The Multicultural Society without Multiculturalism: Theoretical Implications for Sustainably Reglobalizing the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province*

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다문화주의 없는 다문화사회: 제주특별자치도의 지속가능한 재세계화를 위한 이론적 함의*

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Abstract: 'Multiculturalism' has emerged an increasingly influential term for conceptualizing the cultural impacts of transnational migration on nation-states and local communities. Yet the concept is not simply a value-free term, but it is also ideological in the sense that the hosting society has often elaborately implemented the politics of inclusion and exclusion so as to appropriate multicultural resources for its own capitalist developmental ends. Hence, multiculturalism has become an important ideological battleground for different political actors that struggle for cultural hegemony. In this paper, at a theoretical level, I explore multiple forms and politics of multiculturalism, with particularly focusing on multiculturalism policies in Canada and Australia. The theoretical discussion aims at drawing out possible implications for nurturing place-based, sustainable multiculturalism in the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province. Finally, emphasizing the formation of possible 'multicultural society from below' at a grass-root community level, this paper suggests that Jeju's historical experience as an 'othered' space and its unique cultural ethos of equality, self-reliance, and collectivism may provide a particularly special position, in which the island can envision a cooperative, productive, and sustainable future of the multicultural society without multiculturalism.

Key Words: multiculturalism, transnationalism, politics of inclusion and exclusion, hybridity, otherness, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province.

요약: 오늘날 '다문화주의'는 초국적 이주의 문화적 영향이 국민국가와 지역커뮤니티에 미치는 영향을 개념화하는 데에 매우 영향력 있는 용어가 되었다. 그러나 다문화주의는 단순히 가치중립적인 용어가 아니라 이데올로기적으로 작동하기도 하는데, 이는 이주대상국이 포함과 배타의 정치를 통하여 다문화적 자원들을 자본주의적 발전양식으로 전유하기 때문이다. 이러한 까닭에 다문화주의는 문화적 헤게모니 투쟁에 있어서 상이한 정치적 행위자들이 부딪히는 이데올로기적 투쟁의 장이 되었다. 우선, 본 논문에서는 이론적 수준에서 다문화주의의 다양한 형태와 정치를 검토하고 특히 캐나다와 호주의 다문화주의 정책을 분석하여 이데올로기로서 다문화주의의 한계와 위험성을 지적한다. 둘째, 지속가능한 양식의 다문화주의적 사회공간을 형성하기 위한 함의를 도출하기 위하여, 다문화주의적 혼성성이 지니는 타자성을 라깡의 정신분석학적 틀에서 고찰해본다. 마지막으로 제주도의 독특한 지리적 속성과 역사적 경험이 독특한 집합적 타자성과 평등주의적 사회관계를 형성했다는 점에 근거하여, 이러한 지리-역사적 맥락이 제주도에 장소에 기반한 아래로부터의 다문화주의가 형성될 수 있는 수 있는 토대가 될 수 있음을 제안한다.

주요어: 다문화주의, 초국가주의, 포함과 배타의 정치, 혼성성, 타자성, 제주특별자치도.

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1. Multiculturalism in an Era of Globalization

'Multiculturalism' has emerged an increasingly influential term for conceptualizing transnational migration and its dynamic impacts on cultural and ethnic relations (Gianni, 1997; Castles and Miller, 2003). From the 1960s to the 1980s, the advanced capitalist societies in Europe, North America, and Oceania had experienced a sheer increase in post-colonial labor migration from underdeveloped countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Yet, in this age of globalization, crossing over national borders, an increasing number of transnational migrants are now reshaping social, cultural, and economic geographies of a wider range of local communities. Especially, such transnational migrants have a serious impact on those countries basically grounded on thicker racial/ethnic, historical, and cultural homogeneity, including South Korea. In so doing, they not only challenge pre-existing social order and discourse of the host country, but also redirect these countries into what we call the multicultural society.

There are at least three differences between post-colonial migration and contemporary transnational migration. First, alongside of labor migration, we are witnessing an immense transnational movement of various actors such as tourists, investors, and entrepreneurs, which proves the internal diversification of migration groups. Second, while post-colonial migration was basically from developing countries to developed countries, current transnational migration extremely complicates such unilateral tendency and migration paths. South Korea is already one of the largest countries that absorb transnational migrants from China, Southeast Asia, and South Asia, while an increasing number of Koreans move into not only Canada and Australia but also China, Southeast Asia, and Eastern Europe for various reasons. Third, migrants' transnational network and their resources gain stronger influence than nation-states. The rapid growth of Chinese economy would have been impossible without overseas Chinese economic

networks, and transnational migrants remittance accounts for a significant portions of national income in the cases of the Philippines, Bangladesh, and the Dominican Republic (Brettell and Hollifield, 2000).

