that it was important to choose words and explanations which suite the target audience's vocabulary. I found that there is specific meaning to words and phrases which are common within education for sustainable development and environmental education that do not have the same expression of meaning to people outside this discipline.

ESD and the Challenges for International Development NGOs

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ESD in the context of developing countries

- Two aspects of education: Education for development, education as a human right
- Education crisis: 115 million children not enrolled in primary schools, 2/3 girls, 47% in Asia, 862 million illiterate adults
- Internationally agreed EFA goals: Dakar Framework for Action
  - Expanding and improving early childhood care and education
  - By 2015 all children have access to free primary education
  - Learning needs of young people and adults are met including life skills
  - By 2015 50% improvement in level of adult literacy
  - By 2005 eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education, by 2015 achieving gender equality in education
  - Improving quality of education, especially in literacy, numeracy and life skills

One-third of the world's population live in 47 countries where achieving the EFA goals will remain a dream unless a strong and concerted effort is made.

What needs to be done?

- Developing countries should:
  - Invest in education: 6% of GNP should be allocated to education expenditures
  - Formulate good plan: National Education Plan
  - Implement plan: capacity building of education administration
- Developed countries should:
  - Allocate more ODA budget to basic education
  - 5.6 billion US$ of external assistance is necessary to achieve EFA goals. Cost is equal to three days of military expenditure and less than one stealth bomber. Currently 1.5 billion US$ is allocated to basic education, one-fourth of necessary amount.
  - "Countries seriously committed to achieving EFA should not fail due to the lack of resources". (According to the Dakar Framework for Action)
  - Promoting debt relief for basic education
- Improve assistance modalities
  - Ownership of aid by recipient countries, reduction of transaction costs, e.g. Ghana receives 54 donor missions a year. From project aid to program and sector aid
- Improve quality of aid:
  - Shifting from hardware component to software component
  - Support for all EFA goals: early childhood education, Inclusive education, adult literacy and life skills program
- Improving and promoting Fast Track Initiative (FTI)
  - Financial gap of countries with good plan and capacity for achieving EFA shall automatically be met by external assistance.
  - Country level planning, coordination, implementation and management rather than international pooled fund.

- Challenges of FTI: Lack of transparency, lack of flexibility in criteria for eligible countries, e.g. teachers salary, post conflict countries and highly populated countries.

ESD and EFA

- Linking ESD with EFA, UN resolution on the Decade for ESD calling for integrating ESD Action Plan into National Education Plan
- Promoting life skills education program, No. 3 and 6 of EFA goals
- Concerns: ESD as mini-project rather than achievement of EFA goals

Challenge for International Development NGOs

- In Japan
  - Advocacy and lobbying efforts on Japanese ODA for achieving EFA goals
    - Japan NGO Network for Education (JNNE)
  - Development education
  - Incidental learning
    - Hamburg Declaration of Fifth International Conference of Adult Education
  - Addressing 100,000 unenrolled children of migrants in Japan
- In developing countries
  - Life skills education:
    - HIV/AIDs prevention, health, hygiene education
    - Environmental education
    - Conflict resolution, trauma healing and non-violence education
    - Community sensitization and organization
  - Assistance for empowerment of the marginalized: ethnic minorities, the disabled, slum population, etc.

Education and Skills in Social Participation and Action

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What is globalization?

People, articles, money, information and so on are permeating everywhere in countries and social groups. We call such a status of borderless world "globalization" (see Figure 1). But this view is static rather than dynamic. We need to seize "globalization" as a contradic-

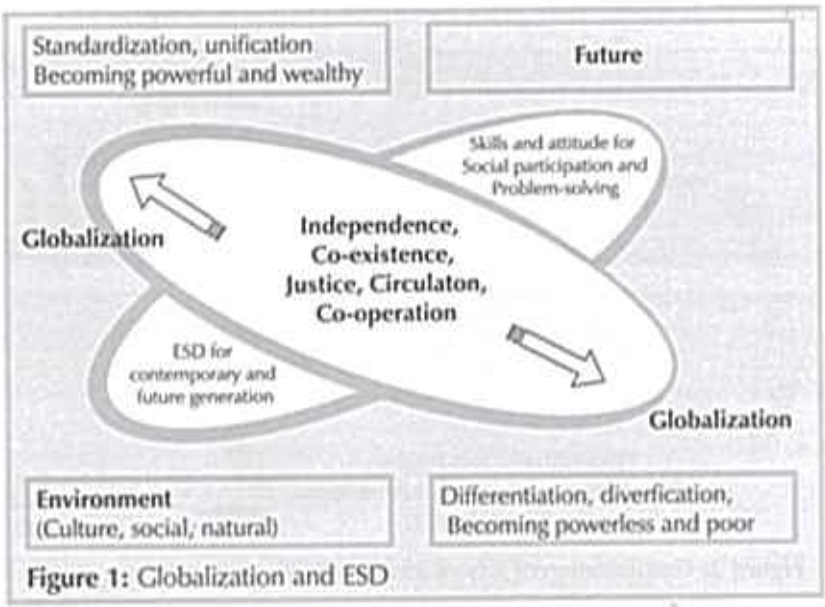

Figure 1: Globalization and ESD

tory and polarized process. The dynamism of world capitalism polarizes the word; "standardization or unification" and "differentiation or diversification" and also "the powerful or wealthy" and "the powerless or poor".

Why ESD Mission

In a polarized world, as mentioned above, we need education based on principles like interdependence, co-existence, cooperation, injustice and circulation for our current and future generations. If we define such education as ESD, it shares principles with other kinds of education such as development education, environmental education, peace education, human rights education, education for international understanding, multicultural education, and gender education. These forms of education deal with the whole human environment like culture, society, life and nature. ESD is the education to create citizens responsible for sustaining development in the 21st century. ESD also tries to connect the world and social communities through children and their learning. It strives to develop people who will be able to commit themselves to creating local communities, a fair world, and a place for children to live (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Collaboration of school and children's participation

What are the elements of ESD?

Globalization has changed our social experiences as follows. (1) The diverse and universal human values has been exposed through interaction and conflicts among nations, and ethics cultures that were concealed with in the modern nation state system have appeared on the surface. (2) Global systems with political, economical, technological and ecological dimensions have been shaped through world wide interconnections. (3) Global issues such as development, environment, peace, and humankind, have to solve cooperatively have become common apparent. But it has also become clear that the power and wealth which are needed to solve such issues have never been distributed fairly in the world. (4) This situation involving our contemporary and future world has made us aware of the need on our part to choose a sustainable future. ESD is the area of education with essential elements and domain such as culture, systems, and global issues.

Why does ESD place importance on the problem-solving and participatory learning?

We wish to resolve global issues by the practice of ESD, so we intend to adopt a problem-solving approach to learning. This learning consists of the circular and spiral process of "*finding a problem, exploring concepts, analyzing cause and effect, making clear values, making decisions, and taking part in society*" Also we intend to adopt the style of learning called participatory learning and workshop, in order to learn in an interactive or holistic way rather than through dichotomy, and gain a lot of things from social experiences.

How do we practice ESD program?

In order to practice ESD we need to help children develop the abilities and skills of problem-solving and participation in communities. It is necessary for teachers to make a learning program organized according to problem-solving process within participatory learning and workshop. For learners and Integrated Study it is important for us

to make learners aware of "meta-cognition" in their learning experiences (A case example is given in Table 1).

Table 1: Case simulation "Hyoutan island problems" and social action program

LEARNING DESIGN	LEARNING PROGRAM **Issues:** Immigration in Multi-Ethnic 'Hyoutan Island'	ACTION PROGRAM **Issues:** Cultural diversity in our community
1. Communication gap	Difference in saying "Hello"	Signs and notice board for non-Japanese in community
2. Cultural conflict in festivals and labor sector	"Hyoutan Carnival requires all ethnic people to join	Companies, jobs, labor time and treatment for non-Japanese, especially immigrant workers.
3. Multi-cultural perspectives in education	Hyoutan School faces the crisis of the "national education"	Education for the non-Japanese children to help them to learn as Japanese and to keep mother tongue
4 Decision making about dwelling areas	Tokkuri area becoming the district for immigrants to live	Tensions and problem of cultural co-existence, which non-Japanese community faces.
5. Awareness of "commons"	Extinction of Hyoutan power?	Sustainable development and global issues

Skills for social participation and action include 1) brainstorming, debate, role-playing for discussion; 2) telephoning, letter writing, interviewing, using the Internet for research; and 3) presentation and proposal, fund raising, campaign and study tour.

Sustainable Development, Education and Policy: Comparative Perspectives

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Despite the general shift that is evident in the world's three largest economies towards thinking of environmental issues in more comprehensive, ecological, and global terms, Japan, Germany, and the United States continue to have markedly different approaches to dealing with environmental concerns and the concept of sustainable development.[1]

Germany is following what could be called the green social welfare state's approach to environmental protection. This approach tries to mitigate between social welfare state's approach to environmental protection. This approach tries to mitigate between social welfare needs, high unemployment rates, and environmental protection prerogatives through the use of regulations, environmental taxes, and voluntary agreements. The precautionary principle that calls for environmental protection measures to be taken in cases of scientific uncertainty when the cost of inaction could be serious or irreparable damage is increasingly guiding government policy. This is particularly noteworthy considering the very high unemployment rates that plagued Germany during the 1990s.

1 These differences in policy approaches are discussed in Miranda A. Schreurs, Environmental Politics in Japan, German, and the United States (Cambridge University Press, 2002)

In sharp contrast the USA has learned increasingly away from the use of environmental regulations towards the use of market-based mechanisms (but not taxes) to control pollution and cost-benefit analysis to determine when environmental protection should take precedence over economic activities. Politicians in the United State (US) typically avoid discussion of environmental taxes because they fear the electoral consequences of doing so. A polluter pays principle is accepted, but increasingly cost considerations to industry are being weighed. The precautionary principle dose not have firm roots in the US and the US is less inclined towards multilateral approaches to environmental protection than Germany.

Japan follows an approach somewhat in between that of Germany and the US. Increasingly, whereas in the past, Japan looked largely to the US for new environmental policy ideas, today it looks increasingly at Germany and other European states. Because of the legacy of the severe pollution incidents that hit Japan in the 1960s, a polluter pays philosophy is strongly embedded. Cost-benefit analysis and risk assessment do not have a strong tradition in government planning. The precautionary principle has gained somewhat greater acceptance than in the US , especially during the 1990s. Japan remains less embracing of market-based approaches to pollution control than is the case in the US although this is changing. The Japanese government prefers voluntary approaches to industrial pollution control and when necessary the use of regulations and incentives to guide industrial change.

The differences in the policy approaches of these three key economies have been clearly reflected in the international climate change negotiations, which have bogged down repeatedly over the course of a decade because of policy differences among them. Germany, both independently and as a member of the European Union (EU) has been an active advocate of immediate international action in climate change by the advanced industrialized states. Germany, the largest greenhouse gas emitter within the EU responsible for about one third of EU emissions, pushed hard within the EU and internationally for an interna-

tional agreement that would require the developed world to take action domestically to reduce their own sources of greenhouse gases and set an ambitious target for its own emissions reduction. While US under the William J. Clinton administration agreed to the Kyoto protocol and to a substantial emissions reduction target , there was strong opposition in the US Senate to the agreement on the grounds that it was unfair to the US economy.

