



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
MULTICULTURE AND EDUCATION

2020 ICME

Theme:

**Multicultural Education's
Paradigm Shift in the Post-
Corona Era**

[Virtual Conference]

Date

7, August, 2020

Hosts

- Inha University (BK21+ Center for Glocal Multicultural Education Professional Development, The Convergence Institute for Multicultural Studies, Department of Multicultural Education)
- Korean Association of International Culture Exchange
- The Korean Language and Culture Education Society

Sponsors

- Inha University
- National Research Foundation of Korea

Opening Remark

2020 International Conference on Multiculture and Education



Dr. Youngsoon Kim

Organizing Chair of 2020 ICME

Hello, Every one.

I am Youngsoon Kim of Inha University, and I stand here in front of you as the organizing chairman of 2020 ICME (International Conference on Multiculture and Education). I want to express my sincere gratitude to all participants, who come from Russia, Germany, England, Vietnam, Romania, China, Taiwan, and Korea.

As you all know, this conference is co-organized by five organizations: two Korean academic associations (Korean Association of International Culture Exchange and the Korean Language and Culture Education Society), two research divisions (Convergence Institute for Multicultural Studies of Inha University, BK21+ Center for Global Multicultural Education Professional Development).

The theme of today's conference is "Multicultural Education's Paradigm Shift in the Post-Corona Era". This is an important issue within a global multicultural society. We have been experiencing an unprecedented crisis like Covid-19. However, the Earth is a one world. Immigration among the countries and long-term stay has been increased due to international marriage, labor, study, visiting, travel, and so on. This enhances the demographic, religious,

and cultural diversity. On the other side, these diversities trigger various social problems. This is reason why we gather together in this conference to discuss multicultural education's role in the Post-Corona Era.

Here, I especially want to express my deepest gratitude to today's keynote speakers, Professor Hyunsub Choi. And I want to show my gratitude to all session speakers who will present research presentation. I also thank you for all participants and conference staffs.

It is my wish that today's conference will be a meaningful moment to understand each other's differences within a glocal multicultural society and discuss the ways of coexistence.

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16:30 - 17:10	<p>Fengyu Zhu (China)</p> <p>A Study on the Adaptability of the English-Taught Program Students in Non-English Speaking Country 비영어권국가의 영어교육프로그램 참여학생들의 적응에 대한 연구</p>	<p>Yeosong Park (Korea)</p> <p>다문화교육의 의제로서의 음식기호학 Culinary Semiotics as Agenda for Multicultural Education</p>
17:10 - 17:50	<p>Ngo Thanh Can (Vietnam)</p> <p>Civil Service Culture in Performance in the Multiculture Context and in the Post-Corona Era 다문화 맥락 및 포스트 코로나 시대에서 공무문화의 실천</p>	<p>Jihye Oh (Korea)</p> <p>포스트코로나 시대의 지역사회 교육 패러다임과 실천적 과제 A Paradigm and Practical Issues of a Community Education in Post-Covid-19 Era</p>
17:50 - 18:00	Closing	

※ Lectures will be provided online through website URL.

특강주제는 변경될 수 있으며, 신청자에게 온라인 URL을 공지할 예정입니다.

※ It will be held on the session 1, 3, and 5 in English on the session 2, 4, and 6 in Korean. 세션 1, 3, 5 은 영어로 진행되며, 기초강연과 세션 2, 4, 6 는 한국어로 진행됩니다.

Keynote Speech

다문화교육의 패러다임 전환 : 더 기본적인 것의 더 충실한 작동

(Multicultural Education's Paradigm Shift : Stick to the basics
and its better functioning)

Choi Hyunsub

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요약

이 글은 COVID 19로 인하여 지구촌이 직면하고 있는 수많은 도전과 위기를 극복하여 대대손손 감사하다는 말을 들을 수 있는 새로운 미래에 대한 소망을 바탕으로 한다. 이에 따라 다문화교육의 패러다임 전환 탐색은 두 가지로 나누어 논의하였다. 하나는 새로운 다문화교육 패러다임을 탐색하는데 필수적인 전제 조건들을 살펴보는 것이다. 여기에서는 지구촌의 당면 도전 극복, 선한 목적성, 최적의 현장 작동장치, 질 높은 지성인과 민주시민교육, 실제적이고 질적인 성과 창출 등 다섯 가지의 전제 조건들이 논의되었다. 다른 하나는 더 나은 다문화교육의 패러다임의 목표와 과제에 탐색이다. 여기에서는 모든 이의 더 나은 존엄과 융창, 다양성의 질 높은 작동과 현장 친화적 사회지능의 체질화, 학교 다문화교육의 더 충실한 작동과 더 철저한 동반자적 협동으로 나누어 설명하였다.

key words : 다문화교육, 다문화교육 패러다임, 다문화 감수성, 다문화능력, 민주시민교육, 지속가능성, 질 높은 민주주의, 더 나은 미래, 사회지능,

I. 호기심과 열린 마음으로

“나는 두 갈래 길 중 아무도 가지 않은 길을 택했다, 그 때문에 모든 것이 달라졌다.”

이는 Robert Frost의 시, ‘아무도 가지 않은 길(The Road Not Taken)’의 마지막 구절이다. 환경운동의 선구자 Rachel Carson의 침묵의 봄(Silent Spring)에 인용되면서 환경생태분야 논의에서 자주 등장하였다. 오늘날에는 리더십교육, 기업경영, 정치적 연설 등에서도 자주 인용되고 있다. 낯설고 두렵기도 한 미래를 호기심과 소망으로 끌어가니 그런 거 같다.

지금 우리도 그 아무도 가지 않은 길 앞에 서 있다. COVID19가 그렇게 강요하고 있다. 일찍이 미래학자들이 비대면적 관계와 소통을 예언했지만, 이렇게 빨리 On-line conference가 일상화될 줄을 어찌 알았던가? 이 방식은 이제 교육과 경제적 거래 심지어 국가 수장들의 회담에까지 확대되고 있다. 그뿐 아니다. 자국중심주의가 유명처럼 되살아나고 세계적 경제대공황(economic pandemic)을 걱정해야 할 지경에 이르렀다. 두려움과 소외 때문일까 곳곳에서 심각한 부적응과 이탈이 증가하는 양상까지 목격된다.

곳곳에서 COVID19 이후의 세계에 대한 예측과 대응책이 제시되고 있다. 잘 선택하여 지속가능한 지구촌, 더 살기 좋은 세계가 열려야 한다는 주장들이 많다. 덕분에 훗날에 대한 기대감도 생긴다. 아니 그렇게 되어야 한다. 어떻게든 희망적인 변화를 이끌어 내야 한다. 지금 우리의 선택이 그냥 달라지는 것이 아니라, 대대손손 이어가며 고마워할 수 있는 변화를 이끌어 내야 할 것이다.

어떻게 해야 할까? 미국의 거대 벤처캐피탈 회사 창립자 David Fialkow(2019)는 이렇게 조언한다. ‘당신은 당장 완전한 답을 갖지 않아도 된다. 당신에게 필요한 것은 오로지 잘

배우는데 필요한 호기심과 열린 마음이 충분하면 된다.(You don't need to have all the answers. What you need to do is be curious and open-minded enough to learn.)'

그렇다. 급해보일수록 돌아가라는 말이 있지 않은가? 호기심과 열린 마음으로 현실을 바라보면 더 잘 보일 수 있을 것이다. 망설이며 떠났던 그 길, 넘어지기도 하고 행복했던 그 기억들을 천천히 돌아보아도 좋을 것이다. 거기에서 얻은 수많은 교훈과 감동들을 이정표로 삼고 신발 끈을 고쳐 매어도 늦지 않을 것이다. 이번 on-line 학술대회도 호기심과 열린 마음들이 뜨겁게 교차되는 자리가 되길 바란다. 그리하여 paradigm Change라는 다소 무거운 숙제가 좀 더 편안하게 풀리는 계기가 되기를 바란다.

II. 패러다임 전환의 개념과 그 전제 조건 탐구(Paradigm Shift and its Prerequisites)

‘끊임없이 더 절대적인 것을 탐구하고 더 끈질기게 실천하라.’

이는 공자의 중용(中庸)에 관한 정약용 선생의 해석을 나름대로 축약한 것이다. 선생에 따르면, 중(中)은 양단의 절충이 아니라 ‘천명으로 증험하여 얻는 근본적인 것을 찾는 일’을 가리킨다. 용(庸)은 평범한 도리를 따르는 것이 아니라 ‘끈질긴 실천’, ‘끊임없는 습관화’를 뜻한다.(고명문 등,2018) 하늘의 명으로 알고 더 철저한 증거와 경험을 통하여 더 절대적인 것, 더 근본적인 것을 탐구하고 그것을 삶과 습관으로 체화되도록 끈질기게 노력하는 것이 군자의 도리라는 것이다. 지금 우리의 지식과 당연시되는 행동은 완전한 것도 아니고 최고의 것이 아님을 깨달으라는 귀한 충고가 아니겠는가? “더 나은 것”을 향한 ‘더 끈질긴 전진’의 주문이기도 하다. 대대손손 고마워할 변화, 다문화교육의 패러다임 전환을 모색하려는 오늘 우리에게 주는 귀중한 지침이 아닐 수 없다.

1. 패러다임 전환의 개념

Paradigm Shift는 자연과학자 Thomas Kuhn(1962)에 의해 처음으로 제창되었다. 그에 따르면 과학계에는 설명 대상에 대한 기본적인 가정과 지식화하는 지배적인 틀이 존재한다. 그리고 어느 순간 그와는 아주 상이하거나 심지어 상반되는 틀로 이동하여 지배력을 갖는다. 그 대표적인 형태가 천동설로부터 지동설로의 이동이다. 이것이 paradigm shift의 요체이다.

이 개념은 사회과학과 일반 사회에까지 확대되어 적용되고 있다. 그리하여 한 시대 사람들의 견해나 사고방식을 근본적으로 규정하고 지배하는 지식의 체계가 전면적으로

재구조화 되는 변화를 가리키는 의미로 사용되고 있다.(<https://en.wikipedia.org>) 한편 사회과학에서는 각각의 탐구 대상과 그 관계에 대한 새로운 발견과 해석 그리고 이론적 재구조화로 이해되고 있다. 김환석(2018)의 다음과 같은 분석은 좋은 참고가 된다. 그에 따르면 2000년대 이후 사회는 기후변화 등 자연적인 재해가 심하여 사회과학의 핵심적인 대상인 ‘사회적인 것’에 대한 재해석과 지식의 재구조화에 대한 요청이 증가하고 있다. 인간과 인간관계에만 초점을 두었던 것으로부터 비인간적인 ‘물질성(materialities)까지 포함시키지 않으면 설명력에 한계가 있다는 자각이 나타났다는 것이다. 그리하여 사회과학은 이제 그 탐구 대상을 ‘사회물질적인 것(the sociomaterial)’으로 확대하는 ‘신유물론(New Materialism)’이라는 새로운 패러다임이 부상하였다는 것이다.

본인은 이러한 확대된 사회과학적 의미를 수용한다. 즉 paradigm shift란 각 분과 학문이 설명하고 이론화하고자 하는 대상과 그 구성 관계에 대한 전면적인 재개념화와 재이론화를 가리킨다. 정치학의 패러다임 전환, 경제학의 패러다임 전환 또는 유권자중심론, 양성평등론에로의 전면적 전환과 같은 표현이 가능하다는 것이다. 물론 그것은 당연히 더 새로운 또는 더 나은 패러다임의 전환 가능성을 열어둔 전환이다. 새로운 패러다임도 최종의 결론이 아니라 잠정적인 결론이며, 완료형이 아니라 완료형으로 가는 과정에 불과하다는 것이다. 정약용 선생의 가르침과 궤를 같이 하지 않은가?

그런데 이러한 패러다임의 전환은 보통 두 가지의 형태로 구분할 수 있다. 하나는 순수 학문적인 형태이고 다른 하나는 응용과학적 혹은 실천적 형태이다. 전자는 더 나은 지식을 갈망하는 학자들의 새로운 방법론을 탐색하는 과정에서 발생하는 것이다. 따라서 전환되는 내용이 탐구 방법론과 그 결과로서의 지식의 구조에 초점이 주어져 있다. 반면에 후자는 새로운 학문적 패러다임을 현실 세계에 적용하거나 대안적 이상과 목표를 현실화하려는 의도적 혹은 계획적인 형태이다. 따라서 여기에서는 주로 그 새로운 의도의 정당성과 동참 증진 전략에 초점이 더 주어진다. 전자는 설득의 대상이 주로 동일 학계에 집중되지만 후자는 그 의도에 직간접적으로 관련되는 다양한 주체들까지 포함한다.

오늘의 논의는 그 출발점이나 의도로 볼 때 전자보다는 후자에 가깝다. 그것은 코로나로 인하여 나타나는 지구촌의 수많은 변화가 필연적으로 다문화교육의 변화로 이어질 것이라는 전제를 바탕으로 하고 있다. 그리고 그에 선제적으로 대응하여 다문화교육 자체뿐만 아니라 지구촌 전체에 긍정적인 영향을 미치는 방법을 찾아보자는 뜻이 담겨 있다. 따라서 ‘다문화교육의 더 바람직한 의도적인 전환의 추구하고 촉진’에 무게가 실려 있다 할 것이다.

이 때문에 우리의 Multicultural Education Paradigm Shift 논의는 그 정당성과 동참 증진 전략이 중요하다. 그 목표나 방향이 역사적으로나 학문적으로 보편적인 가치에 일치하지

않으면 ‘바람직하다’라는 평가를 받을 수가 없고 혼란한 동참이 없으면 허망한 일이기 때문이다. 그만큼 이 논의는 규범적일 수밖에 없다는 이야기이기도 하다. 이를 염두에 두면서 먼저 다문화교육의 패러다임 전환 또는 그 실천적 행위에서 놓쳐서는 안 되는 전제 조건에 대해 생각해보겠다.

2. 바람직한 다문화교육 패러다임 전환의 전제 조건들

다문화교육이 새로 추구하고 촉진하고자 하는 패러다임이 바람직한 형태를 띠기 위해서는 어떤 조건이 충족되어야 할까? 그것은 첫째로 현재 또는 미래의 지구촌이 당면하고 있는 도전 또는 닥쳐올 위기를 확실하게 극복하고 통제할 수 있어야 한다. 물론 이는 다문화교육에만 해당되는 것은 아니다. 세계시민교육, 생태환경교육 나아가 다국적 기업과 경제 그리고 정치와 국제 관계도 그래야 한다. 다문화교육으로 보면 그 목표, 내용, 방법 또는 교육외적 요소들과의 관계 모두에서 그 도전과 위기의 극복 가능성을 보여주어야 한다. 그렇지 않으면 공감성과 동참 확보도 어렵고 오히려 더 큰 혼란과 위기를 초래할 수 있다는 점을 명심해야 할 것이다.

COVID19로 인하여 지구촌이 당면할 수 있는 도전과 위기는 다양하게 지적되고 있다.(이현훈, 2020, 최제민, 2020, 기초과학연구원, 2020, The World Economic Forum, 2020) 경제적 대공황, 자국중심주의 강화와 탈세계화, 기후변화와 지구촌의 위기, 4차 산업혁명의 가속화, 비대면적 관계와 문화적 충돌의 증가 등이 그것이다. 설령 코로나 치료제와 면역제가 나온다 하더라도 그 여파가 상당기간 지속될 것이고 또 다른 바이러스의 공격도 나타날 수 있기 때문에 안심할 수가 없다는 것이다.

이것은 다문화사회와 다문화교육으로서도 참 복잡하고 심각한 문제이다. 그 학문적, 실제적 대상 자체에 엄청난 변화를 보이는 일이기 때문이다. 물론 다문화교육만으로 그 모든 문제들을 극복할 수는 없을 것이다. 그러나 그것이 무엇이건 그 가능성과 기대를 주는데 전심전력하여야 하는 것만은 분명할 것이다.

둘째로 착한 목적성(good purposes)이다. 세상의 어느 의도적 계획이 착하지 않다고 할까? 그러나 인류의 역사를 살펴보면 누구에게는 착하고 누구에게는 악한 의도적 계획은 수없이 많았다. 식민지, 전쟁, 인종 청소, 종교탄압이 그 예일 것이다. 따라서 착함의 핵심은 보편적 가치 또는 공동 선(common good)의 증진일 것이다. John Rawls(1971)가 자유와 평등의 조화 상태로서 모든 이에게 동등한 이익이 주어지는 조건이라 한 것, Steven Pinker(2014)가 주장한 평화와 협동의 촉진은 그 좋은 예가 될 것이다. Steve Taylor(2013)처럼 자기중심성의 절제, 타인의 필요와 안녕의 선제적 인식과 희생적 지원과 같이 인간의 따뜻한 마음과 사회적

헌신으로 풀어가는 이도 있다. 가장 전형적인 착함의 표상은 기독교의 ‘이웃을 내 몸과 같이 사랑(愛隣如己)’과 불교의 대자대비(大慈大悲)와 같은 일방적이고 무한한 사랑과 희생일 것이다.

그러나 그 모든 착함의 핵심은 인간과 인간의 교호적인 존중과 동반자적 협동이 아닌가 한다. 그런데 돌이켜 보면 인류 역사를 거치면서 그 존중과 협동의 대상은 계속 확대되어 왔고 그 방법도 상당한 질적 변화를 보였다. 우선 존중과 협동의 대상은 자기 자신이나 가족으로부터 시작하여 같은 종족과 민족으로 그리고 자국민으로 오늘날처럼 지구촌 모든 구성원으로 확대되었다. 그것은 근대화를 거치면서 신분, 성, 개인의 의사와 표현으로 확대되었고, 점차로 인종, 종교, 노동자, 신체적 또는 정신적 상태, 그리고 개인적 취향과 욕망까지 포함하기에 이르렀다. 오늘날에는 기후위기와 생태중심주의의 확산에 힘입어 인간을 넘어 지구의 모든 생명체 나아가 무생물까지도 존중과 협동의 대상으로 인식되는 경향을 보이고 있다.

존중과 협동의 방식도 질적으로 큰 진전을 보였다. 그것은 시혜로부터 권리로 그리고 동반자적 관계로 진전을 보여 왔다. 권리 보장도 기본권 보장에서 사회권 또는 복지권으로 이제는 환경권과 행복권의 보장으로 발전하기에 이르렀다. 그 보장 방식도 물질적인 것에서 정신적인 것으로, 형식적인 것에서 실질적인 것으로 그리고 제도로부터 일상적 문화에까지 뻗어가고 있다. 이러한 착함의 대상과 내용 그리고 방법의 변화는 지금도 진행중이며 COVID19 이후에는 더욱 많이 변화될 것으로 예상된다. 다문화교육의 새로운 패러다임은 이러한 착함의 의미 확대와 질적인 진전을 얼마나 제대로 받아들일 것인가가 큰 과제일 것이다.

세 번째는 최적의 현장 작동 장치(optimal working mechanism)이다. 아무리 좋은 목적이라도 현실에서 작동하지 않으면 동력이 낭비되고 좌절과 불신을 초래하게 된다. 그래서 목적이 실현되는 현장에서 충실하게 작동되도록 하는 장치는 선한 목적성만큼 중요하다. 특히 주어진 현실과 환경, 투여 가능한 자원과 동력, 달성되는 시간과 기대되는 성과 등을 종합적으로 고려한 최적의 작동장치는 매우 중요하다. 이 때문에 의도적 변화를 연구하는 정책학, 경영학, 사회학 등에서 현장 작동성, 효율성, 최적성, 실질적 성과가 중시되고 있는 것이다. 착한 목적이 계획단계에서부터 마지막 성과에 이르기까지 빈틈없이 지배력을 갖게 해야 한다는 것이다.

이를 경영과 교육에 반영한 것이 ‘질 중심 총체적 경영관리(total quality management: TQM)’이다.(최현섭, 2004) 이는 기업이건 교육이건 달성하고자 하는 목적과 이상이 처음 기획 단계에서부터 마지막 성과 평가에 이르기까지 충실하게 반영되고 효율적으로 작동되도록

하려는 경영관리 모델이다. 여기에서 주목되는 것은 그 과정에서 구성원의 문화적 정체성(cultural identity)을 충분히 고려해야 한다는 점이다. 그것은 개인적 정체성, 자긍심, 심지어 정신적 건강에까지 영향을 미칠 수 있기 때문이라는 것이다.(김현실, 2006, 노삼열, 2012)

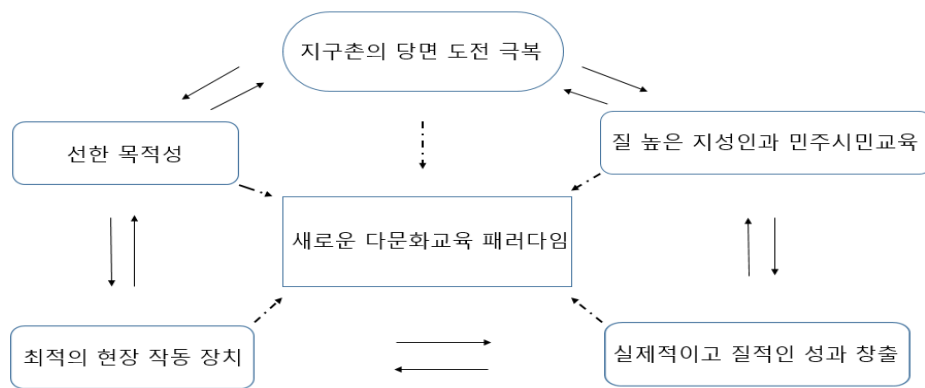
COVIC19는 기존의 system과 culture는 현장 작동력도 떨어지고 당면한 지구촌의 위기를 말끔히 극복하기 어렵다는 점을 일깨워주었다. 새로운 제도와 조직이 필요하며 새로운 가치와 관계 그리고 새로운 문화에 대한 요구와 기대를 갖게 하였다. 다문화교육의 새로운 패러다임은 이러한 변화에 선제적으로 대응하여야 할 것이다. 특히 그것이 사람들의 일상을 지배하는 원리로까지 끌어낼 수 있게 하는 일은 더욱 중요해 보인다.(Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, 2007)

네 번째는 실제적이고 질적인 성과 창출이다. 일반적인 계획적 변동론은 system과 culture의 변화를 가장 중시하였다. 그러나 질적인 변동을 중시하는 이들은 그보다는 실제적이고 질적인 성과를 더 중시한다. 교육 차원에서 보면 교육 받은 자 또는 학교 졸업자에 대한 기업과 가족 또는 사회 등 다양한 고객들의 만족도를 중시하고 있다. TQM은 거기에 더하여 교육 받는 당사자의 심리적, 사회적 상태의 변화까지 포함시킨다. 뿐만 아니라 교육을 마친 후뿐만 아니라 교육을 받는 동안 학생들의 만족감과 공감적 관계 그리고 자긍심이 커야 성과도 좋아진다는 생각이다. 또한 교육을 주도하는 교사와 교직원 그리고 학부모와의 관계와 긍정적인 정서도 중시한다. 그들 서로가 소통이 잘되고 신뢰가 깊으며 모두가 만족감과 행복감이 높으면 긍정적인 성과를 거둔다는 것이다. 이는 특히 CASEL(2020)에서의 연구를 통해서 많이 밝혀졌다. 이에 따라 최근의 PISA 평가도 학생들의 학습의 즐거움, 협동적 학습 참여, 삶의 만족도와 행복감 등을 평가에 반영하고 있다.

이러한 질적 변동의 중시는 새로운 다문화교육의 패러다임에 그대로 또는 더 강화된 형태로 반영되어야 할 것으로 생각한다. COVIC19 때문에 다문화교육은 그 기반이 흔들리고 사회적 지지도 약화될 가능성이 크다. 그러나 그럴수록 이 과정적 요소와 질적인 요소는 한 층 더 강화시킬 필요가 있다. 그렇지 않으면 다문화교육의 설 자리는 더욱 축소될 수 있고 새로 맞이하는 지구촌의 도전과 위기에 도움이 되지 못할 것이다.

마지막으로 질 높은 집단 지성과 민주시민교육의 강화이다. 사회변동에서 집단적 지성의 결집된 행위와 미래의 깨어 있는 시민의 양성이 얼마나 중요한가는 익히 아는 일이다. David Franz(2007)에 따르면 ‘전문적 역량이 높으며 역사적 통찰력이 발달해 있고 비판적 성찰력을 지닌 지성인 집단들은 민주주의 발전과 인간의 기본적 인권 확장에 앞장서 왔다.’ John Dewey(2001)를 비롯한 수많은 교육철학자들은 민주시민교육이 얼마나 중요한지를 누누이 주장하였다. Alan Singer(2000)는 특히 교사들의 끊임없는 문제의식과 정교한 학습 활동을 통하여 사회변동을 추구하고 촉진하는 세력을 양성한다고 하였다.

이러한 분석과 주장들은 COVID19 이후의 세계에서도 유효할 것이다. 아니 오히려 더 중시되어야 할 것이다. 따라서 다문화교육은 집단적 지성과의 부단한 소통과 협동의 길을 찾아야 한다. 필요하다면 손을 잡고 법도 바꾸고 조직도 새로 만들어야 한다. 다문화교육은 이미 민주시민교육과는 떼려야 뗄 수 없는 관계에 있다. James banks(2005)의 말대로 문화적 민주주의는 정치적 민주주의의 핵심적 요소이다. 이들을 어떻게 결합시키고 패러다임 전환의 동력으로 삼을 것인가는 다문화교육의 패러다임 전환의 운명적 과제일 것이다. 이상과 같은 전제 조건들을 종합하면 <그림 1>과 같은 도식이 가능할 것이다. 다문화교육의 새로운 패러다임 탐색에서 어떤 안내판이 되길 바란다.



<그림 1> 새로운 다문화교육 패러다임 전제 조건

III. 더 나은 미래와 더 나은 다문화교육 패러다임의 목표와 과제

In order to ensure a better world of tomorrow, such challenges should not be forgotten, rather, we should use this opportunity of collective and creative action to integrate such issues as we rebuild a better tomorrow. Global problems without cooperative solutions lead to conflicts. (The Paris Peace Forum 2020)

이는 8월말까지 진행되는 ‘The Paris Peace Forum 2020’의 비전과 목표 중 일부이다. 이 가운데 눈에 띄는 것은 ‘더 나은 미래’이다. 그 표현에 오늘날 지구가 당면한 도전과 위기를 극복할 대안적 비전과 실천적 내용에 대한 기대와 소망이 담겨 있기 때문이다. 그 결론은 분명 더 나은 다문화교육 패러다임의 목표와 과제와도 직결될 것이다. 부디 그 결론에도 우리의 다섯 가지의 전제 조건이 충분히 반영되기를 바란다.

1, 모든 이의 더 나은 존엄과 융창(better dignity and flourishing for all itself)

‘더 나은 미래’건 ‘새로운 다문화교육의 패러다임’이건 그 가장 핵심적인 목표와 과제는 무엇이어야 할까? 그것은 ‘모든 이의 더 나은 존엄과 융창’이라 생각한다. 이때의 모든 이는

사람만을 가리키지 않는다. 지구촌과 우주를 이루는 모든 생명체와 무생물체까지를 포함한다. 그리고 존엄이란 그 모든 존재들이 그 자체로서의 고유한 가치와 기능을 갖고 있음을 서로 인정하고 존중하며 그것이 현실에서 완벽하게 보장되는 상태까지를 뜻한다. 그리고 융창이란 그 존재들 모두가 질적으로 최적의 기능화와 최상의 행복 그리고 최고의 생동력 넘치는 삶의 상태를 말한다. 따라서 ‘모든 이의 더 나은 존엄과 융창’이란, 우주 만물의 모든 존재들의 존엄과 가치가 더 충분하고 존중·보장되는 상태를 말한다. 그리고 그 모든 존재들이 질적으로 최적의 기능화와 최상의 행복 그리고 최고의 생동력을 갖는 역동적인 상태를 말한다. 너무 광범위하고 이상적인 목표와 과제로 보일지 모르겠다.

그러나 그것은 지구촌의 생태환경의 악화와 국제간의 경쟁 격화라는 지구촌의 도전을 극복하는 이상이자 실천과제로 제시되었던 ‘sustainability’보다 한 걸음 더 나아간 것으로 보일 것이다. ‘지속가능성(sustainability)’은 1987년 UN Brundtland Commission로부터 공식화된 이래 계속되는 지구촌 정상들과 지성들의 끈질긴 노력을 통해 지구촌 최고의 규범으로 자리 잡았다. 그리하여 그것은 현재의 세대와 미래 세대의 필요와 위기를 침해하지 않을 만큼 만족한 삶을 영위하는 것으로 이해되었다. 또한 인간의 삶의 질과 생태환경의 질적 균형을 통하여 지구촌의 공존과 공영의 표준으로 이해되기도 한다(You Matter,2020). 대대손손 고마워할 수 있는 인류의 지성적인 자각의 산물이라 해도 될 것이다.

그런데 이는 생태중심주의를 중심에 두고는 있지만 실제로는 인간중심주의의 틀을 크게 벗어나지 못하고 있다. 더구나 미국과 같은 강대국과 다국적기업들은 자신들에게는 부담이고 불이익하다는 이유로 소극적으로 참여하고 있다. 뿐만 아니라 오늘날 서서히 우리의 관심을 끌고 있는 우주와의 관계는 빠져 있다. 또한 강자 중심, 승리 중심, 눈에 보이는 성과 중심의 틀을 크게 벗어나지 못하고 있다는 비판도 받고 있다. 그 때문에 강대국과 기성세대에 대한 불신과 불만이 커지고 있다. 지속가능성에서 결코 무시해서는 안되는 약자와 무생물들에 대한 차별에도 관심과 열도가 낮다. COVIC19의 대응 방식을 두고 벌어지는 폭력과 갈등 그리고 자국중심주의의 강화와 사회적 연대의 급강하 현상은 이러한 한계 때문으로 해석된다.

60년 전 Rachel Carson(2013)의 선각자적 주창이 아직도 사람들의 마음과 일상적인 습성, 당연시되는 문화 그리고 지구촌 전체의 문화적 정체성으로 자리 잡지 못하고 있다는 이야기이다. “자연을 구성하는 요소들은 그 어떤 것도 독자적으로 존재하지 않는다는 점을 기억해야 한다.” “아무 쓸모도 없어 보이는 잡초와 때로는 우리를 귀찮게 하는 곤충들이 흙과 물에서 사라지면 우리의 영양 공급원인 식물과 동물들도 살아남을 수 없고, 물론 그 땅에서 인간만이 홀로 존귀하게 살아남으리라 기대할 수가 없다.” 지속가능성을 넘어 ‘모든 이의 더 나은 존엄과 융창’으로 가야 한다는 뜻이 아니겠는가? 공기, 물, 흙, 바위가 제자리를 지키지 않으면 인간과 생물이 어이 살 수 있고, 이상 기후 현상이 더 심화되어 태양과 달 그리고

은하계의 인력 관계를 흔들면 지구는 어이 존재할 수 있을까?

한편, 다문화교육은 본질상 다양한 문화와 다양한 집단의 공존을 전제로 한다.(김영순,2020). 어떤 문화적 배경과 문화적 정체성을 가졌던 그 자체로서 존중되고 함께 살아가는 것을 전제로 한다는 것이다. 따라서 거기에는 우주의 모든 존재의 존엄과 융창은 당연한 일이어야 할 것이다. 그러나 지구촌의 문화 다양성과 문화 정체성으로 보아 금방 환영받지는 못할 것이다. 왜냐하면 지구촌에는 여전히 인간중심주의에 빠져 있는 이도 적지 않고 무정부주의자와 차별주의자도 엄연히 존재한다. 평화주의자도 있지만 전쟁중독에 빠진 이들도 상당하다.

다문화교육에게는 지금도 힘든 상황 속에 있다는 이야기이다. 그러나 다문화교육이 그 속명적인 정신을 놓치는 순간 인간중심주의, 강대국 중심주의, 차별주의가 기승을 부릴 것이고 지구촌에게는 엄청난 갈등과 상충을 안겨주게 될 것이다. Graham Pike(2008)은 세계시민교육이 인간과 인간 이외의 존재 특히 생태자연과의 관계 그리고 먼 미래까지의 건강한 지구 행성의 건강 문제를 다루지 않으면 지구촌의 위기는 급속하게 닥칠 것이라고 하였다. Caspar Henderson (2015)도 ‘인간이 자신 이외의 존재를 인식하고 어떻게 대할 것인가 고민하는 것은 가장 숭고한 성찰이며 인간적인 일’이라고 하였다. 더 나은 미래와 새로운 다문화교육 패러다임의 핵심적인 목표와 과제에서 이 정신과 철학만큼 중요한 것이 또 있을까?

2. 다양성의 질 높은 작동과 현장 친화적 사회지능의 체질화

다문화교육에서는 다문화 감수성과 다문화 역량을 기르는 일에 중점을 두고 있다(김영순,2015). 문화적 감수성이란 각 국가뿐만 아니라 지구촌 전체는 문화적 배경과 문화적 정체성이 다른 이들이 어우러져 살고 있다는 눈과 마음이 발달해 있다는 것을 말한다. 뿐만 아니라 그 차이를 인정하고 존중하지 않으면 자기 자신의 융창의 저해로 돌아온다는 것을 감각적으로 알아차리는 감성을 말한다. 그리고 다문화 역량은 그런 눈과 마음과 감성을 당연한 삶과 당연한 습성으로 만들어 가려는 열정과 능력 일체를 가리킨다. 이런 의미에서 다문화교육은 서로 다름에 대한 배려와 존중, 차이를 인정하고 더불어 살아갈 수 있는 소양을 키우는 것이 중요하다고 하는 것이다.(김영순,2015)

그런데 이 다문화교육은 동화주의에 머무를 것인가 다문화주의를 지향할 것인가에 따라 그 문화적 감수성과 다문화 역량에 차이가 생긴다. 한국의 다문화교육에 초점을 두어 말하면, 전자는 결혼 또는 이민에 의하여 한국에 정주하는 이들을 넓은 아량으로 이해하고 한국문화에의 조속한 통합을 도와야 한다는 입장이다. 반면 후자는 그들이 모국과 끈질기게 관계를 맺고 모국에 대한 향수에 빠져 있는 것 그리고 한국어와 한국인 규범에 서투르다는 것

때문에 차별을 받지 않고 자신의 문화 정체성을 유지되면서 정주국의 문화와의 동반자적 공존을 모색한다.

그러나 이중 어느 지향성도 인종, 종교, 언어, 규범의 다양성 그 자체를 존중하고 당연시화 하는 것을 떠날 수는 없을 것이다. 더구나 그 다른 것을 불편해 하거나 불안하게 느끼는 것 그리고 그 다른 것을 차별적으로 대하는 것을 당연시 하거나 심지어 존중하는 것은 민주주의 원리에도 위배된다. 배움, 지위, 권력, 부, 명예와 같은 사회 계층적인 차이에도 불구하고, 사람 그 자체의 가치를 동등하게 인정하고 존중하며 동반자적 협력 관계를 강화하는 것이 질 높은 민주주의이기 때문이다. 그래서 민주시민교육은 다문화 감수성과 다문화능력 이전에 개체적 다양성 존중을 중시하는 것이다. 즉 개인들이 가진 수많은 조건들, 성, 외모, 언어 유창성, 인지력, 가치판단력, 규범 수용, 취향, 감정, 나아가 욕망 등의 차이를 그 자체로서 존중하고 융창을 보장하는 것, 그것이 그 요체라는 것이다. James A. Banks 등(2005)이 민주주의는 본질적으로 다양한 욕구와 필요를 가진 인간과 다문화를 기반으로 하고 있다고 강조하는 이유가 여기에 있다. 민주주의는 심지어 사람의 생명을 경시하고 범법을 일삼는 사람조차도 기본 인권을 존중하고 있지 않은가?

그런데 바로 그 다양성 존중은 자주 공동체를 기능부전(malfunctioning)에 빠뜨리기도 한다. 다층적 부조화와 상충, 차별화와 갈등, 그리고 아노미가 대표적일 것이다. COVID19 이후 발생한 마스크 착용과 이동 금지에 대한 반발이 그 예가 될 것이다. 외국인에 대한 폭력과 배제와 사재기 증가도 그렇다. 사람들의 외모, 성, 성격, 부, 가치관의 차이가 심리적, 문화적, 구조적인 차별로 둔갑하고, 존재 그 자체로서 누리고 보장되어야 할 인간의 존엄과 융창이 아무렇지도 않게 배제와 폭력 앞에 무릎을 꿇는 경우도 있지 않은가? 차별금지법을 제정하고 민주시민교육과 다문화교육에서 아무리 가르쳐도 그 현상은 어느새 튀어 나와 혼란과 국력 낭비를 초래한다. 더러는 경제적 침체, 대형 사건 사고, 그리고 정부의 정책 실패가 그걸 증폭시키기도 한다.

더 나은 미래 또는 새로운 다문화교육의 패러다임은 이 문제를 극복할 수 있어야 한다. 그 기능부전의 당사자, 천차만별의 사고와 행동을 모두 존중하고 나름의 융창도 보장하면서 공동체의 공동선이 충분히 작동할 수 있게 하는 방안에 대해 숙고하고 또 숙고해야만 한다. 이에 James Banks 등(2005)은 다문화교육이 지역사회와 국가 그리고 세계의 통합성과 다양성간의 복잡한 관계를 가르쳐야 한다는 점을 강조하였다. 민주국가는 공동체의 통합성과 다양성의 절묘한 균형 방법을 찾아야 한다고도 하였다. 그러면서 곳곳에서 차별화에 시달리는 주변집단에 대한 구조적인 평등 대책을 강력하게 주문하였다. 이주하(2010)를 비롯한 공공가치론자들은 민주주의의 질적인 발전을 위해서는 그 다양성을 공공성으로 통합하여 극복해나가는 방안이 필요하다고 역설하였다. 국가의 공적 조직을 책임지는 모든 공직자들의

역량과 마인드의 개발과 정교한 평가 체제 확립을 통하여 공공의 가치를 충실하게 실현하자는 것이다.(UTS, 2014)

그러나 본인은 문화적 감수성과 문화적 역량의 개발 차원에서 미시적인 대안을 제시하려 한다. 현장 친화적 사회지능(social intelligence)의 체질화가 그것이다. 사회지능은 Daniel Goleman(2006)이 새로운 또는 건강한 사회를 위한 인간의 새로운 능력으로 제시하면서 학문적, 실제적인 관심을 끌었다. 그는 그것을 ‘자신의 감정과 행동에 대한 진솔하고 분명한 인식과 인정 그리고 선제적인 자기 조절과 혁신을 통하여 사회관계와 사회환경을 긍정적이고 활력 넘치게 하는 인간의 능력’이라고 규정하였다. 이러한 능력들은 세부적으로 다음과 같은 특성을 보인다.(최현섭,2018)

- 자기 자신의 감정과 사고의 발생과 작동 방식(표정, 발언, 동작, 동원 수단 등)에 대해 즉각적으로 인식하고 최적의 방식을 선택하고 조절
- 자신의 감정 인식과 작동 방식에 영향을 미치는 자연환경과 사회환경에 대한 예지와 통찰을 바탕으로 긍정적이고 협동적인 일과 관계의 최적화

Sameer M. Babu(2013)에 따르면 이 능력은 자기 자신의 정체성을 계속 견지하면서 자신의 깊은 통찰력을 모든 현실에 심층적으로 투사하며 다른 사람과의 감성적인 소통과 협동적 관계를 더 효율적이고 사려 깊게 이어가는 능력이다. 그것은 사람들 간의 부정적이고 폭력적인 관계를 완화시키고 공감적으로 해결을 하는 현대 사회의 필수 능력이라 하였다. 이렇게 볼 때 이 사회지능은 다양성의 부작용 또는 기능부전 현상을 극복할 수 있는 유효적절한 민주시민의 기본 역량으로도 손색이 없어 보인다.

다문화교육에서는 천차만별의 학생과 사람을 만나야 하고 존중과 공존의 방법을 함께 찾아야 한다. 작은 피해에도 분노가 폭발하는 사람, 엄청난 피해도 참고 견디는 사람, 남의 피해는 모르세로 하지만 자기 피해에는 온몸으로 막는 사람과도 만나야 한다. 무슨 문제든지 차근차근 풀어나가는 사람과 함께 사는 방법을 익혀야 한다. 법과 원칙에 따라 공무를 집행하는 공무원과 탈법과 편법으로 제 이익 챙기기에 급급한 국회의원과도 함께 문제를 풀어나가야 한다. 다문화적 상황에서는 이보다 더 복잡하고 미묘한 일을 만나게 된다.

그 각양각색의 개인적, 문화적 정체성도 존중하면서 진정성과 공감성 높은 방법으로 풀어나가면서 서로의 융창을 보장하는 능력이 바로 사회지능이라는 것이다. 따라서 이 능력은 다문화 감수성과 다문화 능력의 기본적인 요건일 수 있다. 새로운 다문화교육의 패러다임 전환의 요체로서 손색이 없어 보인다.

3. 학교 다문화교육의 더 충실한 작동과 더 철저한 동반자적 협동

다문화교육은 착한 목적성의 실현을 전제로 하고 있다. 따라서 그 착한 목적이 기획 단계에서부터 최종 결과에 이르기까지 모든 단계와 과정에서 실제적이고 효율적으로 작동케 하는 장치와 그 작동력 증강은 매우 중요하다. 이 현장 작동 장치와 그 작동력 증강 차원에서 새로운 다문화교육의 패러다임은 어떤 형태이어야 할까? 앞에서 설명한 ‘질 중심의 총체적 경영관리(TQM)’가 그 대안이 될 수 있을 것이다. 다문화교육의 이론, 정책, 교사양성, 교육활동, 결과평가, 그리고 그 재투입에 이르는 전 과정을 ‘더 높은 질’(better quality)이라는 눈으로 재평가하고 재구조화하자는 것이다.

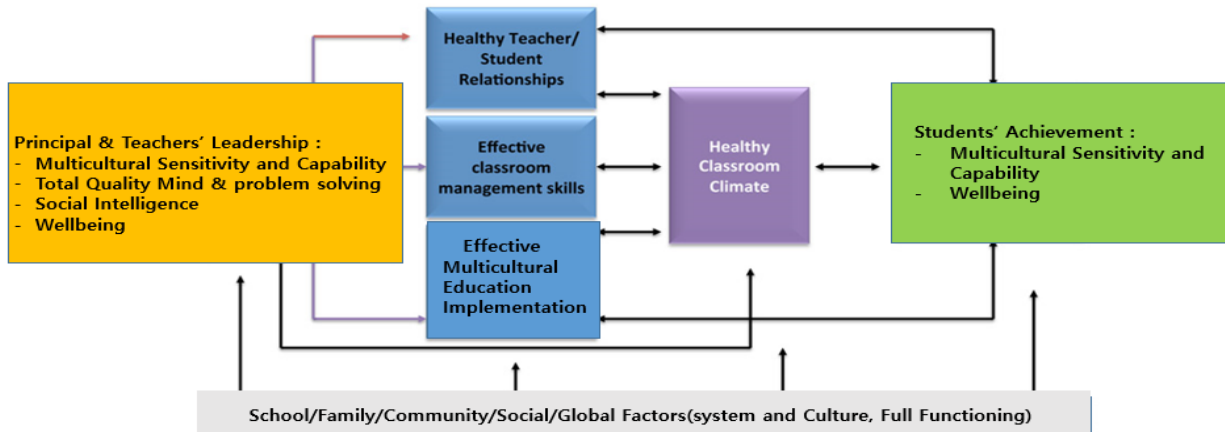
그런데 그 재평가와 재구조화하는 대상과 내용은 아주 다층적이다. 착한 목적성의 충실한 반영 방안에 초점을 둘 수도 있고, system과 culture의 명료성과 치밀성을 높이는 방안도 있다. 또한 그것을 주도적으로 추진하고 촉진하는 교사의 문화적 감수성과 문화적 역량을 강화하는 방안도 생각할 수 있을 것이다. 교사와 학생 등 모든 당사자들의 존엄과 융창 그리고 다양성 존중의 성취를 높이는 방안을 중심으로 재구조화하는 방안도 가능하다. 교장과 교사 그리고 학생들의 사회지능과 다문화리더십 개발에 중점을 둘 수도 있을 것이다.