In this context, multiculturalism is not just a term that describes those societies influenced by transnational migration, but it has also emerged as a key exogenous condition in which an increasing number of nation-states and local communities should reshape political visions, social governance, and economic strategies. In this sense, the advent of multicultural society is not just a threat to pre-existing social structure but it also provides certain opportunities for territorial societies to learn how to coexist/cooperate with different cultures, how to develop alternative visions of local progress, and how to reterritorialize their cultural geographies in an era of 'deterritorialization'.

2. Multiculturalism: Different Multiculturalisms

Multiculturalism is a belief or doctrine that all citizens in a society can proudly maintain their own cultural identities and simultaneously have a sense of belonging to the society (see Goldberg, 1994; Rex, 1996; Willett, 1998). As I shortly addressed above, multiculturalism provided a crucial instrumental rationality to nation-states that had experienced new immigration from Asia, Africa, and Latin America and needed to formulate new politics to integrate these 'aliens' into their existing social structure.

Canada was the first country that adopted multiculturalism as its official policy in 1971. Yet, the first Canadian use of the term was basically a policy to elude the French Canadians' separatist movement. After having developed into a political strategy in Canada, the idea of multiculturalism spread to the US, Australia, and Europe, all of which had experienced a sheer increase in postcolonial immigrants from the non-European countries. In the case of the US, multiculturalism became a powerful policy issue

during the 1980s when the American creed came to be understood as representative of those Eurocentric institutions in the realm of public space. A plethora of 'liberation movements' strengthened the politics of identity which aimed at reconstructing 'authentic' narratives of bereft, submerged, or appropriated identities in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. US multiculturalism thus spawned racial/ethnic awareness training institutions, multilingual teaching, African American and Hispanic curricula, and schools fostering ethnic self-confidence and self-reliance (Schierup, 1997).

Such instrumental multiculturalism had double significances. The first was to consider immigrants' society as US subcultures so as to reduce their potential cultural threat to dominant white culture. The second was to soothe various tensions in inner city areas, in which African Americans often clashed with new Asian immigrants. US multiculturalism ironically 'excluded' non-white subjects through 'including' them as hyphenated 'Americans', and it spawned miserable consequences such as Los Angeles urban riots in 1992.

By and large, there are at least four types of multiculturalism: "conservative," "liberal," "left liberal," and "critical" multiculturalisms (McLaren, 1994; 1995). First, conservative multiculturalism is for 'noble' white men to view colored minorities as helpless, immature, and inferior 'ignoble' men, and to civilize the 'lesser' being through transforming their minor cultures into the hegemonic white culture. Thus, deeply articulated in the so-called 'white men's burden',[1] conservative multiculturalism is a form of self-serving, self-congratulatory, and self-empowering attitude to different cultures. Conservative multiculturalism is locked in its own contradiction, because it must despise *Other*'s culture and 'simultaneously' believe that it can be like their own fully-civilized culture through progress. Thus, such oppositional practices as segregation/assimilation are commonly experienced in conservative multiculturalist society.

Second, taking the opposite view against conservative multiculturalism, liberal multiculturalism

emphasizes the essential commonality of human beings that are given the so-called 'natural equality'. Yet, this position ironically stands on the firm modernist belief in human dignity, rationality, and equality. Hence it consequently reproduces the normativity of modern Western episteme. Thus, the position often neglects unequal power relations between different cultures and heterogeneous histories for the sake of 'common', 'universal' humanism. Especially in relation to contemporary globalization, conservative multiculturalism is often articulated with entrepreneurial strategies in which different cultures are celebrated for the purpose of marketing, tourism, and other commercial interests. In this sense, Matuštik (1998, 103) employs the term 'corporate multiculturalism', arguing that "corporate bodies have become racialized, gendered, and flexible enough to present both the local and global image, a place of belonging in diversity". Quoting Jameson's (1991) notion of postmodernism, Matuštik (1998, 103) suggests that "the multiculturalist utopia are realized by corporate guardians in corporate heavens".

