

CULTURAL
LANDSCAPES
OF KOREA

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Published by The Academy of Korean Studies Press
Published in December 2010
Edited by The Center for International Affairs

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ISBN 978-89-7105-780-3 03900

Printed in Korea

THE ACADEMY OF KOREAN STUDIES PRESS

FOREWORD

Despite the turbulent course of its history such as foreign invasions, national division, and war, South Korea has successfully withstood challenges and hardships through its wisdom and decisiveness. As a result it achieved miraculous economic development and instituted democracy and is becoming an advanced nation. The very things that made such achievements possible are education fever, along with a long history and rich cultural traditions. Nevertheless, one cannot deny the fact that the efforts to preserve and further develop South Korea's rich and long history and culture have not received much attention. In fact, sharing of tradition and cultural understanding are much needed at a time of rapid social changes.

With economic development and globalization South Korea has increased international exchanges and contact with other cultures. The number of Koreans who have traveled abroad has surpassed 10 million and the number of foreigners visiting Korea has reached 6 million. Today, the percentage of international marriage in South Korean society is over 10 percent. As Korea enters the era of the global village and multiculturalism, the task of developing Korean culture into a global culture is paramount.

Ever since its founding in 1978, the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS) has endeavored to creatively preserve and develop

Korean culture. To this day, the AKS has published more than four hundred academic books, produced numerous specialized Korean studies scholars, and supported international Korean studies programs. At the present moment, the AKS is taking a bold step to redefine the status of Korean studies not only in Korea but also in the world.

Accordingly, there is no better time to publish the revised edition of *Cultural Landscapes of Korea*, which covers changes taking place in today's Korean culture. I strongly believe this book will guide the readers toward better understanding of Korean culture and discovery of wisdom found in the everyday lives of Koreans. Lastly, I would like to thank the director of the Center for International Affairs and the staff for their hard work put into making the publication possible.

December 2010

Kim Jung-bae, Ph.D.

President of the Academy of Korean Studies

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Center for International Affairs (CEFIA) at the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS) undertakes the task of promoting better understanding of Korea through development of materials on Korean history and culture and supporting activities related to making sure that textbooks around the world are correctly presenting Korea. This book is a revised edition of *Cultural Landscapes of Korea* first published in 2005 which includes updates on today's dynamic and harmonious Korean culture. The book is not only for specialists in Korean studies around the world but also students of Korean studies and general readers as well.

Having a long history and rich culture South Korea has overcome difficult moments in history such as foreign invasions, national division, and war. South Korea has turned such setbacks into opportunities to achieve the economic development and democracy that we see today. Today, in the era of globalization and multiculturalism, South Korea is continuously going through changes based on its past experiences of successfully overcoming hardships. No one can doubt that the engine that drove South Korea to the present state comes from Korean culture.

This revised book maintains the original framework of content on traditional lifestyle, Korean culture in the era of globalization, and local culture while updating statistics, figures and content to reflect the changes that have taken place after 2005.

The new topics added are *hallyu* or the Korean wave, various festivals, and the multicultural family, which is one of the major social issues in Korean society today.

Numerous people helped to make this publication possible, so many that I cannot name them all here. I would first like to thank the authors of the book, Dr. Yoon Taek-lim who is the original author of the book and Dr. Christian J. Park who revised the book. I am very grateful to Mr. Seo Jae-sik, photographer, for beautiful pictures featured in the book and Seo Min-woo, a researcher at the AKS, who generously donated pictures for our publication. I would like to thank Prof. Ku Nan-hee for planning and Ms. Choi Moon-hyoung and Ms. Jeong Jae-yun, researchers at the Center, for administrative support. Lastly, I thank Ms. Colleen W. Mackey for editing.

To introduce Korean culture in one book at this juncture is equally as impossible as fully understanding today's Korean culture. Nevertheless, I hope that this book will be put to good use in raising interest in Korea in the international community and in promoting understanding of Korean culture.

December 2010

Lee Sang-hoon, Ph.D.

Director of the Center for International Affairs

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	4	2. CHANGES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE	73
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	6	3. FAMILY AND MARRIAGE	76
1 THE MAKING OF KOREAN CULTURE		4. EDUCATION	80
2 TRADITIONAL LIFESTYLES		5. RELIGION	85
1. EVERYDAY LIFE	18	6. LEISURE AND QUALITY OF LIFE	89
• HOUSING	18	7. LOCALIZATION AND REVIVAL OF LOCAL CULTURES	93
• FOOD	23	8. ENVIRONMENT VS. DEVELOPMENT	100
• CLOTHING	26	9. INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY	105
• KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE	30	10. HALLYU CULTURE	109
2. RELIGION AND RITUAL	35	11. MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY	113
• ANCIENT (PRIMORDIAL) RELIGION OF KOREA	36	4 LOCAL CULTURE	
• BUDDHISM	42	1. THE GYEONGGI REGION	120
• CONFUCIANISM	44	2. THE GANGWON REGION	130
3 KOREAN CULTURE IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION		3. THE CHUNGCHEONG REGION	136
1. INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION	54	4. THE JEOLLA REGION	142
• MODERN HOUSING	55	5. THE GYEONGSANG REGION	148
• MULTINATIONAL TRENDS IN FOOD	59	6. JEJU-DO	155
• TRANSNATIONAL FASHION	66	FURTHER READING	160
• TRANSPORTATION AND CONSUMPTION	70	INDEX	161

1

THE MAKING OF KOREAN CULTURE

NOTE TO READERS

1. The Romanization System of Korean of the National Institute of the Korean Language is used for Korean except for words that have their own orthography.
2. For the names of Koreans, last names are written first.
3. A hyphen is used in a Korean word when there is the possibility of confusion in pronunciation.
4. Translations or author's notes are added in parentheses.

The cultural configuration of ancient Korea originated in Siberia, China, and Southeast Asia. During the Neolithic Age, there were migrations of pastoral and semi-agricultural tribes into the Korean peninsula. In the Bronze Age, Targar culture was transmitted from the Lake Bikal region, combining on the way with the Scythian culture of Siberia and the Ordos cultural complex of the ancient Korean people called Yemaek. In addition to the cultural influences from Northeast Asia, there were other cultural elements from Southeast Asia: the open floor plan of a Korean traditional house, the type of shanty used in the field during summers, and the style of women's skirts. As a result, pre-modern Korean culture was composed of Northern Asian cultural traits as well as Southeast Asian cultural traits. Throughout most of its history, the cultural templates shaped during these periods have influenced the material and spiritual life of the people living on the Korean peninsula.

In the Iron Age, ancient Korea incorporated agriculture as a major subsistence pattern. Since then, agricultural production became the primary economic activity on the Korean peninsula. It came to focus on rice cultivation due to the monsoon climate. Rice production brought about distinct cultural traits not only in food and housing but also in communal rituals. Other productive activities such as commerce and industry did not prosper to the same extent as agricultural production.

As ancient Korea became an agricultural society, a state system was established with a central government. Since the Gojoseon period, the first effective Korean state, Korea has maintained a centralized state system, which resulted in the unusual emergence of an early single nation-state. Throughout the changes of dynasties until the last dynasty of Joseon, the



A community rite wishing for good harvest

court continued to expand its grip on local areas in many ways. Thus, centralization has long been a distinctive feature of the political and cultural life of Koreans.

The Korean pattern of subsistence also influenced folk beliefs throughout the country. Because agricultural production was greatly influenced by the weather, farmers became aware of the power and wonder of nature, which was regarded as being somewhat supernatural. For a good harvest, they offered foods to supernatural beings and began to elaborate rituals intended to pacify them.

The worldview and beliefs extant in pre-modern Korea were molded within three layers of religions comprising Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Various folk beliefs have been part of Korean culture. They took shape in animism and Shamanism, which still maintain their influence on the lives



Prehistoric residential huts reproduced at Amsa-dong Prehistoric Settlement Site
Myeongnyun-dang (main study hall) in typical Confucian architecture



of Koreans to this day. It has been characteristic of Koreans to believe in multiple gods residing in mountains, streams, stars, stones, trees, and many other features of nature. Although invisible, deities were also thought to be present in houses in such forms as the grandma goddess taking care of the birth and rearing of infants, the guardian under the girder, the ground spirit, the kitchen god, the god on the platform of jars of seasonings and preserves, and the god of the Big Dipper. These were all believed to bestow longevity, happiness, and blessings to the entire family.

Buddhism, introduced during the Three Kingdoms period (18 BC-AD 668), offered spiritual guidance towards national unity and solidarity. Institutionalized as the national religion since the Unified Silla period (668-918), it had a long rich five hundred year history until the arrival of the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392), and officially contributed to the development of arts, academia, and medical technology. Its encompassing nature caused many Koreans to turn to Buddhism when they were in times of trouble such as wars, poverty, diseases and other misfortunes. It also became tightly integrated into the visible landscape of Korea in the form of temples, statues, and monuments. Korean Buddhism has expanded to include a total of twenty-one minor sects. The mainstream of Buddhist thought has consistently been related to Zen. Rather than simply reciting scriptures, Zen sects have opted to emphasize morality, asceticism, and meditation as the means to achieve nirvana.

Confucianism has been the most important component of Korean ideology. Although introduced as early as the Three Kingdoms period, it was only during the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910) that Confucianism replaced Buddhism as the pivotal ide-

ology of social order for the total way of life in Korea. Joseon society was fully Confucianized according to the philosophy of Neo-Confucianism, which provided an ideological structure of a hierarchical order with a male-centered view of the world. Though a highly discriminative ideology, Confucianism has nonetheless played a critical role in sustaining important Korean traditions and in shaping the fascinating Korean cultural landscapes.

2

TRADITIONAL LIFESTYLES

Korean culture has been enriched throughout its history, developing its special features by synthesizing foreign elements. Each dynasty produced particular lifestyles that adapted to the particular changing political and social environment of the time, creating various distinct cultural traditions. But what we call the traditional way of life in modern times usually refers to those invented during the more recent Joseon dynasty and transmitted to Koreans until now. Thus, the traditional lifestyles mentioned herein will be an outline of everyday life in late Joseon society.

1. EVERYDAY LIFE

• HOUSING

Joseon society was primarily an agricultural society with local communities of patrilineal descent groups. Accordingly, most people lived in villages with the most desirable location being at the foot of a mountain close to a stream. The ideal location, according to theories of geomancy stemming from the Goryeo dynasty, dictated that the northern part of the village be higher than the southern, with a little stream flowing nearby.

Variation in climate brought about different types of dwelling structures. Houses used to be constructed in styles ranging from the closed structure of the north to the more open structure of the south. Whereas the northern houses with a double structure were designed to adapt to the severe winters, the southern ones with an open wooden floor plan were fashioned more to endure the hot summers.

Korean traditional houses were also divided into *yangban* upper-class houses and commoners' houses. The upper classes lived in spacious tile-roofed houses, and the commoners in thatch-roofed houses built within a limited space. Traditional houses, whether they were for the upper class or commoners, were in most cases built of materials easily found in neighboring areas.

Houses facing southwards were most desirable and in that ideal house, the *sarangchae* (master's domain) was located to the southeast, the *sadang* (ancestral hall) to the northeast, and the *anchae* (women's quarter) to the northwest. In this structure, the East was equated with the right whereas the West was equated with the left. Men were thought of as associated with the right, or *yang*, while women were considered to be associated with the left, or *eum*. Upper-class houses were constructed to separate the *sarangchae*, the center of the house, from the *anchae*, the inner part of the house.

Thus, the architectural structure of Korean traditional houses was based on the separation and integrity of *eum* and *yang*, which were identified with female and male respectively. Gender segregation was reflected in the separation of the *anchae* and the *sarangchae* since *an* (the inside) and *bakkat* (the outside) were spatially marked. Although married couples had their separate living space, they were not separated but connected through a covert passage between the *sarangchae* and the *anchae*.

In addition, social class differentiation was displayed by the size of the house, or *kan*; such size was strictly limited according to social status. The size was also marked on the elevated ground of the upper-class houses.

A *jip* (house) was not just a residential space but also



Sarangchae, men's quarter
Thatch-roofed houses



represented a descent group. In the house, a wife, representative of the inside, was in charge of the inside of the house while a husband, representative of the outside, dealt with the outside world. A married couple was spatially separated and placed in the hierarchy of the house based on gender inequality, but cooperated in harmony for the prosperity of the family. As there is a saying in English, that “behind every great man there is a great woman” Koreans always emphasized *naejo* (help from inside) pointing to the necessity of a wife's strong support for men vis-à-vis the family's success. *Sadang* occupied the highest position in the composition of the house. The hierarchy and ritual character of the house was rigorously manifested in the elevated ground on which the *anchae* and *sarangchae* were built.

Social hierarchy was not only based on the distinction between *yangban* elites and commoners, but was also evident among the *yangban* elites in terms of family name, blood line, rank in government, and age. Even doorsills served as the borderlines of social status. Some *yangban* upraised the ground level by up to seven feet to show off their high social status; various doorsill levels were used to discriminate between visitors who were received according to their social status. Thus it is clear that the Confucian view of social hierarchy manifested itself in the architectural structure of Korean traditional houses.

Yangban upper-class houses reflect the social, economic, and gender status of the residents. The architectural design of the walled compounds adhered to the Confucian dictum that the male and female quarters had to be strictly separated. The master's domain was situated close to the *daemun* (the main gate), whereas the inner rooms of the women were hidden behind the *jungmun* (a second gate).

One enters the main gate to get to the quarters of the lower-class residents called *haengnangchae* (guest rooms) on the right and left sides of the gate. Further inside is the *sarangchae*, the male quarters. Some high-ranking officers had a garden built adjacent to the male quarters. The *anchae*, inner house in the deepest section of the house, provided living space for women and children.

Korean traditional houses had spacious wooden floors with unique *ondol* heating systems. *Ondol* has been the traditional heating system in pan-Korean houses with origins dating back to the Three Kingdoms period. Compared with the hearths of the West, the *ondol* system is considered far more effective in heating rooms and in maintaining warmth for an extended period of time. The heating system used to be set in motion using the convection of warm air rising up from a heated stone floor. Also, an unheated stone floor provided a cool place during the summer. In the central region, the wooden floor provided space for work, rest, and meals during summers. Now, Koreans still use the *ondol* system both in houses as well as in apartments, but the stone has been replaced by copper pipes containing water heated by gas or heating oil.

A typical folk house in which poor *yangban* and commoners lived consisted of three *kans* and was called *choga samgan* (a thatch-roofed three *kan* house). This humble house without wooden floors had a kitchen in the center, a men's room on the right and an inner room on the left, or vice versa. The kitchen was set at the end of the left or right side; the inner room was placed in between the kitchen and the male room. In case the kitchen had extra space, an earthen floor was set up to play the same function as expected from wooden floors. In the kitchen,

five elements in addition to *il* (sun) and *wol* (moon) that represent *eum* (female) and *yang* (male) are found. The kitchen furnace which is also used as cooking stove is made out of *to* (earth), the rice cooker or the cauldron is made of *geum* (metal), *su* (water) in the cauldron is used in cooking, and *mok* (wood) is used to fuel *hwa* (fire). Walls of stone or mud or hedges, unlike the brick walls of *yangban* upper class houses, served as property boundaries.

• FOOD

Korea, which features a temperate Asiatic monsoon climate, has been an ideal place for the cultivation of rice. Rice paddies are still the predominant landscape in the countryside. Thus rice has been the mainstay of the Korean diet. It has been consumed in various forms such as boiled rice, soup, cakes, and pancakes. In addition to rice, a diversity of miscellaneous crops have been produced and consumed: barley, naked barley, fox millet, sorghum, bean, wheat, buckwheat, and numerous other grains. Wheat, although of limited production, has provided Koreans with ingredients for noodles and cakes. Especially for North Koreans, buckwheat and potatoes have been key ingredients used to make a very special type of noodles called *naengmyeon*. Other ingredients adding diversity to Koreans' daily diet have been vegetables such as radish, Korean cabbage, green onion, cucumber, eggplant, squash, and lettuce. In fact, the majority of Korean foods have traditionally been vegetables.

Special features in table-settings began to appear in the late Joseon dynasty. The basic table was composed of boiled rice, soup, soybean sauce, and *kimchi* (fermented Korean cabbage with

hot pepper, also spelled gimchi). In addition to the basic items of the table, the set-table was classified according to the number of side dishes: as three-*cheop* (unit of side dishes), five-*cheop*, seven-*cheop*, nine-*cheop* and twelve-*cheop*. For example, there would have been boiled rice, soup, soy sauce, *kimchi*, steamed vegetables, broiled fish, and boiled beef with soy sauce on a three-*cheop* table. The number of side dishes was usually consistent with the degree of wealth and social status of the house; poor commoners ate only boiled rice and soy sauce whereas rich *yangban* could have nine-*cheop* or twelve-*cheop* tables.

Traditionally, a meal is simultaneously served wherein all dishes including dessert are placed on the table at the same time and eaten according to the preference of the diner. The foods are offered in large quantity and are not supposed to be consumed entirely by the person to whom they are offered so that the remaining food can be shared by others. It is the generosity and sincerity of the people who prepare and present the meal that is displayed to the observers. The custom of handing down the table was institutionalized in the concept of *toeseon*, to move the table and to offer the food.

In a typical table setting, boiled rice was placed to the left, soup to the right, with a brass spoon and chopsticks on the right beside the soup. Soy sauce, steamed vegetables, and boiled beef with soy sauce were placed in the center of the table and *kimchi* and broiled fish were placed in the outer areas. White porcelain was used to serve food in summer while brassware was used in winter.

Characteristically, one of the major features of Korean food has been the variety of fermented products consumed in the daily diet. Fermented foods such as soybean paste, red pepper



Modern version of royal table setting

paste, soy sauce, *kimchi*, and fermented seafood still stimulate the Korean appetite. Soybean paste, soy sauce, red pepper paste, and the nationwide favorite *kimchi* are known to foreign gourmets as foods having a distinct spicy flavor. Soybean paste and soy sauce are made from beans. The process of making soy sauce involves combining blocks of soybeans with brine to produce the liquid condiment. Like salt in the West, soy sauce is used to add flavor to foods while cooking. Red pepper paste was introduced in the late Joseon dynasty and has a very hot flavor. These three main condiments—soy sauce, soybean paste, and red pepper paste—have enriched Korean foods in both content and taste.

The single most important food in Korea must be *kimchi*, which is served along with rice as a side dish. Despite the common belief in its long history, it was not until the seventeenth century that hot and spicy *kimchi* became a regular item in the daily Korean diet. It is said that chili pepper was introduced from Japan during the Korea-Japan War in that century. Koreans

have traditionally produced a variety of *kimchi* throughout the year. In particular, they used to prepare a large quantity just before the winter set in, the time when it naturally becomes difficult to grow Korean cabbages to consume. Due to being fermented, *kimchi* proved itself as a stable food source during the bleak winter. It was produced earlier in the North than in the South due to the obvious fact that winter comes earlier in the North, and this remains true even today. Also, the flavor of *kimchi* varies by region due to the kinds of fermented seafood and the quantity of red pepper used. For instance, a salty and hot *kimchi* is normal in the southern regions. Because of the hot and humid weather throughout the year, southern *kimchi* becomes sour sooner than that of the North. Salt and red pepper help to delay the souring process. The southern regions also use fermented shrimp and anchovy to boost flavor.

In addition to the daily diet, Koreans used foods in various ritual ceremonies. For example, the type of food, how it was to be prepared, and where it was to be placed upon the table were strictly conformed to in Confucian rites such as *gijesa* (a rite for death anniversaries) and *charye* (ancestral rite held on the first day of the year), and on Chuseok (Thanksgiving Day). Rules were also defined for family ceremonies such as weddings and birthday parties. Special vegetarian Buddhist foods were also designed for consumption by monks and for them to use in their Buddhist rituals.

• CLOTHING

Korean traditional clothing, known generally as *hanbok*, is famous for its beautiful lines; in particular, the woman's style is

neat and elegant with a thin short *jeogori* (jacket) and wide *chima* (skirt). Although Korean traditional clothes had various forms, they are collectively known as *hanbok* these days. During the rapid industrialization in the 1960s and 1970s, the use of *hanbok* declined as it was regarded as inappropriate for casual wear. Although the number is increasing again due to the revitalization of *hanbok* a few Koreans still wear *hanbok* on special holidays such as *Seollal* (New Year's Day) and *Chuseok* (Thanks-giving Day). The revitalization of *hanbok* includes the appearance of *gaeryang hanbok* which updated the styles to better fit the modern work environment by, for example, adding pockets and buttons.

Originally, Korean traditional clothes were made of diverse elements originating from Northeast Asia and Mongolia, and were also influenced by Buddhism and Confucianism. There used to be three kinds: *gwanbok* (formal robes for bureaucrats), *yebok* (ceremonial robes), and casual wear. Formal robes varied according to social status and bureaucratic rank in the bureaucracy. Ceremonial robes also varied according to the nature of the ritual. Casual wear differed according to social class, occupation, and season.

The differentiation between the upper garment or jacket and pants followed a tradition transmitted from Northeast Asia and was based on the principle of *eum* and *yang*. One of the cases exemplified by this principle was the men's *po* (long coat), which covered the upper garment (*yang*) and the lower garment (*eum*). Generally men wore *jeogori* (jacket), *baji* (pants) and *po*. The *po* was a coat for *yangban* which they wore when going out. Among the diverse *po*, the *simui* (scholar's crane robe) was favored by Confucian scholars and considered to be the formal robe of Confucians.

Koreans used to wear ceremonial robes for special rites, and casual wear, inner layers, and other decorative items for daily life. Their styles were also differentiated in terms of gender, age, and season. Koreans wore padded or quilted clothes in winter, clothes with a lining in spring and fall, and thinner clothes in summer.

Men's ceremonial robes varied by occasion depending on whether they were for weddings, propitious days, funerals, or rites for ancestor worship. For example, men wore a *dopo* (coat), a *jungchimak* (coat with slits), a *durumagi* (coat), and a *gat* (horsehair hat) as formal wear, while they wore a *dallyeongpo* (ceremonial dress for a groom) decorated on the chest, a *gakdae* (belt) and a *samo* (black silk hat) at weddings. They wore a white *dopo* or *durumagi* and a *gat* when carrying out rites for ancestors, whereas the wearing of funeral robes was prescribed according to the proximity of the kin relationship to the deceased. For men's casual wear, men wore a *jeogori* (jacket), a *jokki* (vest), a *magoja* (outer jacket) and a *baji* in winter, but a *jeoksam* (jacket) and a thin *jokki* in summer. When they went out, they always wore a *durumagi* regardless of seasonal temperatures and never took it off when visiting others. Inner layers included the *sokkoui* and *jeoksam*.

Women also had a variety of ceremonial robes. The *soraebok* was composed of a green *dangui* (ceremonial jacket) with a *hwagwan* (ceremonial coronet) or *jokturi* (head piece), and a *daeraebok* was composed of a pink *hwarot* (bridal gown) with a *hwagwan* or green *wonsam* (jacket) with a *jokduri*. They usually wore these robes at weddings. Women wore a *jeogori* (jacket), a *chima* (skirt), a *magoja* (outer jacket) and a *durumagi* as casual wear. Their *durumagi* was used for protection against



Traditional garments
Court *gwanbok*
(official attire)

Newly wed couple in
traditional wedding
dresses at *pyebaek*
(bowing to the groom's
parents)

cold weather but they would take it off when visiting others. Unlike men's inner layers, women used to wear more variety such as *dansokkot*, *gojaengi*, and *soksokkot*.

Boys had a ceremonial robe called a *jeonbok* worn over their *durumagi* with a *bokkun* or *hogun* (a hood for children). This *durumagi* was called *obangjang* and was designed using five colors. They wore a *jeogori*, a *jokki* and a *magoja* as casual wear and also a *durumagi* in winter. Girls also wore an *obangjang* as a ceremonial robe. They wore their *jeogori* and *chima*, and additionally a *baeja* (vest for women) and *durumagi* in winter.

In pre-modern Korea, clothing was indicative of social, political, and economic status. In particular, *jasu* (embroidery) patterns played an important role in the Joseon dynasty. To represent high social status and authority, dresses worn in the palace usually had golden stitches or colored thread. There were two styles in Korean embroidering. One was to embroider on the surface of the clothes directly. This was used for the king's and the royal family's ceremonial dresses. Another was attaching *jasu* pieces to the clothes which was used for various dresses wore by upper class women and for official uniforms.

