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Master's Thesis

**Inconsistent correlation
between national and regional identities
:Examination of double identity
at individual and country levels
in Korea and Japan**

August 2015

**Graduate School of Seoul National University
International Studies (International Cooperation)**

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Abstract

Inconsistent correlation

between national and regional identities

:Examination of double identity

at individual and country levels in Korea and Japan

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Due to the Asian Financial Crisis in 1998 and the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, East Asian countries realized the importance of cooperation with other nations. In 21st century, nation-states are no longer capable enough to decide important issues independently and they are required to pay more attention to multinational cooperation such as regional cooperation. Therefore, numerous academic and political attempts to examine opportunities for effective and practical regional cooperation in East Asia have existed since the late 1990s.

However, while several pioneering endeavors to enhance regional cooperation stagnating due to rivalry and historical issues, some scholars point out that the lack of regional identity has prevented East Asian countries from building a feasible and sustainable framework for regional cooperation. They argue that the stagnating growth of the regional identity is an outcome of strong national identities in this region. However, these

arguments have rarely been supported by any empirical evidence or concrete examples. Moreover, the previous studies have limitations as they completely preclude that the correlation between national and regional identities can be inconsistent at different levels.

In order to evaluate the correlation between national and regional identities in East Asian countries with verifiable data, this paper examines 2003 and 2008 social surveys developed by the ISSP and the EASS. To investigate the correlation between national and regional identities in Korea and Japan, this paper designed a regression model with carefully selected 8 independent variables and 1 dependent variable.

The most consistent and meaningful outcome of this quantitative research model is that the previous assumption on the negative correlation between national and regional identities is completely refuted. Respondents who have stronger national identity consistently tend to feel closer to East Asia in both countries. It means the sense of belonging to their own countries doesn't restrict the sense of belonging to their region. Rather, the individual respondents with stronger national identity tend to have stronger regional identity and the sense of closeness to the region.

In contrast, when we integrate all the individual samples into two groups representing both countries, the correlations between national and regional identities in both countries are not identical. The increase or decrease of national identity at country level is not directly related to the rise or fall of regional identity. There is an inconsistent correlation between national and regional identities in Korea and Japan depending on at which level it is investigated.

To find out the reason why the inconsistency exists between individual level and country level, this paper focuses on the concept of national

strategic identity which can be formulated and redefined by political leaders. This paper argue that this is the factor which produces the inconsistency in the correlations between individual level identity and country level identity during the research period.

Keywords : Regional identity, National identity, Korea, Japan, National strategic identity

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The Asian Financial Crisis in 1998 and the Global Financial Crisis in 2008 revealed the increasing interdependence among nations. Each country realized that it could not cope with problems without collaborating with other involved nations. Nation-states are no longer capable enough to decide important issues independently and they are required to pay more attention to multinational cooperation including regional cooperation. Even in East Asia, numerous academic and political attempts to examine opportunities for effective and practical regional cooperation have been conducted since the late 1990s.

After suffering from the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s, what Asian governments focused on was strengthening regional monetary and financial cooperation. As a result, Korea, Japan, China, and the member-states of ASEAN agreed on establishing a set of financial facilities under the agreement made on 6 May 2000 at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in Chiang Mai, Thailand. (Henning Randall, 2002)

The Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) was often regarded as the first step of genuine regional cooperation in East Asia as it was designed to provide

financial stabilization in the region by establishing a pool of foreign exchange reserves accessible by participating central banks to fight against external influence which might cause currency speculation. (CramptonThomas, 2000) In addition, the CMI was organized under the “ASEAN plus three” format for the first time, excluding the United States or other powerful western countries outside the region.

Furthermore, after the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, the CMI was multilateralized into the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization (CMIM) providing a multilateral reserve pooling arrangement. And three East Asian countries, Korea, Japan and China, are leading the CMIM as the biggest contributors which account for 80% of all the contributions made to the CMIM. (Ministry of Finance, 2009)

With the foundation of the CMI, discussions for regional cooperation were greatly animated. The East Asian Vision Group established by the ASEAN Plus Three, explored ways to expand and intensify cooperation in various sectors to facilitate further development of the region in 2001. Also, as the final report of the East Asian Study Group suggested regularizing the East Asian Summit (EAS), the first East Asian Summit was hosted by Malaysia in 2005, with three new members, India, Australia and New Zealand. Now, the EAS has 18 member countries including the two latest

members, the U.S. and Russia.¹

As a motivating factor which encouraged East Asian nations to pay more attention to regional cooperation, Gavan MaCormack points out the awakening of East Asian people. According to him, people began to be more concerned about East Asian regional cooperation due to increasing awareness of the potential benefits of regional cooperation. Meanwhile, Gilbert Rozman argues that a desire to destroy the overwhelming influence of the United States has driven the regionalism in this region. In specific, according to him, Korea, China and Japan assumed that the rise of a regional community would bring about a balance in the region in the aspect of identity as well as power.