Differences across the Atlantic widened after George W. Bush took office and announced his "unequivocal" opposition to the treaty. Japan sought to play the role of mediator between the positions of Germany and the EU, on the one hand, and the US, on the other, but with only limited success. When the negotiations over the future of the Kyoto Protocol resumed, Japan championed the position of the US in the negotiations under the Clinton administration–that is the use of flexible mechanisms and market-based approaches to addressing climate change—in a final desperate effort to get the US to return to the fold of the Kyoto Protocol . When these efforts failed, Japan sided with Germany and the EU in moving forward on the Kyoto Protocol even without US participation. This solution has been rejected by the Bush administration which continues to question climate change science and argues that an international emissions trading system is untested, and thus, dangerous. The Bush administration instead has called for long-term technology based solution on climate change. The EU views this as the US shirking its responsibility to act now on a pressing global environmental matter. If Russia ratifies the Kyoto Protocol as it is now hinting it will do, then in 2004 the agreement will go into effect even without the US raising important questions for US industry that will not be able to benefit from Kyoto's flexible mechanisms.

The differences voiced in the climate change negotiations speak to larger differences that have developed among these countries in terms of the roles they feel that government and markets should play in relationship to sustainable development and where responsibility for taking action lies. They further reflect differences in the relationship that have emerged among governments, business, and environ-

mental NGOs in the policy-making process. They also suggest that there are different levels of interest in working at the multilateral level for environmental protection emerging in the three countries. Finally, they suggest there are different levels of societal understandings of "sustainable development" and what must be done to change current development trajectories.

In thinking about sustainable development education, it is necessary to consider how these kinds of differences in policy approaches in states may affect how the term sustainable development is perceived by educators. These kind of major differences in policy approaches are likely to influence the content of education, especially as it regards the kinds of responsibilities to be born by governments, industries, and individuals in moving their societies towards more sustainable forms of development.

Education for Sustainable Development: Issues and challenge of the International Decade for ESD in Asia and the Pacific

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Introduction

The United Nations General Assembly has proclaimed the ten-year period from 2005 to 2014 as the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development[1].Governments around the world are invited to use the Decade to integrate education for sustainable development into their national education strategies and action plans at all appropriate levels.

This is something that most of us involved in environmental education, development education, human rights education, peace education, global education and so on had never dared dream about. So we are most grateful for the wisdom and initiative of our friends in the Japanese NGO movement and government who catalysed a global movement to bring the decade into being.

The United Nations General Assembly has nominated UNESCO as the Lead Agency in the promotion of the Decade. UNESCO is required to consult with the United Nations and other relevant international organizations, governments, NGOs and other stakeholders to develop a draft International Implementation Scheme—a Plan of Action—for the Decade.

[1] United Nations General Assembly, draft resolution A/C.2/57/L.71,December9,2002

I spent much of July in Paris as a consultant assisting with the development of the Framework from which the International Implementation Scheme or Plan of Action will be developed. So as well as discussing the state of Education for Sustainable Development in Asia and the Pacific, I thought you might find it interesting if I began by sharing some of the thinking about thee framework within UNESCO.

I must stress, however, that I am not an Employee of UNESCO and do not speak for UNESCO in any official capacity.

So, my presentation today has two parts. First, I will share what I learnt at UNESCO about the Framework and, second, I will discuss education for sustainable development (ESD) in Asia and the Pacific, paying particular attention to the special responsibilities that we, in this region, face.

Toward a Framework for the Decade

I would like to report to you on two aspects of the Framework : the Timeline and the Partnership Approach.

Timeline

September 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development recommends Decade of ESD to United Nations General Assembly

December 2002 United Nations General Assembly declares Decade of ESD from January 1 2005 to 31 December 2014.

There are tree parts to the UNGA resolution:

1) *The aim is to encourage governments around the world to integrate ESD into their national education plans.*

We can do many things during the Decade to develop environmental education, development education and ESD but the Decade is our key opportunity to transform government policy. I think that this is the big chance we have been waiting for, and if we do not succeed in this, then we will have failed.

2) *As lead agency, UNESCO has to consult widely to develop a develop a draft International Implementation Scheme — a Plan of Action — for the Decade, bearing in mind the relationships between education for sustainable development and current international educational priorities, especially the Dakar Framework for Action of Education for All (EFA) adopted at the World Education Forum and the United Nations Literacy Decade(UNLD).*

There are two points here.

First, UNESCO will be consulting with all stakeholders to develop a daft plan of Action. The General Assembly will develop the final Plan.

Second, there is a very clear message that the governments of the world do not see ESD as a stand-alone enterprise. They do not want something new or extra added to their already overcrowded curriculums. Rather ESD has to complete other international educational priorities, especially Education for All and literacy.

This is a disappointment to some in the international environmental NGO movement who want to see more environmental education taught, or what they are calling "*environmental education for sustainable development*" but if people cannot

read and write, understand basic science and social studies, be effective citizens or have the knowledge and skills for living and, most importantly, making a living, then environmental education will be a waste of time. It will be like rain falling on a duck's back – it will just wash away – because it does not relate to the real world in which people are living. This does not mean that ESD is only about basic education or that it is only for developing countries. It means that ESD has to be relevant to local and national economic conditions and integrated into existing educational plans and activities. In other words, it has to contribute to mainstream education not be something separate. And I am confident *we can do this because ESD is just plan* and *simple* "good education"

3 *The United Nations general Assembly has invited all counties to develop their own Decade for ESD strategies bearing in mind the draft International Implementation Scheme.*

This requires understanding, commitment and action by governments. After all, it was the Member States of the United Nations who endorsed the Decade. However, apart from Security Council decisions, the United Nations can not force governments to act. Adherence to its resolutions is voluntary. This is why the resolution to establish the Decade endorsed by the General Assembly "invited" government to participate.

We have much work to do to encourage our governments to accept and act on the invitation.

Jan- August 2003	UNESCO consults widely and prepares a philosophical and procedural Framework from which to develop the draft International Implementation Scheme.
September 2003	UNESCO presents Framework to the Heads of UN Agencies UNESCO General Conference approves Framework.
October 2003	UNESCO reports to General Assembly for endorsement of Framework
Nov 2003 & 2004	Extensive consultations, regional and national meetings to develop the draft International Implementation Scheme.
October 2004	Draft International Implementation Scheme ratified by General Assembly
January 2005	International and national launches of Decade for ESD.

The Partnership Approach

Who are the partners in the Decade for ESD?

Partners include everyone who wants to be involved: all those organizations, networks bodies and alliances that share the conviction that sustainable development depends to a large extent on broad – based awareness through educational and learning processes. As Table 1 shows, there are partners at all levels–sub–national (local,

community)level ,national, regional and international levels, and from all spheres – governmental , civil society and NGOs , and private.

With such enormous and diverse group of potential partners, there is a need to focus on networks and alliances. Three key principles for doing this are: (1) vision, (2) demonstration programs and (3) networking.

Vision

If each partner is to play its role within the Decade of ESD , it is essential that they are able to articulate clearly what the vision of ESD is in two ways: first, the overall vision of ESD to which all partners subscribe and second, the particular vision for ESD within the parameters of their own aims, concerns and programs.

To facilitate this, UNESCO will be developing a general statement of vision on the basis of extensive consultations. This will be widely distributed and then revised in partner-specific adaptations The key to this will be ownership of the general statement.

Demonstration programs

Ultimately the Decade for ESD aims to see ESD implemented in thousands of local situations on the ground. Therefore, no standardized program can or should be proposed. However, demonstration activities and programs for adaptations in locally relevant and culturally appropriate ways will be developed and disseminated as catalysts for action.

Networking

Decade partners must be outward-looking, seeking to make connections with initiatives, programs, groupings and networks through whom ESD will be further promoted and implemented.

Table1: A sample list of potential partners in DESD

GOVERNMENTAL	CIVIL SOCIETY AND NGOS	PRIVATE
Sub-national		
• Provincial / state/ district departments of education and development sectors • Municipal authorities • Schools adult learning programs	• Community – based organizations • Local sections of NGOs • Faith – based groups • Village development committees • Adult learning groups	• Local business • Clans and families • Individuals
National		
• National government department of education and development sectors • Universities and research institutes • EFA networks	• National NGOs and NGO coalitions • Branches of international NGOs • Faith – based organizations • Teacher's associations and trade unions	• Private sector business • Business associations
Regional		
• Regional inter – governmental groupings • Regional EFA networks	• Regional civil society and NGO groupings and networks	• Regional business associations
International		
• Commission on SD • EFA High – Level and Working Groups • UNDG member agencies • Millennium Project Task Forces • Official/ semi-official watchdog bodies	• Sustainable development education networks • NGO UNESCO Liaison Committee • CCNGO/EFA • Global Campaign for Education • International environmental NGOs (e.g. IUCN)	• International associations of businesses(e.g. in the extractive sector) • Tansnational corporations (e.g. media corporations)

In particular , we must connect with (1) national governments because of their central coordinating role and resources and (2) civil society networks because their grassroots connections can enable DESD messages to fan out and down to local levels.

These partnership processes are designated to build participation, ownership and commitment to catalyze momentum for the international Decade.

Issues and challenges for the Decade in the Asia-Pacific region

Let me move now to explain how I see these issues in our Region.

The Asia-Pacific has made more progress in ESD than other region in the world. A special issue of the UNESCO journal *Prospect* on ESD around the world proved that when an article by Prof. Abe and Dr. Bhandari and I showed that we have done far more than any other region.

While progress has been significant, it has been uneven. No country in the region displays all the possible dimensions of ESD and no country has integrated education into all aspects of its sustainable development plans. Thus, significant remaining issues and challenges remain for us in the Decade, including:

- Better integrating ESD into sustainable development policies, e.g. economic, environment and population policies
- Better integrating ESD as a framework for education policies, especially national action plans related EFA goals
- Developing and implementing policies, guidelines and strategic plans on ESD more widely
- Addressing issues of governance to improve coordination between Ministries of Education and Ministries of Environment, Natural Resources, Agriculture, etc.
- Emphasizing ESD in non-formal education as well as in formal education

- Strengthening institutional capacity building and professional development process for improved planning and implementation of ESD
- Increasing monitoring , evaluation and reporting of ESD initiatives and their outcomes and impacts
- Increasing attention to the sustainability of initiatives so that policies, programs and activities are embedded in long – term education plans and financial arrangements

I would like to conclude with some suggestions for priority actions for us in this region during the Decade.

■ **First,** there is the need for coordinated regional action to make education more inclusive, to enroll all children in schools or alternative programs and provide adolescents and adult with opportunities for initial continuing learning. Such strategies should emphasize the inclusion of women and girls, which has major benefits, not only in terms of reducing the number of children and improving their health and wellbeing but also because women make up half the world's workforce and their deep concerns with quality of life issues makes gender a prime sustainable development issues.

■ **Second,** there is a need to increase the relevance of education to achieve maximum impact. An existing secondary curriculum, for example, can be oriented towards sustainability by re- thinking the ends it serves and adjusting its content and approach to suit the new objectives. Such reforms can yield significant results without requiring huge efforts or imposing enormous expenditures. Population education, health education, appropriate vocational education, all need to be integrated into core learning for people of all ages. Education for sustainable consumption – about how to create a global environment where all can aspire to good health conditions and living conditions – needs to be a key priority. However, what counts as sustainable consumption and sustainable lifestyle depends on context and culture. For example, in the North major changes are needed to reduce the impacts of consumption, whereas in the South, consumption levels

may need to rise in the interests of social equity – otherwise ,the basic human needs for food, water, housing, education, health and transport for the 4.4 billion people who live in the South may not be met. One of the tasks of ESD, especially in Northern countries, must be to develop an understanding of why these differences exist and why, at least for the time being, the application of equal standards would result in very inequitable outcomes.