Commoners had for a long time worn garments made of hemp, ramie, and cotton while the upper class used silk over common fabrics to display their social status and prestige. For a while, hemp was popular among commoners who spun and wove it to make clothes. Hemp clothes were worn at first throughout the year and later only in summer. Hemp and ramie were ideal fabrics for farmers who spent most of their time working in the fields in the sultry heat. On account of the climate, the cultivation of ramie was limited mainly to southern regions. Fiber crops

grew well in warm temperatures with abundant precipitation. The ramie and hemp fabrics were tailored into trousers, shirts, skirts and overcoats and altered in such a way that users felt comfortable.

Another fabric for commoners was cotton transplanted from China. Cotton was the most popular fabric before industrialization. It was during the reign of King Gongmin of the Goryeo Dynasty that Mun Ik-jeom carried cottonseeds back to Korea from China. Along with the seeds came cultivation methods and weaving techniques. Shortly after cotton's introduction, shirts, overcoats, trousers, socks, and underwear all made of cotton became popular in everyday life. These clothes helped people to get through the harsh winter. With the expansion of cotton cultivation, this textile became the mainstay of the national economy during the Joseon dynasty. Cotton even served as currency in kind during the late Joseon period.

Silk, rather than cotton, was widely used as the fabric of the upper class. Introduced during the Three Kingdoms period, silk became the conventional mode of winter clothing for upper-class Koreans. Unlike the plant fibers of hemp, ramie, and cotton, silk is drawn from the cocoons of silkworms. Korea has an appropriate environment for the husbandry of silkworms and the cultivation of mulberry plantations. Historically, Korea was a major silkworm producer and a silk exporting country on par with China and Japan.

• KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

It is often said that Korea has been a patrilineal and patriarchal society throughout its history. But it was during the Joseon

dynasty that the Korean kinship system became highly-structured and patrilineal-descent-group-oriented through the process of Confucianization. Goryeo society, which preceded the Joseon dynasty, was a loosely structured society where the functional unit was not the clan but a matrilocally arranged kin group in which rights and obligations were more or less equally distributed among male and female members.

Patrilineage-comprised groups of agnates that emerged roughly around 1600 derived their common descent from *sijo* (real or putative apical ancestors) and identified themselves with *seong* (a common surname) and *bon-gwan* (a common ancestral seat). There was a clear distinction between the main lines formed by the first sons of *jeongcheo* (primary wife), branch lines formed by sons born after the first son of the same mother, and secondary sons who were offspring of *cheop* (second wives). Secondary sons were of secondary status and therefore not full-fledged lineage members.

Patrilineal descent groups started to practice primogeniture and adoption from branch lines to secure the line. The size of lineage groups varied according to the relative prestige of the ancestor from whom they claimed descent. Lineage segmentation could occur when there was a respectable ancestor, especially a famous scholar or bureaucrat. Major lineage groups started to produce genealogies beginning, approximately, in the sixteenth century, which showed the importance of demonstrated common descent. The genealogies recorded sons—male descendants—whereas daughters were only listed when they married under the name of their husbands.

Kin relationships of the lineage groups were centered on *dangnae*, the agnatic kinsmen who traced their descent from

a common great-great-grandfather. Such a group, including third cousins, formed an ancestor worshipping group and consequently mourned for each other according to *obok* (the five levels of mourning grades). The chief officiant at the ancestral ceremonies was the *jongson* (the lineage grandson) of the *jongga* or *bon-ga* (the primogeniture descendant of the most senior line). He was assisted by his counterparts from the collateral junior lines.

Lineage rituals took place at lineage-owned gravesites and the *sadang* (ancestral halls) in which the wooden tablets of the ancestors were placed. Gatherings of lineage members and the participation of those of common descent in the rituals enhanced kin solidarity and cooperation. The economic basis of ancestor worship lay in *wito*, corporately held land managed by the primogeniture descendant with the *munjung* (lineage organization). Besides these lineage rituals, individual ancestors were remembered in *gijesa*, or rites of death anniversaries held in the households of their immediate descendants. Women were excluded from the lineage rites; instead they prepared the sacrificial foods.

The patrilineal kin groups ideally lived together in immediate geographic proximity and formed *dongjok maeul* (single-lineage villages). Such villages were most often occupied by the descendants of an ancestor who had migrated to that locality. In the 1930s, there were some 15,000 such villages in Korea which were concentrated in the central and southern regions. Most of them were less than three hundred years old and seldom comprised more than sixty households. In such settlements, the largest compound containing the most impressive tiled buildings and the ancestral hall usually belonged to the main line, the *keunjip* (the big house). It was surrounded by small-



Women preparing sacrificial food and meals at a *jesa*,
Patrilineal kin group at an ancestral rite at a grave (from left to right)

er compounds of various kinsmen who constituted the *jageunjip* (the small houses).

Korean marriage customs were, in fact, difficult to change during the process of Confucianization of Joseon. Marriage ceremonies had until then taken place at the house of the bride's family; Koreans had practiced an uxorilocal residence in which a bridegroom lived with his wife's family until their children grew up. Inter-marriage between the close kinsmen, including matrilineal second cousins, was also evident, as was polygamy. Men could have several wives at the same time without discrimination between them. But such marriage customs were in conflict with Confucian rules concerning marriage. It was during the middle period of the Joseon dynasty that Neo-Confucianists almost transformed marriage customs in accordance with Confucian ideals about marriage.

Even in Confucianized marriage customs, the wedding ceremony still continued to take place at the bride's home, but the new couple moved to the groom's household after a one or three day sojourn. Patrilocal residence started to be strictly practiced. Thus, a woman was supposed to leave her native place upon marriage and become a family member of her husband's

lineage group, never to return to her original family. Lineage-exogamy and the prohibition of intermarriage between the close kinsmen were strictly observed.

Therefore, a traditional marriage became an arranged one since it was an affair between two families, not two individuals. Marriage, especially with the primary wife, was an economic and political transaction between two kin groups. The primary concern of a lineage group was to bring forth male offspring to continue the line. Thus the first duty of a married woman was to bear a son, which was considered her filial duty—*hyo*.

In addition to the perpetuation of the lineage line, through marriages, lineage groups formed political alliances to advance their social status and political power as well as their economic standing. The strong status consciousness of the *yangban* elites encouraged lineage group endogamy as a major marriage strategy. There were gradations of social status and economic standing that affected arranged marriages. Political influence and scholarly affiliation were also important factors in marriage alliances.

As affinal family ties became very important to advance or maintain the social status of the *yangban* elites, so the bride's social status was taken into account. Although women appeared insignificant in the Korean kinship system, it was a woman's social status that determined the social status of her son(s). Only a bride from a *yangban* family could be the primary wife of a *yangban*; thus her sons would become primary sons, full-fledged members of the lineage group who could advance to the bureaucracy by passing the *gwageo* (state examination) and therefore, further enhance the social standing of the family name and the lineage group.



Jokbo (genealogical book)
Traditional
marriage ceremony
Funeral procession

2. RELIGION AND RITUAL

When it comes to religious life in Korea, it may well be summed up in one word, "plurality." In fact South Korea has one of the most complex and diverse religious cultures in the world. Putting aside shamanism, which is still practiced widely, South Korea has the largest network of extant Confucian shrines of any nation and has a vibrant and active Buddhist community, with hundreds of temples in scenic mountain regions as well as urban cities. South Korea is additionally the most Protestant country in Asia and the third in Asia in terms of the percentage of Catholics in its population. And last, but not least, South Korea hosts a number of indigenous new religions. Some of them are large enough to operate their own universities and hospitals.

As with history, religious traditions cannot be understood after a single glimpse. The history of Korean religions may approximately be divided into four periods: 1) the primordial period, 2) the period of Buddhism, 3) the period of Confucianism, and 4) the contemporary period (post-Confucianism). During each period, one major religious tradition seemed to dominate society.

The first primordial period dates from the time of ancient Korean culture's introduction to the Korean peninsula. In this period, shamanism prevailed in the spiritual life of Koreans. Indeed, shamanism continued to have a strong effect on other religious traditions that were subsequently adopted by Korea. In the second period, from the fourth century to the fourteenth century, Buddhism provided the backbone of Koreans' intellectual

and spiritual life. The third period, from the fourteenth century to the modern period, was the time of Confucianism. Confucian ideals have been maintained for five centuries in Korean society. In the last and contemporary period, which started in the eighteenth century, Christianity has risen to make South Korea a major Christian country.

• ANCIENT (PRIMORDIAL) RELIGION OF KOREA

The tradition of an ancient Siberian shamanism based on the settlement of an agricultural way of life shaped the primordial map of Korean religion. Spiritual beings, dwelling in the space of heaven and earth, are believed to have been worshipped by ancient Koreans. They called the god and goddess of heaven, *Haneullim* or *Cheonsin*.

The forefathers of the Koreans who dwelled on the Korean peninsula and in southeast Manchuria belonged to the tribal countries Buyeo, Goguryeo, and Dongye. The people of Buyeo celebrated the Yeonggo festival in January of the lunar calendar. As the meaning of the *go* of Yeonggo is “drum,” it suggests they enjoyed drumming during the celebration. There was a thanksgiving celebration called Dongmaeng in Goguryeo which was held every October. The people of Goguryeo worshipped a spiritual being named *Susin*, who guaranteed fertility and was associated with the feminine character of the agricultural harvest. Mucheon was the same kind of celebration performed by the people of Dongye. Its meaning relates to a dance before heaven through which their shaman entered a trance.

In association with shamanism, another feature of ancient Korean religions was animism, the belief that deities



Sotdae

dwelled in all natural things such as rocks, trees, streams, and the earth. Naturally this led to a polytheistic belief system. Koreans had a belief in Mother Earth, that the earth had the capacity and capability to heal ominous symptoms that appeared during their lives. Related with the belief in Mother Earth was *feng shui* (*pungsu* in Korean), transplanted from China, which even today influences the location of houses and tombs.

There are many folk beliefs still evidenced in important contemporary folk arts and traditions today. Village “guardian posts” might be one of the most widely known Korean folk arts. These wooden structures were called *jangseung*, *dangsan*, *beoksu*, or *beopsu*. *Jangseung*, a representative local artifact and cultural treasure, is made of wood or stone. The posts were not simply artistic products but also had other practical and symbolic func-

tions. Foremost, they were believed to protect communities from evil and at the same time served as signposts or landmarks that demarcated the boundaries inside and outside, or safe and unsafe. Although five posts were established at the four cardinal directions plus the center, the guardian posts mostly existed in pairs. One of the two posts was supposed to be the god of the Earth above ground (*Cheonha Daejanggun*) while the other, the goddess, was meant to rule the underworld (*Jiha Yeojanggun*).

A *sotdae* has similar functions to those of the *jangseung*. It is actually a pole or stone column with a flying bird on top. Local people erected the pole at the entrance of the village at the time of community festivals around the fifteenth of January (of the lunar calendar) to pray for the well-being, prosperity, and peace of the community. Furthermore, people regarded the pole as a divine protector of villages from vicious spirits. The pole normally formed a partner with the guardian posts, menhir, cairn, and sacred trees to be worshipped as a main deity, an upper deity or a lower deity. Although a carved wooden duck was usually placed at the top of the pole, depending on the region in Korea it was sometimes a crow, wild goose, magpie, or crested ibis. Historical documents identify the presence of *sotdae* as far back as the Earth State stage.

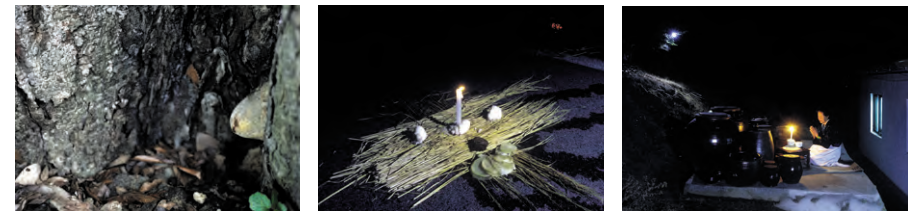
The countryside used to have certain restricted or forbid-



A geomancer looking for a gravesite according to *pungsu*, *jangseung*, and shaman's ritual house (from left to right)

den areas where, rural folk believed, the guardian deity protecting the village and its arable land resided. Altars to the guardian deity were placed within the bounds of these sacred places. Collectively, these holy places and the structures inside them were called *seonangdang* and were usually located at the entrance of the village or at the crest of the hill dividing the village and the outside world. The *seonangdang* consisted of a mixture of cairn, sacred trees, and an altar house. Inside the altar house were tablets, pictures, icons, or statues representing the deity to be worshipped.

In different regions, the *seonangdang* might be called *seonghwandang*, *halmidang* or *cheonwangdang*. Literally, *seonang* refers, to the sacred place or the personified deity helping to protect against mishaps, epidemics, calamities, and wild beasts. The *seonang*'s purpose was to bring in bumper crops. When a rural community was afflicted with unexpected accidents, a shaman would dance at the altar to exorcise the evil spirits or bad luck. Individuals used to hang a rag and a hemp cord sandal on sacred trees to pray for the health and happiness of the family. On a normal day, however, one would not dare to approach the place for fear of offending the deity who might otherwise have their revenge and impose a punishment on the transgressor. Accordingly, the village guardian deity was both respect-



Folk region: phallus adoration, shamanistic prayer altar, a woman offering a typical *gosa* (from left to right)

ed and feared.

Community rites and festivals were held at the altar. The ceremony called *dongje* proceeded in a festive mood and was performed in order to thank the deity for providing security, well-being, and a good harvest of crops or catch of fish. The ceremony was organized by shamans or selected leaders of the community. In case the rite was to be conducted in the Confucian manner, a selected person of honest and dignified character had to create the whole plan for the ceremony. The event offered an invaluable opportunity for local people to get closer together to share psychological unity, and to perpetuate the precious cultural traditions of dancing and playing folk music to the next generation. The highlight of the community ritual was perhaps the dancing and singing parade prepared to please the village deity.

Another interesting structure related to Korean folk beliefs was the menhir. Recognized as a meeting place of *eum* and *yang*, the menhir was believed to protect the village from misfortune and to guarantee a good harvest, prosperity, and peace. Another point of note might be the cult of the genitals that was intimately connected with community life. The worship of vulval and phallic stones arose from the belief that this practice led to fecundity, fertility and productivity.

Equally important were sacred trees. Perceived as having transcendental power, the trees were planted in sacred places and communal services were observed at such sites. They were believed to link heaven to the world of human beings. In shaman rituals, too, the trees were passages leading to heaven. They occupied the center of the community and supervised the everyday life of the community. Other functions of trees were to com-

1. Laurel Kendall, "Let Gods Eat Rice Cake: Women's Rites in a Korean Village," in Laurel Kendall and Griffin Dix eds., *Religion and Ritual in Korean Society, Korean Research Monograph 12*, Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies.

mand life and death, to assure fecundity and longevity, to free the village from disease, and to purify it and to present it with peace. Their ultimate function was to strengthen the solidarity of the community.

Far back inside the village was an altar house or a sacred well. Behind this lay a vulval stone concealed among trees. The altar on the site commanding the view of the village was called the upper shrine. Inside the shrine were tablets of the Grandma Goddess and mountain deities which were believed to take care of paddies, dry fields, streams, and the human affairs intimately related with rural life. In return for this tribute to the deities, rural folk yearned for peace, well-being, and the prosperity of their villages.

Within the house, each household worshiped *Seongju* or *Seongjudaegam*, the guardian under the joist that was believed to take care of the well-being of the household. And there was also *Jowang*, the god in the kitchen, to whom women of the house prayed for the well-being of the entire family. Other gods included *Samsin Halmeoni* (the Birth Grandmother) in the inner room; *Teoju Daegam* (the House Site Official), *Byeonso Gakssi* (the Toilet Maiden), *Jisin* (the Foundation God), *Suman Daegam* (the Door Guard) in the threshold of the main gate, and *Obang Teojeon* (the lesser Five Direction Forces) in every room, store-room, and stock pen within the walls.

Women played an important role in maintaining the shamanistic practice of making offerings to the household gods in the form of *antaek gosa* even after the Confucianization of Joseon society where Confucian rituals dominated.¹ In a typical *gosa*, a woman sets a cup of water on the lid of an earthen storage jar beside a burning candle. She, then, leaves a plate of rice

cakes under the roof beam and bobs a stiff bow.

The intimate relationship of soybean paste, soy sauce, and red pepper paste within Korean daily life led to the making of the *jangdokdae*, a kind of outdoor Korean pantry, into a sacred space. Koreans used to hang a golden cord to prohibit vicious spirits from violating this holy space.

• BUDDHISM

It was around the fourth century, the Three Kingdoms period, when Buddhism was introduced into the Korean peninsula. In Goguryeo and Baekje, Buddhism was officially adopted in 372 and 384 respectively although there had probably been some separate bands of Buddhist monks before that. In spite of some conflict during the initial period of dissemination, Buddhism was cordially welcomed by the noble class of the Korean kingdoms. With the full support of the royal families, Buddhism spread into the lower class rapidly. During the reign of King Beopheung (514-539), Buddhism was declared to be Silla's official religion.

The upper class of the Three Kingdoms recommended sending their monks to China and India. In the seventh century, Silla became famous for outstanding monks such as Jajang, Wonhyo, and Uisang. Following Unified Silla, the Goryeo dynasty also adopted Buddhism as its official religion. As founder of the dynasty, King Taejo (877-943) proclaimed Buddhism as his main ruling ideology. After moving the capital to Gaeseong (presently in North Korea), he built many temples such as Beopwangsa, Jawunsa, and Wangryunsa. He also enjoyed participation in a Buddhist festival called Palgwanhoe. During the three successive political regimes of the Three Kingdoms, Unified



Korean Buddhism in modern Korean society

Silla, and Goryeo, Buddhism as a guiding ideology sustained Korean politics, economy, and other aspects of social life.

One of the most prominent religious structures identified with Buddhism is the temple. Nowadays, most temples in Korea are located on backcountry mountainsides. However, when Buddhism served as the national religion during the periods of the Three Kingdoms, Unified Silla, and Goryeo, temples were dispersed throughout the country—on plains and in mountainous areas, towns and countryside alike. The power struggle in the interim of the transition from Goryeo to Joseon led to the suppression of Buddhism and its replacement with Confucianism. The net result was the shrinkage of the number of temples, the disappearance of urban temples, and the superimposition of Confucian landscape components.

The temples and other attached facilities had been arranged in such a way to represent the ideals of Buddhism. Under the influence of Chinese and Indian of Buddhism, the nascent Korean Buddhism came to stress the sites and types of temple pagodas. At the outset, the pagoda was structured into a domed shrine meant to preserve Buddha's and other saintly monks' bones. A stupa of several stories in height was commonly

built over a sacred place as a representation of devotion.

Korean temples came to be arranged around the pagoda. There were two types of arrangement, one centered on a pyramidal tower and the other on two towers. In time, however, the pattern ended up a relic. With a change of emphasis from stupas to Buddhist statues, the arrangement of temples took an entirely different shape. It was only until the early Goryeo dynasty that the pagoda occupied the central spot in Buddhist landscapes. Later on, the Buddhist sanctum replaced the role of the pagoda to become the most significant symbolic image. A lingering legacy of the former pagoda-centered view of the Buddhist world still exists in *tapdori*, a special event in which Buddhists walk around a pagoda to pray for Buddha's grace.

The plan of Buddhist temples being centered on a sanctum is partly attributable to the fall of Buddhism and the relocation of temples from towns to the backcountry during the Joseon period. The geomorphic relief on which the backcountry temples stood no longer allowed the pagoda-centered plan to be established as in a flat town space. Other factors that influenced the making of the Buddhist landscape of Korea were Zen Buddhism, Esoteric Buddhism, and various folk belief systems. It is still commonly noticed today that local deities share the temple grounds with other Buddhist guardian deities. In fact, it is believed that the locations of the temples were chosen because of the pre-existing shamanic shrines nearby.

• CONFUCIANISM

It is said that Confucianism was introduced to Korea during the Three Kingdoms period when Goguryeo adopted the Confucian

school of *Gukhak* from China. In 372, King Sosurim of Goguryeo created *Taehak* for training young elites. Baekje sent one of their noble men, Wang-in, to Japan in 285 in order to introduce *Noneo* (a Confucian text book) and *Cheonjamun* (Chinese characters). Silla also established Gukhak in the year 682. According to historical records, Choi Chi-won from Silla passed the national examination to become a noble man of the Tang dynasty of China. Seolchong of Silla also created an old Korean alphabet called *Idu* and translated many of Confucius' books for his contemporaries.

After the founding of Joseon, Confucianism became the ruling ideology of society. Although a late starter, the ideology has had a tremendous impact on the shaping of the Korean landscape. Whereas Buddhism placed emphasis on love and on distributing mercy and grace to all living things, Confucianism instructed morality and grace toward all living things, Confucianism instructed morality and decorous codes of behavior in the household, society, and the royal court. The primary emphasis was laid on hierarchical norms, which have been the single-most important factor in maintaining the relationship between father and son, elder and youth, husband at home, and in schools through educating the young people to respect their ancestors, their seniors, and the court. Women were supposed to follow what men said and to do what they asked them to do. These social norms were regularized in everyday life through various rites.

One long-lasting Confucian tradition might be the performance of ancestral worship. In Joseon, all the hierarchy from the king to commoners and even servile people were supposed to hold memorial services for their ancestors. The royal family regularly visited the Jongmyo Shrine located near the main palace



The Jongmyo Shrine

of Gyeongbok to pay tribute to the ancestral kings and queens. The shrine, as a symbolic space of Confucianism, had a simple and controlled style of architecture. The conduct, manners and procedures of the rituals were specified into a Code of Worship Rites at the Jongmyo Shrine. Historical documents advise that the number of the participants at the ritual reached more than seven hundred, including the king, queen, princes, princesses, office holders, literati, dancers, and musicians. The upper class educated under the strong Confucian tradition performed rituals in shrines that housed their ancestral tablets. This was the symbolic gesture of paying respect to their immediate ancestor who they believed took care of their more distant descendants.

The teachings of Confucianism became the basis of political ideology, family ethics, and personal behavior. Various events were held in the context of Confucian tradition and under

the support of the court. A special ceremony to honor Confucius was held twice a year. In education of Confucianism, *Seonggyungwan*, the most representative institute, accommodated four disciples, sixteen Chinese Confucian scholars, and eighteen Korean scholars of Confucianism. In the countryside, the ceremony was held in a county public school called *hyanggyo* or in a private academy called *seowon*. Down to the level of each household, all family members gathered to pay tribute to their ancestors on *gijesa*. Of course, women were excluded from actually paying tribute to the ancestors in traditional times. However, there are more and more families today that allow women to participate in memorial services.

Institutions and facilities associated with Confucianism have enriched Korea's cultural diversity. Among a variety of landscape components the most prominent might be the county public schools, private academies, and shrines. *Hyanggyo*, a county public school on the level of county district, rapidly became the major institution for the transmission of Confucianism in the countryside. The courts ordered that every county establish public schools and provided lands and personnel for the purpose of supporting the operation and management of the schools. The institute performed the rites of commemorating Confucian scholars.

Seowon refers to private schools of Confucian education. This institution also performed the rites of venerating Confucian scholars of fame. The founders of *seowon* had the concrete aims of materializing the teachings and disciplines of the sages of Confucianism. These educational and spiritual purposes are visually reflected in the allocation of space for the purpose of shrines, lecture halls, and dormitories. For the preven-

tion of blasphemy, local scholars encircled the shrines of saints with walls. Visitors and students were allowed only through the three gates standing in front of the shrine. A *seowon* was built following the lines of simplicity, not to give the impression of lavishness but to maintain the pure spirit of the literati. As a social agent, the *seowon* played critical roles in pushing the upper classes and literati close together in local areas with the help of the ideological medium of Confucianism. As a decision-making agent, *seowon* provided the space for formation of public opinion.

Shrines of Confucian saints appeared as early as the Three Kingdoms period. However, it was at the end of the Goryeo dynasty that symbolic structures proliferated and diffused throughout the country. The expansion of Confucianism helped to make the shrines Korea's representative symbolic landscape of devotion to the saints and figures of meritorious behavior. At the outset, the shrines were meant to pay tribute to the saints, and the private academies to Confucian education. As time went on, however, *seowon* adsorbed the former into the latter function and became the center of Confucian culture in the countryside.