While the size of regional cooperation has been expanded, however, the intensity of cooperation among the most powerful countries, Korea, China and Japan has not been significantly promoted. Indeed, even during the discussion for the foundation of the EAS, Korea, Japan and China conflicted on expanding membership of the EAS. Although it seemed that the relationship among the three countries was improved with some significant institutional progresses such as the launch of the trilateral summit meetings in 2008 and the inauguration of the Trilateral Cooperation

¹ The Association of Southeast Asian Nations website (<http://www.asean.org/>)

Secretariat (TCS) in 2011, the trilateral summit meetings was halted after the 5th summit in 2012 as the territorial dispute between Japan and China was intensified.² In fact, trilateral cooperation among the three countries has often been interrupted by historical issues, territorial disputes or domestic political interests.

Indeed, several pioneering endeavors to enhance regional cooperation among the three countries have been stagnating while feelings of antipathy and rivalry are on the rise due to the territorial disputes and unsettled historical issues among the related nations. It seems that no common regional identity could possibly exist and grow in this region.

Reflecting this social atmosphere, some scholars point out that the lack of regional identity and cultural hatred have prevented the involved nations from developing discussion and reaching an agreement on building a feasible and sustainable framework for regional cooperation. They also argue that the stagnating growth of the regional identity is an outcome of existing strong national identities in this region.

Snyder and Glosserman point out the clash of national identities as the main obstacle to a productive partnership between Korea and Japan. According to them, years of observation of public opinion data and

² The Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat website, <http://en.tcs-asia.org/dnb/main/index.php>

interviews show clearly how the conceptions of national identity in Korea and Japan have been rapidly changed, making other international issues between two countries more complicated. (GlossermanBrad & SnyderScott, 2015)

Similarly, but long before, Yonghee Lee affirms that the advent of a regional community like the European Union would be delayed in East Asia because strong nationalistic identities prevail in East Asian countries. Especially, Lee expresses his concern about the future of his country, Korea, as East Asia is expected to be engaged in hegemonism rather than regionalism while western developed countries leading the irresistible trend of regionalism. (이용희, 1994) Seunghwan Han argues that the nationalistic sentiment is hindering regional cooperation and integration. (한승완, 2006)

However, these arguments, which allege that the prevailing nationalism in East Asia prevents the growth of a regional identity, have rarely been proven by any empirical evidence or concrete examples. In other words, no verifiable explanation on how the strong national identity in each country has suppressed the formation of a regional identity has been provided. Moreover, the previous studies are completely preclude that the relationship between national and regional identities can be diverse at different levels.

In order to evaluate the relationship between national and regional

identities in East Asian countries, this paper will examine 2003 and 2008 social surveys which were conducted in Korea and Japan with identical questions. After examining the relationship between national and regional identities at individual level, we will integrate these individuals into two country group to compare the correlations of national and regional identity at different levels. By doing so, we will identify an inconsistent correlation of national and regional identity between individual and country levels.

Chapter 2 Methodology

2.1 Quantitative Approach

National and regional identities in Korea and Japan have rarely been investigated and verified by quantitative figures. Some researchers have quoted the results of social surveys as a supplementary explanation, but the details of the surveys have often been neglected and overlooked. Thus, this paper would not merely quote numbers, but try to provide a more detailed and accurate picture of the correlation between national and regional identity in Korea and Japan. By analyzing social survey datasets at two levels, individual and national level, we would be able to contribute to a better comprehension of the current status of national and regional identity and further development of empirical studies on this topic in East Asia.

As we pointed out above, previous studies on national and regional identities in East Asia tend to adopt a qualitative method rather than a quantitative approach due to several reasons. Indeed, the comparatively high cost and low quality of technology and software for analysis of massive data had made a quantitative approach unaffordable and time-consuming. Moreover, the lack of reliable academic data sources produced in

accordance with international standards had made it difficult to build an academic argument based on quantitative sources. In fact, social survey data was irregularly collected without any standardized procedure and often distorted by media, political parties, civil society organizations and academia for their own sake.

However, nowadays many scholars are proactively adopting quantitative approach in social science. In fact, the cost of relevant technology has rapidly decreased and the speed, quality and accessibility of software have significantly improved. Now researchers are attempting to develop more reliable, transparent and systematically organized quantitative data, building a network among scholars.

As one of the outcomes of these attempts, International Social Survey Program (ISSP) was launched. The ISSP is an annual program covering important topics for social science research. The survey questions are carefully designed based on its cross-national collaboration, and the survey is implemented in 48 member countries. The questions of survey consist of the basic model of the General Social Survey (GSS) of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the Chicago University and the annual modules for special subjects.

Researchers in East Asia went one step further. Using the outline

and questions developed by the ISSP, principal investigators of GSS-type surveys convened together in November 2003 and established the East Asian Social Survey (EASS). It was designed to be integrated into a preexisting survey framework of each country so that the results of the EASS could be easily used for analysis both within and across the East Asian boundaries. The EASS is led by research organizations of four East Asian countries, including the Survey Research Center of Sungkyunkwan University (Korea), the JGSS Research Center of Osaka University of Commerce (Japan), the National Survey Research Center of Renmin University (China), and the Institute of Sociology of Academia Sinica (Taiwan).