그러나 여기에서는 그중에서 핵심적이라 생각되는 두 가지만을 제안하고자 한다. 하나는 다문화교육의 핵심적 장치인 학교내 교육의 더 충실한 작동에 관한 것이다. 이것은 TQM에서도 핵심 요소로 간주한다. 특히 수업의 질, 교사와 학생의 관계, 학교의 분위기, 교장과 교사의 리더십, 학교 구성원의 만족도, 학생의 역량 개발 등의 질을 어떻게 유지하고 개선할 것인가가 중요한 과제로 취급된다.

한편 학생의 감성적 사회적 능력 개발에 집중하고 있는 CASEL (2020)도 학교교육의 총체적인 변화만이 가장 효과적이라 여기고 그 적용 모델을 개발하였다. 이 모델에서는 특히 학교 교육은 교장과 교사의 리더십, 건강한 교사와 학생의 관계, 효과적인 학급 관리 능력, 효과적인 다문화교육 전략, 그리고 건강한 학교와 교실 분위기의 총체적 결합을 통하여 의미 있는 성과로 나타난다는 생각을 바탕으로 한다. 이중 가장 영향력 있는 요소인 교장과 교사에게는 목표이해, 효율적 학습 경험 조직과 문제 해결 능력, 그리고 심리적 사회적 안녕까지 중시하고 있다. 또한 학교, 가정, 지역사회 등과의 협력적 관계도 중요한 리더십으로 보았다. 이밖에도 가정과 지역사회 국가와 사회 그리고 시민사회, 지구촌 등 모든 학교외의 요소들과의 긴밀하고 상호지원적인 관계도 매우 중요한 혁신 대상으로 삼고 있다.

이러한 질 높은 학교교육을 위한 총체적인 변화 모델은 다문화교육의 새로운 패러다임에도 그대로 적용될 수 있을 것이다. <그림 2>는 CESEL의 수업 혁신 모델에 TQM 혁신 모델을 통합하여 다문화교육의 교실 혁신 모델로 통합한 도식이다. 이 도식에서 주목할 부분은

다문화교육의 수업에 관련되는 모든 요소들은 건강한 교실 분위기에 의하여 그 영향이 달라질 수 있다는 점이다. 즉 수업은 기획과 설계 그리고 그 실제 수업들은 수업 중 또는 수업 전후의 교실 분위기로 종합되어 학생들의 성취에 영향을 미친다는 것이다. 다문화교육의 새로운 패러다임에서 집중적으로 숙고하고 유입시켜야 할 과제라 생각한다.



<그림 2> 더 충실한 학교 다문화교육의 교실 수업의 작동 모형(CASEI과 TQM 통합)

이제 ‘더 높은 질’을 위한 다문화교육 현장 작동 장치의 두 번째 안을 제안으로 넘어가자. 단도직입적으로 그것은 그 작동 과정에 관련되는 모든 내적, 외적 당사자들과의 더 철저한 동반자적 협력(partnership and cooperation)이다. 앞에서 우리는 동반자적 협력이 다문화교육의 본질임을 살펴보았다. 그런데 그것은 보통 동등성과 교호성이 보장되지 않으면 서로에게 심각한 피해로 돌아올 수 있는 외교와 군사 분야에서 흔히 적용되는 규범이다. 또한 국가간의 이해관계가 첨예하게 충돌하는 경우에 지속가능의 전략적 규범으로도 적용되기도 한다. 즉 여기에서의 동반자적 협력은 서로의 생존 문제요, 최고의 상호 존중 형태이고 끊임없는 상호 점검과 절제를 요하는 엄격한 규범이다. 다문화교육은 결코 이 의미를 놓쳐서는 안 될 것이다.

그런데 이러한 동반자적 협력이 질 높은 공동체를 만들어 가는 결정적인 요소임을 밝혀낸 학자가 있다. Robert Putnam(2004)이다. 그는 미국 사회를 어둡게 하는 비인간화와 고립의 증가가 지역사회 주민들의 건강하고 협동적인 시민운동을 통하여 회복되고 있다는 것을 발견하였다. 이런 점에서 그는 지역사회의 크고 작은 시민운동은 미국을 더 나은 사회로 변화시키는 소중한 사회자본이라 하고, ‘더 좋게 다 함께’(better together)가 사회변혁의 요체라고 보았다. 다음 글에 그의 진의가 잘 담겨 있다. ‘Better together의 가능성을 가시적으로 보여주는 사람들은 사회적 연대와 협력이 자기 자신의 삶과 주변사람들의 삶을 개선하도록 힘을 북돋우는 아주 강력한 힘이 있다는 이야기를 만들어 가고 있다.’

그 이후부터 곳곳에서 동반자적 협력과 사람간의 연대의 사회적 기능에 대한 연구와 인정이

확산되었다. 그리하여 그것은 세상의 분쟁과 갈등을 해결하고 사람들의 비인간화와 고립을 극복하고 자기 자신과 주변 사람들의 삶 나아가 국가 전체를 개선하는 효과가 있다는 근거와 주장이 속출하였다. Jennifer Robison(2010)의 찬사는 웅변적이다. ‘사회적 연대는 사람들에게 행복, 관용, 그리고 사랑을 확산시킨다. 또한 그것은 늘 우리들의 선택, 행동, 사고, 감정, 심지어 욕구까지도 미묘하고 극적으로 영향을 미친다.’

COVID19는 바로 이러한 사람들의 더 나은 삶과 세계를 만들어 가는 사회적 자본인 동반자적 연대와 협동을 회피하게 하고 제약하고 있다. 그리고 그 추세는 쉽게 수그러들지 않을 것 같다. 그만큼 사람들의 행복, 사랑 그리고 사고와 행동의 선택지가 협소해질 가능성이 크다. 새로운 다문화교육의 패러다임은 이러한 불행하고 암울한 상황을 극복하기 위하여 또는 주어진 상황을 더 악화시키지 않기 위해서라도 지금보다도 더 철저하게 개인간, 문화간의 연대와 협동을 추구하고 촉진해야 한다. ‘Partnership and cooperation’, ‘Better together’가 현장에서 더 철저히 작동하도록 함으로써 다문화교육의 본질을 한층 더 강화해야 할 것이다. 그래야 대대손손 고마워할 변화를 가능케 할 것이다. 마지막으로 Jack Johnson의 노래 ‘Better together’의 가사 한구절로 그 희망을 쌓고자 한다.

Better Together, It's always better when we're together

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가야금 연주

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< 요약 >

가야금은 한국 악기 중에서 가장 대표적인 악기이다. 전통 가야금은 12 줄이지만 현재 18 현금과 25 현금까지 개량되어 연주되고 있다.

가야금 몸통은 오동나무와 밤나무로 제작되어있고 줄은 명주실로 만들어졌는데 18 현금이나 25 현금 등 개량 가야금엔 폴리에스터를 사용한다.

오늘 사용한 가야금은 산조 가야금으로 일반적으로 우리가 알고 있는 가야금이고 명주실이다. 다만 ‘산행’은 고음 가야금으로 산조 가야금보다 크기가 작고 나일론 줄이 올려져 있다.

서양악기는 과학적으로 악기를 만들었다면
국악기는 동양 철학으로 악기를 만들었다.

그래서 12 줄은 12 달을 뜻하고
악기 통의 위가 둥그스름한 건 하늘을 뜻하고
바닥의 편평한 면은 땅을 뜻한다.

1 번째 곡은 유대봉류 가야금 짧은 산조인데 산조는 우리나라 전통 음악 중에서 대표적인 기악 독주곡으로 느린 장단으로 시작해서 빠른 장단으로 연주를 한다.

보통 산조를 전체 다 연주를 하게 되면 1 시간 정도가 되지만 일반적으로 주어진 상황에 맞춰 짧게 연주를 한다. 각 악기의 산조에는 다양한 유파들이 있는데 스승으로부터 가락을 전수한 제자들이 기존 가락에서 변주를 하거나 다른 새로운 가락들을 첨가하면서 유파가 완성되었다.

2 번째 곡: ‘산행’은 작곡가 김영동이 법정 스님이 암자로 산행 가는 뒷모습을 보고 그 모습을 회상하며 만든 곡으로 가야금과 기타의 2중주곡이다. 이 곡은 명상음악으로 유명하며 오래전 ‘라디오 동의보감’에서 주제곡으로 알려졌다.

3 번째 곡은: 아리랑 2 중주. 아리랑은 대한민국의 무형문화유산, 유네스코 인류 무형 문화유산으로 등재되어있을 정도로 우리 나라의 대표적인 민요이다. 각 지역별로 그 지역 아리랑이 있지만, 오늘 연주하는 건 경기도 민요이면서 가장 보편화하여있는 아리랑이다.

Keywords: 가야금, 산조, 산행, 김영동, 아리랑

<English Abstract>

The gayagum is a traditional Korean zither-like string instrument with 12 strings, though some more recent variants have 18 or 25.

They are made from paulownia wood and chestnut. The strings are made from silk but some modern instrument are made from nylon. It was developed in the 6th century and the modern version dates from the 1890s.

It is probably the best known traditional Korean musical instrument.

1. **Sanjo, literally meaning 'scattered melodies,' is a style of traditional Korean music, involving an instrumental solo accompanied by drumming on the janggu, an hourglass-shaped drum. The art of sanjo is a real crystallization of traditional Korean melody and rhythm which may have been handed down by rote generation after generation. It was developed in 1890**
2. **2nd song is San-Heang (Hiking). Composer Kim Yeong-Dong. Composer Kim Young-dong is an indispensable part of the Korean popular music movement that has been actively developed since the 1970s. He has played a part in narrowing the gap between the public and Korean traditional music by releasing not only traditional Korean orchestral pieces but also movie theater dance music.**
3. **Arirang is a Korean folk song that is often considered to be the anthem of Korea. Arirang is included twice on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage list. There is an estimated 3,600 variations of 60 different versions of 'Arirang'. Titles of different versions of 'Arirang' are usually prefixed by their place of origin. Today we are playing the most pollutant Arirang, the Gyeonggi Province Arirang**

Keywords: gayagum, Sanjo, San-Heang (Hiking), Kim Yeong-Dong, Arirang

A Cross-Culture Comparative Study of Northeast Asian Community

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Abstract

Globalization has led to the revitalization and the revival of the local and geological identity consciousness that was gradually declined, to some extent, old ideology come out with new shapes. Ethnic identity , national identity and other issues are facing more complex situation and problems than ever before. To solve the political disputes under international atmosphere and tension existing in Northeast Asia, we must abandon the original single-mode construction of contemplated Economic Community, on the basis of full argument on the need to build the new ideas of "Cultural Economic Community" in Northeast Asia. Since the simple economic link is only to maintain the relationship between countries, it is necessary to establish a close network between countries and people, if there is the possibility, this network based on the mutual benefit in political, economic, cultural, religious, educational, science and technology and so on. In the study of the Northeast Asian Community, the dilemma of cross-cultural communication should be fully considered: language barrier in social communication; cultural barriers: differences in religious and cultural values; economic development level and the negative factors for timely assistance; unique social organizational structure, the overall social situation.

Based on the actual situation of each country in Northeast Asia and the comprehensive consideration of elements such as national culture history, inter-ethnic contact and exchanges, we should give full play to the close cultural and historical ties and the cultural identity of transnational people in the region as the regional multilateral relations exchange platform, and actively build the Northeast Asia "cultural and economic community", this is the possible path to smoothly solve the complex political disputes in this region.

Keywords: Northeast Asia, regional society, cross culture, identity , comparative Study

I. Introduction

Such issues as ethnic or national identity and national identity are not new, but these now have to face a more complicated situation and problems than those in the past. Just as William Wallace said that we lived in a challenging dilemma - that management increasingly became multi-level, complex institutional, and spatial dispersion of activities, while performance, loyalty, identity were rooted in the traditional ethnic, regional and national community.¹

Northeast Asia is in the eastern part of Eurasia strategic axis, being the convergence zone of regional conflicts and forces of such the world major powers as the United States, the P.R.C, Japan, and Russia. In the history of international relations, any situational changes in the Northeast Asia tend to affect the entire Asia-Pacific region and touch the interest nerve of those big powers, therefore check the entire world. And, for just that reason, OSCE and the ARF are the maturing regional integration mechanisms and effective today in Europe, Southeast Asia, while the Northeast Asia is still not completely out of the shadow of the Cold War, showing such characteristics as the coexistence of cooperation and conflict, confrontation and moderation. To this end, it is not only important to the countries within the region but also to have far-reaching significance to exploration of the new global order if we can study the status quo between the countries in the region, analyze its developmental trend, forecast its strategic tendencies, reconstruct regional order and establish a new mechanism conducive to sustainable development.

On the one hand, "The six-party talks" mechanism aiming to resolve the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula is itself very vulnerable at the beginning, and on the other, the geopolitical game breaking out among a few big powers (the United States, Russia, China, Japan) putting their respective national interests first, the political and military intervention from the U.S. too much in this region has to some extent been aggravating the instable situation of in the region. Because both South and North Korea have been holding a kind of confrontation and conflict attitude towards late "Tian'an ship" event, if the current trends go like this on the Korean Peninsula, a new arms race is going to be triggered, furthermore, the Korea-U.S. military exercises exacerbate the difficulties in the region's security. The researchers also examined in depth the security dilemma in Northeast Asia, proposing a plan of setting up security cooperation mechanism in Northeast Asia; they also had an analysis of security patterns composed by the major powers in Northeast Asia, especially of the American geo-strategic multilateral security system influence over Northeast Asia; they thought that to establish security in Northeast Asia should be culturally base on the establishment of new concept of security as well as rebuilding of the Northeast Asian identity. To establish regional security cooperation mechanism in Northeast Asia is an institutional guarantee of maintaining Northeast Asia security; the framework of the Beijing six-party talks on DPRK nuclear issue can be served as security cooperation mechanism in Northeast Asia.²

In the age of globalization, on the one hand, multilateral or bilateral relations and its trend of communication are becoming more obvious than before; the role of regional or local organizations is getting more and more prominent on the other. Like the United States, it on the one hand tries his best to have his political power strengthened, military force built up and economic force multiplied, such as leading the "NATO", setting up "United States, Canada, Mexico Free Trade Zone," on the other hand, it clings to the tradition of unilateralism, those many adherents who follow the puritanical

¹ William Wallace: "the Sharing of Sovereignty: the European Paradox", "Political Studies" No. 47, pp. 3, special issue, 1999, cited in David • Herder, Anthony • McGrew: "Globalization and Anti-globalization ", Chen Zhigang translated, Beijing, Social Sciences Academic Press, 2004, pp. 127.

² Liu Qincai: "Northeast Asian geopolitics and geo-strategic study of China", Tianjin People's Publishing House, 2007.

Anglo-Saxon cultural tradition oppose and reject multiculturalism and its values, emphasizing the importance of national identity on a state. American scholar Samuel Huntington, who strongly opposed multiculturalism, could be described as representative of conservatism. He criticized the Clinton administration's policy of multiculturalism, emphasized the importance of the national recognition of the U.S., and rejected the cultural diversity and numerous sources of culture, considering that the diversity of ethnic cultural identity would be reduced or undermined national identity of the whole nation. In international relations, he proposed collision and confrontation of Eastern and Western cultures; he also denied opportunity where the East meets the West.³ However, facing today's economic globalization, the powerful United States can not alone stick to the policy of unilateralism. Since the second half of 2008, subprime lending crisis occurred on the mainland of the U.S. influenced on the global financial industry made the arrogant Americans restless, and the American governments felt itself to be in a disgusting dilemma, having to ask for a hand from the other nations. Therefore, this kind of unilateral approach has already been questioned and outdated.

In increasingly globalization, guidelines as "regional mutual aid, global collaboration" have been accepted and recognized by those politicians and academia. Then from this point of view, in our efforts to give full play to the rich cultural resources and its historical traditions, straighten ethnic groups or nationalities mutual contacts and exchanges, enhance the appeal of cross-cultural identity in Northeast Asia, it is then of a very important theoretical and practical significance to construct "Northeast Asian Cultural Economy Community". Then how reasonably to guide ethnic identity and national identity of this region's cross-nation states, to establish cross-cultural identity of the beyond-nation-state remain to be an important and urgent research topic, only after the above problem is handled well can we talk about the concrete steps and implementation on how to build a "Northeast Asian Culture Economic Community".

II. Cultural Identity and Geopolitical Game: Ideal Northeast Asian Community

At present, there are three models of global regional cooperation: i.e. horizontal cooperation of European Union, vertical labor division of Northern America and functional regional cooperation of Asia-Pacific region. The first one is of industrialized countries (before the EU enlargement), among the members are small economic gaps, close political system, similar culture and other social values. And so, their transfer of sovereignty is comparatively easy, faster is developmental step of regional economic cooperation. And the second model is a newly established one, set up in 1994; the member states have two parts: i.e. developed and developing countries, there exists some economic development gap between them; the third one, established in 1989, is practical results of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Driven by market forces, the Asia Pacific region spontaneously carried out, with the basis on the vertical division and practice of open and functional regional economic cooperation.⁴

Tentative plan of Northeast Asian Community is a totally new mode, which is a complex of multiple perspectives and multiple dimensions based on geography, culture, economy, politics, security and some others. However, the elite in politics, business, academia of China, Japan and South Korea and

³ Samuel. Huntington, "Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity" Chen Kexiong translated, Xinhua Publishing House, 2005

⁴ Li Jing, "Reflections on economic cooperation between Shantung Peninsula and Korea," "Shantung Economic", No. 3, 2004.

other Northeast Asian countries holds different understanding of the Northeast Asian Community without any optimistic attitudes towards its prospects. And generally speaking, there are two representative views about it: i.e. developmental ideas of Northeast Asian "Economic Community" and Northeast Asian "cultural community" This article analyses and refutes both the imperfections and non-operability of the above two communities in sequence. The ultimate goal for doing this is to build up a totally new idea ----- Northeast Asian "Cultural Economic Community", which is not only possible but also strongly operational in today's world as well.

1. Concept and practice of Northeast Asian "Economic Community"

1) In terms of constitute of Northeast Asian regional "Economic Community", we first of all should give priority to the relations of positive interaction in economic and trade among China, Japan and South Korea.

Lu Jianren, Research Fellow of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences concluded that "Northeast Asian Economic Community" can be defined as "an institutional organization implemented by the regional economic integration in economic co-operation and mixing together within the counties of Northeast Asia". It is quite different from that of the current functional regional economic cooperation in Northeast Asia. Both are co-existed instead of included. For the time being, we cannot find a mature condition for all the countries in this region to participate in such an economic community, in other words, China, Japan and South Korea have to go first. Therefore, the Northeast Asian Economic Community in the near run belongs to China, Japan and South Korea Economic Community. Northeast Asian Economic Community and the East Asian Community can be promoted at the same time.⁵

At first, Japan is not only one of the very few Asian developed countries, but is the key trading partner as well as China's and South Korea's close neighbor. In the construction of Northeast Asian Economic Community, Japan should be important participant. Community building includes political, economic, cultural and many other contents. Secondly, Sino-ROK cooperative partnership relations should break through the existing framework of bilateral relations in order to build the Community of regional economic cooperation, gathering together of the collective strength. At present, the Northeast Asia multilateral economic cooperation and integration economic cooperation lags far behind the other parts of the world. Sino-Russia and Sino-Japanese relations are not stable. Economic and non-economic factors, on the one hand, is usually subject to the development of economic cooperation in Northeast Asia, on the other hand reflects the importance of economic cooperation of the Sino-ROK relations in Northeast Asia. Building Northeast Asian Community is not just mission and strategy of relations between China and ROK but also an important measure of Japanese economic status in Northeast Asia. Mutual economic dependence relations coexisted among the three sides of China, Japanese and ROK. In order to realize common prosperity and development in Northeast Asia, we should not overlook the important role of Japan, on the contrary, should fully motivate the enthusiasm of the Japanese. **Case1:** Strengthening geography, promoting regional cooperation in Northeast Asia, and building of "Economic Community".

Xinhua Harbin: The fifth meeting of Local Government Association in Northeast Asia was convened on September 7, 2004. 27 local governments and 112 representatives from six countries ----China, North Korea, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, and Russia are in Harbin to discuss the development of Northeast Asia. The meeting will discuss and decide some major issues concerning exchanges and cooperation in Northeast Asia, and the development of local government association. In depth

⁵ Lu Jian-ren: "On the Northeast Asian Economic Community", "Contemporary Asia-Pacific," No. 6, 2005, pp. 44-51.

research into development issues between the various members and the local governments, hear reports on the work of the special committee in the past two years, and also discuss and vote on the Federation emblem, the determination of the permanent secretariat system, the location, the term of office, the amendments to its constitution and some other issues. Since the establishment of Local Government Association of Northeast Asia in 1996, it has successfully held four meetings, which has played an active role in promoting the region's exchanges and cooperation, mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of this region and the local governments. It is understood that the first half of 2004, trade volume of China with Japan, South Korea, Russia's was about 78.28 billion, 41.32 billion and 9.45 billion U.S. dollars respectively, and up 28.6%, 50.5%, 39.1% compared with the same period of the past. China's trade volume with North Korea and Mongolia has also maintained a good momentum of growth. ⁶

2) In the Construction of Northeast Asian "Economic Community", a focus should be put to the economic cooperation between countries of the region and the demands of economic interests.

Economic Community is realistic part of "the Community." Industry cooperation of The Economic Community is of its distinctive advantages, the government mainly does not require negotiation, and the principal parts of the cooperation is mainly specific industries and enterprises, what the government only needs to do is to create a good environment in order to stimulate the enthusiasm of industries and business. Therefore, the Economic Community of industrial cooperation should be the testing ground and the pilot. The figures also fully showed the prospects of the economic cooperation and the economic benefits joined in the regional community, which is the primary target to maintain stable operation and long-term development of the Community. For example: South Korean's investment in China showed a rapid increase trend since China and South Korea established diplomatic relations in 1992. Trade volume between China and ROK from five billion U.S. dollars when the diplomatic relations established in 1992 to 100 billion U.S. dollars in 2005, and in 2006, the trade volume reached 134.31 billion U.S. dollars, till then, China has become South Korea's largest trading partner, while South Korea has become China's second largest suppliers of imports. In 2004, the trade volume of China's trade with Japan reached 168 billion U.S. dollars, as for the first time exceeded Japan-US trade volume, China has become Japan's largest trading partner. The total trade volume between China and Japan reached 207.36 billion U.S. dollars in 2006. ⁷ Some researchers observed that China's geo-economic strategy is with China, Japan and South Korea at the core to establish the Northeast Asian economic zone, and then establish the cooperation economies including Russia and Mongolia through such ways as the free trade area, common market. China's overall geo-strategic goal is to strengthen good-neighborly relations with Northeast Asian countries, develop bilateral economic and trade interactions of equal and mutual benefits, maintain regional peace and stability, promote regional economic development and prosperity and to create a good geo-political environment for the realization of China's peaceful development strategy. ⁸

At the end of the 20th century, with the prevalence of the two waves of globalization and regionalization and Northeast Asia's rapid economic development, people come to regard Northeast Asia as an entire region. It is based on the following aspects: first, since the end of the Cold War, to some extent, national relations in Northeast Asia have eased and improved, the pressure of political and security aspects of substantially reduced, economic, cultural and personnel exchanges have

⁶ Gao Zengshuang, "Over One Hundred Representatives from Six Countries in Northeast Asia to discuss its development in Harbin", <http://news.sohu.com/20040907/n221927361.shtml>, 2007-7-6

⁷ He Jian, Chief-editor, "A Study on Security Cooperation Mechanism in Northeast Asia," Northeast Financial University Press, 2008, pp. 14

⁸ Liu Caiqing, "A Study on Northeast Asian Geo-politics and Chinese Geo-strategy", Tianjin People's Publishing House, 2007.

increasingly had more contact with one another among the countries, all these objectively stimulate the cultural and economic exchanges among countries. Secondly, the needs of real policy of political, economic, security and cultural exchanges within the region serves as a dominant factor to promote the exchanges, trade and commerce among the countries. Especially, China, Japan and South Korea's economic development needs them to work together, which helps the concept and model of regional cooperation come into being, such as, Tumen joint development plan, the Yellow Sea-Bohai economic circle, the Northeast Asian economic zone and other regional cooperation model appear in public one after another. In addition, sensitive political issues and strategic position of the Northeast Asian region contribute to a propellant to promote closer regional cooperation and to strengthen exchanges. Such sensitive issues as the Korean Peninsula nuclear crisis and the oil strategy among international political and economic structure no doubt increased the frequent exchanges and cooperation in this region.

3) The geopolitical game and its impact on the basis of Northeast Asian Historical as well as current considerations

Researchers believe that we can learn from many lessons when we reflect on 3 states' China, Japan, Russia (Soviet Union) history of the relationship in the 20th century, summing up as follows: two-top oppresses one weak, historical facts eloquently prove that the "the slow ones get hit. Only to be independent is among strong neighboring countries, it is the only way out. Relations between the countries only relying on "friendship" can not last long; "compromise" is absolutely basic to conducting inter-state relations. We should bear in mind that such a lesson as "Peace will benefit both sides, while war would mean peril to both parties", abide by the principle of building friendly relationships and partnerships with its neighbors.⁹ The researchers also analyzed that the Russian's policy on Korean peninsula has experienced the two basic stages, i.e. "pro-South while con-North" and "balance North-South", since its independence in general. Russian adjustment about peninsula policy is closely linked with its overall diplomatic strategy: Russian upheld a policy of "one-sided" and "pro-Western" foreign policy at the beginning of its independence. Since the mid-90's of 20th century Russia began to adjust to laying equal stress on the eastern and western policy, i.e. the "double-headed eagle" diplomatic strategy. The peninsula policy goal that Russia pursued was to promote economic development in Far East and Siberia regions through active participation in economic integration in Northeast Asia, at same time, to highlight its political power status and to seek the restoration of past glory through active participation in solving the DPRK nuclear issue.¹⁰

Some researchers thought that the prospects for regional cooperation in Northeast Asia could not be optimistic. In particular, They are to be seen in the regional security cooperation, such as the Korean Peninsula nuclear issue and its difficulty, deadlock of lacking politically mutual trust, the woeful predicament of Japan's transition, the dilemma of the United States' cooperation and curbing, all these problems have been affected the current building of Northeast Asian Community.¹¹ In which the Korea Peninsula Issue is now the most important factor affecting the social stability of Northeast Asia. "Tian'an ship" Incident occurred in 2010 was one of a larger dispute between Korea and the DPRK, and the US-South Korea Yellow Sea joint military exercises holding in July and August of 2010 in the East China Sea have seriously affected the stability in the region. Continuous fermentation of "Tian'an ship" Incident and the United States continued to exert political and military pressure out

⁹ Chen Jing-yan: "The Historical Experiences of Sino -Japan -Russia (the Soviet Union) Trilateral Relations during 20th Century " "NORTHEAST ASIA FORUM" in June, 2005

¹⁰ Xu Wenji: " Russian Korean Peninsula Policy Readjustment and Goal Structure ", "RUSSIAN, CENTRAL ASIAN & EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES" in March 2005

¹¹ He Jian, Chief-editor, "A Study on Security Cooperation Mechanism in Northeast Asia," Northeast Financial University Press, 2008, pp. 24-26

of its globally strategic considerations on the countries in Northeast Asia, to a certain extent, all these issues might have made the results destroyed that "six-party talks" after six rounds of tough negotiations have reached since August 2003.

After the "Cold War" ended, the United States regards China as a potential security breach, an enemy, and a rival in the Asia-Pacific region, thus, in the Northeast Asian it tried to curb the rise of China on the issue of politics, economics and security. Around China's borders, the United States takes the strategy of consolidating at every step, surrounding China and splitting and disintegrating China's alliances. In the east of China, the United States strengthens military alliance with Japan and South Korea with the missile defense system (TMD) as the core, building its solid US-Japan -South Korea "Asian Strategic Alliances." In the north of China, the United States imposes political, economic, and military infiltration upon Mongolia. In China's northwestern border, the U.S. sets up his Northwest defense line in control of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asia. In addition, the United States meddled in frequent disputes in the South Pacific region in recent years, for example, to win over Vietnam and the Philippines and some other countries, purposely instigating them to stir up troubles with China. Besides, the United States concluded a strategic partnership with India, trying to check and balance China by Indian forces. Northeast Asia is core area of the Sino-US game in the future, and Russia strategically has its bigger ambitions in Northeast Asia, the situation of Northeast Asia's security will be worrying, then so-called tentative plan of building Northeast Asian "Economic Community" also has more imaginary Utopian-style.

I believe that, in Northeast Asia the problem should first be solved is "to increase mutual trust, build sense of geographical identity", as is essential. But how to achieve it in Northeast Asia? The first question is that all the countries in which take part should fully realize the focus is on the establishment of the Northeast Asia regional identity under the context of globalization, which also happens to be the best breakthrough point that can successfully resolve the conflicts of the history and reality in the region. On the one hand, it bases on the geopolitical game and impact of the history and reality of Northeast Asia; on the other, the games and the mutual containing of the big Powers has given a very slim possibility of building "Economic Community" in Northeast Asia. Moreover, regional "community" just out of the consideration of economic interests is not a long-term solution, forasmuch, some scholars suggested that a "cultural community" could be tried to establish in Northeast Asia with the geo-cultural identity of beyond-nation-state as a tie which linked the region into organization system of the local community. However, it is proved that it is neither real nor operative without the economic trade or interest demands among the countries within this region if only relying on the cultural identity of beyond-nation-state to construct the Northeast Asian Community.

2. The Concept and Practice of "the Northeast Asian Cultural Community"

1) Based on culture-oriented assumption of transnational cultural identity of beyond- nation-state "culture community". In recent years, the international academic circles began to pay attention to the significance, paths and prospects of the Northeast Asian Community, from the cultural perspective. For example, Zheng Zhengshuk, South Korean scholar has put forward the concept of building the era of Northeast Asia from the cultural community in this region, he began with the concept of Northeast Asian Cultural Community, compared the geographical boundaries of Northeast Asia, and cultural concepts and their application, and also thoroughly discuss the theory of cultural community, as is quite convincing and representative.¹² Some researchers think that in the 21st century the

¹² Zheng zhengshuk, South Korea' s Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative-Its theoretical background and framework, Oruem Press, 2006.P125-154.

Northeast Asian culture will meet some particular opportunities, problems and challenges. Northeast Asian countries should transcend state-centric model of understanding, and actively build the universal values of oriental geographical concepts complex. The general characteristics of Northeast Asian Culture are the basis for cultural integration in Northeast Asia. Regional integration and regional security cooperation are the internal dynamics of cultural integration in Northeast Asia, and the cultural reconstruction of the global political and the new trend of cultural integration are the external motivation.¹³

Korean scholar Jin Hongming said: "Northeast Asia gained new opportunities to build its own cultural circle. Therefore, it is not the one adaptable to the needs of the past Chinese circles, but to the needs of Northeast Asian Culture today, nor is the independent cultural field which corresponds with the world mainstream culture, but is a cultural circle with it as a base to win the being value."¹⁴ And some other scholars recognized that it is necessary to build cultural community in Northeast Asia, but it is also very difficult. Though China, North and South Korea and Japan can share Confucian cultural background in history, there are different national and cultural particularities.¹⁵

2) The historical and real puzzledom of influencing on "cultural community" of Northeast Asia

From the perspective of history and reality, there will be the following contradictions and dilemmas affecting the smooth building of Northeast Asia "cultural community" (1) grievances accumulated in history and questions left over by history in Northeast Asia, (2) territorial disputes between each country in the region; (3) the security crisis in Northeast Asia; (4) ideological differences and the opposite situation between them; (5) striving for Resources and economic interests. If the above five issues can not be settled in advance, it will become difficult in probing into the founding of Northeast Asia "Community"

Professor Fang Haofan of Yanbian University thought that the Northeast Asian "cultural community" was just a theoretical issue for the time being, but the topic will be inevitable to be faced in the region with the development of the globalization. But three difficulties will be met in building Northeast Asia "cultural community": that is, historical attitudes and realities; the dominant power of the "Community"; burgeoning "nationalist consciousness." Whether these questions can reach agreement or not will affect the building of Northeast Asian "cultural community". Northeast Asian Community cannot be established without the help of such a binder as regionalism and cultural entities¹⁶

After the Cold War ended, the situation on the Korean Peninsula is markedly easing off, but the state of hostility has not been lifted yet between North and South Korea. The Korean Peninsula has been influencing by geopolitical checks of Northeast Asia and big power relations, and the issue is clouded with the US-ROK military alliance and the U. S. troops in South Korea.

As to the North-South relations, South Korean President Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun had respectively proposed the "Sunshine Policy" and "peace and prosperity policy", actively carrying out

13 XIE Gui-juan, Analysis of the Driving Force of Culture Mixing in Northeast Asia in 21st Century—Taking cultures in China, Japan and Korea as the angle of view. JOURNAL OF YANBIAN UNIVERSITY(SOCIAL SCIENCE EDITION) No. 5, 2007, pp. 16-21

14 [Korea] Kim hong myeong, "Northeast Asian Cultural Circle' s construction and Sino-Korean Relation" , "Contemporary Korea" ,No. 4, 1997

15 Li Changshan, "Construction of Northeast Asian Cultural Community" Dongjiang Journal, No. 1, 2007, pp. 11-13

16 Fang Haofan, "A Thinking on Northeast Asian 'Culture Community' ——the Possibility of Building China-Japan-Korea Culture Community" , "The collection of the theses of Confucianism and East Asian Culture International Academic Conference" , Aug.1, 2006

the detente policy toward the DPRK and maintaining the Korean peninsula's peace and stability. North Korea's government fully developed North-South relations National by using feelings of the Korean as a link, trying to divide the US-ROK alliance to achieve the maximum living space. And now Korean War ended over half a century, it was an important condition for the peninsula to achieve peace through the signing "peace agreement" and completely lifting of state of war, while, North Korean nuclear crisis is an important factor affecting the regional peace and stability in Northeast Asia. Beijing six-party talks on Korean nuclear issue upholding the principle of a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula reached a broad consensus in peacefully resolving North Korean nuclear issue through negotiations. That the United States abandoned its hostile policy toward the DPRK and promoted the US-DPRK and Japan-DPRK normalization of relations will create favorable conditions to solve the DPRK nuclear issue.¹⁷

Case2: CJK Triangle coordinates development, regional cooperation steps forward

January 14, 2007, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, South Korean President Roh Moo-hyun attended the seventh meeting of China, Japan and South Korea leaders, held in Cebu, the Philippines. It is agreed that China, Japan and South Korea are important countries in Asia; they bear great responsibilities for the maintenance of regional peace, stability and prosperity. To strengthen the tripartite cooperation for the future not only conformed to fundamental and long-term interests of the people of the three states, but also was of great significance to the regional peace, stability and prosperity. Japan and South Korea cooperation is an important part of East Asian cooperation. In East Asia cooperation, tripartite cooperation was richer in content than before and more perfect in mechanism, and it also has a positive effect on cooperation of each of the three countries with ASEAN ("10 +1"), and with ASEAN ("10 +3"), on the East Asia Summit and even on building of East Asian community.¹⁸

Nowadays, East Asia has established so far the institutional framework of ASEAN, "10 +1", "10 +3", the ASEAN Regional Forum, East Asia Summit, which are the results of common interests and institutionalization (or in the process of institutionalization). With East Asia coming into the era of the building of the system and the search for identity, suspicion and mistrust between countries will be reduced, common interests will become the basis and starting point for the regional countries to deliberate questions

Northeast Asia is in a very special political and social environment. It has its own particularities in politics, economy, cultural, space of security besides those of geographical distribution. There are six countries in the Northeast Asia: China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Russia, and Mongolia, the above six countries share a lot of commonness and common historical traces regardless of whether vertical historical connection or lateral communication between countries. However, a significant force can not be ignored now as to the development of Northeast Asia, that is, the United States often indicates the presence of itself in this place. These seven powers in Northeast Asia start game and compete for the various demands in political space, resource allocation, economic interests, diplomatic channels, national security, which makes the region's political, economic and security environment extremely complicated, from another point of view, it also added to the difficulty of building community in Northeast Asia, to the delay of building Northeast Asian Community, and also to all sorts of possibilities and variability.

¹⁷ Liu Qincai: "Northeast Asian geopolitics and geo-strategic study of China", Tianjin People's Publishing House, 2007.

¹⁸ <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/chn/zxxx/t288986.htm> 2007-7-6

III. The New Ideas: Construction of Northeast Asia "Culture of the Economic Community" in the 21st Century

Learning from the above academics, we may find that advantage region of the Northeast Asia Economic Community lies in the Northeast, North, and Inner Mongolia of China, either in terms of the total amount of economic trade and investment or investment structure, that is because of the advantage region in culture and location in this area. North Korea, South Korea and Japan, Mongolia, Russia and other countries have more or less some geographical and cultural ties. If we look at it from the angel of culiuregenie, the countries in Northeast Asian Economic Community have inextricably had historical connection with China. They also have had a history of the close relationship between human populations and ethnic interaction, cultural contacts and mutual exchanges.

In Northeast China, Inner Mongolia, many ethnic minorities have close ties and exchanges with neighboring countries and people in history.

Such as Ewenki, Oroqen, Daur, Hezhen, North Korea and Mongolian in Northeast China belong to cross-border ethnic groups, they have close contacts and frequent contacts with people of neighboring countries, they also share many common ground in the cultural identity. Generally speaking, oneness of ethnic identity and cultural identity, to a certain extent, serves as the impetus and motive force for the further development in promoting regional cultural and economic communities. Social Joint efforts of this kind of national identity and cultural identity further promote development and improvement of the Northeast Asian cultural and economic community. However, Arif-Derek observed that the economic, social and cultural convergence in the world, just as Marx commented, was a precocious sign of his times, it will be shown at the right points after all. At the same time, there is also a fracture process in parallel; as far as the world is concerned, it takes place under the absence of the capitalist center, while as far as the region is concerned, it takes places when the fracture of the production process gets into the region beyond or below the national areas and local circumstances. With the super-national regional organizations in the global level showing this fault, locality within the same nation competing for the path of holding local capital will essentially be shown in the local level.¹⁹

But I believe that under the conditions of the existing intricately international atmosphere and tension in Northeast Asia, we must abandon the past single mode tentative plan of building the Economic Community in order to settle the political disputes in Northeast Asia, and there is a need to structure new ideas of Northeast Asia Cultural and Economic Community, based on adequate scientific argumentation. Because simple economic links only can maintain simple relations between countries, wherever possible, it is necessary to establish the close network system between nations and people, as is out of bilaterally or multilaterally political, economic, cultural, religious, educational, scientific and technological interaction, on the basis of mutual equality and mutual benefit. If we take the physical circumstances of each country and national culture history, people contacts and exchanges and some other factors in the Northeast Asian region into consideration, and if we can give the full rein to cultural and historical close ties and cross-national cultural identity of this region's trans-border ethnicities, as is served as regionally multilateral exchange platform, then we may actively

¹⁹ Arif Dirlik: "*After the Revolution* ", Wang Ning, etc. translated, China Social Sciences Press, 1999, pp. 16

construct Northeast Asia "Cultural Economic Community", only like this can we get a path which might smoothly solve complicatedly political disputes in this region.

1. Definition of Northeast Asian "the Economic Community of Culture" and its relevant concepts

1) Define of the geographical location of Northeast Asian "Community"

From the geographic point of view, the traditional community of Northeast Asia includes the following regions: China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Mongolia, Russia, these six neighboring countries. Many scholars also support this classification which model can ensure the sense of geographical identity based on geographical ties.

2) Define in terms of the "Economic Community":

From the perspective of the Economic Community²⁰, it basically covers the range of the traditional geographical distribution, but still there are some different characteristics in that. Such bilateral Trade and Commercial Agreements as, "China and South Korea, China and Japan, South Korea and Japan, Japan and Russia, Russia and South Korea, China and North Korea, China and Mongolia, Russia and Mongolia, Japan and Mongolia, South Korea and Mongolia" and so on. Such bilateral or multilateral economic and trade agreements may ensure recognition of the community of economic interests and the Community on the basis of mutual benefits. In terms of the current progress, the hard core of the Northeast Asian Economic Community is the economic and trade exchanges among China, Japan and Korea, which may be a real foundation to have Northeast Asian Economic Community that come true.

3) Define in terms of the "cultural community":

From an angle of the cultural consistency or homogeneity, the Northeast Asian Community should include: China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Mongolia and the Russian Far East, the region's ethnic or cultural proximities can sufficiently sustain the sense of regional identity among the peoples, and ensure to form a cultural identity beyond nation-state, among which, "China, Japan and South Korea" is not only the core of cultural community, but is the main part of cultural exchanges and cultural interaction as well.

4) Define in terms of the "security community":

By proceeding from the reality, the assumption of the Northeast Asian Community, the safety factor is critical to the confrontation, for there exist many security and territorial disputes between North and South Korea, U.S. and the DPRK, Japan and North Korea, Russia and Japan, Korea and Japan, China and Japan including the political facedown between North Korea and the South Korea. Therefore, from the "security community" point of view, including China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Mongolia, Russia, the United States these seven countries, because of their different interests, there are several concentric circles and the cross-circle, some checks and balances while others are game one another. Such as the Korea-US-Japan military alliance, China and North Korean, Russian and Mongolia, the United States and Mongolia, and the United States is a very indispensable pole

²⁰ Jung Dong Park, Northeast Asia and the Trends of the 21st Century: An Essay on the Northeast Asian Economic Community, Journal of Asia-Pacific Affairs, Vol.4, 2002, pp.71-85.

beyond the geography in Northeast Asia, but also it will have a major impact on the development of Northeast Asian Community.

5) Define in terms of the "Cultural Economic Community" :

By the measures of the cultural, economic double standard, culture is the basis of community, and economy is the power source and driving force of the forming community and, it is a requisite qualification for the establishment of the Community to build sense of geographical identity and cultural identity beyond the nation-state. From this perspective, the community consists of: China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Mongolia, Russian Far East, the core of which is "Japan and South Korea", together with a few of concentric circles and overlapping FTA framework systems based on bilateral or trilateral economic and trade agreement. In this classification mode, the three traditional countries of East Asia "China, Japan and South Korea" is both the core of cultural community and that of the Economic Community. I feel that that if we would increase the role and the appropriate weight in which "Japan and South Korea" play in the community, it would be necessary properly to dilute the role of United States play in the "Cultural Economic Community", while adding another dimension of checks and balances ---- Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which can give full play to economic, cultural, political and other multi-level exchanges, mutual trust and interaction between the ASEAN and Northeast Asian community.

1. The principles to abide by in building Northeast Asia" Cultural and Economic Community"

1) The principle of cultural commonality.

The countries in Northeast Asia have particularly been sharing cultural commonality and similarity. The principle of cultural commonality mainly reflects in the religious, culture and ethic together with universal values and some other aspects. In religion, besides the Russian Orthodox, the other countries such as China, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, Mongolia etc, more or less were affected by Buddhist / Tibetan Buddhism, Taoism. In Folk belief, Shamanism was once vastly and popularly practiced by its people in Northeast Asia, and even today shamanistic traditional practices can be seen in this place; Confucian ethics with the same origins and different branches were reflected in the cultural concepts, values, and social ethics. Confucianism's influence in Northeast Asia, Korea, Japan, and China is far-reaching and significant, and even infiltrated all social aspects. From the national territory of Northeast Asia we can see, China, Japan, Korea, South Korea and Mongolia without dispute are the East circles from the geographic sense, much influenced by Chinese culture and constituting the mainstream of regional culture. Russia has a clear "land bridge culture "with a double feature, which enhances the diversity of cultural differences within Northeast Asia, but not irreconcilable "clash of civilizations." Collectivism of Asian values is a solid foundation of a core value system of Northeast Asian countries, but also the key concept in the construction of Northeast Asia "Cultural Economic Community" and adhesive agent in the construction of Northeast Asian regional identity.