Third, left-liberal multiculturalism basically relies on the politics of difference, which opposes to universality among different cultures and argues to admit different worlds of culture. Strongly connected to anthropologist cultural relativism, left-liberal multiculturalism envisions decentered and horizontal co-existence of different cultures. However, as the position puts too strong emphasis on cultural 'difference', it is in danger of essentializing and depoliticizing cultural difference itself and subsequently cannot provide communitarian visions in an increasingly multicultural society.

Fourth, critical multiculturalism attempts to deconstruct the binary structure of culture and elucidates how power relations produce cultural discourses in disciplining human subjects. In connection to postcolonial and Foucauldian poststructuralist thoughts, critical multiculturalism challenges the term 'multiculturalism' itself by focusing its ideological roles in maintaining existing social structure or appropriating cultural diversity for empowering hegemonic social group. Hence, critical multiculturalism is particularly

Table 1. Different Multiculturalisms

	Conservative multiculturalism	Liberal multiculturalism	Left-liberal multiculturalism	Critical multiculturalism[2]
Basic thoughts	Humanism; nationalism; colonialism	Cultural pluralism; communitarianism	Cultural relativism; personalism	Poststructuralism; postcolonialism
Attitude to cultural difference	Normativity of hegemonic culture	Cultural commonality	Incommensurable cultural difference	Social construction of cultural normativity
Principal interests	Human development and progress	Democracy, equality, and human rights	Recognition of difference	Power relations and the production of culture
Example of actual practices	Segregation or assimilationist colonial education	Intentional representation of ethnic theme parks	Criticism on the westernization of local culture	Deconstruction of the politics of multiculturalism

useful in revealing how specific power relations produce cultural difference and how we can mold commensurable and sustainable cultural relations.

The wide range of multiculturalism that I examined above suggests that multiculturalism can easily function as a powerful political ideology so as to produce new social order from above. Thus the location of multiculturalism has a wide spectrum from conservative communitarianism and liberalism. For this reason it is highly persuasive that the culture of multiculturalism has become an important 'ideological battleground' for different political actors (Schierup, 1997). Yet, simultaneously, I suggest that the fourth position, critical multiculturalism, would ground productive discussion on how to construct mutually benefiting and socially sustainable multicultural society. For, essentially speaking, we have always and already lived in multicultural society for a long human history, and there must be specific social structure that particularly prefers to employ the discourse of multiculturalism in this era. In the following section, I briefly introduce key concepts and principal policies of multiculturalism in the cases of Canada and Australia.

1) Multiculturalism Policy of Canada

Canadian multiculturalism is summarized into respect, equality, and diversity beyond cultural difference. The *Multiculturalism Policy of Canada* stipulates that the Canadian government should (a) recognize and promote the understanding that

multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage; (b) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future; and (c) promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in eliminating any barrier to that participation.[3]

Principally the Department of Canadian Heritage has hosted key multiculturalism programs. The department puts it that Canadian multiculturalism consists of four principal policies. The first is the facilitation of ethno-racial minorities' participation in public decision making. It is to assist in the development of strategies that promote full and active participation of ethnic, religious, and cultural communities in the Canadian society. The second is entitled as 'communities and the broad public engage in informed dialogue and sustained action to combat racism'. The policy is to increase public awareness, understanding and informed public dialogue about multiculturalism, racism and cultural diversity in Canada. It also facilitates collective community initiatives and responses to ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural conflict and hate motivated activities. The third is public institutions' elimination of

systemic barriers. The policy is to improve the ability of public institutions to respond to ethnic, religious and cultural diversity by assisting in the identification and removal of barriers to equitable access and by supporting the involvement of these communities in public decision making processes. The fourth is the response of federal policies, programs and services to ethno-racial diversity. It encourages and assists in the development of inclusive policies, programs, and practices within federal departments and agencies so that they may meet their obligations under the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*.

2) Multiculturalism Policy of Australia

The Australia's multiculturalism policy is based on the government's official statement *Multicultural Australia: United in Diversity* addressed in May, 2003. As a renewed version of the first multiculturalism strategy *New Agenda for Multicultural Australia* in 1999, the statement specifically emphasizes multicultural harmony at a community level and suggests four basic principles of multiculturalism.

- Responsibilities of all: all citizens have a civic duty to support those basic structures and principles of Australian society.
- Respect for each person: all citizens have the right to express their own culture and beliefs.
- Fairness for each person: all citizens are entitled to equality of treatment and opportunity regardless of their race, culture, religion, language, location, gender or place of birth.
- Benefits for all: all citizens benefit from productive cultural, social, and economic dividends arising from diversity.