The EASS was launched as a network of survey researches in East Asia in order to contribute to improving understanding of East Asia by means of standardized surveys in the region. The EASS is a biennial social survey project which explicitly targets to provide and disseminate academically usable survey datasets in East Asia. Similar to the annual modules of the ISSP, the EASS also conducts special surveys on certain subjects. It is expected to promote comparative studies based on quantitative resources covering diverse aspects of social lives in East Asia.³

³ <http://eassda.org/modules/doc/index.php?doc=intro>

To comprehend the existing correlation between national and regional identities in Korea and Japan at individual and country level, this paper will use two datasets. The ISSP conducted a survey in 2003 with an annual special subject on national identity. As a following research, the EASS adopted the same topic as the special subject in 2008. As the EASS was originally designed to be integrated into a preexisting survey framework by the participating organizations of the ISSP in East Asia, the contents of the EASS special survey of 2008 remained coherent with the ISSP survey of 2003. Therefore, it was possible to integrate two datasets without much discordance between the two datasets.

Unfortunately, at the point of writing this paper, the ISSP survey data of 2013 covering national identity as a special subject for the second time, is not publicly available. Further studies on the ISSP 2013 survey results would be able to enrich the discussion on the correlation between national and regional identities in Korea and Japan at individual and country level.

2.2 Qualitative Approach

Although social survey data may provide a brief picture on the current situation, it cannot give a whole picture on it. As the results of social surveys would merely reflect trends of public opinion, qualitative approach is essential for further analysis, especially on the newly discovered feature. Qualitative approach translates and interprets the results of social survey data using academic theories, case studies, policy analysis and etc. Without qualitative approach, the social survey results would provide only superficial and shallow stories.

Therefore, this paper would include qualitative studies in parallel with quantitative research to analyze the outcome results of the two social surveys conducted in 2003 and 2008. In specific, this paper will focus on the concept of “national strategic identity” which was developed by Park Cheol Hee. Park explains that national strategic identity reflects each country’s geopolitical status, historical experience, diplomatic relations with neighboring countries and its position in international society. Different from national identity, national strategic identity could be formulated or redefined by a comparatively small number of people, such as leading political groups and their supporters, reflecting their political interests.

Indeed, there have been several cases which show that predominant national identity may reflect the thoughts of ideologues and strategists in the political elite.

Using the concept of national strategic identity, this paper will give an explanation towards the inconsistent correlation between national and regional identities at individual and country level which identified by the quantitative analysis on the social survey results of Korea and Japan. The concept of national strategic identity which recognizes changeability of national identities plays a key role in this paper as it would provide a logical sense to the rapidly changing level of national and regional identities in Korea and Japan, bringing about inconsistency in the correlation between national and regional identities.

Chapter 3 Correlation between National and Regional Identities at Individual Level

3.1 Description of Variables

In this paper we will use two datasets. One is the 2003 ISSP data and the other is the 2008 EASS data. Both data include same questions about national and regional identities, although there are some minor differences in expression and naming between two datasets due to mistranslation and incoherent coding. These issues will be addressed briefly in the latter part of this chapter.

The 2003 ISSP data has 1687 observations in total, 504 valid respondents from Japan and 1183 valid respondents from Korea. The 2008 EASS data has a bigger number of valid observations. 3527 people participated in the survey in total, consisting of 2061 Japanese respondents and 1466 Korean respondents. In principle, the respondents were carefully selected as representatives of each society to guarantee more accurate and balanced outcomes. For instance, location, gender, income, education level, profession and etc. of respondents were taken into consideration when the

social survey research center collected data.

To examine how each individual's perception of his/her identity as a member of his/her nation would affect the formation of regional identity as an East Asian, this research will run regressions focusing on the variables designed to measure national identity and regional identity by the ISSP special annual module. In addition, variables related to respondents' personal background will be also included to ensure reliability of the research outcomes. As these variables such as education level, income level, sex and age may influence the formation of the regional identity, the personal background variables should be taken into account. If the personal background information is not included as independent variables, the significance of other variables could be exaggerated.

Therefore, 8 independent variables are deliberately selected. Variables reflecting personal background of each individual respondent consist of sex, age, education level and family income. The sex variable is a dummy variable. If the respondent is a man, the value of the sex is translated into 1, while the value of female participants is 0. The age variable is a continuous variable reflecting the actual age of the respondents.

However, due to inevitable inconsistency of categorizing methods between the ISSP and the EASS, the model of this paper has limitations in

integrating variables of the 2003 ISSP data and the 2008 EASS data. For instance, the variable of highest education level is divided into 6 categories in the ISSP module while the EASS module adds one more category to it to distinguish people who have been educated in graduate schools. The table 3.1.1 indicates the difference between the two education variables of 2003 and 2008 survey datasets. Similarly, income levels are indicated in several ways because it is almost impossible to describe income level using a single method due to different currency systems, fluctuating exchange rates, dissimilar system of calculating incomes and disparate concepts of average income level. Thus, this model follows the categorizing system in which the figures are reported by each country for the 2003 ISSP data. Meanwhile it uses a relative household income variable for the 2008 EASS data. More detailed information is provided in the table 3.1.2.

Table 3.1.1. The highest education level variables in 2003 and 2008

In the 2003 ISSP	In the 2008 EASS
0 No formal qualification	0 No formal qualification
1 Lowest formal qualification	1 Elementary school
2 Above lowest qualification	2 Junior high
3 Higher secondary completed	3 High school
4 Above higher secondary level	4 Junior college
5 University degree completed	5 University
8 Don't know*	6 Graduate school
9 No answer*	8 Don't know, refused*

*The responses of “don’t know” or no response are regarded invalid and precluded in the model of this paper.