For this reason, the researchers also pointed out that it was "sameness" in the integrity of the macroscopic mainstream in Northeast Asia, that is, the same root and the same background; and the "differences" in the separability of the micro-branch, that is, the cultural development individuality that brought about regionally enormous creativity in Northeast Asia. Different nations in Northeast Asia learned from each other, drew lessons from each other, merged with each other in the historical

development process, and finally cultivated the same cultural core and retained the individuality of their own.²¹

On the whole, the foundation of shared culture among the various ethnic groups in Northeast Asia is stable; especially, the Confucian tradition and ideology sink deep into the hearts of the people. China, Japan, Korea, North Korea and Mongolia in Northeast Asia, Chinese Confucianism and traditional ethical tradition has a profound masses base, among which are such ideas as "benevolence, righteousness, etiquette, faithfulness, wisdom," and as collective values of "considering the world as a family", that is, "to cultivate the moral self, regulate the family, maintain the state rightly and make all peaceful", and in terms of ultimate value principle of pursuit of "harmony" and "moderate", together with "harmony between man and nature", they have commonly cultural heritage and shared values. All these shared value systems and cultural judgment can help to build a community based on shared cultural, moral values, the parties participated in the community can effectively communicate and meet each other's wants.

2) The construction of the Northeast Asian Economic Cultural Community is based on principle featuring mutual benefit, mutual support in the regional political, economic, social and cultural development.

In short, the construction of community is favorable toward integrating their divided forces of within the region, calmly dealing with challenges and competition brought by globalization and other regional groups. However, there are still full of rejects and disputes, game and compromise in the community. The researchers analyzed that the revitalization of northeast old industrial base is a major regional development strategy. To achieve this strategic objective, it must be based on reality, give play to original advantage, increase the momentum of opening-up, and comprehensively apply such means as structural adjustment, technical renovation, system innovation. It is of great significance strongly to cooperate with the neighboring countries, especially with Japan and South Korea's regional economic cooperation. Implementation of the strategy for revitalizing northeast old industrial bases has created new favorable conditions and rare opportunities for strengthening economic and trade exchanges with the Japanese and Korean enterprises and for fully giving play to mutual complementarity and geographical advantage with Japan and South Korea in this area, which may build a new platform for China to cooperate with Japan and South Korea in economy and trade. Meanwhile, that Japanese and Korean enterprises participate in the Northeast Old Industrial Base, on the one hand, can contribute to the revitalization of Northeast China's economy, on the other, but also can be conducive to Japan's and Korea's own economic development ---- to promote economic development of Japan's and South Korea's relative backward regions----- promoting their internationalization, zooming in economic gap in their own countries, boosting coordinately economic development, enhancing their competitive edge and enlarge mainland market as well.²²

3) The principle of Intergrowth.

"Intergrowth" refers to the mutual relations that the people from different ethnic groups and different nations have and live together in a mutual benefit way and that cannot survive without either of them. South Korean scholar, Lee Seung-ryul put forward the idea of mutually beneficial intergrowth, basing on the following: The building of Northeast Asian Economic Community requires to create a three-dimensional cooperation in tune with coordination, a symbiotic world in which countries within this

²¹ He Jian, Chief-editor, "A Study on Security Cooperation Mechanism in Northeast Asia," Northeast Financial University Press, 2008, pp. 16-17

²² LI Yu-tan; CHEN Zhi-heng, "Revitalizing the Old Industrial Base of the Northeast of China and the Regional Economic Cooperation of China, Japan and Korea", Jilin University Journal Social Sciences Edition, Feb, 2005

region manufacturing, finance, information industry and cultural and so on can match together and merge with one another, the differences within the countries in the language, culture, religion, organizational structures and others can be overcome and surpassed, this is a new road of the future development of Northeast Asia.²³

Researchers believe that we can learn from many lessons when we reflect on 3 states' China, Japan, Russia (Soviet Union) history of the relationship in the 20th century, summing up as follows: two-top oppresses one weak, historical facts eloquently prove that the "the slow ones get hit. Only to be independent is among strong neighboring countries, it is the only way out. Relations between the countries only relying on "friendship" can not last long; "compromise" is absolutely basic to conducting inter-state relations. We should bear in mind that such a lesson as "Peace will benefit both sides, while war would mean peril to both parties", abide by the principle of building friendly relationships and partnerships with its neighbors.²⁴ The researchers also examined in depth the security dilemma in Northeast Asia, proposing a plan of setting up security cooperation mechanism in Northeast Asia; they also had an analysis of security patterns composed by the major powers in Northeast Asia, especially of the U.S. geo-strategic multilateral security system influence over Northeast Asia; they thought that to establish security in Northeast Asia should be culturally based on the establishment of new concept of security as well as rebuilding of the Northeast Asian identity. To establish regional security cooperation mechanism in Northeast Asia is an institutional guarantee of maintaining Northeast Asia security; the framework of the Beijing six-party talks on DPRK nuclear issue served as security cooperation mechanism in Northeast Asia²⁵.

2. The path analysis building "Northeast Asia Cultural Economic Community"

Based on the above three principles, all the countries in the region start from their histories and their realities fully appreciate the significance of abiding by the principle of intergrowth towards national relationships in the region, together with state relations, politics, economic development. The discussion over similarity or commonality in theoretical perspective has great differences compared with that of reality, the real difference may surpass the analysis of oneness or convergence, and then it can be said that tremendous differences in academic research oneness and real culture practice often account for a plain purpose, in other words, it is social constructivism that plays an important role. Discussion itself with common culture as its base in Northeast Asia belongs to original intention of the theory of social identity. However, our research intention is to outline a kind of possibility to foster "Cultural Economic Community" and its trend from this social constructive identity. This is the original intention to discuss a kind of geopolitical sense, its origin cause and its development in a global scene.

1) Possible conditions to form Northeast Asia "Cultural and Economic Community"

From the development trend of world politics and world history, the gradually strengthening regional communications and the tentative attempts to build the community are coming out, and the trend is increasingly evident. The power of culture can be seen from the birth of the "EU", it was the similar or related European culture tradition among these countries that led to set up a large regional economic community. In the course of EU development, cultural history based on common historical

²³ [Korea] Lee Seung-yul, "the times of co-existence: of a new road map for the development of Northeast Asia," World Knowledge Press, 2005

²⁴ CHEN Jing-yan: "The Historical Experiences of Sino-Japan-Russia (the Soviet Union) Trilateral Relations during 20th Century" "Northeast Asia Forum" in June, 2005

²⁵ Liu Caiqing, "A Study on Northeast Asian Geo-politics and Chinese Geo-strategy", Tianjin People's publishing House, 2007.

memory and cultural identity became a strong lifeline for European Union, so it was with "ASEAN". And "NATO" is only a political, military, short-term alliance, which members, for their own sake, lack of comprehensively emotional identification towards the community. Such a military and political alliance only can be taken advantage of each other with limited effectiveness

Only if the following conditions should first be possessed in the formation of Northeast Asia cultural Community can the Community develop smoothly. These factors include: the policy will and cooperation among the governments within the region, coordination system and organization, cultural identity of cross-national states, geographical identity, interaction and sharing of social capital, and non-governmental economic and cultural exchanges and sharing, etc. South Korean scholars believe that the possible conditions in the formation of Northeast Asia cultural Community may include: policy will, coordination system, understanding of culture and identity, positive social capital and its uses, etc.²⁶ Though there are some differences in understanding and representation of community between Chinese and the Korean scholars, they can reach consensus on cultural understanding and its role, at the same time also they have identical understanding of the importance of cultural exchange and collaboration system.

2) Model selection in building Northeast Asia "the Economic Community of Culture"

Jin Xide from Chinese Academy of Social Sciences believes East Asia Cooperation will all the time face the following choices from the macroscopic view: ought it to promote functional cooperation first, or to give priority to building regional economic and security cooperation mechanism? There are four different ideas on East Asia cooperation in a specific way. (1) First carrying out economic cooperation, then putting political and security cooperation before cultural field cooperation; (2) Putting political and security cooperation before the other fields; (3) Economic and political, and security cooperation in parallel; (4) Putting the building of cultural community before that of other areas'.²⁷ He holds that the building of current East Asian community is in the early stages of economic integration from a practical point of view. Therefore, the East Asian cooperation is a far cry to real political, security, and cultural integration. It seems that our community's future is unreachable from his analysis and arguments, there are still some scholars who share such views in Japan and South Korea. It is as if the politics, security and economy were the most important factors in the region, only when the stable economic community was build can the cultural community came into being. Korean scholars seems to quite agree with the opinion of "cultural community" as to the understanding of Northeast Asian Community, besides, such as the opinion of "cultural association (related)", the opinion of super-national community and the opinion of the future-oriented community and so on. However, the aim is still to lay stress on cultural exchanges and mutual political trust, and on rebuilding the sense of cross-cultural identity beyond the nation-state.²⁸

I believe that because the Northeast Asian region has its own special history and reality, any idea to construct Northeast Asian Regional Community will exceptionally encounter strong resistance, and any regional changes will exert influence on the balance and stability in this region. But we can not doubt that there is some possibility to have the community come into being in the future just because of the involved reality in politics, security, economy within the region, nor can we disregard of the appeal and the common cultural base in its history and reality as greatest common divisor in this area.

²⁶ Zheng Zhengshuk, South Korea' s Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative-Its theoretical background and framework, Oruem Press, 2006.P125-154.

²⁷ Jin Xide, " Progress, Problems and Prospects of East Asian Cooperation ", "World Economics and Politics", 2009 No. 1, pp. 49-55 pages

²⁸ Zheng zhengshuk, South Korea' s Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative-Its theoretical background and framework, Oruem Press, 2006.P125-154.

On the contrary, in the building of the Northeast Asian Community, first we need to further cultural exchanges and interaction between countries, to promote non-governmental friendly exchanges and mutual understanding, to rebuild the Northeast Asia geographical identity through a common culture based on cross-ethnic national identity, then construct the Northeast Asia regional identity and cultural identity, Furthermore, strengthen economic and trade exchanges on that basis, enhance political mutual trust among the countries and security protective mechanism. Thus, it was not as some scholars have discussed above, there is no need to choose from one of those four models in the construction of Northeast Asia Community, but to build with a center around it, "It is an effective way to "work together and pursue several strategies at once." Firstly, make preparations for the cultural commonality about regional identity of Northeast Asia, lay out the harmoniously cultural atmosphere of "harmony without sameness", "respecting for diversity and varieties." At the same time, fully arouse the initiative of same essence of culture and create a kind of compound sense of identity with a geo-based and cultural-oriented identity. Second, it is a continual process to build the Northeast Asia security mechanism and politically mutual trust consultation. To enhance economic and trade exchanges between the countries in the region, it is a necessary section to construct economic cooperation community. And then the logical view is with economic community as its bond, cultural community as its base, political and security system as its support, building political community and regional security alliance as its focal point. However, in the development process of Northeast Asia "cultural and economic community", China, Japan and South Korea as a core strength within this community should abandon historic antipathy, because it is necessary to build a harmonious atmosphere for the exchange of cultural identity, of course, it is essential to strengthen China, Japan-ROK economic and trade exchanges, and enhance political mutual trust among the countries.

IV. Cross - cultural Comparative Study

After the World War II, American anthropologist George Murdock finally established a large ethnographic database based on cross-cultural comparative studies after years of effort: Human Relations Regional Archives (HRAF), it collected more than 800 ethnographic data that covers geography, society, culture and other aspects of the human society in different periods, and it made important contributions to promote cross-cultural comparative research.

Pertti J. Peltto (1966) pointed out that after the establishment of the Human Relations Area Files, one can easily find the relevant ethnographic material by input appropriate index and able to access the file from all over the world.

One of the characteristics of anthropology is cross-cultural comparative study. The Samoan study of Margaret Mead is a classic comparative research cases in anthropological research. Mead published *Coming of Age in Samoa* based on the field data in Samoa in 1928, which explored the sexual and family customs of Samoan girls who were adolescent and criticized the way American society that treat young people. In her observation, there are no bad adolescents in Samoan society because they do not require young people to obey any rules and regulations, adolescents do not have to prove their own existence by resist it. As a woman, Mead have the limitation to understanding of the overall social operation system since she can not personally involved in the Samoans gathering where only men are allowed to discuss the politic, religion and economy.

Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and Knife* on the study of Japanese national character; Arthur Wolf's study of Taiwanese child marriage; Levine's Nigeria study. John A. Brim and David H. Spain pointed out in the *Anthropological Research Design* (1974) that of the static group comparison method is a

frequent and effective research method that used in anthropological study, such as Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*.

Studies of different culture and thick description. From the 1960s onwards, a major shift in anthropological theory that reflect the traditional ethnography established by Malinowski to seek "Subjective, realistic and explained" rather than the so-called "objective and scientific". As the representative of the interpretation of anthropology, Clifford Geertz influenced by Max Weber's concept of culture is a "network that full of meaning".

Geertz point out that "Culture is the network of meaning that weave by ourselves, so the analysis of culture is not an experimental science to seeking rule, but an exploratory science of exploration." He believes that this network is the symbols of network that continuously weaving, and cultural anthropologist's duty is to analyze the circulation of these symbols. For Geertz, "analogy" is the most suitable way to understand ethnography. He is not only conduct anthropological research of ethnography, and also interprets the idea of academic activities with ethnographic view. He uses "thick description" and "local knowledge" as a weapon to observe, empathy, cognition and consciously follow the "internal vision of cultural holders", explain and maintain the status of ethnography, re-explore the source of culture.

V. Conclusion

The attempts to construct "Culture Economic Community" in Northeast Asia is a kind of awakening of local consciousness as a response to the pressures of globalization, whose impetus or source point is a kind of cultural consciousness among the counties in Northeast Asia. It not only caters for cooperative enthusiasm of the parties involved but also comprehensively considers all the possibility that the countries self-develop in the region and their real demands, it is never an emotional impact. The building of Community in Northeast Asia is both from competition for resources and game among the nation-states in Northeast Asia and from the pursuit of internal composition balance system within the region. However, it might threaten the countries or face the danger of deconstruction if ethnic culture diversities, national and regional differences are ignored in the region. Therefore, many scholars attempt to take traditional ethnology into the political science perspective, and explore structure and function of ethnic group as an objective phenomenon in the country's political system, and how to politically eliminate differences and interest conflicts among the international communities in order to achieve a sustained unity. Therefore, it is sufficiently persuasive to use "culture", a moderate word as its base and source point in the building of Northeast Asia Community, meanwhile, use "cultural and economic community" as development orientation of Northeast Asian Community, it also accords with each country's long-term development goals and each interest demands in Northeast Asia. As for the future development trend of Northeast Asian "cultural and economic community," It is completely determined by the efforts that parties involved will make and variables that is likely to occur in the fields of politics, economy, culture, and education, etc. in Northeast. A clear vision is that the future of Northeast Asian "cultural and economic community" will become a dazzling geographic community like EU, fully playing its positive role.

In short, Northeast Asian "Cultural and Economic Community" is the best choice found in Northeast Asia accord with its development. It both gives due considerations to history and reality of Northeast Asia and take full account of the interest demands among the countries and aggregate measurement of regional politics, security and system, meeting the rational needs of internal ethnic groups and future development direction of the community.

Construction of the “Asian Economic Community Culture” is complicated and has a long bumpy way to go, but it is not out of reach and only our imagination. What is most urgent now is how to build a platform to exchange and cooperate of Asian cultures and promote the dialogue and communication of academic elites in Asian countries.

The most effective way is to build a vibrant Asian "academic community" first, which is committed to jointly promote the national culture research and exchange dialogue in the region. Famous scholar Du Weiming is indicating that we need a group of "public intellectuals" who have a strong sense to participated in politic, society and research and cultural development. They play an active role in academia, government, media, business, and in various social organizations and social movements. Public intellectuals can discuss the major issues encountered in human civilization together to realize their value.

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Comparative Analysis of Oriental Aesthetics in Northeast Asian Film and Television Culture

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Abstract

Eastern society is deeply influenced by the culture of Confucianism and Taoism, and the unique oriental charm is also shown in the creation of film and television works. This paper analyzes the three film and television dramas that have been popular in China and Japan in recent years, such as A Little Reunion, All Is Well, and Quartet. Based on the structure of “the construction of oriental social ethics and aesthetics” and “the symbolic expression of oriental aesthetics”, it analyzes and compares the oriental aesthetics presented in the film and television culture of Northeast Asia.

Keywords: oriental aesthetics ; ethics ; symbol ; Unity of Universe and Mankind

Introduction

Lin Tonghua, a well-known contemporary Chinese nationalist in China, summarizes the characteristics of oriental aesthetics from the perspective of culture and aesthetics in the article *On the Characteristics of Oriental Aesthetics*: simplicity, mystery, perception, charm, elegance, complementarity¹. Oriental aesthetics pay attention to implicitness and nature. In the artistic creation, the pursuit of absolute dedication and expression of charm, the formation of oriental aesthetic charm is also closely related to the influence of Confucianism and Taoism culture. Wolfgang Iser created a “new term” in *Undoing Aesthetics*—“ethics/aesthetics”, emphasizing “the ethical connotation and consequences of aesthetics”, “A long-known moral command in aesthetics” and “different needs for equal treatment of feelings”². Aesthetic experience can not only sublimate the individual’s spiritual world, but also standardize and integrate people’s social behavior and enhance social consensus.

I. The Construction of Oriental Social Ethical Aesthetics

Oriental society has a long-standing emphasis on the family, which is also reflected in the film and television works. In recent years, family ethics plays have accounted for more than half of the popular TV series in Northeast Asia. Orientals, especially the Chinese, have never stopped exploring “home”, especially the traditional Confucianism, which has consistently emphasized the relationship between the family and the country. The most representative requirement is “self-cultivation, family harmony, state governing and world peace”, placing home and country at the same important position. The popular Chinese TV dramas *All Is Well* and *A Little Reunion* in 2019 have obvious characteristics of family ethics dramas. In 2017, the highest rated Japanese drama *Quartet* also revealed the impact of “the original family” on individuals. The conflicts, compromises, and tolerance among people within the family reflect the impacts, difficulties, struggles, and fate of traditional family models and ethical concepts in Eastern society under modern civilization. In the TV series *A Little Reunion*, three families and four students facing the college entrance examination, which not only under the pressure of the college entrance examination, but the tense and complex relationships in each family are like landmines. In the Japanese drama *Quartet*, the four members of the “Doughnuts Hole” band are together for the music, but behind them all are hidden family secrets that cannot be told.

Oriental art and aesthetics pay attention to implication, claiming that “consciousness” is better than “words”. Similarly, Orientals express their emotions implicitly, which is also reflected in many family relationships. The love between parents and children is often suppressed, restrained. For example, in *All Is Well*, when the mother passed away, Su Mingyu did not show excessive sadness, she contributed money and handled all aspects of the funeral alone instead. On the New Year’s Eve, Su Daqiang, who suffers from Alzheimer’s disease and lost. Su Mingyu found him in his hometown. He went out to buy the senior high school exam exercise books and tried to give them to little Mingyu who was about to take the senior high school exam. The injured Su Mingyu finally let go of her previous injustice. In *A Little Reunion*, Ji Yangyang grew up with his uncle because his parents were busy with work. Until the third grade, this small family was reunited. Ji Yangyang did not appreciate the “airborne” father. The inability to communicate between father and son, the lack of suitable expressions for concern, has led to constant conflicts between them. Psychoanalysis theory divides human psychological development into five stages, and points out that childhood is a crucial stage for human psychological development. Whether it’s Su Mingyu, Ji Yangyang, or Sekibuki and Masaki in the *Quartet*, their incomplete childhood experiences have affected their lives, and they

¹ Lin Tonghua: *On the Characteristics of Oriental Aesthetics*. Literary Research[J].1990.12

² Wolfgang Iser (Germany): *Undoing Aesthetics*. Translated by Lu Yang and Zhang Yanbing. Shanghai Translation Press 2002 edition

were not accompanied by their parents during their childhood. They all want to get love but are new to it.

II. Symbolic Expression of Oriental Aesthetics

Speaking of symbols that can represent the East, the gorgeous clothes of the Tang Dynasty, the city walls of the Ming Dynasty, the palaces of the Qing Dynasty, and the luxurious royal pictures are first referred. However, there are also many symbols that can represent the characteristics of the East in the TV dramas on the subject of realism, and interpret “Eastern Aesthetics” with “Eastern Philosophy” and take “Eastern Philosophy” and “Eastern Temperament” as the key points to show “Eastern Aesthetics”.

1. The appliance of Chinese New Year as a cultural symbol

With the rapid development of society, material life has been well satisfied, and science and technology have reached an unprecedented level of development, but the development of technological tools has squeezed the real living space. The “crisis of modernity” has triggered people’s anxiety, confusion and lack of happiness. Traditional Chinese festivals occupy a very important position in society, especially the Spring Festival. The reunion of the whole family can make people regain the meaning and happiness of life in real life. All Is Well sets the ending to the New Year. Su’s father was lost. Su Mingyu retrieved him in the old house. An exercise book relieved Su Mingyu from agony which had been lasted for many years and regains the love between father and daughter. Watching the Spring Festival Gala with Su’s father who had amnesia, Shi Dongtian was making a New Year’s Eve dinner in the kitchen, and Su Mingyu said, “This is the happiest Spring Festival I have ever had.” This is the Spring Festival in the hearts of the Chinese: the whole family gathered to watch the Spring Festival Gala and have the New Year’s Eve enjoyably. This is an ending that can arouse the emotional resonance of the Chinese people, and the “Spring Festival” as a cultural symbol not only heralds reunion, but also heralds the new life; the father and daughter finally cleared the gap, and together moved to a new life path. Similarly, in A Little Reunion, after the Spring Festival, all three families have begun to move towards a new life. The children have entered the sprint stage of the college entrance examination, and the lives of adults have also changed. Before, each family was more or less experienced trauma, after the Spring Festival, “for love, everyone is trying to do things that were not good at.” Everyone who leaves home to work during the Spring Festival will embark on a journey back to their hometown, and have worked hard in the metropolis for a year. They have tasted the sweets and bitters of “being alone in a foreign place as foreigners.” Relatives in their hometown are looking forward to the reunion. Like a family reunion during the Spring Festival, Chinese family ethics TV shows are mostly the end of reunion. Everyone releases their suspicions, returns to the family, and walks together in a better direction.

2. The appliance of visual symbols with oriental characteristics

2.1 “Forest” as a visual symbol

The TV series *All Is Well* selected the shooting location in Suzhou, and many elements with Suzhou characteristics appeared in the play, such as: Suzhou Garden, Suzhou Pingtan. The increase of regional features greatly enhances the beauty of film and television works. Suzhou gardens are landscapes with Chinese characteristics. Chinese gardening art has far-reaching historical origins from the Chinese writing and painting arts. It is particularly affected by the freehand landscapes of the Tang and Song literati, and is a model of literati freehand landscape simulation. Suzhou gardens are dominated by private gardens, with exquisiteness, elegance, and good at freehand, and they are

“cultural landscapes for scholars” with profound cultural significance. Ancient gardeners have a high cultural accomplishment. The gardening is based on paintings, with the theme of poetry. By digging pools and hills, planting flowers and trees, to create a poetic landscape, to achieve “shifting scenes, rebuild the universe within several inches.” Chinese classical aesthetics believes that the highest state of art is “antelope hanging angle, no trace is available”, showing what Yan Yu called “the sound of the sky, the color in the phase, the moon in the water, the phase in the mirror”, which is In the perfect artistic expression, no traces of artificial carving should be found, showing the beauty of nature, and the charm is included in nature.

Japanese people admire the beauty of nature, and painting music or film and television works are indispensable for the image of the forest in their artistic expression. This has a lot to do with their special geographical environment. The Japanese archipelago has been a narrow island country since ancient times, and natural disasters such as earthquakes and tsunamis have occurred frequently. Forests give Japanese people the land and foundation to survive. Therefore, the Japanese have always regarded forests as a belief, and their ancestors are also known as “the people of the forest”. So “forest” appears as a special visual symbol in many Japanese film and television works. The members of the “Doughnut Hole” band in the *Quartet* lived together in the Karuizawa area of the forest on the edge of the city. At the beginning, the second violinist Beppu summed up the overall living environment in one sentence. “Karuizawa in winter is also good. Although the shops outside are closed at 10 o’clock in the evening” and the villa’s location is immediately added. “The house is deep in the old Karuizawa. The house is my grandfather, so it doesn’t matter how noisy it is”. Through these two sentences, it is easy to feel that the villa is in a quiet place. With the picture, people can appreciate the beautiful forest scenery. Therefore, all the information about the location of the villa can be known. At the same time, the white snow of Karuizawa, the dream that the four protagonists thought about but was unavailable, the seemingly quiet life behind the unknown secrets, the detailed description presents the beauty of “substance sadness” in Japanese aesthetics.

The master of Japanese national studies, Hiroshi Hasei, pointed out: “Whenever I see and hear, my heart moves. When I see and hear those rare things, strange things, interesting things, terrible things, sad things, sad things that not just move my heart. I also want to communicate and share with others. What you feel and lament about what you see and hear is the reason why your heart moves and then you know what ‘substance sadness’ is.”³“Substance sadness” is a unique aesthetic taste in Japanese aesthetics, which refers to the beauty of deep mystery and harmonious silence. Professor Ye Weiqu pointed out: as the pioneer of Japanese beauty, “substance sadness” naturally formed the special character of quiet beauty contained in mourning during its development. In the “Doughnut Hole” band, everyone has their own secrets, but these secrets and every sad emotion are slightly explained. There is no in-depth digging to describe the secrets of life and death. When describing the secrets of life and death, it’s like saying what happened today, so calm, without the sadness of the heart-breaking lungs, and no exaggerated performance. If the expression form of “substance sadness” is very strong, then it is “sorrow” instead of “substance sadness”. “Substance sadness”, “secluded and deep thoughts” and “Wabi-sabi” as the three pillars of traditional Japanese aesthetics are deeply engraved in the bones of the Japanese. Beppu is the most failed child in the celebrity family. Moriko has experienced a failed and short marriage. The life of Sekibuki has been influenced by the father-the fraudster. Behind the seemingly happy life of Masaki is hiding her husband ran away from home, used false household registration and was even suspected of using drugs to kill her stepfather who abused her, etc. Everyone has earth-shattering secrets, but these secrets have not been over-amplified. The appearance of the secrets is like the wind blowing across the water surface, the ripples are rolling, and the wind is quiet again. Life has not changed as a result, and after sighing, it continues as usual.

³ Jindao Youxin (Japan): *Aesthetics of the East* [M]. Shanghai. Sanlian Bookstore. 1991

The Japanese who admire nature believe that all things are spiritual, and advocate the eastern way of life concept of “harmony with the nature” and “unity of universe and mankind”. This perception of life coincides with the Taoism of our country. The Taoism said that “The universe follows the Tao. The Tao follows only itself.” emphasizes living in harmony with nature and following the laws of nature. And the special emotion for the forest is also shown in the film and television works. For example, in *Quartet*, the “Doughnut Hole” band practiced in a villa in Karuizawa. At this time, they are all separate individuals. They are only associated with themselves and the band members. The only problem they faced was the music they loved. They were happy and relaxed. But at the same time, leaving Karuizawa, they have their own jobs in the city, because dreams are hard to equate with survival in society. In a highly modern city, people are filled with indifference and alienation. In the city, everyone is as unremarkable as a screw and busy all day long. Back to Karuizawa, everyone can find their own value and position, unique value and position is the meaning of life. If people are the same, it will be like Tetris, and it will disappear when stacked together. The forest gives dream power and provides shelter for dreamers. The police found out that Masaki used false household registration and suspected of killing her stepfather. Before they took her away, everyone did not say reluctantly. Beppu told her that the villa they lived in would be visited by squirrels in the spring and asked her to watch together then. There may be too much helplessness in society, but in the forest, everyone is equal and can enjoy the gifts that the forest gives to people.

2.2 “Food” as a visual symbol

In modern society, many people are anxious and lonely, and they always keep a distance from others. Food not only makes people feel warm but also becomes a bond between people. It is not difficult to see that in *Quartet*, “food” is a very important plot line. Sekibuki had a good impression of Beppu when she invited him to eat Neapolitan noodles, and when Sekibuki was most sad; Masaki who accompanied her to eat pork chop rice told her “the person who cried and ate the meal can be strong for a long time.” Moriko likes that Sekibuki has never expressed, but the boss who sold octopus balls at the end exposed him. Every time the characters change, they are accompanied by different foods. They are simple in real life and the common foods accompany people’s growth in a meticulous manner. Japanese film and television works have always been good at the poetic narrative of “stream of life”. The director uses fixed lenses and long-range lenses to look at the conflicts and changes of the characters in the form of bystanders. As us bystanders, when we watch the protagonist in the play with the omnipotent “God perspective” together with the director, it seems that we have entered the protagonist’s life. People live under the fierce competition in modern society, and they generally have anxiety and anxiety about life. The current Japanese TV series uses warm elements to soothe people’s impetuous hearts. Natural elements such as “forest” and “gourmet food” also express people’s spiritual appeal. These visual symbols are also a good medicine to cure the anxious modern life crisis.

Moriko always pays attention to the sense of ritual when dealing with food issues. Although this method is a bit unacceptable, his strict requirements for food also show his love for life, and everyone knew each other better in the process. When this kind of detail problem occurs, many people think that it is better not to say it. In this way, everyone’s feelings will not be hurt, but the occurrence of big problems is piled up by small problems. The straight-forward approach of Moriko will make it easier for everyone to get along and understand each other better. The drama conflicts in Japanese dramas are diluted by the details of daily life. The protagonists in the drama are ordinary people in the society, or even unsuccessful people. Perhaps the audience still has no way to see the protagonist’s success until the end of the drama, but every life detail have brought the audience into the situation, and the audience can experience the feelings of the characters in the play and have the same experience. There are all kinds of people in life, and there is no way to predict what is happening, and there are few people who can succeed. In Japanese dramas, the protagonist lives an unsuccessful

life, a plain life, but always enjoys it. The joys of life, soothing people's hearts with food, aren't ordinary people in real life the same? This is also the place where the Japanese drama can touch the audience the most. It cuts in the small details of life, and the details are full of human feelings. The characters in a Japanese drama can be everyone in our lives, every ordinary person who is unsuccessful in pursuing dreams and struggling to achieve something.

Food that cures people, regardless of size, expensive food can bring happiness, and an ice cream can also trust many emotions: happy, sad, inexpressible care, and anxiety that does not know how to behave. Food can heal people's hearts, and it can also place complex feelings in it. Shibuki and Beppu ate Neapolitan noodles for the first time together, and this was the key to Shibuki's affection for Beppu. Later, they went to buy ice cream together, trying to digest their ignorance in ice cream. Many things that may happen with someone will be forgotten, but it is difficult to forget what you have eaten together. At the last meal, the fried chicken we had together was the same as at the beginning, but this time they did not squeeze the lemon juice on the fried chicken, and this time the question became whether they noticed the decorated parsley exist. The first and last time, although they had differences on how to eat fried chicken, they were completely different. After experiencing the low tide of each other's life together, they understood each other better, from lemon to parsley. It is also a sublimation of the "Doughnut Hole" band's feelings.

III. Conclusion

In the film and television works of Northeast Asia taking China and Japan as examples, the profound influence of oriental aesthetics can be seen. Whether it is the "antelope hanging angle, no trace is available" pursued by the Chinese classical aesthetics, or the "substance sadness", "secluded and deep thoughts", and "Wabi-sabi" in Japanese aesthetics, we are always seeking harmony between man and nature and eastern style aesthetics of "unity of universe and mankind".

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Webtoons' Global Reach toward the New Korean Wave: hybridity vs. cultural specificity

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Korean webtoon has become one of the latest, but very influential cultural genres in the global cultural markets. Webtoons mainly appeared in the early 21st century, however, webtoons have continued to grow as global people in their teens and twenties enjoy them. Several webtoon portals, such as Kakao Page and Naver Webtoon, have advanced their globalization strategies so that global fans can enjoy webtoons at any time. Webtoons are riding the Korean Wave to become one of the nascent major cultural products representing the local cultural industries in the world. With the global popularity of Korean cultural content, including dramas, films, and K-pop, webtoons are going global.

As is well-documented, Korea has advanced its cultural influences in the global cultural markets in the midst of the increasing transnationalization of popular culture and digital culture. The Korean Wave, referring to the rapid growth of local cultural industries and their global reach, arguably began in the late 1990s when several television programs and films earned popularity in East Asia. Unlike the early stage of Hallyu when a few cultural forms, such as television dramas and films, were major drivers, the new stage of Hallyu, known as the New Korean Wave (Jin, 2016) or Hallyu 2.0 (Lee and Nornes, 2015), has advanced several new cultural content, including K-pop, webtoons, and digital games, as well as digital technologies (e.g., smartphones).

Transnationalization here refers to “a condition by which people, commodities, and ideas cross national boundaries and are not identified with a single place of origin” (Watson 1997, 11), and Korea has increased its transnational power with webtoons alongside other cultural content. While there are several elements that drive the transnationalization of popular culture, one major element is hybridity. Hybridization implies the mix of two different cultures between the global and the local; however, the outcomes are not the same. On the one hand, several cultural industries, in particular Japanese anime/manga have developed their unique hybrid culture. As Lu (2008, 172) points out, “through its suggestion of racial mixing and cultural blurring, anime neutralizes itself, which reflects a broader national desire to enter an extra-territorial stage of development.” This represents de-politicized transnationalization in popular culture, as cultural creators have developed nation-less culture to appeal to more global audiences. On the other hand, it is critical to understand that hybridity is not necessarily losing local culture or cultural identity. During the hybridization process between two different cultures, local actors are able to advance hybridity that local culture is deeply embedded. In this particular context, global audiences still feel and enjoy locally-driven cultural content. Many locally-driven hybrid cultures have not created unique cultural content representing their own identities due to the strong influence of global forces (Jin 2016); however, some still posit their status to represent local specificity, of course, not entirely, but even partially.

What is significant is that we have to understand that hybridization is a strategically embedded in cultural politics because it not only aims for the mix of text, image, and sound to neutralize cultural products, but it also related to cultural policy, the division of cultural labor, and the structure of power disparity. Hybridity in culture implies power relations between Western and non-Western states, resulting in the appropriation of global goods and services by local forces to create borderless cultural goods in order to attract global audiences. In this sense, this hybrid dynamic can be thought of as the

politicization of the realm of local culture (Jin, 2016, 14-15). Some of local cultures are actually advancing local identity in the midst of hybridization. In this regard, Kraidy (2005) argues, it is crucial to address the structural issues involved in textual hybridity in order to investigate the existing global power geometry. Webtoons are culturally political because local popular culture portrays several significant Korean identities.

By utilizing hybridity in tandem with transnationalization as a theoretical framework, this article analyzes webtoon Hallyu as a new and significant component of the new Korean Wave. It investigates several distinctive forms of webtoon Hallyu as part of the new Korean Wave. It especially discusses the ways in which webtoons have transformed the notion of Hallyu in tandem with webtoon-based transnational transmedia. It also explores the discourses between hybridity and cultural specificity relevant to webtoons by analyzing the power relations between local identities and glocalization strategies in the global cultural markets.

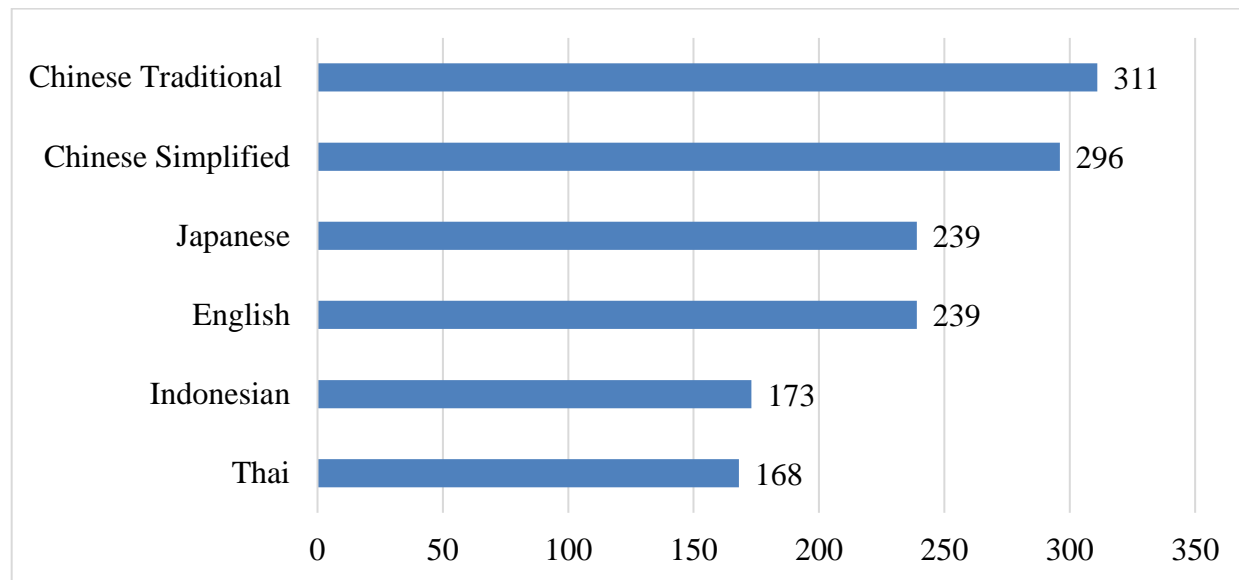
Webtoons' Global Reach and Transnational Transmediality

The transnationalization of popular culture has had a long history. Historically, the Korean cultural market has been concerned more about the influx of foreign forces—be it American or Japanese—than the advance of its own culture (Joo, 2011). One exceptional cultural content is webtoon as it has been created first in Korea, and therefore, Korea has become a major player in the transnationalization of webtoons since its inception. The transnationalization of webtoons mainly started when Tapas Media—a webtoon syndicate—opened its Korean webtoon service platform in the U.S. in 2012 (Kang, T.J., 2014). Ever since, webtoons have continued to penetrate the global cultural markets as several webtoon platforms, including Naver, Daum Kakao, and Lezhin Comics, develop their globalization strategies (Han, C.W., 2015). Due to the increasing role of webtoon platforms, the amount of export in the manhwa industry in 2018 was \$40.5 million, compared to the film industry (\$41.6 million). The manhwa industry has grown to become one of the major cultural industries in the Korean Wave tradition (Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, 2019; 2020).

Compared to other cultural sectors like films and television dramas, the inclusion of webtoons in the new Korean Wave has been unique due to its nature of the convergence of digital technologies and popular culture. The Korean Wave has greatly expanded its magnitude in terms of the foreign export of domestic cultural products and digital technologies. Due to the recent growth of digital technologies, such as smartphones and digital games, and their global penetration, this phenomenon can be identified as digital Hallyu (Jin, 2016). However, webtoons are the symbol of the convergence of popular culture and digital technologies, and therefore, it is not necessary to divide digital Hallyu from the traditional Korean Wave. Webtoons' global reach has transformed the notion of Hallyu, as well as the major characteristics of the Korean Wave since the early 2010s.

More specifically, a few major webtoon platforms have vehemently increased their activities in the global manhwa markets. Naver has provided webtoons in a variety of languages, and Daum Webtoon launched its global service in January 2014 (Jang and Song, 2017). As of July 2018, Naver's Line Webtoon had 1,426 webtoons. Among these, 666 webtoons of them were ongoing webtoons, and 760 webtoons were finished ones. As Table 1 shows, Line Webtoon provided their webtoons in six different languages, these webtoons could be categorized by local languages, including English (239), Chinese Simplified (for Inland China, 296), Chinese Traditional (for Taiwan, 311), Thai (168), Indonesian (173), and Japanese (239) (Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency, 2019).

Table 1. Webtoons' Global Reach by Line Webtoon (July 2018)



Source: Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency (2019)

As such, webtoons have appealed to both Western and non-Western countries. In the U.S., the number of Line Webtoon's monthly active users (MAUs) surpassed the 10 million mark in November 2019. Its U.S. content revenue grew to 13 billion won in the third quarter of 2019, up from 2 billion won in the first quarter (Chung, J.W., 2020). Kakao Corp. has also made meaningful inroads into Japan with its comic app platform Piccoma in recent years. Launched in April 2016, Piccoma saw its annual transactions jump nearly 14-fold by 2017. Transactions continued to grow at a rapid clip, rising 156% in 2018 and 130% in 2019. Piccoma reported its first operating profit in the final quarter of 2019, with transactions doubling in size annually over the past three years (Oh and Kim, 2020).

In the Global South, Southeast Asia has been especially significant. As people in Southeast Asia like Thailand and Indonesia have greatly increased their use of smartphones, people in these countries are easily able to access and enjoy webtoons. LINE, a subsidiary of Naver, said that its webtoons are now available in six languages, including Thai and Bahasa Indonesia. Thailand and Indonesia are LINE's second and third biggest markets, respectively, after Japan. LINE launched its webtoon service in Thailand in November 2014. Daum Webtoon, a subsidiary of Kakao, followed on September 2016 by partnering with leading local webtoon provider Ookbee Comics. In Indonesia, LINE established the webtoon platform in April 2014 (Park, J.W., 2018). In December 2018, Kakao Page acquired NeoBazar, one of the leading content platforms in Indonesia. The Southeast Asian firm runs the largest pay-to-read webtoon platform WebComics. Korean webtoons, such as *Empress of Another World* and *The Reason Why Raeliana Ended up at the Duke's Mansion*, available on the platform, have been gaining popularity in Indonesia. They make up nearly 90% of the platform's entire profit (Kim, Y.W., 2018).

More importantly, webtoons have transformed the formula of Hallyu as they play a key role in developing transnational transmedia storytelling, referring to the flow of story from the original text

to various cultural forms, such as television dramas, films, musicals, and digital games, as well as the expansion or compression of the original story to fit into digital platforms' distinctive attributes (Freeman, 2017; Jin, 2019). As in the case of Japanese anime, webtoons are not only sold as finished cultural content, but also are provided as original sources for big screen culture creators. In particular, Netflix has driven a new form of Hallyu because it circulates Korean cultural content to global audiences, and webtoons have become original sources for Netflix. In the U.S., for example, Korean dramas and films are watched predominantly through over-the-top (OTT) streaming sites like Netflix (Ju, 2019), and webtoons have provided original source materials for Netflix.

The Korean webtoon world has indeed developed IP-driven transmedia storytelling based on webtoons. Once webtoons are becoming popular, several OTT service platforms, including Netflix, have turned into other cultural products like films and television programs, both nationally and globally. For example, *Kingdom* (2019) is the first program that Netflix funded and produced through local cultural creators. *Kingdom* is based on the YLAB (webtoon production company) webtoon series *Land of the Gods* (Picture 1), which was published in 2014. *Land of the Gods* is a series that combines the Joseon era and the modern-day concept of zombies (MacDonald, 2020). *Kingdom* (Picture 2) has become one of the most successful programs based on Korean cultural mentalities. Netflix has continued to develop webtoon-based transnational cultural adaptations. Netflix funded the production of *Itaewon Class*, a webtoon-based television drama, in return for its circulation rights in the global cultural markets. In the first half of 2020, Netflix also announced that it will produce a new Netflix original series *All of Us Are Dead* written by Chun Sung-il (Kang, M.J., 2020). In addition, Netflix started production on the original series *Deserter Pursuit (D.P.)*. *D.P.* is based on a Korean webtoon, titled *D.P.: Dog Days*. It tells the story of Jun-ho, a Korean Army private who is assigned to a unit responsible for arresting deserters, and in his job, encounters confused young adults. With this novel premise, the original webtoon proved to be a huge hit with more than 10 million readers. It also brought to light violent acts and violations of human rights within the military.

Picture 1. Webtoon, *The Land of Gods*



Source: YLAB (2017).

Picture 2. *Kingdom* -Webtoon (*The Land of Gods*)-based Netflix Drama



Source: Manoharan (2020).

D.P. will be produced by Lezhin Studio in association with Homemade Film, and will be released only on Netflix (Fox, 2020).