3

KOREAN CULTURE IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

For a long time Korea was known as “the Land of Morning Calm,” the etymological meaning of Joseon. The serene image of Korea was shattered by the intrusion of Japanese and Western imperialists in the early twentieth century and the subsequent Korean War in 1950. The situation has improved little by little since the 1960s with the initiation and implementation of an export-oriented economic development program. The next half-century marked a dramatic advance in the Korean economy, which has been labeled the miracle of the Han River.

Presently, hosting ten Fortune 500 corporations, Seoul ranks fifth in terms of the number of Fortune 500 multinational corporations located in 2010. According to a United States-based consulting firm, Seoul is one of the ten most global cities in 2010 among sixty five cities with more than one million people when measured by business activity, human capital, information exchange, cultural experience and political engagement. At the present time, more than forty-one foreign banks are in operation in Seoul, a drop from sixty when the first edition of this book was published, and over 140 Korean banks offer services in other countries. In 2006, Seoul hosted eighty-five international conferences making it the seventh in the world ranking. This fact verifies that South Korea is indeed right in the middle of globalization. In comparison with the frequency of airplane departures and the number of passengers landing in New York, Paris, London, Tokyo, and other international cities, Seoul’s claim to the title of a global city is justifiable. What is more, the status of Seoul as a major information center of the world is reflected in the number of individuals subscribing to Internet and cellular phone services.

As of 1991, approximately twenty thousand businesses related to information services were clustered in Seoul. This

helped South Korea’s capital to become a major player in worldwide information exchange. The big names in this field such as Hewlett Packard, IBM, Motorola, and Microsoft have all established branch offices in Seoul. Winning the awarded as best airport for in the last five consecutive years by Airport Council International, Incheon International Airport with connections to sixty-two airlines, fifty-three countries and one hundred seventy-seven cities worldwide have bolstered Seoul to become a major hub of Northeast Asia. Road signs and street names are being re-fashioned in such a way that foreign tourists and businesspeople can travel around the country without difficulty.

Economic growth increases opportunities for employment. The improving situation of the 1980s set off a massive influx of international labor. In August 2007, the number of foreigners residing in South Korea passed one million persons ushering in the age of *damunhwa sahoe* (multicultural society). In other words, two persons for every hundred Koreans are foreigners. The population of foreigners consist of a little over 400,000 foreign or migrant workers (56 percent), 104,749 international marriage migrant women (14 percent), and 47,470 international students (7 percent). The number of foreign workers grew rapidly in the late 1980s reaching more than 100,000 in 1994.

South Korea has suffered from a decreasing supply of labor in small- and medium-scale manufacturing, construction, and other secondary sectors as the Korean labor force is shying away from the so-called 3D (dirty, difficult and dangerous) jobs. In the beginning, Korean companies operating abroad attempted to bring low-wage foreign workers into the country as trainees. Soon, South Korea slowly opened its doors to foreign workers.

In addition to these internal factors, external factors —



Global city Seoul that never sleeps
One of many shipyards that made Korea world's top shipbuilder



such as the rapid increase in global migration and the 1990s Gulf War that prompted a large number of Southeast Asian migrant workers planning to go to the Middle East to change their destinations—played an important role. Accordingly, there has been a large-scale influx of international workers from Bangladesh, Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines. As time passed, they have formed enclaves of living communities in various districts of Seoul, a global city in its own right, and other cities like Incheon and Ansan. In Seoul, such enclaves are found in Guro-gu (ethnic Koreans from China), Yongsan-gu (Japanese), Seongdong-gu (Vietnamese, Thai, and Filipinos), Seocho-gu (French), and Seodaemun-gu (Chinese).

At the opposite end, the emigration of Korean workers is still prominent. In 2007, it is reported that the number of Koreans and Korean descendants living outside Korea passed seven million. China leads the way with 2.7 million followed by the United States with just over two million and Japan with 893,740. The first emigration of Koreans began in December 1902 when a group of Korean workers departed for Hawaii aboard the USS *Gaelic* opening a long chapter in the history of Korean migration overseas. However, the first big wave of emigration took place during Japanese colonial rule when many Korean migrated to Manchuria, the Maritime Province of Siberia, the Sakhalin Islands, and Japan. The next big wave of migration came in the 1960s to Germany, Vietnam, and the Middle East as miners, nurses, and construction workers. Finally, the last wave of migration took place in the 1970s when 267,638 Koreans migrated and the 1980s when additional 333,746 Koreans migrated to the United States. Today, thanks to the unprecedented success of economic development of Korea some

Korean immigrants living abroad are beginning to return to Korea accelerating the formation of transnational networks between South Korea and the world.

1. INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION

Industrialization has transformed the Korean way of life in a dramatic fashion. The transformation was accompanied by the overpowering trend of urbanization. A great number of rural people left for Seoul and other big cities. The urban population included only 35.8 percent of the total population in 1960. It rose to 49.8 percent in 1970, 66.7 percent in 1980, 86.1 percent in 1995, and 92 percent in 2003. The population employed in secondary and tertiary sectors correspondingly increased from 41.1 percent in 1965 to 87 percent in 1995, and 87 percent in 2000. The six major cities of Seoul, Busan, Daegu, Gwangju, Incheon, and Daejeon appeared from this urbanization from the 1960s to the 1980s. Almost 70 percent of the urban population are concentrated in these large cities.

The composition of the population in the cities reveals the polarity between urban and rural areas. Whereas young adults constitute a major section of the urban population, the rural population itself has on average become older due to the departure of young adults. As the share of the population living in these six largest cities began to decrease in the 1990s, the cities in the middle bracket have begun to take over the role of urbanization leaders. The industrial cities of Ulsan, Pohang, Ansan, Changwon, and Chungju and Seoul's satellite cities of

Seongnam, Anyang, Suwon, Bucheon, and Gunpo are cases in point. The range of urbanization is expanding into the areas neighboring Seoul, such as Icheon, Goyang, Yongin, Paju, Gimpo, and Pocheon, which results in the increasing expansion of the greater metropolitan complex that is Seoul.

In the early stage of urban development, a large portion of the urban population was engaged in manufacturing. Over time, however, factories started to move into the suburbs. Urban employment began to focus more and more on professionals, white-collar workers, technicians, and service workers. The suburbanization of residences came from rising rents in urban centers and the development of apartment complexes on the outskirts of large cities.

• MODERN HOUSING

It was during the late Joseon period that legal regulations concerning the size of housing based on social status was banned and when foreign houses started to appear. Since then, Korean houses have gone through dramatic changes. Urbanization and urban migration brought about serious housing problems in Seoul and other cities during the Japanese colonial period. *Gaeryang Hanok* (reformed traditional tiled-roof houses) started to be constructed in downtown Seoul and its outskirts from the 1920s and continued until the 1960s. It was a small-sized urban *hanok* without an outer yard for agricultural production, but decorated with new construction materials. Western-style and Japanese-style houses and buildings were constructed in major cities and the first apartment building was also built in this period, but most Koreans continued to reside in traditional tiled-roof



Traditional *hanok*

houses or thatched-roof houses. In 1959, only 13 percent of the houses in Seoul were built in the Western style while the rest were all traditional *hanok* with tiled or thatched roofs.

Rapid urbanization and increasing population movements from the north and the countryside after the Korean War afflicted Koreans cities. In the major cities the problem of housing was particularly troublesome. The central government built *jaegeon jutaek* (reconstructed houses) in many regions. In Seoul, a three-story apartment building was constructed in Haengchon-dong in 1956, Jongam Apartment was built in 1958, followed by Gaemyeong Apartment in 1959 to help resolve the housing problem, but these produced few feasible results.

Apartments have become a distinct urban dwelling pattern since the 1970s. Major apartment complexes supplemented

by grocery stores, shops, post offices, and schools were constructed in Mapo, Yeoui-do, and Banpo in Seoul during the 1970s. High-rise apartment buildings were built forming larger apartment complexes on the outskirts of Seoul in the 1980s. New towns of high multi-story apartments forming satellite cities of Seoul were built during the 1990s. In 2000, 50 percent of nationwide housing consisted of apartments while council or town houses occupied 10 percent, with individual houses taking 40 percent of the share. In consequence, urban housing has come to have two contrasting landscape features, namely, individual houses and matchbox-like apartments.

It is said that the popularity of apartments shown in South Korea is hard to find in any other part of the world. This unusual success of apartments as urban housing resulted from a series of innovative transformations of apartments in accordance with the lifestyle of Koreans. Korean apartments look much like those of other countries but the inner structure and arrangement of rooms are quite different, Korean apartments, unlike those of other countries heated by a central heating system or individual radiators, are installed with *ondol* hypocausts, as were traditional *hanok*. Koreans dwelling in apartments preferred to have a large space for their living room with a good view. The living room, connected with kitchen, serves multiple functions such as dining, gathering, resting, and performing Confucian rites, just as did the wooden floors of the traditional *hanok*. Accordingly, the dining room is not clearly specified.

Korean apartments are also different from those in other countries because Koreans own apartments much like Americans own condominiums in the United States. Thus they can buy, sell, and rent them out for a living or hold them as investments.

Introduced in order to ease housing problems, apartments have unexpectedly become symbolic assets. It is common to appraise one's social and economic standing through the medium of size, location, construction year, and style of apartment. Apartments in the Gangnam district of southern Seoul are considered to be a symbol of the urban upper-middle class. Urban housing, especially apartments, has emerged as an important means of speculation. Since apartment complexes serve as the symbol of success, the urban middle class community makes a concerted effort to preclude any probable causes of reduced apartment prices. That is why NIMBY is not an unfamiliar phenomenon in urban communities.

Recently Korean apartments have evolved into so-called residential and commercial apartment complexes and luxury residential complexes that integrate shopping malls, parking system and other convenient facilities such as fitness and sports centers. The prime example of luxury residential complexes is the Samsung Tower Palace located in Gangnam-gu, Seoul, which is composed of seven towers ranging from 42 to 72 floors making it the tallest apartment complex in Asia. In addition, a full race to build the tallest building in the world is on in Korea. As of 2010, in Seoul alone there are 120 high-rise condominiums and 76 apartments that are thirty one stories or higher. Recently, construction to build four super tall skyscrapers including a second Lotte World building with 112 floors and a 133-story Seoul DMC Landmark building has started.

Another change is that a few housing developers have introduced traditional designs and concepts associated with *hanok* into apartments and new housing construction such as townhouses which are built large enough to house inter-generational families. *Hanok*-style apartments have an open square



Luxury residential complexes and Western-style houses

space in the middle of the unit to recreate a *madang* in *hanok* and also feature doors with traditional patterns often found in *hanok*.

• MULTINATIONAL TRENDS IN FOOD

There has been a tremendous change in food since the turn of the century in Korea. Traditional food and diet in the Joseon dynasty started to incorporate foreign food as a result of contact with foreign countries. Foreign food and diet were imported as a part of migrations of Chinese, Japanese, foreign diplomats, and missionaries. Chinese restaurants opened for Chinese merchants in Seoul and Japanese restaurants served Japanese living in ports like Busan. Western food was introduced through the U.S. Embassy, the British Embassy, and the Russian Embassy located in Jeongdong, Seoul. Missionaries also played an important role in spreading Western food, especially as a pedagogical feature of certain schools they opened. It was well known that King Gojong of the Joseon dynasty enjoyed coffee after he moved to the Russian embassy to escape from Japanese control.

Japanese colonial rule obviously had great impact on Korean food. Japanese food such as *udong*, *tempura*, and *dak-*

wang became Korean dietary items. Western dishes such as *goroke* (croquette) and *dongaseu* (pork cutlet), which had been Japanized, were served as part of the Western cuisine in the grills of Seoul. Domestic production of Japanese artificially-manufactured soy sauce started and reached the Korean table. *Bulgogi* and *galbi*, which are supposedly famous Korean beef dishes, were made by using the manufactured soy sauce which tasted sweeter than the traditionally made Korean variants. Another Japanese impact on food was the introduction of *aginomono*, a Japanese artificially-manufactured seasoning which became an essential part of Korean seasonings after the liberation.

Although Japanese colonial rule destroyed the Joseon dynasty, the court cuisine was fortunately preserved in a rather luxurious restaurant where an ex-court cook prepared court dishes for upper-class customers. Some folk dishes such as *seol-leongtang* became popular dishes sold in the streets of Seoul.

The Korean diet was tremendously influenced by U.S. support after liberation. The population increase brought on by urban migration, the outbreak of the Korean War and the subsequent shortage of food led to a food crisis in the 1950s. The United States helped to solve the food shortage by supplying tons of flour that was consumed as noodles and bread. The Korean government actively encouraged the consumption of noodles and bread to the extent that South Koreans have continuously increased their consumption of flour since the 1960s. The consumption of flour, considered as an improvement in the dietary life of the time, came to be thought of as part and parcel of modernization or Westernization. As a result, the bakery industry, including companies such as Samrip Bakery and Seoul Food, started to appear in the late 1960s. The confectionery

shops such as Goryeodang and New York Bakery prospered in the 1970s. Another effect of flour was the production of *ramyeon* (instant noodles) by Samyang Food in 1963. *Ramyeon* became an essential part of the Korean diet and replaced the traditional dietary view that Koreans should eat rice at every meal. As *ramyeon* became consumed widely, *bunsikjip* (literally meaning flour-based food restaurant) or snack restaurants rapidly appeared serving *ramyeon*, *gimbap* (boiled rice rolled with seaweed), *tteokbokgi* (thin rice cakes cooked with vegetables and hot pepper sauce), *sundae* (steamed pork intestines stuffed with rice noodles), and steamed or fried dumplings.

Industrialization also influenced the daily diet in cities. Increasingly, white-collar workers needed to find a place to eat lunch instead of the traditional individual lunch box, which brought about the opening of various restaurants in the streets near office buildings. These restaurants usually focused on one main dish such as *naengmyeong* (buckwheat noodles), *bibimbap* (boiled rice mixed with various vegetables) or *bulgogi* (marinated barbecued beef). *Naengmyeong* was a popular dish of Hamgyeong-do, North Korea, and *bibimbap* was a dish from Jeonju, Jeollanam-do. Newly emerging white collar workers who were usually urban migrants could taste the folk dishes of their native places in downtown Seoul.

In the early 1980s, several *hanjeongsik* (Korean haute cuisine) restaurants serving traditional Korean meals claimed to be originated from the banquets in royal palaces or homes of *yangban* began to appear in big cities, notably Seoul, the capital. Instead of serving dishes all at once, these exclusive restaurants combined Western conceptions of course meals and traditional Korean cuisines. A typical meal served in *hanjeongsik* restau-

rants starts with an appetizer and porridge or gruel, and then a series of main dishes in various meat cooked in various ways such as grilled, boiled, steamed, and fried are served. The interior of the restaurants is built in Western-style with tables set with wine glasses, and napkins instead of Korean-style low tables with cushions on the floor. Moon Ok-pyo, a food anthropologist, writes that the rise of Korean haute cuisines in the 1990s reflect both the growing desire of the urban middle-class population to dine with enhanced elegance and to introduce more sophisticated aspects of Korean tradition to the world.²

Interestingly, Moon also notes that although the food is served in courses each course dish is shared between two or four diners depending on the number of people.³ In other words, the custom of the communal table is maintained with a slight variation as each person transfer their individual portion from the communal dish to their own plate rather than eating directly from the communal dish. This reflects the increasing influence of the concept of hygiene, although within the family circle the communal aspect of eating is still widely emphasized.

The development of the flour industry affected Chinese restaurants which used flour in most of their dishes, thus the number of Chinese restaurants increased rapidly in the 1970s. The Chinese, who mostly came from Shandong in North China,

2. Moon Ok-pyo, "Dining Elegance and Authenticity: Archaeology of Royal Court Cuisine in Korea," *Korea Journal* Spring, 2010, p. 38.

3. Ibid., p.42.

4. Yang Young-kyun, "Jajangmyeon and Junggukjip: The Changing Position and Meaning of Chinese Food and Chinese Restaurants in Korean Society," *Korea Journal* Summer, 2005, p. 73.

opened Chinese restaurants at that time and served *jajangmyeon* (steamed noodles in a lightly-flavored Chinese black bean paste) and *tangsuyuk* (fried pork with vegetables in sweet and sour sauce). These Koreanized Chinese foods became favorite dishes of Korean children. However, Koreans quickly began to own and run the Chinese restaurants due to the assimilation of the ethnic Chinese in Korea as well as due to their outward migration as a result of the legal discrimination they were subjected to. On the one hand, Chinese dishes became ritual foods for special family events. On the other hand, they have become part of the daily diet due to speedy delivery services.

However, after the 1980s, Chinese restaurants began to lose their dominant position as a popular place for eating out as other fast food restaurants and Korean haute cuisine restaurants rapidly increased. Another reason for the decline of Chinese restaurants was due to the increasing awareness on health, nutrition, and hygiene among Koreans.⁴ The common knowledge that Chinese food is greasy and high in calories and the popular image of Chinese restaurants as being dirty also exerted negative influences. Partly in response to such negative influences and partly due to the increase of international exchanges of people and materials, new kinds of Chinese restaurants—some stressing authentic Chinese foods and some specializing Chinese dishes that have been local-



Popular Korean dishes: *bibimbap*, *galbijjim*, and *bulgogi* (from left to right)



Foreign elements in Korean food: *jajangmyeon*, baked goods, and *sushi* (from left to right)

ized in foreign countries such as the United States, Malaysia, and Singapore—began to appear in major cities in Korea.

Japanese dishes after liberation were still the gourmet foods of the upper-class, a trend which continued until the 1970s. Only *udong*, buckwheat noodles, and certain snacks were consumed in the daily diet. Raw fish restaurants mixing Japanese and Korean dishes started to open in the 1980s, which helped raw fish to become a popular and ordinary food for Koreans. Other forms of Japanese restaurants started to spread, all claiming to cook original Japanese *udong* and *teriyaki*.

Like Japanese dishes, Western dishes were also the gourmet foods of the upper-class after liberation as Western restaurants started to open in the hotels in downtown Seoul in the 1960s. But here too, some items of the Western diet also became part of daily consumption. They were coffee, dairy foods, and sodas. It was through the U.S. Army PX and the black market that coffee, the instant coffee made for U.S. soldiers, was supplied to Koreans until the early 1970s. Dongseo Food, in cooperation with General Food, produced instant coffee in the 1970s. The instant coffee evolved into “coffee-mix,” which is an instant coffee composed of coffee, sugar, and powdered cream. It used the freeze-drying method first developed in the United States but stabilized for mass production in Korea which captured a fresh coffee flavor. The convenience of instant coffee has helped to boost the overall popularity of coffee consumption among Koreans to a point it became an essential part of the everyday diet. It was in the middle of 1980s that brewed coffee began to be consumed widely. During this time, a heavily watered-down version called “American coffee” was consumed along with artificially flavored varieties such as hazelnut. In 1999, Starbucks opened its first shop in

Seoul, introducing high quality coffee beans and Italian coffee beverages such as espresso and cappuccino. According to Starbucks Coffee Korea, there are now more than 300 Starbucks Coffee shops serving an average of 100,000 customers a day.

The “Western diet” developed in the form of “fast food” in the 1980s. During the early 1980s, major American fast food chains such as KFC, Burger King, McDonalds, and Pizza Hut opened their restaurants. Hamburgers, fried chicken, and pizza became the favorite food of Korean youth. And Coco’s, an American family restaurant, opened in Seoul in 1988. TGI Friday’s and Bennigan’s soon followed suit launching the beginning of the boom of family restaurant business in Korea. In response to the growing popularity of family restaurants, Korean companies opened their own versions of family oriented buffet restaurants such as VIPS.

Another feature of the Korean diet appearing in the 1990s was ethnic foods. Influenced by the booming business of ethnic foods in the United States, restaurants specializing in Indian, Thai, Vietnamese, and Mexican foods started to open. Now, Koreans can eat almost all kinds of ethnic foods that tempt their palates.

Despite the increasing variety of foreign foods, Koreans still enjoy eating Korean food the most. Korean restaurants comprised eighty percent of all restaurant businesses in 2003. While Japanese restaurants and Western style restaurants increased, Chinese restaurants have decreased in number over the last twenty years. Snack restaurants have continuously prospered. The fact is that Koreans eat out as often as they eat in nowadays.

There have also been many changes in the daily diet of Koreans at home. First, many Koreans have a Western-style

breakfast; they eat a piece of toast, fried eggs, bacon, and drink orange juice or milk. Korean breakfast has become light and Westernized. Many Koreans now buy preserved foods such as soy sauce, soybean paste, hot pepper sauce, and *kimchi*, all of which used to be homemade. They even consume a variety of instant and fast foods. Koreans used to eat food seasonally but now they can buy anything anytime of the year owing to greenhouse cultivation and high-tech refrigeration. Since they can go out and eat and sample a variety of foods more often, Korean traditional home cooking is less common.

• TRANSNATIONAL FASHION

The turn of the twentieth century opened to the Westernization of Korean clothing as the Joseon dynasty opened its ports to foreign countries. Western clothes were at first introduced in the uniforms of bureaucrats and soldiers by the elite through a series of clothing policies designed to simplify luxurious traditional clothes. These policies were accompanied by the decree of short-cut hair and the forbidding of white clothes. The decree was resisted to great degree by many Koreans since white clothes and long hair were considered to be the symbols of Korean national identity.

The Western trend in clothing that started in men's uniforms spread into ordinary men's and women's clothes during the Japanese colonial period. Korean men having a higher education abroad started to wear Western suits and hats. "New Women" who received modern education were named "modern girls" since they had short hair and wore shortened traditional girl's skirts. Korean traditional clothes became the target of revision as



Saenghwal hanbok side by side with international urban fashion

a part of the life-improvement movement. A major issue was to get rid of the *jangu*, a coat that covered women's faces like a long shawl. Women's traditional clothing that consisted of a long skirt and short jacket were revised to make them suitable for work and other activities. Men's clothes were also reformed so that the *durumagi*, the traditional long overcoat, became part of men's ordinary dress regardless of social status.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Koreans wore a mixture of both traditional clothes, revised or not, and Western clothes. Some Koreans even wore kimono, Japanese traditional dress. At the end of the Japanese colonial period, Korean women were forced to wear *mompe*, Japanese women's trousers for work, since the Japanese colonial government needed Korean female labor in agricultural and industrial production.

Liberation from Japanese colonial rule and the outbreak of the Korean War brought about a new style of Korean clothing. With the help of U.S. aid, a large amount of Western clothing, army uniforms, and blankets became major materials for Korean clothes such as army jumpers, military-style khaki suits, and blouses made of parachute fabric. Soon, Korean women's clothing came to be influenced by international fashion trends.

Korean tailors and designers started to open their shops in Myeong-dong, Seoul. High neck and wing collar blouses, accordion pleat skirts, and tight, short pants were fashion items for women in the 1950s.

As industrialization came into full swing in the 1960s, Korean tailoring expertise received international recognition, which brought about the advent of fashion shows and fashion models. Major hot items in women's fashion were mini-skirts, pantaloons, and jumper suits. In the 1970s, it became popular for the growing middle class to order their suits and dresses from tailors and designer shops. During the authoritarian regime of Park Chung-hee (Bak Jeong-hui), jeans, for Korean youngsters, symbolized youth and resistance against the established order. Since 1978, blue jeans became a hot fashion item for many Koreans regardless of their age, social status, or locality.

The 1980s was another turning point in Korean clothing. More Koreans started to buy manufactured clothes in markets and department stores as fabric production and fashion companies increased. Fashion featured a unisex mode and moved to casual wear. Career women started to wear pant suits, which indicated increasing numbers of working women in the public area and increasing gender equality. The new era of casual wear was accompanied with sportswear stimulated by the Asian Games in 1986 and the Seoul Olympics Games in 1988. In 1983, middle and high school student traditional uniforms were banned so as to produce more variety in casual wear formulating junior and young fashion. In addition, influenced by these changes, men's wear and children's wear became diversified under various brand names.

In the 1990s, Korean fashion was right at the center of international fashion trends characterized as "post-fashion."

Individuality became a fashion, sportswear was consumed more to satisfy the need for health and leisure, and environmental concerns demanded the return of natural fabrics. Especially, the social substrata of the "X-generation" and "Missy," both of whom had considerable consuming power, imitated the fashion of movie stars, singers, and famous figures in entertainment. Various styles of jeans such as skinny jeans or slim-fit pants, shorts, hip-hop pants, short tank-tops, along with the "sports look," "grunge look" and "gangster-rapper look" became fashion trends.