Table 3.1.2. The family income variables in 2003 and 2008

In the 2003 ISSP		In the 2008 EASS
<Korea>**	<Japan>**	1 Far below average
0 소득없음	1 200 万円未満	2 Below average
1 50 만원미만	2 200 ~ 300 万円未満	3 Average
2 50 만원~99 만원	3 300 ~ 400 万円未満	4 Above average
3 100 만원~149 만원	4 400 ~ 500 万円未満	5 Far above average
4 150 만원~199 만원	5 500 ~ 600 万円未満	8 Don't know, refused*
5 200 만원~249 만원	6 600 ~ 700 万円未満	
6 250 만원~299 만원	7 700 ~ 800 万円未満	
7 300 만원~349 만원	8 800 ~ 900 万円未満	
8 350 만원~399 만원	9 900 ~ 1,000 万円未満	
...	10 1,000 ~ 1,200 万円未満	
19 900 만원~949 만원	11 1,200 ~ 1,500 万円未満	
20 950 만원~999 만원	12 1,500 万円以上	
77 1000 만원 이상	13 答えたくない*	
	14 わからない*	
	15 無回答*	

*The responses of “don't know” or no response are regarded invalid and precluded in the model of this paper.

**Korea reports monthly family income while Japan reports annual income. An approximate exchange rate to the Euro at the field time is provided by the ISSP; 1 Japanese Yen = 0.007445 Euro, 1 South-Korean Won = 0.0007919 Euro.

As variables related to national identity, four questions are selected as you can see in the table 3. The ISSP has tens of questions for special annual module on national identity. Among them, three questions are described as questions related to “nationalism”, checking respondents’ attitudes towards nationalistic arguments which are stated in the table 3.1.3. Respondents are expected to show whether and how much they support the arguments by ticking a box. In this paper, we assume that respondents who support these arguments would have stronger national identity than the others.

Table 3.1.3. Recoded* variables indicating the level of national identity

Question	Choices
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [COUNTRY] should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy.	1 Disagree strongly 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Agree strongly 8 Can't choose** 9 No answer, refused**
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [COUNTRY] should follow its own interests, even if this leads to conflicts with other nations	1 Disagree strongly 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Agree strongly 8 Can't choose** 9 No answer, refused**
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Increased exposure to foreign films, music and books is damaging our national and local cultures	1 Disagree strongly 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Agree strongly 8 Can't choose** 9 No answer, refused**
How close do you feel to [Country]?***	1 Not close at all 2 Not very close 3 Close 4 Very close 8 Can't choose** 9 No answer, refused**

*This model has recoded the variables so that the bigger figures indicate the stronger sense of agreement, belonging or closeness.

**The responses of “don’t know” or no response are regarded invalid and precluded in the model of this paper.

***The ISSP mentions that "Feel close to" is to be understood as "emotionally attached to" or "identifying with".

Table 3.1.4. Recoded* dependent variable indicating the level of regional identity

Question	Choices
How close do you feel to East Asia?***	1 Not close at all 2 Not very close 3 Close 4 Very close 8 Can't choose** 9 No answer, refused**

*This model has recoded the variables so that the bigger figures indicate the stronger sense of belonging or closeness.

**The responses of “don’t know” or no response are regarded invalid and precluded in the model of this paper.

***The ISSP mentions that "Feel close to" is to be understood as "emotionally attached to" or "identifying with".

Also, to examine the level of national identity, sense of belonging is also taken into account. Lee Yoonmi defines that national identity is an awareness of difference which comes from a feeling and recognition of ‘we’. (LeeYoonmi, 2000) In other words, sense of belonging and closeness to the nation is a decisive factor which determines the level of national identity. The ISSP and the EASS scholars share this view as well. They focus on the sense of belonging and affinity to the group recognizing it as a tool to measure the level of national identity and regional identity. Similarly, in this paper, we will use the question about the sense of closeness and belonging as the last but most important independent variable to investigate the correlation between national and regional identities in Korea and Japan.

The dependent variable of this model is the sense of closeness and belonging to the region, East Asia. As it is mentioned above, the ISSP model recognizes that the question about the sense of closeness and belonging to the region could be interpreted as the sense of being identified with the region in its footnote.

3.2 Outcomes of the Quantitative Research

To examine the correlation between national and regional identities in Korea and Japan, we use a model with 8 independent variables and 1 dependent variable. After running regressions using the two datasets from the 2003 ISSP data and the 2008 EASS data, we observe very interesting outcomes.

The most consistent and meaningful outcome of this quantitative research is that the old, but never verified, assumption on the negative correlation between national and regional identities is completely refuted. Many previous studies assumed stronger national identity would have a negative impact on the growth of regional identity. Surprisingly, however, as we can see in the table 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, respondents who have stronger national identity consistently tend to feel closer to East Asia in both countries. It means the sense of belonging to their own countries doesn't restrict the sense of belonging to their region.