■ **Third,** special efforts must be made in the area of education for rural transformation. Indeed, none of the Millennium Goals for education and development in the 21st Century will be realized without giving special attention to the situation of rural populations. In spite of rapid urbanization, three billion people – half the people of the world and 60 per cent of those in developing countries – still live in rural areas. Three quarters of the world's poor, those earning less than a dollar a day ,live in rural areas. One in five children in the South still does not attend primary school and , while rural – urban statistics on education are scarce, many countries report that non- attendance in school ,early dropout, adult illiteracy and gender inequality in education are disproportionately high in rural areas. Urban-rural disparities in educational investment and in the quality of teaching and learning are also widespread. Special efforts must be made during the Decade to link education to the specific needs of rural communities for skills and capacities to seize economic opportunities, improve livelihood and enhance the quality of life.

■ **Fourth,** capacity building is a major need. Teachers are the key to the quality of education. The UNESCO-UNEP International Environmental Programme once described the preparation of teachers as "the priority of priorities". Increased efforts to reorient teacher education programmes towards sustainability can empower teachers to maximize student and community participation in negotiating what and how students lean and for what purposes. To this end, regular opportunities should be provided for continuing in-service professional development for teachers to reflect upon and develop their commitments and practices in teaching for a sustainable future.

However, education for sustainable consumption must go beyond formal education as progress towards sustainable development ultimately depends upon capacity building in civil society. In democratic societies , public policy respond to the people. It is here that public awareness and understanding of the need for sustainable development best expresses itself through support for laws, regulations and policies favorable to the environment. We need to go beyond awareness raising to promote a deep understanding of sustainable development issues – and of the likely consequences of any purchasing or electoral decision.

- **Fifth**, vocational education and training for sustainable development must be given major priority. Strategies for promoting ESD must not regulate ecological concerns to one sphere and put economic and employment concerns in another. We need to come to see development not as an economic puzzle or ecological danger, but as a set of rational and moral choices guided by a vision of the future to which we aspire – and provide the skills for employability and lifelomg learning that equip people to make such choices.

Conclusion

Reorienting ESD during the International Decade will require additional financing but, above this, it requires political will, from governments willing to model an inter-departmental, cooperative approach to sustainable development. Schools other educational institutions and the communities at large could then take up that lead with whole-of-school, community-inclusive approaches that aim to engage each individual, adult and child, in the process of seeking sustainable lifestyles.

Sustainability is the goal; it is a goal that cannot be reached by technological "fixes", by scientific research, or by government edict . It is a goal that requires commitment from across the community, a commitment that can only be developed through education. For me, building this commitment is the ultimate purpose of the International Decade.

Part 2

Regional Identity and Challenges

The Asia-Pacific Community: Myth or Reality?

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Since the 1980s, as the term "globalization" has itself gained global currency, the economic, social, and cultural processes to which it refers have acquired an aura of ubiquity and inevitability. This is neither incidental nor unprecedented. Like modernization theory, which it has gradually superseded, the discourse on globalization frequently lays claim to a totalizing universality.[1] Yet, even as apologists forecast a borderless, integrated global economy built upon rational policies promoting economic and political liberalization through deregulation and privatization, globalization has also spawned a derivative discourse challenging this claim to universality. Animated by what Arif Dirlik calls "*place-based imagination*," this derivative discourse has drawn new attention to the particular, through the lens of localism

1 We must remember, however, that "globalization" remains a highly contested concept, subject to different meanings and usages. This fact is neatly captured in Richard Higgott's twofold definition of globalization as: "(i) "the emergence of a set of sequences and processes increasingly less hindered by territorial or jurisdictional barriers and one that enhances the spread of trans-border practices in economic, political, cultural and social domains; and (ii) as a discourse of political knowledge offering one view—perhaps the dominant one among powerful decision making elite—of how to make the postmodern world manageable. For many, globalization as knowledge constitutes a rationalization of government that challenges the language and imagery of a state-centric world and defines the limits of the possible." Richard Higgott, "The Political Economy of Globalisation in East Asia: the Salience of 'Region Building,'" in Kris Olds, Peter Dicken, Philip F. Kelly, Lily Kong and Henry Wai-chung Yeung, eds., *Globalization and the Asia-Pacific: Contested Territories* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 92.

and regionalism. While not necessarily opposed to globalization, per se, it seeks to create new regional communities, or new networks of local communities, in order to resist globalization's threat of marginalization and to fashion new political spaces in which to influence the process of development and its outcomes.[2]

Asia has certainly not been immune to discourses on regionalism, which have a history there even longer than that of globalization. In this context, it is pertinent to recall that as early as 1936(??) Imperial Japan cited the need to create a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in order to justify its prosecution of the Pacific War. For one thing, this example serves to remind us that places are not preordained; they are produced, together with the networks of social relations that help to define their inhabitants. For another, it helps to account for the ambiguity that has greeted Japanese proponents of a new Asia-Pacific regionalism since the early 1980s, when Japan began to embrace this strategy as a means to cope with the forces of globalization. That is, citizens in some of the countries that Japan hopes to join within a new Asia-Pacific regional partnership are wary of doing so, vividly recalling the wartime hardships they experienced as a result of Japan's earlier promise of "co-prosperity."[3]

However, wartime memories are not the only, or even the major, impediment to the construction of a viable Asia-Pacific regional community. Another factor often cited by skeptics is the dearth of historical and cultural ties upon which to forge such a community, especially when contrasted with the likes of Europe and the EU or North America and NAFTA. While both of these alliances clearly represent marriages of economic convenience, their success is allegedly bol-

2 Arif Dirlik, "Globalism and the Politics of Place," in Ibid.

3 Yumei Zhang, *Pacific Asia: The Politics of Development* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 139-140. Memories of the war and the Japanese occupation forces in East and Southeast Asia continue to evolve in response to domestic politics: they vary not only between countries, but also between ethnic groups within a single society. See Wang Gungwu, "Memories of War: World War II in Asia," in P. Lim Pui Huen and Diana Wong, eds., *War and Memory in Malaysia and Singapore* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2000); and Ricardo T. Jose, "War and Violence, History and Memory," in Kwok Kian-Woon, Indira Arumugam, Karen Chia and Lee Chee Keng, eds., *'We Asians': Between Past and Future* (Singapore: National Heritage Society, 2000).

stered by the existence of contiguous political borders, shared histories and cultures, and shared languages.[4] The Asia-Pacific, on the other hand, is potentially so vast geographically, and so diverse culturally, as to deny any hint of commonality and any basis for community. If taken literally to mean all states bordering the Pacific Ocean, then one is obliged to include portions of Central and South America, not to mention North America, together with Australia, New Zealand, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. Even if the Americas are excluded, one is still left with a region whose ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity, coupled with vastly different stages of economic and political development, continue to challenge the communal integrity of certain postcolonial member states, such as Indonesia and Malaysia.

This fact has prompted some proponents of regionalism to seek alternatives to the Asia-Pacific imaginary, more akin to the imagined integrity of the Western European and North American models. Yet, the alternatives most often mentioned—Southeast Asia and East Asia—each present their own problems. Like the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the name Southeast Asia dates from the Pacific War; invented by the Allied Forces to coordinate their counter-offensive military operations against Japan. At the time, only Thailand (Siam) bore any semblance of a sovereign nation state; the other nine countries that make up today's Southeast Asia had yet to free themselves from European and American colonialism. This process of post-colonial nation building is not only recent, but arguably, remains unfinished; a circumstance that has tended to limit their governments' commitment to regional cooperation and integration.

By contrast, East Asia boasts three of the oldest state-governed societies in Asia (China, Korea, Japan), which together forged a dis-

4 That the EU and NAFTA are also contested political inventions is clear from the disagreements that arose during the recent European Union constitutional convention in Brussels. According to one commentator, the new European constitution "is unlikely to define Europe categorically because it can't possibly reconcile the very real political, economic, and geographical divisions that exist among member countries," and because "its [the EU's] institutions remain distant, physically and metaphorically, from the people they represent." See Margalit Edelman, "E Who? The Elusive EU Identity," in *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 10, 2003.

tinct regional identity as a result of extensive economic and cultural ties dating back centuries. However, those ties were severed during the modern era by the forces of imperialism, colonialism, and wars both "hot" and "cold"; forces which also created deep political divisions within China and Korea that continue to threaten the security of the entire region.

These constraints have not prevented attempts by different conglomerations of state governments within the Asia-Pacific to meet the challenge of globalization by constructing regional alliances, but they have influenced the outcomes of these experiments. As Higgott explains: *"... regionness varies by policy issue and by what the dominant actors in a given group of countries, at a given time, see as their priorities. Shared historical, linguistic and/or cultural characteristics traditionally define a region, but with the attempts to construct understandings of region around the Pacific Ocean, these factors have lost some salience. While there may be structural incentives to regional cooperation (proximity, dramatic technological and economic growth and enhanced interaction flowing from it) regions are socially constructed—they need positive social and political action to advance them."*[5]

Again, one can even cite precedents that predate the current era of globalization. The best known is probably ASEAN, which was established in 1967 when its founding members (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand) signed the Bangkok Declaration. Although this document spoke of promoting economic, social and cultural cooperation in the region, the organization was established mainly for political-security regions, which helps to explain why it has been dominated by foreign ministers and has relied on state-to-state cooperation through diplomacy.[6] With the end of the Cold War, the ASEAN policy agenda has expanded beyond traditional security issues to include trade and finance.[7] However, the Asian Financial

5 Higgott, p. 93.

6 Jusuf Wanandi, "ASEAN's Past and the Challenges Ahead: Aspects of Politics and Security," in Simon S.C. Tay, Jesus P. Estanislao, and Hadi Soesastro, eds., *Reinventing ASEAN* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001), p. 25.

Crisis precipitated a crisis of confidence in the future of ASEAN itself, not only with respect to its policy priorities, but also with respect to its traditional code of conduct, known as the "ASEAN way."[8] Thus, it remains to be seen whether ASEAN is prepared to consider more politically sensitive issues, as well, such as democracy, human rights, poverty, literacy, and environmental pollution.

Why should economic issues dominate the agendas of so many private sector and public sector regional forums in this part of the world? There are several reasons. First, the contemporary discourse on globalization has always centered on economic reform as the basis or starting point for broader political and social reforms.[9] Economic deregulation, privatization—both within and across national borders—is seen as the catalyst for greater economic opportunity and healthy competition; which, in turn, expands the middle class; which, in turn, brings pressure from below for political deregulation at the top, culminating in the global spread of political, economic and social democracy.

Second, it is the vested political and business elites who thus have the most to gain by trying to manage, if not control, this far-reaching process. Ever since the Meiji government coined the phrase "*rich country, strong military*," governments throughout Asia have pinned their nation-building plans, and their own legitimacy, on economic modernization. Besides funding a "strong military"—as much to quell dissent at home as to defend the homeland from foreign powers or to project its power abroad—a "rich country" may also bolster a regime's popular support, to the extent that citizens believe that their

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7 Zhang, pp. 138-143. This began in 1992 when the six original member states set up the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), and gained further momentum following the 1997 Asian financial crisis through the so-called "ASEAN+3" formula, which brought the ASEAN member states (now numbering ten) together with China, Japan and South Korea. See also Higgott, p. 104.