It was in the late 1990s that buildings dedicated to fashion were built in Dongdaemun market, one of the biggest traditional markets. Mega fashion shops such as *Preya Town*, *Migliore*, and *Doosan Tower* opened 24 hours a day, attracting young customers and retail shoppers from local cities as well as foreign tourists. Dongdaemun fashion has become one of the biggest fashion markets in the world. Vigorous fashion industries and shops allow Koreans to wear fashionable clothes season after season, year after year, always keeping up with international trends.

The other side of the story during the last century is unfortunately the disappearance of Korean traditional wear from everyday life. Since the 1960s, Koreans generally wore Western clothes for their everyday clothing instead of *hanbok*, the traditional Korean clothes. Traditional clothes were revised somewhat towards the design of Western clothes; the fullness of the long skirt was streamlined into A-line skirts, the length of jackets was shortened, and jacket cords were substituted with pins. This revised style was neither traditional nor Western.

Korean traditional clothes were revived in the 1980s following the revitalization movement under the banner of "Being Korean means being global." This time, it was named the



Subway station filled with commuters and traditional seafood market

saenghwal hanbok (practical traditional clothing). It was revised sufficiently to be worn comfortably in everyday life, yet boasted a traditional design and natural fabric. It became very popular by the late 1990s, but later it began to be made of silk incorporating expensive designs. Most traditional clothes have now become too expensive to wear in daily life; they are considered formal dress for special occasions. Koreans now wear them for special family events such as weddings, birthday parties, and traditional holidays. In 1995, a “*Hanbok Wearing Day*” was enacted by the government, and some civilian groups now encourage the wearing of *hanbok*, but their efforts have not been so successful.

• TRANSPORTATION AND CONSUMPTION

In contemporary South Korea, urban life proceeds in two apparently separate spaces, that of the home and that of work. Most urbanites are employed in the service sector. The proportion of service employment increases in the large cities. Due to the lack of space, offices are congregated in high-rise buildings. During the past decade, the finance, insurance, and real estate sectors have achieved a dramatic increase in their workforces. The

employees of these sectors travel every day from home to work by buses, automobiles, or subways on average for more than an hour.

Some offices are located in the old central business district which had developed without planning, while new offices are built in blocks planned according to rectangular street patterns. The built-up area of Seoul enclosed by the Seoul Wall features streets that are, as in other traditional cities, narrow and irregular. Toward the exterior, newly built apartment complexes feature amenities like fresh air, space, convenient facilities, and easy access roads.

Koreans travel in automobiles, subways, and community buses in the cities. Automobiles, with their ultra-mobile capacity, reign supreme in cities with a proportion of almost one to every household. Korea became a major automobile manufacturing country as early as the 1980s. As of 1997, more than ten million cars were in operation. Passenger cars outnumber freight vehicles by a wide margin. As a result, automobiles in limited urban space are the major cause of everyday traffic congestion.

Many city residents use the subway on their way to work to avoid the traffic bottlenecks and insufficient parking space. Today, the seven largest cities, Seoul, Busan, Gwangju, Daejeon, Daegu, and Incheon, all have a subway system. Started in 1974 with Line 1, and currently having nine lines, Seoul's metropolitan subway system is the oldest and largest system in the country and ranked top third in the world in terms of annual passenger rides in 2009. With the increase in distance coverage and the opening of additional lines, the subway has emerged as the most convenient means of urban transportation in Seoul. The transit needs of areas between the subway lines are covered by community buses that shuttle people back and forth between

homes and subway stations.

Another fast-growing transportation industry is the air travel industry. As a testament to the globalization of Korea a total of 9,804,725 Koreans—which is almost 20 percent of the entire population—traveled outside Korea in 2009. This is a decrease from 13 million in 2007 due to the rise of foreign exchange rates and the economic downturn. Although Korea is a peninsula, because of the national division South Koreans must use sea or air transportation to leave the country. Thus, for South Korea, development of the air travel industry was crucial.

South Korea first operated its national carrier, founded by the government in 1962 under the name of Korean National Airlines and then Korean Air. A second carrier, Asiana Airlines, was established in 1988 but had limited connections. However, by 2006, Asiana served twelve domestic cities, sixty-six cities in twenty foreign countries for commercial flights and twenty-four cities in seventeen countries for cargo traffic. The two airlines combined operate 297 international routes. Recently, smaller budget airlines such as Air Busan, Jin Air, Easter Air, and Jeju Air, provide domestic service and Japan/Southeast Asian routes with lower fares.

The spaces of urban consumption have various landscapes. Residential areas have schools, parks, playgrounds, and grocery shops both indoors and outdoors. Family-operated mom-and-pop stores used to provide the daily necessities to urban consumers. In the past decade, consumption behavior has changed with the introduction of convenience stores like Seven Eleven and Buy the Way. These stores, which are open around the clock, appeal to young customers and are gradually encroaching upon local groceries. The decreasing presence and influence of tradi-

tional markets is another facet of urban consumption; in particular, the upper classes rely mainly on department stores for their consumption needs. Introduced in the colonial period and dealing mainly with expensive merchandise, department stores are now accessible for middle-class urban residents. But a majority of urban people still finds their daily necessities in groceries, outdoor markets, and seafood markets that offer cheaper prices. On account of rising land values, these retail stores are moving out of the urban centers one by one.

In the early 1990s, large discount store chains like E-Mart and Wal-Mart appeared bringing yet another change to Koreans' consumption behaviors. These marts offer a similar variety of goods as department stores, but at discounted prices. One difference is that these marts typically do not carry luxury brands of clothing. Instead, they offer generic brands at discounted prices. Founded in 1993 by Shinsegae, E-Mart is the first discount store and the largest with 127 stores across the country in South Korea. The success of E-Mart forced Wal-Mart, world's largest discount store chain, to close its stores in South Korea.

2. CHANGES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Since the 1970s, the South Korean countryside has experienced a dramatic transformation in the midst of rapid industrialization and urbanization. The countryside agrarian population has significantly receded to only 7 percent in 2003. The collapse of rural society results from industrialization of the large cities and the resultant migration of the rural population. Currently, the



Mechanization of agriculture
Modernization of rural residence



shortage of agricultural laborers is a serious problem, aggravating the problem of procuring agrarian workers during the planting and harvesting seasons. Rural people left behind are becoming older on average, and increasing numbers of houses are being left vacant with vast tracts of croplands fallowed or rented out.

The form of agriculture that was traditionally based on individual household farming has become pretty much commercialized and influenced by the general market economy. In addition to the traditional cultivation of rice and barley, livestock husbandry and green house cultivation are common, which has led to the capitalization, diversification, and specialization of the agrarian economy. The increase in part-time farmers and tenant farmers has resulted in a polarization of the income structure in rural areas.

Another point of note might be the mechanization of the agricultural sector; tractors, combines, and cultivators have now replaced the traditional oxen. Accompanying the rearrangement of the arable lands into rectangular blocks, mechanization helps to ease the prevalent labor shortage. However, the countryside is facing daunting challenges posed by globalization. With the agreements of the WTO in 1995 and the subsequent opening of agricultural markets to the outside world, Korean farmers have been forced to adjust to a changing global environment.

The average size of croplands per agrarian household has grown from 1.1 ha in 1985 to 1.3 ha in 1995, and 1.6 ha in 2003. This change is to a large extent attributable to the decrease in the number of farming households. Farmers are differentiated according to the size of the lands they possess. The conundrum for the Korean countryside is that there are still a large number of debt-stricken farmers. Scattered land plots make it difficult to introduce modern agribusiness. Socially, the economic transfor-

mation disrupted the countryside and transformed it into a layered heterogeneous society from a once homogeneous farming community based on cooperative spirit and hard work. This means that the traditional agrarian customs of cooperative working in the forms of *durae* and *pumasi* and the contract relationship between landowners and tenant farmers has give way to a capitalistic way of doing agriculture, such as leasing.

It is an undeniable fact that rural people are exposed to the urban way of life, the characteristic feature of which is certain to be individualistic as well as materialistic. Transportation and communication facilities are partly accountable for the social changes that have also become the driving force for the commercialization of agriculture. The expansion of the transformation and modernization of the sphere of everyday life due to the structural changes in marketing systems has resulted in the transformation of many rural areas into sites of recreation, leisure, and sports. The intrusion of urban components into rural society is reflected in the increasing number of stylish houses now found in the suburbs. The owners commute to their workplaces in the city center by car. Many drive for an hour and a half in order to enjoy the pastoral life that rural towns provide.

3. FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

Korean family life shows the drastic change experienced by Koreans during the last century. During the Japanese colonial period, Korean families were regulated by the enactment of the *hojuje* (the head of household system) to reinforce family headship in the

Japanese style. As modern white-collar jobs started to appear in the cities, urban middle class families, nuclear families, and extended families appeared based on the sexual division of labor in which husbands earned wages and wives were charged with housework and children. “*HyeonmoYangcheo* (wise mother and nice wife)” became the social discourse of Korean families that had the urgent mission to liberate Korea from Japanese colonial rule.

Industrialization had a great impact on the Korean family. First of all, family, especially the nuclear family, started to acquire its own new meaning in Korean family life. Industrialization and urbanization greatly weakened the strength of rural communities based on kinship ties. The size of the modern family is so reduced that many now consider only parents, their children, and their children’s spouses and children as family members. This stems from the increase of nuclear families in the cities as well as in rural areas. Most parents and married children establish their own households, often living nearby and frequently visiting each other.

The South Korean government had enacted a policy of population control in order to achieve economic growth since the early 1960s. As a result of birth control advocated by the government and the identification of the modern family as having less children, Korean families rapidly became smaller having just one or two children. In 2005, the total fertility rate went down to 1.08 children per woman, which was the new record low for South Korea and one of the lowest in the world. Now, the South Korean government is searching for ways to increase the birth rate, something completely unexpected forty years ago.

This recent low birth rate problem is necessarily associated with the increasing number of single people and late mar-

riage. As far as marriage is concerned, love marriages have become more common. Arranged marriages, the traditional form of marriage, are still practiced but in a changed manner. Although a love marriage is supposed to be between two individuals, a Korean love marriage is still a matter between two families since most marriages cannot be fulfilled without parental approval or their financial support.

Korean middle-class families can afford higher education for their children; they often study to the post-graduate level in their attempt to find better jobs. In addition to longer periods of education, the economic situation since the 1997-8 Asian financial crisis which in South Korea is popularly dubbed the IMF crisis means university graduates spend more time preparing for a job and thus postpone their marriages. Some Korean singles refused to get married at all, which results in a decreased marriage rate.

In addition to the increasing number of singles and late marriages, there are other reasons for the existence of small families. Since the 1960s, most middle class families became nuclear families in which husbands worked and wives took care of household chores and children. This gender-based division of labor has persisted until now even though about half of married women have jobs. This double burden imposed on married women is one of the reasons why increasingly smaller families have fewer or no children. Another reason is the economic burden of raising children. The early educational boom since the 1990s pushes young married couples to spend a large amount of their money on child education, and the fervent competition to enter prestigious universities causes parents to also spend even more money on private lessons. Thus, raising children has become a very costly business in South Korean.



Poster for childbirth promotion policy
Typical nuclear family
Aging population

The other side of this change in population is the growing population of elders. It is estimated that in 2010 elders will occupy 11 percent of the South Korean population and in 2020, 15.6 percent, which means that South Korea is rapidly becoming a society of "advanced age." The government has every reason to be concerned about the prospect of becoming an aged society with lowered productivity. The increasing number of the elders leads to another problem. Most Korean elders need financial support because they are not financially independent. They also need to be cared for. Elders used to be cared for by their children according to Confucian values of filial piety. But some lower-class families cannot afford to provide sufficient care for their elders; nowadays they need appropriate support from social welfare.

Another feature of the Korean family these days is the increasing divorce rate and its associated problems. According to a popular survey, the divorce rate has almost reached the level of the United States and other Western countries. Increasing divorce has led to the growth of single parent families. Remarriage is also increasing, which brings a new combination of families composed of stepfather, stepmother, and stepchildren. Now, South Korean society is experiencing a variety of family types that should be acknowledged not as abnormalities, but as diversity.

Korean family relationships have been influenced by the generation gap produced by rapid industrialization over the last forty years. The generation gap between parents and children is increasing, causing conflict between the conception of family and the nature of family relationships. The grandparent generation who experienced Japanese colonial rule and the Korean War still sticks to the Confucian view of the family. This generation, which worked hard to develop Korea, also keeps the pragmatic

view of the family which is manifested as familism. The younger generations have never experienced hard times, but instead have to go through increased competition to find employment, and are inclined to have a more emotional view of the family. The modern generation considers a family as a group of people united by affection and it seems to be more individualistic, despite still being financially dependent on their parents. Especially, teens born after 1990 are regarded as the “i-generation” where “i” stands for information society; they seem to be closer to computers and the Internet than to their parents. Isolation from one another brought about by difficulties in communication within the family seems to be offset by pets. Now, pets are often considered as family members in middle-class families.

Speaking of family members, another side effect of the long existing gendered division of labor where men are the breadwinners and women are the housewives have produced new phenomena like *gireogi appa* (goose father) who works hard alone in South Korea while his wife and children are abroad for education, or stories of young children who failed to identify the father as one of their family members because they hardly see their father any more. South Korean society is presently undergoing a harsh challenge to break the myth of what constitutes as “normal family” by testing the definition of family and the nature of family relationships.

4. EDUCATION

The modern school system was introduced during the Japanese colonial period. On the one hand, the Japanese colonial govern-

ment offered a formal education system replacing traditional schools in Seoul as well as in local areas. On the other hand, Christian missionaries and patriotic leaders who opened private schools served the development of Korean modern education. The main concern of the private schools, especially those founded by patriotic leaders, was to educate future leaders for national independence.

Korea's liberation in 1945 from Japanese colonial rule brought about the creation of a foundation for democratic education. Following the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948, an education law was enacted on the basis of democratic principles that provided a basic framework for the subsequent educational system in South Korea during the latter half of the twentieth century. Major features in this period were: compilation and distribution of elementary school textbooks; adaption of the 6-3-3-4 type school system; introduction of adult education to eliminate illiteracy; expansion plans for secondary and higher education; and the foundation of teacher colleges.

Quantitative expansion of the Korean educational system has occurred since the 1960s as the country started its rapid industrialization. This expansion included an increase in the student population, the expansion of educational facilities, and a corresponding increase in the number of teachers. Elementary schools have increased from 2,834 in 1945 to 5,384 in 2002; students increased from 1,366,685 in 1945 to 4,138,366 in 2002. The number of middle schools doubled between 1945 and 2002 and that of high schools quadrupled during the same period. The most spectacular expansion was manifested in the increasing number of college and university students; there were only 7,819 in 1945, but 3,577,477 in 2002.

This rapid growth in the school population has inevitably resulted in overcrowded classrooms, oversized schools, a shortage of qualified teachers and educational facilities, and excessive competition in the college entrance examination. In particular, the determination to enter a prestigious university induced many middle-class parents to employ private tutors for their children. Elementary students had to be prepared for the middle school admission test; middle school students in turn studied to enter a high school with a good reputation, in other words, one with a high number of graduates who entered prestigious universities. Today, such high schools are identified as being foreign language high schools which are criticized for being nothing more than college preparatory schools.

To cope with these problems, major educational policies were employed. They were: the reform of the teacher education system; the establishment of graduate schools of education for in-service teacher education; the abolition of the middle and high school admission test; the enlargement of provincial universities and the establishment of junior colleges; and the implementation of the preliminary test for college admission to eliminate the bias between high schools.

As a result, the admission tests administered by individual colleges and universities were abolished and a new require-



Various forms of education: public elementary school class, study abroad center, and graduate school class (from left to right)

ment for recognizing high school achievement in college entrance was adopted. Also, a graduation quota system was introduced for colleges and universities designed to reduce competition for college entrance and to enhance the quality of college education since college entrance was far more difficult than college graduation.

In spite of these educational policies that brought about a leveling of high schools and the introduction of the college scholastic ability test for college entrance, the educational fever to enter a prestigious university still leaves South Korea amidst the turmoil of ever-growing competition. The preference for universities over technical colleges comes from a twofold social perception that a higher education paves the royal road to rise up the social and economic ladder, and also that a university education is the last major step for molding the personalities of future leaders. The importance laid on education has caused Korea to be one of the major sources of international students studying in the United States, Canada, Britain, and Australia. As of 2008, the number of Korean students in the United States is 115,852.

The strong desire to become proficient in English, *yeong-eo yeolpung*, also fueled the rapid increase of study abroad to English speaking countries. English is the new lingua franca in the age of globalization. For this reason, the South Korean government has pushed its citizens to be more proficient in English communication since the 1980s. Regardless of the change of governments, educational policies related to English were all implemented with the explicit goal of preparing Koreans to participate with confidence in the global marketplace and increasing the nation's international competitiveness. Following suit, universities and companies required a minimum score or higher on

standardized English tests such as TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) or TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) as a measure of an applicant's English language skills. Recently, many universities also increasingly adopt English as a language of instruction offering classes that are taught in English. It has been reported that Korea University, a prestigious private university, will increase the ratio of classes taught in English to 50 percent by 2012 and Yonsei University would offer 40 percent of all classes in English in 2010.⁵

The reason why Koreans consider it necessary to enter a prestigious university is that education, specifically graduation from a high-ranking university, has been a major channel for Koreans to achieve social success. Educational background has served as a major social connection since liberation. The land reforms during the U.S. Occupation and the Korean War turned out to be disastrous for the established social class, such as landlords, which meant a collapse in the previously ascribed social status system. Thus, educational background as a major social connection became the most certain condition for upward social class movement. It has been obvious that certain high-ranking universities have become the major outlets for the highest positions in the social, political, and economic arenas. Korean society is thus fragmented into various lines of educational background creating social substrata each with diverse social connections.

What pushes many Korean teenagers now is the extremely oppressive desire to pass the entrance exam to a high-ranking university. For this purpose, most students from elementary school onwards head for private institutes after school, which have been established in large numbers near residential areas. Taking lessons in mathematics, English, piano, and draw-

5. Shim Doo-bo and Joseph Sung-yul Park, "The Language of Politics of 'English Fever' in South Korea," *Korea Journal* Summer, 2008, p. 147.

ing, etc. as a result of this educational fever, more than 50 percent of the population of learning age goes to university. Including community colleges it rises to more than 70 percent.

5. RELIGION

Following in the footsteps of their ancestors, many urban Koreans still practice various shamanistic rituals. To give an example, many Koreans still practice the ceremony of appeasing the guardian gods that is performed just before moving into a new house or breaking the ground for a new building. Some Koreans often visit shamans for fortune-telling or for praying for the well-being of their family. In the case of illness of a family member, especially a psychosomatic illness, some Koreans ask a shaman to perform, for the recovery of the patient, a *gut* (shamanic ritual) which is also quite costly.

In the contemporary spiritual life of Koreans, Buddhism is still popular. Now, Korean Buddhism, including the Jogye sect, consists of twenty-one sects which are mostly related to the Zen school of thought. Followers visit temples in order to pray at least once a week. The main service is on Sunday and lasts for approximately three hours. After the service, Buddhists get together and share a meal. The biggest holiday for them is the birthday of the Buddha, which falls on the eighth of April every year according to the lunar calendar. The festival features various events such as the lighting of lotus lanterns and the grand parade across downtown Seoul. Monks hang lanterns above the temple grounds and pray for the happiness of individuals, families, and the nation.

South Korea has three big temples; Tongdosa in Yangsan county, Haeinsa in Hapcheon county, and Songgwangsa in Suncheon City. Tongdosa is known as one of the Three Treasured Temples for having Buddha's surplice and bones, Haeinsa is known for preserving the Tripikata Koreana, and Songgwangsa is known for training influential monks.

Confucianism today still strongly remains in the mentality of Koreans. It is now understood as an ideology or a belief system rather than a religion. Although many aspects of Confucian rituals and manners are considered to be out-of-date or impossible to practice, some Confucian traditions are still practiced in everyday life. For example, there are *jesa* and *charye*, Confucian rites for ancestor worship. Many Koreans, even some Catholics, perform rites for their deceased parents; for example, *charye* on New Year's Day and at Chuseok. In addition, there is *seongmyo*, a rite where one visits one's native place to take care of an ancestral tomb site. This tradition has become a national family ritual in which about a half of the population participates; it is also televised every year as a national event.

Christianity, a late starter, has nevertheless converted approximately 35 percent of Koreans. This conversion has happened so fast that no country in Asia can rival South Korea. The history of Korean Christianity began with Catholicism in the seventeenth century. Korean Catholicism was initiated by ambassadors of the Joseon dynasty who were sent to China. By contacting Western missionaries in China, Korean diplomats had a chance to learn about the Catholic Church. After severe persecutions by the royal class of the Joseon dynasty, Korean Catholicism began to successfully take root. The Pope visited Seoul in 1984 for the commemoration of two hundred years of



Buddhist prayer service

Korean Catholicism and declared 103 martyrs as saints: those who gave their lives rather than give up their faith.

Korean Protestant churches began through the activities of Western missionaries. In 1884, Dr. Allen entered Joseon as a medical missionary sent by the Northern Presbyterian Church of the United States. Following him, Underwood and Appenzeller, missionaries from the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches of the United States, also took their first steps to Korea. During the Japanese colonial period, Korean Protestant Christianity grew rapidly. Korean Protestants also took part in the independence movement.

Korean Protestant Christianity now includes 120 denominational bodies, 35,000 churches, and 12,000,000 believers. Presbyterian, Methodist, Holiness Church, and Baptist are the



Confucian ancestor worship and Catholic service

names of major denominations. Anglican, Salvation Army, Lutheran, Church of Christ, and Quaker are also important denominations in South Korea. Through the various religious activities and active social participation such as welfare programs, they serve the lower class via medical institutions and schools, Korean Christianity grows constantly. Believers participate in services regularly every weekend and on certain weekdays. Active and frequent meetings of congregations such as early morning prayer meetings held every day at sunrise are often identified as one of the factors for the rapid growth of Korean Protestant Christianity.

Although the number remains relatively low among Koreans the Muslim population is increasing in South Korea due to the increase in the number of foreigners. It is estimated that there are fewer than 40,000 Korean Muslims and about 10,000 are active practitioners. There had been sporadic contacts between traditional Korea and Islam that went back to the time of Silla. But, it is said that the first Koreans to be introduced to Islam in more recent times were laborers dispatched to northeastern China in the early twentieth century as part of Japanese colonial policy. A handful of converts returned home after World War

II. They lived alone with their new faith until the Korean War brought Turkish troops to Korea. The Turks invited the Korean converts to join them in prayers. Shortly after, Korean converts established the Korea Muslim Society in 1955 followed by the election of the first Korean imam and the opening of the first South Korean mosque. The central mosque located in Itaewon, Seoul, was built in 1976. Today there are also mosques in Busan, Anyang, Gwangju, Jeonju, and Daegu.

There are other religious traditions that stem from the national identity of Korea. Among them, Cheondogyo, Jeungsangyo, Wonbulgyo, and Daejonggyo are most famous.

6. LEISURE AND QUALITY OF LIFE

The economic growth in South Korea has increased average personal income to more than ten thousand U.S. dollars per year. The advance in living standards has led to an increasing demand for leisure and tourism. Now, about 70 percent of Koreans visit domestic tourist sites more than once a year. In order to improve local economic development, the revival of local cultural sites by local governments helped the growth of tourism by providing various interesting domestic tourist destinations.

Major tourist destinations are Jeju-do, which is famous as an international sightseeing place, many folk villages such as Hahoe of Andong (Gyeongsangbuk-do) and Nagan eupseong of Jeollanam-do, famous Buddhist temples, many hot springs, the beautiful east, west and south coasts, not to mention the spectacular mountains in Gangwon, Chungcheong, Jeolla, and



Bicycling in Han River Park
Korean high-speed train, KTX



Gyeongsang provinces. In addition to these places of historicity and natural beauty, newly constructed amusement parks such as Everland are also popular.

Summer vacation has become a part of the Korean middle-class lifestyle. Most people go to beaches and mountain resorts during the months of July and August. Many also go to foreign countries. The liberalization of international travel in the 1980s allowed increasing numbers of Koreans to visit the United States, Japan, Thailand, China, Australia, and many other countries of the world and to appreciate their history, cultures and natural beauty.