Table 3.2.1. National and regional identities in Korea and Japan in 2003 at individual level

Variable	Japan	Korea
Intercept	1.04807*** (0.25803)	0.53228*** (0.19031)
Sex (Male)	-0.01469 (0.06927)	0.03702 (0.04579)
Age	0.00259 (0.00236)	-0.00083 (0.00195)
Academic degree	0.03415 (0.02303)	0.0189 (0.0205)
Family income (Unit: one unit of currency)	0.00000468 (0.00000887)	0.00000562 (0.00000899)
Attitude towards nationalism : Should limit import of foreign products	-0.05365* (0.02758)	0.00637 (0.02236)
Attitude towards nationalism : Should follow national interest even if causing conflict with other nations	0.00086 (0.02761)	0.04318* (0.02273)
Attitude towards nationalism : Increased exposure to foreign culture is damaging own culture	0.02331 (0.02659)	-0.0032 (0.02167)
National identity	0.44785*** (0.05422)	0.42236*** (0.02981)
Observations	504	1183
R²	0.14	0.1527

Table 3.2.2. National and regional identities in Korea and Japan in 2008 at individual level

Variable	Japan	Korea
Intercept	1.07431*** (0.1652)	0.7352*** (0.14418)
Sex (Male)	0.08317** (0.037)	0.06711* (0.03622)
Age	0.00208* (0.00119)	0.00267** (0.00124)
Academic degree	0.06473*** (0.0191)	0.0718*** (0.01414)
Family income (Unit: one unit of currency)	0.05141** (0.0215)	0.03552* (0.02018)
Attitude towards nationalism : Should limit import of foreign products	0.00014409 (0.01744)	0.0298** (0.01326)
Attitude towards nationalism : Should follow national interest even if causing conflict with other nations	-0.02124 (0.01757)	0.00531 (0.01335)
Attitude towards nationalism : Increased exposure to foreign culture is damaging own culture	-0.01402 (0.01781)	-0.02752** (0.01319)
National identity	0.19223*** (0.03166)	0.33216*** (0.02703)
Observations	2061	1466
R²	0.038	0.1292

Indeed the outcomes of the model explicitly show that strong national identities in Korea and Japan do not always collide with the growth of regional identity. If we look into the outcome of the 2003 ISSP data, we can discover that some Korean respondents who support the idea of following national interest in spite of causing conflicts with other nations, tend to have a stronger sense of belonging to East Asia region. Moreover, even in 2008, Korean participants who agree that Korea should limit import of foreign products, tend to feel closer to East Asia. These examples clearly indicate that strong national identities in Korea and Japan do not prevent the growth of regional identity in East Asia. Rather, the outcomes of the research show that a strong national identity could be expanded beyond country borders towards the boundary of region.

To sum up, both social survey data of 2003 and 2008 consistently show that national identity has a positive correlation with regional identity in both countries, Korea and Japan. The individual respondents with stronger national identity tend to have stronger regional identity and sense of closeness to the region. It means, at individual level, strong national identity would not prevent the growth of regional identity. Rather, it can contribute to the growth of regional identity.

Chapter 4 Correlation between National and Regional Identities at Country Level

At individual level, national identity has a consistently positive correlation with regional identity in both countries. However, when we integrate all the individual samples into two groups representing both countries, it is discovered that the correlations between national and regional identities in both countries are not identical.

In Korea, the sense of belonging to country slightly decreased while the sense of belonging to region rose from 2003 to 2008. If we assign a value from 1 to 4 to each choice from “not close at all” to “very close”, the average value of national identity in 2003 is 3.23 while the average value in 2008 is 3.207. Despite the decrease of national identity, regional identity significantly grew in Korea during the same period from 2.124 to 2.284.

In contrast, Japan experienced the opposite during the same period. Its national identity increased while the sense of regional identity sharply dropped. Japan’s average value of national identity increased from 3.395 in 2003 to 3.444 in 2008. However, the average value of regional identity rapidly decreased from 2.695 to 2.059 during the research period.

These examples clearly show that the positive correlation observed at individual level may not exist at country level. Even if each individual has a tendency to have stronger regional identity when he or she has stronger national identity, the increase or decrease of national identity at country level may not be directly related to the rise or fall of regional identity. In conclusion, there are inconsistent correlations between national and regional identities in Korea and Japan depending on at which level it is examined.

Table 4.1.1. National and regional identities in Korea at country level (%)

	National Identity		Regional Identity	
	2003	2008	2003	2008
Very close	40.4	34.7	6.0	3.5
Close	44.0	53.0	24.4	36.3
Not very close	13.7	11.1	45.6	47.0
Not close at all	2.0	0.7	24.0	11.5

Table 8. National and regional identities in Japan at country level (%)

	National Identity		Regional Identity	
	2003	2008	2003	2008
Very close	48.9	51.8	16.1	3.9
Close	42.8	43.4	46.5	27.7
Not very close	7.3	3.2	28.2	40.9
Not close at all	0.9	0.6	9.2	25.4