8 The ASEAN way, among other things, "(1) emphasizes the norm of non-interference in other states' affairs; (2) prefers consensus and non-binding plans to treaties and legalistic rules; and (3) relies on national institutions and actions, rather than creating a strong central bureaucracy." Simon S.C. Tay and Jesus Estanislao, "The Relevance of ASEAN: Crisis and Change," in Tay et. al., *Reinventing ASEAN*, p. 9.

9 Robert W. Cox, "A Perspective on Globalization," in James H. Mittelman, ed., *Globalization: Critical Reflections* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), pp. 21-24.

own lives will improve as a result. Again, beginning with the Meiji leadership, those same governments have tried to discourage citizens' demands for a greater share of political power by substituting hopes for a higher standard of living, and by promoting an ideology of economic nationalism.[10]

A third reason why economic issues have spurred Asia-Pacific states to experiment with newer regional forums, like the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC) and its East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC), is that they can be discursively framed as matters of a diplomatic, bureaucratic or technocratic nature, requiring the authority and expertise of the ruling elites in order to resolve. This reduces the possibility of public "interference" in the negotiation and policy-making process, and also reduces the potential for these economic matters to assume domestic political, social, or cultural importance beyond the ability of the elites to fully control.

What has resulted from this elite domination of the discourse on regionalism among Asia-Pacific states? First, it has meant that elite interests have dominated the "official" regional agenda. Second, it has meant that these elites have structured regional alliances so as to retain control over the policy-making process, and to favor policies that protect their interests. In practical terms, this has meant that issues impacting the quality of life of the general populations in these states—including "sustainable development," environmental pollution, economic inequality, and human rights—are either deliberately or inadvertently overlooked.

This does not mean that the ruling elites have been oblivious to public opinion. On the contrary, the political leaders of states like Australia, Singapore, Malaysia, and Japan have, at different times, sought to expose their citizens to selected excerpts of the twin discourses on globalization and regionalism. However, the operative phrase here is "selected excerpts", by emphasizing their own position on these matters, these leaders have worked to subsume globalization

10 Zhang, p. 144.

and regionalism under their domestic political agenda. Under this formula, the value of globalization and regionalism is assessed almost exclusively in terms of the nation-state.

Little wonder, then, that their cautious attempts at regional cooperation through such entities as ASEAN and APEC have rarely been accompanied by genuine attempts at regional identity formation. Rather, identity remains firmly tied to the nation. A case in point is the appeal to "Asian values" that was popularized by political and business elites in countries like Malaysia, Singaporean, Korea, and Japan beginning in the late 1970s. While it may be seen as a region-wide reaction to globalization, it did not constitute a coordinated pursuit of a shared regional identity. To begin with, there was no common agreement about what values were "Asian," or even why they were uniquely Asian. The tendency during this period to affix the "Asian" label to values such as harmony, cooperation, consensus, placing society above self, and respect for authority had less to do with reviving a neglected regional heritage than with inventing a national one. In Malaysia and Singapore, the primary goal was to neutralize ethnic tensions between Malays, Chinese, and Indians within their respective societies, while in Korea and Japan it was to neutralize political tensions pitting leftists against conservatives, economic tensions pitting labor against management, and generational tensions pitting youth against their parents. Again, it must be emphasized that these goals were defined by the ruling elites, and primarily reflect the interests of these elites.[11]

Further proof that the Asian values debate was driven primarily by domestic political considerations on the part of the ruling elites is that by the early 1990s the debate itself was being quietly shelved. During this period, further advances in globalization ren-

11 Zhang, pp. 146-147; C.J.W.-L. Wee, "From Universal to Local Culture: The State, Ethnic Identity, and Capitalism in Singapore," in C.J.W.-L. Wee, ed., *Local Cultures and the "New Asia": The State, Culture, and Capitalism in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), pp. 138-142; Chua Beng Huat, "Living with Capitalism in Asia, Uncomfortably," in Kwok, et. al., *'We Asians': Between Past and Future*, pp. 141-145; David Birch, Tony Schirato, and Sanjay Srivastava, *Asia: Cultural Politics in the Global Age* (Crows Nest, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 2001), pp. 14-24.

dered the political virtue of Asian values into something of a political vice. Asian values were fine, unless they ended up stifling competition, discouraging the acquisition of foreign languages and a cosmopolitan outlook, or public receptivity to foreign investment, foreign culture, and modern technology.[12] Furthermore, the 1997 Asian financial crisis revealed numerous examples of corporate and political corruption in high places, which contradicted the ethical pretensions of the very elites who had championed the Asians values doctrine.

So what, then, are the prospects for regionalism in the Asia-Pacific, especially the formation of a regional identity and sense of community? Will "Asian values" and the "Asia-Pacific" remain captive to state interests, as defined by the political and economic gentry? Addressing the crisis of confidence in the future relevance of ASEAN, Tay and Estanislao urge the political elites themselves to take the initiative.

Accordingly, the ASEAN governments must be willing to recognize the rising voice and influence of civil society and non-government organizations. The greater participation of the peoples of the region is critical to building a sense of community within the region. Where ASEAN has traditionally been a state-centric organization, in the future much greater room should be provided to allow civil society organizations within ASEAN to reach out towards each other and co-operate more intensely in the pursuit of common interests.[13]

However, as this statement implies, the long-term prospects for creating new forms of regional identity and cooperation probably rest with *"the rising voice and influence of civil society and non-government organizations,"* and with their members' willingness to exercise Dirlik's *"place-based imagination."* In this regard, it is interesting to note that even some critics of the nationalistic, authoritarian character of the Asian values movement are slow to dismiss its transformative potential.[14] Even as the Japanese government, according to one critic,

12 Birch, Schirato and Srivastava believe there were racist overtones in this abrupt denunciation of Asian values, which they attribute to Western critics following the 1997 Asian financial crisis. See *Asia: Cultural Politics in the Global Age*, p. viii.

13 Tay and Estanislao, "The Relevance of ASEAN: Crisis and Change," p. 20.

potential.[14] Even as the Japanese government, according to one critic, moves to wave the banner of Asian values in a bid to re-establish its leadership in the region,[15] groups of citizens in Japan and elsewhere are taking a variety of initiatives to challenge their government's statist agendas.[16] In many cases, they have sought to minimize cooptation by the state by working through non-governmental organizations or through local governmental bodies to engage directly with their counterparts abroad in a variety of cultural, educational, and economic exchanges. Since these initiatives will be discussed by other participants in the Rikkyo symposium, I would like to devote the remainder of my remarks to a discussion of the relationship between regionalism and education in the Asia-Pacific.

Studies of education in the modern era customarily treat it as tool for nation building. On one hand, schools provide the members of a society with the practical knowledge and skills—literacy and numeracy—required of a modern workforce. On the other hand, schools are said to play an integral role in creating what Benedict Anderson calls an "imagined community," through the formation and dissemination of a common national identity and a shared national consciousness where none existed before.[17] Following the precedent set by the Meiji government in Japan, which pioneered the introduction of universal, compulsory education in Asia, state governments have not merely promoted schooling, but have sought to define the aims and content of school education according to a national economic, political and social agenda.

The question is whether, in response to globalization, education

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14 Chua, p. 151; Dirlik, p. 52.

15 Koichi Iwabuchi, *Recentering Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 13-14.

16 Zhang, p. 147; Chua, pp. 145-148.

17 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983, 1991). See also: Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991).

in Asia can be liberated from its exclusive focus on the nation to incorporate a truly regional—and global—perspective into the curriculum (both formal and informal)? Can schools be enlisted in the task of fostering a regional identity and sense of community, rather than strictly a national one? Can "education for sustainable development" assume a prominent, valued place in their curriculum? A brief look at educational reform efforts in Japan finds that while the potential is very real, so are the challenges.

In Japan, efforts to incorporate a regional perspective in the curriculum have been part of a larger official campaign to "internationalize" the school curriculum that dates back to the mid-1980s. To this end, the Ministry of Education has played a vigorous role by periodically revising the national curriculum guidelines that everyone from textbook writers and publishers to school officials and teachers are expected to adhere to. The advantage of this approach is that it sets minimum standards for curriculum reform for school districts throughout the country. The disadvantage is that it risks perpetuating elite, bureaucratic interference in education at the local level. Fortunately, such interference has itself been recognized as a deeply ingrained problem in Japanese education, prompting concurrent efforts to grant local school districts more flexibility in how they implement the standard curriculum guidelines. To cite one example: many prefectures have established new programs in international studies, some of which are housed in new international high schools, that offer students concentrated foreign language study in assorted Asian and Western languages (English, German, Chinese, Korean)—often taught with the help of native speakers—more intensive study of world history and foreign cultures, and opportunities to travel abroad in school-sponsored trips to destinations in both Asia and North America. The biggest obstacle to the success of these programs continues to be the Japan's much-criticized entrance exam system, which continues to favor rote memorization of empirical information over social education, practical experience and personal reflection.

Southeast Asian Identity and Community: By Whose Definition?

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Introduction

First and foremost, I would like to thank the organizers of this international symposium for inviting me to attend this conference, and a very special word of thanks to Mark Lincicome for inviting me to participate in this panel. When I was asked to speak in this panel, I was given to understand that my task is to present a Southeast Asian perspective on the prospects for a common identity and community in the region. Therefore, I have entitled my presentation: "Southeast Asian Identity and Community: By Whose Definition?"

To help me to frame my talk this afternoon, I am using two very useful concepts from the literature on identity formation. According to Shamsul (1996), a fellow countryman of mine, identity formation takes place within two social reality context: first, the "authority-defined" social reality and second is the "everyday-defined" social reality. The authority-defined social reality is the one which is authoritatively defined by people who are part of the dominant power structure, whereas the everyday defined social reality is the one which is experienced by the people in the course of their everyday life. These two social realities exist side by side at any given time.

Although very closely linked and constantly influencing and shaping each other, they may or may not be identical.

I am going to use these two concepts to analyze the Southeast Asian identity and community that have been observed and interpreted by researchers, scholars, writers and social analysts, as well as my own personal narrative as someone who have daily experienced the social reality in my country and region. Before I venture into my analysis, I wish to clarify that the authority-defined context would include the debate and discourse which have taken place, in the past and at present, within the government, and between government and non-government collectives, amongst the members of the intelligentsia and within the sphere of realpolitik. As for the everyday-defined context, the discourse is usually disparate, fragmented and intensely personal and maybe considered as "*subjective*" or "*voices from below*".

National identities

A very obvious authority-defined identity is the national identity. It can be said that every nation-state in Southeast Asia is very concerned about national unity and national identity and this is particularly so in multiethnic countries like Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines and Indonesia. Therefore, it is imperative that citizenship education in the formal school system emphasizes patriotism, shared common values, religious tolerance and civic-mindedness as well as national ideologies. Malaysia has her *Rukunegara*, Indonesia has her *Pancasilla*, and Singapore has her "Thinking Schools and Learning Nation"(Gopinathan, 2001).