For domestic tours and leisure, new roads such as the Jungang and Seohaean Expressways facilitate inter-regional transportation, much as the Gyeongin (Seoul-Incheon) and Gyeongbu (Seoul-Busan) Expressways did in the early 1960s, and the Honam, Namhae, Yeongdong, Donghae, and Buma Expressways did in the 1970s. Recently, the KTX (Korean high-speed train) was opened, making it possible to commute from Seoul to Busan at great speed. Besides expressways and railways, local airports nearby major cities have been constructed to provide better access and faster transportation to local cities. Incheon International Airport was constructed to cater to the ever increasing demand for air travel; it is one of the biggest international airports in the world.

Recently, the working week has been shortened to five days per week for large firm employees, urban white collar workers and workers at large factories so that they have extra time to spend for themselves. As South Koreans become more concerned with their quality of life, they are enjoying a variety of leisure and pastime activities, sharing common interests in sports

and other activities.

The middle-aged often visit mountains and other scenic places for leisure and good health. Lovely mountains and hills attract hikers who usually gather at restaurants at the entrance of the paths and share conversation and refreshments with each other. The younger generations enjoy new kinds of sports such as inline skating, mountain biking, paragliding, water-skiing, and rafting. Skiing has become a popular winter sport and many ski resorts have sprung up. Golf, a favorite sport of the upper-middle class, is yet to become available and affordable to ordinary people since it is very expensive. Some regard and even criticize the sport as being a pastime of the privileged.

As South Koreans are increasingly concerned with good health, they use the exercise facilities in sports clubs and centers. Recently, yoga and *Danhak* (the study of life energy based on the mind/body training of ancient Korea) have become fads. Women, especially housewives, started to participate in various programs offered by major department stores and sports clubs. They learn swimming, sports dance, and yoga, etc. for their health as well as practicing singing, painting, quilting, and cooking as pastimes.

Watching sports has become another pastime for Koreans since professional soccer, baseball, and basketball teams and matches were formed in the 1980s. Many professional teams play for the region they represent and for their fans. The World Cup soccer tournament of 2002 became a national festival drawing a huge number of fans to the stadiums.

Going to the cinema has become more popular since the Korean film industry produces as good and interesting films as those of the United States or European countries. Movie theaters with multiple screens attract so many movie fans that South Korea

has become a major film market in the world. More and more Koreans also go to the theater to watch plays, musicals, and other performances performed by Korean as well as foreign artists.

7. LOCALIZATION AND REVIVAL OF LOCAL CULTURES

Korean traditional culture has been regarded as vital to Korea since the Japanese colonial period. The Japanese colonial government had Japanese historians and social scientists carry out historical and ethnographic research on Korean history and tradition as a means of colonial domination. On the one hand, Japanese scholars identified Korean folk culture based on shamanism as rural, supernatural, and feminine, which was another form of Orientalism. On the other, it was an urgent mission for Korean scholars to formulate a genuine culture and history independent of Japanese history, a task considered essential for the independence of Korea.

Korean tradition and folk culture have gone through the two different processes that were the two sides of the same coin after liberation. Through rapid industrialization, folk culture, especially that based on shamanism, was mostly eliminated and deconstructed since such was thought of as superstition by Korean modernizers. But important local culture came to belong to the repertoire of national culture through a preservation policy pursued by the government. Indeed, annual festivals of traditional culture were sponsored and held by the government until the 1980s.

A different kind of revitalization of traditional culture started on university campuses in the middle of the 1970s.

University students revived some folk culture, especially that stemming from shamanism, which had been oppressed by the government. They initiated the Minjung Cultural Movement that differentiated the folk culture of the *minjung* (the people) from certain other traditions sponsored and preserved by the authoritarian government. Two layers of traditional culture confronted each other as the authoritarian regime and the anti-government groups remained in opposition through 1980s.

The democratic government set up in 1992 opened another stage for Korean traditional culture. A local self-governing system was introduced in order to overcome the monopolization of the central government. This triggered the revitalization of local traditions and folk culture local governments so as to reformulate local cultural identities and appropriate those for supplementing local finance. Local governments had to realize self-government by achieving financial independence. Thus, they started to appropriate their local culture as cultural resources for tourism and cultural industries. Local festivals that began in the middle of the 1970s became more diverse and comprehensive in combination with increasing tourism and sales of local products.

Major cities started to hold big festivals such as the Busan International Film Festival, the Gwangju Biennale Art Festival, the Daegu Milano project, the Chuncheon Mime



Various local festivals: snow festival, ceramic festival, and lantern festival (from left to right)

Festival, the Bucheon Animation Festival, and the Jeonju Pansori Festival. They have all adopted localization strategies and have succeeded in producing cultural economic goods. Local governments have developed various cultural industrial projects in their attempt to use local culture to boost local and regional economies. Andong Hahoe folk village, Yanggu Park Soo-kun Art Galley and other local cultural projects are prominent examples of this.

Putting aside the major international and national festivals, there are a countless number of local and regional festivals all year round. October is the month with the most number of festivals including the Seoul Independent Film Festival, Ganghwa Dolmen Cultural Festival, Busan Fireworks Festival, Migrants' Arirang, Ganggyeong Fermented Food Festival, Icheon Rice Cultural Festival, Seopyeonje Boseong Music Festival, Jarasum International Jazz Festival, Hoengseong Korean Beef Festival, Jeongdong Cultural Festival, Suwon Hwaseong Fortress Cultural Festival, Chungjang Festival, Seoul Air Show, and many others just in October alone. This is why South Korea has been called a nation of festivals.

It is impossible to mention all the festivals that go on within a year. However, most popular and successful festivals are worth mentioning. They are, by region, as follows. The detail



Cultural activities: concert at a *seowon*, *gossaum* folk game, and temple stay (from left to right)

information can be found in Korea Tourism Organization's official Korean tourism guide website (www.visitkorea.or.kr), the main source of most of the information below.

In Gyeonggi-do there is the Goyang Korea Flower Show organized by the Goyang International Flower Foundation which began in 1997 and is usually held during the period from late April to early May. There is also the World Ceramic Biennale and Icheon Ceramic Festival which is usually held in September and October in Icheon where 1,000 years of history in ceramic arts come alive through exhibitions of the finest ceramics such as *cheongja* (celadon porcelain), *baekja* (white porcelain), and *bun-cheongsagi* (grayish-blue powdered celadon). Popular programs include the ceramic excavation program and a workshop where participants get an opportunity to draw their own artwork on slightly heated pottery.

In Gangwon-do, there is the Taebaek Mountains Royal Azalea Festival organized by Taebaek City which usually takes place in late May when Royal Azaleas are at their best on the slopes of the 1,567 meter-high Taebaek mountain. It is reported that during this time some of the mountain's most picturesque locations such as the Cheonjedan altar and Janggunbong and Busoebong are strewn with the bright pink flowers. Another famous festival is the Inje Icefish Festival held at Soyangho Lake in Inje in winter from the end of January to the early February. At the festival, visitors will be able to try out ice fishing and winter ice sports such as sledding, human bowling on ice, ice soccer, and even tug-of-war on ice. As one of food festivals, the Heongseong Hanu (Korean beef) Festival is held to promote the excellent quality of Hoengseong beef. Major programs include not only tasting of delicious beef but also a world



Boryeong Mud Festival

cow photo exhibition, national *ssireum* (Korean wrestling) competition, and other cultural performances. It is usually held in mid-October.

Among the regional festivals celebrating the famous May 5 Dano Korean holiday, one of the three most important holidays along with Chuseok and Seollal, perhaps the most well-known festival is the Gangneung Dano Festival. It is speculated that it goes back to the tenth century Goryeo dynasty with its current format established in 1966. Traditionally, on the day of Dano, women washed their hair with iris-infused water and swung on a swing while men engaged in traditional Korean-style *ssireum* wrestling. The Gangneung Dano Festival has remained truest to the celebration's original form, capturing the very essence of this ancient festival. It became an international festival representative of the Korean shamanistic culture after it was designated as an Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO

in 2005. In addition to traditional religious ceremonies, the Gangneung Dano Festival provides visitors with a four-day market on the bank of the Namdae River.

In Chungcheong-do, there is the Boryeong Mud Festival organized by Boryeong City. Recently, it probably attracts the largest number of international visitors as tourist flock to the area to experience the beneficial properties of the Boryeong mud. It usually takes place in the latter half of July. The program includes a street parade, mud marathon, mud wrestling, mud swimming in the mud mega tub, and mud massage. There is also the Great Admiral Yi Sun-sin Festival organized by Asan City. It celebrates one of Korea's most famous war heroes, Admiral Yi Sun-shin, who defeated the Japanese in a momentous naval battle around 460 years ago. The festival takes place in the period around the Admiral's birth date on April 28 in order to commemorate his achievements. Events at the festival include a reenactment of the parade when Admiral Yi took his sailors off to war and an exhibition of detailed reproductions of the famous turtle-shaped ships used in battle called *geobukseon*.

An interesting recent development in this region is the opening of the Baekje Cultural Complex at the Great Baekje World Festival in 2010. After twelve years of construction and five more years of planning the Baekje Cultural Complex was built to replicate the royal palace of the ancient Kingdom of Baekje. As a 3 million square meter size "Korean-style history theme park," the Baekje Cultural Complex hosts the history reenactment village where visitors may observe the history and culture of Baekje and also other entertainment, shopping, and accommodation facilities. The Great Baekje World Festival is a major cultural celebration highlighting the history and culture of

the Baekje Kingdom, one of the kingdoms during the Three Kingdoms period, which was over-shadowed by Silla that unified the three kingdoms.

In Jeolla-do, perhaps the capital of regional festivals, there is the Namwon Chunhyang Festival, the Hampyeong Butterfly Festival, the Damyang Bamboo Festival, the Boseong Dahyang (Green Tea) Festival, the Jeonju Dano Festival, and the Gangjin Cheongja Festival, to mention a few among many. The most famous is the Namwon Chunhyang Festival based on the beautiful and famous Korean love story Chunhyangjeon. The programs include Chunhyang *gugak* (traditional music) fair, Namwon *nongak* (farmers' music) performance, traditional poetry singing competition, riding the Chunhyang swing and playing traditional games. Another popular festival is the Boseon Dahyang Festival organized by Boseong county. Boseong is considered the birthplace of the commercial tea industry and is the largest producer of tea in South Korea. Visitors are able to participate in hands-on-experience programs such as picking tea leaves, making teas, and sampling green tea snacks. It is usually held in the beginning of May. Although it is not as famous or large as the Gangneung Dano Festival, the Jeonju Dano Festival is organized by the locals as a local tradition.

In Gyeongsang-do, there is the Gaya Cultural Festival, the Gyeongju Silla Ceramic Festival, the Silla Cultural Festival, the Jinhae Gunhang Festival, and the Busan International Kite Festival. The Gaya Cultural Festival is a historical and cultural festival organized by Gimhae City to provide an opportunity for visitors to experience the glorious culture of Gaya and to assert Gaya's rightful place alongside the Three Kingdoms of Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla. Another famous festival is the

Jinhae Gunhang Festival also known as the Jinhae Cherry Blossom Festival. Taking place from the end of March to early April in Jinhae navy port, it is Korea's largest cherry blossom festival. The festival began as a military commemoration service to the Admiral Yi Sun-shin and later included a military band parade.

The revival of local cultures is clearly a part of localization but globalization also plays a role. However, with limited access to global transportation networks and only mediocre interconnections with global finance, information, and communication, it is early to be optimistic about the effects of globalization on these local towns.

8. ENVIRONMENT VS. DEVELOPMENT

Korean industrialization was a dual process of development and preservation at the same time. Industrialization necessarily accompanies the destruction of natural resources and landscapes. South Korea was plagued with frequent floods resulting from the lack of water control systems and barren mountains due to the collection of firewood. In 1971, the central government started the Green Belt program in order to put a check on the rampant expansion of built-up areas and to protect the natural environment. By 1977, the size of the areas of restricted access came to include 5.5 percent of the entire nation's land. The Green Belt strategy has turned out to be successful in curbing disorderly development around major cities. For the past two decades the government has applied rigorous standards to protect the Green

Belt areas. Although there have been several attempts to interpret the system more flexibly, its basic tenets and framework have been maintained intact.

Once a certain degree of economic development was attained, people's attention turned to the preservation of the environment. Such concern aims to enhance the quality of life. Policy makers and non-government organizations increasingly take part in environment conservation movements. In recent years, numerous dams and dikes have been built for various purposes. Reclamation projects, for instance, have been instituted for the purpose of acquiring arable land and for securing sites for industrial complexes. In certain places, nuclear power plants play a major role in producing electricity. However, these and other big projects have caused various environment problems. Organizations and citizens are involved in environment protection activities to save the environment from the threats caused by modern civilization.

One example of conflict with the environment vs. development is the Sihwa lake project. Sihwa lake in Ansan city was created by a reclamation project but the lake, created by an embankment blocking out the sea, became polluted by the waste from nearby factories. The construction of the lake not only destroyed the tidal flats of inlets but the lake became so polluted that fishermen and sea shell gatherers could no longer make a living. It provides us with a typical example of how man's attempt to change things for the better can sometimes lead to the destruction the very things he is trying to protect—the environment and life of the local residents. Fortunately, the central government and local residents recently have reached the agreement that the lake and its neighborhood would be developed to serve



Wind-powered electric generators
Solar-powered electric generators



the local residents' needs by preserving its environmental vitality.

The Saemangeum reclamation project in Buan county of Jeollabuk-do was one of the reclamation projects, begun during the Japanese colonial period, to expand arable land. But the project has reached a stalemate because of the conflicts between the environmental activists and pro-developmentalists within the province. The central government proclaimed that the project would contribute to the economic growth of the area as well as preserve the environment. The project was supposed to overcome the relative isolation of Jeollanam-do in terms of industrialization. But local residents are so divided that there is no consensus among them.

Another example concerned nuclear power waste disposal. The central government recently changed its procedure to determine site for nuclear power centers to store nuclear water. At present, about 40 percent of the electricity supply is being supplied by four nuclear power plants in South Korea and the centers for securing water will be filled up within four years. Therefore, it is urgent that the central government find suitable storage facilities. Wido of Buan county, Jeollabuk-do was selected, but is against the project. As in the case of the Saemangeum project, the local residents were divided into pro and con to the extent that the local government gave up the project. Now, the central government has started a new process to find a new site.

In 2003, Seoul Mayor Lee Myung-bak—who later became the president—started a project to remove the elevated highway that covered Cheonggyecheon and restore the stream. Cheonggyecheon is a 5.8 kilometer stream that flowed west to east through downtown Seoul meeting Jungnangcheon before emptying out in the Han River. The open stream was covered

with concrete roads in phases from 1958 to 1961. The construction of the first elevated highway began in 1967 from Gwanggyo to the Second Cheonggye-gyo and was extended to Majang-gyo in 1970 becoming a 6 kilometer long 10-lane highway.

According to the Seoul Metropolitan Government the restoration of Cheonggyecheon undertook not only removing the highway which initially raised great alarm that doing so might result in major traffic congestion in downtown Seoul but also refurbishing the stream that had been neglected for years as part of the massive urban renewal projects called the Basic Urban Development Plan and the Basic Downtown Management Plan. A total of 386 billion won (approximately 281 million dollars) was spent to restore a clear water flow with two-lane roads built on each side of the stream and 22 bridges. The restoration of Cheonggyecheon also involved the restoration of several historical objects like water gates and bridges including Gwangtonggye, the first stone bridge built in the Joseon dynasty.

The stream was opened to the public in September 2005 providing visitors and locals a running stream and leisure and resting facilities in downtown. It is said that the stream helps to cool down the temperature of the surrounding areas by 3.6 degrees Celsius on average. A study shows that as a result of the demolition of the highway the number of vehicles entering downtown area has decreased by 2.3 percent with an increasing number of users of public transportations. Nevertheless, environmental organizations have criticized the project for its high costs and lack of ecological and historical authenticity, calling it purely symbolic and not truly beneficial to the city's natural environment. The merchants who were forced to move out of the markets along the old elevated highway also complained that because of

the lack of fair compensation and thorough planning of development they lost their livelihoods. This goes to show that development, especially, urban development is never simple or easy task.

9. INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

South Korea has rapidly become an information society that digitalizes everyday life. It was in the early 1990s that information technology first started to be considered as vital for the future of Korean society. Since then, the central government has supported IT businesses and industry a great deal. As far as digital infrastructure is concerned, South Korea takes the lead in the world. Seventy percent of Korean households have access to broadband ISDN (integrated service digital network) whereas only 20 percent have such access in the United States. It is very easy to install broadband in South Korea since about half of the population live in apartment complexes. It is reported that the central government has a plan to supply ultra-high-speed cables of 100 mega bytes per second to most households by 2012. It is estimated that a quarter of the population will be able to use the smart home system in which home appliances can be automatically controlled by the Internet by 2007.

In addition, about three-quarters of South Koreans are using mobile phones through which they can access the Internet, take pictures, and download music and even films. There are game rooms and PC rooms everywhere in which users have easy access to ultra-high speed Internet. Mp3s, digital cameras, and digital camcorders have become so popular that many forms of

information such as text, voice, and imaging are rapidly digitized. Digital TV broadcasting is being partially aired and will soon be widespread. PDP TV, in which Korea is taking a leading role in the world, is a popular trend in the daily life of Koreans.

As a result of information technology, cyberspace has also become part of the everyday life of Koreans. Major portal sites provide many services such as chatting, e-mail, clubs, shopping, and personal mini-homepages. Koreans now meet people, form clubs, buy things, read newspapers, write their opinions on blogs, organize off-line groups, and even organize political demonstrations. Cyberspace has turned out to be an important political arena; various political opinions formed and spread during recent elections. Commercial transactions through Internet shopping malls have expanded to the extent that Koreans can have their groceries delivered to their door.

Perhaps the most advanced and highly respected technology that humans pursued is aerospace technology, more specifically, space travel, ever since humans dreamed of flying. South Korea is no exception. In 1989, the Korean government established the Korea Aerospace Research Institute (KARI) based on the Aerospace Industry Promotion Act. The mission of KARI was to research and develop and launching of artificial satellites and space launch vehicles and operation of Space Center. Over the years, KARI has overseen the launch of ten satellites using foreign rockets and launch pads since 1992. Arirang-1 and Arirang-2 were launched in 1999 and 2006, respectively, as part of South Korea's partnership with Russia. In 2010, the first communication, ocean and meteorological satellite named Cheollian was launched from the Guiana Space Center using the French Ariane 5-ECA rocket. According to



High-tech 3D OLED panels

KARI, Cheollian is the world's first multipurpose geostationary satellite and will be in operation 36,000 km above the Korean peninsula for seven years.

As part of South Korea's efforts to build its own rocket and launch it on its own launch pad, the Naro Space Center, the first Korean space center, was constructed at Goheung, Jeollanam-do in June 2009. This is part of Korea's grand plan of aerospace development that includes the making of the first Korean astronaut in 2008, the launching of Naro-1, officially known as Korea Space Launch Vehicle-1, in 2009, and launch of an unmanned lunar spacecraft in to orbit and finally landing lunar spacecraft.

In April 2008, Yi So-yeon, a Ph.D. graduate of Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) in

biotech system, became the first Korean and the second Asian woman to fly in space aboard the Russian Soyuz TMA-12. The Korea Astronaut Program began in 2000 to not only select and train Korean astronauts for the successful realization of Korean aerospace development. The first recruitment of Korean astronaut candidates began in 2006 when 29,280 men and 6,926 women submitted applications. Yi was one of the two finalists chosen through the Korea Astronaut Program.

After more than a year of training in Russia, Korea, and the U.S., Yi was launched into space on board Soyuz TMA-12, with two Russian cosmonauts on April 8, 2008. During her mission, she carried out 18 science experiments and conducted interviews and discussions with media. Experiments included growing plants in space, studying the behavior of her heart and the effects of gravity change on the pressure in her eye and shape of her face, and observing the movement of dust storms from China to Korea. The successful space flight of Yi So-yeon made South Korea the third country, after the United Kingdom and Iran, to have a woman as its first space traveler.

Next in plan for South Korea was to launch Naro-1 from the Naro Space Center in 2009. The name Naro was chosen from a total of 34,143 suggestions from the general public in May 2009. The Minister of Education, Science, and Technology announced at the time that the name was chosen because it is the name of village where the space center is located and implies a meaning of moving forward with hope and dream.

Unfortunately, the several attempts to launch Naro-1 failed. The first attempt was conducted on August 19, 2009, but the launch was canceled seven minutes fifty six seconds before launch. The launch resumed on August 25, 2009, and succeeded



High definition LED
multi-panels
Semi-conductor research lab
Smartphone

in taking off from the Naro Space Center. But after the successful performance of the first stage, Naro-1's payload fairing separation system malfunctioned and half of the satellite protective cover failed to open in the second stage causing the rocket to explode in flight. The second launch was made on June 10, 2010. But it also ended in failure when contact with the rocket was lost after 137.19 seconds after launch according to the Naro Space Center. Although the exact reason for the failure is yet to be revealed, the Korean space authority suspected that the cause of the failure was due to the faultiness of the separation bolts. It is announced by the Naro Space Center that the plan for the third launch has been agreed by Korean and Russian space authorities. However, no concrete date was announced.

10. HALLYU CULTURE

Hallyu, a Korean word for the Korean wave, is fairly a new phenomenon but also fast changing one. So fast that the first edition of this book failed to deal with it because it was so new but when the revision began people are talking about the third stage of *hallyu*, dubbed *hallyu alpa* (Korean wave alpha). It refers to the new revival of the Korean wave in Japan. A daily newspaper reports that the Korean wave in Japan entered the third stage where it is the young generation who found great interest in Korean pop music. The previous stage was led by relatively older men who liked Korean historical dramas like *Daejanggeum* (Jewel in the Palace) while the first stage was led by middle aged women who became fans of "Yonsama."

Generally speaking, the Korean wave refers to the popu-

larity of South Korean popular culture like TV drama, movies, and music in foreign countries, particular China, Japan, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia. However, the most well known and most profitable case is the widespread popularity of *Winter Sonata*, a Korean TV drama titled *gaeul yeonga*, and Bae Yong-joon (Bae Yong-jun), the main actor of the drama in Japan. First aired in 2002 by Korea Broadcasting Station (KBS) in Korea, *Winter Sonata* is a love story of a young couple who were separated in high school but meet up again and rekindle their once forgotten love. Although it received a fairly good rating in Korea, it unexpectedly became a great success when it was aired in Japan. Scholars and cultural commentaries all agree that *Winter Sonata* started the Korean wave in Japan. Even to this day not only Japanese entertainment news but Korean news frequently report in amazement that even after so many years have passed since the airing of *Winter Sonata*, Bae Yong-joon, popularly known in Japan as Yonsama meaning “Sir Yon” is still popular among Japanese women. As a result of the success of the drama, a new kind of tourism called ‘filming location tourism’ attracting Japanese and other foreign tourists to various sites and locations used in the filming of Korean wave films or dramas started in Korea. In the case of *Winter Sonata*, thousands of Japanese tourists visited Namiseom, an island near Chuncheon that became famous for the metasequoia tree road shown in the drama.

Aside from TV drama, films such as *Shwiri*, *My Sassy Girl*, *Old Boy*, and *Secret Sunshine* were well received in international film festivals not only in Asian countries but also in many Western countries. International films festivals that regularly feature Korean films include the Munich International Films

Festival, the Moscow International Films Festival, the Cannes Films Festival, the Berlin Films Festival, the Venice Films Festival, the Hong Kong International Films Festival, Istanbul International Films Festival, and so on and so forth. In 2007, Jeon Do-yeon, a female actress, received the award for the Best Actress at the Cannes Films Festival for her role in *Secret Sunshine* (*Milyang*).

Considering the fact that although it is said that a film was first introduced in 1903 the Korean Cinema as an earnest independent and creative industry was only possible after the 1980s due to Japanese colonialism, the Korean War, and subsequent military dictatorship, the Korean Cinema has made a remarkable achievement in a very short time. The fact that there is a controversial debate about the exact dating of the birth of the Korean Cinema since the early films were produced by Japanese filmmakers or funded by the Japanese colonial government also attests to the turbulent history of the Korean Cinema. If one adds TV broadcasting which started in 1927 by the Japanese colonial government and began liberalized multi-channel and multi-media broadcasting in 1990 the progress the Korean cultural industry has made is amazing.