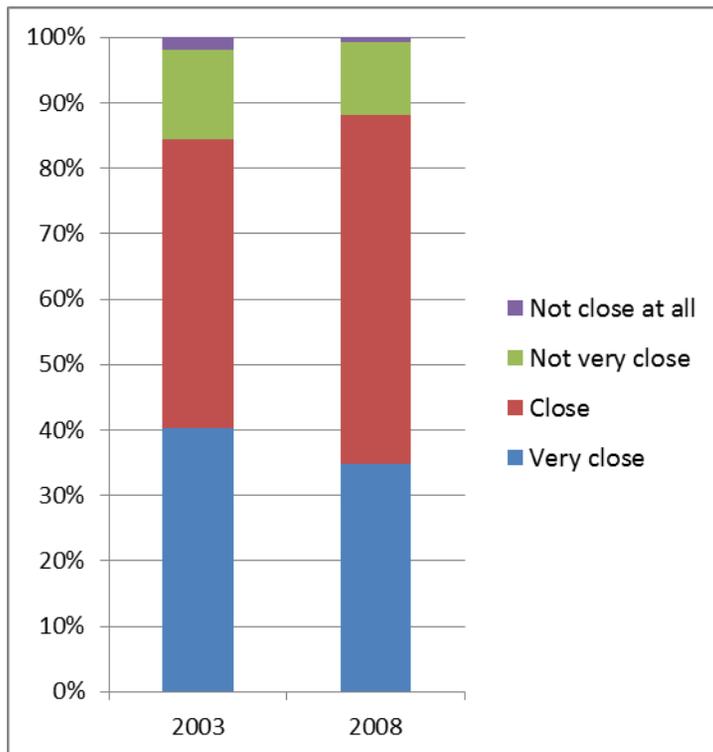


Figure 4.1.1. National identity in Korea at country level

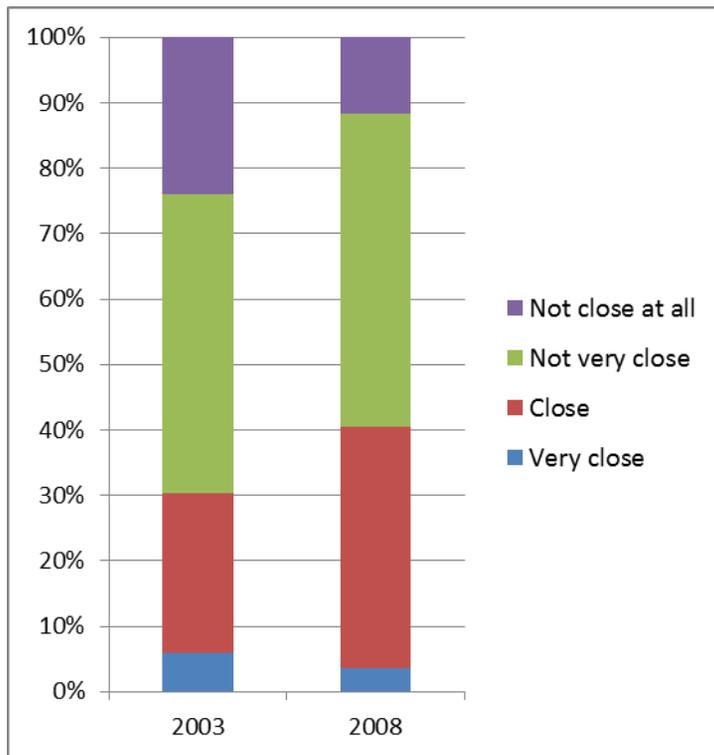


Figure 4.1.2. Regional identity in Korea at country level

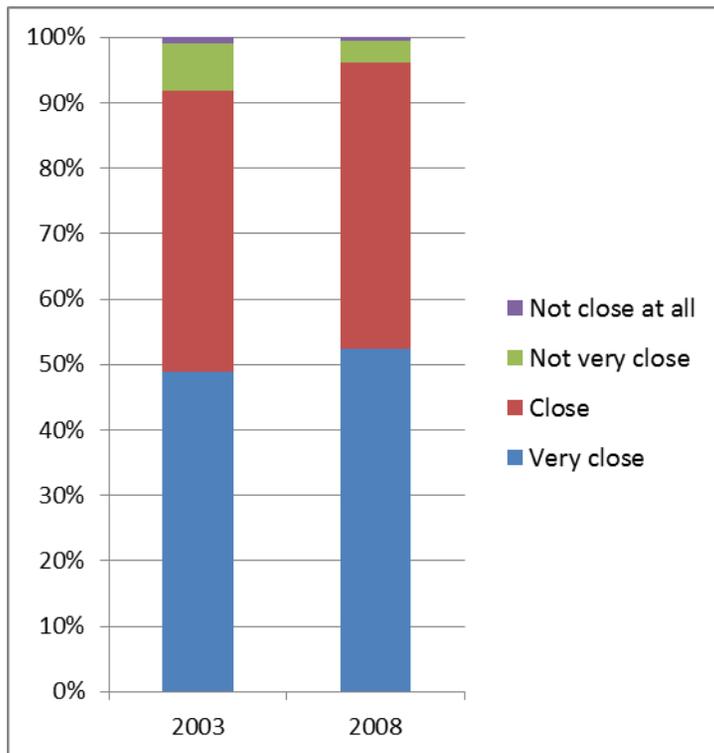


Figure 4.1.3. National identity in Japan at country level

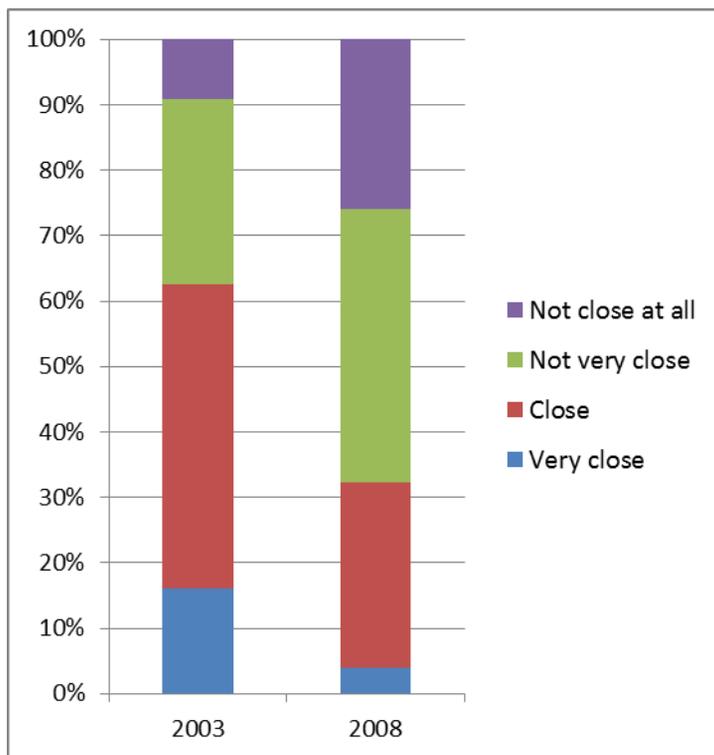


Figure 4.1.4 Regional identity in Japan at country level

Chapter 5 Inconsistent Correlation between National and Regional Identities

Then, how can we explain the inconsistent correlations between national and regional identities at individual and country levels? To explain this inconsistency at individual and country levels, this paper will focus on the concept of “national strategic identity”.

National strategic identity is defined by Cheol Hee Park as an identity which reflects each country’s geopolitical status, historical experience, diplomatic relations with neighboring countries and its position in international society. According to Park, it can be formulated and redefined by leading political groups and their supporters reflecting their political interests. It means that a small number of political elites may project their thoughts and ideologies onto national strategies and policies which have influence on the formation of national strategic identity. Thus, the way of thinking of strategists in the political elite would be reflected in the predominant national identity.

In fact, the period when the social surveys were conducted, can be characterized as a phase when political motivation for regional cooperation

grew in Korea while it fell in Japan. Park categorized the period between 1998 and 2007 as a phase when Korea and China teamed up against Japan in dealing with North Korean issue and historical controversy. Japan might feel uncomfortable with the enhanced cooperative relationship and close collaboration between Korea and China suspecting that the two countries were trying to isolate Japan in East Asia. (ParkCheol Hee, 2013) As a result, the political motivation for regional cooperation among Japanese elites fell while Korea aimed to build a regional community in East Asia.

In particular, the Roh Moo-hyun Administration tried to build a peaceful and prosperous Northeast Asian Community. The Roh regime had an ideal of regional cooperation promoting soft and generous policies toward China as well as North Korea. However, Japanese political elites had a different point of view on regional cooperation at that time. Especially, the Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro's continuous visits to the Yasukuni Shrine despite neighboring countries' condemnations, provoked mounting tension in the region. (ParkCheol Hee, 2008) Also, the conflicts between Japan and neighboring countries also encouraged people to have a more assertive national identity. Thus, during the research period, national identity was strengthened while the level of regional identity diminished in Japan.