The statement grounds three major multiculturalism policies: access and equity strategy, the *Living in Harmony* initiative, and diversity works program. The first policy is called fairer government services and programs. It operates at the government level, requiring government services and programs to respond to linguistic and cultural needs for citizens. It

provides clear framework to governments at all levels to manage their multicultural performance, simultaneously accumulating statistical information on various cultural and ethnic groups.

The second policy is administrated by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), which demonstrates the Australian government's commitment to promoting community harmony and to addressing racism in the country. The initiative is implemented through three complementary programs. The first is community grants program, which executes $1.3 millions each year for various programs proposed by local governments, secondary schools and universities, and community organizations. The second is partnerships program, which networks community, business, and government organizations for innovative multicultural relationships. The third is a public information strategy featuring the *Harmony Day* on 21 March,[4] in which various multicultural events are held in public spaces.

Formerly known as the *Productivity Diversity*, the third is a policy to promote the economy and business benefits appropriating the cultural and linguistic skills of the various multicultural groups in Australia. Perhaps, strongly interconnected to entrepreneurial multiculturalism, the policy aims at supporting entrepreneurs not only to expand domestic niche markets and global export market but also to accelerate multicultural innovations and service skills.

3. Multicultural Society without Multiculturalism

Essentially speaking, multiculturalism cannot avoid its own contradiction stemming from the dualism of inclusion/integration and exclusion/separation. For example, in Canada, multiculturalism is not only a respect for cultural and racial diversity but it also defines its national heritage and identity. Thus the multicultural society can be supported and justified when the multicultural 'resources' productively contribute to the

Canadian collective identity and visions. How much we will allow cultural differences without infringing on pre-existing community? To what extent we have cultural patience to live with different cultures in a life world? Shortly speaking, there is no single answer or even loose consensus to these questions, and it depends on specific local geographies of culture.

One of the fundamental contradictions inherent in the multicultural society lies in the dualism of inclusion (integration) and exclusion (separation) for both hosting citizens and immigrants (Kim, 2005). Hosting citizens are concerned about increasing competition, expecting immigrants to respect and adjust to pre existing rules and culture. In this case, people often employ nationalism. However, hosting citizens simultaneously oppose to racial, ethnic discrimination against immigrants and argue for inclusive politics, in which democracy and human equality are emphasized. In the case of immigrants, they not only desire for belonging to their hosting society but also resort to internal collective solidarity so as to appropriate ethnic network and resources for competing in the hosting country. After all, the multicultural society inherently contains conflicting politics of inclusion coexistence and exclusion competition.

		Hosting citizens	Immigrants	
Politics of inclusion (integration)	RESPONSE	COEXISTENCE		ADJUSTMENT
		Human equality: elimination of conflict and discrimination	*Belonging*: unequal access to social, economic resources	
Politics of exclusion (separation)		COMPETITION		
		Nationalism: elimination of socio-economic, cultural, and political threats	*Ethnic solidarity*: appropriation of ethnic networks and resources	

Figure 1. The politics of inclusion and exclusion for hosting citizens and immigrants
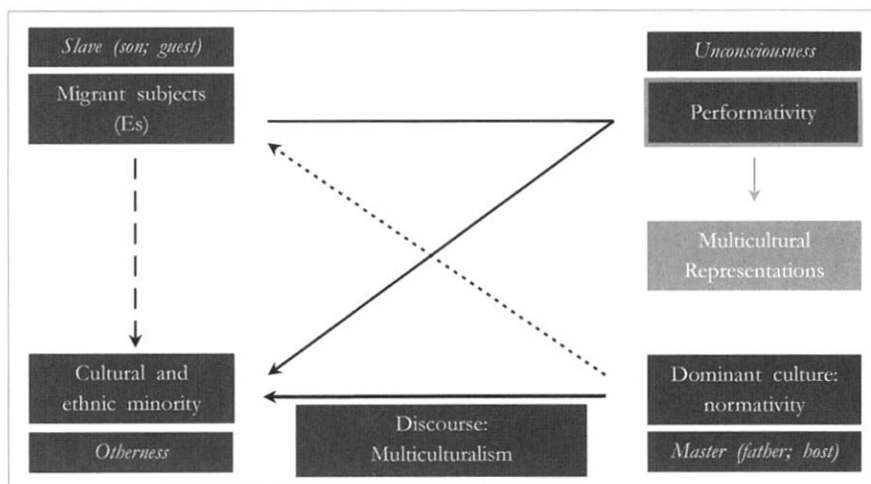

Figure 2. A Lacanian model of the collective psychological structure of ethnic multiculturalism