However, despite the nation-states' effort to promote national unity and identity there is always opposition to this authority-defined national identity. Not only is there a contestation of identities among people of the same nation-state, but education is also often a "contested terrain". In Malaysia, the ethnic identities among the Chinese and Indians are still very strong and they have established their own Chinese and Tamil schools to maintain their ethnic cultures. The reassertion of local identities is very prevalent in this region in spite of all the global forces acting to make people come together. Sometimes this kind of resurgence can take the form of separatist, militant move-

ments such as the Moro Islamic Liberation Front in the Philippines and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Indonesia.

Regional communities

Another authority-defined social reality is the existence of inter-governmental organizations such as The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (or ASEAN) which was established in 1967 and as the name implies, it is a community of nations in South East Asia. The fundamental goal of the Association is to promote cooperative peace and shared prosperity in the region. Today ASEAN has 10 member countries and it deals with transnational issues like environment, transboundary haze, transnational crime and terrorism, immigration, and drugs. The recent SARS epidemic in the region saw the cooperation of the various Health and Transport Ministries in the affected ASEAN countries working together to eliminate this epidemic. As pointed out by Ulrich Beck (1992) in his famous book *The Risk Society*, environmental risks and health hazards transcend national boundaries.

Another inter-governmental organization is the Southeast Asian Minister of Education Organization (SEAMEO) which was established in 1965 as a chartered international organization whose purpose is to promote cooperation in education, science and culture in the region. Over the years, SEAMEO has developed 12 regional educational centers which provide programmes in training, research and development, information dissemination and policies analysis in areas of specialization such as the Regional Centre for Education in Science and Mathematics (RECSAM) in Malaysia, the Regional Language Centre (RELC) in Singapore, and the Regional Centre for Higher Education and Development (RIHED) in Thailand. These regional centres are examples of an authority-defined regional community working together to improve the formal education systems in each of the member countries.

Beyond the Southeast Asian region, there is yet another bigger regional cooperation which is the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

(APEC) which is a regional forum for promoting open trade and practical economic cooperation among 21 economies in the Asia-Pacific region. Putting this in layman's term, this is a "rich-man's club" comprising of the business elites operating in a borderless global economy. These business elites can be loosely described as the global tribes which jet set from one global city to another clinching business deals one after another. The development of this form of transnationalism or cosmopolitanism has led to some social commentators into arguing that, for better or for worse, this 'privileged class' would be more detached about their own national identities and regard themselves as "world citizens" (Lasch, 1995; Beck, 1998).

Besides these inter-governmental organizations, there is another set of global citizens with a common interest to solve global problems. These are the international non-government organizations (INGOs) which are usually associated with global social movements like green movement, women movement, human rights movement, workers' movement, peace movement, religious movement and many other kinds of movements. These social movements cooperate transnationally in the pursuit of worldwide goals. For examples, the green movement has the global mission of saving the planet from environmental deterioration; the women movement fights for women's rights, and the human rights movement struggle for justice and freedom. With the help of advanced communication technology, all these social movements form global alliances of some sort thus creating a sense of common identity. Many of these social movements also work consistently at raising the consciousness of ordinary citizens about their cause. Much of these education and re-education activities are done through public campaigns championing the interests of disadvantaged groups, through different forms of protests, through all types of reach-out programmes, and also through alternative publications.

Among the globalising religious movements is the resurgence of Islam which has brought about drastic consequences in the international world order. In Southeast Asia, there are many faces of Islam ranging from moderate to extremist, militant Islam. To many South-

east Asian Muslims, Islam is a political force to fight for social justice and a share of the economic pie. Some influential Islamic organizations have lost faith on their own governments to deliver the developmental goods and so they took militant actions in order to have their voices heard like the recent spree of kidnappings by the Abu Sayab group in Southern Philippines. The Islamic movement is a force to be reckoned with especially after the Bali bombings by the regional militant group Jemaah Islamiyah. A recent news report in Bangkok reported that a terror suspect linked to the Jemaah Islamiyah confessed to plotting to bomb embassies in the Thai capital during the upcoming APEC forum in October. From these reported events, we can see that political Islam has taken advantage of the heightened religious consciousness among the Muslims in this region.

What I have presented so far is what I consider as authority-defined national identities and regional communities both at the governmental and non-governmental levels in Southeast Asia. Now I would like to present my own personal narrative to give you a sense of what the everyday life is like in this region.

Personal narrative

I am a Malaysian of ethnic Chinese origin. Coming from a multi-ethnic society I can speak several languages, Chinese, English and Malay. But because I was English-educated right from young (a colonial legacy), I can't read or write the Chinese language. In many ways, I am quite different from the Chinese in Taiwan and China because I have quite lost my mother tongue. I belong to the Chinese diaspora spread throughout the world who can still enjoy a Chinese movie that is beamed into my sitting room via satellite TV from Hong Kong.

In my country, I am considered as a non-Malay and therefore I am not entitled to all the "special privileges" which are given to the Malays, and such privileges include getting promoted in the university that I am working in or in obtaining government contracts if I were to engage myself in business. I have to work doubly hard in order to gain the

same recognition as my Malay colleagues. However, this does not bother me too much because as an academician I am connected with the international academic community where I draw my inspiration, sustenance and recognition. My area of specialization is comparative education and my research interest is higher education, and so I am involved with educational research organizations in Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, S. Korea, Australia, UK and USA.

I am a woman and I am single, so my lived experiences would be very different from those of a married woman who may have to play the role of a wife and a mother and take on the double-day job if she is holding a job outside her home. My lived experiences would also be quite different from an Indian woman who is a taper in a rubber estate in Malaysia or an Indonesian maid working in a Malaysian household.

I belong to a social reform movement called ALIRAN which is a non-government organization dedicated to justice, freedom and solidarity. In this organization, I work with other members in fostering social awareness about the essence of multi-ethnic harmony, the importance of human rights and democratic principles, and the significance of public integrity in the development of a nation. As an individual, I observe the daily deterioration of the haze condition brought about by open burning in Indonesia at this time of the year although the Malaysian government has stopped announcing the Air Pollution Index for fear of scaring away the tourists. This year the tourists have really stayed away because of the SARS scare. I still fear that I may contact SARS even though the Malaysian government has declared Malaysia as free from SARS. On my part, I am very aware of the degradation of the environment around me and I am doing my best to change my lifestyle so that I do not waste and I try to use environmental friendly products. I try to practice recycling but unfortunately there is no recycling facility at my place of residence.

Coming from the tropics I like spicy food and I like to wear bright colour clothes. However, I also like sushi and sashimi, tomyam and somtam, pizza and spaghetti, beefsteak and lamb chop. I enjoy Thai massage and Chinese reflexology. I am a movie buff and I like to watch

international films from different countries. Throughout my life journey, I have acquired a very diverse taste for food and pleasure.

Concluding remarks

My life journey and life politics is only an example of the 500 million lived experiences in the Southeast Asian region. In describing myself to you, you can see that I have multiple identities. Some of these identities are based on the classic institutions of state, class, nuclear family and ethnic group. Besides these authority-defined categories, I am also trying to seek to shape my own life while redefining the world around me. In exercising reflexivity, I try to empower myself and at the same time empower others.

As an individual, I am embedded in my society and the territorial space of where I come from. Besides living in a risk society, I am also living in a "network society" (Castells 1996). I am interconnected with people from my own locality, country and region. I am also closely associated with my colleagues in other universities and my comrades in other social reform groups. In this era of globalization, I like to think of myself as a global citizen who acts locally but think globally.

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Global Issues and the Formation of Regional Identity: A Case of Japanese NGOs

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Since the 1990's, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation (OECD), an agency of the United Nations, expressed new ideas such as "sustainable development", "participatory development", "social development", "human security" and "millennium development goals", which have promoted citizens groups and NGOs to reexamine previous approaches to economic development and to seek alternatives. These NGOs are concerned with global issues such as poverty alleviation, protection of human rights, extension of women's rights, conservation of the environment, debt cancellation, fair trade, equality of opportunity for education, promotion of health and sanitation, protection against the expansion of HIV/AIDS, provision of safe water, and banning of landmines. They also attempt to solve global issues. As a result of their activities, it is believed that NGOs contribute to the formation of global citizenship consciousness to tackle global issues.

This report will examine how to realize the formation of global citizenship consciousness by tackling global issues in the Asia-Pacific Region. It will concentrate on case studies of Japanese NGO activities in this region.

The report is divided into 4 sections: (1) the formation of regional identity and Asia-Pacific symbiotic society, (2) Asia-Pacific sym-

biosis and Japanese NGOs, (3) the role of Japanese NGOs in the formation of Asia-Pacific citizenship consciousness, (4) agendas for Japanese NGOs to achieve Asia-Pacific symbiosis.

Formation of regional identity and an Asia-Pacific symbiotic society

1) **Global citizenship consciousness and the Asia-Pacific citizenship consciousness:** In consequence of economic globalization in the Asian-Pacific region, global citizenship consciousness and the Asia-Pacific citizenship consciousness will expand to eliminate poverty and the gap between rich and poor people, stop environmental destruction, and protect human rights.

2) **The concept of the Asia-Pacific symbiotic society:** Asia-Pacific citizens and NGOs look forward to the realization of "*Asia-Pacific symbiosis*," which is a new vision and possibility aimed at a fair and equitable world through endogenous development in the Asia-Pacific society locally.

Asia-Pacific symbiotic society and Japanese NGOs

1) **Asia-Pacific NGOs and Japanese NGOs:** Local NGOs and Japanese NGOs are increasing remarkably in the Asian and the Pacific countries.Through the rapid advance of economic globalization in the Asia-Pacific region, Asia-Pacific local NGOs and Japanese NGOs are working actively to support and assist the poor and marginalized people.

2) **Japanese NGOs and the Asia-Pacific Symbiotic Society:** Asia-Pacific and Japanese NGOs are promoting a grassroots movement for the Asia-Pacific symbiotic society through partnership and sharing that reaches beyond the relationship between donors and recipients aiming to build a fair society that is free of poverty and discrimination in the Asia-Pacific region.

The role of Japanese NGOs in the formation of Asia-Pacific citizenship consciousness

1) **Supporter for independence and self-reliance of Asia-Pacific peoples:** Japanese NGOs are providing direct and indirect assistance in areas such as support for independence and self-reliance of Asia-Pacific peoples in order to increase their participatory consciousness and bolster their empowerment in cooperation with Asia-Pacific local NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs).
2) **Collaborator in Asia-Pacific nature and environmental conservation:** To prevent environmental destruction, Japanese NGOs support symbiosis for Asia-Pacific nature and environmental conservation through harmonization between Asia-Pacific people's livelihood and the environment.
3) **Promoter of Asia-Pacific traditional resources and appropriate technology:** Japanese NGOs are aiming at self-reliance, income generation, environmental conservation and fair trade among Asia-Pacific peoples through promotion of Asia-Pacific traditional resources and appropriate technology.

Adovocate/campaigner for solving Asia-Pacific Issues

Japanese NGOs advocate policies and lobby governments in advanced countries (including Japan), the UN, the IMF, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and transnational corporations for issues such as poverty alleviation, protection of human rights, extension of women's rights, conservation of the environment, debt cancellation, fair trade, equality of opportunity for education, provision of health and sanitation, protection against the expansion of HIV/AIDS, provision of safe water, banning of landmines, and respect for the position of the Asia-Pacific poor and weak people.

Educator for sustainable development on Asia-Pacific issues

Japanese NGOs work on education for sustainable development in Japan. They promote education to better understanding of Asia-Pacific issues, and participate in activities for making a fair Asia-Pacific symbiotic society. They also make approaches to the public and to schools in order to promote teaching materials and organize seminars and meetings to introduce these ideas into the school curriculum.