Therefore, to address the inconsistent correlations between national and

regional identities at individual and country levels, national strategic identity should be taken into consideration. Reflecting diverse aspects of each country, national strategic identity is formulated and redefined by political leaders and has a significant impact on the rise and fall of national and regional identities. This is the factor which produces the inconsistency in the correlation between individual-level identity and country-level identity.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

Due to the Asian Financial Crisis in 1998 and the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, East Asian countries realized that it could not cope with the problems without collaborating with other nations. In 21st century, nation-states are no longer capable enough to decide important issues independently and they are required to pay more attention to multinational cooperation including regional cooperation. Therefore, numerous academic and political attempts to examine opportunities for effective and practical regional cooperation have been conducted in East Asia since the late 1990s.

Unfortunately, however, several pioneering endeavors to enhance regional cooperation among the three countries have been stagnating while feelings of antipathy and rivalry are on the rise due to the territorial disputes and historical issues among the neighboring countries. It seems that no common regional identity could possibly exist and grow in this region. Reflecting this social atmosphere, some scholars point out that the lack of regional identity and cultural hatred have prevented East Asian countries from developing discussion and reaching an agreement on building a feasible and sustainable framework for regional cooperation. They also argue that the stagnating growth of the regional identity is an outcome of

existing strong national identities in this region.

However, these arguments, which allege that the prevailing nationalism in East Asia prevents the growth of a regional identity, have rarely been supported by any empirical evidence or concrete examples. Moreover, the previous studies completely preclude that the relationship between national and regional identities can be diverse at different levels.