Digital platforms, both national platforms like Naver and Kakao and global platforms like Netflix, have transformed the ways in which Hallyu has achieved. Unlike other cultural industries, mainly focusing on the export of finished cultural content or organizing cultural events, webtoons are circulated as both cultural products themselves and original sources for big screen culture. In this regard, Li (2020, 236) argues, “the paradigm of storytelling is often considered the center of transmedia strategies, for the production and consumption of narratives are believed to be the forces that drive transmedia synergy.”

In the Korean Wave tradition, several cultural industries have advanced IP-driven cultural flows, as can be seen in film remakes and television formats. However, webtoons are unique because they play a key role in disseminating original ideas through various cultural forms, not the same cultural genres. Webtoons have emphasized IP-based transnational transmedia, although they also export print manhwas that originated from webtoons. This is certainly an important form of transnationalization. The transnationalization of webtoons has been different from other cultural products, which makes webtoons distinctive in the Korean Wave.

Hybridity vs. Cultural Identity in the Webtoon Sphere

The transnationalization of webtoon has been rapidly increasing, and many practitioners and scholars discuss whether webtoons have to pursue the authenticity of webtoons or the glocalization of

webtoons. As several Hallyu products like K-pop and dramas prove, cultural industries and producers are necessary to develop glocalization strategies to attract global audiences. Through hybridization in terms of the mix of two different cultures between the West and the East, local cultural content may be able to penetrate the global cultural markets. In the webtoon sector, (g)localization is one of the biggest challenges faced by Korean webtoon firms in Southeast Asia, because of the region's diversity, both culturally and linguistically. "Rather than relying solely on Korean content, the firms are working to recruit local talent in a bid to provide greater choice and draw more readers. LINE, for example, holds various competitions to encourage local creators to upload their work to the webtoon platform, offering monetary rewards" (Park, J.W., 2018). The success of webtoons in China has also been achieved as "'de-Koreanizing' webtoon has become a key strategy, primarily achieved by adapting and transforming original Korean elements into Chinese cultural content" (Yecies, 2018, 135). As these arguments explain, one cannot deny that it is useful for Korean webtoons to glocalize cultural content in penetrating any particular country.

However, it is significant to acknowledge that keeping cultural authenticity is more important than losing it in the global cultural markets. Hybridization is not simply the mixing, blending, and synthesizing of different dimensions that eventually forms a culturally faceless whole (Jin, 2016). As Bhabha (1994, 217-218) argued, "hybridity needs to open up 'a third space' within which diverse elements encounter and transform each other as signifying the 'in-between,' and also incommensurable (that is, inaccessible by majoritarian discourses) location where minority discourses intervene to preserve their strengths and particularity." Hybridity is an interpretive and reflective mode in which assumptions of identity are interrogated (Bhabha 1994, 53-54), and the local force can play a pivotal role in developing local culture amid hybridization. For the global reach of local culture, hybridity is essential; however, it does not mean that the local force automatically loses its own identity taken over by the global force. Instead, when the local force can take a major role in the process of hybridization, it would create the third space where local identity can be accordingly represented.

What is unique about webtoons is that the growth of webtoons and webtoon-based transmedia relies on cultural authenticity reflecting local mentalities and identities rather than de-politicizing cultural content. In other words, Korean webtoons have been globally popular, not because of the elimination of Koreanness, but because of the emphasis on local specificity. For example, *Kingdom* is one of the most distinctive Hallyu products, focusing on Korean history in tandem with zombies. Korean webtoons' storylines embedded in history or contemporary society are unique, and they have evolved over the past several years to better appeal to global audiences as well as domestic fans.

Again, several webtoonists and webtoon platforms have developed globalization strategies, which means that they advance nation-less webtoon content so that global people enjoy with no objections to Korean webtoons as can be seen in Japanese anime. However, global audiences are able to identify some local specificities, including traditional, even contemporary Korean clothes, foods, housing, and exotic landscape. They also identify Koreanness "through constant negotiation or compromise with the symbolic power of Korean content" (Jeong et al., 2017, 2298-2299). Rich in themes and offering timely commentaries on Korea's current societal issues such as job unavailability and lookism, webtoons are now read by global fans (Doo, 2017). For webtoon platforms, the combination of two different approaches has become the norm: one is selling Korean-made webtoons overseas, and the other is localizing webtoons via tie-ups with media partners abroad. For the second strategy, they have established their branches in global big cities and recruited local artists. This is effective; however, global audiences eventually attract to Korean webtoons portraying Korean specificities.

In this regard, Kraidy (2002) points out, “having been enlisted for various political and scholarly agendas, hybridity has emerged as a privileged site for conceptualizing global/local articulations.” He (2012) argues, “in order to have a critical edge, hybridity should be understood as a communicative practice.” In transnational cultural dynamics, it is crucial to understand cultural transnationalism as the outcome of power relationships between the global and the local, and the local needs to secure its own power in cultural politics. Webtoons show their unique characteristics in that they develop transnational transmedia storytelling, focusing on local mentalities. The collaboration between the global and the local is not new, and what we have to focus on is whether the local is able to advance popular culture in the midst of mixing of two different cultures. Losing cultural identity as part of hybridity is not a requirement, and cultural creators would understand that keeping local identity is the best strategy to attract global audiences.

Conclusion

This article has analyzed the ways in which webtoons have become one of the major forms of cultural content in Hallyu. Korea has started to develop its transnationalization of popular culture and digital technologies mainly in the early 21st century, and webtoons are increasing their global reach. Webtoons have advanced various forms of global flows, from the export of cultural content to transnational transmedia storytelling. After achieving huge success in Korea, digital platforms, including Naver, Daum, and Kakao, have strategically penetrated other countries. Webtoons are considered the next-generation content that can appeal to overseas comic book readers (Park, H.K., 2014). As the nascent cultural content in the Korean Wave tradition, webtoons have become one of the major transnational cultural products and digital technologies. As the symbol of media convergence between popular culture and digital technology, webtoons have fundamentally transformed the ways in which Hallyu is circulated and consumed around the globe.

In particular, Korean webtoon platforms have developed transnational transmedia storytelling, which means that they work with global media and cultural firms and produced webtoon-based big screen content. Unlike other cultural industries that mainly export finished cultural products, webtoons have combined various forms of global reach, from the export of finished content to transmedia storytelling. As Japanese anime/manga has already proved (Ohsawa, 2018), Korean webtoons based on several unique characteristics, such as transmedia storytelling and media convergence, have made webtoons cultural content for global audiences.

Due to its short history in the global cultural markets, there are ambivalent perspectives on webtoons. On the one hand, several practitioners claim that localization is the best strategy to attract more global audiences. For them, webtoons are new, and people around the world do not understand this new cultural content. Therefore, webtoon platforms and webtoonists need to adapt local content, which means that webtoons must reflect each country’s specificity. On the other hand, some argue that webtoons can work well with Korean identity in the global cultural markets as the growth of webtoons has been driven by their representation of Korean society. For them, keeping Korean specificity with some minor modifications would be the best strategy to appeal to global audiences. What we have to keep in mind is that preserving local identity eventually helps webtoons become popular in the long run.

As Lu (2008, 183) points out with the case of Japanese anime, from its inception and throughout its development, webtoons have also been an integrated component of Korea’s multi-cultural interactions with others. Coupled with the global audience’s involvement and the cross-cultural

webtoon trade, it would be unreasonable to examine webtoons from a single lens while denying the relevance of other interpretations. In particular, in conjunction with the Korean Wave, webtoons have advanced several new forms of cultural flows. Webtoons have developed unique forms of global reach, as webtoons have developed various ways to be consumed by global audiences. Webtoons will be prospering due to these various dimensions, and it is crucial to advance webtoons in tandem with these diverse perspectives, while developing cultural identity in text and visual images.

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한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 한국어문화교육 온라인 학습 콘텐츠 개발의 방향성 연구

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Abstract

이 연구는 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 한국어문화교육 온라인 학습 콘텐츠 개발의 현황을 살피고, 개발의 방향성에 대해 제안하는 데 그 목적이 있다. 이를 위해 선행연구 분석을 통해 한류 콘텐츠 활용 한국어문화교육에 대한 연구의 현황을 살피고, 한국어문화교육 온라인 교수-학습 콘텐츠 개발의 현황을 조사하여 그 결과를 통해 교수-학습 콘텐츠 개발을 위한 시사점을 도출하였다. 아울러, 국외 한국어교육의 경험이 있는 교사와 외국인 학습자를 대상으로 한류 콘텐츠에 대한 요구조사를 시행하여 그 결과를 분석하였다. 다각도의 분석 결과를 바탕으로 한국어문화 온라인 교수-학습 콘텐츠 개발을 위한 한류 콘텐츠의 선정, 한국어문화의 학습 자료 개발의 방법과 방향을 제안하였다는 데에 본 연구의 의의가 있다.

Keywords: 한류 콘텐츠; 한국어문화교육; 온라인 학습 콘텐츠; 요구조사; 해외학습자

I. 서론

이 연구는 한류 콘텐츠를¹ 활용한 한국어언어문화교육 온라인 학습 콘텐츠 개발의 현황을 살피고, 개발의 방향성에 대해 제안하는 데 그 목적이 있다.

전 세계적으로 한류가 급속히 확산함에 따라 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 교수-학습 콘텐츠의 필요성이 점차 커지고 있다. 한류는 중국, 일본, 대만과 같이 한국과 가까운 동아시아 국가부터 베트남, 태국 등의 동남아시아, 터키를 포함한 유럽 지역, 그리고 북미는 물론 중남미까지 그 영향력이 커지고 있다. 한류의 긍정적 영향으로 한류 기반 한국어 학습자도 점차 증가하고 있어 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 교수-학습 콘텐츠 개발의 필요성 또한 강조되고 있다. 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 한국어언어문화교육은 학습자로 하여금 학습 부담감을 낮추는 것뿐만 아니라 교실 교육에서는 학습이 어려운 실제 일상 속 다양한 한국문화 요소나 대화 등의 살아 있는 한국어 표현이나 문화를 교수-학습할 수 있다는 장점이 있어, 교육용 콘텐츠 자료로서 그 효용 가치가 높다. 때문에 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 한국어언어문화 교육의 필요성에 대해서는 학계에서도 대부분 공감하는 바이다. 하지만 막상 어떤 콘텐츠로, 무엇을, 어떻게 가르칠 것인지, 어떤 기술 기반과 플랫폼으로 교육을 제공할 것인가에 대한 구체적인 논의는 충분하지 않은 실정이다.

이에 본 연구에서는 선행연구 분석을 통해 한류 콘텐츠 활용 한국어언어문화교육에 대한 연구의 현황을 살피고, 이를 통해 교수-학습 콘텐츠 개발을 위한 시사점을 도출해 보고자 한다. 아울러 한국어언어문화교육 온라인 교수-학습 콘텐츠 개발의 현황을 살펴보고, 국외 한국어교육의 경험이 있는 교사와 외국인 학습자를 대상으로 한류 콘텐츠에 대한 요구조사를 시행하여 그 결과를 분석해 보고자 한다. 이러한 분석 결과를 바탕으로 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 한국어언어문화교육 온라인 학습 콘텐츠 개발의 방향성을 도출하고자 한다.

II. 한류 콘텐츠 활용 한국어언어문화교육에 대한 선행연구 분석

외국어로서의 한국어언어문화교육 연구에서 한류 콘텐츠에 대한 관심은 2000년대 중반 이후부터 본격화되었다. 한국어언어문화교육 연구에서 한류 콘텐츠 활용에 관한 논의는 크게 한류 콘텐츠 활용 방안에 대한 정책적 연구와 TV나 영화와 같은 한류 콘텐츠의 장르별 활용에 대한 연구로 나눌 수 있다.

먼저 한류 콘텐츠 활용 방안에 관한 정책적 연구를 살펴보면, 한국어 학습 동기 유발 요인으로서 한류 콘텐츠의 영향력에 관하여 분석한 연구를 비롯하여, 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 한국어의 국외 보급 정책 및 교육 사례를 논의한 것에 이르기까지 국내외 한국어언어문화교육 현장에서 한류 콘텐츠 활용에 대한 방향성을 모색하고 실행 방법을 논의한 연구들이 있다. 대표적으로 이영제(2019), 김정하(2018)를 비롯하여 소흠(2016), 오문경(2013) 등이 있다. 그러나 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 한국어언어문화교육에 관한 방안 연구는 비교적 활성화 되었지만 국외의 잠재적 학습자들을 대상으로 정책 연구 관점에서 한류 콘텐츠 활용 방안을 논의한 연구는 부족한 실정이다.

1 '콘텐츠'(contents)는 사전적인 의미에서 볼 때 '내용'으로 번역할 수 있지만, 내용과 그 내용을 담고 있는 실체 간 구분이 어렵기 때문에 콘텐츠를 보통 실체를 가진 내용 즉, '내용물'로 볼 수 있다. 일본 콘텐츠비즈니스연구소는 콘텐츠를 "문자·영상·소리 등의 정보를 제작하고 가공해서 소비자에게 전달하는 정보상품"이라고 정의하고 있으며, 한국소프트웨어진흥원(2004)은 콘텐츠를 "인간을 위해 대량 유포를 목적으로 조직화된 메시지"로 정의하고 있다. 이러한 정의로 볼 때 콘텐츠는 텍스트, 소리, 영상 혹은 이들의 결합물이나 연속물이라고 할 수 있다.

다음으로 한류 콘텐츠 장르별 활용에 대한 연구는 TV 드라마, 예능, 다큐 및 교양 프로그램은 물론 영화, 웹툰, K-pop 등 다양한 장르의 콘텐츠를 활용한 한국어언어문화교육 연구가 비교적 활발히 이루어졌다.

한류 콘텐츠 활용에 관한 연구 가운데 가장 많은 연구가 이루어진 영역은 TV 드라마 활용에 관한 연구이다. TV 드라마 활용에 관한 연구가 많이 이루어진 이유는 실제적 언어 표현, 한국문화교육에서의 높은 효용성 등 때문일 것이다. 실제로 TV 드라마 활용에 관한 연구는 외국인들이 화용적 상황에서 필요한 적절한 인사나, 호칭 및 높임말 등과 같은 언어표현을 터득할 수 있는 교육 자료로 활용하는 방안을 모색한 연구가 많이 이루어졌다. 또한 드라마 속의 문화요소를 분석하고 이를 통해 문화교육을 위한 교육 자료를 구축하여 한국인의 가치문화와 가족관계 등에 관한 이해 교육 방안을 모색한 연구도 있으며 감정표현 등과 같은 실제적 언어표현을 위한 자료로 적극적으로 활용되기도 하였다.²

TV 예능프로그램을 활용한 연구는 주로 외국인 유학생들이 학위논문 주제로 선택하여 다룬 것이 특징이며, 수업을 위한 자료 선정 기준 및 단계적 수업 운영을 위한 교수 모형을 제시한 연구들이 다수이다.³

영화를 활용한 교육 연구도 일찍부터 꾸준히 이루어져 왔다. 영화 활용에 관한 연구는 2000년대 후반에 본격적으로 연구가 이루어졌으며 초기 연구에 해당하는 2000년대 중반까지는 주로 듣기, 말하기, 관용표현 교육 등과 같은 한국어교육을 위한 자료로 활용되는 양상을 보였으나 2000년대 중반 이후로는 문화교육에 초점을 맞추어 한국의 장례문화, 가족문화와 같은 한국의 전통적 가치에 대한 이해를 돕기 위한 문화자료로 활용되는 양상을 보이고 있다. 최근에 와서는 자료 활용 영역이 점차 사회문제로 확대되어 정보문화, 정치문화 등과 같은 한국의 사회문화에 대한 이해를 돕기 위한 자료 활용과 외국인 유학생들의 사회문화적 리터러시를 위한 교수-학습 방안에 관한 연구로 발전되는 양상을 나타내고 있다.⁴

최근에는 웹을 이용한 웹툰과 웹드라마와 같은 것들이 한국어언어문화교육을 위한 콘텐츠 자료로 확대되는 양상을 보임에 따라 이에 대한 연구도 활발히 이루어지고 있다. 특히 웹툰과 웹드라마와 같은 매체 장르는 멀티미디어 도구 활용이 용이한 20대 초반의 외국인 유학생들의 선호도와 자료 활용 접근의 용이성이 고려되었음을 알 수 있다. 웹(웹드라마/웹툰)과 같은 콘텐츠는 향후 교수-학습을 위한 자료 활용 가치가 더 상승될 것으로 예측된다.⁵

2 . TV 드라마 활용에 관한 대표적인 연구로는 왕저린(2020), 양의웅(2019), 왕우영(2019), 김민경(2019), 김찬미(2019), 류우진(2018), 상자(2018), 조성훈(2017), 반경희(2017), 이제빈(2016), 소흠(2016), 안젤라 리 스미스, 노재민(2016), 당영화(2015), 김수현(2013), 테시마 아이코(2012), 서현지(2010), 이침(2010), 주소희(2010), 한선(2008) 등이 있다.

3 TV 예능프로그램 활용에 관한 주요 연구로는 다오프영바오위엔(2019), 풍리(2014), 조비(2014), 향서(2014), 김은선(2009) 등이 있다.

4 대표 연구로는 윤영(2020), 당문정(2019), 이정민(2019), 김종진(2019), 박성(2018), 솔비(2015), 심가현(2013), 김성여(2013), 조영미(2011), 창원(2009), 한선(2008), 최지혜(2009), 손명진(2011), 김희진(2009), 윤영(2011), 변경희(2009), 최은주(2020), 이정은(2017), 박수지(2018), 김영희(2006), 왕나(2011), 이상민(2019), 최수정(2017), 최지영(2012), 김진희(2010) 등이 있다.

5 이와 관련된 대표적인 연구로는 김찬미(2019), 백재파(2018), 이나영(2019), 김명희(2018), 한은지(2018), 오정화(2014), 손평(2017) 등이 있다.

K-pop을 활용한 연구도 이루어졌는데, 튀르키예, 픽셀(1999)와 김경지(2001)에서 초기 연구가 시작되었으며 본격적인 수업모형에 관한 연구는 변혜원(2007), Yang,J.Y.(2009) 등에서 이루어졌다. 이들 연구는 주로 노래의 가사를 중심으로 학습 문형과 어휘를 익히는 데 초점을 맞추어 교수-학습 방안이 논의되었으며, 류희정(2011), 임유미·신주철(2012), 여은혜(2012) 등에 와서 한국어 교실에 본격적으로 적용하였다. 이후 2010년대 중반에 접어들면서 송재란(2014), 김아름(2015), 이인혁(2017), 이하나(2019) 등에서는 K-pop을 한국어언어문화 수업의 자료로 활용하고 이에 관한 교수-학습 방안을 제시하였다.

이 외에도 다큐/교양 프로그램 자료 활용에 관한 연구나 TV 광고를 활용한 연구도 활발히 이루어졌다. 또한 대중문화의 여러 장르를 종합적으로 활용하는 방안에 관한 연구도 있는데, 드라마와 노래, 그리고 영화 등을 한국어언어문화 수업을 위한 자료로 활용하고 관련 수업의 사례들을 제시하였다. 대표적인 연구로는 장영(2014), 김광문(2013), 최인락(2013), 오우(2011), 황용(2011), 김병석(2010) 등이 있다.

콘텐츠별 활용 동향 분석 결과를 정리하면, 전체 한류 문화 콘텐츠 활용 영역 가운데 TV 드라마의 활용도가 가장 높게 나타났고, 다음 영화, 광고, K-pop에 관한 장르가 많이 다루어졌다. 따라서 교수-학습 콘텐츠 개발 시 이러한 활용도의 비중을 고려할 필요가 있다.

표 1. 콘텐츠별 활용 동향 건수

장르 영역	건수
TV다큐 교양 프로그램(EBS/ 아리랑 TV/ 다큐/ 휴먼다큐)	7
TV 예능 프로그램	6
TV 드라마	56
영화	33
광고	33
웹(웹드라마/웹툰)	6
애니메이션(만화)	4
K-pop	24
노래	9
총	178

이상 선행연구 분석 결과 향후 연구 개발을 위한 시사점을 다음과 같이 도출할 수 있다.

첫째, 한국어언어문화교육을 위한 한류 콘텐츠 활용 장르가 TV 프로그램에서 웹 미디어의 범위로까지 점차 확대되고 있음을 알 수 있다. 향후 한류 콘텐츠 활용 교육 자료 개발에서도 이를 반영하여 다양한 장르의 콘텐츠 활용을 모색할 필요가 있다.

둘째, 한류 콘텐츠의 장르별 활용 방안이나 교수-학습 방안에 대한 연구가 많이 이루어지긴 했으나 대개 연구의 범위가 교육기관의 학습자를 위한 교육 자료 활용 정도로 한정되어 있으며, 국외에서 한류 문화를 향유하며 주로 자가학습을 하는 외국인 학습자에 대한 고려는 이루어지지 못했다. 분석 대상 선행 연구 중 세종학당에서의 한국어언어문화교육을 위한 교수-학습 방안에 관한 연구가 단 한 편이라는 사실이 이를 방증한다.

표 2. 기관별 연구 동향 건수

기관별	건수
세종학당(해외한국어교육기관)	1
대학교육 기관(학위논문/연구논문)	247
총	248

이 결과를 보면 교수-학습의 고려 대상이 대개 대학과 같은 기관 학습자를 중심으로 이루어져 있어, 한국 문화 콘텐츠의 주 향유층인 외국인, 즉 기관에서의 한국어 학습 경험이 없고 또한 학습 동기가 약한 외국인들은 한국어언어문화교육에서 소외되고 있음을 알 수 있다. 그런데 이들은 향후 잠재적 한국어 학습자라는 점에서 한류 콘텐츠를 매개로 이들을 한국어 학습으로 유도할 필요가 있다.

한류 기반의 학습자들은 한국어 학습의 동기가 강하지 않고 한국어 학습에 주력할 여건이 갖추어지지 않은 경우가 많다. 따라서 이들의 학습에 대한 부담을 줄여주고, 이들이 흥미롭게 배울 수 있는 한국어언어문화교육 방안이 마련되어야 할 것이다. 특히 이들은 자가 학습 유형이 많으므로 교실 의존적인 교육에서 탈피하고, 접근이 수월한 온라인 기반의 교육 콘텐츠 개발이 무엇보다 필요하다. 결국 한류 기반 잠재적 학습자를 지속적인 학습으로 유도하기 위해서는 디지털 환경과 대중문화 기반 언어교육을 중시하는 ‘한국어 학습 지원 시스템’ 구축이 필요하다고 할 수 있다.

이에 다음 장에서는 기존 온라인 한국어교육 콘텐츠의 현황을 살피고, 이어 교사와 외국인 학습자를 대상으로 한류 콘텐츠 활용 실태 및 요구를 조사함으로써 교수-학습 콘텐츠 개발의 방향성에 대해 제안해 보고자 한다.

III. 기존 온라인 한국어언어문화교육 콘텐츠 현황 및 분석

다양한 학습자의 개별적 특성을 고려한 온라인 한국어 교육용 콘텐츠 개발이 이루어지고 있다. 다양한 온라인 한국어 학습 콘텐츠를 활발히 제공하고 있는 대표적 기관이 세종학당재단이다.

표 3. 세종학당재단 온라인 한국어와 한국문화 강의 콘텐츠

순번	과정명	차시	개발 연도
1	세종한국어 3~4 자가학습용 콘텐츠	29	2012
2	세종한국어 5~6 자가학습용 콘텐츠	28	2013
3	세종한국어 7~8 자가학습용 콘텐츠	28	2014
4	세종한국어 1~2 자가학습용 콘텐츠	29	2015
5	세종한국어 회화(초급) 교재 연계 강의 콘텐츠	84	2016
6	바로 배워 바로 쓰는 여행 한국어 중국어 콘텐츠	50	2016
7	세종한국어 회화(중급) 교재 연계 강의 콘텐츠	112	2017
8	비즈니스 한국어 1~2 교재 연계 강의 콘텐츠	240	2018
9	세종한국어 입문 교재 연계 강의 콘텐츠	14	2018

10	세종학당 한국어(초급) 강좌	40	2019
합계	10종	654	-

표 4. 세종학당재단 온라인 한국어와 한국문화 강의 콘텐츠

순번	과정명	차시	개발 연도
1	한류스타 활용 한국문화 영상 콘텐츠(기본/심화)	10	2016
2	<함께해요! 한국문화!> 영상 콘텐츠	10	2017
3	학습자 참여형 해외 한국문화 확산 콘텐츠	6	2018
합계	3종	26	-

이 외에도 국내에서 기 개발되어 활용되고 있는 한국어 온라인 콘텐츠의 목록은 아래와 같다.⁶

표 5. 기 개발된 한국어 온라인 학습 콘텐츠 목록

기관	과정명
서울대학교	Click Korean
연세대학교	Learn Korean
사이버한국외국어대학교	FUFS_CUFS Korean
경희사이버대학교	Learning Korean
(주) 배론	한국어
오케이코리아	OKKorean
미국 국방언어학교	Global Language Online Support System
개인	Learn Korean and Speak Korean
(주)국제어학개발원	Learning Korean
아리랑TV	Let' s Learn Korean
KBS WORLD	Radio-Let' s Learn Korean
EBS	한국말 쉬워요
오하이오주립대	Pathway to Korean
인디애나대학교	한국어 온라인 과정
모나쉬대학교	Korean Language Education

이상과 같이 다양한 온라인 학습 콘텐츠가 제공되고 있지만, 그 형식은 대개 교사가 강의하는 교실 수업을 동영상으로 찍어 제공하는 형식이다. 이러한 형식은 사용자가

6 진정란(2013, 259-161)에서 발췌한 것임.

접근이 수월한 온라인 기반이라는 장점 외에는 교수-학습 면에서 교실 수업과 별 차별성을 갖지 못한다. 따라서 한류 기반 외국인 학습자의 요구에 부합하는 콘텐츠라 하기 어려울 뿐만 아니다. 또한 기존 온라인 학습 콘텐츠에서는 한류 콘텐츠를 적극적으로 활용한 경우도 드물다.

그런 가운데 한류 콘텐츠를 활용하여 한국어교육 콘텐츠를 제작한 경우가 있어 주목할 필요가 있는데, 바로 <쌩쌩한국어>와 <Learn Korean with BTS>이다. <쌩쌩한국어>는 YTN에서 외국인을 위해 만든 한국어 교육 방송 프로그램으로 국립국어원과 서울대 한국어문학연구소가 공동 기획하였는데, 2017년 1월부터 YTN World와 유튜브를 통해 방송하였다. 한국 가요, 드라마, 예능 등 다양한 콘텐츠를 소재로 하였고, 한 회당 8분 내외로 구성되었다는 점은 한류 기반 학습자의 요구를 잘 반영한 것이라 할 수 있다. 다만 전통적인 한국어 수업 방식으로 구성되어 있고 교사-학습자 간 대화 패턴으로 진행된다는 점에서 학습 동기가 없는 학습자에게는 지루할 수 있다는 한계가 있다.

<Learn Korean with BTS>는 BTS의 소속사인 빅히트 엔터테인먼트에서 개발한 한국어교육 콘텐츠로, 방탄소년단의 해외 팬들이 쉽고 재미있게 한국어를 학습하도록 기획된 숏폼(short form) 콘텐츠이다. 빅히트 커뮤니케이션 플랫폼 위버스(Weverse)와 유튜브에 공개되고 있다. 방탄소년단의 자체 제작 영상을 재구성하여 멤버들이 자주 쓰는 표현을 듣고 따라하면서 한국어를 자연스럽게 익힐 수 있도록 설계하였는데, 규범적 언어학습에서 탈피하였다는 점이 특징이다. 다만 그러다 보니 교육적인 면에서 학습용 콘텐츠로서의 완성도가 떨어지는 한계가 있다.

그러나 많은 선행 연구에서 한류 콘텐츠를 자료로 활용한 학습 콘텐츠 개발의 필요성에 대해 주장하고 있음에도 불구하고 공적 교육 기관에서는 이러한 의견을 거의 반영하지 못하였다는 점을 고려하였을 때, 위에서 언급한 두 학습 콘텐츠는 한류 콘텐츠를 교수-학습 자료로 활용하였다는 점에서 의미가 있다.

현재 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 교육은 주로 개인적 차원에서 이루어지고 있는데, 교사가 교실 수업에서 수업의 일부 자료로 활용하거나, 일부 개인이 저작권을 해결하지 않은 채 교육용 자료로 만들어 온라인, 모바일 플랫폼을 통해 제공하는 경우가 대부분이다. 그런데 이 경우 대부분 저작권 문제를 해결하지 않은 상태로 활용하는 경우가 많아 법적 분쟁의 소지가 있다. 저작권은 비용과 복잡성 때문에 개인이 해결하기 어려운 문제이므로 공적 기관에서 한류 콘텐츠의 저작권 문제를 해결하여 이를 활용한 한국어언어문화교육 콘텐츠를 적극적으로 개발해 나갈 필요가 있다.

IV. 한류 콘텐츠에 대한 교사와 국외 학습자의 요구 및 수요 조사

본 연구에서는 한류 콘텐츠에 대한 한국어 교사와 국외 학습자의 요구를 살펴보기 위해 2020년 5월 23일부터 29일까지, 해외 한국어교육 경험이 있는 교사와 국내외 유학생 및 예비 한국어 학습자를 대상으로 한류 콘텐츠에 대한 수요와 관심도에 대한 조사를 시행하였다.

1. 교사 대상 조사 결과

해외 한국어 교육 경험이 있는 교사 총 111명을 대상으로 ‘매체와 한류 콘텐츠 활용 실태’에 대한 설문조사를 실시하였는데, 설문 대상자에 대한 구체적 정보는 다음과 같다.

표 6. 교사 설문 대상자 정보

성별	- 여성 95명(85.6%) - 남성 16명(14.4%)
현 거주 국가	- 미국, 베트남, 중국, 대한민국 순 - 기타 태국, 대만, 일본, 독일, 필리핀 등
한국어교육 경력	- 2년 미만(14.4%) - 2년~4년 미만(18%) - 4년~7년 미만(20.7%) - 7년~10년 미만(18%) - 10년 이상(28.8%)
한국어교원 자격증	- 1급(15.3%) - 2급(45%) - 3급(6.3%) - 자격증 미소지자(33.3%)
담당 과정(중복 응답 가능)	- 초급(42.3%) - 중급(50.5%) - 고급(28.8%) - 급 통합(30.6%)

교사를 대상으로 한 ‘매체와 한류 콘텐츠 활용 실태’에 대한 설문 조사의 구체적 내용과 결과는 다음과 같다.

1.1 한국어 수업 시간에 콘텐츠를 사용한 경험

한국어 교육 현장에서 콘텐츠를 사용한 경험 여부를 묻는 문항에 ‘사용해 본 적이 있다’는 응답이 94.6%로, ‘그렇지 않다’는 응답(5.4%)보다 압도적으로 많았다. 이것은 한국어 교사들이 이미 수업 시간에 콘텐츠를 적극적으로 활용하고 있음을 보여 주며 콘텐츠의 교육적 활용도가 높음을 방증하는 결과이다.

1.2 사용 콘텐츠의 출처와 유형

이용 콘텐츠 출처(사이트)에 대해서 조사한 결과(복수 응답 가능), 교사들의 사용 콘텐츠는 유튜브에 집중되어 있었으며(94.3%), 세종학당 콘텐츠(29.2%)와 네이버 TV(18.9%)가 그 뒤를 이었다. 사용 콘텐츠 유형에 대한 조사 결과(복수 응답 가능), TV에서 방송된 원자료(79.6%)와 유튜버가 제작한 짧은 영상(72.2%)을 가장 많이 사용하는 것으로 나타났으며, 교육용으로 제작된 콘텐츠(33.3%)가 그 뒤를 이었다.

1.3 사용한 한류 콘텐츠의 유형과 수업 영역

한류 콘텐츠(K-Pop, K-예능, K-드라마) 중 교사들이 수업에서 주로 이용하는 콘텐츠에 대한 조사 결과(복수 응답 가능), 교사들이 사용하는 한류 콘텐츠 유형은 드라마(76.1%), 가요(69.7%), 예능(51.4%)에 집중되어 있었다.

사용자들에게 한류 콘텐츠를 어떤 항목에서 주로 활용하는지를 질문하였는데, 사용처 및 주요 용도에 대해서는 듣기, 말하기, 읽기, 쓰기의 언어 기능과 발음, 어휘, 문법, 언어문화 등의 언어 영역을 통합하여 질문하였다. 그 결과 언어 기능 중에서는 듣기(60.4%)의 적용도가 가장 높았고, 말하기(51.4%)와 문법(27%)이 그 뒤를 따랐다. 교사들은 구어 영역의 교육에서 한류 콘텐츠를 주로 사용하는 것을 알 수 있다. 언어 영역 중에서는 문화의 비중이 월등하게 높아 교사들은 한류 콘텐츠를 한국문화를 보여주기 위해 유용한 자료로 보고 있음이 드러났다.

1.4 현재 콘텐츠 이용 시 불편한 점과 향후 개발되기 희망하는 수업용 콘텐츠

교사들이 앞으로 수업 자료로 개발되길 희망하는 콘텐츠 역시 드라마(78.4%), 예능(49.5%), K-Pop(43.2%)에 집중되어 있음을 확인할 수 있었다. 한류 콘텐츠를 수업에서 사용하거나 자료로 제작할 때 불편한 점을 묻는 주관식 문항에서는 다양한 응답이 나왔는데, 그 중 본인의 수업과 학습자의 수준에 맞는 자료를 검색·선정하는 것, 원자료인 만큼 정제되지 않은 언어가 포함된 경우가 많아 교육적으로 적절한 자료를 찾는 것에 대한 어려움을 가장 많이 토로하였다. 수업 자료 확보의 어려움과 더불어 교육용 자료로 제작하는 것의 어려움을 문제점으로 제시하였는데, 교사가 편집을 하지 않아도 사용 가능한 적절한 상황과 예시, 적당한 길이의 콘텐츠가 필요하다는 것을 알 수 있다. 자료 습득 용이성 문제는 다른 문제에 대한 답이 미미한 것에 극명하게 대비된다. 더불어 좋은 자료가 개발되어 있어도 홍보 부족, 검색의 불편함 등으로 사용하지 못한다는 응답도 주목할 만하다.

1.5 향후 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 교수-학습 콘텐츠가 개발될 경우에 대한 의견

(1-5-1) 향후 개발될 한류 콘텐츠 수업 자료로 활용하고 싶은 수업

향후 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 수업 자료가 개발된다면 어떤 수업에서 활용하고 싶은지를 묻는 문항에서는 말하기(81.1%), 듣기(76.6%)와 같은 구어 영역과 문화 영역(81.1%)이 압도적인 비율을 차지하였다. 교사들은 한류 콘텐츠를 활용하여 학습자의 구어 중심의 의사소통 능력을 향상시키고 문화교육에 대해 지원 받기를 희망하는 것을 확인할 수 있다.

(1-5-2) 개발될 한류 콘텐츠로 가르치고 싶은 한국 문화

개발될 한류 콘텐츠로 가르치고 싶은 한국 문화를 묻는 문항에서는 일상생활 중 언어문화(Language Culture)가 82.9%로 압도적인 비율을 차지하였으며, 한국사회에 대해 교육하고 싶다는 응답(64%)의 비율 또한 높았다. 그 외 빨리빨리 문화와 같은 가치관에 대해 알려주고 싶다는 응답이 60%를 차지하였다. 위와 같은 결과를 통해 교사들은 한류 콘텐츠가 언어문화를 보여주기 위해 유용한 자료라고 생각하고 있음을 알 수 있다. 특히 한류 콘텐츠가 일상문화를 많이 담고 있는데 이는 매체를 접함으로써 간접 경험이 가능하고, 이 부분이 학습자에게 가장 실용적이라 학습 동기가 큰 내용이라고 판단한다는 것을 알 수 있는 대목이다.

(1-5-3) 한류 콘텐츠를 수업 자료로 제작할 때 강사의 설명이 필요한 부분

한류 콘텐츠를 수업 자료로 제작할 때 강사의 설명이 필요한 부분을 묻는 문항에서는 문화(67.7%)와 문법(66.7%)이 가장 많은 비율을 차지했으며, 어휘(53.2%)와 발음(45%)이 그 뒤를 이었다. 학생 응답에서는 교사 응답에 비하여 상대적으로 고른 분포를 보였는데 문법, 어휘에 대한 설명이 필요하다는 응답은 교사와 일치하였으나 발음, 말하기, 문화에 대한

교사의 설명을 요구한다는 점에서는 차이를 보였다.

2. 학습자 대상 조사 결과

국내외 유학생 및 예비 한국어 학습자 396명을 대상으로 ‘한류 콘텐츠와 온라인 학습 자료’에 대한 조사를 실시하였는데, 대상자에 대한 정보는 다음과 같다.

표 7. 학습자 설문 대상자 정보

성별	- 여성 76.4% - 남성 23.6%
국적	- 베트남, 중국, 우즈베키스탄, 우크라이나, 스페인 순 - 기타 아시아, 유럽, 남미, 러시아/CIS, 아프리카 등
학습 기간	- 6개월 미만(4.3%) - 6개월~1년 미만(11.5%) - 1년~1년 6개월 미만(10.7%) - 1년 6개월~2년 미만(17.6%) - 2년~3년 미만(15.9%) - 3년~4년 미만(16.4%) - 4년 이상(23.6%)
한국어능력시험 급수	- 1급(4.9%) - 2급(16.6%) - 3급(7.7%) - 4급(17.6%) - 5급(14.4%) - 6급(21.9%) - 미응시(16.7%)
학습 목적	- 학업(57.1%) - 취업(25.4%) - 취미(14.7%) - 기타(2.8%)

학습자를 대상으로 한 ‘한류 콘텐츠와 온라인 학습 자료’에 대한 설문 조사의 구체적 내용과 결과는 다음과 같다.

2.1 한류 콘텐츠 학습 경험 및 콘텐츠 출처

한류 콘텐츠를 통한 한국어 학습 경험을 묻는 질문에 응답자의 대다수인 81.3%가 학습

경험이 있는 것으로 응답하였다. 주로 사용하는 한류 콘텐츠의 출처에 대해 316명이 응답했으며, 응답자의 87.3%가 유튜브(YOUTUBE)를 활용하고 있었으며, 그 다음으로 V-LIVE(21%), 네이버 TV(15.9%), 누리-세종학당(4.5%)의 순으로 응답했다. 그 외 기타(해외 플랫폼, 넷플릭스, 트위터, 인스타그램) 등을 이용하는 응답자가 12%로 나타났다. 앞서 보았듯이 교사들의 이용 콘텐츠는 유튜브 등 일부에 편중되어 있는 편인데, 학생들의 콘텐츠 이용 사이트는 유튜브, V-Live, 네이버 TV 등으로 보다 다양하게 나타났다.

2.2 주로 사용한 한류 콘텐츠 유형(중복 응답 가능)

학습자들이 주로 사용한 한류 콘텐츠로는 K-예능(65.9%)이 가장 인기 있는 것으로 나타났다. 다음으로 드라마, K-POP이 뒤를 이었다. 한류 콘텐츠에서 공부한 영역에 대한 조사 결과(중복 응답 가능), 듣기가 가장 많았으며, 그 다음으로 문화(65.4%), 발음(58.1%), 말하기(51.8%), 어휘(53%), 읽기(24.5%), 문법(23.7%), 쓰기(14.1%)의 순으로 나타났다. 이를 통해 한류 콘텐츠를 활용하여 주로 구어(듣기, 말하기)와 문화를 학습하는 것을 알 수 있다.

2.3 앞으로 한류 콘텐츠로 공부하고 싶은 영역(중복 응답 가능)

말하기(64.4%), 발음(57.8%), 듣기(55.5%), 어휘(54.9%), 문화(51.5%) 등의 순으로 나타났다. 학습자들은 한류 콘텐츠를 활용해 구어 중심의 한국어 학습을 원하고 있음을 알 수 있다.

2.4 인기 있는 한류 콘텐츠(주관식)

(2-4-1) 좋아하는 가수

좋아하는 K-POP 가수에 대한 질문에 BTS, 빅뱅, 블랙핑크, 엑소, 갓세븐, 슈퍼주니어, 소녀시대, 샤이니 등의 아이돌 그룹과 아이유, 에일리 등의 솔로 가수들이 다양하게 나타났다. 특징적인 것은 아이돌 그룹 중에서도 특정 개인을 좋아하거나, 예능 프로그램에 주로 나오는 김종국, 이승기 등의 가수를 좋아한다는 응답도 많았다는 점이다.

(2-4-2) 좋아하는 예능

좋아하는 예능 프로그램에 대한 질문에 ‘런닝맨, 나혼자 산다, 아는 형님, 나혼자 산다, 슈퍼맨이 돌아왔다’ 등 다양한 예능프로그램을 좋아한다고 응답했으며, 한국인과 응답자들이 선호하는 인기프로그램 간의 차이가 다소 있었다.

(2-4-3) 좋아하는 드라마

좋아하는 드라마에 대한 질문에 ‘도깨비, 태양의 후예, 별에서 온 그대, 이태원 클라쓰’ 등 국내외에서 인기를 얻은 드라마가 높은 응답을 얻었고, 그 외에도 국내에서는 다소 인기가 적었던 드라마도 상당수 포함되어 선호하는 드라마 간의 차이가 있었다.

(2-4-4) 가장 좋아하는 웹툰

좋아하는 웹툰에 대한 질문에 43명의 학습자만 응답을 하여 다른 매체에 비해서는 선호도가 낮았으나 응답한 학습자들이 좋아하는 웹툰은 다양하게 나타났다. 주목할만한 특징은 드라마로 제작된 웹툰을 선호한다는 점이다.

2.5 한류 콘텐츠 (K-POP, K-ENTERTAINMENT, K-DRAMA, etc.)로 배우고 싶은 한국 문화

한류 콘텐츠로 배우고 싶은 한국 문화에 대해 설문한 결과(중복 응답 가능), 언어문화가 79.3%로 가장 많았고, 그 다음으로 사회(54.3%), 식생활(45.1%), 의생활(46.1%), 풍습(33%) 등의 순으로 나타났으며, 그 외 경제, 가치관 등에 대해서도 응답했다.

2.6 한류 콘텐츠로 한국어를 배울 때, 선생님의 설명이 필요한 부분

한류 콘텐츠를 통한 한국어 학습에서 선생님의 설명이 필요한 부분에 대한 설문에서 ‘문법(52%)’, ‘어휘(50.3%)’, ‘말하기(46.6%)’, ‘발음과 문화’가 각각 41.1% 등의 순으로 응답했다.

V. 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 한국어 교수-학습 자료 개발을 위한 제언

이상의 논의를 통해 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 온라인 한국어 교수-학습 콘텐츠 개발을 위한 제안을 정리하면 아래와 같다.

첫째, 선행연구를 검토한 결과, 한국어와 문화 교육을 위해 활용 가능한 장르의 범위가 TV 프로그램에서 웹 미디어까지 확대되고 있다. 따라서 향후 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 교육 자료 개발에서도 다양한 콘텐츠 장르를 활용할 수 있도록 해야 한다.

둘째, 한류 콘텐츠의 교수-학습 방안에 대한 연구는 다수 존재하나 연구의 대상이 교육기관의 학습자를 위한 교육 자료의 활용 정도로 한정되어 있다. 그러나 급속히 증가하는 국외 자가 학습자를 위한 고려는 이루어지지 못하고 있음을 고려할 때, 이들을 위한 한류 콘텐츠 활용 한국어 교수-학습 자료 개발이 이루어져야 한다.

셋째, 4장에서 논의한 설문조사 결과, 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 온라인 한국어 교수-학습 콘텐츠에 대한 수요가 교사와 학생 모두에게서 높게 나타났다. 따라서 기존의 온라인 학습 콘텐츠와는 차별화된, 학습자들이 선호하는 한류 콘텐츠를 활용한 새로운 방식의 온라인 교수-학습 콘텐츠 개발이 이루어져야 할 것이다.

넷째, 한류 콘텐츠 선정 시, 해외 한류 수요가 있는 권역에서 인지도 및 영향력이 높은 한류 콘텐츠를 확인하고 광범위한 학습자 수요를 충족할 수 있는 대중적 콘텐츠를 선정해야 한다. 특히 예능, 드라마, K-Pop의 인기가 두드러지므로 이것들을 한국어언문문화교육 자료로 적극적으로 활용할 필요가 있다.