Conclusion

Agendas for Japanese NGOs relating to the realization of an Asia-Pacific symbiotic society.

1) The need for a philosophy for an Asia-Pacific symbiotic society
2) Network and partnership between the Asia-Pacific and Japanese NGOs
3) Promotion of education for sustainable development between the Asia-Pacific and Japanese NGOs.

Prospects for Regional Identity and Transnational Civil Society in Northeast Asia

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Introduction

In the world today, globalization, regionalization and localization are phenomena which have rarefied such attributes as national border consciousness and state sovereignty. After the end of the Cold War, regional exchanges between locals beyond national borders have occurred in Europe. Exchanges in peripheral regions have been called Euroregion INTERREG, and have been formed as sub-regions in the European Union (EU). In Asia, such zones as the Japan Sea Rim Economic Zone, the South China Economic Zone, and the Yellow Sea Rim Economic Zone have been created as sub-regions in East Asia. Such organizations can also be called regionalism. Regionalism can be categorized into three different classifications. The extensive Asia-Pacific area can be called *mega-region*; EU, ASEAN and NAFTA can be called *region*; then regional economic zone should be called *sub-region*.

In this presentation, I would like to focus on regionalism in Northeast Asia, and introduce "The Japan Sea Rim Exchange Movement." This movement has been created from the activities of local governments, economic organizations, universities, think tanks, NGOs, NPOs, etc. since 1990s. In this region, a common identity which raise local consciousness beyond national border is considered. I am observing

that the purpose of this regionalism is to examine the possibility of attaining a trans-national civil society in this region. I would like to consider a future view of a multicultural community that can be a model for other regions in the Asia-Pacific.

Features of regional cooperation in Northeast Asia

Northeast Asia contains six nations: the Russia Far East, three north-eastern provinces of China, South Korea, North Korea, Mongolia and Japan. The total population of these roughly defined areas is approximately 310 million people. Constitutional units which are focused on in this region are not states, but rather local governments, cities, local bodies, etc. Representative from this area can present a transnational regional order produced from the assembly of grassroots exchange and cooperation. In other words, the regional order would be formed by endogenous activities, while intergovernmental economic cooperation and security would be formed by deliberations among nations.

In fact, "The Japan Sea Rim Exchange Movement" has been impelled by some expectations which started future-oriented consciousness as follows: (1) expectation for establishment of self-renewal from the frontier consciousness which local residents have, (2) expectation for exchange between local governments beyond borders, (3) expectation for the participation of international activities for small and medium-sized companies, (4) expectation to the future of the region as a new sphere of life, (5) attention to the region as one eco-system. The features of the regional exchange and cooperation are as follows. (1) There is no administrative organization among nations and the non-state elements are strong. (2) It is also a regional economic zone. (3) Multi-layer actors, such as local governments, think tanks, companies, etc. can participate.

Northeast Asia as multicultural convivial society

The movement that began from the Japan Sea coastal side of Japan, such as Niigata, Toyama, Ishikawa, Tottori, Akita and Yamagata,

has been concerned even with the formation of cooperation of a larger Northeast Asia. Recently, a future-oriented grand design of a multicultural and multi-ethnic community design and a regional integration theory have become popular topics as found in the books such as 1) *A Grand Design of Northeast Asia*, written by Northeast Asia Grand Design Study Group, 2003; (2) *A Common House of Northeast Asia*, written by Kang Sang-Jung, 2001; (3) *East Asia Community*, written by Michio Morishima, 2001and (4) *East Asia Economic Community*, written by Japan International Forum, 2003.

A Northeast Asia Grand Design tries to find out mutual complementary relations in the diversity and socio-economic differences in the region. It takes up energy supply and environment problem as subjects which are addressed at the present. It also conceives an idea of cooperative security formed by a confidence building and cooperation between states in this region. Peaceful reconciliation and coexistence of the Korean Peninsula are required for realization of the multicultural symbiosis in the region. It is important to conquer the emotional problem related to the recognition of history among the Japanese, the Chinese and the Koreans. Professor Kang Sang-Jung advocates the Common House of Northeast Asia which is based on the principal axis as relations between Japan and South Korea. He proposes the joint control system for labor transfer between two countries and advancing the compatibility of units among Japan-South Korea universities. It is because a cultural understanding and people's exchange are indispensable to multicultural symbiosis.

Nowadays, 2.3 million Japanese people per year visit South Korea, and 1.3 million South Koreans have visited Japan. That means that 6400 Japanese have visited South Korea from twenty-two airports of the whole country everyday. Japanese people are the most foreign visitor for South Korea. A historical negative inheritance is between Japan and South Korea, and friction often occurs between governments. However peoples and economical exchange are increasing as if it conquered them. Professor Michio Morishima proposes the East Asia Community (EAC). The regional integration of East Asia can be

formed from an economic community (Gesellschaft) at first, and by an increase in half breeding and the rise of common consciousness, multicultural community (Gemeinschaft) would be created. Moreover, it is explained that the East Asian Union (EAU) can be formed after that. It becomes one of the hints of formation in terms of multicultural community and transnational civil society on a long-term view.

In Europe, people are required for the common consciousness and identity as *European citizens*. I think we have to recollect that today's EU has also started from the economic integration at the beginning. The Japan International Forum has announced the Economic Community of East Asia (ECEA) which can be established by ten nations of ASEAN, Japan, China, South Korea, and Singapore. The Forum has advocated setting the target year of 2025 to issue a single currency.

Conclusion and prospects

International relations of the Northeast Asian region seem to be traditional, because 'the conclusion of the Cold War' is not perfect and the confidence building on security is not made. The foreign policy in each country shows us the deadlock. As I mentioned, however, people's exchange and multi-layer cooperation have been formed endogenously. To conclude my brief paper, I would like to present some prospects for the 21st century in this region.

The multicultural convivial society in the region would be formed in order of endogenous/multi-layer exchange; regional cooperation; the rise of regional consciousness and regional community.

In order to deepen multicultural understanding in this region and to raise common citizen consciousness, it is necessary to reorgnize and study history mutually. I propose that the standard textbook of history in each country should be translated into the language of other countries so that these textbooks can be used in each school.

For solution of problems in the region, we need more the so-called "TRACK 2" discussion, in which international organizations, local governments, universities, think tanks and NGO/NPOs are expected to play important roles.

Low-politics activities in various fields will contribute to the stability and development in the region. This will, moreover, serve the security purpose and act as preventive diplomacy in a large meaning. Such practice in the region can serve as a model also for sub-regions in the Asia-Pacific region.

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East Asia: As a Nuclear Region

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Introduction

Generally speaking, the regional identity could be envisaged or constructed by two perspectives. One is from the 'center' and another is from the 'periphery'. In this report, I would like to think of the region of 'East Asia' from 'Niigata' that is typical countryside of Japan. The area is sometimes called 'Ura-Nihon' which means very backyard of the country. I think it is fruitful to examine the region not only from Tokyo but also from such a peripheral local area, because in doing so, we will be able to make clear the gap between these two perspectives.

In addition, as a matter of fact, my university (Niigata University of International and Information Studies) that just celebrated the 10th anniversary of the founding last month is established for the new sub-regional identity of the region, based on so-called 'Kan-Nihonkai' plan. It invited many instructors from Russia, China, Korea, and US in order to educate and produce the students who will be able to contribute to the new regional community in the future. I hope my educational experience of the university could have some meanings for this session.

In this report, I would like to illustrate the reality, both limits and possibilities, of the new regional community through investigating of the nuclear problems in the region. Although my argument sometimes sounds very pessimistic, I believe we have to face hard

reality in order to reach the ideal situation, something like 'community/identity beyond borders' in the future. Plus, too many cases about nuclear problems in the region will be tediously illustrated in the report. But I think these are very crucial references when we think of the symposium theme, 'Sustainable Development', 'Regional Identity', and 'global citizen' in the region.

First of all, I would like to reexamine the 'globalization' as a political consequence before investigating the nuclear politics in the region.

Globalization as a political consequence

Firstly, 'globalization' is most favorable to the strong, to those who have large power resources in the capitalist system. Alongside the emerging global business, trade and information flows, a 'localizing' space-fixing process is set in motion. In other words, 'globalization' promotes the process of 'polarization' (Bauman 1998), 'ghettoization' (Hobsbawm 1995), and 'global apartheid' (Richmond 1994) with a loss of substantial communication throughout most of the world. These arguments could be synthesized into the concept of "global totalitarianism" by analyzing the system of warfare and its victims (Sasaki, 2000b). What is significant is that these processes are not like a natural disaster, but are intentionally created and underpinned by influential industrial capital and powerful states.

Secondly, 'globalization' brings about a "global risk society". This term was invented by Ulrich Beck (1986) who was perhaps the first person to regard the Chernobyl accident as the starting point for thinking of 'globalization'. He considers the reactor disaster to be one of the key experiences that characterize our new age, and he argues that the institutions of industrial society and their claims of control and security are being refuted by the "global risk society". In a "risk society", according to Beck (1986), political control over scientific technology is structurally weakened by industrial and 'non-political' activities—a term he calls "sub-politics". The existing political-administrative system no longer continues to be the center of political activity. The

influence of "sub-politics" goes beyond borders and sometimes causes borderless, uncontrollable unrest or catastrophe (called the "globalization of side-effects"). This dynamic is more or less undermining the legitimacy of existing political power.

Thirdly, in connection with the second characteristic, a further political consequence of 'globalization' is the 'multi-stratification' of the political arena (Sasaki, 1998). The nation state, which has historical authority and power, will never disappear so easily. On the other hand, many states are in the process of transformation: changing their strategy, their very nature, to adapt to the new political environment (cf. McGrew, 1997). 'Globalization' unquestionably acts on all political levels—the individual, local, national, regional and international—as well as many new political subdivisions. States have been shaken and transformed by the claims of 'decentralization' from below and 'internationalization (globalization)' from above. In addition, 'civil society' has already lost its clear definition and sometimes splits into more than two sections, in terms of the meaning of the word 'citizen(-ship)'. 'Globalization' creates political fronts and limits the ambiguous, multiple and plural. Thus, 'globalization' also opens the possibility for individuals to participate in public affairs and even to be involved in the crucial decision-making processes that may determine the fate of the world. The 'industrial society' was joined with "simple modernity" just as "risk society" is now involved in a new stage of modernity "reflexive modernity".

The meaning of 'atom-politics'

Robert Jungk (1977), an eminent German journalist, once indicated that the harnessing of atomic energy for 'peaceful' purposes is directly linked to the military usage of plutonium, and, especially, with the government's antagonism against the residents and people of it's own country under the pretext of the 'safety' of its installations. He uses the term "Atom-Staat" ('Atom State') to express the authoritarian and anti-democratic regimes produced by the combination of nuclear industries and government (Jungk, 1977).

Following the example of Jungk (1977), I would like to introduce the term "Atom-Politics", which is defined as the cross-border political phenomenon in which power is derived not only from the possession of nuclear weaponry, but also from the generation of electricity by nuclear power. The implication is that "Atom-Politics" must encompass all of the political consequences stemming from the development and utilization of atomic energy. When seen from this comprehensive standpoint, we can grasp the relationship between scientific technology and political power. This term also suggests that greater insight can be gained into the political dynamics and processes of globalization taking place, especially in East Asia.