Many credit globalization or more precisely internationalization of Korea for the rise of the Korean wave. But also some scholars and Korean film advocates who call for increased protectionism argue that it was the state protectionist policy on film and broadcasting industries that allowed safe competition among Korean filmmakers and broadcasters that eventually led to the productions of high quality and popular films and TV dramas. At the center of this discussion there is the controversial debate on the screen quota system. In 2006, the Korean government



Pusan International Film Festival

decreased the screen quota from 146 days to 73 days, the days which movie theatres must show Korean films, saying that it needs to provide fair competition to the foreign films. In responses, Korean filmmakers, actors, actresses, and supporters formed the Coalition for Cultural Diversity in Moving Images and rallied public opinions to raise the quota or at least maintain the existing system because without it the Korean cultural industry will collapse under the dominance of U.S. cultural goods like Hollywood films and U.S. drama which have already occupied a major portion of movie and TV markets in Korea. According to the Korean Film Council, the market share of U.S. films increased from 36.8 percent in 2006 to 49.3 percent in 2008 whereas the number for the Korean films decreased from 59.7 percent to 40.4 percent.

Moreover, strong critics point out that most of the Korean wave products are nothing more than copies of American cultural commodities such as popular music and dance videos and songs. The success of the South Korean cultural industry was achieved by quickly mimicking Hollywood blockbuster films and Japanese popular dramas. Another point is that considering the cheap prices of the Korean wave products and the fact that most of the products go through localization such as dubbing and major script re-writing, the popularity of Korean TV dramas and films is nothing more than a simple economic decision in preference to low price and not about attraction to Korean culture. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that the world is already in highly integrated economy and community to a point to calling it a global village and information and cultures are bound to exchange and flow in and out. As Koreans enjoy watching Korean actors and actresses in Hollywood films and Korean films are also becoming more international as more and more films are made by multinational staff and finance. *Hallyu* has paved the way for the Korean cultural industry to find its own place in the global cultural industry.

11. MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

As mentioned before, the number of foreigners residing in South Korea in 2007 surpassed one million, a little over 2 percent of the entire South Korean population. However, the presence of foreigners residing in Korea goes back more than a century. In fact it is said that soldiers and merchants of the Qing dynasty in

1883 were the first group of foreigners to reside in Korea. Today, what is new is that the range of nationalities of foreigners became so wide it includes all five major continents: Asia, Africa, Europe, Americas, South America, and Oceania. According to the Korea Immigration Service, as of 2009, the countries of origin with more than 10,000 persons living in South Korea are China, the U.S., Vietnam, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Mongolia, Indonesia, Taiwan, Uzbekistan, Canada, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh in a descending order. When the news was made public the media treated the news as a sensation as South Korea saw itself as one of the world's most ethnically homogenous nations. However, at a time when cultural diversity and influx of foreigners are considered the hallmarks of globalization, many Koreans welcomed the news.

One prominent change brought by the process of internationalization and multiculturalization of Korean society is the formation of ethnic enclaves with ethnic food restaurants and international entertainment centers with dance clubs and international festivals in different parts of Seoul city and other major cities like Incheon and Busan. Examples in Seoul include 'Little Manila' in Hyehwa-dong formed by Filipinos migrants in the streets outside the Catholic Church in Hyehwa-dong, 'Little France' in Seorae Village centered on Korea French School in Seocho-gu, 'Yanbian Street' in Guro-gu near Garibong where Korean Chinese called Joseonjok formed a migrant community, and 'Little Tokyo' in Ichon 1-dong where more than 1,000 Japanese live as a residential community.⁶ As for international entertainment centers, Hongdae district is famous for international club scene.

Soon, the government and civil society announced that

6. Kim Eun-mee and Jean S. Kang, "Seoul as a Global City with Ethnic Villages," *Korea Journal* Winter, 2007.

such a change is a positive one in terms of globalization and multiculturalism and celebrated it as the future of Korean society. Not only the central but also local governments quickly responded to the situation and produced and implemented a series of policies related to multiculturalism ranging from the legal system, awareness education for natives and Korean language education for foreigners, to health and welfare programs for foreigners. For example, there are seven Global Village Centers in Seoul located in various parts of Seoul where foreign residents live in large numbers. According to the Seoul Metropolitan Government, Global Village Centers offer services in multi-languages to foreigners advising them on how to start and conduct business in Seoul and to have a comfortable life such as housing, Korean language education, and other administrative services. Outside Seoul, there are more than 100 Multicultural Family Support Centers set up by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and the local governments. Their goal is to provide educational and cultural supports to international marriage families, officially called *damunhwa gajok* (multicultural families), and help foreign brides integrate into Korean society as quickly as possible. What is impressive is that it only took a couple of years for South Korea to set up a myriad of support centers, social and cultural programs, and policies related to multiculturalism.

Nevertheless, numerous policy experts and scholars expressed concerned that in spite of the government's policies and programs to prepare South Korea as a multicultural society South Korea is still far from becoming a genuine multicultural society. Here, multiculturalism implies social, political/institutional, and cultural environments that promote and practice tol-

erance or acceptance of different cultures and ethnic groups, in other words, institutional guarantee of equitable status regardless of ethnicity/nationality, religion, and culture. Accordingly, most of the existing policies on multiculturalism focus on a rigid and static concept of nationality and does not challenge the prevailing ideology or myth of Korean as a homogenous nation. Instead of promoting different cultures within Korean society and newly introduced by new residents they are mostly designed to assimilate foreigners to Korean culture in the name of integration.

The side effect of well-intended policies on multiculturalism is best seen in the case of international marriage migrant women. The number of international marriage migrant women more than tripled from 34,710 to 104,749 in 2007.⁷ The reason for this is the concerted efforts by the local governments in rural areas fearing continued fall in population would lead to a merge of counties and cities, inadequately controlled marriage brokers seeking quick ways to make money, and desperate old and poor bachelors in rural areas who are pressured to get married but are nearly impossible to get married to Korean women. Each in different ways, they have found their solutions in foreign brides who are willing to overlook the old age and other conditions for the chance to leave their country and migrate to Korea, a relatively developed country. However, what waits them is isolation from Korean society because of language barrier, cultural difference, and Koreans' ignorance on multiculturalism, separation from their families because South Korea does not accept family immigration, and in numerous cases domestic violence due to prevailing sexism in Korean society. Nevertheless, with increasing number of Koreans traveling abroad which provide Koreans

7. Han Geon-soo, "Multicultural Korea: Celebration or Challenge of Multiethnic Shift in Contemporary Korea?," *Korea Journal* Winter, 2007, p. 40.



Inter-racial children, Festival of foreigners residing in South Korea

with experiences of cultural difference and diversity and continued efforts by the government and civil society to raise awareness South Korean society is surely moving forward to becoming a multicultural society.

Lastly, but not least, three other groups have received attention in association with multiculturalism in South Korean society. One is *saeteomin* or North Korean escapees. According to the Ministry of Unification, the number of North Korean escapees jumped from low 300 to 18,509 in early 2010 when more than 2,000 persons entered South Korea every year after 2006. Although the word *saeteomin* which literally means residents in a new place was suggested by scholars to refer to North Korean escapees instead of a more pejorative word *talbukja* (North Korean defector), recently the self-help group of North Korean escapees announced that they would like to be called *bukhanitaljumin* (North Korean escapee). The second group is international adoptees. They were given for adoption abroad when they are babies but now have returned to Korea in search of their biological mothers and identity or to work. The last group is inter-racial children. Perhaps the most well known of the inter-racial children is Hines Ward, a professional American

foot ball player who was voted MVP of Super Bowl XL. He was born to a Korean mother and an African American father, a GI stationed in South Korea. When the news of his success story caught attention in South Korean media, a belated discussion calling for the better treatment of inter-racial children in South Korea and increased awareness took place. For example, the problem of inter-racial Korean men being banned from serving military became an issue and currently the legislative body is working on to revised the related law so that at least they will have a choice to go to military or not. The number of inter-racial Koreans is unclear, however, the inter-racial children of the multicultural families are quickly rising as it was estimated by the Ministry of Public Administration and Security that the number of inter-racial children of the multicultural families is 103,484 in May 2009.

4

LOCAL CULTURE

South Korea is composed of central regions and southern regions: Gyeonggi, Gangwon, and Chungcheong in the central regions and Jeolla, Gyeongsang, and Jeju-do in the southern regions. Each region has developed its own particular local culture throughout Korean history. This chapter presents the special present-day features of each region in terms of socio-geographical factors such as location, population, climate, subsistence patterns, and historical and cultural heritage centers.

1. THE GYEONGGI REGION

The central portion of the Korean peninsula has traditionally been known as the Gyeonggi region. It contains Seoul Metropolitan City, Incheon Metropolitan City, and Gyeonggi-do, which are collectively known as the Greater Seoul Metropolitan City Area or *sudogwon*. Consisting of twenty-five cities and eight counties, the region covers only 11,705 square kilometers in area, or 11.8 percent of South Korean territory. However, as of year 2000, a total of twenty-one million people, or 46.3 percent of the national population, inhabited in this area. This means that slightly less than half of the entire South Korean population lives in this area.

The Han, Imjin, and Anseong river valleys are within the boundary of the Gyeonggi region. The Han River valley with 26,018 square kilometers of area is second in size to the Yalu River valley in North Korea. But it might be the most important in the peninsula in terms of geographical location, cultural assets, and economic potential.

In physiography, the Gyeonggi region slopes down towards the west. The Namhan and Bukhan rivers flowing down the mountain slopes join together at Yangsuri, Yangpyeong County, to form the main stream of the Han River. It passes through the capital city of Seoul, shapes the Gimpo Plains, and empties into the Yellow Sea. In the past, the Han River served as an artery of inland transportation. Flowing up and down the waterway were riverboats carrying such commodities as rice, salt, fermented shrimp, lumber, cereal crops, honey, mushrooms, herbs, and other daily necessities. Seoul played a central role in this economy.

Materials carried down the rivers are discharged into the open sea before returning to the coastlines with the tides. The tidal flats thus created offer grounds to the coastal peoples who used them in the past to make salt and now to catch crabs, clams, and fish. The precious coastal marshes have been gradually turned into fertile croplands as massive reclamation projects have over the years been put into practice. Dikes constructed in the process of reclaiming the marshes make the curved coastline rectilinear. In the open sea beyond the coastal land lie small and large islands. The islands feature landscapes quite different from those of the continent, a hybrid landscape that combines local and foreign cultural components.

The strategic importance of the region was already recognized during the Three Kingdoms period. This is why the Three Kingdoms, Silla, Baekje, and Goguryeo fought with one another to possess this river valley. But it was not until the year 1392 when the Joseon dynasty was established that the Seoul-centered regional structure began to shape up. Seoul was designated as the national capital of Joseon. Literally, Gyeonggi refers



The Han River
Deoksugung Palace surrounded by high rises



to the capital of the royal kingdom and the surrounding areas, that is, an interactive relationship in which the capital played the role of an administrative center that was militarily protected and economically supported by the surrounding areas.

There are various landscape features that lend historical and cultural messages to Seoul and the Gyeonggi region. The long history of settlement in this region is reflected in prehistoric relics and artifacts. Pristine dwellings are reconstructed in Amsadong, dolmens of various sizes are scattered around the Ganghwado, and there are traces of early stages of agricultural remains at Misari, to illustrate a few. The historic and cultural remnants of the kingdoms include temples, tombs, earthen walls, mountain fortresses, pottery furnaces, traditional houses, and other innumerable features of prime importance.

Palaces in downtown Seoul might be the most concrete landscape features that allow us to taste and sense the grandeur of the foregone era of Joseon. Also noticeable in Seoul is landscape implanted from Japan during the colonial period. The haunting threat of Japanese exploitation and suppression has now disappeared into the stream of history through the ultimate destruction of the office building of the Government General of Joseon in 1995.

The northern Gyeonggi region shares the truce line of the demilitarized zone with North Korea. The division of Korea is reflected in the various military landscapes in the cities of Paju, Dongducheon, Yeoncheon, and Pocheon counties. They include soldiers, weaponry, barracks, and anti-tank trenches. Even the roads are called Peace, Unification, Security, and Freedom, which send the message of concern and effort for unification. The Korean War generated some landscapes of foreign

culture, especially that of the United States. Towns and villages of U.S. military camps are easily differentiated by landmarks such as signboards written in English and the sight of American soldiers. As well as Americans, foreigners from around the world can be seen in large numbers in the Itaewon shopping area of the Yongsan District of Seoul in which the major U.S. army base is stationed.

The major economic activity of the Gyeonggi region was agriculture, especially rice production during the Joseon dynasty. Rice from this region has remained famous because of its outstanding taste. In late Joseon, some commercial and industrial activities started to make Seoul the national center for commerce. During the Japanese colonial period, this region became the first industrialized area with the implementation of the Gyeongin railroad, the first railroad in Korea. Since then it has been a major industrial and commercial area in South Korea.

The present economic activities of the region are now composed of agriculture, animal husbandry, fishery, and manufacturing. The countryside is filled with typical rural landscapes. In and outside the villages are dry fields, paddies, agricultural machinery and irrigation facilities such as diversion dams, water tanks and pump stations. Agricultural production used to need cooperation among the villagers before agricultural machinery was introduced. But this communal spirit is about to disappear as the Gyeonggi agricultural areas became incorporated into the metropolitan city of Seoul.

One change is the commercialization of agriculture taking place most actively in the area. Most farmers are involved in some way or another in the market gardening of flowers, fruits, and vegetables. Livestock husbandry and dairying have also

been tested with very successful results. It is not strange to see silos, feedlots, and barns in the suburbs. In keeping with recent developments in our society that lay stress on the quality of life, environmentally sound organic agriculture is recommended and practiced in Nature Conservation areas. In addition, weekend farming aimed at attracting high-income urban people, is gaining popularity.

There are a number of fishing villages on the western coast of the region. The villagers make a living by catching fish and with aquaculture. Recently, the fishing industry has been on the wane because of marine pollution. In some places, where dikes are constructed to reclaim tidal flats, the fishing villages in question are losing ground and the people have become impelled to test their fortunes in other fields such as business catering to touring sushi gourmets.

The Seoul Metropolitan City area also has a long history of industrialization from cottage industries to large-scale industrial complexes. One of the lingering legacies of industrialization in the area is the Gyeongin Industrial Complex, which is actually an industrial conurbation reaching from Seoul to Incheon. One can find industrial areas in Yongsan, Guro, and Bucheon, all along the way.

Seoul has functioned as the capital city of South Korea



Imjingak near DMZ, the Incheon Bridge, Watchtower of the Hwaseong Fortress (from left to right)

for more than 610 years. This mega-city has been not only a center of culture, education, and finance, it has also been the node to and from which every transportation and communication line comes and goes. The representative status of the city is reflected in the fact that the language used by Seoulites has become the standard form of the Korean language.

The urban structure of Seoul during the Joseon dynasty had Gyeongbok Palace in the center and the Seoul Wall linking the Four Gates, which marked the outer boundaries of the developed area. The downtown area, or Bukchon in the north of Cheonggye Creek, which crossed the developed area from west to east, used to be filled with government offices, stores, and upper class houses. During the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese quarter to the south of the creek rose to become the new center. At the same time, most sections of the Seoul Wall were torn down to accommodate migrants from the countryside who brought about the continuous expansion of Seoul. Influenced by the process of modernization, Japanese-style and Western-style houses and buildings started to appear in the landscape of Seoul.

In the mid-1960s a massive migration of the rural population began at full speed, leaving the city overcrowded and afflicted with other problems from hyper-urbanization. The next decade opened the era of Gangnam (South Seoul) development, which began with the construction of bridges that linked Gangbuk (North Seoul) and Gangnam, previously separated from each other by the Han River.

The great economic development, sometimes called the Miracle of the Han River, created a rapid burst of urbanization and industrialization in Seoul. Horizontal expansion proceeded

in tandem with vertical expansion changing the shape of the skyline, especially in the central business district. Seoul has turned into a city of multi-nuclei with the addition of subcenters at various nodal points and secondary subcenters in the newer quarter of Gangnam to the south of the Han River. The speedy urbanization of Seoul has among other things led to the extension of its exterior boundaries. At this point, Seoul covers 606 square kilometers in area. Although it comprises merely 0.06 percent of the entire South Korean territory, almost 21.4 percent of the population lives here.

Alongside Seoul, Incheon forms another axis of the region. The city took charge of the role of being the gateway to Korea with the ratification of the Ganghwa Treaty in 1876 and the establishment of the charter colony in 1883. Even though the treaty seemed to have secured a bridgehead for encroaching imperial powers, it is an undeniable fact that the city played a critical role to link Korea with the outside world. Some of the old consulates of dozens of foreign countries still remain almost completely intact, as do many Chinese dwellings.

The era of Incheon opened with the construction of the Gyeongin railroad in 1899 and the city functioned as the depot for exploited staple goods destined for Japan. The revitalization period came in the early 1960s when the city was designated as an official Industrial District, drawing along with this title the sponsorship of the central government and rich investment. The establishment of the Gyeongin Expressway and the railroad makes the interaction of Incheon with Seoul easier and speedier. The recent addition of Incheon International Airport on Yeongjong Island doubles the gateway function of the city.

Suwon has been a major city in the southern Gyeonggi

region. Located at a crossroads leading to Seoul, the city gained attention with the construction of the Suwon Wall by King Jeongjo in late Joseon. The Suwon Wall, also known as Hwa-seong, is registered by UNESCO as one of world's cultural treasures. Built with what were then up-to-date civil engineering techniques, the wall shows off much beauty and grandeur.

During the Japanese colonial period, the city hosting the Agricultural Test and Experimental Center acted as the hearth of the development and diffusion of agricultural technologies and new crop varieties. Suwon and Incheon were linked to each other through the narrow-gauge Suin Railroad. The railroad, however, lost much of its function. The relocation of the provincial governmental seat of Gyeonggi-do to Suwon in 1967 enhanced the administrative status of the city, and the establishment of a subway line has accelerated commuting and cultural interplay with Seoul.

Hyper-urbanization and overpopulation have been perennial problems for Seoul. New towns are planned to disperse and decentralize administrative functions, as well as to move crowded citizens into sparsely populated areas and to relocate industrial facilities that have for various reasons become unable to properly function. This restructuring process has led to a population increase in Gyeonggi-do. The region as a whole has come to comprise a multitude of satellite cities such as Gunpo, Uiwang, Guri, Hanam, Siheung, Gwangmyeong, Anyang, Dongducheon, and Uijeongbu. These cities are linked with Seoul through the expressways—Gyeongin, Gyeongbu, Yeongdong, and Jungbu—and the railroads Gyeongbu, Gyeongin, Jungang, Gyeongchun, Gyeongui, and Gyeongwon.

At this moment, the Gyeonggi region is in the middle of



Namhan Mountain Fortress wall and gate

globalization. The emergence of global villages can be sensed most vividly in urban areas, especially in the fields of culture and economy. Standardized global cultures are replayed, for instance, in theme parks to create landscapes of placelessness. Showrooms filled with merchandise with well-known brand names are often seen. Fast-food restaurants are so widespread that someone who has visited other countries has a sense of *déjà vu*. Young people casually have meals at McDonalds, Burger King, and Popeye's in downtown areas or on the campus of their universities.

Globalization has become an intimate part of daily affairs in Korea with the emergence of venture complexes on, for example, Teheran Road in the Gangnam downtown area of Seoul. In the age of information, venture industries are leading

the high-tech industrialization of Korea. Sometimes sports events play an important role in accelerating globalization, a fact that was experienced during the 2002 World Cup soccer tournament.

2. THE GANGWON REGION

The Gangwon region is divided by the spine of the Korean peninsula, or Taebaek mountains, into Yeongdong on the east side and Yeongseo on the west. Just like the Gyeonggi region, this region belongs to central Korea. A small portion of this region fell to North Korea but most areas are in the South. It consists of seven cities and eleven counties. Chuncheon City is the seat of the provincial government. With a long and narrow territory, the region comprises 16,572 square kilometers of area, which is not small when compared with other regions. However, as the countryside is quite mountainous it has only a small percentage of arable land and only 1.4 million people.

The Gangwon region has more than a few high mountains of over 1,000 m in height. The limestone and anthracite contained in the rocks formed in the Paleozoic period have played a major part in the regional economy. The mountainous areas also contain flat areas. It is speculated that the undulating plain once lowered down to near sea level before rising again to its present altitude due to the process of orogeny during the mid-Cenozoic period.

Plains of low relief and cool temperatures are utilized for various purposes, namely, cattle farming, market gardens,

and dry fields. Down by the East Sea, one can confirm the orogeny of the geologic period by looking at the coastal terraces of Jeongdongjin that lie far above sea level. The Namhan and Bukhan rivers, which are major branches of the Han River, carve out deep valleys in their upper streams and meander their way through to the West Sea. Rivers emptying into the East Sea have a shorter span of channel and steeper slopes compared with their counterparts on the opposite side of the Taebaek mountains. Some of them temporarily flow into lagoons before finally entering the East Sea.

Mountains influence the climate of the region on both sides. Cold northwestern winds hit the mountain barrier making the leeward eastern side warmer than the windward. The presence of the mountains makes rainfall the most characteristic feature of the climate in the region. For example, local people and tourists have severe transportation problems in winter due to heavy snowfall.

The population density of this mountainous region is far lower than elsewhere. In Yeongdong, small and large settlements are established at the foot of the mountains and before the coastal plains. The settlements in Yeongseo are located along the alluvial plains or within erosion basins. Because of physiographic conditions, the settlements of this region are generally small in size.

The same is true of croplands. Still, dry fields far exceed paddies in acreage. Although a sizable amount of rice farming can be found on the Cheolwon Plains on the lava plateaus, it is an exception to the rule for the region. In the case of Yeongdong, rice farming prevails in the alluvial plains of the rivers flowing into the East Sea.

Having highly productive fishing grounds in the East



Daegwallyeong Goraengi potato farm
Seollak Mountain peaks



Sea, the region attracted many fishermen to the coastal areas. Fishing villages are formed around ports and harbors, and because of limited space, houses are built along the hillsides. The densely clustered houses might be the most characteristic feature of fishing villages; some of the dwellings have fish-drying frames on top. On the surface, the irregular congested settlements are reminiscent of slums in cities.

Cold and warm sea currents join together at the East Sea, with accompanying schools of fish. There are plenty of pollock, squid, and mackerel. The harbors of Sokcho, Jumunjin, and Donghae are at the same time large fishing villages. A seafood processing industry has developed at the harbor of Sokcho City. The harbor features a fish market, fishing boats, stores, and restaurants. Additionally, it has facilities for loading and unloading cement.

The region as a whole has dispersed settlements in the mountainous areas. Also distinctive on the level of individual housing are *neowajip*, or shingle-roofed houses. This type of housing is designed in a double row structure in order to minimize the release of heat, reflecting the fact that the lifestyle of the inhabitants is austere and simple.

Prior to the promulgation of laws in 1966 prohibiting slash-and-burn agriculture, the mountain areas were cultivated with various crops. Corn and potatoes cultivated from the beginning of the development of reclaimed lands soon became the mainstay of foodstuffs in the region. Among miscellaneous crops produced in large amounts are fox millet, buckwheat, bean, adzuki bean, and sorghum. Cheap and speedy transportation makes the cultivation of vegetables under cool weather conditions a very profitable business as the products are sold at high

prices in urban markets. The remaining flat lands around high-rising mountains are turned into verdant meadows and are used by the dairy industry.

Holding generous reserves of limestone and anthracite, the region rose to become a primary mining district in South Korea. The extraction of these precious nonferrous mineral resources led to the development of mining villages and towns in deep mountain areas. With the advent of the boom in the mining industry from the 1960s onwards, isolated farmsteads and hamlets turned into towns—and in some cases cities—with the increasing numbers of miners and their families. Hwangji is a representative case. Once a small village, Hwangji grew to be Taebaek City solely due to the boom in coal mining. Ssangyongri, in Yeongwol County, is a town for which limestone (instead of coal) has been the driving force in the development of the village. The place name Ssangyongri has now become a nationally known brand, the name of a company specializing in the limestone and cement industry.

The construction of roads and railroads used for transporting excavated coal and limestone facilitated inter- and intra-regional connections. As it turned out, the economic development plan proposed and put into place by the General Park Chung-hee regime stimulated the demand for mineral resources, and along with it, coal and limestone miners. The grayish mining towns reveal a booming regional economy. The towns and villages lined with dormitory buildings are easily differentiated from other agrarian villages.