다섯째, 교사나 학생들이 짧은 영상을 활용하거나 시청하는 것을 선호하므로, 한류 콘텐츠 원본을 짧게 편집하여 교육 자료로 사용하는 것이 효과적이다. 짧은 영상으로 제작할 시에는 학습자의 흥미를 유발하기 위해 스토리보다는 출연자에 강조점을 줄 필요가 있다.

여섯째, 학습자들의 한류 콘텐츠 접촉 경로 중 ‘온라인, 모바일 플랫폼’으로 접하는 비율이 매우 높게 나타났다. 이러한 경향은 더 가속화될 것으로 예측되는데, 전 세계적으로 동영상 콘텐츠의 주요 유통 플랫폼이 변화한 현재의 시점에 발맞춰 각 콘텐츠별 주요 유통 경로를 잘 파악하여 학습자의 콘텐츠 접근성을 높일 수 있는 방안을 마련해야 할 것이다.

일곱째, 과거 주류인 PC 환경뿐만 아니라, 활용도가 높아진 모바일 기기에서 학습할 수 있는 다양하고 편리한 기능 또한 고려되어야 할 것이다. 그동안 인공지능(AI), 사물인터넷(IoT), 클라우드(Cloud) 등 산업 전반에 걸쳐 기술 중심 발전이 이루어지고 있는 4차 산업혁명 시대를 맞아, 교육계에도 교육(Education)과 기술(Technology)의 합성어이자 전통 교육에 발달된 최신 기술을 적용한 교육 혁신을 뜻하는 ‘에듀테크(Edu-tech)’에 대한 관심이 되어 왔다. 현재 개발되고 있는 에듀테크의 다양한 기술을 활용할 필요가 있다.

여덟째, 교사들은 한류 콘텐츠를 구어 영역과 문화 교육에서 많이 활용하고자 하였고, 학습자들 역시 한류 콘텐츠를 활용해 구어 중심의 한국어 학습 및 문화를 학습하기 희망하였다. 따라서 언어교육과 함께 문화교육이 비중 있게 다루어질 필요가 있다. 가요, 드라마, 예능 등은 한국 문화를 자연스럽게 노출하고 있다는 장점이 있고, 문화 맥락이 제공되는 경우가 많아 학습자의 이해를 쉽게 유도할 수 있다.

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The Contribution of Religion to a More Comprehensive Environmental Education

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Abstract

The causes of contemporary environmental and ecological crisis are multiple and complex. This crisis cannot be resolved by science or technology alone. We need not only knowledge, economic, and technology, but also worldviews, ethos, and practices to reconnect humans, other species, and nature. A sustainable ecology relies on ideals and ways of life which include value, belief, worldview, ethical commitment, and pattern of life.

The Enlightenment tradition prioritizes human sovereignty over non-human world and invokes individualism, materialism, and consumerism, which objectify, materialize, and instrumentalize the non-human world; detach human being from transcendental constraint on human desire; and seduce human being into short-term self-interested pursuit. They are the main determinants of modern way of living and the major causes of contemporary environmental and ecological crisis.

Religious worldviews define the status of human in the world and the human-nature relation. Religious ethos can be biocentric and ecocentric ethics rather than self-centered ethics or materialistic worldview. Furthermore religion grounds its ethics on transcendental or sacred base and incorporates its ethical norms in the practice of everyday life, communal living, and even every spheres of human activities.

Nevertheless, there are diverse religions and various models of environmental education.

There are difference, even disputes, between science and religion in some aspects. In a situation of diversity there needs to be an open and inclusive public sphere and procedure of engaged mutual understanding for reaching a consensus or temporary mutual agreement concerning environmental education.

Key Words: Environmental Crisis, Environmental Education, Religion.

- 1. A more Comprehensive Response to Environmental Crisis**
- 2. The Possible Contribution of Religion to Encountering the Challenge of Environmental Crisis**
- 3. The Development of Contemporary Environmental Education**
- 4. The Integration of Religious Teaching with Environmental Education: Challenge and Overcome**

1. A more Comprehensive Response to Environmental Crisis

Contemporary environmental and ecological crisis is a perilous threat common to all, even the immediate damages in different areas are various. There are diverse ecological systems in different regions. The environmental problems may not be identical in dissimilar locations. For examples, a harbor city and a mountain village may encounter divergent environmental and ecological problems. However, we are in the same planet. Environmental and ecological problems are mutually influenced, even in various degrees and appearances. For examples, the phenomena and immediate influences of global warming, climate change, and temperature rising are different in various areas. All creatures are, nevertheless, affected in some manners explicitly or implicitly. The consequences of plastic trash in oceans are far greater than the dead seaweed, shells, carcasses or other naturally-produced materials. The damages transmit into food chain and returns to other creatures and human being as well. Chemical pollution, acid rain, and deforestation in one area cause the damage or change of local ecological system, which in turn results in environmental disasters in other ecological systems. Globalization and international trade, move, and travel also speed up the mutual influence of environment and ecological systems, including their spoil. No one can escape from contemporary environmental and ecological crisis.

The causes of contemporary environmental and ecological crisis are multiple and complex, including influences from science, technology, economics, politics, urbanization, wealth distribution, population growth, and resource. For example, the causes of global warming are mainly from human activities, such as mutually influenced burning fossil fuels, deforestation and tree-clearing, and agriculture and farming. All of them are inflicted by the operation of technology, market economics, political decision, wealth distribution, and increasing need of population. Almost everyone is involved and effected. It has already been hard to have clean air and unpolluted food even though there are organic farming and technological assistance.

Economic progress increases human wealth, nevertheless, distribution of wealth becomes more unjust. Average age of human life extends, yet, pollution in body grows. Material product accumulates at every moment but resource impoverishes at the same time. Non-human creatures and the whole living environment are the price paid for human development. Yet, we are in the same planet. What will be the future? Where will the development of human

civilization, especially technology and economic, lead us to? Similar questions have been raised repeatedly, but the answer and the way out of this situation are not clear yet.

There are various responses and different theoretical approaches to address contemporary environmental and ecological crisis from different spheres and subjects (Jens Koehrsen, 2015). For examples, there are the Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) (Geels, 2004; Verbong and Geels, 2007) and the Technological Innovation Systems (TIS) approach (Bergek et al., 2008; Carlsson and Stankiewicz, 1991; Hekkert et al., 2007; Weber and Rohracher, 2012). Scientist, technological expert, economist, politician, sociologist, engineer, and even religious person labor to find a way out. What is the future of human being and the whole earth, in which human and non-human dwell? The causes of contemporary environmental and ecological crisis are multiple and complex. Therefore, in recent decades interdisciplinary cooperation and a more comprehensive response develop into a trend. Among others, it has been widely explored that this crisis cannot be resolved by science or technology alone. To tackle the crisis of the environment and the ecology, we

need not only knowledge, economic, and technology, but also worldviews, ethos, and practices to reconnect humans, other species, and nature. A sustainable ecology relies on ideals and ways of life which include value, belief, worldview, ethical commitment, and pattern of life.

The abuse of the nature can be traced at least to the ideology or project of the Enlightenment tradition, which still dominates contemporary civilization. Modern thinking from the Age of Enlightenment focuses on human subjectivity, which is disconnected from the world of nature (Watling, 2009). The Enlightenment tradition has significant scientific, technological, political, and economic achievements. It, however, prioritizes human sovereignty over non-human world and invokes individualism, materialism, and consumerism, which objectify, materialize, and instrumentalize the non-human world; detach human being from transcendental constraint on human desire; and seduce human being into short-term self-interested pursuit. It has been demonstrated that these are the main determinants of modern way of living and the major causes of contemporary environmental and ecological crisis. The supremacy of rationality enables human being to discern and control the nature through scientific inquiry and technological utility. The sovereignty of autonomous subjectivity slips into an ideology of individualism and self-interest pursuit. The priority of human subjectivity over nature and others facilitates human being to dominate and abuse the objectified and commercialized non-human being and nature, even including those under-developed people, through the support of technology, market economics, and political structure. The sovereignty of subjectivity dominates not only nature but other human as well. For example, some fertilizer has already been prohibited in America and Europe, but are widely spraying in India and some African areas. There are consequences of environmental and ecological disaster, as well as unequal distribution of wealth and labor. The self-interest oriented individual maximizes one's interest with the assistance of technology, politics, economic, and consumerism public culture at the price of environment, ecology, and other persons.

In a modern society almost everyone is under the control of political and economic structure, ideology of unlimited progress, public culture of consumerism, isolated relationship of individualism, and self-interest mindset. Not easy to get rid of the structure and what the market and public culture set before us. While the progress of market economic and consumerist behavior lead to the environmental and ecological crisis everybody is involved. In response to contemporary environmental and ecological crisis and the Enlightenment priority of human subjectivity Pope Francis (2015) claims that we need a 'new way of thinking about human beings, life, society and our relationship with nature', and a new, transcendently-grounded mode of 'ecological citizenship.' We need to re-identify human being in the planet and redefine the appropriate relationship between human and non-human. We need to rethink about ideal, value, commitment, and way of living in this planet (Watling, 2009; Awoniyi, 2015). The Enlightenment ideology of superiority of human over nature should be re-investigated for a better future or a sustainable development.

Some major religions and cultural traditions, such as Chinese and eastern philosophy do not have the Enlightenment mode of subject-object separation, or the distinctive feature of human subjectivity/mastery. Aboriginal tradition, in particular, sees nature as the origin of human beings, instead of resources that can be controlled or distributed. Chinese philosophy, including Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, all have well-rounded systems of cosmology and ethics. They are all practice-oriented and influential in the eastern culture. Therefore, in recent decades the eastern religion has been highly

recommended as an important asset, encouraging more dialogues around it for its potential contribution to sustainable ecology. The Forum on Religion and Ecology at Yale is a typical example that promotes intercultural and interreligious dialogue and cooperation for a sustainable ecology. Religion has comprehensive worldview, ethos, and communal way of living. It prescribes the human nature relation and motivates its believers to realize religious instructions in everyday life. The responses to environmental crisis in recent decades has included connection and cooperation with philosophy, theology, religious studies, and cultural studies (Oelschlaeger 1994; Crosby 2002; Scott 2003). Science, religion, and spiritual traditions work together on environmental issues. (Kellert and Farnham 2002; Matthews, Tucker and Hefner 2002; Cooper and Palmer 1998; Gottlieb 2006; Tucker and Grim 2014).

2. The Possible Contribution of Religion to Encountering the Challenge of Environmental Crisis

Religion includes myth, symbol, ritual, narrative, specific worldview, ethics, and practice. It utters the origin and meaning of life, regulates human behavior individually and communally, and answers the ultimate questions of human life. Religion explains the world, its operation and rules. It instructs believers and human being how to live a meaningful life in this world. More than these, it describes and prescribes the appropriate relationship between human and non-human, grounds ethics on a transcendental base, motivates human moral commitment and practice, instructs communal way of living, and even sacralizes the nature (Roger S. Gottlieb, 2006). The supremacy of human subjectivity over nature is not the only worldview.

Consumerism and unlimited progress is not the only economic goal that people can pursue. Maximum of self-interest is not the only value that people can commit to. There are more alternatives by which human being can maintain living in the world. Some ways of living provided and practiced by religious believers and communities may not abuse the environment in which all creatures live. Religion can, therefore, provide resource to respond to contemporary environmental crisis (Hitzhusen, 2006). Religion can contribute to redefining the appropriate relationship between human and non-human beings, and redirecting communal ways of coexistence with nature. Sustainable ecology is a topic that can reconnect the religious and secular perspectives to cooperate with each other. It is a topic that can redraw the line between religion and non-religion, and connect different people and their various perspectives together while diversity is remaining.

Religious worldviews define the status of human in the world and the human-nature relation. Religious ethos can be biocentric and ecocentric ethics rather than self-centered ethics or materialistic worldview (Susan Power Bratton, 2012, p. 5). Furthermore religion grounds its ethics on transcendental or sacred base and incorporates its ethical norms in the practice of everyday life, communal living, and even every spheres of human activities. Worldview defines what human and nature are, as well as their appropriate relationship. Religious ethics regulates both individual and communal behavior. Besides, there are myth, symbol, ritual, narrative, and tradition to maintain and enforce the realization of religious instruction in human living. The transcendentially grounded ethics entails more incentives to motivate the realization of moral regulations, including caring the nature. Some religions even correlates human activities with seasonal change and environmental situation, for examples the regulations about the time and way of farming, harvesting, hunting, and festival (ibid., 2012, p. 2). Religion constitutes a more comprehensive framework to maintain a non-dominant way of coexistence for human and nonhuman in a common world.

For examples, the Muslim believes that the whole creature are created by the holy God. Human being have a moral duty from the great creator to maintain the harmony of the universe and the balance between human and nonhuman. The Quran penetrates into every part of Muslim's life. As Susan Power Bratton points out that "Islamic urban gardens display exceptional eco-dimensionality in terms of biotic diversity, spatial utilization, technologies mitigating harsh urban and climatic conditions, and provision for human social and physical wellness." "Mosque and household gardens draw on this rich eco-dimensionality to forward religious practices, including daily prayer, ablutions, religious gatherings, and reading or reciting sacred texts." (ibid., p. 6-8) Both Christianity and Muslim discourage greed and waste. Human abilities are the divine gifts from God and should benefit all the creatures rather than human alone.

In the traditions of various aboriginal tribes there are holy mountains, which are prohibited from entering. The narratives of these holy spaces are transmitted through myths, symbols, and rituals as a tribe tradition. The holiness of these areas also became a communal norm. These prohibited areas become nature preservation areas in which animals and nonhuman creatures reproduce without human interference. When there are too crowded to survive animals move out of the edge of holy mountains. Indigenous people can hunt these animals. In this way there is a balance or harmony between human living and sustainable ecology. The farming, fishing, and festival are also correspondent to seasonal change and spacious specificity. The First Fish Ceremony (the salmon festival) in the aboriginal of North America is a typical example. (ibid., p. 3) For the tribe salmon is not merely a thing, an object or resource that could be used. The fish or coyote has intrinsic value, supernatural power, ethical insight, and primordial authority. The tribe even identifies himself and the origin of the tribe with the salmon. The First Fish Ceremony claims the tribe's territory, reinforces community norm, and keep ecological balance through myth, symbol, and ritual. (ibid., p. 4)

The possible contributions of religion to environmental preservation and sustainable development is continuing. Jens Koehrsen (2015) has summarized the major ways that religion can influence sustainability transitions. There are:

- (1) campaigning and intermediation in the public sphere;
- (2) 'materialization' of transitions in the form of participation in projects related to sustainability transitions; and
- (3) dissemination of values and worldviews that support environmentally aware attitudes and actions.

The possible contributions of religion to a more sustainable ecology and environment are not merely affirmed by religious persons, even the secular society also confirms it. For example, the environmental philosopher Max Oelschlaeger (1994) asserts that "religion is a necessary condition for the resolution of ecocrisis," and the Biblical instruction of caring for creation as a "last, best chance" for environmental citizenship in North America (Hitzhusen, 2006). The *World Wildlife Fund* (WWF) advocates that it is much easier for religious leaders to convey the importance of conservation (Mischa Altmann, Aniko Bunta, and Olivier Mazimpaka, 2012). Even 68% of the non-religious respondents agreed with the statement, "Because God created the natural world, it is wrong to abuse it." More surprisingly, 47% of atheists agreed with the statement (Hitzhusen, 2006). Environmental historian Roderick Nash also confirm this advocacy.

Gregory E. Hitzhusen (2006) has analyzed the positive influences of religion on individual and community as follow:

- Cultivating awe and wonder.
 - Learning from nature, especially by examining ecological and communal relationships.
 - Connecting understanding of ecological and communal relationships with spiritual, ethical, and scriptural teachings and metaphors.
 - Encouraging spiritual growth.
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- Applying specific ethical and moral teachings regarding the connection between humans, God, and creation. Common ecotheological concepts can all impart a sense of moral imperative regarding the environment.
 - Seeing life as a gift, and environmental citizenship as partly an outflow from appreciation of that gift.
 - Perseverance and enduring hope, drawn from religious narrative traditions.

These positive aspects are common to most religions. It is getting widely recognized that religion can play a significant role and provide great resource to respond to contemporary environmental and ecological crisis. The interdisciplinary cooperation between religion and other subject gets increasing in recent decades. For example, there were 150 theologians and scientists gather together in Washington DC in May, 1992 to collaborate on the environmental issue (Norgaard, 2002, 2006).

3. The Development of Contemporary Environmental Education

There are diverse modes of environmental education in various areas and nations in different stages. Environmental education and policy have contextual specificity. Nevertheless, there is also a cross nation common trend in the development of environmental education, especially those modes promoted by international organizations. For examples, interdisciplinary cooperation is more emphasized, cultivation of attitude is included, skill for problem-solving is offered, and practice is highly recommended in the environmental education of recent decades.

There are significant events and advocacies can present the development of contemporary environmental education. For example (Khademi-Vidra Anikó, 2017; UNESCO, 2006; 2014; Ole Andreas Kvamme, 2017):

1948

The terminology of “Environmental Education” (EE) has been adopted at the first IUCN conference in Paris in 1948.

1962

The great pioneer of environmental preservation, Rachel Carson, published her “Silent Spring” starting American environmental movement. Carson also redefined the term “Environmental Education” publicly.

1970

The official definition of EE was made at the IUCN meeting in Nevada, US in 1970: “Environmental Education is the process of recognizing values and clarifying concepts in order to develop skills and attitudes necessary to understand and appreciate the interrelatedness among man, his culture and his biophysical surroundings. Environmental education also entails practice in decision making and self-formulation of a code of behavior about issues concerning environmental quality” (IUCN, 1970, O’Malley, 2014).

1972

The United Nations Conference on the Human and Environment announced The Stockholm

Declaration. It claimed that the improvement of environment is the major target, and recommended every nation to develop EE policy and curriculum.

1975

United Nations Conference on the Human and Environment published the Belgrade Charter which claimed the goals of EE.

1977

The Tbilisi declaration (1977) reclaimed the goals of EE as (1) To foster clear awareness of, and concern about, economic, social, political and ecological interdependence in urban and rural areas; (2) To provide every person with opportunities to acquire the knowledge, values, attitudes, commitment and skills needed to protect and improve the environment; (3) To create new patterns of behaviour of individuals, groups and society as a whole towards the environment.

1980

IUCN, UNEP, and WWF published The World Conservation Strategy. 1987

World Commission on Environment and Development proclaimed “Our Common Future”. 1992

Earth Summit announced the Agenda 21.

2005

In the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development by UNESCO EE transformed to become “Education for Sustainable Development” (ESD). According to UNESCO (2006, pp.

15ñ16) “the underlying values which education for sustainable development must promote include at least the following: Respect for the dignity and human rights of all people throughout the world and a commitment to social and economic justice for all; Respect for the human rights of future generations and a commitment to intergenerational responsibility; Respect and care for the greater community of life in all its diversity which involves the protection and restoration of the Earth’s ecosystems; Respect for cultural diversity and a commitment to build locally and globally a culture of tolerance, non-violence and peace.” Ardoin-Ryan (2011) explained that ESD involves “learning how to make decisions that balance and integrate the long-term future of the economy, the natural environment and the well-being of all

communities, near and far, now and in the future”. ESD has four major focuses: (1) improving the quality of and access to basic education, (2) reorienting existing education to address sustainability, (3) improving public awareness, and (4) providing training for business, industry, and government.

Gareth Thomson and Jenn Hoffman (2004) figured out some common objectives of EE that most environmental educators have adopted. There are:

- Awareness: to help social groups and individuals acquire an awareness and sensitivity to the total environment and its allied problems.
- Knowledge: to help social groups and individuals gain a variety of experience in, and acquire a basic understanding of, the environment and its associated problems.
- Attitudes: to help social groups and individuals acquire a set of values and feelings of concern for the environment and the motivation for actively participating in environmental improvement and protection.

- Skills: to help social groups and individuals acquire the skills for identifying and solving environmental problems.

- Participation: to provide social groups and individuals with an opportunity to be actively involved at all levels in working toward resolution of environmental problems. (Mapira, 2014).

According to the common trend of EE there are *knowledge, skill, worldview, attitude, way of life, and practice* integrated in EE, as well as in Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). Interdisciplinary cooperation is widely promoted by EE and ESD (UNESCO, 2006; 2014). Tilbury (1995) claimed that “Environmental Education for Sustainability differs from previous Environmental Education approaches in that it focuses more sharply on developing closer links between environmental quality, ecology and socio-economics and the political threads which underlie it. Its basis is the creation of a more holistic outlook on problems, requiring a deeper integration between the study of environment and development problems”.

Mapira (2014) categorizes the EE curriculum into three inter-related dimensions, namely: about, through/from and for the environment. Curricula also contain empirical, synoptic, aesthetic and ethical elements. Even there are various modes of EE, EE helps everyone to learn about the environment and adjust their attitudes to a more environmentally friendly way of living (Rio Declaration, 1993). Some countries adopt interdisciplinary approach, such as Norway. Some countries take multidisciplinary approach, such as Spain and Denmark. EE in Sweden and Scotland is between these two approaches. Netherlands and Finland adopt the separate subject model. In some European countries, such as Belgium, Finland, Greece, France, and Spain environmental education is a compulsory subject. EE in Austria is called socio-ecological environmental education.

From the development of contemporary EE and ESD it is clear that in response to the environmental and ecological crisis interdisciplinary cooperation is affirmed and promoted. Other than technology, economic, and politics, worldview, ethics, value commitment, practice, re-identification of human-nature relation, and transformation of communal way of living are required for the overcome of environmental and ecological crisis. The significant role of religion and its possible contribution to a sustainable ecology is recognized. How much can religion contribute to environmental preservation and a sustainable ecology, and how?

4. The Integration of Religious Teaching with Environmental Education: Challenge and Overcome

As discussed above, environmental and ecological crisis is very complex and cannot be resolved by science or technology alone. It relates to economics, politics, public culture, way of living, worldview, ethics, value commitment, practice, and the identification of human being in the world and human-nature relation. For example, Francis Bacon, one of the representatives of the Enlightenment tradition, advocates the understanding and control of nature for human benefit as the human vocation (David G. Horrell & Anna Davis, 2014). This is the ideological root of contemporary environmental and ecological crisis. By contrast, some religions can provide a more comprehensive framework under which human being can re-identify his/her appropriate relationship with nonhuman being, be endowed with transcendently grounded ethics to maintain more friendly or harmonious coexistence with nature, and realize sustainable development in communal way of living. The possible contributions of religion have been explored. The incorporation of religious teaching to environmental education has been adopted in various countries and areas. Baer, Tantillo, Hitzhusen, Johnson, and Skillen have investigated how specific religious themes have been

incorporated into environmental education in various areas (Hitzhusen, 2006. P. 10). Hitzhusen (2006) has identified specific concepts, teachings, and activities that have proven effective in long-standing Christian and Jewish environmental education programs in the U.S. and Canada. Other religions and faith traditions have similar functions in different continents.

The integration of religious teaching with environmental education is not to involve in the long term disputes between various religions. Nor does it attempt to settle the controversy between religion and other subject. This is not denominational religious teaching or indoctrination either. Its purpose is not to solve the ultimate inquiry about truth (although it does not exclude such attempt), but to enrich and enhance environmental education (Anders Biel and Andreas Nilsson, 2005). The Tbilisi Declaration (1978) has promoted such kind of

interdisciplinary cooperation, “Environmental education should be interdisciplinary in its approach, drawing on the specific content of each discipline in making possible a holistic and balanced perspective.” Hitzhusen (2006) has evaluated several religious environmental education programs. There are successful cooperations between religious and secular environmental program and teaching materials, such as Cornell’s, or Steve VanMatre’s acclimatization activities. Experiential programs like the National Outdoor Leadership School and Outward Bound have occasionally incorporated traditionally religious disciplines like meditation, yoga, or inspirational reading to enhance experiential learning (Gookin, 2002). It has been approved that religious teachings and traditions can theoretically and practically translate into environmental education.

Nevertheless, there are diverse religions and various models of environmental education. Differences may not be compatible, there may even be conflicts, especially while religions are involved. For example, Lynn White depreciated the Christian priority of human status as the cause of contemporary environmental crisis. However, there are opposite claims and state that the Judeo-Christian tradition is the cause of pro-environmental behavior (Anders Biel and Andreas Nilsson, 2005). Environmental philosopher Max Oelschlaeger advocates that “religion is a necessary condition for the resolution of ecocrisis,” and particularly commends the Judaeo-Christian metaphor of caring for creation as a “last, best chance” for environmental citizenship in North America (Hitzhusen, 2006. P. 10). Furthermore, not all religious activities are environmentally friendly. For example, in some religious festivals or rituals burning incense may cause pollution. In India some rural people don’t care about the pollution of their sacred river because they believe that appearance does not affect the holiness of their god. Besides, there are difference, even disputes, between science and religion in some aspects and issues. There are divergent education advocacy between the secular and the religious. Can religions contribute to cultivating a new, transcendently-grounded mode of ‘ecological citizenship’ (Francis, 2015; Howles, Reader, and Hudson, 2018)? Different spheres and disciplines may have their specific ways of operation, rationales, patterns of reasoning, basic concerns or interests. How can religion cooperate with other spheres for a sustainable development, both theoretically and practically? How can various modes of religious education integrate with diverse patterns of environmental education to develop a sustainable ecology? There is a challenge of diversity that should be addressed.

In a situation of diversity there needs to be an open and inclusive public sphere and procedure of engaged mutual understanding for reaching a consensus or temporary mutual agreement concerning environmental education. Contextual specificity is a basic

characteristic of environmental education and religious education. Each country and region has its own geometrical conditions and cultural traditions; even in the same country there can be different patterns of communal life. Both environmental education and religious education are continually developing and reconstructing themselves; even their categorizations and classifications are various. Each teaching model has its own rationale, histories, traditions, geometrical conditions, and socio-cultural circumstances to address.

Engaged mutual understanding cannot guarantee the resolution of all controversies. However, it is a more promising method in reaching a common agreement, even in the context of divergent worldviews and communal life. Through an engaged mutual understanding, differences and commonalities can be presented and recognized. Even if there is no common element for the reaching of consensus, the reasons or hidden causes of disagreement and difference can be uncovered. A temporary and collective agreement can be reached as a second best choice and a new common starting point for further adaptation, modification, or rectification. It is transparent, inclusive, and open to new possibilities. As difference is recognized and each individual is endowed with legitimate participatory status in the process of decision-making, individuality is respected, equality is sustained, and the resource for addressing the common issue is cultivated.

Through a procedure of openly and inclusively engaged mutual understanding in which the causes of environmental crisis, the necessity and operation of environmental education, the possible integration of religious world view and ethos with environmental education, the relationship of each subject, and curriculum arrangement can be collectively and reasonably deliberated. There was no privileged perspective or academic criterion or pre-set framework, but local and diverse perspectives establishing the model themselves, openly and inclusively with mutual respect; their traditions and rationales are included without denigration or discrimination. They encountered difference. Representatives have an equal voice, with which to speak for their perspectives and communities, even ideology or interest.

Sustainable ecology is a topic that can reconnect the religious and secular perspectives to cooperate with each other. It is a topic that can redraw the line between religion and politics and redefine the appropriate relationship between human and non-human beings. Engaged mutual understanding is an activity that continually opens society to diversity, equally presenting difference. It is a procedure of equal presentation, mutual understanding, and collective deliberation. It is open to all rationales, perspectives, and considerations, even interest calculation. Environmental crisis and its overcome can be openly and collectively inquired and re-evaluated with its contextual specificity. Science, technology, politics, economics, religion, and secular rationales are cooperative on a basis of transparency through engaged mutual understanding. It can contribute to cooperation between secular science, cultural traditions, Eastern religions, Western religions, including Muslim, and explore their contributions to sustainable ecology, and develop a global cooperation for sustainable coexistent development.

This path forward can overcome the inherent challenges of diversity and work out an efficient model of environmental education, with which religious contributions can be integrated.

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Research on the Influence of the Fujoshi Culture Transmission on the Marriage Outlook of Fujoshi among Chinese College Students

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Abstract

Adolescent women are at an important stage in the formation of the concept of marriage and love and the stage of marriage and love preparation, and the concept will have an important impact on them. This thesis takes the female college students in mainland China as the research object, and adopts the questionnaire survey method and the in-depth interview method to explore the influence of the fujoshi culture on the concept of marriage and love of the fujoshi group. On the whole, fujoshi culture has influenced the concept of marriage and love of contemporary female college students as a whole, The greater the exposure of fujoshi culture to female college students, and the larger the number of those reading TANBI works, the bigger the impact on those young women. The fujoshi culture has no significant influence on the mate selection and emotional value dimensions of female college students, and has a greater influence on the nature of marriage, love value, sex ethics and gender orientation. Compared with the non-fujoshi, the fujoshi pays more attention to the equal contribution in the relationship between marriage and love, and fully supports the economic independence of women and opposes the unilateral sacrifice of women in traditional marriage. In all dimensions of the concept of marriage and love, the fujoshi culture has the greatest influence on the sexual concept of the fujoshi group. They are more open to sexual orientation and more likely to accept homosexuality and same-sex marriage, and even pursue homosexuality in their lives.

Keywords: fujoshi culture, fujoshi, female college student, marriage and love concept, TANBI culture

1. Introduction

“TANBI” is also called “aestheticism”. It originated from Japanese modern culture in the 20th century. In the 1970s, the comic industry was introduced. Most of them were created and consumed by women, and focused on the description of love between gay men and did not involve reproduction. As fictional works of pure homosexuality, its main audience is “fujoshi.” The term “fujoshi” is the translation of “fujoshi” in Japanese. It refers to the female group who is obsessed with the TANBI works. The women tease or mock each other by using the term “fujoshi” to describe their interest in this culture. In the 1990s, TANBI was introduced to mainland China through Japanese comics, and it was derived from comics, novels, radio dramas, film and television works, video short films and other forms, forming a huge trend of “fujoshi culture” and becoming a youth subculture and an important part of the network subculture. Of course, fujoshi culture and homosexual culture is not absolutely equivalent, but more like a kind of same-sex love, a subtle emotion of “more than friendship, less than love.”¹ This kind of ambiguity beyond the same-sex friendship, with the opening of gender culture and the spread of online media in recent years, and the fermentation through film and television drama, quickly formed a trend of selling “fujoshi”. For example, the reports of the stars coming out of the closet, sly humour in the film and television dramas, the films and television dramas directly adapted from the literature of TANBI lack of the heroine or weakens. The heroine has a clear tendency to boy’s love attracting a large number of fujoshi to focus, the double male image in the film and television drama is directly pointing to the fujoshi fantasy.

In view of the prevalence of “fujoshi culture” and the enthusiastic pursuit of it by young women, the study of the TANBI and fujoshi culture has become the focus of many scholars. Generally speaking, the research of domestic scholars and scholars abroad are mainly from the perspectives of feminism, sociology, psychology and film and television culture. The main points are as follows: first, it is believed that the “fujoshi” who reads TANBI works to free their own gender identity and obtain liberation and challenge gender stereotypes²; fujoshi can construct female communication ties through the TANBI works³; fujoshi culture is the fetish worship of fujoshi, and is the way in which commercial subjects increase their incomes⁴; the culture of TANBI is still catering to women⁵; pedication consumption is degenerate of male and female rights manipulated by commercial culture⁶; TANBI works show the living status and sexual ethical dilemma of the fujoshi group; The female group is born in the performance of the modern sexual identity crisis, for the young female physical and mental health has a negative impact⁷. The above research explores the reasons for the formation of fujoshi culture from the perspectives of sociology, psychology, and communication, as well as the positive and negative effects on the fujoshi group. Most of them are studied according to qualitative research methods, and quantitative research is extremely rare. In addition, adolescent women

¹Li Yan. The “fujoshi” to magic--Study on the phenomenon of “selling fujoshi” in China's film and television dramas[J]. China-ASEAN Expo, 2013(06): 280.

²Sugiura Yumiko. fujoshi's Puppet World[M]. Central Public Comment Society, 2006; Shao Yanjun. Goodbye “Mei Fengyi” and “Human Culture” counter-attack - a quiet gender revolution[J]. Southern Literature, 2016 (02): 55-58.

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⁴Shen Xiaoxiao. The corrupt female subculture in the new media and its commercial acquisition——Taking the “Spring Festival Evening CP” as an example[J]. News World, 2015(05):240-241.

⁵Yang Yi. Research on the Development Status and Audience Psychology of Chinese Internet-themed Subjects[J]. Journal of Journalism Research, 2015, 6(20):73-74; Wang Mingya. The Reasons for the Network's Drama and the Evolution of Production Interests[J]. Audiovisual, 2016 (08): 55-56.

⁶Yan Yaona. Research on the ethical dilemma of the “female and female” group[D]. Zhejiang University, 2008.

⁷Zhu Lin. “Selling the fujoshiTrend” in Film and TV Works[J]. Audiovisual, 2014(12):51-52; Wang Yuxu. The Network Communication and Hidden Concerns of the Beauty in the Perspective of Carnival Theory[J]. Southeast Communication, 2018(05) :33-35.

are the main constituents of the fujoshi group, and are in the important stage of the formation of values and the preparation stage of marriage and love. Their concept of marriage and love is an important component of their outlook on life and has an important influence on their future love, marriage and choice of sexual objects. Because of this, the influence of the fujoshi culture directly affecting the concept of gender on the concept of marriage and love of fujoshi culture the fujoshi group is particularly important, which will directly affect the life outcomes of young women. However, since scholars who pay attention to are more concerned with cultural studies, research in this area has become a blank field.

The research framework of this paper:

1. Research Objectives: To explore the influence of fujoshi culture on fujoshi's concept of marriage and love of fujoshi.
2. Research object: The group of female students in colleges and universities in mainland China.
3. Research methods: questionnaire survey method and in-depth interview method.

4. Research hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant difference in the concept of marriage between the fujoshi and the non-fujoshi group.

Hypothesis 2: The deeper the degree of fujoshi is, the greater the difference between the concept of marriage and love is.

Hypothesis 3: In the fujoshi culture, irrespective of gender, identity, and status, the fujoshi's economic conditions and family background requirements for lovers are diminished, and love is supreme.

Hypothesis 4: Sex is an important part of fujoshi culture, and fujoshi are more open to sex than non-fujoshi.

Hypothesis 5: fujoshif are more tolerant of celibacy and homosexuality.

Hypothesis 6: fujoshi have higher requirements for equality of husband and wife.

2 Data and analysis

1.1. Data and variables

The questionnaire was revised in the Contemporary College Students' Outlook on Marriage and Love compiled by Cai Min in 2012. It was compiled with the issue of sexual orientation which is more directly related to the fujoshi culture. It be designed in the 2012 with good reliability and validity, and can be used as a measurement tool for contemporary college students' concept of marriage and love. Through the network, the authors sampled and distributed questionnaires to female college students in 29 provinces and cities. Collected 738 questionnaire samples, 128 invalid samples were removed, and 610 valid samples were finally obtained.

2.1.1 Interpreted variable: view of marriage

The concept of marriage and love is the view of people on issues such as love, marriage and sexual orientation. It directly affects the subject's selection criteria for love objects and marriage objects, and also affects their responsibility and obligation in future marriages, and plays an important role in the construction of family culture. The concept of marriage and love is a multi-dimensional concept. Scholars have carried out extensive research on this, but due to the different times and regions, the validity of the scale has been negatively affected. This paper adopts Cai Min's questionnaire standard for contemporary college students' love and marriage concept, and selects some items set under the six dimensions of the nature of marriage, mate selection, emotional value, sexual ethics, love value and gender orientation on the original scale. In the previous interview, it was found that the items with little difference between the fujoshi and the non-fujoshi were excluded, and the items with more obvious sexual orientation

in the TANBI works were added, such as the views on the singles and the homosexual marriage, and finally formed 17 questionnaire topics. The authors set these 17 topics into the six dimensions of marriage essence, mate selection, emotional value, sexual ethics, love value and gender orientation. All of these six dimensions form the six factors of the research. Each topic is in the form of a Likert Scale Each topic has a maximum score of 5 and a minimum score of 1 point. Totally disagree=1, not quite agree=2, partly agree / general=3, mostly agree=4, totally agree=5.

2.1.2 Control variables: fujoshi culture

In order to achieve the research goal, female college students were selected according to random sampling and the degree of influence of the fujoshi culture was investigated through questionnaires. The results are shown in Figure 1. The proportion of Non-fujoshi groups who do not understand was 19.34% and the proportion of Non-fujoshi groups who understand the fujoshi culture but do not like it 42.95%, respectively, and the proportion of fujoshi who knew and liked was 37.7%. To a certain extent, this can reflect the actual proportion of fujoshi and non-fujoshi students in the female university student group. It can be seen that the influence of fujoshi culture on female college students cannot be ignored, and the sample size is great enough to support subsequent research.

Figure 1 : the degree of influence of the rot culture on female college students

The degree of fujoshi is mainly measured by the time of fujoshi and the number of reading works. According to the survey, the situation of fujoshi is as shown in the following figure. The proportion of fujoshi time is more than 3 years, which is 59.13%. In terms of the number of TANBI readings, the number of people who have read 30 pieces of TANBI or more than 30 is the highest, reaching 45.65(%). It can be seen that the proportion of deep fujoshi in the investigation of the fujoshi group is relatively large.

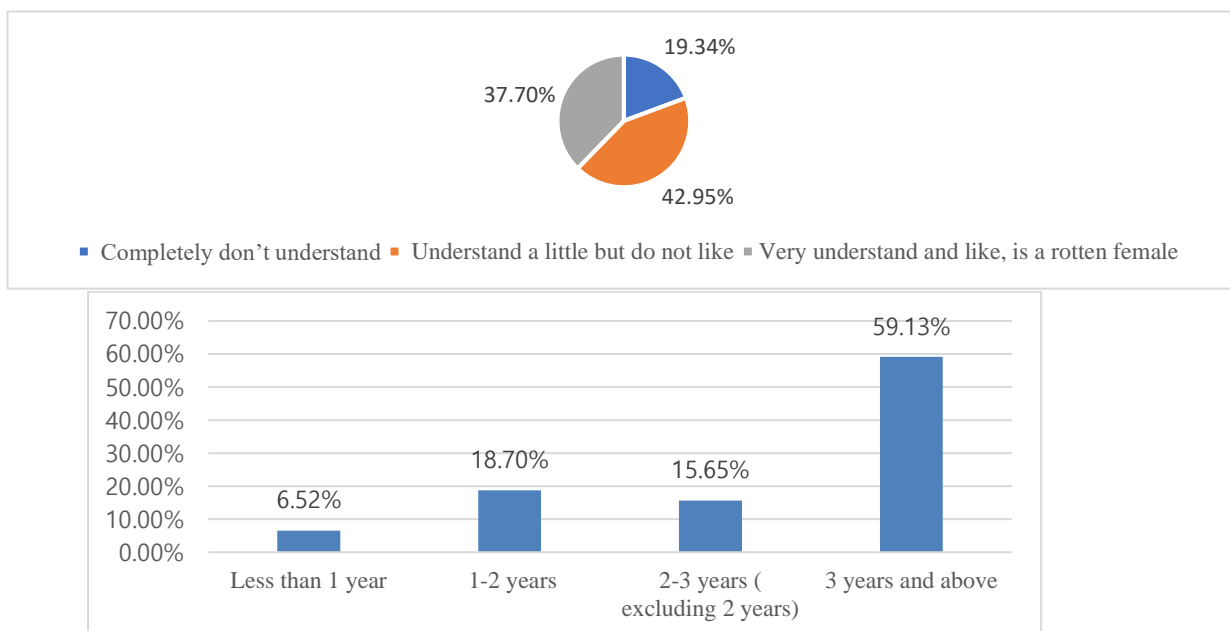


Figure 2 : the fujoshi age of fujoshis

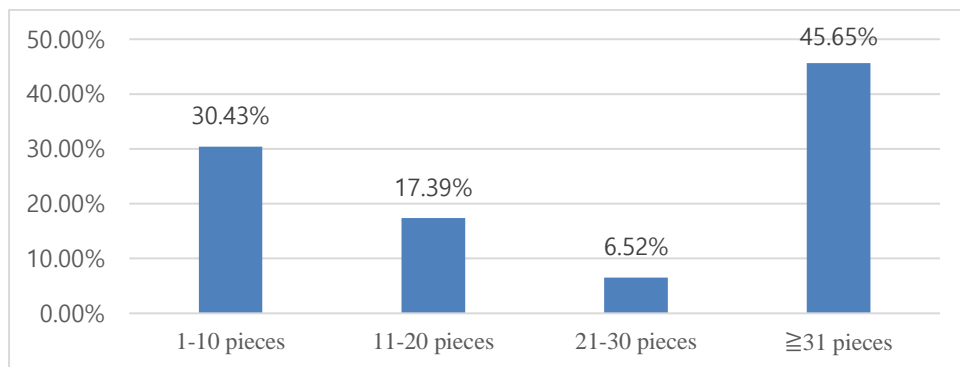


Figure 3 : the number of TANBI works reading

2.2 Survey and data analysis

2.2.1 Exploring factors test of the questionnaire

Before the formal investigation, the authors conducted a pre-survey and obtained 84 valid questionnaires. Then the authors analyzed reliability and validity after the adjustment of the content according to the result of the pre-survey. The results are shown in the following figures.

KMO and Bartlett test		
KMO figure		0.751
Bartlett sphericity test	approximate chi square	2130.125
	Df	136
	p figure	0

Table 1 : the analysis of exploring factors in the questionnaire

Rotated Factor Coefficient of Load							
Topic	factor coefficient of load						Common degree
	factor 1 the nature of marriage	factor 2 mate selection	factor 3 emotional value	factor 4 sexual ethics	factor 5 love value	factor 6 gender orientation	
the nature of marriage is to help each other.	0.529	-0.135	-0.048	-0.151	0.013	0.504	0.577
Equality is essential in love and marriage.	0.577	0.002	0.508	-0.027	0.065	0.08	0.602
Marriage doesn't mean selfless dedication.	0.773	-0.056	-0.019	-0.006	0.131	0.098	0.628

The social status and income of husband doesn't have to be higher than wife.	0.621	0.259	0.123	0.147	0.177	0.015	0.521
Lover's family background is not very important	0.018	0.805	0.033	-0.104	-0.067	-0.014	0.664
Love's economy condition doesn't have to be superior (house, income, etc)	0.002	0.778	0.112	-0.074	0.037	0.03	0.625
Not just marrying into the proper family can be happy.	0.039	0.729	0.066	0.014	0.083	-0.014	0.544
Feeling is the most important basement of marriage.	-0.033	0.262	0.672	0.136	-0.037	0.206	0.584
Love should be unique.	0.101	-0.006	0.787	-0.142	0.076	-0.02	0.656
Can't stand lover had sex with others before	0.041	-0.056	-0.099	0.811	0.09	-0.061	0.683
Never had sex for any benefit.	0.016	0.079	0.587	-0.483	0.028	0	0.585
Sex shouldn't be haven in the period of being in love.	0.034	-0.078	-0.026	0.822	-0.012	0.195	0.722
If never meet the true love, the celibacy will be chosen.	0.363	0.08	0.129	0.025	0.726	-0.035	0.684
Be in love is not for the possibility of getting marriage. Marriage is the necessary.	0.134	0.033	-0.099	0.108	0.846	0.111	0.767
The selection of lover should consider the interests and hobbies.	-0.055	-0.065	0.163	-0.118	0.592	0.504	0.652
Sex should be bold and enjoyable.	0.109	0.073	0.155	0.155	0.07	0.774	0.669
Understand and support the love and marriage of same sex.	0.479	-0.002	-0.054	0.138	0.199	0.5	0.541
Rotated feature value	2.0068	1.9738	1.795	1.736	1.72	1.473	
Rotated variance explanation percent%	11.798	11.608	10.559	10.212	10.119	8.662	

Table 2 : the analysis of the fujoshi and non-fujoshi's concept of marriage and love

As can be seen from the table, the KMO is 0.751, which is greater than 0.6, which satisfies the

premise of factor analysis, and the data can be used for factor analysis research. Bartlett's sphericity test ($P < 0.05$), indicating that the study data is suitable for factor analysis. The authors extracted the factors by principal component analysis and found that there were 6 factors with the characteristic value greater than 1 after rotation, and the cumulative variance contribution rate was 62.959%. The project load, characteristic value and contribution rate of each factor are shown in Table 3. The reliability coefficient value is 0.722, which is greater than 0.7, thus indicating that the research data reliability is qualified. Among them, the research data reliability coefficient values of factor 3 and factor 6 are higher than 0.5, but lower than 0.6, but because the two factors have only 2 analysis items, the data reliability quality is acceptable.

Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Total
0.624	0.692	0.501	0.658	0.659	0.504	0.722

Table 3 : the reliability values of each factors

Validity studies are used to analyze whether a research item is reasonable and meaningful. The validity analysis uses factor analysis methods to comprehensively analyze the KMO value, commonality, variance interpretation rate value, factor load factor value and other indicators to verify the validity level of the data. The KMO value is used to judge whether the validity is valid, the common value is used to exclude the unreasonable research item, the variance interpretation rate value is used to describe the information extraction level, and the factor load coefficient is used to measure the factor (dimension) and the item correspondence. It can be seen from Table 3 that the common value corresponding to all factors is higher than 0.47, indicating that the research item information can be effectively extracted. A KMO value of 0.751, greater than 0.6, means that the data is valid. The variance interpretation rates of the six factors were 11.798%, 11.608%, 10.559%, 10.212%, 10.119%, 8.662%, and the cumulative variance after rotation was 62.959% > 50%. This means that the amount of information in the research item can be extracted efficiently. The correspondence between the factor (dimension) and the research item is consistent with the expectation, and the absolute value of the factor load factor is greater than 0.4, indicating that the option and the factor has a corresponding relationship.

2.2.2 Data Analysis

2.2.2.1 Perform a variance test on six factors (dimensions)

When studying the difference between X (classification) and Y (quantitative), the variance is used to determine whether the fluctuation of Y in X is different. If the variance test did not show significance ($P > 0.05$), variance analysis was used directly to compare the differences, and if significance ($P < 0.05$) was considered, a nonparametric rank sum test could be considered. Through the variance experiment (see the Table below), the P value of the fujoshi and the non-fujoshi in the two dimensions of emotional value and gender orientation are suitable to use the non-parametric sum test, and the other four dimensions are analyzed by variance analysis.

	Have you learned about fujoshi culture before (standard deviation)				
	Completely don't understand (N=118)	Understand a little but do not like (N=262)	Very understand and like, is a fujoshi (N=230)	F	P
marriage essence	0.65	0.61	0.63	0.904	0.405
mate selection	0.83	0.78	0.74	0.797	0.451

emotional value	0.78	0.7	0.78	4.065	0.018*
sexual ethics	0.68	0.63	0.61	1.532	0.217
love value	0.9	0.79	0.8	1.859	0.157
gender orientation	0.85	0.86	0.7	4.777	0.009**

Table 4: Test of variance

2.2.2.2 Analysis of variances in four factors (dimensions) of love value, sexual ethics, mate selection, and marriage essence

	Do you know about fujoshi culture (mean ± standard deviation)			F	penz yme	Partial Eta square (Partial η^2)
	Completely don't understand (N=118)	Understand a little but do not like (N=262)	Very understand and like, is a fujoshi (N=230)			
marriage essence	3.87 ±0.65	4.06 ±0.61	4.33 ±0.63	24.11	0.00**	0.074
love value	3.60 ±0.90	3.81 ±0.79	3.99 ±0.80	9.402	0.00**	0.03
sexual ethics	3.32 ±0.68	3.47 ±0.63	3.53 ±0.61	4.93	0.016*	0.014
mate select	2.97 ±0.83	2.97 ±0.78	2.97 ±0.74	0.00	0.998	0

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Table 5: Variance comparison of four factors (dimensions)

It can be seen from Table 5 that the fujoshi and the non-fujoshi did not show significant differences in the mate selection conditions ($P>0.05$), and there was a significant difference in the love value, sexual ethics and marriage essence ($P<0.05$). In the analysis of variance, the magnitude of the effect (the magnitude of the difference) can be expressed by the partial Eta square. The larger the value, the larger the difference and the critical points of the small, medium and large effect is: 0.01, 0.06 and 0.14, respectively. It can be seen that the difference between the corrupt woman and the non-fujoshi woman is large ($\text{Eta}>0.06$), and the difference in factor 5 is medium ($\text{Eta}>0.03$). There is a difference in sexual ethnic, but the magnitude is small. We analyze the specific differences between the items of the marriage essence and the value of love in the middle of the difference. The results are shown in Table 6.

	Completely don't understand, non-fujoshi (N=118)	Understand a little but do not like, non-fujoshi (N=262)	Very understand and like, fujoshi (N=230)	F enzyme	p enzyme	Partial Eta
The social status and income of husband doesn't have to be higher than wife.	3.42±1.09	3.70±1.01	4.10±0.99	19.934	0.000**	0.062
the nature of marriage is to help each other.	3.69±1.01	3.89±0.98	4.25±0.95	15.011	0.000**	0.047
If never meet the true love, the celibacy will be chosen.	3.77±1.14	4.10±0.99	4.24±0.94	8.637	0.000**	0.028
Marriage doesn't mean selfless dedication.	3.90±1.03	4.06±0.97	4.31±0.89	8.067	0.000**	0.026
Be in love is not for the possibility of getting marriage. Marriage is the necessary.	3.43±1.22	3.55±1.19	3.86±1.15	6.591	0.001**	0.021
The selection of lover should consider the interests and hobbies.	3.58±1.07	3.77±0.96	3.87±1.00	3.164	0.043*	0.01
Equality is essential in love and marriage.	4.46±0.84	4.60±0.70	4.67±0.68	3.216	0.041*	0.01
* $p<0.05$ ** $p<0.01$						

Table 6: Analysis of the results of specific differences in the nature of marriage and the value of love

Table 6 shows that in terms of marital status, especially social and economic status, the fujoshi score is higher than that of non-fujoshi ($P=0.000$, $\text{Eta}=0.062$), which shows that fujoshi pay more attention to the equality of husband and wife. Therefore, hypothesis 6 (the fujoshi have higher requirement of equality and the status of husband and wife) is established. The acceptance of celibacy of fujoshi is higher than that of non-fujoshi, and there is a significant difference ($P=0.000$, $\text{Eta}=0.028$), so hypothesis 5 (the fujoshi is more accepting of celibacy) is

established.

2.2.2.3 Non-parametric test analysis of two factors of emotional value and gender orientation

Nonparametric test analysis results					
	3. Have you learned about fujoshi culture before (median)			Kruskal-Wallis Test statistic enzyme	p enzyme
	Completely don't understand (N=118)	Understand a little but do not like (N=262)	Very understand and like, is fujoshi(N=230)		
love value	4.5	4.5	4.5	0.777	0.678
gender orientation	3.5	3.5	4.5	91.608	0.000**

Table 7: Results of nonparametric test analysis of emotional value and gender orientation

It can be seen from Table 7 that the fujoshis and the non-fujoshis did not show significant differences in the love value dimension, and the gender orientation showed a significant differences ($P=0.000<0.01$). We then conduct a specific analysis of the gender-oriented dimensions of the differences, using non-parametric tests to study the non-fujoshi's "sexuality should be bold and enjoyable" and "understand and support same-sex love and marriage" The difference between the two items. Because the fujoshi is more than two groups, the Kruskal-Wallis test statistic is used for analysis. The results are shown in Table 8. Both problems were significant ($P<0.05$), and there was a difference between the fujoshi and the non-fujoshi. Specifically, the fujoshi and the non-fujoshi showed a significant level of 0.01 ($P = 0.000 < 0.01$) for "sexuality should be bold and enjoyable" ($P = 0.000 < 0.01$), but the results were different, but the median value did not show the difference, at this time, using the box diagram (Figure. 4), it can be seen that the scores of the fujoshi are concentrated at 4 and 5, while the non-fujoshis are concentrated at 4, and the two show differences. Therefore, the hypothesis 4 (compare the attitude value of sex opening, fujoshi is less than non-fujoshi). Fujoshi and non-fujoshi show a significant level of 0.01 ($P=0.000<0.01$) for understanding and supporting same-sex love and marriage, both through the median and box diagram (Figure. 5). The difference is huge, so the hypothesis 5 (fujoshi homosexual attitudes is more inclusive) is established.

	3. Have you learned about fujoshi culture before (median)			Kruskal-Wallis Test statistic enzyme	p enzyme
	Completely don't understand (N=118)	Understand a little but do not like (N=262)	Very understand and like, is fujoshi (N=230)		
Understand and support	3	4	5	135.015	0.000**

the love and marriage of same sex.					
Sex should be bold and enjoyable.	3	4	4	20.472	0.000 **
*p<0.05**p<0.01					

Table 8: Specific analysis results of the gender orientation dimension

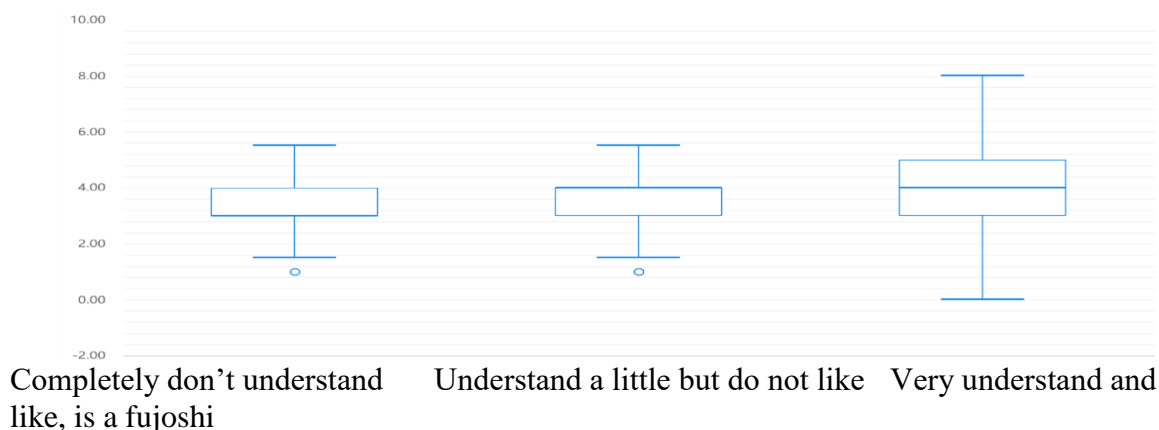


Figure 4: Box diagram of the gender orientation problem that sex should be bold and enjoyable

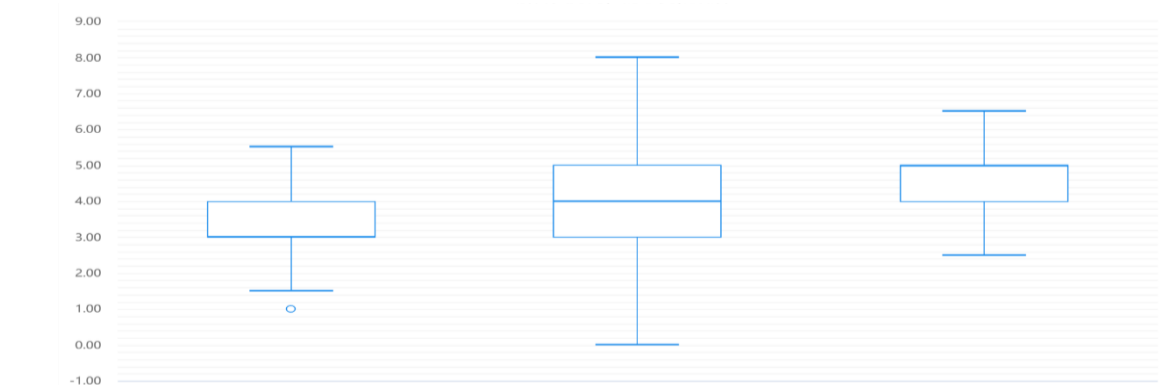


Figure 5: Box diagram of Understanding and supporting the love and marriage of same sex.

In addition, it can be seen from Table 5 and 7 above that there is no significant difference in mate selection and love value between fujoshi and non-fujoshi, so hypothesis 3 (because of the impact of fujoshi culture which support love shouldn't be effected by gender, identity, lover's status, fujoshi in the marriage and love won't value the economic conditions of the lovers, the family background much, and the love is supreme.) is established.

As for the degree of influence of fujoshi on the relationship between marriage and love, as can be seen from Figure6 and Figure7, there is a significant difference between the two (P = 0.000, less than 0.05), and the degree of fujoshi and the relationship between marriage and love is

roughly proportional, so the hypothesis 2 (The deeper the degree of fujoshi, the higher the score on the concept of marriage and love, the greater the difference between non-corrupted women). Using variance analysis to explore the differences between the corrupt and non-corrupted women in the concept of marriage and love, from Table 9 can be seen: the corrupt female and the non- fujoshi showed a significant level of 0.01 ($F=11111.55$, $P=0.00$). Comparing the numerical values, it can be seen that there is a proportional relationship between the degree and the value of the fujoshi, so the hypothesis 1 (the fujoshi and the non- fujoshi group have significant differences in the concept of marriage and love) is established.

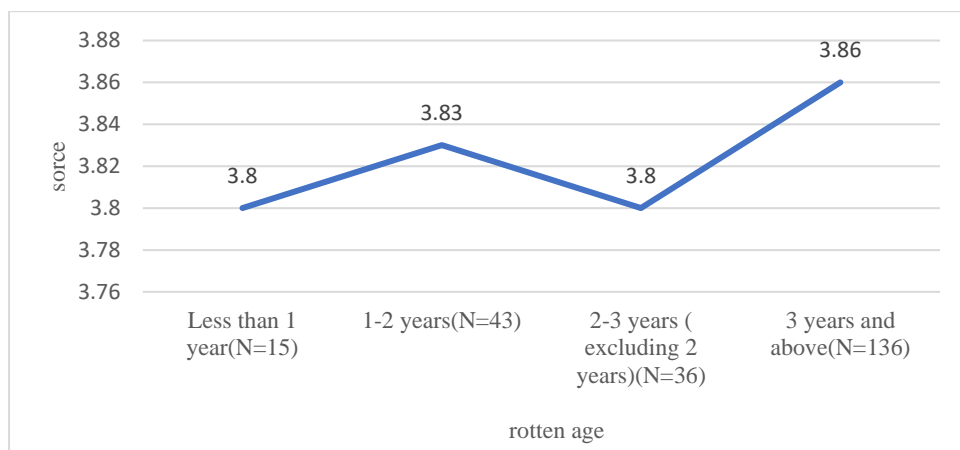


Figure 6: The relationship between the time that the fujoshi woman contacts the fujoshi culture and the concept of marriage and love

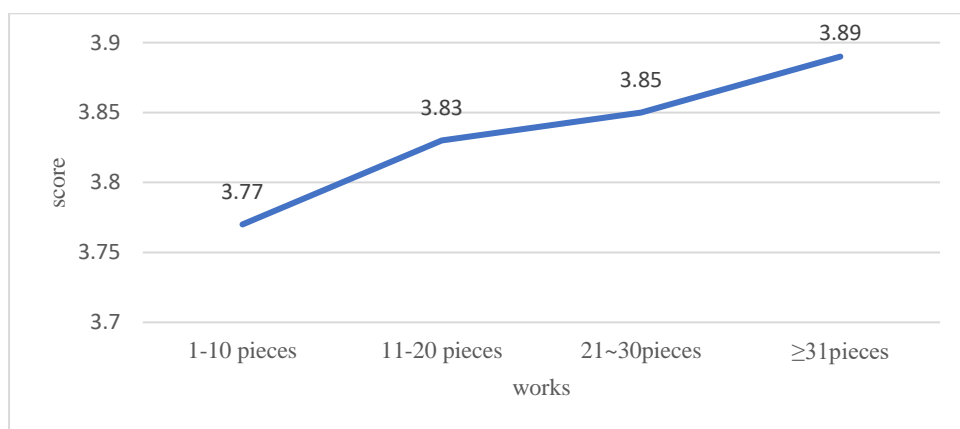


Figure 7: The relationship between the number of fujoshi readings of TANBI works and the concept of marriage and love

Variance analysis results						
	3. Have you learned about fujoshi culture before (average +-standard deviation)			F	p	Partial η^2
	Completel y don't understand (N=118)	Understand a little but do not like (N=262)	Very understand and like, is a fujoshi (N=230)			
the conce pt of love	3.56±0.41	3.71±0.40	3.88±0.40	25.67	0.000* *	0.078

and marriage						
* p<0.05 ** p<0.01						

Table 9: Relationship between the degree of fujoshi and the concept of marriage and love

2. Conclusion and discussion

Studies have shown that, on the whole, fujoshi culture has influenced the concept of marriage and love of contemporary female college students as a whole, and the influence of fujoshi culture on female college students' exposure to fujoshi culture and the increase in the number of reading comparable works will be bigger. Specifically, the fujoshi culture has no significant influence on the mate selection and emotional value dimensions of female college students, and has a greater influence on marriage essence, love value, sex ethics and gender orientation. The fujoshi group does not pursue pure love more than the non-fujoshi group, and therefore gives up consideration of the economic conditions and family background of the lovers. Compared with the non-fujoshi group, the fujoshi group pays more attention to the equal contribution in the relationship between marriage and love, and more supports the economic independence of women and opposes the unilateral sacrifice of women in traditional marriage. The fujoshi has a more rational understanding of the nature of marriage. The fujoshi also pays less attention to the form of marriage and is more willing to remain single without suitable lover. The more open and inclusive attitude of the fujoshi to marriage has also been verified from subsequent interviews. Many fujoshi believe that "love does not necessarily enter marriage" and that it is possible that contact a fujoshi culture will lead them to "a more novel perspective on marriage."

In all dimensions of the concept of marriage and love, the fujoshi culture has the greatest influence on the sexual concept of the fujoshi group. They are more open to sexual orientation and more likely to accept homosexuality and same-sex marriage, and even pursue homosexuality in their lives. As shown in Table 10, by cross-analysis of fujoshi with different sexual orientations, the difference between fujoshi and non-fujoshi is large. Although 66.96% of the fujoshi groups are heterosexual, relatively speaking, fujoshi are more likely to prefer bisexual and homosexual sexual orientation than non-fujoshi, accounting for 30% of the total, which is much larger than the 6.76% of non-corrupted women. The authors conducted further investigations on people whose sexual orientation was bisexual or homosexual, and asked whether they pursued same-sex marriage. The results are shown in Figure 8. Respondents chose more or "want, but dare not try". In reality, only 8.65% of them have the same-sex relationship. It can be seen that even if the fujoshi who has the same-sex and bi-sexual orientation influenced by the fujoshi culture is affected by the gender concept, she will hesitate in behavior. This result is more apparent in the answer to another open question. The answer to the question "What changes have you made to the idea that fujoshi culture has changed your mind about love and marriage?" Most fujoshi believe that fujoshi culture has produced "great changes". Many fujoshi think that gender is not a problem as long as they meet the right target ("completely acceptable (gay)", "I love you and I don't care about your gender and age", "gender has nothing to do with love", but in real life it is somewhat difficult to implement ("Chinese law does not allow ... this law should be abolished.")). It can be seen that the spread of fujoshi culture provides a more diversified sexual orientation for the fujoshi group. Even heterosexual women adopt a more tolerant attitude towards homosexuality ("higher tolerance for same-sex", "hope" The homosexuals around are happy and look forward to the early acceptance of the society"). In addition, the spread of the culture of the United States has also promoted the concern of the

fujoshi group to pay more attention to the equal relationship between the two sexes (“more important to the equality of equality”, “love and marriage must be equal”).

X\Y	opposite sex	bisexuality	homeosex uality	other	aggreg ate
Completely don't understand	111(94.07%)	5(4.24%)	1(0.85%)	1(0.85%)	118
Understand a little but do not like	241(91.98%)	15(5.73%)	4(1.53%)	2(0.76%)	262
Very understand and like, is a fujoshi	154(66.96%)	64(27.83%)	5(2.17%)	7(3.04%)	230

Table 10: Cross-analysis of fujoshi with different sexual orientations

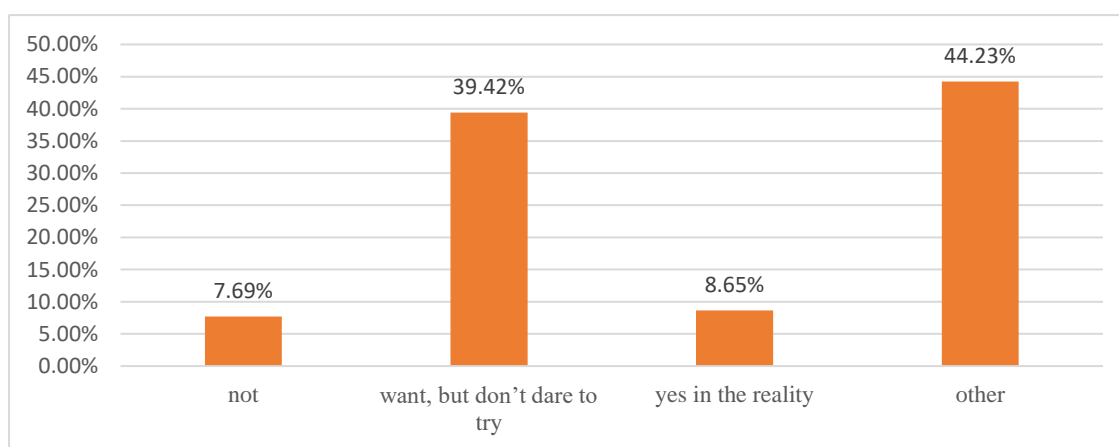


Figure 8: Opinions on the same-sex orientation of fujoshi seeking same-sex marriage

In previous studies, when it comes to the influence of fujoshi culture on adolescents, scholars often use qualitative research methods, and thus get some unconfirmed conclusions, but in the research of this paper, these conclusions are worthy of further discussion. For example, some scholars have suggested that the fujoshi culture will make the fujoshi take her fujoshi as a fashionable thing and be proud of it, but this is not the case for the seven corrupt women interviewed in depth. They generally believe that a fujoshi is just a label or a point of view, and she is not just chasing fashion or being proud of a fujoshi. Some scholars have suggested that the fujoshi culture will make the fujoshi look down upon heterosexual love and believe that heterosexuals have the purpose of reproduction, so it is not as pure as homosexuality. None of the interviewees held this view. The fujoshi only adopted a more open attitude towards marriage and love, and believed that homosexuality and heterosexuality are same. However, the fujoshi culture has an impact on the traditional femininity, which makes the fujoshi tend to be more neutral, and reduces the social blockade of women. This was verified in the interview. The sampling data of this study are not large enough, the in-depth interview does not better extend the questionnaire survey, and the complexity of other influencing factors of the concept of marriage and love is not considered enough, so that there are still some shortcomings in this study.

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A Study on Traditional Marriage Based on Customary Law of the Lach People and It's Changes in the Modern Life

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Abstract

Marriage always plays an important part of one's life, of each family and of the whole society. That is not an exception for the Lach people - a group of local residents of the Co ho ethnic group in the Central Highland, Vietnam. Marriage ceremonies in this group have been "institutionalized" by Nri (Customary Law) - rules adjusted, accepted by or based on the customs and practice of people in a society. Through customary law, it appears that the traditional marriage of the Lach people has many unique features such as the custom of challenging wedding gifts, marrying the family member(s) of the deceased husband, asking man's parents for permission to marry, staying with wife's family, etc. Nevertheless, due to the significant changes of society in recent years, the customary law in marriage of the Lach people has been changing considerably as a result.

Keywords: Marriage, customary law, traditional, marriage rites, Lach ethnic group, change.

I. Introduction

Vietnam is a multi-ethnic entity, country with 54 ethnic groups, in which the Kinh (Viet) people is the majority and the other 53 are ethnic minorities. Among such minorities, the Co ho people is ranked 15th in term of population with 200,727 people¹ living in 46 out of 63 provinces and cities in Vietnam. The majority of the group, however, resides in Lam Dong (175,477 people², approximately 87%) and is also the largest local ethnic minority in that province. The Co ho ethnic group comprises various local groups, such as Sre, Nop, Lach, Cil, etc. Among them, the Lach is proud of their group because the most famous tourist destination of the country, Da Lat, deriving its name from this ethnic group's language (Da La originally means "the land of the Lat/Lach people"). However, with the early modern and modern historical upheavals, the Lach (approximately 4,149 people) mostly inhabit around the south of Langbiang mountain, Lac Duong town, Lam Dong province³.

Discussing on traditional culture of the Lach, it is a lack not to mention a cultural aspect which holds special values – customary law (*Nri*). In terms of form, while law is a theoretical system which reflects the nature of the phenomenon and is expressed in the form of State written documents with logic structure, strictly-promulgated orders and procedures; the customary law of ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands in general, customary law of the Lach ethnic group in particular, are handed down orally primarily through "good rhyming" that the French previously called as "legal practice", i.e. the lyrics of legal practice. The content of customary law of the Lach refers to many aspects of human life, including behaviors toward landscape environment, organization, social institution, family, marriage, property allocation, civil dispute, etc.

In this topic, we want to introduce about rules in the traditional marriage based on customary law of the Lach people and indicate its changes in the modern life.

II. Theoretical Background

1. Definition of Customary law

Customary law in Vietnamese is equivalent to the foreign terminologies such as "customary law", "folk law", "local law", "tribal law" or "traditional law", etc. However, the above terminologies are all used to describe a type of law that differs from "state law" (the law stipulated by the State). Among those terms, "customary law" is popularly used⁴. In Vietnam, each ethnic group has their own ways to name customary law, such as "lệ làng" (as "huong ước" in written form of the Viet people), "Hịt không" (by the Thai people), "Phật đĩ" (by the E đê people), Phật đười (by the M'ngong people), "N'Ri" (by the Ma people), "Toloi phian" (by the Gia rai people), etc.

According to Prof., Ph.D. Ngo Duc Thinh: "*Customary law is a unique form of folk knowledge, including unwritten social standards and conventions (and in some cases, written such as Thai's customary law, Viet's village rules), forming in the long history of each community via behavioral experiences toward natural and social environment, transferring from one generation to the other by oral communication in order to instruct, adjust and stabilize the social relationships (among individuals, between individuals and*

¹ Data of the 2019 General Population Survey provided by Lam Dong Statistics Service.

² Data of the 2019 General Population Survey provided by Lam Dong Statistics Service.

³ Data provided by Lac Duong police in 2019

⁴ Ngo Duc Thinh (2003), *Learning about the Customary law of the Peoples in Vietnam*, Social Science Publishing House, Hanoi, page.

community and between one community and the other). It is accepted by the entire community, creating a unity and conservative structure of each community”⁵.

2. Relationship between customary law and customs, traditional practices and law

Discussing on customary law, it is necessary to mention the relationship between customary law and customs, traditional practices and law. Customary law, on one hand, carries the characters of laws (stipulation on criminal behavior, crimes, evident, justice and penalties, etc.). On the other hand, it is figured by the characters of customs (traditional practices, conventions and ethic advices to instruct people’s behaviors, create public opinion to adjust people’s behaviors). Therefore, customary law is an early form of law, a form of pre-law. Due to the vague border between these two forms, distinguishing is only made relatively.

3. Origins and basis of Lach customary law

Similar to other ethnic groups, the Lach’s customary law had been formed spontaneously, standardized and recognized widely in the community via the relationship and the cultural life style of the residents. Therefore, it carries no sign of social class differentiation and thus it is nothing like an instrument to maintain the ruling position of any class in the society. Customary law was created to adjust the relationship among the individuals, between individuals and the community and between the community and the nature and gods. Lach customary law was formed and tempered from the cultural and human values of the Lach community during their process of discovering and conquer nature together with their experiences in living, resisting and surviving in nature.

Customary law “*bota bóh lăm*” in Lach’s language, means the accumulated experiences from one generation to the others and becoming the standards of behavior in family, in society as well as in relationship with the gods. The conventions in customary law of Lach ethnic group are specific, including conventions on criminals, justice forms, penalties and stipulations on responsibility in the society.

III. Research Method

In order to have a fundamental background for this research, the author get references from documents and writings of some precedent researchers and scholars related to customary law of minor ethnic groups in general and those of the Lach ethnic group in particular.

The topic “*A Study on Traditional Marriage Based on Customary Law of the Lach People and It’s Changes in Modern Life*”, is an inter-discipline research of Ethnology and Jurisprudence; therefore, ethnic fieldwork is inevitably required. Other methods such as participant observation, retrospective interviews, direct profound interview and sociologist survey with the facilitation of technical equipments such as camera, recorder for the complete recording of the information during the work are considered the major methods employed to collect and capture the highly reliable data.

Participant observation is the method which the researchers directly involved in the activities of those who are observed.

In-depth interview method is the dialogue is repeated between researchers and people

⁵Ngo Duc Think (2003), *Learning about the Customary law of the Peoples in Vietnam*, Social Science Publishing House, Hanoi, page.

who provide information to learn life, experiences and perceptions of who provides information through the language of the time.

When data collection is completed, in addition to the published documents resource, we will consolidate and process the documents using methods such as:

Synthetical – analytical methods: based on the collected data, the author will analyze and select the important information to use in the topic of research.

Comparative and contrasting method: in the research, the author uses this method when comparing traditional marriage of Lach people in the past and at present to identify the changes in modern life.

IV. The Results

1. The traditional marriage based on customary law of Lach people

1.1. Rules in the traditional marriage

+The principle of cousin marriage based mother family

As an ethnic group under matriarchy, the first taboo in the marital relationship of the ethnic minority is the cousin-marriage based on mother family. Those who violate this regulation shall be charged of incest and fined heavily by white buffalo, white cow, white goat, white chicken, etc. and even be expelled from the family. According to people in the Lach community, marriage between people of the same mother family is the most serious crimes under the customary law which means offending gods, as traditional concepts, the gods shall be angry resulting in fire, disease or crop failure. The Lach customary law has stated it:

*Having sexual relationship with cousins shall be fined by gods,
Having sexual relationship with aunts shall be scandalous,
Gods and thunder shall strike,
Water god shall seize,
Traveling across river by boat shall be submerged,
Gods shall be angry,
The tiger in the jungle shall eat⁶*

Also, the Lach used to prohibit marriage between clans as Buon To and Dayu, Lieng Jrang and Lieng Hot, Konar and Konsor, K'sar and Cil, Daguk and Pang tin, etc⁷. According to the village patriarchies' opinions, because these families formerly had a same origin, the marriage between such families shall generate monsters or stillbirth.

Due to the principle of cousin marriage based mother family, the marriage with aunt's children and uncle's children is strictly prohibited but the marriage with aunt's and uncle's children in the father family is encouraged to consolidate the power of the clan, especially for rich families for the assets of the families not to be lost outside. The Lach customary law said that:

*"Should find hard rock to sharpen ax and knife
Should find path to set a snare to catch bird
Should marry aunts' and uncles' daughters and sons (aunts and uncles
are younger sister and brother of the father)⁸*

Thus, it is rare for boys and girls to free to love, instead, the common marriage type is "where parents place you, there you must sit". In this regard, Lach customary law has

⁶ Krajan Plin (2010), *K'ho Lach customary law*, Ethnic Culture Publishing House, Hanoi, page.28

⁷ Truong Tro (1993), *Dalat - highland city*, Ho Chi Minh Publishing House, Ho Chi Minh city, page.45

⁸ Truong Tro (1993), *Dalat - highland city*, Ho Chi Minh Publishing House, Ho Chi Minh city, page.201.

reminded:

Kõn sa sôt môt tòm tang
Kõn sa bang môt tòm Konla
Kõn sa ka gêr dà tơ nô
Kõn fuôi kòn fuôi bô lẹy rôh lẹy mae

Meaning that:

To acquire honey, going into the forest to find
To acquire bamboo shoots, going to bamboo hedges
To acquire fish, going to the lake
To get married, please ask for the agreement of parents on both sides⁹

+ The monogamy regime

In Lach society, the monogamy regime has been established for a long time. According to our survey conducted in Lach villages, most Lach ethnic group just remarried when his/her wife/husband unfortunately passed away early. The phenomenon of “polyandry” and “polygamy” can be seen in other local groups of the Co ho ethnic group, such as cases of Sre group in Loc Nam commune, Bao Lam district, Lam Dong province¹⁰; however, this above phenomenon hardly appears in the Lach group in Lac Duong district. The divorce cases also hardly occur, the customary law only allow divorce for cases if one of them (wife or husband) is infertile, insane or be guilty of adultery for many times. In case of divorce due to the husband’s laziness or alcohol addiction, after being expelled by the wife’s family, the husband shall return to his parents’ house with nothing. On the contrary, if the couple divorces due to the wife’s mistakes, the husband when returning to his parents’ house shall receive half of the assets that the two people made while living together.

+ **The custom of marrying the family member(s) of the deceased husband**

Discussing about the traditional marriage of the Lach people in particular and the residents under the matriarchy in general, it is necessary to mention the “practice of marrying the brother-in-law/ sister-in-law if the elder sister/ brother passed away”. It means that when one of the couple unfortunately passed away, the family of the dead person shall take another person to replace the role of the dead person although “the replacer” does not always fit to the widower or widow (for instance, they may have over ten year gap of age). Actually, this practice aims at strengthening the long and sustainable family alliance. The “replacer” may immediately come to live with the widower/widow after completing the burial ceremony for the ill-fated. To refer to this practice, the Lach customary law stated:

Chõt mi podòn oh,
Poh tà podòn mèn

Meaning that: *The elder sister died, the younger sister is replaced*
The sett is lost, the handle is replaced¹⁴

In case there is no replacer, the Lach customary law only allow the husband or wife of the deceased to marry another after a period of mourning for one year. If the mourning period is not expired but the husband or the wife marries another, he/she shall be punished in compliance with the customary law (usually paying a fine of one or two buffaloes to the deceased’s family). In case that the wife passed away, the husband gets married after the

⁹ According to Mr. Cil Kuyen, 1957, B’Nor B hamlet – Lac Duong town

¹⁰ Bui Minh Dao (2003), *The Co ho in Vietnam*, Social Science Publishing House, Hanoi, page.117.

mourning period, the family of the new wife shall bring offerings to the deceased wife's family but not the husband's family to ask for wedding because in the viewpoints of the Lach villagers, the husband when moving to live in the wife's house is the person belonging to the wife's family. Therefore, the offerings of the new wife's family used to ask for marrying the widower shall belong to the old wife's family.

+ The custom of staying with wife's family

In matriarchal society, after the wedding, the husband must move to live with his wife's family. They are given a room of the long house on stilts of the family. The time the husband living in the same house with the wife's family depends on particular circumstances of each family. Usually, when their children are crowded and the private room has not got enough space, they are allowed to move out of that particular house and build their house next to the main house. However, in the event the husband's family does not have any daughter while the wife's family has many daughters, the bride shall move to live in the groom's house.

+ The penalty of adultery

It can be said that the Lach does not concern seriously about the virginity before marriage but the unfaithfulness after marriage is considered as top priority. Therefore, if someone commits adultery, it is hard to avoid strong punishments. Mr. Krajan Te¹¹ said that in order to deter the children not to violate adultery, the Lach has a saying: "*Têr sô bô blô*" (Meaning that: *shall be fined heavily if violating adultery*) or "*Lòt duh ù tũ noru gluy*" (Meaning that: *Should not commit adultery, it makes wife and children get sick*).

Under the Lach customary law, in the case that the married man has an illicit affair with a married woman, both of them shall compensate for honor of their partners by paying two buffaloes and two brocatelle scarves. Besides, the violators shall slaughter a 50kilo pig to invite all members of the two families and the relatives to witness the apology of the husband/wife. In case the husband not only commits adultery but also divorces to live with the new lover, he shall pay a "very expensive" price for his doing:

Bôlom bô rơ pu poh yang phàm

Ăt pơnàn rơ pu sên yang jốt

Meaning that: *The guilty of adultery shall pay a fine of seven buffaloes and eight jars*

*The guilty of divorcing wife/husband to live with new lover shall pay a fine of nine buffaloes and ten jars*¹².

However, in the field trip survey conducted in Manglin village, Ward 7, Dalat city, the author learned that Mr. *Rơ Glê Drêng Xuân* (born in 1945) in Mang lin village, committed adultery with Ms. *Păng ting Phẹ* (born in 1948) after marrying and did not return to the old wife. Consequently, both of them were sanctioned by the village and had to pay a fine of 15 buffaloes to the old wife's family¹³.

In case that the married man has an illicit sexual relationship with unmarried girl, the unmarried girl shall be subjected to get the consequences, i.e. she will be suffered all punishments because by the concept of the Lach ethnic group, that girl committed the crime of seducing and enticing the married man. To refer the enticement crime of the girl, the Lach customary law said:

¹¹According to Mr. Krajan Te, 1950, Bon dong 2 hamlet, Lac Duong town

¹²According to Mr. Pang ting Mut, 1953, Bon dong 1 hamlet, Lac Duong town

¹³According to Mr. Pang ting Nup, 1952, Mang lin hamlet, Ward 7, Da Lat city

*Sềm lờm yờm pờn dờm klàng pắc,
Rắc lờm yờm pờn dờm Klang bung*

Meaning that: *The bird lures the hawk, it will lure the eagle*¹⁴

1.2. The marriage rites of the Lach ethnic group

The marriage rites of the Lach ethnic group often have four main steps:

+ House visit ceremony- visit ritual

According to former marriage of the Lach, which mainly about marriage with aunt's and uncle's daughters and sons (aunts and uncles are younger sister and brother of the father), before taking place the engagement ceremony, the bride's family usually visits the groom's family to get more ideas and thoughts his family of about the upcoming marriage and simultaneously lets the bride and groom intimately know about the family of the other. Lach customary law has mentioned:

*Tờng gít tờ hìu tờ nhã
Jã tờ pờr tờ piêng, iêng tờ rôh tờ mae*

Meaning that: *Knowing where and how is the house; acknowledging what and how they eat; visiting his mother and elder sisters*¹⁵

After the house visit ceremony, it is considered that the two families have entrusted their children to each other. This is reflected in the Lach customary law:

O she Jào, Kờ bàu Jôn

Meaning that: *Giving the horse*¹⁶, *getting the buffalo*

+ Engagement ceremony

The engagement ceremony of the Lach often takes place in the evening because as explained by Mr. Cil Kuyen – a Lach person, the officer of Justice department of Lat commune, it is for “*linh rạch, lành rạch*” (in literal sense, it means that not let the swallow, the black collared starling see; and in metaphoric sense, it means that to avoid gossips, and rumors not good for the bride and groom). Usually, four people of bride's relatives (including her father, mother, the bride and her uncle) accompanying with the matchmaker who has speaking talent go to the groom's family to ask for the engagement ceremony. For the honor of the man as well as avoiding disputes in marriage between families later, the groom's family will not accept the “marriage proposal” of the bride's family in the first time, but after two or three times of such proposals, the groom's family accepts. After the groom's family accepts, the bride's family shall make a present of one or two chickens (a pig if the bride's family is rich), and the groom's family shall prepare a jar of wine for the two families to enjoy together. In this ceremony, the representatives of two families (usually two uncles) shall discuss and reach a consensus on the gifts which the bride's family will pay to the groom's family with the implication that the groom's family has raised and cared for him to adulthood. These gifts are buffalo, antique jar, antique gong, blanket, clothes, etc.

However, according to the customary law, the more or less gifts asked for wedding depend on the working capacity of the boy as well as his virtuousness. If he is hardworking, the guy's family could ask for more gifts compared to lazy and playful guys. After reaching consensus, the matchmaker will give the guy a bead chain and a bronze bracelet for

¹⁴ According to Mr. Bon Đing Be, 1947, Bon đong 1 hamlet, Lac Duong town

¹⁵ According to Mr. Cil Kuyen, 1957, B'Nor B hamlet, Lac Duong town

¹⁶ The horse is compared to the guy

engagement memorabilia between the two families. After the two families have agreed, the engagement ceremony is ended and the guy follows the girl to her home on that night.

+ **Small wedding**

Typically, after the “son-in-law receiving process”, the bride’s family shall organize a small wedding on the next day with three to four chickens and a local jar of wine and invite representatives of the two families as well as parents of the groom to come to the bride’s family to enjoy.

+ **Large wedding**

Time to organize the large wedding depends on the economic condition of the bride’s family. If the bride’s family has good condition, the large wedding shall be organized just a few weeks following the small wedding. However, if the bride’s family doesn’t adequate condition, the large wedding may be held after a few years, even after the couple already has one or two children. The case in Mang Lin village, Ward VII, Dalat city, the couple Ms. R and Mr. Bel and the couple Mr. K’jac and Ms. Bree held *tàm bu* (large wedding) in May 2011 with the participation of grandsons and granddaughters (when the couple were at the age of 46). Even Mr. Bơ Bro Frie – Vice President of Lac Duong town also tells us that he only organized *tàm bu* (Large wedding) in February 2011, over ten years since the date starting living together and their eldest child was at 4th grade, etc. When hearing the above information, the author thought of “silver wedding”, “golden wedding”, “diamond wedding” (celebration of 20 years, 40 years or 60 years since the date of wedding) in Western countries. Of course, such comparison is literally stumbled because *đam bao/ tàm bu* of the Lach do not follow any fixed term but are organized only when favorable conditions and allowable economic conditions are met. The difficult time, especially in “subsidy years” and even in early years of “Đoi moi-Reforming” process, it did not allow many Lach couples to organize *tàm bu* soon after the engagement ceremony and many of them just “repaid” the villagers in recent years. Also, according to the informants, no matter how late it is, the couple must organize *tàm bu*, because in their opinions, they then may be “peaceful and untroubled to go and meet the ancestors in the world beyond”. In case the parents passed away before organizing *tàm bu*, the children shall organize this ceremony for the parents before burial ceremony.

The large wedding took place in the bride’s family; therefore, all expenses for the wedding shall be paid by the bride’s family. In the past, the Lach often slaughtered a pig (about 50 kg) or a buffalo (if the family was rich) to organize the wedding and invite all relatives of the two families to enjoy. Besides, the bride’s family shall slaughter additionally some pigs to make portions for the groom’s relatives to bring home. The number of pig heads depend on the groom’s family because how many pig heads received from the bride’s family (actually a whole pig), the groom’s family shall repay the same number of buffalo to the groom. The purpose of this custom is to support the young couple with initial working capital. Typically, the groom’s parents receive a pig head, and each uncle also receives a pig head from the bride’s family. After receiving pig heads, the groom’s family slaughters and invites the bride’s family and relatives to enjoy in the next morning. In addition, the groom’s parents also give some working tools (basket, ax, plow, yoke, rake, etc) and other household appliances (mat, a pair of cups, a pair of chopsticks, etc) to the young couple.

The above are the traditional marriage based on customary law of the Lach people. Obviously, with “regulations” in marriage, the marriage rules and standards of the Lach can be shown. Apart from negative factors such as “practice of asking for gifts in

wedding”, “practice of replacing younger sister/brother for the deceased wife/husband”, the Lach customary law also present progressive characteristics, traditional humanistic culture values such as monogamous tradition, the faithfulness in marriage and ceremonies with national cultural character such as asking man’s parents for permission to marry, staying with wife’s family, etc.

2. The changes in marriage of the Lach people in modern life

During years of renovation and reforming, the life, economic and society of ethnic minorities have positive changes. The economy with different economic sectors is gradually influenced and replaced the economy of traditional cultivation. The cultural exchange also has certain influences on the lifestyle, customs and great changes in life. Lach customary law is not an exception in this trend, specially from The Decree of Government (No. 32/2002/ND-CP), *The Regulation of applying Marriage and Family Law for ethnic minorities* was promulgated.