For instance, in Japan up to the present, the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has been commonly discussed only in the context of historical suffering caused by atomic bombs. However, contemporary problems from nuclear technology have hardly been mentioned. In Japanese, the word *genshiryoku*, or 'nuclear energy', is usually applied to the 'civil use' of nuclear energy, but never to its 'military use', while the English term may imply both. The term "Atom-Politics", therefore, may aid in the understanding of the potential 'duality' involved in nuclear technology.

In fact, from a historical viewpoint, the 'peaceful' use of atomic energy was originally a spin-off from the military use of nuclear power. The turning point was the public announcement of President Eisenhower's 'Atoms for Peace' program in 1953. His message appealed to developing countries seeking a level of technological independence, as well as to technically developed countries whose military-based nuclear complexes were searching for a peaceful nuclear mission and a market for their inventions. To date the 'military use' and the 'civil use' of nuclear energy have been mutually interdependent and repeatedly rise and fall together over time (Yoshioka, 1999).

Political systems based on the utilization of applied science are apt to be highly centralized and oppressive—especially to the disenfranchised. "Atom-Politics" emerges first from anti-democratic and

controlled societies. The risk that follows the development and utilization of atomic energy is always intentionally hidden from the citizens' eyes through the feigned priority given to technological and economic exploitation. Yet, once accidents take place, we find that the risk is unequally distributed, meaning that governments refuse to take responsibilities for unforeseen damages that come to light, and the politically weak are marginalized in the process. The nuclear power complex regularly disregards the "*voice of the voiceless*" until actual accidents or damages become public knowledge.

"Atom-Politics", therefore, includes the study of the condition between the "people's security" and national interests (national security), and between democracy and the politics of exploitation.

Global regime formation and 'atom-politics' in East Asia

Historically, we can assume the tow faces of 'East Asia'. One is pre-modern history of the trade-commerce-based spontaneous, autonomic region, and another is modern history of the development (exploitation)-based top down regional formation. Needless to say, nuclear regime in East Asia involves in the latter.

Nuclear power has long been promoted in the west as an inexhaustible supply of energy, a history which is being repeated in East Asia. But, this time the pace and coerciveness of the introduction of nuclear energy is far more prominent than compared to the western experience. A primary impetus for the shift to nuclear energy has been the rapid economic and energy growth experienced by the region. The intense development of technology in this region can be explained both as the result of each nation's desire to create technological competency, and a shared perception that the technology represents the most economical response to the energy demands stimulated by economic growth. Presently East Asia is rapidly becoming the world's largest producer of nuclear-generated electrical energy (Kim and Byrne, 1996).

The 'Atomic Regime' formed for both the exploitation and utilization of nuclear power is essentially a global phenomenon. It is not the sum of all countries' atomic regimes, but a further integrated global system. Of course, the countries of East Asia display a great diversity of social and political forms. Yet, despite the great diversity of their regimes, countries in this region have created remarkably similar nuclear technocracies. After the Eisenhower announcement, in the context of a global political economy which promoted nuclear technology, the US and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) offered basic nuclear technological know-how to Japan and South Korea. This eventually led to the formation of the first corporations of domestic nuclear scientists and experts in the 1950s.

During the Cold War of the 1950s and 1960s, the nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States intensified. Also during the same period, the civil use of nuclear power was promoted, institutionalized and made rapid advances around the world. In the early 1960s, General Electric (GE) developed the Boiling Water Reactor (BWR) and created a market. Another corporation, Westinghouse (WH), soon followed with even larger reactors. This brought about a global 'water reactor boom' in the mid-1960s, and enabled nuclear power generation to become an independent industry. These companies' activities served as the conduit for nuclear public relations in East Asia.

In Japan, for instance, the financial sector (*zaibatsu*) was stimulated by companies which had invested in nuclear power. Technical cooperation was established between Mitsubishi and WH, as well as between Toshiba, Hitachi and GE. Japan entered the nuclear era earlier than any other East Asian country during the 1960s and 1970s. In South Korea, like in Japan, the '*zaibatsu*' also played an important role in building an energy complex. A single public unity, the Korea Electric Power Corporation (KEPCO), was organized and given the responsibility for the construction of power plans, the generation and distribution of electricity, and the planning and finance for future energy needs. In South Korea, foreign companies such as WH and Framatome were major players during the early stages.

From the onset, each domestic 'Atomic Regime' in the East Asian region was strongly influenced by international political economies and formulated into highly centralized systems that concentrated nuclear technology in the hands of a few companies and governments.

During the late 1970s and 1980s, western countries gradually reconsidered their programs for enlarging the scale of electrical generation by nuclear power. Following the nuclear test by India in 1974, the international community sought to prevent nuclear proliferation, which also involved the curtailment of nuclear trade and the transfer of Sensitive Nuclear Technology (SNT). The Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty in 1987 also accelerated the decline of nuclear industries. Moreover, by the mid-1970s, international public opinion, which had favored nuclear power during the early 1970s, gradually became antagonistic towards nuclear technology because of safety concerns. The catastrophic accidents at Three Miles in 1979 and Chernobyl in 1986 were benchmarks in the shift of public opinion. Consequently, during the late 1980s and 1990s, the US and many European countries gradually scaled back the construction of new nuclear power plants. The decision by the French to abolish the 'Super-Phoenix (SPX)' in 1998, the indefinite extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1995, and the 1995 Japanese Monju accident made it clear that the use of nuclear power, both civil and military, could not be maintained in the West.

However, many countries in East Asia have not given up efforts to build new nuclear power plants even after the events of the 1990s. The main reason is that the nuclear industries in developed countries including US, France, Canada, Russia, Japan, and Korea have induced the rest of the East Asian countries to continue to import nuclear power plants and materials. Because these nuclear industries could no longer depend on the domestic demand for their products, they have found a way out to export their goods on a newer, larger, and more vulnerable international market.

As many analysts suspect, China will be the most important potential new nuclear market in the twenty-first century. France, Canada,

and Russia have taken the export offensive in China and have reached a number of nuclear cooperation agreements with the Chinese. North Korea originally seems to have pursued the development of an atomic weapons system over that of supplementing the country's means for generating electricity. However, North Korea had also been seeking assistance for the construction of two pressurized-water reactors (PRW) that would be built in exchange for giving up the generation of weapons-grade plutonium in graphite-moderated reactors. Operating under US, IAEA and Korean Energy Development Organization (KEDO) management, South Korea and Japan should have build and financed these PRWs (Molts and Mansourov, 2000). But this KEDO project is now deadlocked because the nuclear crisis in North Korea was rekindled by alteration of the US foreign policy. Taiwan has also become a battlefield for a marketing campaign by these nuclear energy corporations. Above all, Japan has played the most important role in exporting and constructing new nuclear power plants in this region, and has sought to manipulate public opinion in its scheme to accelerate nuclear exploitation (Miyajima, 1996).

At this point, it is necessary to redefine the concept of 'East Asia'. While the concept of 'region' has various implications, from this report's point of view, 'East Asia' involves the political space produced by the industrial-political complex formed for the express purpose of exploiting and utilizing atomic energy. If worst comes to worst, all nations share a common destiny in terms of suffering from not only nuclear accidents but also the chain reaction of nuclear militarization in this region. To put it succinctly, 'East Asia' is a 'Nuclear Region'.

'Atomic Regimes' as the denial of democracy

As previously mentioned, each 'Atomic Regime' in East Asia has pursued a similar path of development in creating a commercial nuclear power complex. Upon achieving this, each regime then steadily established centralized forms of energy control, and a nuclear regime arose either for the purpose of powering commerce or for military strength. In the process of either of these developments, the control of

large-scale technologies, such as the creation of nuclear reactors or the planning of comprehensive nuclear power programs, led each 'Atomic Regime' to become an autocratic system.

Generally, in East Asia, the promotion of nuclear development has been strongly linked to dictatorial and highly centralized governments. While North Korea would be the first country to spring to mind, Paul R. Josephson has noted that Russia's nuclear power program from Stalin to the present can be regarded as "atomic powered communism"(Josephson, 2000). The Chernobyl catastrophe has become the crucial icon of the bankruptcy of Soviet political leadership as well as symbolizing the failure of Soviet nuclear program itself. In South Korea, the Pak Chong-hui Administration once intended to develop nuclear weapons in 1970s. Both the Chon Du-hwan and No Tae-u Administration were involved in bribes from foreign nuclear companies. These so-called "authoritarian regimes" promoted the development of nuclear industries in South Korea. In addition, in Taiwan, Jiang Jie-shi was secretly committed to the development of nuclear weapons in an arms race with mainland China, especially after the mainlanders announced their first successful nuclear test in 1964. Taiwan currently operates six reactors. Moreover, all were built without any systematic opposition, because martial law had been in effect since 1949. An electric power company in Taiwan is still the only state-owned "Taiwan Electric Power Company", and has exclusive control over the Taiwanese Atomic Energy Commission.

Furthermore, an 'Atomic Regime' by necessity produces center-periphery relationships within its borders. Nuclear power plants are usually constructed not in the urban areas, but in the provinces where the government can easily buy pieces of land and where people lack the power to object to state policies. As a result, the risks and costs of electric power production are always forced on the peripheral regions in order to supply the fruits to the center. This system of inequality is found not only in the problems surrounding nuclear power plants, but also in the problems of military bases, because national security is sometimes preserved at the sacrifice of the residents around the

base, as can be observed numerous crimes committed by American service personnel in Japanese Okinawa. In such cases, however, the voice of the minorities is typically ignored. An example of this can be observed in the problem of radioactive waste disposal. For instance, in Taiwan, over sixty percent of nuclear waste is kept on a very small island, Lan-Yu Dao , in which the aboriginal Yami tribe have lived for centuries. Therefore, in a sense, the problem of nuclear politics is sometimes linked to the problems of ethnic minorities throughout the world. We can witness similar incidents occurring in Russia and China.

Indications of domestic opposition and a border-less solidarity

As mentioned above, the meaning of "Atom-Politics" includes not only the international politics of oppression, but also the generation of anti-nuclear politics by the people. In South Korea, the full-scale anti-nuclear movement started in the late 1980s as the totalitarian regime gradually lost its power. Transition to more democratic rule has also accompanied a critical analysis of the past military governments and their politics. This has included an examination of their commitments to nuclear development. In 1990, strong local resistance in Ahn-Myun Do broke out against the government's attempt to place a spent fuel interim storage site on the small island. After this incident, the South Korean government faced bold and unyielding protests against any proposed generating and waste disposal site.

In Taiwan, after lifting the martial law in 1987, a number of green non-governmental organizations were formed. These groups cooperated with each other and organized a nationwide anti-nuclear movement. The Taiwan Environment Protection Union (TEPU), which was established in 1987, played a central role in forming the network of resistance. At the same time, a new leader of Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Chen Shui-bian pledged to put an end to construct new nuclear power plants and, as a result, won the presidential election in 2000. The social problems accompanied by nuclear power generation have become a crucial issue for the process of democratization in Tai-

wan. Although it was decided later that the construction of the fourth nuclear power plant (which was essentially 'made in Japan') would be continued as a result of the DPP's compromise with the National Party (KMT), it is believed that the Bush Administration's declaration to change nuclear policy in US had some influence on the outcome of this decision. At any rate, it seems that Taiwan has taken its first step towards becoming a 'non-nuclear nation'.