For this reason, the government of the hosting country usually employs multiculturalism as a pivotal ideology in resolving such inherent contradictions and restructuring its national cultural geographies. Despite a wide range of multicultural strategies from conservatism to liberalism, as we examined above, what is common is that the government cannot essentially deny the cultural normativity of existing hegemonic groups in the country: isn't it the hosting country that coins the term multiculturalism and speak for the multicultural society? Isn't it the institutional power of the normative hosting culture, which constructs the structure of multiculturalism and includes other subcultures so as to protect its dominance?[5]

An alternative way to critically approach to multiculturalism is to view multicultural relations from the perspective of immigrants, or the 'other'. For this purpose I draw on Lacan's psychoanalysis (Lacan, 1977; see also Blum and Nast, 2000) and suggest a psychic structure of 'otherness' in conjunction with multiculturalism.

In the first stage, immigrants desire for belonging to the hosting society and being treated as equal, if not superior, citizens. But, although immigrants maintain their ethnic culture in private space, they make efforts to practice 'cultural mimicry' (Fanon, 1986; Bhabha, 1994; Park, 2006b) in public space in terms of language, fashion, socializing, and nuanced behaviors. In other words, the only way to secure equality for immigrant minority is ironically through admitting inequality in cultural relation to the hosting citizens.

In the second stage, despite their cultural mimicking, immigrants realize that such practice does not ensure elimination of social discrimination, unequal opportunities, and cultural denigration. Immigrants' cultural mimicry only assures its own limits, that is, the barrier that their mimicry cannot ultimately go beyond: 'The more I mimic you, the more I realize that I am not and cannot be you'.

Thus, in the third stage, immigrants find in themselves cultural 'otherness', positioned by the multiculturalism discourse of the host society. The host society accepts immigrant as a member of the society only when he/she admits his/her ethnic, cultural

identity and simultaneously conforms to the hegemonic culture. For instance, a Korean immigrant in the US can become a 'true American' ironically only through becoming a 'Korean American'. Isn't a Southeast Asian immigrant in Korea requested in public space to represent his/her 'authentic' ethnic culture and simultaneously to show his/her acculturation to the Korean society?

Therefore, in the final stage, although immigrants strive to act as 'hyphenate citizens', that is, members of both ethnic minority and simultaneously the host country, they found that there is no such a fixed, true, or perfect position of hyphenate citizenship. They found they have become culturally hybrid subjects, and their hybridity only proves that they are defiled, impure, and ontologically contaminated ones. In the prison named 'multiculturalism', powerless cultural others should always perform 'in-between' identity, which is not chosen by themselves but given by the host society, through their everyday cultural practices (Bhabha, 1994; Park, 2006b).

If we admit that multiculturalism operates as ideology and discourse, and if it frequently suffocates grass root cultural communications and coexistence, is there any possibility to practice resistance against multiculturalism? What would be a basis for envisioning the multicultural society without multiculturalism? There are at least two suggestions on these questions.

First, the sustainable future of multicultural society should be constructed in not 'top-down' but 'bottom-up' process. This paper especially emphasizes the significance of 'place-based consciousness' from which transcultural practices at the local community level could engender not instrumental but communicative rationality. As the space in which people's common value, memory, emotions, and other commensurable attributes are inscribed, place could be a firm ground on which people with different ethnic, cultural background can build mutual-benefiting and cooperative sociocultural networks at a local scale.

Second, I suggest that the multicultural society should ensure not ethnic, cultural identity but

'hybridity', so that citizens can realize how identity itself is a fictitious term and resists against cultural exclusion (Park, 2006a; 2006b). Hybridization should not be viewed as a threat to racial, ethnic, or cultural purity, because, essentially speaking, everything that exists is epistemologically hybrid as much as ontologically diasporic. As I shall examine in the following section, Jeju's historical experience as an 'Othered' space and its unique cultural ethos can provide a particularly special position, in which the island envisions a place-based, cooperative, and sustainable future of *'the multicultural society without multiculturalism'*.

4. Reglobalizing Jeju's Cultural Ethos and '*Othered*' History[6]

Jeju's becoming of the Special Self-Governing Province in 2006 must be a great opportunity for the region to reglobalize its social, economic and cultural assets (see, for example, Lee, 2005). Also, it could be a good chance for the South Korean government to have a touchstone for the nation's future of multicultural society in which free trade zones, tourism industries, and international financial sectors are more attracted. But, what is most exciting is the fact that now the island is enabled to appropriate its social, cultural resources for its own ends, not for the interest of the central government which represents the conventional power of the Korean peninsula. In this sense, challenging to transform Jeju into a global multicultural society is not to defile its local identity and cultural traditions. Rather it is to recuperate its own multicultural history which had existed before *Tamna*'s consolidation to the peninsula's central government.