Firstly, the marriage principles have changed. The situation of marriage only with uncle and aunt’s son/daughter is removed and marriage to people in other villages, other ethnic groups are more opening. According to statistics from 2002¹⁷ to 2019 there are 96 cases of marriage between Lach ethnic group to other ethnics through Lac Duong district. For example, the case of *Krăjan Luyng* (Lach ethnic group) getting married to *Lê Văn Nghĩa* (Kinh people), *Bon Đing Thu Thuy* (Lach ethnic group) married *Điêu Nhật* (M’ông people) or *Rơ Châm Amăk* (Gia rai people) and *Krăjan Hwơ Rai* (Lach ethnic group) ¹⁸, etc.

Similar to marriage type within uncle and aunt’s sons/daughters, the type of husband’s brother and wife’s sister marriage rarely occurs in Lach modern society. Nowadays, this marriage type is not encouraged as much as it had been practiced before. The Lach’s customary law is not too strict to regulate on widow or widower remarrying the others. At present, the youth in Lach people do not vote for this type and even strongly disagree it because in their opinions, this marriage type is unreasonable, does not bring happiness and sustainment in marriage relationship due to the differences of age, thoughts and viewpoints of the two people.

In addition, marriage situation that “where the parents place you, there you must sit” or the situation of parents self-engaging together before their baby was born almost disappear. Currently, Lach girl and boy is free to love, understand each other and that can get married; their parents always support them and respect their choice if their choice does not violate the customary law.

Currently, the Lach’s wedding consists of traditional engagement ceremony and large wedding. The visit ritual and small wedding are cut. The engagement ceremony is held according to tradition but the wedding has changed much more. Currently, most of the Lach ethnic group are Protestants or Christians so all ceremonies are organized in church. In the case that the bride following religion and the groom not following, if he wants to follow religion, he shall study religious tenet within 3 months and christened by priest. In addition, the two persons have to study marriage tenet in church in one year and then hold their wedding in church. After fulfilling all wedding rituals in church, bride’s family will held a party for everyone and relatives. For wedding format, Lach ethnic group’s wedding is similar with Viet/Kinh people’s. In recent years, if there is a chance to make or watch a

¹⁷According to timeline of The Decree of Government (No. 32/2002/ND-CP), *The Regulation of applying Marriage and Family Law for ethnic minorities* was promulgated.

¹⁸ Data provided by Judicial departments of Lac Duong town

wedding video, or see a wedding photo album of a Lach couple, many people who love and have interest in the traditional culture of the minority will rise an unavoidable emotion of disappointment and regret. Obviously, it is not difficult to find that in the video or album, the bride is graceful in gorgeous layered skirt wedding dress while the bridegroom dresses in complete with ties, and their guests are in miniskirts and long skirts, suite, and so on. In addition, people hire other wedding services such as video makers, photographer, and soiree as well as serving non traditional dishes for wedding. For the well-off families, wedding parties are celebrated in luxury restaurants. Actually, no matter how disappointed and regretfully it is, life still goes on with inevitable flows. In conclusion, it is “domino effect” of a tendency that Viet/Kinh people are the pioneer. Even if we can see further, this issue is not only happening in Vietnam but also occurs in many other countries in the world. In addition, the guests do not bring cups, bowl, blanket, and sleeping mat to cherish for the couple as they did in the past, instead, “envelope”¹⁹ is replaced. According to our survey, to ask a husband for a daughter, each family spends around one – hundred millions Vietnam dong equivalent to income of a family per year. Many families with poor economic condition, thus cannot organize wedding for their daughters, as a consequence, the daughters are “past marriageable age”. Nowadays, the Lach wedding is somewhat *Vietnamization* or in other words, it “imitates” the Viet/Kinh people in wedding celebration. However, in the present wedding of the Viet/Kinh people, it appears many problems especially commercialize their wedding as “Sell banquet for money”.

The custom of asking for gifts in wedding is still existed and all offerings in the past are converted into money and gold. According to our survey, level of “asking for offerings” depends on the situation of family, typically from 20 to 30 millions Vietnam dong for uneducated men and from 50 to 60 millions Vietnam dong or more for well-educated men. However, many bride’s families are special difficult condition and cannot afford to prepare offering for the bride, the bridegroom’s family is still empathized. In addition, the bridegroom’s family also prepares a few sum of capital for the young couple to establish their career and they have to return that after they have profitable gains. It can be seen that exchanging materials in marriage still existed and heavily exercise the Lach community in a long time. Thoughtfully, this problem is a warning alarm which requires suitable timely intervention from local authorities such as propaganda methods to encourage everyone to prevent the continuation and extension of this problem, and facilitate the Lach girls in the difficult family to find happy endings for their family life.

3. Conclusion

The traditional marriage of Lach ethnic group in Vietnam has played an important part of their life cycle and it is quite significant so far. In particular, in the modern context, although many ceremonies and regulations in marriage have still been preserved and complied; some traditions in marriage have become less important and even extinct. instead, The imitation to Vietnamese/Kinh people in organizing the weddings is more remarkable. Thus, it is vital to consolidate and study the relationships between customary laws and written laws in the current social management to manage, preserve, maintain and promote the cultural characters of the Co ho-Lach in particular and other ethnic groups in general.

¹⁹ The “bottom line” for each wedding gift in Lach weddings is from 300 -500 thousands Vietnam dong.

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“合法”과 “非法”의 邊界: 在中 “조선신부”의 生活困境
Boundary between the legal and the illegal: the plight of
north korean bride in china

전신자

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1. 들어가면서

세계화 및 글로벌시대에 들어서면서 자본, 기술 및 정보는 時間과 空間, 나아가 國境을 무너뜨리고 있으며, 인류의 流動規模와 속도도 전례 없는 조류를 형성하고 있다. 국가와 국가간의 地理적 邊界는 이미 세계적인 이민 조류를 막지 못하고 있다. 특히 世界移民의 여성화는 이미 독특한 人文風景線으로 되고 있으며, 그 가운데 혼인이주여성들이 많은 비중을 차지한다. 國際移民은 다양성을 띠고 있지만 대체로 合法적 移民과 非法¹적인 移民으로 구분할 수 있다. 합법적인 국제이민도 때론 “合法”이란 허울을 쓰고 사실상 “非法”과 다름없는 사회문제를 야기시키는 경우도 있다. 또 非法移民은 非法이란 “죄명” 때문에 삶의 근경에 빠져 법률적인 신분보장을 받지 못하고 공포와 불안한 환경에서 살고 있다. 在中 “조선신부”들이 바로 이러한 사람이다. 이들의 移民身分은 이미 非法移民, 外國移民, 事實移民 등 교차 속에서 인정받기 어렵고 역시 그들의 결혼도 국가차원에서는 非法婚姻으로 보고 있지만 민간차원에서는 事實婚姻으로 인정하고 그 결혼한 가족에서는 合法婚姻이라고 생각하고 있다. 본 논문에서는 조선신부 사례를 통해 合法과 非法의 邊界를 논하면서 國家法律과 民間 사이의 질서 충돌은 어떤 갈등과 문제를 야기하고 사회에 어떠한 영향을 주는지 살펴보고자 한다. 나아가 조선신부에 대해 국가와 민간사회에서의 상이한 인정태도를 둘러싸고 국제이민관리정책에 어떤 시사점을 던지고 있는지, 조선신부의 이민의 신분, 혼인의 속성, 혼인의 기능 등 여러 방면에서 그들의 合法과 非法의 邊界를 살펴보고 현재의 다원사회 다원질서 속에서 국가이민법과 이민관리정책의 부족점과 조선신부들의 생활개선에 미숙한 소견을 제기하려고 한다.

2. 合法移民과 非法移民: 죽음과 가난의 탈피

현재 조선여성의 이주결혼 문제는 정치, 사회 등 여러 가지 원인으로 인해 중국학술계에서도 다루기 힘든 주제이다. 조선여성들은 월경하여 중국에서 정착하고 있지만 아직까지 합법적 신분이 없이 숨어살기 때문에 확실한 통계조사를 하기 어렵다. 20세기 90년대 말까지 Keumsoon Lee는 그 숫자를 39,288명으로 보았고², 21세기 초 Andrei Lankov는 중국에 있는 조선여성은 주로 상업적인 착취, 노동, 혼인 등으로 하여 약 75,000명~225,000명이 된다고 한다³. 2004년 말까지 중국 공안부의 통계에 의하면 중국에 진입하여 결혼하여 아이를 낳은 非法移民은 수십 만 명에 달한다고 한다.⁴ 여기에서 나타난 숫자를 보면 조선여성들이 중국남성과 결혼하여 정착한 사실은 이미 현실적인 사실이고 그 건수도 상당하다.

우선 조선여성 이주결혼자에 대해 중국에서는 보통 “조선신부”(朝鮮新娘)라고 칭한다. 조선신부라는 호칭에는 고난, 가난, 공포 등 여러 가지 함의가 내포되어 있다. 특히 중국 동북에서 “조선신부”란 호칭은 이미 민간에서 인식된 지 오래며 “조선신부”로 인한

¹ 본문에서의 非法은 合法이 아니고 법률적인 근거가 없는 것을 의미하여 합법과 대응한 법률이 權限을 부여하지 않는 행위를 가르킨다. 不法은 법령을 違反하고 법률이 禁止하는 행위를 종사하는 것을 의미하여 違法과 비슷하다. 違法은 말 그대로 법률, 법령을 위반하거나 犯하는 행위를 가르킨다. 이러한 의미 差異로 중국에서는 不法移民, 不法婚姻이라는 단어를 사용하지 않고 非法移民 혹은 非法婚姻이라는 단어를 사용한다. 본문에서의 非法이란 단어도 이런 의미에서 온 것이다.

² 武艳华, “论中朝婚姻中的法理情的冲突与调适-以民族婚姻的属性和公民身份为视角”

『贵州民族研究』(贵州省民族研究所主办, 2013, 第四期) P. 20. 转引 Keumsoon Lee, The Border-Crossing North Koreans: Current Situations and Future Prospects[M]. Seoul: KoreaInstitute for National Unification, 2006.

³ 武艳华 (2013), 转引 Andrei Lankov, North Korean Refugees in Northeast China[J]. Asian Survey, 2004(6).

⁴ 宋全成, “欧洲与中国: 非法移民及其社会控制政策之比较”. 『山东社会科学』(山东省社会科学界联合会2011, 8期) P.23-27.

중국남성과 조선여성의 “국제결혼”, 또 그들 사이에 태어난 아동, “조선신부”의 사회적 신분, 그리고 신분이 탄로 난 뒤 북한송환 등 문제는 가끔 중국사회에서도 이슈로 떠오르고 있다.⁵

그 조선신부의 문제에서 사람들의 주목을 받는 가장 큰 문제는 아마도 그들의 법적인 신분문제일 것이다. 그들 신분의 合法性과 非法性を 구분하기 위하여 먼저 移民定義에 대하여 살펴보기로 한다. 2010년 11월 1일 진행한 중국 제 6차의 인구 센서스에서 국가통계국이 처음으로 중국 경내에 거주한 홍콩주민(234,829명)과 마카오주민(21,201명)과 外籍의 인원(593,832명), 합계1,020,145명⁶ 을 인구센서스의 범위에 포함하였지만 그들을 이민이라고는 정의하지 않았다. 여기에는 첫째, 중국은 정부차원에서 이민에 대해 정의하지 않았으며, 지금까지 통일된 移民立法이 없기에 학계에서도 아직 공감대를 형성하지 못했다. 둘째, 이민이라고 한다면 국민들은 본능적으로 중국에서 외부로 이민한다는 생각이 더 깊다.⁷ 그렇기 때문에 이민의 숫자에는 非法移民의 수가 포함되지 않는다.

그럼 중국에서의 非法移民은 얼마나 되고 그들은 무엇때문에 중국에 이주하며 또 당시 사회에서 어떤 영향을 비추고 있는가 등 여러문제를 다루려면 우선 법률적으로 이민에 대해 정의해야 한다.

현재까지 移民定義에 대해 국내외 학술계든 관련 국제조직이든간에 완전히 통일된 정의가 없지만 공동성에 대한 인식은 점점 많아지는 추세이다. 대체로 세가지 유형에서 논의 된다. 첫째, 工具性적인 사전에서의 정의이다. <大美百科辭典>에는 “광범한 의미에서 본다면 인간의 이주는 개인 혹은 한 집단이 상당한 거리를 지나 永久性적인 이동을 한다.”(⁸ 61쪽)라고 정의하고, <사회과학대사전>에서는 “이민은 인구가 지리상 혹은 공간상의 유동을 말하고 原居住地로부터 목적지에 이동때문에 거주지가 개변된다. 이런 이주는 영구성적이다”(⁹ 170쪽)라 하였다. 그리고 <中國大百科全書(社會學卷)>에는 “인구이주는 사람들이 原 居住地를 떠나 일정한 행정한계를 초월하고 다른 지방거주로 이동한다. 이주를 하는 인구를 이민이라고 한다.”¹⁰ 라고 적혀있다. 위에서 언급한 이민의 定義에는 국제이민도 포함하고 국내이민도 포함되지만 이주 시간, 이주 공간 등에 대해서는 구체적으로 규정하지 않았다. 둘째, 國際組織의 定義이다. 국제이민조직에서는 “국제이민은 주민들이 국경을 초월하여 出生國 혹은 原國籍國을 떠나 단기적 혹은 장기적인 체류 목적으로 타국으로 이주한다. 관광객, 단기적인 商務고찰자, 의료, 宗教參拜등은 일반적으로 이민에 속하지 않는다.”고 하였다.¹¹ 10쪽) 국제유엔인권특별조사위원회의 정의에 의하면, “국제이민은 非出生地 국가에 거주하고 그 국가에서 중요한 사회관계를 취득한 인구를 말하면서 아래와 같은 세가지 상황의 이민을 포함한다고 한다. 1, 원 국적의 국가를 떠나 本國의 법률보호를 받지 않고 기타국가의 영토내의 주민으로 있다. 2, 遷入國家의 法律識別의 權利를 향수하지 않는 거주자. 3, 외교협약, 비자, 혹은 기타협약에 의하지 않는 거주자.”(¹²10쪽)라고 한다. 이 정의에는 국제이민은 合法移民과 非法移民을 모두 포함하고 있다는 것이다. 셋째, 학자들의 정의이다. 중국학자 吳前進은 “국제이민은 국내이민과 다르고 난민와도 다르며 하나의 邊界를 뛰어넘는 국제적인 인구이주현상과 운동이며 개인과 집단의 자유의지로부터 출발된 행위로서,

⁵ 전신자:<<중국조선족여성상과 북한여성의 “국제결혼” 비교연구>>, <북한학 연구>,2014년 제10권 제1호., 187쪽.

⁶ 참조: 罗刚《论我国移民、非法移民概念的界定》,《政法论丛》2012年第三期. 여기에서 통계한 인원들은 모두 중국국내에서 3개월이상 거주하는 자를 말하며 출장, 관광 등 단기적으로 체류하는 인원을 포함하지 않는다.

⁷ 참조: 罗刚《论我国移民、非法移民概念的界定》,《政法论丛》2012年第三期.

⁸ 참조:《大美百科全书》,北京,外文出版社,海豚出版社,1994年.

⁹ 참조:《社会科学大辞典》台湾,商务印书馆,1973年.

¹⁰ 참조:《中国大百科全书》,北京,中国大百科全书,1991年.

¹¹ 참조: 郝鲁怡:《欧盟国际移民法律制度研究》,人民出版社,2011年.

¹² 참조: 郝鲁怡:《欧盟国际移民法律制度研究》,人民出版社,2011年.

정부의 강제가 없다”¹³ 고 한다. 羅剛은 “이민은 移民者主體와 移住行爲를 포함한다. 즉 이민주체로 말한다면 외국국적을 가진 외국인이 자기의 소재국에서 외국으로 이주한 이주민, 이주행위로 본다면 그들의 장기적인 체류목적과 관련된다. 물론 체류목적은 주관적인 의식형태이고 면접이나 설문조사를 통해 알수 있지만 다른 하나는 그들의 객관적인 행위를 고찰해서 판단한다. 그렇기 때문에 이 학자는 중국경내에서 3개월이상 거주한 외국인을 가르키지만(無國籍人도 포함) 출장, 관광 등은 포함되지 않는다고 한다.¹⁴

이민은 서로 다른 표준에 따라, 다양한 유형으로 나눌 수 있는데 그의 합법성에 의해 주로 合法移民과 非法移民으로 나누어졌다. 합법이민은 국가의 관련 법률, 국제조약 혹은 국제관례의 규정에 의해 주민들이 국적의 소유국이나 출생국에서 유입국으로 이주하여 장기적 혹은 단기적으로 거주하는 자를 의미하고, 비법이민은 유효적인 법률문건 혹은 천입국의 허가가 없는 상황에서 비법으로 월경하거나 비법으로 이 나라에 거주하는 자를 의미한다. 이런 의미에서 본다면 비법이민은 합법이민에 상대하여 말하는 것이고 하나의 비정상적인 상태에 처해 있음을 말한다. 재중 ‘조선신부’들은 바로 이런 의미에서 비법이민이라고 볼 수 있다.

현재 중국에서는 여러가지 원인으로 인해 비법이민에 대한 숫자는 공개하지 않지만 사실상 사람들은 이러한 비법이민을 객관적인 존재로 승인하고 있다. 심지어 어떤 지역에서는 이들에 의해 발전하고 또 어떤 지역에서는 그들로 인해 사회가 안정이 된다고 한다. 중국 사회의 이슈로 떠오르는 ‘조선신부’들이 바로 이러한 역할을 하고 있다. 그들은 비정상적인 경로를 통해 중국에 들어 왔기에 비법이라고 하지만, 도덕적으로나 행위적으로 죄를 범한 행위가 아니기에 “불법”은 아닌 것이다. 그들은 생존과 죽음의 경계에서 정치적이고 지리적인 장벽을 넘어 이국땅으로 이주하여 가난을 탈피하기 위하여 자기의 노동과 자기의 노력으로써 삶의 기회를 모색하고 있을 뿐이다. 그러한 행위에 “불법”이라는 죄명을 씌우고 기본적인 인권을 박탈해서는 안된다. 그들의 기본적인 인권의 국제보호문제는 반드시 중시를 돌려야 할 문제이며, 특히 비법이민과 관련되어 많은 조선신부는 중국에 팔려온 인신매매의 피해자들이다.

<사례 1> “1998년 박 여사는 조선 어느 한 화학비료공장에서 일하다가 공장이 폐쇄되면서 실업 당하게 되었다. 이때 어느 한 이는 사람이 찾아 와서 중국에 가면 그의 집을 살릴 수 있다고 하였다. 즉 중국에 가면 집에서는 중국돈 300원을 가질수 있다고 하였다. 집을 살리기 위하여 박여사는 찾아 온 사람을 따라 중국으로 왔다. 그 사람은 중국 한족에게 즉 지금의 남편에게 넘겨 주었다. 일년이 지나서 박 여사는 자기가 팔려서 중국으로 왔다는 사실을 알게 되었다. 인신매매로 중국 돈 5000원에 중국 사람에게 팔려 왔다.”¹⁵

<사례 2> “저의 이웃에서 노총각이 살고 있었는데 장가를 가지 못해서 북한에서 조선신부를 사왔어요. 그런데 적하면 이 조선신부에 폭력을 대고 그의 시부모도 역시 이 신부를 잘 대하여 주지 않았습디다. 적하면 욕을 하고 구박을 많이 하였습디다. 딸을 낳아서 3년 살다가 어디에 갔는지 모르겠어요.”¹⁶

<사례3> “28세 되는 조선여성 김여사는 중국돈 6000원에 어느 한 시골의 장가를 가지 못한 노총각에게 팔려 왔다. 시집에서는 모든 힘을 다하여 이 조선신부에게 호적을 만들어 주었는데 민족 성분에는 한족이라고 적어 넣었다. 한족이라면 남의 눈을 피할 수 있다고 하여서 이렇게 하였다고 한다.”¹⁷

위에서 열거한 사례들은 조선신부의 극히 일부분이다. 이들은 생존과 가난을 탈피하기 위하여 비정식 도경으로 월경하고 또 인신매매로 중국으로 팔려 와서 경제적으로 가난하거나

¹³ 吴前进:《当代国际移民概念及其全球化特征》,《现代国际关系》,2004,8.

¹⁴ 참조: 罗刚《论我国移民、非法移民概念的界定》,《政法论丛》2012年第三期.

¹⁵ 喻尘,“朝鲜新娘在中国的现实境遇”『中国社会导刊』(中国社会新闻出版总社2003.)P. 17--19

¹⁶ 李孟,“渴望生存:外来“朝鲜新娘”社会适应研究”『法制与社会』2009年 第四期.

¹⁷ 李孟,“渴望生存:外来“朝鲜新娘”社会适应研究”『法制与社会』2009年 第四期.

인품도 좋지 않는 남성과 결혼을 하였지만 그들의 대부분 삶은 어려웠다. 워낙 배우자의 경제조건이 좋지 않는데다가 “非法”이란 성격을 띠었기 때문에 일자리 제한도 많이 받게 된다.

3. 合法婚姻과 非法婚姻: 登記婚姻과 事實婚姻

婚姻이란 부부관계를 형성하기 위해 사회적으로 公認된 의식절차를 거치는 과정이다. 부부관계를 통해 가족이 형성되고, 가족은 인류사회의 가장 기초적인 社會組織形態이다. 이런 사회조직형태에도 합법과 비법이 존재하여 혼인법에 새로운 도전을 하고 있다. 중국의 <<婚姻法>>과 <<涉外婚姻管理法>>에서는 모두 명확하게 婚姻登記를 합법혼인의 유일한 형식요건으로 규정하였다.¹⁸ 1983년 8월 26일에 民政部에서는 <<중국국민이 외국인과 혼인등기를 하는 몇가지 규정>>을 반포하였는데 여기에는 “중국 국민은 외국인과 중국경내에서 자원으로 결혼할 때 남녀쌍방의 당사자는 반드시 함께 중국국민의 호적소재지의 성, 자치구, 직할시인민정부가 지정한 혼인등기 기관에서 등기를 신청하여야 한다”고 규정하였다.¹⁹ 여기에서 보는 바와 같이 登記는 국제결혼의 합법적이고 필수적인 요건이다. 그러나 중국에서의 현실은 “事實婚姻”이 대량적으로 존재하고 있다. 사실혼인이라 결혼등기를 하지 않고 부부로서 동거생활을 하고, 주변 사람들 역시 그들을 부부의 異性간의 결합으로 보고 있다.²⁰ 특히 농촌과 변강지역에서 등기하지 않은 결혼이 30%를 점한다고 한다. 이런 사실혼인은 등기혼인과 대응한 하나의 혼인의 형식이다. 사실혼인이 합법혼인과 구별되는 점은 법률이 규정한 형식을 갖추지 못했다는 점뿐이고, 실질적인 요건면에서는 합법혼인과 다른 점은 없다. 조선신부들의 국제결혼은 거의 대부분이 혼인등기의 서류가 없는 사실혼인이다. 물론 여러 경로를 통해 중국의 호적을 취득하고 정식으로 결혼등기를 하는 경우도 있지만 대부분의 이주결혼은 등기를 하지 않았다.

이런 “非法”혼인도 역시 하나의 사실혼인에 속하므로 중국 婚姻立法과 司法實踐에서 하나의 難點으로 되고 있다. 중국에서 줄곧 강조하는 登記는 바로 혼인이 성립한 유일한 법적인 형식이지만 민간에서는 이와 달리 전통적인 습속과 禮儀秩序에 의해 혼인을 논한다. 그러면 法理秩序란 무엇인가? 이는 민주, 자유를 원칙으로 하고 국가에서 반포한 合理的인 官僚制度로서 권리의무의 질서를 통일하는 것이지만 禮治秩序는 농촌에서 禮俗, 人情, 習慣, 族規, 族法 등에 따라 진행한 사회활동의 질서이다.²¹ 환언하면 사회사실과 경험에 의하여 사회행위규범으로 인정하는 사람들이 더 많다. 그러나 事實婚姻은 일단 충돌이 일어나 법에 의거할때 중국 최고인민법원에서는 사실혼인 절차의 違法성과 婚姻內容의 客觀의 存在性에 의해 부득불 법률의 統一과 尊嚴을 유지하고 禮法秩序, 民間習俗 양자 가운데서 선택을 하여야 한다. 지나치게 傳統習俗을 寬容하면 법률의 존엄을 파괴하게 되고 또 법률질서의 요구만 만족할 시 중국의 현실과 탈리된다. 이러한 모순들을 해결하기 위하여 2001년12월 24일 “혼인법” 수정안을 반포하였지만 간단하게 승인, 비승인으로 결정내리지 않고 제8조에 “혼인등기를 하지 않는자에 반드시 등기를 재발급해야 한다고 하였다. 재발급은 사실혼인으로 하여금 합법화로 하는 것이지만 동거한 年限에는 규정이 없었다. 중국의 혼인법은 등기제도를 유일한 결혼의 필수적인 요건으로 하기에 立法과 實踐이 분리됨으로써 모순과 갈등을

¹⁸ 陈玉玲.“ 法理秩序与礼治秩序的冲突与调适：论事实婚姻制度”『东南学术』(福建省社会科学联合会主办2007，第六期) P. 127.

¹⁹ 青岛民政网. 民政部关于颁布《中国公民同外国人办理婚姻登记的几项规定》的通知(2008)[EB/OL]. <http://qingdao.mca.gov.cn/article/zcfg/200812/20081200025084.shtml>.

²⁰ 陈玉玲.“ 法理秩序与礼治秩序的冲突与调适：论事实婚姻制度”『东南学术』(福建省社会科学联合会主办2007，第六期) P. 124, 转引杨大文：《婚姻家庭法》中国人民大学出版社，2001年版。

²¹ 참조:徐晓虹：《农村法理秩序与礼治秩序冲突探究》《青年研究》2005年11期。

초래하였다.

조선신부의 이주결혼은 역시 하나의 사실혼인으로서 法理와 情理의 충돌 속에서 많은 갈등과 의혹을 가지게 된다. 우선 혼인은 身分의 관계의 결합이기 때문에 “事实在先”이란 특징을 갖고 있다. 별탈의 승인여하를 불문하고 이러한 신분관계는 모두 이미 존재하기에 일상생활에서 부부관계와 부모자녀관계는 아주 구체적으로 상관된 권리의무가 연계되고 있다. 혼인등기를 하지 않는 것은 조선신부들이 법을 지키지 않거나 혼인에 대한 법적인 인식이 없어서 그런 것이 아니라 비법이란 移民身分 때문에 이런 서류적인 절차를 밟을 수 없었기 때문이다.

조선신부의 이주결혼은 중국에서 이미 알려진 사회적사실이다. 물론 이들의 결혼 생활도 역시 다양하게 나타나고 사회의 일부 문제도 일으키고 있지만 그들의 대부분 혼인은 중국에서 순기능의 역할을 하고 있다. 그들이 선택한 남성은 사회적 지위나 경제적 지위가 상대적으로 낮다. 특히 시골에서 이런 남성들이 자신의 낙후한 여건으로 말미암아 결혼할 배우자를 찾지 못한 상황에서 조선신부들이 자기의 생존을 위하여 중국에서 정착해야 하기에 이러한 남성들과 결혼하여 여러 모로 순기능을 발휘하고 있다.

첫째, 중국 농촌의 남녀비례실조를 조절하고 일부 노총각의 혼인문제를 해결하여 사회안정에 이바지하였다. 중국의 개혁개방 후 市場化와 都市化가 급속하게 이뤄지면서 많은 시골의 청년들이 도시와 외국으로 진출하였기에 시골에는 주로 노인들과 아이들만 남았다. 특히 청년여성들 역시 자기의 경제적 지위의 개선을 위하여 도시나 출국의 길을 선택하여 시골에서의 남녀비례는 현저하게 실조되었다. 예컨대 연변조선족자치주 용정시 농촌의 미혼남녀비례는 20:1이고 특히 白金郷의 경우 미혼남녀비례는 57:1이며 智新郷 新村은 199가구, 642명인데 노총각은 30명이 되고 청년여성들은 모두 외국에 진출하였다. 이 마을의 한 집은 형제가 3명인데 모두 30세이상이고 장남은 40세 되도록 모두 장가가지 못하였다. 원인은 사람의 인품과 가정의 경제조건과 상관없이 단지 周圍의 여성들이 너무 적다고 한다.²² 많은 노총각들은 결혼의 배우자를 찾지 못하였지만 조선신부들이 바로 이런 빈자리를 메워주었다.

<사례 4> “우리 마을에는 처녀들이 거의 없고 노총각들이 많습니다. 이들은 매일 술이나 마시고 도박하면서 타락한 생활을 하고 있었습니다. 그런데 조선여성들이 들어오면서부터 가정을 이루고 자식도 낳으니 도박 같은 것은 전혀하지 않고 열심히 돈을 벌고 있습니다. 그리고 집에 들어가면 아주 깨끗합니다. 이제야 노총각들이 제대로 사는 듯합니다.”²³ (2011년3월 8일 인터뷰)

<사례 5> “이 집의 노총각은 나이가 50이 되어서도 장가를 들지 못하였습니다. 사람은 순수하고 마음이 곱지만 다른 특수한 재주도 없어서 그냥 시골에서 농사를 짓다보니 생활도 어렵고 매일 술을 마시니 마을 사람들은 그를 술주증뱅이라고 하는 정도까지 그를 좋게 보지 않았습다. 그런데 조선이주머니와 결혼을 한 후 완전히 팔자를 고쳤습다. 일은 물론 열심히 하고 집에서 술도 많이 마시지 않고 3년만에 새 벽돌집도 지었습니다. 그리고 옷도 깨끗하게 입고 이전의 술주증뱅이가 지금은 흐뭇한 농민의 모습을 되찾았습니다.”(2010년3월 6일 인터뷰)

<사례 6> “이전에는 이 노총각집에 들어 갈 수 없었습니다. 더럽다해서 말도 못합니다. 그러나 조선신부가 온 후에는 집이 너무 깨끗합니다. 이웃에서도 자주 그 집에 가서 마장도 놓습니다. 그런데 아이가 태어난 후에는 안 갑니다. 이 노총각은 나 가서 싸우지도 않습니다.” (武艳华, 2013)

둘째, 조선신부들은 중국의 저렴한 노동력시장의 공백을 채워 주었다. 특히 중국의 지리적 위치가 비교적 외진 곳에 이런 공백이 더 많았다. 조선 신부들은 자신의 신분을 감추기 위해 이러한 곳에서 많이 살았다. 이러한 지역은 대부분 청년노동력이 부족한 농촌지역이다.

²² 참조: 赵月峰:《延边朝鲜族人口负增长及其影响》, 载《黑龙江民族丛刊》2010年第二期。

조선신부들의 근면한 성격과 저렴한 노동력이 바로 이러한 농업황폐화를 개변하였다. 그리고 조선신부들은 법적인 지위가 없기때문에 일자리에 대한 요구나 월급에 대한 요구도 낮다. 그들의 월급은 상대적으로 중국인과 비교하면 많이 낮았다. 중국인들은 바로 이러한 저렴한 노동력을 고용하여 생산과 이익을 창출하였다.

<사례7> “우리 이 휴가촌은 복무원을 찾기 힘듭니다. 워낙 교통이 불편하고 외진곳이기때문에 일반 중국사람들은 일하러 오지 않습니다. 온다해도 월급에 대한 요구도 높습니다. 한달에 3천원 (인민폐) 월급을 주어도 오지 않습니다. 그러나 조선여성은 천원만 줘도 만족해합니다. 그럴뿐만아니라 일도 열심히 하고 말이 복무원이지만 농사도 짓고 채소 밭도 다듬고 나무까지도 꽤며 하여간 닥치는 일은 다 합니다.”(2014년 5월1일 인터뷰)

셋째, 조선신부의 이주결혼은 농촌지역의 노총각문제를 해결할 뿐만아니라 출생을 저하문제도 해결하여 민족학교의 學生生源도 늘어났다. 예컨대 연변지역은 1989년에 농촌에 19개 민족중학교와 33개연합중학이 있었는데 조선족학생이 8,836명, 전 연변주 중학생총수의 21.8%를 점하였다. 1995년에 들어서면 주내의 농촌민족학교는 6개 남았고 연합중학교는 19개로 남아 학생수는 2,730명으로 전주 중학생총수의 6.2% 점하여 이전보다 15%를 감소되었다. 소학생의 상황도 비슷하다. 1989년 주내의 농촌민족소학교는 188개이고 연합소학교는 147개, 소학생이 33,460명이며 소학교총수의 42.6%점하지만 1995년에는 민족소학교가 77개이고 연합소학교는 100개 소학생수는 2,1778명이며 학생총수의 26%를 점한다.²⁴ 어떤 농촌은 학생수가 몇십명인데 선생이 절반이상이 된다. 학생수의 감소는 민족교육의 위기를 초래할뿐만아니라 기타 문화시설도 위기에 처하고 있었다. 그런데 조선신부들의 결혼으로 자녀들이 많아지고 학교학생수가 늘어났다. 연변의 왕청, 안도, 훈춘 등 농촌에 조선신부들의 자녀들이 없는 학교가 없다.

넷째, 인구유동과 상반되어 연변지역은 많은 독거노인들이 생활하고 있다. 물론 다양한 노인복지시설이 있지만 자식들은 그래도 집에서 부모를 모시고 시발하는 것을 원한다. 이러한 역할도 역시 조선여성들이 하고 있다.

<사례8> “저의 아버지는 올해 90세입니다. 어머니가 세상을 떠난 후 아버지 홀로 집에서 생활하였습니다. 우리자식들은 모두 직장다니고 다른 자매들은 또 출국하여 아버지를 돌 볼 사이가 없어서 처음에는 조선아주머니를 보모로 고용하였지만 아버지를 너무 잘 시발하니 저이들은 새어머니로 인정하여 우리집 식구로 되었습니다. 인젠 18년이 됩니다. 아버지가 이렇게 장수한 것도 조선어머니의 덕분입니다. 안타까운 것은 어디도 갈수 없습니다. 몇일전 저이들은 새어머니에게 감사의 뜻으로 관광을 보내려고 하였지만 신분증이 없어서 그냥 남의 신분증으로 기차표를 샀지만 신분이 탈로 난다고 하여 거절하였습니다.”(2016년 3월 2일 인터뷰)

위에서 보는 바와 같이 조선신부들의 이주결혼은 순기능을 많이 발휘하고 있다.

4. 法理와 情理의 衝突:조선신부들의 生活困境

현재의 사회는 복잡하고 다원적인 사회이다. 다원적인 規範, 다원적인 秩序는 이미 거스를 수 없는 추세로 되고 있다. 따라서 현재 사회에서 법률은 모든 사회문제를 다 해결한다는 것은 어려우며, 국가법률만으로는 다양하게 구성되고 있는 사회 및 사회질서를 유지한다는 것도 힘들다. 법률도 “인류의 세계에 대한 感受와 體驗의 心理見本을 무시하고 인류가 의존하는 문화계통을 무시한다면 단지 하나의 純 언어의 現象과 遊戱行爲에 불과하다.”²⁵ 그렇기 때문에 우리들은 반드시 사회사실인

²⁴ 참조: 许明哲主编:《当代延边朝鲜族社会发展对策分析》, 辽宁民族出版社, 2001年, 150页。

²⁵ 참조: 田成有:《乡土社会中国家法与民间法》, 《思想战线》2001年第五期。

조선신부의 결혼생활을 인정하여야 하고, 단지 국가의 단일한 법률로써 개입하여 강제적으로 그들의 혼인을 비법이라고 인정해주지 않는 것은 현재사회의 인본주의 이념과 다양한 사회현실에 부합되지 않는다. 더욱이 비법이라고 그들을 신고하고 추방하는 것은 非人道적이고 민간의 禮儀秩序와도 어긋난다. 法治질서와 禮治질서의 모순과 충돌은 다원적인 사회에서 피면할 수 없는 사회현상이다. 국가의 법률이 강제적으로 민간질서에 개입할 시, 조선신부들은 불안과 공포속에서 허덕이게 되고 그들 사이에 태어난 아이들은 엄마의 추방으로 아버지, 혹은 다른 친척들과 함께 살거나 복지시설에서 생활하고 있으므로 많은 사회문제를 일으키게 있다. 그러므로 이런 事實結婚은 당사자들에게 특히 그들 사이에 있는 아이들에게 너무 큰 상처를 가져다 준다.

〈사례9〉 “ 어느하루 경찰이 우리집에 왔어요. 그 당시는 엄마가 왜서 잡혀갔는지, 엄마가 무슨 죄를 지어서 경찰이 왔는지에 대해 몰랐어요. 후에 오빠가 말하기를 엄마가 조선여자이고 불법으로 월경하여 잡혀갔다는 것을 알았지만 그 당시의 상황은 지금도 생각하면 무서워요. 엄마가 눈물 흘리면서 떠나는 모습이 어렴풋이 생각나요. 그후부터는 아버지도 시골에서 살기 힘들어서 한국에 돈 벌러 갔습니다. 저는 오빠와 함께 생활하였습니다. 오빠가 대학에 입학하게 되자 저는 담임선생집에서 생활하면서 공부를 하였습니다. 저는 다른 아이들이 엄마와 희희낙낙하는 것을 보면 어쩐지 마음이 쓸쓸해서 홀로 눈물을 많이 흘렸습니다. 방학이 되면 저는 오빠의 학교에 가서 지내고, 단지 친인척이라는 것은 오빠 한 사람입니다. 저는 아버지의 기억이 별로 없어서 아버지가 한국에서 전화오면 나는 너무 낯설어서 받지 않고, 오빠에게만 의거해요. 오빠는 나에게 부모 같은 존재입니다.”(2015년 8월 16일 인터뷰)

〈사례10〉 "저는 지금의 남편과는 정식으로 결혼을 하지 못하였습니다. 우리 시골마을에도 저와 같은 조선여성들이 5~6명이 있는데 모두 정식수속이 없이 결혼하여 가정을 이루고 있습니다. 남편은 워낙 마음이 착하고 어질어 50세가 다 되도록 장가도 들지 못하였습니다. 저는 남에게는 남편이 저와 동갑이라고 하지만 사실 저보다 다섯 살이나 연하지만 저를 너무 좋아합니다. 여자가 없으니까, 그리고 내가 시집와서 생활이 많이 피니 저를 많이 의거할 수밖에 없지요. 지금의 사는 집도 우리 둘이 돈을 모아서 재작년에 지은 것입니다. 사실 저는 조선에서 워낙 교원하다가 식량난으로 인해 중국으로 월경하여 왔습니다. 5번이나 강제추방 당했지만 생존을 위해 생사를 무릅쓰고 또 중국으로 들어 와서 시골에서라도 정착되어 너무 다행이지만 불법이기 때문에 어려운 점이 너무 많습니다.

저는 마을에서 여러 가지 직을 맡고 있습니다. 어떻게 하던 저의 노력으로서 마을사람들이 신용을 얻기 위하여 열심히 봉사하고 삽니다. 그런데 마을 어느 한 사람은 저와 작은 충돌이 있었는데 저를 탈북자라고 신고하여 저는 한 밤중에 마을에서 도망쳐 연길에서 몇 달 동안 숨었다가 다시 마을에 돌아왔습니다. 정말로 자동차 소리만 들어도 심장이 막 뛰니다. 또 잡으러 오지 않는지? 모든 어려움은 나에게 아무것도 아닙니다. 고생을 너무 많이 하였고 조선의 남편과 자식까지 잃는 고통도 모두 겪었기에 두렵이 없습니다. 단 소원이 하나라면, 하루라도 발편잠을 잘 수 있으면 얼마나 좋겠습니까?"(이 여사 58세 2002년 탈북, 2010년 3월 5일 인터뷰)

위의 면담사례자는 인터뷰에 응하면서 하염없이 눈물을 흘렸다. 마을 사람들의 신임을 얻기 위하여 그는 누구보다 봉사활동을 많이 하고 농사일도 열심히 하고 있지만 불법 결혼으로 신분보장이 없기 때문에 매일 공포 속에서 살아야만 했다. 이렇게 사는 조선신부들은 이 여사뿐만 아니다. 하북성 한 시골에 체류되고 있는 수십명 조선이주여성들도 역시 불법이란 신분 때문에 남편에 의지한 생활밖에 할 수 없는 상황이다.

하북성 獅村²⁶ 이란 시골에 살고 있는 10명의 조선신부중에서 중국에 오기전에 농업에 종사한 자가 6명이고 컴퓨터를 다루는 자가 1명이며 노노동자 2명이고 학생1명이다. 현재는 전문적으로 농사를 짓는 사람이 6명, 무직업자 1명, 농사도 하고 다른 일도 하는 자가 3명이다. 생계의 방식은 모두 농사를 하거나 다른 일을 한다. 그들의 생활환경은 조선에서의 합법으로부터 중국의 불법으로 전이되었고, 오로지 중국에서의 “남편에 의해 생계를

²⁶獅村이란 마을은 하북성 동북에 위치하고 경제적으로 비교적 낙후한 외진 산골이다. 이 마을에는 선후로 몇십명의 조선여성들이 자원적으로, 혹은 주동적으로 인신매매로 원하고 혹은 피박에 의해 시집 왔다. 마을 사람들의 말에 의하면 여기에는 선후로 몇십명의 조선여성들이 마을에 시집 오거나 떠났다고 한다. 이 마을은 중국 관내와 관외를 연결하는 곳에 위치하여 조선신부들은 조선에서 중국으로, 중국 동북에서 내지에도 이주하는 과정을 경과하였다.

도모한다.”²⁷ 즉 조선이주여성들은 반드시 남편의 협조하에서만 안전한 생존환경을 마련하기 때문에 신분과 상관없이 농사하거나 다른 일을 하여도 보수가 낮고 환경이 좋지 않으며 안전과 사회보장이 없는 일에 종사함으로써 가족의 생계를 유지한다. 그들은 결혼 초기에 시댁 식구들이 함께 보호하여 마을에서만 일하지만, 정착이 몇 년 지나면 가까운 곳에 이동하여 일을 하기도 한다. 그렇지만 혼자서 외출하는 것은 엄격한 제한을 받는다. 여기에는 주로 합법적인 신분이 아니라는 의미에서 온 것이다.

그러나 민간에서는 법률에서 등기를 강조하는 것과 달리 사회사실에 의해 평가를 한다. 특히 하북성 같은 경우 촌민들은 조선여성의 결혼을 사실혼인이라고 본다. 첫째, 촌민들은 보편적으로 결혼습속과 결혼식에서 술을 마셨는지 마시지 않았는지에 따라 결혼 여부를 승인하며, 등기 여부와 결혼증을 소지하고 있는지 등은 중요하지 않다. “여기에는 결혼증을 타는 것이 중요하지 않고 중요한 것은 결혼식을 하고 결혼식 술을 마시면 모두 인정합니다.” 둘째, 촌민들은 결혼한 쌍방에서 공동으로 생활하고 노동하며 아이를 낳는 사실에 의하여 당지의 혼인과 차이 없다고 본다. “조선에서 온 여자들은 열심히 일을 하고 깨끗하여 그들의 아이들은 ‘中外合作’이기에 다른 차별이 없습니다.” 셋째, 촌민들은 혼인의 순기능에 의해 조선신부의 결혼을 인정하여 준다. “이 마을의 대부분 노 총각들은 결혼하기 전에는 술을 마시고 도박도 하고 돈만 빌리면 돌려주지 않을 뿐더러 집에는 더러워서 발 디딜 자리가 없었습니다. 그런데 조선신부와 결혼한 후에는 집도 깨끗하고 아이를 낳으니 남편은 도박도 하지 않습니다.” 이러한 사실에서 알 수 있는 바와 같이, 촌민들은 혼례의식, 실제의 결혼생활, 혼인의 순기능 등에 의해 평가를 한다. 이것이 바로 혼인에 대한 민간사회의 인식을 말하고 있다.