As mentioned earlier, since the formation and function of the nuclear complex is essentially global, the anti-nuclear movement should seek to create international cooperation as well. Indeed, through the 1990s, a global network to protest against nuclear regimes and to support the creation of a non-nuclear society was realized. For example, the movement of "Abolition 2000" was established by numerous NGOs in 1995 and gave impetus to the 'Middle Power Initiative' in 1998 (Green, 1999). These activities, which were supported by an empowered civil society, not only stand firm against the might of nuclear regimes, but also have the ability to formulate plans and make proposals within the existing political order. It is hoped that these developments will stand as promising examples for the creation of a 'Nuclear-free Zone in East Asia'.

Each movement that has developed has gradually improved its cooperative relations with others beyond its national borders. An instance of this was when the Kansai Electric Power Company in Japan was forced to discontinue its use of plutonium-based mixed oxide (MOX) fuel in 1999. Mox was scheduled to be used at the Takahama nuclear power plant in Fukui Prefecture, but in this case, the fabrication of data concerning MOX was detected. This instance not only exposed contradictions in the company's plan to recycle plutonium (*Purusaamaru Plan*), but also demonstrated strong cooperative relations among people from a local antinuclear NGO with others from Greenpeace International, as well as a Korean environmental NGO. Such cooperation helped to change the policies of enterprises associated with nuclear power plants and the Japanese government which is the driving force behind the creation of nuclear power plant (Green Action, 2000).

Moreover, another noteworthy movement has been the "No Nukes Asia Forum". This movement started in 1992 and has been convened every year since in many Asian countries. The first forum was held in Japan in 1993, and the latest (the ninth) was in Korea in 2001. There are three remarkable points about this movement. First, it grapples with comprehensive problems of both military and civil uses of nuclear power. Second, it links democratic and post-nuclear movements by considering the stark realities of people working in each country. Third, it creates an international open forum for people to cooperate with each other. These significant points of contact outside the control of local authorities have created a groundswell of support for opposing the policies of the existing nuclear regimes. With a growing number of successes in changing government policies, it could be said that this phenomenon constitutes the growth of democracy on a global level.

Political movement against the nuclear power plant in Niigata

Although Niigata narrowly escaped nuclear tragedy in 1945, the residents of Niigata now suffer serious anxiety from living in the location which houses the largest nuclear power plant on the entire planet. The Kashiwazaki-Kariwa nuclear power plant, which was constructed by the Tokyo Electric Power Company, has a maximum generating capacity of over eight million kilowatts, and can supply the equivalent of at least seventy-five percent of Tokyo's electrical energy needs.

As in other countries, nuclear power plants designed to supply major metropolitan areas with electric power were constructed in distant provinces, for example, Fukui, Fukushima, and Niigata Prefectures (Kamata, 1996), which points to the existence of a so-called domestic 'North-South problem' in Japan. There are remarkable inequities between the center and the provinces in the degree of development. Although this is a common feature among the developing countries, as many studies have already pointed out, the situation also

exists in Japan. In this structure, the development of provinces depends on the distribution of resources from the central government. The central government takes advantage of this dependency and exerts great influence over the process of development of nuclear power plants in Japan. The development process of provinces and prefectures is improved by the center, which uses the prefectures to serve its purposes and manipulates them by dangling concessions. The current approach is one where nuclear power plants are invited into a prefecture by the central government, and while financial benefits for local residents are bandied about, the construction companies and bureaucrats undertaking the task benefit in ways which are far more lucrative than other public works projects.

It is not a coincidence that one of Japan's former prime ministers, Tanaka Kakuei, who created the basic framework for 'interest politics' in Japan, is also from Niigata Prefecture. Tanaka set up not only the Agency of Natural Resources and Energy under what was then the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), but also the grant system for developing new electrical power sites (known as the dengensanpo subsidy system). Under this system, huge subsidies are guaranteed for the provinces that accept nuclear power plants. These subsidies are far higher than those for hydroelectric and thermal power plants. It was also Tanaka who invited the nuclear power plants to Kashiwazaki in Niigata.

In addition to the 'center-periphery' structure used to support the regime of nuclear development in Japan, great efforts were made to justify the development of nuclear power plants by concerned ministries and agencies. These ranged from the Atomic Energy Commission to local electric power companies, all of whom had a stake in the growth and acceptance of Japanese nuclear power. As the Japanese Atomic Energy Commission recently highlighted in their "Long-Term Plan" policy statement, Japan's lack of indigenous energy resources is generally used to justify its pursuit of a nuclear economy (Byrne and Hoffman, 1996). In Japan, nuclear power plants are regarded as a necessity, although the logic behind this assumption has never been

investigated. The only political controversy is over safety issues (Yoshioka, 2000). Moreover, implausible and, at times, outrageous statements, such as "*nuclear power plants are ecological*", have been issued as justification for the creation of more plants in recent years.

The Japanese government-industrial complex, which was formed in the process of the development of nuclear power plants soon after World War II, also created a political system which is structurally closed to the people. However, this system has fallen under attack since the Monju accident of 1995. Repeated accidents and scandals—for example, the explosive accident of the Tokai plant during the re-treatment of radioactive waste materials in 1997 and the critical accident of Tokai JCO in 1999—have created a climate of distrust and unease about governmental nuclear policies and the safety of nuclear power plants. As part of this national tide, Japanese citizens have started to reexamine the necessity of nuclear power plants in this country.

The local referendum of the Maki Township in Niigata, which was held to decide whether or not a nuclear power plant ought to be constructed, was the first case in which a prefecture publicly took issue with national administration on nuclear power plants as a national policy (Niigata-Nippo, 1997). The planning of the Maki nuclear power plant was headed by the powerful Tohoku Electric Power Company, which proposed the project as far back as 1969. From the beginning, a power struggle existed at the local political level among conservative politicians (many who supported the plan) partly because of the characteristics of the Japanese medium-sized district electoral system. That is the reason why both sides, for and against to the construction, had maintained the balance of power for a long time. Yet, as antagonism grew against the plan, the confrontation became clear, especially after Sato, a proponent of the nuclear power plan was elected town mayor three times in 1994.

Influential residents in the area, including many who were successful independent businessmen and generally considered establishment conservatives, banded together and provided the leadership

necessary to strengthen the various groups opposing the ongoing construction of the nuclear power plant. These groups first insisted on the importance of considering the will of the residents before arguing the pros and cons of the building project. They then carried out a local referendum without any legal force in 1995. As a consequence, Mayor Sato was eventually forced to resign, and a local referendum resulted in the establishment of local ordinance law in 1996. As a result of that referendum, it became clear that the majority of residents were opposed to the construction of the nuclear power plant. The new mayor, Sasaguchi, who was a representative of the movement which held the local referendum based on a local ordinance law of Maki (where the nuclear power plant was to be built), declared that property in the town would never be sold to Tohoku Electric Power Company or to the Japanese government. The result was that it became impossible to construct the plant in the Maki Township.

The policy on nuclear power plants was also reconsidered by the small village Kariwa in Niigata Prefecture, which lies about 160 miles northwest of Tokyo and has a population of 5,000. In this region people had never struggled against the landed class and had never had any resistance movement, which is rather unusual in Niigata Prefecture. This was perhaps why Tanaka Kakuei was able to construct a sphere of influence around him in the region, and why the biggest nuclear power plant in the world was constructed. However, the first local referendum concerning a plan to use recycled plutonium for Kashiwazaki-Kariwa nuclear power plant, which was developed by the Japanese government and Tokyo Electric Power Company, was held in May 2001 in spite of resistance from the mayor of Kariwa Village, Shinada, who was a former supporter of the nuclear power plant. The result was that a majority (53.4 percent) of residents opposed the plan due to their distrust of the plant and their safety. The plebiscite was held in the wake of a series of accidents and cover-ups that had made many Japanese uneasy about nuclear power. In addition, the residents found that the grant allowing for the plant was only temporary legislation. In other words, the amount of the grant

would decrease after construction, meaning the economic benefits would only be ephemeral. As such, side effects such as corruption could develop rather easily and could potentially be harmful to the interests of the community.

What do these two local referendum in Niigata mean? (cf. Imai, 2000). In a local shed, which is the base of opposition to construction, residents have often said, *"This is the first chance for us to demonstrate our opinion."* So far, the construction of nuclear power plants has been executed, based on prior agreement, *jizen-ryokai*, basically among the national government, the heads of local government and electric power companies. They have not always reflected the *'voice of the voiceless'*, that is to say the residents. Therefore, I think it is important to consider these movements for local referendums on this matter to be a movement of "radical democracy".

A more important issue is that the actions of a small local government could have such a great influence on the whole state and the world. Taking advantage of the Maki case, the rising tide to direct democracy by means of local referendums has expanded not only to Okinawa but also throughout Japan. The attempt of the residents in Kariwa village, who regarded the residents of Maki Town as forerunners, drove the Japanese government to reconsider its policy on nuclear power plants. In fact, it is difficult to continue to execute the plan of using recycled plutonium because it must be developed on a national scale. Criticism that a local referendum is not an appropriate way for subjects concerning national policy to be discussed or decided, and that it is just the ego of the residents, has no validity anymore. After the local referendum of Kariwa Village, members of "The Society to Voice Kariwa Residents Opinions to the Government", the group which organized that referendum, immediately held a meeting in Tokyo to hold a discussion with residents in the metropolitan area. Kashiwazaki-Kariwa had been introduced as an example of a successful nuclear power plant, but, in reality, the plant's existence has been controversial. These events may have an impact on the use of nuclear power plants internationally.

Conclusion: Towards a border-less democracy in East Asia

As described above, during the 1990s the nuclear regime in East Asia has been gradually compelled to change due to the increasing influence of civil society in the region. Japanese intellectuals have believed too easily that the debate about the nuclear power problem has not attracted any interest. Yet, they have not grasped the ramifications this problem has for our future. Atom-politics has to be studied in a framework of 'democracy' and must include international and military dimensions.

Obviously, the nuclear regime that is forming and developing on a global level will, however, try to recover from such setbacks. In July 2001, researchers from five countries and regions—the US, Japan, South Korea, China, and Taiwan—have agreed in principle to take part in a joint research project on the disposal of spent nuclear fuel deep underground. In addition, nine countries, including the US, Japan, and South Korea recently came to an agreement to develop a new type of nuclear power plant cooperatively. Furthermore, despite the cover-up many scandals embroiling TEPCO, in order to propel the plan to recycle plutonium (the *Purusaamaru Plan*) and to restart its reactors to meet Tokyo's demand in Japan, the nuclear complex is about to develop new forms of public relations to acquire residents' understanding (*jumin-rikai*) throughout Japan.

However, the value of people's 'security' and 'safety', which has been neglected by nuclear administrations up to the present, constitutes a crucial political issue. Namely, nuclear policy can no longer avoid dealing with the problem of 'legitimacy'. Although recently rekindling nuclear crisis in North Korea make Japanese people (especially in Niigata) a little bit nervous and sometimes nationalistic, little by little border-less cooperative relationships made by many kinds of civic activities will be formed, and these can bring about the plurality of politics on the local, national, and global levels in the long run. The given conditions of nuclear policy in terms of either international

politics or 'national projects' will begin to erode. The trend leads towards the possibility of a spontaneous 'border-less democracy' in the region, and in this instance, these movements against 'atom-politics' may not be far off the mark (Sasaki, 2000a).

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