In order to evaluate the correlation between national and regional identities in East Asian countries with verifiable data, this paper examines 2003 and 2008 social surveys developed by the ISSP and the EASS. To examine the correlation between national and regional identities in Korea and Japan, a model is designed with 8 independent variables and 1 dependent variable.

The most consistent and meaningful outcome of this quantitative approach is that the previous assumption on the negative correlation between national and regional identities is completely refuted. Many previous studies assumed stronger national identity would have a negative impact on the growth of regional identity. Surprisingly, however, respondents who have stronger national identity consistently tend to feel closer to East Asia in both countries. It means the sense of belonging to their own countries doesn't restrict the sense of belonging to their region. Rather,

the individual respondents with stronger national identity tend to have stronger regional identity and sense of closeness to the region.

In contrast, when we integrate all the individual samples into two groups representing both countries, the correlations between national and regional identities are not identical. These examples clearly show that the positive correlation observed at individual level may not exist at country level. The increase or decrease of national identity at country level may not directly related to the rise or fall of regional identity. In other words, there is an inconsistent correlation between national and regional identities in Korea and Japan depending on at which level it is investigated.

To find out the reason why the inconsistency exists at individual and country level, this paper uses the concept of national strategic identity. It reflects diverse aspects of each country, being formulated and redefined by political leaders. Also it has a significant impact on the rise and fall of national and regional identities. This is the factor which produces the inconsistency in the correlation between individual level identity and country level identity.

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초 록

1998년 아시아경제위기와 2008년 세계금융위기는 아시아 국가들로 하여금 지역협력의 중요성을 새삼 깨닫게 하는 계기가 되었다. 20세기와는 달리, 개별 국가들은 더 이상 단독으로 중요한 문제들에 대응할 수 없었다. 이는 각국으로 하여금 지역협력을 비롯한 다자협력에 관심을 갖도록 하였다. 이러한 사회 분위기를 반영하듯, 1990년대 후반부터 동아시아에 현실적인 지역협력 방안을 마련코자 하는 학문적, 정치적 시도들이 꾸준히 있어왔다.

그러나 몇몇의 선구적 시도들이 각국 간의 경쟁이나 역사문제로 인해 난항을 겪게 되자, 몇몇 학자들은 동아시아에서의 지역정체성의 부재가 공고한 지역협력의 기틀을 마련하는 것을 방해하는 요인이라고 지적하였다. 그들은 지역정체성의 부재가 동아시아에 존재하는 강력한 국가정체성의 산물이라고 주장하였다. 그러나 이러한 주장들은 경험적 증거나 구체적인 사례를 통해 증명되지 못했을 뿐만 아니라, 국가정체성과 지역정체성 간의 상관관계가 다양한 차원에서 달라질 수 있다는 점을 고려하지 않았다는 한계를 갖고 있다.

검증 가능한 데이터를 사용하여, 동아시아에서 국가정체성과 지역정체성의 상관관계를 밝히기 위해, 이 논문에서는 ISSP의 2003년 데이터와 EASS의 2008년 데이터를 사용하였다. 이를 위해 이 논문에서는 응답자 배경변수 및 국가정체성 변수로 이루어진 8개의 독립변수와 지역정체성을 나타내는 1개의 종속변수로 구성된 회귀분석 모델을 수립하였다.

회귀분석의 결과, 강력한 국가정체성이 지역정체성 성장을 저해한다는 기존의 주장은 타당하지 못한 것으로 밝혀졌다. 한일 양국

모두에서 보다 강력한 국가정체성을 갖고 있는 응답자들이 동아시아에 대해서도 보다 친근감을 느끼는 것으로 나타났기 때문이다. 이는 국가에 대한 강한 친밀감 혹은 유대감이 지역에 대한 유대감 형성을 저해하는 요인이 아니라, 오히려 지역정체성 형성에 긍정적인 영향을 미친다는 것을 의미한다.

하지만, 개별 개인들의 응답들을 한국과 일본 두 그룹으로 나누어 뭉뚱그려 취급했을 때에는 국가정체성과 지역정체성 간의 상관관계가 다르게 나타났다. 국가정체성의 향상이나 저하가 지역정체성의 향상이나 저하로 곧바로 이어지지 않았기 때문이다. 2003년에서 2008년 동안 한국에서 국가정체성은 소폭 하락했지만 지역정체성은 상승했으며, 일본에서는 국가정체성은 상승했지만 지역정체성은 큰 폭으로 하락하는 양상을 보였다. 즉, 국가정체성과 지역정체성 간의 상관관계는 어떤 수준에서 측정되느냐에 따라 다르게 나타났다.

이와 같은 상관관계의 불일치성의 이유를 설명하기 위해, 본 논문에서는 국가전략정체성이라는 개념을 사용하였다. 국가전략정체성은 정치지도자들에 의해 형성되거나 재정의될 수 있는 정체성을 의미하는데 본 논문에서는 바로 이 국가전략정체성이 개별 개인 레벨과 국가 레벨에서 국가정체성과 지역정체성간 상관관계의 불일치를 불러온 주요 요인으로 보았다.

주요어 : 지역정체성, 국가정체성, 한일관계, 국가전략정체성

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