However, tricks of fortune have left coal mining towns on the decline. Whereas the thriving construction and building industry sustains the excavation of limestone, the mining of coal

has now reached a turning point with decreasing demand. In particular, the decline of anthracite as a major industrial and housing energy resource has created havoc in the mountain towns. Before long, the waning coal industry is likely to aggravate the regional economic situation. Local governments are coming up with various strategies to cope with the problem and hope to boost their local economies. In other areas, mining pits have undergone revamping to offer tourists chances to experience mining. Further, casinos have been established in Sabuk and Gohan. The Gangwon region has plenty of superb landscapes, both artificial and natural. On the western side of the Taebaek Range one can see inland lakes, the Soyanggang Dam in Chuncheon, the punch bowl basin in Yangku, a lava plateau and battleground at the Cheolwon, limestone caves and historic sites of King Danjong in Yeongwol, fish-drying poles in Inje and Pyeongchang, and vegetable gardens as well as cattle ranches in Pyeongchang. On the eastern side are beaches, national parks for mountain climbers, hillside ski resorts, fishery villages, observation towers at sites close to North Korea, the former headquarters of the communist party at Cheolwon, folk villages, relics and artifacts of the historic city of Gangneung, as well as the famous Eight Panoramic Scenes of the Gwandong Region.

Since the opening of the Yeongdong Express Way, the East Coast has become a popular place for summer leave as tourists can visit beautiful beaches as well as Mt. Seorak, which has some of the most spectacular scenes of natural beauty. The increase in the number of lodging houses to accommodate tourists is a recent addition to the landscape. An interesting case might be Jeongdongjin, which has become a place for making new landscapes. This place attracts tourists owing to the national-

ly televised soap opera *Moraesigye*, or Hourglass. Visitors do not forget to buy their hourglass at local stores. To reach these sites tourists have to go through the mountain passes of Jinburyeong, Hangyeryeong, Misiryeong, and Daegwallyeong. The winding mountain roads tell the complex story of the shaping of the natural, historical, and cultural landscapes of this region.

3. THE CHUNGCHEONG REGION

The Chungcheong region was called the Hoseo region which, together with Honam and Yeongnam, makes up the three southern regions, or *samnam*. Now it includes Daejeon Metropolitan City, Chungcheongbuk-do, and Chungcheongnam-do. In all, nine cities and nineteen counties are included in the region. Daejeon, a regional center, is the seat of Chungcheongnam-do. The seat of Chungcheongbuk-do is in Chungju City. The region covers approximately 16,558 square kilometers in area and comprised 4.6 million people in 2000. Its proportional area and population of the national total was 16.6 percent and 10.1 percent, respectively.

The Sobaek Mountains rest at the eastern boundary and the region is drained mostly by the Geum River (Geumgang) and Dal Stream (Dalcheon). The northwestern portion falls into the Sapgyo Creek valley and faces the Geum River Valley with the Charyeong mountain range in between. The Geum River originates in mountains on the Sobaek range and flows into the Miho, Nonsan, and Guryong plains in the lower areas before emptying into the West Sea. The smaller Sapgyo Creek area includes the



Gungnamji, Buyeo

Yedang plain. Once extremely complicated, the coastline of the region has been simplified with the construction of dikes and subsequent reclamation. Although not comparable to those on the East Sea, small and mid-sized beaches are common in this region. Along the coast, sand dunes of various shapes and sizes run along the coastline perpendicular to the strong northwestern winds.

The staple crop of rice abounds in this region. The plains devoted to the cultivation of rice are alluvial in character and are formed mostly at the confluence of the Geum River and its tributaries. A vast area of tidal flats develops near Dangjin and Seosan. From an ecological point of view, the tidal flats play a critical role in purifying the polluted coastal environment. For



Stone statue of Buddha at Jeongnipsa Temple, Buyeo, Salt farm (from left to right)

the local people, they are indispensable grounds where they capture fish, shrimp, clams, and crabs for a living. These days, many tidal flats are being enclosed by dikes and reclaimed into paddies and produce a huge amount of rice.

The legendary reclamation work in Seosan spotlighted Mr. Jung Ju-yeong, CEO of Hyundai Corporation, who surprised civil engineers with a very creative method of wrapping up the breaches. In addition to this, the region provides big business with other prospective grounds for reclamation. Much has been done in the region to change its shape and to increase the territory of the area. Unlike inland plains, reclaimed lands are used extensively. Agribusiness mobilizes machinery to till the land and to sow seeds and spray pesticides on the plains. Other reclaimed lands are utilized as cattle ranches or industrial complexes.

Chungcheongnam-do has the third highest number of people working in fishing and aquaculture, after Jeollanam-do and Gyeongsangnam-do. They harvest anchovy, shrimp, surf clams, oysters and seaweeds in the sea and along the coast. Once they used traditional trapping nets like seines to capture fish and other marine life. The specialty of this region might be the shrimp that are processed into fermented sauce. At Gwangcheon,

fermented shrimp are preserved in tunnels dug, horizontally, deep into hills. Shrimp sauce is preserved under constant temperature and has gained a reputation for its freshness and distinct taste. Various seafood sauces are easily found at market stalls in Seosan City and, due to their good reputation, draw customers from all around the country.

Some islands are linked to the mainland through the construction of sea walls. Ganwoldo, well known for its fresh oysters, is one such case. The island has been freed from isolation and serves visitors with the local delicacy of boiled rice with oyster. The Seohaean Expressway running along the coast makes reaching these fishing villages a short journey. This improvement in transportation has helped to promote the local image and local economy in a single stroke.

The Chungcheong region lies between the Seoul, Jeolla, and Gyeongsang regions. Cheonan and Jochiwon have a long history as cities of transfer. Passengers and tourists would take a short rest at these junctions before continuing their journey to Seoul or elsewhere. What supplemented the overland transportation system used to be inland waterways with various landings along the course. One of the most prosperous landings was Gangyeong on the Geum River. Over time, many railroads have been built and now pass through this region through Gyeongju, Honam, Jungang, and Janghang. In addition to common roads, waterways, and railroads, expressways play a very important role in speeding up the pace of traffic. At present, the Seohaean, Gyeongju, and Jungang expressways pass through the region.

Expedient transportation facilitates the introduction of livestock husbandry. Along with raising dairy cows, cattle, and

swine, also actively pursued is dry farming for the cultivation of radish, Korean cabbage, chili pepper, garlic and corn. In most cases, furrows and ridges in the dry fields are dug out in such a way as to coincide with the slopes. Tobacco has been a major cash crop in Chungcheongbuk-do. Ginseng (*insam* in Korean) is another. Geumsan County in Chungcheongnam-do has become the largest market center dealing with almost 80 percent of the ginseng produced in the nation. Yesan County has a wide range of orchards and produces some of the best apples. Driven by the commoditization of agriculture, low-lying hills have been reclaimed in Seosan and converted into dry fields and orchards. A very recent history of settlement, limited access to drinking water, and an individual way of life has resulted in dispersed villages as a characteristic feature of this area.

The Chungcheong region preserves splendid historical and cultural legacies. The Seokjangri archaeological site is one of the oldest among the prehistoric sites dating back to the Paleolithic Age in Korea. Gongju and Buyeo, the capitals of Baekje Kingdom for 60 and 123 years respectively, still maintain the grandeur and beauty of the period. Material remnants of past cultures include tombs, mountain fortresses, Buddhist temples, pyramidal pagodas, and monuments.

During the Joseon dynasty, Gongju succeeded Chungju as the seat of the Chungcheong region in 1602 to become the administrative center. History, tradition and symbolic importance have sustained Gongju as the seat of Chungcheongnam-do even after the division of the region into North and South in 1896. Lying in the northeastern part of the Namhan River Valley, Chungju was once a strategically important place where ancient northern and southern powers collided frequently in their ulti-

mate goals of controlling a unified Korean peninsula. The Ondal mountain fortress and the Jungwon monument provide clues to the expansion of the northern Goguryeo Kingdom.

The Hoseo region is called the country of the literati. A large number of men of letters were born in this region. Song Si-yeol is one of the most well-known figures this region had. Song's contribution to the development of Korean Confucianism and his scholarly capability led to the proliferation of Confucian shrines and private academies throughout the country after his death. The deeply rooted Confucian tradition of the region is also related to the increase of clan villages. The clan villages are concentrated on Mt. Gaya and its environs, which are collectively known as Naepo. The Naepo area displays an expansive coastal plain and boasts a long history of cultural interaction with China. It is also one of the major centers for the diffusion of Catholicism. Gongseri Cathedral built in 1894 in Asan County remains as a symbolic remnant of the earliest missionary efforts in this country. From this foothold, Catholicism diffused to Anseong in the Gyeonggi region, Jinan in the Jeolla region, and Bonghwa in the Gyeongsang region.

The conservatism of the region combined with patriotism shaped up into a strong brand of nationalism. This nationalism is visible in various landscapes of the region. There is a shrine commemorating Admiral Yi Sun-sin who defeated Japanese invaders during the Seven-Year War (1492-99), a shrine for the seven hundred anonymous farmers who fought and died in the same war, and a monument for the heroine Ryu Gwan-sun who led a nonviolent movement in 1919 against Japanese colonizers. The lingering legacy of such an independent spirit justifies the location of the Independence Memorial in Cheonan. The

memorial, as a symbol of nationalism, commemorates heroes for their sacrifice for independence, freedom, and the push for self-sovereignty during the Japanese colonial period.

The region features beautiful mountains, valleys, plains and coastal scenery; some areas have been designated as national or provincial parks. The Eight Scenic Beauties of Danyang carved out of limestone come first as representative of the best natural features of the region. Hot springs at Onyang, Dogo, Deoksan, Yuseong, and Suanbo attract many tourists and have promoted the development of towns specializing in the provision of services such as lodging, leisure, souvenir sales, and bathing.

Daeduk Valley recruits skilled and professional personnel for research and development in high-tech industries. Known as the Korean Silicon Valley, the R&D complex is sustained by the cooperation of industry and research institutes. This area will be the torch that ignites the future of Korea in the twenty-first century.

4. THE JEOLLA REGION

The Jeolla region is also called the Honam region, which literally means south of the lakes. Although their exact location has yet to be clarified, the lakes are suspected to be reservoirs constructed for the irrigation of the vast plains of the region. The region is divided into Gwangju Metropolitan City, Jeollabuk-do, and Jeollanam-do. The region includes eleven cities and twenty-five counties. At 20,539 square kilometers of area it constitutes about 20.6 percent of the entire national territory with 5.2 million people, or 11.4 percent of the population. The Sobaek

mountain range sets the eastern limit of the region beyond which lies Gyeongsang-do. The Noryeong mountain range divides the region into the north and south. The northeastern corner of the region is where the Jinan Upland rises about 400m above the sea.

From the mountainous areas, the elevations recede down towards the west and the south and turn into plains and undulating hills toward the sea. In Jeollabuk-do, rivers of significance are the Mangyeong and the Dongjin. Small in size, they nonetheless give rise to the Mangyeong and Gimje plains, which are the most important bread-baskets of South Korea. In Jeollanam-do, the Yeongsan, Seomjin, and Boseong rivers are most prominent. The immense Naju plains develop on the floodplain of the Yeongsan River. With alternating bays and peninsulas, the southern and southwestern coasts of the region can be counted as examples of rias. A multitude of small and large islands dot the area. With abundant beautiful scenery, several Marine National Parks have been designated.

Influenced by the shape of the land, population density increases towards the plains and decreases towards the Noryeong and Sobaek mountains. As is the case for other regions, the population in the rural areas has declined over time, and the situation is becoming desperate in the eastern mountainous areas. Many of the migrants have settled down in Gwangju Metropolitan City and Jeonju city. Gwangju is actually the largest city in the Honam region and doubles as the seat of Jeollanam-do. Jeonju is the seat of Jeollabuk-do.

Traditionally, this region far exceeded others in the scale of dry fields and paddies. The regional annual rice production of 1.9 million metric tons is the largest in the nation. Other



Horse Ear Mountains or Maisan
Hanok village, Jeonju



products of significance include naked barley, beer barley, pulses, sweet potatoes, radishes, Korean cabbage, cabbage, cucumber, tomatoes, green onion, garlic, spinach, onions, watermelons, ginger, peanuts, ginseng, and pears. Along the warm southern coastal areas, vegetables are grown outdoors even in the winter. Fresh vegetables cultivated on the high eastern uplands find large numbers of customers in Seoul. Boseong produces high quality tea under its environment of high temperatures and heavy precipitation.

The region has numerous islands. Particularly, the southwestern and southern parts have long coastlines with alternating bays and capes. Its natural environment becomes the primary condition that leads to the development of good harbors. Brought to the piers of Gunsan, Gyeokpo, Gomso, Mokpo, Yeosu, Wando, and Beopseongpo is diverse marine life caught in nearby seas, and tidal flats such as flatfish, guitarfish, mullet, croaker, anchovy, octopus, oyster, clam, shrimp and laver. Dried croakers, especially those captured in the Chilsan Sea and processed at Beopseongpo, are in high demand as offerings integral to various rituals. Another product in great demand in everyday life is salt that comes from the tidal flats of the west. Salt, made in the traditional way, is receding in the face of different types of salt produced by modern electrolysis. Deserted cauldrons and water pumps provide a slight glimpse of the not too distant past.

Only a small portion of the regional population is employed in the manufacturing sector and there is a prominent division between the north and south of the region. The north specializes in food, textiles, and paper industries and the south in automobiles, steel, machinery, petrochemicals and shipbuilding. The main arteries of the regional economy linking local areas

include the railroads of Honam, Gunsan, Gyeongjeon, Hwasun, Jeolla, and Yecheon and the expressways of Honam, Olympic, and Seohaean. Sea lanes are divergent leading to various islands of the West and South seas.

Due to immense reclamation projects dating from the colonial period, the outline of the region has changed dramatically. Prior to the transformation, the tidal flats and swamps near the mouths of the streams and rivers remained in a state of wilderness. The development of the Mangyeong plains in the 1920s was the first trial of massive reclamation. For this project, reservoirs and 60 km-long irrigation channels were built, meandering rivers straightened and later, based on the improved situation, expansive croplands established. It was around this time that Japanese capitalists began to pour in their money to establish large-scale estates. Since then, reclaimed plains of various sizes have appeared in Gwanghwal-myeon, Gyehwa Island, Haechang Bay, Deukryang Bay, Yeongsan River, and Saeman-geum. Of particular note among these are the master plan for the development of the greater Mokpo area along the Yeongsan River and the controversial Saemangeum project which has become the main target of environmental critics.

As for historical relics, Gochang County with its cluster of dolmen comes first. The material evidence verifies the fact that various political powers once existed in that area. The megalithic culture was succeeded by the early state of Mahan, which in turn was replaced by the ancient kingdom of Baekje. It is, however, Jeonju city that represents the history and culture of the region. The city was the ancestral seat of the Yi family that established the Joseon dynasty and governed for over 600 years. Because of its symbolic importance, Jeonju was given the

administrative title of *bu* that was once attached to the one-time capitals of previous kingdoms and dynasties. Magistrate generals were dispatched to the city where they wielded powerful administration, justice, military, and law enforcement authority. A quarter of the traditional houses in this city are where the upper-class and high-ranking officers lived including bureaucrats, literati, and royal families.

Certain traditional crafts are also famous in the region. Jeonju is known for its quality fiber papers and fans made by individuals in a lively cottage industry. Other cultural treasures include pottery produced in Buan and Gangjin, Gochang *pansori*, the bamboo ware of Damyang, the Catholic church in Jinan, and wooden wares made in Namwon.

On the plains can be seen the sluice of an old reservoir. Built in 332, the Byeokgolje of Gimje County is the oldest among those mentioned in historical documents. The structure, having the dual function of dike and reservoir, is seen as a landscape feature that testifies to the long history of large-scale reclamation and rice farming. Unfortunately, irrigation facilities used to be hot potatoes in local political debates. Manseokbo is a good example. The dam was once a great source of disagreement between the local government, which tried to impose excessive water taxes, and the peasants, who themselves attempted to resist



Suncheon Bay Ecological Park, Gurye 5 day market, Green tea farm (from left to right)

the injustice. As is widely known, the strife escalated to cause the Donghak Peasant War of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, and anti-feudalism. In this way, the exploitation of peasants is not irrelevant to the popularization of Mireuk, a Buddhist sect known for inciting revolution. This is why the region is known as an area of resistance against oppression.

With the opening of Mokpo harbor in 1897, the region fell victim to ruthless oppression under the Japanese. It is no accident that the No. 1 road began at Mokpo; it was built for the purpose of exporting commodities bound for Japan and importing industrial products from there. Gunsan, at the northwestern corner of the region, opened in 1899. The port developed as a strategic trans-shipment site for exporting rice from the breadbasket of this region.

Maisan, or Horse Ear Mountains of Jinan County, might be one of the most notable natural beauty spots. More than the mountain itself, the structure at its foot is a feature of wonder. Towers of pebble maintain a delicate balance and never fall to the whim of wind or rain. It is just as worthwhile to visit and experience the scenery of beautiful Buddhist temples such as Songgwangsa in Suncheon, Silsangsa in Namwon, and Seonunsa in Gochang. The former county seat of Nagan, in Suncheon, has town walls built in the Joseon dynasty. Inside the walls are traditional houses with thatched roofs.

5. THE GYEONGSANG REGION

The Gyeongsang region has also been called the Yeong-nam

region, which literally means the southern area of mountain passes along the Sobaek range such as the Jukryeong, Joryeong, Ihwaryeong, Kyelipryeong, and Chupungryeong. The region has Daegu Metropolitan City and Gyeongsangbuk-do in the north and Busan Metropolitan City, Ulsan Metropolitan City, and Gyeongsangnam-do in the south. The region as a whole consists of twenty cities and twenty-five counties. The 2000 census records that about 12 million people, or 27.9 percent of the entire population of the country, live in the region.

The Yeongnam region is part of the Nakdong River valley. Although it contains several rivers and streams that drain into the East Sea, their size is rather limited. Most small and medium rivers of the area join with the Nakdong River. This river basin covers 16,464 square kilometers and is second in size only to the Han River Valley in South Korea.

Together, the small and large river valleys comprising the Taebaek and Sobaek mountain ranges in the periphery occupy 32,241 square kilometers, or 32.4 percent of South Korean territory. Looking at the land shape, the southeastern area is quite distinct in that it forms the tail of a tiger, or *homi*. Korean historians and geographers usually compare the Korean peninsula to a roaring tiger. The mean annual temperature ranges from 12 to 14 degrees Celsius and the precipitation from less than 900 mm to more than 1,400 mm. The features of the coast can be contrasted with the relatively simple east and the rather complex south with a multitude of bays and capes.

The proportion of the manufacturing economy of the region is larger than compared with other regions of South Korea. In terms of its number of firms and employees, the southeastern industrial complex is the second most important axis of

manufacturing after the Greater Seoul Metropolitan City Area. The complex includes industrial cities of high profile such as Pohang, Ulsan, Onsan, Busan, Changwon, and Masan. The manufacturing belt specializes in steel, petrochemicals, shipbuilding, machinery, and other heavy industrial sectors of production. The main street of the Changwon industrial area runs almost ten kilometers in a straight line and might be the symbolic landscape feature of rapid industrialization in South Korea. Inland, electronics and information centers in Gumi and textile centers in Daegu help boost regional and national economies. Just as industrialization has been a driving force in shaping regional geographies, so big businesses, the so-called *jaebeol*, have been a factor. Hyundai, a major *jaebeol*, played a crucial role in the growth of Ulsan Metropolitan City.

Agriculture still prevails outside the industrial and urban areas. Even though lacking such sweeping plains as found on the western coast, the region features the Gimhae plains at the estuary of the Nakdong River and the Milyang, Hanam, and Daesan plains in the interior. These plains yield a great amount of rice, significantly enough for the local people to consume. When it comes to inter-mountain valleys, the terraced paddies themselves produce a substantial amount of rice as well. The croplands in the region are larger in the ascending order of green house cultivation, cash crops, fruits, and pulses. Green house cultivation produces all sorts of vegetables, flowers, and fruits available in the suburbs of major cities throughout the year.

Other products of importance in the region are barley, buckwheat, fox millet, melons, watermelons, cucumber, squash, chili peppers, onions, peanuts, and sesame. The region also abounds in apples, grapes, peaches, plums, and persimmons.



Dokdo

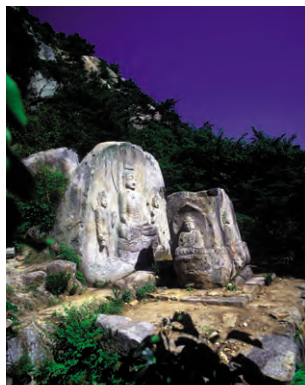
Also added to this list of regional industries of significance is livestock husbandry centered on raising cattle of native breeds, and fishing. In the major ports of Jukpyeon, Hupo, Guryongpo, Jangsaengpo, and Bangeojin along the eastern shore are boats filled with mackerel, squid, anchovy, codfish, saury, flatfish, and filefish.

A network of roads, expressways, and railways forms the transportation arteries of the Yeongnam region. Specifically, these include the Gyeongbu, Namhae, Guma, Olympic, Jungbu, and Inner Jungbu expressways, along with the Gyeongbu, Jungang, Gyeongbuk, Daegu, Yeongdong, Mungyeong, Gyeongjeon, and Jinhae railways. These transportation lines are used for inter-regional and intra-regional movements of passengers, raw materials, and manufactured goods.

Using these modes of transportation tourists can visit

temples such as Bulguksa, Buseoksa, Haeinsa, and Tongdosa. Other well-known historic sites are the Jinju fortress, the Dosan Academy, and the Hahoe folk village. The scenery attracts tourists with its exotic natural environment like that found on the Gimhae plains, the inland swamps, the Hansan-Yeosu Oceanic National Park, Mt. Juwang National Park, the Mungyeong Pass Provincial Park, limestone caves, beaches and the Milyang eulalia plains. The hot spring towns of Bugok, Dongnae, and Baek-am have gained popularity for the healing quality of their waters attracting resort seekers from all around the country. The easternmost islands of Ulleungdo and Dokdo are renowned for their scenic beauty as well as for their innate oceanic climate. Fishing boats carrying reels with hooks to catch squid are other interesting things to see.

This region has cultural and historical traditions that can be traced back to the ancient kingdoms of Gaya and Silla. The Gaya Kingdom traces its origin to the chiefdom society of Garak in modern-day Gimhae city. The long history of settlement in this area is visible in prehistoric shell mounds. The royal tomb of King Suro nearby reflects the symbolic landscape of the Gaya Kingdom. Later on, this kingdom was integrated into Silla, which was centered in Gyeongju. King Jinheung's monument at Changnyeong marks the expansion of Silla into Gaya territory and the ultimate collapse of the smaller regional power. Silla, a territorial state in the Hyeongsan River valley, competed with Goguryeo and Baekje for hegemony over the Korean peninsula and eventually overwhelmed these two opponents in the seventh century to become the first united political body on the peninsula. Splendid cultural treasures of the period remain in great numbers in Gyeongju, including Bulguksa temple, the Buddhist



Stone Buddha Relief at
Namsan Chilbulam,
Gyeongju Historical
Heritage Site
Smelting at POSCO
Haeundae beach, Busan

cavate atrium of Seokguram, the outdoor banquet hall of Poseokjeong, the Cheomseongdae observatory, the ice storehouse of Seokbinggo, the grave mound of Cheonmachong, the Dabotap pagoda, and many others.

Andong is the next important center after Gyeongju. Since the Goryeo dynasty the area has been the home of noted clan families of the highest scholarship. It was solely through its scholarly reputation that Andong rose to become the second-ranked county in the administrative hierarchy of the Joseon dynasty. Widely recognized as the county of intellectuals, Andong boasts the largest number of kin villages in the nation. Hahoe village is one of them. The internal structure of the village features the main house of the elite Ryu family in the center, which is surrounded by outer rings of houses of commoners and servants. The street takes the highly self-defensive shape of a maze and is meant to be very awkward for strangers or intruders to get through.

Visitors can enjoy traditional theatrical performances in the village. Of particular interest might be masque drama called *byeolsingut*. In line with its reputation as the hearth of Confucianism, Andong is in fact the headquarters of the Yi Hwang School of Confucianism. Dosan seowon, or Yi Hwang's Academy, is the symbolic center of Confucian education. The great scholar gathered followers from almost the entire nation and his philosophy is still recognized as one of the mainstreams of Korean Confucianism. A modern-day remnant of Confucian education can be found at Cheonghak village, an isolated mountainous village in Hadong County in which villagers practice the traditional way of life every day.