As a southernmost island in Korea, Jeju has been one of the marginalized local societies since its absorption to the *Koryo* dynasty. During the *Chosun* dynasty's ruling period, officials dispatched from the central government focused on exploiting local residents' labor because the island is located far away from the core of power. During the Japanese imperialism, the whole island of Jeju was restructured for meeting its military purposes. Also, during the 1960s and 1970s, the central government of South Korea had requested peasants of Jeju to transform their lands for producing cash crops and meeting the peninsula's demands. Although such restructuring of agriculture was a total harm to local residents, their community structure was severely dismantled (Lee, 2000).

Jeju's physical geography and its Jeju is a volcanic island in which arable lands are small, soils are sterile for rice cultivation, and access to fresh water is far limited. Such natural environment had spawned at least three modes of cultural ethos (Lee, 2000; Song, 2003).[7] First, such agricultural disadvantages led local residents of the island to embodying place based 'self-reliance'. For a long time, because of the small arable land and its low productivity, local peasants chose to reclaim grasslands in the low middle portion of the *Halla* Mountain. The self reliance was not limited to personal and family levels, but expanded to collectivism and communitarianism at a community level, in which people overcame natural famine, plundering from outside, and other social crises.

Second, low agricultural productivity in the island prohibited the accumulation of surplus agricultural products and formed rather horizontal social structure in comparison to the peninsula's hierarchical class structure, which was a key to mobilize laborers in labor intensive wet rice cultivation. In this context, local residents of Jeju had the ethos of 'equality' distinguishing their culture from the peninsula. Such ethos is proven in the island's self-identification that Jeju is free of thief, beggar, and door.

Third, barren environments had some of local residents specialize in producing marine products, leading them to respect personal capabilities and competition rather than class status. This is best illustrated by the society of Jeju's woman divers. Often termed as proto-feminist society, Jeju's woman divers maintained non-patriarchal structure in their family and neighborhoods, and their status in divers' organization was determined by personal abilities.

After all, such attributes as self-reliance, equality/communitarianism, and sustainable competition would be valuable assets for constructing the multicultural society of Jeju. Especially, its history as an *'Othered'* space would provide a communicative ground for local residents to better understand new international immigrants and tourists.

5. Conclusion

Multiculturalism has emerged as a key exogenous condition in which an increasing number of nation-states and local communities should reshape political visions, social governance, and economic strategies. The advent of multicultural society is not a threat to pre existing social structure, but it provides indefinite opportunity for local societies to learn how to coexist and cooperate with different cultures and how to develop alternative visions of local progress. In this context, Jeju has just acquired a firm foundation on which to sustainably globalize its multicultural assets. Jeju's cultural heritage and diversity based on self-reliance, equality, and respect for personal capabilities would ground a productive terrain on which to discuss a sustainable, grass-root multicultural society without multiculturalism ideology.

Notes

1) The term 'white men's burden' originally comes from Rudyard Kipling's sensational poem "the white men's burden", responding the US take over of the Philippines after the Spanish-American War in 1899. The term is considered a euphemism for the white's imperialism to justify their colonial violence and conquer as a noble enterprise.
2) McLaren (1994, 53) actually employs the term 'critical and *resistance* multiculturalism', noting that resistance multiculturalism doesn't "see diversity itself as a goal, but rather argues that diversity must be affirmed within a politics of cultural criticism and a commitment to social justice".
3) see http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/c 18.7/226879.html
4) The date coincides with the United Nation International Day for Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

5) Such argument can samely be found in Deleuze and Guattari's (1983) critique on psychoanalysis, arguing that Oedipus itself would be nothing without the identifications of the parents with the children. "Isn't that what you want, to kill me, to sleep with your mother? It is first of all a father's idea." (273)
6) While the term globalization emphasizes the 'deterritorializing' role of global capital, information, and labor, 'reglobalization' is viewed as a local active strategy to aggressively participate in the stream of globalization and restructure local social, economic, and cultural geographies for the purpose of elevating local competition.
7) Song's (2003) study best explained Jeju's particular physical geography and its impacts on cultural uniqueness in Jeju island. The following section on Jeju is basically grounded on Song's insightful discussion.

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