Sangju and Daegu have been prominent for their admin-

istrative functions both past and present. For an extended time in the Joseon dynasty, Sangju served as the capital of Gyeongsang-do. Located on the Nakdong River and on the Yeongnam Royal Road from Seoul to Dongrae, the town was a major transportation hub. The provincial capital moved to Daegu at the end of the war with Japan in the sixteenth century. Standing at the geographical center of the region, Daegu, on the Dalgu plains, was in a better position to become the effective administration center than either Gyeongju or Sangju. Established as an ordinary settlement with a famous periodic market of medicinal herbs, the city developed rapidly. The opening of the Gyeongbu railroad, which shuttles back and forth between Seoul and Busan, was an integral aspect. In time, textile industries were introduced and soon became the mainstay of its regional economy

Tongyeong City in Gyeongsangnam-do draws its name from the headquarters of the Navy of the three regions of Gyeongsang, Jeolla, and Chungcheong. Inside and outside of the city are traces of Admiral Yi Sun-sin who defeated the Japanese invaders at sea. A monument and many historic relics commemorating this national hero can be found here. The southeastern area has other features that are implicitly or explicitly related to Japan. The treaty port of Masan has Japanese houses built in the chartered quarters which opened in 1898. Jinhae, once the colonial headquarters of the Japanese Navy, is downright Japanese in urban planning. The radial streets in the center are reminiscent of the flag of the Japanese Navy. Japan's national cherry trees also line the streets.

Similar architectural evidence of Japanese influence remains in the gateway city of Busan. Established in 1876,

Busan became the seat of Gyeongsangnam-do in 1925. Bolstering administrative services to its previous basic functions, Busan has grown to become the home of more than 3.6 million people. The fish market in Nampo-dong has become a favorite site for domestic and international tourists to visit and enjoy a fresh sushi meal. In order to promote its image as an international city, Busan recently hosted various events and festivals such as the Asian Games and the International Film Festival.

6. JEJU-DO

Jeju-do is the largest island in South Korea. Historically, the island was called by many different names including Doi, Dongyeongju, Juho, Tammora, Seomna, and Tamna. According to *Goryeosa* (History of Goryeo), three brothers of the Go family who were the fifteenth descendants of Goeulla, one of the progenitors of the Jeju people, were received by the court of Silla at which time the name Tamna, meaning island, was officially recognized. The Go family was one of the three families that formed a tribal community in Jeju-do and eventually ruled the island after the Unified Silla period. It used to be under the jurisdiction of the Jeolla region until 1946 when it attained its long-awaited independent provincial status as Jeju Special Autonomous Province. The island covers 1,846 square kilometers of area and consists of Jeju City, Seogwipo City, South Jeju County, and North Jeju County. In all, there are seven cities on Jeju-do. The year 2000 census shows that about five hundred and twenty thousand people live on the island. As a volcanic island, Jeju displays exotic natural beauty quite different from that of the main-

land. Rising right in the center of the island is Hallasan or popularly called Mount Halla (1,950 meters), in the center of which is a crater. Volcanic activity continued even into the historic period producing lava tunnels and scoria mounds.

Waterfalls have developed where the lava used to flow into the sea displaying great spectacles and attracting hosts of tourists. The somewhat dark tones of the soil are characteristic of the region, which is covered mostly with basalt rock. The climate is benign and humid enough to develop dense temperate rainforests. A strong wind from the sea is another phenomenon of note on Jeju-do; it necessitates that the roofs of traditional houses be especially strong. In population structure, Jeju-do has maintained a sex ratio far below 100. In other words, the number of females had until very recently exceeded that of males. Another name for this place is *samdado*, which means three things are in abundance, namely, stones, wind, and women.

Jeju-do is composed of three areas; the coastal area (below 200 meters), the Piedmont area (200-500 meters), and the mountainous area (above 500 meters). The coastal area comprises about half of the entire region and it is in this area that most Jeju people live. The local population finds drinking water near the coast in the form of wells that gush out of the ground. The location of springs has been the single most important factor in the establishment of villages and towns. Traditional houses in each village reflect the distinct cultural character of the island. The southern influence is mirrored in the spacious wooden floor, and the northern influence is in the double-row structure.

Until very recently, the livelihood of Jeju people was based on dry farming and fishing. Rice paddies are so few here that their role in the regional economy is meager. The fishing



Jeju *haenyeo* at work

industry features *haenyeo* or *jamnyeo* (female divers) and small to medium-sized fishing boats. From the mid-1960s on, orange cultivation and cattle farming in the Piedmont area have been common due to subsidies from local and central governments.

In a changed environment, tourism has become the leading sector. The exotic natural environment has helped to make the tourist industry prosper. In April 1977, the first car ferry from Busan to Jeju-do operated by Dongyanggosokhweri (Dongyang Express Ferry) was introduced. Soon other car ferries from Mokpo and Incheon began to operate increasing not only the number of visitors but also the convenience of bringing own vehicles on the trip. Additionally, domestic airlines connect with Seoul, Busan, Daegu, Gwangju, Yeosu, and Jinju on a regular basis. There are also several international airlines that transport foreign tourists to the region.

In the 1980s with the creation of Jungmun Resort



Mount Halla, Jeju oranges called *gamgyul* (from left to right)

(Jungmun Tourist Complex) Jeju-do became Korea's favorite honeymoon destination. It is estimated that after 2005 more than five million tourists visit Jeju-do each year. In 2010 the number of visitors to Jeju-do reached five million just in the first half of the year raising expectations that the goal of reaching 10 million is just around the corner.

The visitors are usually newly married couples, international tourists, and sightseers. Local cultural treasures resulting from its geographical isolation provide tourists with diverse aspects of the island to enjoy. They go to see and appreciate the beauty of traditional folk villages, dragon rock, female divers, orange orchards, canola fields, native ponies, various historic sites, lava tunnels, local delicacies, the sacred cave of three saints, nutmeg forestry, the sun rising over a scoria mound, and scattered pastoral fishing villages. Accordingly, the service industry prospers throughout all seasons of the year.

The growth of the regional economy accompanies the infilling of the island's infrastructure, and owing to the improvement of living conditions, local people and tourists can travel around the island more conveniently following the coastal and trans-island roads. Not surprisingly, the master plan of Jeju-do

for the twenty-first century focuses on developing the island as a special district for international tourism.

In 2007 Jeju-do was inscribed on the World Natural Heritage List with the title "Jeju Volcanic Island and Lava Tubes." According to UNESCO, Jeju Volcanic Island and Lava Tubes are a coherent serial property comprising three components: the unequalled quality of the Geomunoreum lava tube system and the exhibition of diverse and accessible volcanic features found in Seongsan Ilchulbong and Hallasan (Mount Halla).

FURTHER READING

If you are interested in following up on various topics discussed in this book, a good place to begin would be *Korea Journal* (www.ekoreajournal.net). It has become a medium for intellectual dialogue and exchange between Korean and foreign scholars in the field of Korean studies. The following is a very selective reading suggestion on Korean culture including history and religion.

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- Grinker, Roy Richard, *Korean and Its Futures: Unification and the Unfinished War*.
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- Kim, Choong-soon, *Kimchi and IT: Tradition and Transformation in Korea*.
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INDEX

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>A _____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · aerospace 106, 107, 108 · Aerospace Industry Promotion Act 106 · Admiral Yi Sun-sin 141, 154 · advanced age 79 · affinal 34 · an 19 · ancestor worship 28, 32, 86 · anchae 19, 21, 22 · Ansan 53 · Anyang 55 · apartment complexes 55, 71, 105 · apartments 22, 56 · Arirang-1 & 2 (satellite) 106 · arranged marriages 78 <p>B _____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · baeja 29 · Baek-am 152 · Baekje 42, 45, 98, 99, 100, 121, 140, 146, 152 · Bae Yong-joon 110 · baji 27, 28 · bakery industry 60 · bakkat 19 · bamboo 99, 147 · beoksu 37 · beopseongpo 145 · beopsu 37 · Berlin Films Festival 111 · bibimbap 61 · birth rate 77 · bokkun 29 · bon-gwan 31 · Boseong 95, 99, 143, 145 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · brass spoon 24 · Bucheon 55, 95, 125 · Buddhism 13, 15, 27, 35, 42, 43, 44, 45, 85 · Buddhist temple 44, 89, 140, 148 · Bugok 152 · Bukchon 126 · bukhanitaljumin 117 · bulgogi 60, 61 · Buma expressways 91 · bunsikjip 61 · Busan 54, 59, 71, 72, 89, 91, 95, 99, 114, 149, 150, 154, 155, 157 · Buseoksa 152 · Buyeo 36, 140 · Byeokgolje of Gimje County 147 · byeolsingut 153 <p>C _____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Cannes Films Festival 111 · casual wear 27, 28, 29, 68 · Catholics 35, 86 · Changwon 54, 150 · Changwon industrial area 150 · charye 26, 86 · Cheollian (satellite) 106, 107 · Cheomseongdae 153 · Cheonan 139, 141 · Cheondogyo 89 · Cheonggye Creek 126 · Cheonghak Village 153 · Cheonsin 36 · Cheonwangdang 39 · cheop (second wives) 31 · cheop (unit of side dishes) 24 · Chinese restaurants 59, 62, 63, 65 · chima 27, 28, 29 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
-
- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · choga samgan 22 · chopsticks 24 · Christianity 36, 86, 87, 88 · Chuncheon 94, 110, 130, 135 · Chungcheong 89, 98, 120, 136, 139, 140, 154 · Chungcheongbuk-do 136, 140 · Chungju 54, 136, 140 · Chungju City 136 · Chuseok 26, 27, 86, 97 · clan villages 141 · Coalition for Cultural Diversity in Moving Images 112 · coffee-mix 64 · college entrance examination 82 · commercialization of agriculture 76, 124 · commoners 19, 21, 22, 24, 29, 30, 45, 153 · Confucianism 13, 15, 16, 27, 35, 36, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 86, 141, 153 · consumption 26, 60, 64, 70, 72, 73 · cotton 29, 30 · countryside 23, 38, 43, 47, 48, 56, 73, 75, 76, 124, 126, 130 · court cuisine 60, 62 · cultural industries 94 · cyberspace 106 <p>D _____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Daeduk Valley 142 · Daegu 54, 71, 89, 94, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 157 · Daegwallyeong 136 · Daejanggeum (TV drama) 109 | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|

- Daejeon 54, 71, 136
- Daejonggyo 89
- daemun 21
- daeraebok 28
- dairy industry 134
- dallyeongpo 28
- damunhwa gajok 115
- Dangjin 137
- dangnae 31
- dangsan 37
- dangui 28
- Danhak 92
- dansokkot 29
- Deoksan 142
- digital 105, 106
- discount store chain 73
- divorce rate 79
- Dogo 142
- Dokdo 152
- Dongdaemun market 69
- Donghae 91, 133
- Donghak Peasant War 148
- dongje 40
- Dongjin 143
- dongjok maeul 32
- Dongmaeng 36
- Dongnae 152
- Dongye 36
- dopo 28
- Dosan Academy 152
- durae 76
- durumagi 28, 29, 67

E

- East Sea 131, 133, 137, 149
- educational background 84
- educational fever 83, 85
- Eight Panoramic Scenes 135

- Eight Scenic Beauties of Danyang 142
- English 21, 83, 84, 124
- environment 18, 27, 30, 75, 100, 101, 103, 104, 115, 137, 145, 152, 157
- eum 19, 23, 27, 40
- ethnic food 65, 114
- expressways 91, 128, 139, 146, 151

F

- family relationships 79, 80
- fans 92, 109, 147
- fashion 54, 66, 67, 68, 69
- fast food 63, 65, 66
- feng shui 37
- fermented seafood 25, 26
- fiber papers 147
- filial duty 34
- Filipinos 53, 114
- five elements 23
- folk beliefs 13, 37, 40
- folk culture 93, 94
- foreigners 51, 88, 113, 114, 115, 116, 124
- formal education system 81
- fortune-telling 85

G

- gaeryang hanok 55
- gakdae 28
- galbi 60
- Gaeseong 42
- Gangbuk 126
- Ganghwado 123
- Gangnam 58, 126, 127, 129

- Gangwon 89, 96, 120, 130, 135
- Gangyeong 139
- Ganwoldo 139
- gat 28
- Gaya 99, 141, 152
- gender segregation 19
- genealogies 31
- generation gap 79
- geomancy 18
- Geum River 136, 137, 139
- Geumsan County 140
- gijesa 26, 32, 47
- Gimhae Plains 150, 152
- Gimpo 55, 121
- ginseng 140, 145
- gireogi appa 80
- globalization 50, 72, 75, 83, 100, 111, 114, 115, 129, 130
- Global Village Centers 115
- god of the Big Dipper 15
- god on the platform of jars of seasonings and preserves 15
- Goguryeo 36, 42, 44, 45, 99, 121, 141, 152
- Goheung 107
- gojaengi 29
- Gojoseon 12
- Gomso 145
- Gongju 140
- Gongmin (king) 30
- Gongseri 141
- Goryeo dynasty 15, 18, 30, 42, 44, 48, 97, 153
- Goyang 55, 96
- grandma goddess 15, 41
- Greater Seoul Metropolitan City Area 120, 150
- Green Belt program 100
- ground spirit 15

- guardian posts 37, 38
- guardian under the girder 15
- Gukhak 45
- Gunpo 55, 128
- Gunsan 145, 146, 148
- gut 85
- gwageo 34
- gwanbok 27
- Gwandong region 135
- Gwangcheon 138
- Gwanghwalsan 146
- Gwangju 54, 71, 89, 94, 142, 143, 157
- Gyeongju 145
- Gyeongbu 91, 128, 139, 151, 154
- Gyeongin 91, 124, 125, 127, 128
- Gyeongju 99, 152, 153, 154
- Gyeongsang 91, 99, 120, 139, 141, 143, 148, 154
- Gyeongsangbuk-do 89, 149
- Gyeongsangnam-do 138, 149, 154, 155

H

- Haeinsa 86, 152
- haengnangchae 22
- haenyeo 157
- Hahoe Folk Village 95, 152
- Hahoe of Andong 89
- hallyu 109, 113
- halmidang 39
- Han River 50, 103, 120, 121, 126, 127, 131, 149
- hanbok 26, 27, 69, 70
- Haneullim 36
- Hangryeong 136
- hanjeongsik 61
- hanok 55, 56, 57, 58, 59

- hanok-style apartments 58
- Hansan-Yeosu Oceanic National Park 152
- Hawaii 53
- hemp 29, 30, 39
- Hines Ward 117
- hogun 29
- hojuje 76
- Hollywood 112, 113
- Honam 91, 136, 139, 142, 143, 146
- Hongdae district 114
- Hong Kong International Films Festival 111
- Hoseo region 136, 141
- House cultivation 66, 75, 150
- hwagwan 28
- hyanggyo 47
- hwarot 28
- Hyehwa-dong 114
- hyo 34

I

- Icheon 55, 95, 96
- Idu 45
- i-generation 80
- Incheon 53, 54, 71, 91, 114, 120, 125, 127, 128, 157
- Incheon international airport 51, 91, 127
- Independence Memorial in Cheonan 141
- industrialization 27, 30, 54, 61, 68, 73, 77, 79, 81, 93, 100, 103, 125, 126, 130, 150
- information 50, 51, 80, 96, 100, 105, 106, 113, 129, 150
- Inje 96, 135
- Insam 140
- international club scene 114
- international marriage 51, 115, 116
- Internet 50, 80, 105, 106
- inter-racial children 117, 118
- Island 53, 110, 121, 123, 127, 139, 143, 145, 146, 152, 155, 156, 158, 159
- Istanbul International Films Festival 111
- IT business 105
- Itaewon shopping 124
- jaebeol 150
- jageunjip 33
- jajangmyeon 63
- jamnyeo 157
- jangdokdae 42
- jangseung 37, 38
- Japan 25, 30, 45, 53, 72, 91, 109, 110, 114, 123, 127, 148, 154
- Japanese filmmakers 111
- Japanese popular drama 113
- Japanese restaurants 59, 64, 65
- jasu 29
- jeans 68, 69
- Jeju City 155
- Jeju-do 89, 120, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159
- jeogori 27, 28, 29
- jeoksam 28
- Jeolla 89, 99, 120, 139, 141, 142, 146, 154, 155
- Jeollabuk-do 103, 142, 143
- Jeollanam-do 61, 89, 103,

- 107, 138, 142, 143
- Jeonbok 29
- jeongcheo 31
- Jeongdongjin 131, 135
- Jeonju City 143, 146
- jesa and charye 86
- Jeungsangyo 89
- Jinburyeong 136
- Jinju Fortress 152
- jip 19
- Jochiwon 139
- jokki 28, 29
- jokturi 28
- jongga or bon-ga 32
- Jongmyo Shrine 45, 46
- jongson 32
- Joseon 12, 15, 16, 18, 23, 25, 29, 30, 31, 33, 41, 43, 44, 45, 50, 55, 59, 60, 66, 86, 87, 104, 121, 123, 124, 126, 128, 140, 146, 148, 153, 154
- Jowang 41
- Jumunjin 133
- jungchimak 28
- jungmun 21, 157, 158
- Jungwon Monument 141

K

- kan 19, 22
- keunjip 32
- kimchi 23, 24, 25, 26, 66
- kitchen 22, 23, 41, 57
- kitchen god 15
- Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) 107
- Korea Aerospace Research Institute (KARI) 106

- Korea Astronaut Program 108
- Korea Broadcasting Station (KBS) 110
- Korea Immigration Service 114
- Korea Space Launch Vehicle-1 107
- Korea's liberation 81
- Korean Christianity 86, 88
- Korean high-speed train (KTX) 91
- Korean Cinema 111
- Korean Film Council 112
- Korean language education 115
- Korean TV drama 110, 113
- Korean War 50, 56, 60, 67, 79, 84, 89, 111, 123
- Korean wave 109, 110, 111, 113

L

- leisure 69, 76, 89, 91, 92, 104, 142
- lineage 31, 32, 34
- lineage-exogamy 34
- literati 46, 48, 141, 147
- Little France 114
- Little Manila 114
- Little Tokyo 114
- livestock husbandry 75, 124, 139, 151
- local festivals 94
- love marriages 78
- lunar calendar 36, 38, 85
- luxury residential complexes 58

M

- magoja 28, 29

- Maisan 148
- Mangyeong 143, 146
- Manseokbo 147
- marriage 30, 33, 34, 51, 76, 78, 115, 116
- marriage rate 78
- Masan 150, 154
- masque drama 153
- metasepuoia tree road 110
- Milyang (film) 111
- Milyang eulalia plains 152
- mining 134, 135
- Minister of Education, Science, and Technology 108
- Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 115
- Ministry of Public Administration and Security 118
- minjung cultural movement 94
- Misiryong 136
- mobile phones 105
- Mokpo 145, 146, 148, 157
- mompe 67
- Moscow International Films Festival 111
- Mother Earth 37
- Mount Halla 156, 159
- Mt. Juwang National Park 152
- Mt. Seorak 135
- Mucheon 36
- multicultural families 115, 118
- Multicultural Family Support Centers 115
- multiculturalism 115, 116, 117
- multicultural society 51, 113, 115, 117
- Mungyeong Pass Provincial Park 152
- Munich International Films

- Festival 110
- Mun Ik-jeom 30
- munjung 32
- My Sassy Girl (film) 110

N

- naengmyeon 23, 61
- Naepo 141
- Nagan Eupseong 89
- Naju Plains 143
- Nakdong River 149, 150, 154
- Namhae 91, 151
- Namiseom 110
- Naro Space Center 107, 108, 109
- national culture 93
- Neo-Confucianism 16
- North Jeju County 155
- North Korean escapees 117
- Noryeong and Soback Mountains 143
- nuclear family 77
- nuclear power plants 101, 103

O

- obangjang 29
- obok 32
- oceanic national park 152
- Old Boy (film) 110
- Ondal Mountain Fortress 141
- ondol 22, 57
- Onsan 150
- Onyang 142

P

- pagodas 43, 140
- Paju 55, 123

- Palgwanhoe 42
- Pansori 95, 147
- Park Chung-hee 68, 134
- patriarchal 30
- patrilineal 18, 30, 32
- patrilineal descent groups 18, 31
- patrilocal residence 33
- PC rooms 105
- PDP TV 106
- pets 80
- po 27
- Pocheon 55, 123
- Pohang 54, 150
- polygamy 33
- population control 77
- Poseokjeong 153
- pottery 96, 123, 147
- primogeniture 31, 32
- private schools 47, 81
- Protestant churches 87
- pumasi 76
- Pyeongchang 135

Q

- Qing dynasty 113

R

- ramie 29, 30
- ramyeon 61
- reclaimed plains 146
- reclamation projects 101, 103, 121, 146
- red pepper paste 25, 42
- remarriage 79
- revitalization of local traditions 94
- rice 12, 23, 24, 25, 61, 73,

- 75, 95, 121, 124, 131, 137, 138, 139, 143, 147, 148, 150, 156
- rural population 54, 73, 126
- Ryu Gwan-sun 141

S

- sadang 19, 21, 32
- Saemangeum Reclamation Project 103
- saenghwal hanbok 70
- saeteomin 117
- samo 28
- Sangju 153, 154
- sarangchae 19, 21, 22
- school system 80, 81
- Secret Sunshine (film) 110, 111
- segmentation 31
- Seocho-gu 53, 114
- Seogwung City 155
- Seohaean Expressway 91, 139
- Seokguram 153
- Seokjangri 140
- Seomjin 143
- seonangdang 39
- seong 31
- Seonggyungwan 47
- Seongju or Seongjudaegam 41
- seongmyo 86
- Seongnam 55
- Seonunsa 148
- Seorae Village 114
- Seosan 137, 138, 139, 140
- Seoul 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 68, 71, 81, 85, 86, 89, 91, 95, 103, 104, 114, 115, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 139, 145, 150, 154, 157

- Seoul wall 71, 126
- Seoulites 126
- Seowon 47, 48, 153
- shamanistic rituals 85
- Shamanism 13, 35, 36, 93, 94
- Sihwa Lake Project 101
- sijo 31
- silk 28, 29, 30, 70
- Silla 42, 45, 88, 99, 121, 152, 155
- Silsangsa 148
- simui 27
- Shwiri (film) 110
- social class differentiation 19
- social hierarchy 21
- Sokcho 133
- sokkoui 28
- soksokkot 29
- Song Si-yeol 141
- Songgwangsa 86, 148
- soraebok 28
- sotdae 38
- South Jeju County 155
- soy sauce 24, 25, 42, 60, 66
- Soyanggang Dam 135
- soybean paste 24, 25, 42, 66
- soybean sauce 23
- Starbucks 64, 65
- Suanbo 142
- Suwon 55, 127, 128
- Suwon Hwaseong Fortress 95

T

- table-setting 23
- Taebaek Mountains 96, 130, 131
- Taehak 45
- Taejo (king) 42

- tangsuyuk 63
- tapdori 44
- thatch-roofed houses 19
- Three Kingdoms period 15, 22, 30, 42, 44, 48, 99, 121
- tile-roofed houses 19
- toeseon 24
- Tongdosa 86, 152
- Tongyeong 154
- tourism 89, 94, 96, 110, 157, 159
- traditional food 59
- transportation 70, 71, 72, 76, 91, 100, 104, 121, 126, 131, 133, 139, 151, 154
- Tripikata Koreana 86
- TV broadcasting 106, 111

U

- Ulleungdo 152
- Ulsan 54, 149, 150
- Unified Silla 15, 42, 43, 155
- urban transportation 71
- urbanization 54, 55, 56, 73, 77, 126, 127, 128
- USS Gaelic 53

V

- Venice Films Festival 111

W

- Wando 145
- Western style restaurants 65
- Winter Sonata (TV drama) 110
- Wonbulgyo 89
- wonsam 28

- wooden floors 22, 57
- wooden wares 147

Y

- Yanbian Street 114
- yang 19, 23, 27, 40
- yangban 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 34, 61
- yebok 27
- Yeongdong 91, 128, 130, 131, 135, 151
- yeongeo yeolpung 83
- Yeonggo 36
- Yeongnam 136, 149, 151, 154
- Yeongsan 143, 146
- Yeongseo 130, 131
- Yeongwol 134, 135
- Yeosu 145, 152, 157
- Yi Hwang 153
- Yi So-yeon 107, 108
- yoga 92
- Yonsama 109, 110
- Yongin 55
- Young fashion 68
- Yuseong 142

Z

- Zen 15, 44, 85