이런 의미에서 본다면 민간의 혼인에 대한 合法과 非法의 정의에서 사실 여부가 더 설득력이 있다. 하지만 현재 단일하게 법에 의해서만 조선신부들을 비법으로 간주하기에 그들의 생활은 말할나위없이 주변화되고 있으며 곤경에 처하고 있다. 조선신부들은 능력과 학식, 그리고 기술이 없어서 생활이 어려운 것이 아니다. 단지 비법이란 신분 때문에 사회의 버림을 받고 있다. “사회적 버림은 일부 개체들이 빈곤, 기본적인 능력과 평생학습기회의 결핍 때문에 혹은 차별 때문에 사회에 전혀 참여할 수 없어서 사회 주변화에 처한 과정이다.”²⁸ 조선신부들은 생존에 대한 갈망과 빈곤의 탈피를 위해 중국으로 들어와서 새로운 환경에서 삶을 개척하려고 하였지만, 생활질의 향상은 커녕 또 다시 곤경에 처하게 되어 그들의 생활은 빈곤의 惡循環에서 벗어나지 못하고 있다. “빈곤의 악순환”은 가난한 사람들이 처한 지역의 여러조건이 좋지 않기 때문에 건강상황이 좋지 않아서 일에 영향을 주므로, 적고 온정하지 못한 임금을 받아서 쉽게 생활지출을 할수 없음을 말한다. 이에 비해 조선신부들의 악순환은 이러한 삶의 조건보다 더 악화된 조건으로 삶의 지속을 더 힘들게 한다.

〈사례 9〉 ”마을에서 조선신부를 얻는 가정들은 대부분 생활이 어렵습니다. 비록 조선인이라 해도 그들은 이미 결혼하여 아이도 낳는데 그리고 가정도 아주 어려운데 그들에게 보험과 토지를 응당 줘야 합니다. 그들도 우리 마을의 신부인데 우리가 받는 대우면 그들도 받아야 합니다. “(武艳华2013)

이런 사례들은 민간사회에서 보편적으로 그들의 사실혼인, 시댁의 경제상황, 情感 등 요인들을 기반으로 조선신부들이 반드시 중국 공민으로서의 권리를 향수해야 한다고 인식하고 있다.

〈사례11〉 “조선에서는 우리들은 무상으로 학교 다니고 무상으로 병원을 다니는데 중국에서는 우리는 아무것도 없습니다. 마을사람들과 함께 늙어서도 최저의 보험도 받을 수 없습니다. 앓아도 돈이 있으면 얼마나 좋겠습니까?” “그리고 저는 정말로 그들의 신분증을 부러워합니다. 신분증만 있으면 외출하여 일도 하고 장사도 하여 돈을 벌 수

²⁷ 武艳华, “在华朝鲜新娘的文化适应于认同—基于河北狮村的考察”『西北人口』2013年第四期, P-114.

²⁸ 李鑫宇:《社会排斥理论的界定与应用价值分析》,《人民论坛》,2011年第32期.

있는데 그렇습니다.”(武艳华, <서북인구>2013)

위에서 언급한 바와 같이 현재 중국에서는 신분증 없이는 아무 일도 할 수 없다. 이전에는 신분증은 호적의 상징으로 집에 두고 별 큰 작용은 없었지만 지금은 어떠한 교통 수단, 예하면 기차, 심지어 장거리의 버스도 신분증이 없이는 이용할 수가 없다. 이렇기 때문에 그들은 생존과 가난의 탈피를 위하여 중국에 왔지만 또 다시 자유를 잃게 되었다.

그렇기 때문에 조선신부들의 생활 상황은 국가의 법률의 法理와 민간사회의 同情心の 갈등을 초래하는 하나의 중요한 사례라 할 수 있다. 국가 법률의 主導성과 내용의 單一性(획일성)이 충돌의 가능성을 가지고 있다. 중국 제도에서 국가법률은 주도적인 지위이고 권위적인 언어체계이며 不可抗力적인 국가 강제적인 색채를 띠고 있다. 하지만 국가 법률은 다원사회의 다원적인 특색을 띤 혼인에 대해서는 아직도 명확한 해석과 규정이 결핍한 실정이다. 국가법률은 법에 따라 처리하는 것을 강조하고 司法實踐은 조선신부의 행위를 관리하는 것으로서 전개되지만 민간사회는 도덕 요구의 합리성 人情社會의 합리성을 표준으로 삼기 때문에 생활속에서 동정의 마음으로 조선신부를 보호한다.

<사례12> “ 중국의 일부 범죄자들은 조선여성들의 생존과 가난의 탈피의 마음을 이용하여 인신매매를 하였습니다. 우리 공안국에서 이런 범죄자들을 잡아서 법에 의해 처분하기 위하여 하북성까지 가서 증인을 찾았는데 결국 증인은 나서지 않았습니다. 처음에는 마을 사람들이 조선신부를 찾겠다는 소식을 듣고 마을의 출입도 금지하면서 조선신부를 접근하지도 못하게 하였습니다. 후에 우리들이 그들을 찾는 이유를 말해서야 마을을 출입하게 하였는데 조선신부들은 증인을 서면 자기의 신분이 탈로 난다고 하면서 누구도 협력을 해주지 않았습니다. 저이들은 증인만 서 주고 다시 이 마을에 돌려 보낸다고 약속하였지만 그들은 저이들의 말을 절대로 믿지 않아 결국 증인을 서지 않아 인신매매 하는 범죄자들은 형사처분을 받지 못하였습니다.”(2016년 10월 9일 인터뷰)

이런 사례는 우리들에게 이민자들의 삶, 권리 등 측면에서 볼때 비법신분의 이민자들을 법에 의해서만 처분하지 못한 안타까운 현상이 존재하고 있음을 말해준다.

조선신부들은 대부분 공민신분이 없기에 그들은 법률의 보호를 받지 못하며 특히 신고되어 조선신부들이 경찰에게 잡혀서 송환되는 경우도 있다. 이럴 경우, 법률은 오히려 당사자들에게 마음의 아픔과 상처를 주는 것이다. 따라서 민간사회는 理俗과 情感으로 혼인생활을 조절하기를 바라며, 국가법률에 대해서는 일종 위기의식이 뒤따를수도 있다. 이러한 갈등으로 인해 민간사회의 理俗과 情感은 파괴되고 있지만 국가의 법률 역시 理俗과 情感이 퇴출한 공간에 들어설 자리를 찾을 수 없다. 법률의 힘은 인간의 사회경험에 의존하고 있으며, 사람들은 자기들의 경험을 통해 법률의 유익한 점을 승인함으로써 법률에 복종하고 지지하였다. 그러나 현재 조선신부라는 사회적 존재 및 현실적 상황은 사람들로 하여금 법률제도 하에서의 교육, 취업, 사회보장 등 평등권에 대해 새로운 문제를 제기하도록 하며, 특히 조선신부 송환 사례는 또 다시 사람들의 심금을 울리고 현존하고 있는 법률에 새로운 고민을 던져주고 있다.

특히 무국적으로 인한 유동제한, 취업제한, 교육제한 등 여러 면에서의 통제는 조선신부들로 하여금 생활 곤경에 빠지게 하고 또 제3국을 통해 죽음과 공포로 가득찬 경로를 통해 한국으로 입국하도록 한다. 만약 중국에서 합법적인 신분만 가진다면 그들은 중국에서 사는 것을 더 원한다. 이러한 사실은 많은 조사자료에서 검증되고 있다.

5 나가면서

이상으로 필자는 이민신분, 혼인속성, 혼인기능 등 세 가지 방면에서 조선신부의 합법과 비법의 경계를 논하면서 그들의 생활곤경을 살펴보았다. 그들의 삶의 현주소는 法理와 情理의 충돌 속에서 복잡하고 장기적인 과정 속에 존재하기 때문에 이것을 극복하고 조절하려면

국가와 민간차원에서 인식의 공감대를 이루고 공동한 노력이 필요하다고 본다. 조선신부들은 딸, 아내, 어머니의 역할로서 가족의 주요한 생계자일 뿐만 아니라, 이주결혼에서 강한 의지력과 인내심으로 삶을 개척한 개척자이다. 그들의 삶은 이주자와 여성이란 사회등급과 성별이란 상충적인 차별을 받을 뿐만 아니라 특히 비법이란 “죄명”을 쓰고 사회에서의 지위는 소외되고 주변화에 처하고 있다. 이런 상황에서 조선신부에 대한 법적 보장이 필요되고 특히 차이를 인정하는 포용적인 다문화사회의 다양한 규칙이 시급하므로 더욱 人性化적인 이민정책이 제정되어야 한다. 이런 의미에서 필자는 아래와 같은 미숙한 소견을 제기하면서 결론을 대신하고자 한다.

첫째, 국가의 법률과 법규를 보완하여야 한다. 비법혼인이든 비법이민이든 비법성은 주로 당시의 특유한 국가 법률법규문화와 사회정책의 구조조건에 의한 것이다. 바로 이런 특정한 구조조건이 이민의 비법성을 결정하였다. 날로 늘어나는 비법이민문제를 해결하지 못하기에 많이 보완되어야 하며, 조선신부라는 집단에 적합한 정책을 제정되어야 한다. 특히 그들이 가정을 이루고 아이들을 부양하고 있는 현실은 부정해서는 안 된다. 한 나라의 법률도 오직 민중의 內心수요를 반영하고 추구의 正義를 실현할때에만 사람들도 법률을 인정하고 신임하게 된다 그리고 법률도 역시 터무니없는 상상으로 사회현실을 떠나 제정해서는 안된다. 조선신부의 이주결혼은 하나의 사실혼인으로서 존재하기에 법률도 혼인가정관계의 보호에 대해 일반적인 법률규범외에 일부 특수한 보호와 규범이 있어야 하고 사실혼인에게도登記혼인과 같은 법률효력을 부여하며 혼인생활의 년한에 따라 그들에게 장기적 혹은 단기적인 신분증을 발급하는 것이 시급하다.

둘째, 인도주의 차원에서 조선신부들의 인권보장을 하여야 한다. 인권에 대한 정의는 일반적으로 인간으로서 향유하는 권리를 말한다. 인권의 본질 특징과 요구는 자유와 평등이다. 인권의 실질적인 내용과 목표는 인간의 생존과 발전이다. 인권문제에 관해서는 국가, 민족, 시대에 따라 다르고 각기 상이한 인식과 실천이 있지만 그 기본적인 내용에 대해서는 공감한다. 한 문화주체로서의 개인은 생활하는 자기 세상에서 반드시 생존권이 있어야 하고 자신을 놓고 말하면 스스로 자아결정권의 보호를 받아야 한다. 일찍이 1995년 세계 제4차 여성대회에서 경제와 합법성 차원에서 이주여성들의(인신매매를 당한 여성, 난민 및 유랑자를 포함) 자주권을 실현할 것을 더욱 보장하여야 한다고 제기하였다. 그리고 이민과 인신매매의 관계를 진일보 연구하고 이 두 가지 문제의 처리상에서 여성의 신분여하를 불문하고 여성의 폭력침해를 피면하는 것을 중점으로 하여야 한다고 특히 강조하였다. 이처럼 이주여성들의 문제는 이미 유엔의 주목을 받게 되었다. 유엔에서는 일련의 회의를 소집하여 이주여성에 대한 결의를 체결하고 이주여성들에게 생존의 권리를 부여하여야 하고, 이 생존은 어느 형식으로서의 생존이 아니고 존엄과 체면의 생존이며 이주여성은 이런 생존에서 參政과 경제독립의 권리를 획득할 것을 호소하였다. 이런 국제적인 배경은 이미 이주여성들의 합법/비법 등의 신분여하를 불문하고 그들의 삶 나아가 그들의 권리를 인정하고 있음을 말한다. 따라서 조선신부도 일정한 사회참여 경제활동의 권리를 획득하여야 한다.

셋째, 다자간의 협력으로서 조선신부 문제를 공론할 수 있는 공감대를 이루어야 한다. 조선신부는 이미 中朝접경지대의 보편적인 사회현상으로서 민족문화의 동질성과 정체성으로 인해 혈연적, 지연적, 인연적 유대를 형성하고 中朝 두 나라의 친선과 교류를 강화하였으며 빈곤한 중국변경지역의 노총각들의 혼인가정문제를 해결하였다. 이런 跨國혼인의 형식은 지속적으로 증장할 것이다. 그렇기 때문에 국가 간의 이민관리의 국제협력을 강화하고 상대적이고 유효적인 접경지역의 제어 메커니즘을 창건하는 것이 특히 중요하다. 이주여성은 필경 출신국으로부터 출입국에 들어왔기 때문에 그들의 문화배경과 현주소를 살펴보면 다자간 학자들이 각기 서로 다른 시각에서 공동연구를 하는 것이 합리적이고 인지상정이다.

특히 다자간의 연구 성과와 다른 나라의 이민관리 정책 경험을 섭취하는 것은 조선신부의 생활개선에 도움이 될 것이다.

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The Korean Garment Business and Ethnic Network in Argentina

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Abstract

Currently, 80% of the approximately 20,000 ethnic Koreans living in Argentina are engaged in the garment industry. Based on archival and documentary research, along with ethnographic research conducted in Argentina, this study examines what kinds of ethnic resources Korean immigrants have relied upon to start up and expand their businesses and how these resources have varied over time. The study reveals that in the development of Korean garment businesses, ethnic networks and resources have been used as a strategic tool by Korean entrepreneurs to achieve economic viability, financial support, and eventual upward mobility within the Argentine garment industry. Yet, this research stresses that this high dependence on ethnic ties has had some unwanted negative consequences. Findings further claim that, whereas the relative importance and dependence on those resources by Korean entrepreneurs vary significantly, depending on time and circumstance, these days the accumulated know-how and economic power of each individual Korean entrepreneur. Findings further claim that, whereas “ethnic networks/resources” are not required conditions to explain the high concentration of Korean ethnic businesses in the Argentine garment industry, the accumulated know-how and economic power of each individual Korean entrepreneur create a certain path-dependency, motivating community members to continue using these advantages whenever possible.

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Introduction

Currently, among the approximately 20,000 ethnic Koreans living in Argentina, an estimated 80% are engaged in the garment industry.²⁹ In the late 1960s Korean immigrants began their involvement in the garment manufacturing sector as humble self-employed subcontractors, gradually developing bigger businesses over time. Since the mid-1980s, they have attained a leading position in the middle-range garment market by managing both production and distribution and by expanding their businesses from the capital, Buenos Aires, to the rest of the country.³⁰

Classic works in immigration studies demonstrated high rates of self-employment among immigrant groups in the United States and Europe. These findings stimulated intensive research on immigrant entrepreneurship. In order to understand why immigrants have a high rate of self-employment in many Western countries, scholars in sociology and geography have developed a range of theories and concepts on immigrant entrepreneurship. Korean immigrants seem to have not been an exception in terms of this high self-employment rate; their businesses, from liquor shops to sushi restaurants, have been ubiquitous in diverse Western countries, such as the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. At first glance, Koreans in Argentina have seemed to follow a similar route to those Koreans in other countries, with a high percentage of self-employment.

Many Korean immigrants began their lives in Argentina by taking on machine sewing or knitting jobs as self-employed businesspeople, then gradually expanded their businesses to the commercial apparel sector by opening wholesale or retail shops. Even the most successful Korean businessmen typically acknowledge their transit through machine sewing or knitting in the early stages of settlement.³¹ Because of the profits entailed in these commercial activities, this kind of shift has been viewed as a mark of upward social mobility. Many Korean Argentines in the garment industry unequivocally report similar career paths and business development experiences in Argentina. Often they intend to eventually hand over their businesses to their children, who are 1.5- or second-generation immigrants. Indeed, many of these children view the opportunity of inheriting the family business as their privilege.

In fact, the garment industry has functioned as a distinctive gateway to economic integration into the host society for a half century, not only for the first generation of Korean immigrants but also for succeeding generations of Korean Argentines. Instead of diversifying their economic activities and fully incorporating themselves into mainstream society, most ethnic Koreans have remained closely tied to an ethnocentric industry. Although there are similarities between Korean entrepreneurs in Argentina and self-employed immigrants elsewhere, this longstanding and enduring affinity with the garment industry has become the distinguishing characteristic of Koreans in Argentina.

Therefore, considering this particular feature of Korean Argentines, this research aims to investigate why and how Korean Argentines have been continuously concentrated in the garment industry from the beginning of Korean immigration to the present. Within the theoretical frameworks of immigrant entrepreneurship, this study seeks to explore what the main factors are that have influenced Korean Argentines' entry into and business development in the Argentine garment industry and how those factors have changed over time, in order to

understand the main motivations for Korean Argentines to remain in the garment industry over the last 50 years.

For this research a total of 77 interviews were conducted, in Korean or Spanish. The main participants were active Korean Argentine entrepreneurs, but I intentionally included retired entrepreneurs, employees, and members of other ethnic groups, all of them with different trajectories within the garment industry. The interviews usually took one to two hours, though sometimes stretching to three hours or even longer. I primarily relied on biographical interviews which encouraged the participants to tell their life stories freely; as they talked, I endeavoured to guide them towards the research questions, while paying close attention to the specific issues and factors that the interviewees themselves considered crucial. I applied additional research methods, such as archival research at the office of the Korean Times newspaper in Buenos Aires and an examination of online resources related to Korean associations and garment companies; those sources were helpful to understand the development of Korean garment businesses, identify the main differences and compare past and present conditions.

To present the relevant changes vis-à-vis Korean entrepreneurship in the Argentine garment industry over the last 50 years, I have organised and classified my field data into three categories: (1) subcontracted knitting and sewing jobs in the garment production sector in the 1960s and 1970s; (2) expansion to the garment distribution sector in the 1980s and 1990s; (3) the concentration within the Avellaneda wholesale market in which both production and distribution were undertaken in the 21st century; and 4) younger generation Korean Argentines in the Argentine garment industry and their social integration trends. These four categories facilitate an analysis of how the primary factors and issues affecting the involvement of Korean Argentines in the garment industry have changed and evolved.

Theoretical Framework

The three main classical theories on immigrant entrepreneurship are Ivan Light's concept of class and ethnic resources,³² Edna Bonacich's theory on middleman minorities,³³ and Alejandro Portes's argument about the formation of ethnic enclaves.³⁴ These theories have significantly influenced the ways in which problems and issues involving immigrant entrepreneurs are framed and have been extensively applied to other case studies in Western countries. However, assuming that both migrants and hosts operate their businesses in homogeneous environments, they often neglect the peculiarities of the social, economic and political environments of the host country, focusing narrowly on migrants' individual or ethnic characteristics, such as networks or social capital.³⁵

By contrast, more recent theories formulated by Kloosterman and Rath have identified problems deriving from an overemphasis on co-ethnic social and cultural networks in the international literature on immigrant entrepreneurship.³⁶ As an example, they consider a focus on immigrant "embeddedness" in terms of individual or ethnic characteristics as a one-sided view on the matter. To correct this limited view, they propose a broader framework of "mixed

embeddedness”. This concept recognises the crucial significance of immigrant social capital and ethnic resources in the entry into and operation of immigrant enterprises, but also places them together with the wider social, economic and political contexts of the host country as explanatory factors.³⁷ While this approach is related to the earlier theory of “structure of opportunities”, which focuses on market positions and dimensions,³⁸ the new construct suggests that a more comprehensive examination of frameworks should include laws, regulations, institutions, governmental practices, and broader economic environments which considerably affect the ways in which markets operate.

Among those diverse theories on immigrant entrepreneurship, the concept of mixed embeddedness has been particularly important in this research. This concept emphasises the significance of immigrants’ concrete embeddedness within social networks and opportunity structures that are closely related to the broader social, economic and political contexts in the host country. This theory claims that opportunities for ethnic entrepreneurial activities are placed at the intersection of factors and changes pertinent to the economic, institutional and socio-cultural transformations in the host country, with a particular emphasis on the crucial interplay and dynamics between immigrants and the larger contexts in which they are embedded. Although ethnic resources and other micro factors are critical, the environment in which entrepreneurs operate can be significantly influential; indeed, it may equally contribute to the determination of the shape and dynamics of business practices and of their effective success.

Many sociological studies have demonstrated the important role immigrants have played in the development of the garment industry globally.³⁹ The vast majority of research, however, has been confined to immigrant entrepreneurs, their workforce, and their informal activities strictly within the garment manufacturing sector.

In Argentina, the apparel industry is one of the largest informal sectors. However, the contexts and conditions within which the Argentine clothing industry exists are quite different from those in developed countries, showing a high level of informality not only in production but also in the commercial sector. A considerable number of Korean entrepreneurs in Argentina operate retail or wholesale clothing businesses in the commercial sector. Specifically, Korean wholesalers undertake complex operations – from design and manufacture to distribution – independently. In recognition of these distinctive features of the Argentine garment industry, I have paid closer attention to analysing the structure of the industry and its informal characteristics. In particular, I have used and applied the concept of mixed embeddedness to understand the Korean immigrants’ entry into the informal sector, which provides a better “niche market” than the formal sector.

Furthermore, Argentina is a developing country with a successful past but a difficult present, particularly in terms of economic progress. In developing countries, cycles of growth and recession tend to sharply fluctuate and to have critical consequences for economic activities. Specifically, the local economic environments in which ethnic Koreans have developed their businesses to optimise middle- and working-class consumption patterns have experienced tremendous instability and sharp fluctuations. Argentina’s complex, dynamic economic evolution has affected the garment industry substantially, swiftly opening niches and just as abruptly closing them in unusually powerful sequences and cycles. Thus, the concept of mixed

embeddedness has allowed me to focus on those particular macro-economic contexts that have influenced the entry and development of Korean garment businesses in Argentina.

Taking into account the particular characteristics of Korean garment businesses and the distinctive economic environment of Argentina, I have applied the concept of mixed embeddedness to my analysis, focusing on three dimensions: (1) individual and ethnic resources; (2) the opportunity structure of the Argentine clothing industry; and (3) the wider social, economic and political environments, in particular domestic economic trends in Argentina.

However, considering the limitations of using mixed embeddedness as the sole basis of a theoretical framework, I apply this theory more broadly, incorporating other concepts such as labour market disadvantage, ethnic and class resources, social capital, and opportunity structure, in order to explore, as widely as possible, the factors and issues that have interacted to affect the emergence, consolidation and evolution of the Korean garment business. Applying other conceptual frameworks, I further examine how those factors directly or indirectly connect with other key social dimensions of mixed embeddedness theory, in order to better examine the ways in which Koreans in Argentina have embedded themselves in their host society.

One of the most relevant factors, repeatedly stressed during the interviews with Korean immigrants, was changes and shifts over time. Although Korean immigrants have been continuously involved in the garment industry, their businesses in Argentina today are strikingly different from those in the initial stages of Korean immigration there, in terms of business scale, type, management styles and other related issues. For instance, while my interviewees and informants tended to relate their stories and experiences in chronological order, they repeatedly stressed the differences between the past and the present, as well as the issues relevant in each specific period through which they had lived. However, until now, no theory on immigrant entrepreneurs, including the concept of mixed embeddedness, has considered historical shifts and accounts because most empirical cases have only been tested for a short-term period. For this reason, and with the goal of contributing to bridging a current gap, I have favoured a new approach that combines existing theories with historical contextualisation, rather than simply apply existing theories in my data analysis process, thus helping analyse and trace different factors related to the Korean entrepreneurship throughout the half century and overcoming the lack of historical perspectives of previous theories on immigrant entrepreneurship.

From Agriculture to Apparel: The Entry of Koreans into the Argentine Garment Industry (1960s–1970s)

The first Koreans immigrated to Argentina in 1965 as part of a governmental program to increase the country's agricultural production. They were settled in the province of Rio Negro in southern Argentina and given previously unworked land to open up.⁴⁰ However, as the Korean migrants were mostly of a white-collar background, they struggled with the work involved in establishing and running farms. Despite support and encouragement from the Korean government, a lack of sufficient economic resources and experience in agricultural production and business led to feelings of maladjustment, resentment, and unhappiness with

their lives in Rio Negro.⁴¹ Consequently, the majority of these early Korean immigrants gave up on farm ownership in southern Argentina and left for the capital, Buenos Aires.⁴² Their failure to pursue rural agrarian life ended up revealing a new opportunity for them and for those that would follow. Irrespective of their former social and economic backgrounds, most Korean immigrants who resettled in poor neighbourhoods of Buenos Aires began their new lives as unskilled workers, such as dishwashers, waiters, street-corner grocers selling vegetables and fruits.

In an extraordinary bit of serendipity, the garment knitting and sewing jobs were spotted by Korean immigrants after settling in Buenos Aires. According to Lee, a Korean female immigrant with previous home-country experience in machine knitting found that immigrants like herself could earn money as machine-knitters subcontracted by non-Korean immigrants, most of them related to the earlier-established Jewish business community.⁴³ This pioneering woman and her husband taught other immigrants how to operate knitting machines and distributed tasks among other immigrants. This community training was popular among female immigrants, since after only a week of practice, they could immediately start earning an income and thus help their families. Initially, female immigrants supplemented male immigrants' income through home-based machine knitting work (*pyeonmul*). Eventually however, male immigrants joined in managing the larger knitting machines (*yoco*).

Beginning in 1968, Korean immigrants also became involved in machine sewing.⁴⁴ Unlike the noisy machine knitting that attracted complaints from neighbours, machine sewing was a quiet, more agreeable job to conduct in the family home. According to Lee, Korean immigrants concentrated on machine knitting work from 1967 to 1975. Sewing subcontracted work became more popular after 1975.⁴⁵

Newly arrived groups usually encounter a variety of difficulties in socially and economically integrating into their host countries.⁴⁶ For example, finding employment in host contexts can be particularly challenging when immigrant groups are disadvantaged due to a language barrier or ethnic/racial discrimination, among other factors. As most of my interviewees also emphasised, the language barrier was the main factor in determining self-employment as the point of entry for most new immigrants in Argentina. Specifically, many immigrants claimed to have started garment sewing and knitting jobs because they did not require any language skills, as illustrated in the interview below, 'The main reason was language. Japanese [immigrants] started laundry business, because it did not require language skills: only clean the clothes and return them to the clients. Making clothes is the same. They didn't need any language skills. Korean [immigrants] started clothing business because it didn't require any language skills'.

Numerous similar stories indicate that language was the primary challenge that led early immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s into garment sewing and knitting work. Further examples include, 'It took almost 10-15 years until Koreans started to open [retail/wholesale] garment shops. Language is the reason why the Korean community did sewing and knitting jobs for such a long time. Without knowing the language how could we know the regulations to open legal business? Language was the most important factor that determined that many Koreans

took sewing and knitting jobs in the 1960s and 1970s’.

As suggested in the above interviews with the early Korean immigrants of the 1970s, the language barrier as a major push factor has been presented in most interviews with Korean immigrants regardless of their arrival date – for those who arrived in Argentina in the 1960s and 1970s, but also for those coming in the later stages.

Furthermore, since Korean immigrants did not speak the local language, they depended heavily on other Korean immigrants to solve basic matters, such as renting houses and getting jobs. Reliance upon the Korean community was the natural or sometimes the necessary path to earn a livelihood and to make a life in Argentina. This adaptation process included sharing business information, job opportunities, training and skills, among other resources. As the following interviews illustrate, Korean immigrants highly depended on ethnic networks in the early stage of their settlement in Buenos Aires: ‘In Seoul my family had run a shop that sold kitchenware. They didn’t know anything about sewing machines. My father knew some Korean acquaintances who had arrived earlier. Through their help, they bought some sewing machines and learned the job’. ‘We first went to Santiago del Estero [Argentina] with an agricultural project in 1979. After living there for a year and having many hardships, we moved to Buenos Aires. We worked for a Korean lady who offered us food and lodging. There were five families there. The house lady brought work and distributed it to us. After working there several months and learning the sewing skills, we became independent and started our own workshop’.

Moreover, use of the family labour force influenced Koreans to choose the garment sector and to become competitive and successful entrepreneurs. Operating a family-based workshop was usually the first job on the economic ladder, a critical pathway to accumulate capital and move upward into another business. Buoyed by the family-owned business model, an ethic of hard work and effective use of reliable community networks, Korean immigrant businesses grew rapidly in the 1970s.

Other studies confirm that the garment industry is attractive to immigrants because it offers a variety of jobs that easily accommodate their conditions.⁴⁷ Particularly, as garment sewing and knitting work is regarded by the host society as lowly, it is usually available to immigrants and poses little barrier for entry into the labour market. For instance, a significant number of Koreans in the US easily got involved in garment sewing jobs in the immediate period after migration because members of the host society tended to shun such jobs.⁴⁸ Likewise, some of my interviewees suggested that Argentine people were reluctant to take on sewing and knitting jobs, leaving them within easy reach of those first Koreans in Argentina, who soon created for themselves a niche in the sector.

The relatively small capital investment to start a garment sweatshop – such workshops required small workspaces and a few relatively inexpensive machines – was another important source of motivation for many Koreans to engage in the sector. After working in humble sewing and knitting jobs for several years, they saved up adequate funds to start up their own businesses. This proved an agreeable, accessible, and clear path towards steadily improving their economic situation. Some became independent manufacturers or wholesalers in their own right, and some moved to another sector to run different types of businesses, such as grocery businesses.

In his book, Lee presents the results of a 1976 report by the Korean embassy in Buenos Aires

on immigrant occupations.⁴⁹ The table below, taken by Lee from that report, clearly demonstrates that 75–80% of Korean immigrants in Argentina were engaged in knitting and sewing subcontracting / manufacturing businesses. It also indicates that a substantial number of immigrants (18%) worked in the commercial and services sectors, particularly small grocery businesses.⁵⁰

Table 1. Korean immigrant occupations in 1976⁵¹

Knitting subcontracting/ manufacturing	Sewing subcontracting/ manufacturing	Commerce/ service industry	Agriculture	Other	Total
335 families	200 families	124 families	21 families	20 families	700 families
48%	28%	18%	3%	3%	100%

From Production to Distribution: Expansion of the Korean Garment Business (1980s–1990s)

By undertaking low-status sewing and knitting jobs during the 1960s and 1970s, Korean immigrants established a secure economic foothold in the Argentine garment industry. In the 1980s, Korean immigrants started opening wholesale or retail shops based on the know-how they had acquired in the previous stages and on the economic advantages they had in the sector.

As in the previous stage, small Korean workshop owners – leveraged by family and ethnic labour, hard work, discipline, and the effective use of reliable community networks – made notable economic progress in the 1980s and 1990s. As in the previous stage, leveraged by family and ethnic labour, hard work, discipline, and the effective use of reliable community networks, small Korean workshop owners made notable economic progress in the 1980s and 1990s. However, compared to the previous stage, one of the distinctive changes in Korean workshops was a shift in the primary labour force. My field data suggests that Korean immigrants initially conducted machine sewing and knitting jobs in the 1970s. However, eventually, with the increasing demand for production and the growth of their workshop scale, Korean entrepreneurs began recruiting workers from outside their ethnic group; mainly undocumented Bolivian or Paraguayan immigrants for low-paying knitting and sewing jobs. Later, Bolivian immigrant labour came to be preferred over other Latin American workers, as the Korean entrepreneurs believed Bolivians had a better “attitude”.⁵²

Since the early days of Korean immigration, many of those small manufacturers personally visited retail shops in the greater Buenos Aires metropolitan area to sell their own lines of clothing. However, since the 1980s, Koreans started opening wholesale shops in the Once neighbourhood of Buenos Aires or retail shops in the provinces; thus, Korean independent manufacturers sold clothing directly to Korean wholesalers or retailers in larger quantities in their clothing factory.

Korean independent manufacturers were engaged exclusively in garment production: designing, producing and supplying apparel to Korean retailers or wholesalers. These plants were invisible in-home factories; they were neither formally operated nor open to non-Koreans. Only Korean immigrants had information and access to these Korean manufacturing plants

through the community networks, so they were highly regarded as a hidden driving factor to supply ready-made-clothing to Korean wholesalers and retailers. For Korean wholesalers who did not have the experience and knowledge of clothing manufacturing, these suppliers were crucial, because these invisible factories allowed them simply to buy and re-sell ready-made garments to local retailers. Korean retailers in the provinces also bought clothes directly from these co-ethnic manufacturers thus bypassing wholesalers; they thereby obtained clothing at wholesale prices and sold them with a higher profit margin. This cooperation helped new Korean entrepreneurs to compete with established Argentine wholesalers and retailers. The following interview comments reflect the comparative advantages that those Korean manufacturers provided for their fellow Korean retailers and wholesalers: ‘Those factories provided clothes exclusively to Korean wholesalers or retailers. It was a driving force allowing Korean immigrants to open retail or wholesale garment shops easily, particularly for those who didn’t have any previous experience in garment making, like myself’. ‘Those manufacturers played the middlemen role between Korean garment wholesaler and retailers. At nighttime, many Korean retailers visited our factory to buy clothes, because if they avoided wholesalers, they got higher profit margins. Argentine retailers bought from Korean wholesalers in Once during the daytime. I mean Argentine retailers had to go through one more step and got smaller margins’.

Moreover, Light and Gold suggested that co-ethnic support in terms of financing plays a particularly vital role for immigrant entrepreneurs, because such funding was the most important source of accessible financial capital beyond personal savings.⁵³ For example, in his study, Yoon demonstrated that Korean entrepreneurs in Chicago depended on several co-ethnic loan sources to initiate their businesses: 35% from kin, 19.9% from friends, 13.7% from Korean American banks, and 27.9% from gye funds (Korean rotating credit system).⁵⁴ In a similar way, some Korean entrepreneurs in Argentina emphasised the support of their family, while others acknowledged that the help of close friends, particularly financial assistance, was crucial in the initial stages of their businesses, as in the example below: ‘My business failed in Korea. When I came here in 1994, I had a \$100,000 [US] dollar debt. A friend of mine, who was well settled and who ran a successful garment wholesale business, recommended that I open a retail shop in suburban Buenos Aires lending me \$100,000 [US] dollars. My new business here was successful, so in two years, I could make \$200,000 [US] dollars and paid back all my debts’.

Besides, gye, the informal rotating saving system used by community members, aided the expansion of Korean retail/wholesale garment shops and stimulated upward mobility for many Korean entrepreneurs in Argentina. Other credit systems, such as private loans, credits, and post-dated cheques, were frequently used between wholesalers/manufacturers and retailers as well. However, as those systems were informally operated, they were highly dependent upon the reliability of the members, as the below story reports: ‘When I opened this store [in the 1980s], I was taking the money from four different gyes of \$2,000 [US] dollars each. After getting gye money in the first turn, I rented this shop. Of course, I did not have money for the clothes, so I took credits from Korean wholesale shops and factories to buy them. I paid back on time to them, and kept up my credit with them. I also gave the gye money back every month. Without those gye funds and credits from Korean wholesale shops, I wouldn’t have been able to open my own [retail] shops. Afterwards, I did gye several times and lent money to my son’s friend’s mom to help them, but unfortunately in the end, many did not pay me back. After those

experiences, I don't lend money to Koreans or do gyes any more. I lost not only the money but also the people'.

As the above interview illustrated, several negative effects were caused by the high dependence on the ethnic networks and resources within the community. Keen competition among the co-ethnics who ran the same type of business was another inevitable cost during the rapid development processes. Moreover, the difficult economic contexts in the host country, such as unexpected crises, high inflation, and constant changes in the real value of money aggravated those problems generated by the informal credit systems among Korean immigrants. With the passage of time, the ways of using ethnic resources and the patterns of business management and strategies have evolved and been re-shaped among the Korean community members, with the twin aims of reducing negative side effects and simultaneously more effectively maximising individual profits.

As the table below indicates, the number of Korean-owned retail garment shops in the provinces, outside of the Buenos Aires capital district, increased sharply in the 1980s and 1990s, buoyed by a credit system based on ethnic bonds between Korean retail shop owners and manufacturers/ wholesalers.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Korean retailers sold with a 50% profit margin, in competition with Argentine retailers who operated with 100% profit margins.⁵⁶ The resulting intense competition forced most retailers – both Korean and Argentine – to lower their prices and reduce their profit margins. Marketed to middle- and lower-income consumers, the clothing produced by Korean manufacturers was sold in numerous co-ethnic retail stores throughout Argentina.⁵⁷

Table 2. Numbers of Korean garment shops in Argentina⁵⁸

Year	1986	1988	1990
Korean wholesale shops in the Once neighbourhood	139	117	245
Korean wholesale shops around Av. Avellaneda	4	42	85
Korean retail shops in the provinces	96	132	204

From 1985 to 1990, the Korean community's numbers escalated dramatically from 10,000 to 36,000. This remarkable wave was the result of the 1985 agreement on entry and exit procedures for Korean immigrants signed between the governments of Argentina and South Korea.⁵⁹ A condition of the revised act was that Koreans with a minimum of US\$30,000 per family to invest in Argentina were permitted to immigrate.⁶⁰ This reinvigorated immigration brought both the injection of capital and the increase of immigrant entrepreneurs into the Argentinean garment sector.

Furthermore, the idea that informal/semi-formal conditions of the Argentine garment market provided a better "niche market" was repeated over and over in many interviews to explain the

easy entry and the fast economic growth of Korean entrepreneurs into the garment commercial sector. The Argentine market can be segmented into four major components: (a) large brands (“big name brands”); (b) small brands (“neighbourhood brands”); (c) massive sales of products at low prices; (d) informal outdoor markets. Apparel production in Argentina exhibits a high level of informality throughout all the segments, as is the case in European and North American countries.⁶¹ Typically, production is in unregulated sweatshops which are neither registered nor which meet basic health and safety standards. However, in Argentina, while overall the clothing production sector demonstrates an elevated degree of informality, each segment has an identifiable distinctive degree of formality in terms of commercialisation, i.e., the “brands” outlets are formal; the massive wholesale area in Once and Flores is semi-formal; and the outdoor markets such as La Salada are extremely informal. As Light pointed out, informal economies provide more accessible market niches to those with minimal resources who seek self-employment.⁶² Many Korean interviewees agreed that the informal conditions not only in the production but also in the commercialisation of clothing offered easy entry opportunities to Korean immigrant entrepreneurs to transfer from sewing and knitting jobs to retail/wholesale businesses in the Argentine garment industry.

Since the early 20th century, Once, a neighbourhood within the City of Buenos Aires, had developed as the center of the Jewish community and the hub of the garment trade. From the late 1970s, Korean immigrants began opening wholesale apparel shops in Once. According to Lee, the fact that Korean immigrants started moving from sweatshops, street vending and small grocery shops to wholesale apparel shops in the Once neighbourhood was significant; to Lee, it meant a step up on the lower- to middle-class ladder within Argentine society.⁶³ Furthermore, during the growth period of the Argentine garment industry in the 1990s, ethnic Korean entrepreneurs captured a significant market share, particularly in female fashion apparel.⁶⁴ This was a significant development for the Korean immigrant community, in terms of economic improvement and upward social mobility within Argentine society.⁶⁵

The Korean Garment Business in Argentina Today (2000–Present)

As briefly mentioned, Korean garment manufacturers (producers) and wholesalers (distributors) operated as separate businesses until the mid-1990s: invisible independent Korean manufacturers supplied ready-made-apparel to co-ethnic wholesalers in the Once neighbourhood. However, by the end of the 20th century, many of those independent manufacturers opened their own wholesale shops around Av. Avellaneda in the Flores district, manufacturing and selling clothing at the same site. Thus, this new competition made it difficult for the already-established wholesalers in the Once neighbourhood for two reasons: first, the number of garment manufacturers who supplied ready-made-apparel was declining, providing limited quantity of clothing and increased prices; and secondly, because the older establishments had to compete with new shops around Av. Avellaneda in Flores, directly owned by the very same manufacturers who sold comparable merchandise at better prices. Some of those existing established wholesalers in the Once neighbourhood had to adapt their operations: therefore, they began to move to Av. Avellaneda, manufacture their own clothing directly, and incorporate both production and distribution operations. According to the best

available estimates,⁶⁶ the new area became a highly commercialised middle-lower price and quality apparel wholesale sector with approximately 30% of the shops under the control of ethnic Koreans who are primarily producing and selling women's clothing.

Unlike in the previous decades when there was a massive influx of Korean immigrants to Argentina, Korean immigration decreased significantly in the 21st century. Furthermore, after the dramatic economic crisis of 2001, many Koreans left the country. Currently, most Koreans are immigrants who arrived in Argentina in the past decades, with new immigrants arriving infrequently. Early immigrants have established themselves firmly in the host country; they possess significant previous experience and know-how in the garment industry. While most Korean entrepreneurs concentrate in the Av. Avellaneda wholesale market, a minority operates garment workshops, retail shops, and other related businesses. With the economic growth of the sector, some Korean entrepreneurs also became involved in larger-scale activities, such as textile production and imports.

In this contemporary phase, except for some isolated examples from new immigrants, ethnic resources, seem to have lost their centrality in the immigrant story. Today, ethnic Koreans tend to share general or basic information through community newspapers or via several Internet sites provided by the Korean Association or the Chamber of the Korean Entrepreneurs in Argentina.⁶⁷ However, although the ethnic community does not provide direct business information or capital as in the previous stages, it still frequently performs essential functions for new immigrants who seek a job or who start a new business. In addition, Korean entrepreneurs tend to sell their businesses to other Koreans; thus, the ethnic community often provides eventual business opportunities. When they need specific business information, they also ask trusted friends or people from the same church for help.

Furthermore, after numerous problems related to unpaid debts among the Korean community members, the dependence on gye or on the extension of co-ethnic credit financing has decreased sharply. Many interviewees, particularly those who are running large-scale businesses asserted that they started operations with only their own money without any loan or credit from others. Although in a few cases, I heard of the use of gye for business purposes, it is primarily used today to promote friendship. Yet, those who received financial help freely admitted that it is still easier to get loans and credits from families or ethnic friends rather than from Argentine acquaintances.

Currently, there are 1,400 Korean wholesale shops (including small shops or kiosks in shopping arcades and malls) among the 3,000 wholesale outlets in the garment wholesale district around Av. Avellaneda.⁶⁸ The number of wholesale shops may be underestimated, as the number of small shops or kiosks is currently increasing.⁶⁹ Korean entrepreneurs attribute their primary motivation to enter into the garment business to the comparative advantages within the sector rather than to ethnic networks and resources. A further attraction of the commercial clothing sector is the diverse array of business opportunities it offers; they are available to both large and small capital investors. In the new decade, shopping arcades or malls (Spanish: galerías) with small shops or stands have been popular; until recently they were still multiplying around Av. Avellaneda. The small shop owners do not produce apparel directly but rather buy clothing from wholesalers and resell them to retailers or individual customers. Those small shops

provide opportunities to open businesses without large amounts of capital; thus, this may also encourage many ethnic Koreans to enter the garment business.

The business prospects of Korean entrepreneurs in Argentina have been negatively affected by decades of difficult and fluctuating economic contexts. However, contrary to popular belief, my field data suggest that the unstable and hard economic and market conditions of the host country are not always pessimistically viewed by immigrants as negative influences on Korean garment businesses. As the following interview comments clearly demonstrate, the economic instability and backward market conditions can be viewed as a crucial opportunity to enter a new market easily and to advance rapidly for Korean entrepreneurs: ‘Under the well-organised market and society like the US and Korea, it is difficult to break into a new market and to go up easily and fast. However, under the underdeveloped economic structure like Argentina, there are many more possibilities to enter a new market and to succeed, because in the less organised market and society there are more gaps and breaks [niches]. Also, there is much less competition. It provides better conditions to make your business successful’.

While economic crises usually affect business negatively, for those who have enough leverage to overcome difficult economic periods, those crises have been advantageous opportunities to increase the scale of their businesses and prepare themselves for the next step. In addition, for those immigrant entrepreneurs with limited resources, economic crises have also provided an easier gateway to enter the competitive wholesale markets, as the interviewee below experienced: ‘I started a wholesale shop with my sister just before the 2001 crisis and one dress model had a big success. When we decided to separate the business, we faced the [economic] crisis. More than half of the shops around Av. Avellaneda were closed and many people left for the US. At that moment, I opened a shop, because I didn’t have any other option. People told me that I was crazy. However, I just learned that I could start a business with very little money during the crisis. At that time, there was no key money requirement, the rent was cheap. I re-invested all the profit into buying fabrics during the first years [of my business]. After several big model successes, my [wholesale] business went up continuously. I believe that crisis is an opportunity, because of my experience’.

In particular, the rapid economic recovery in the post-2001 crisis period also accelerated the expansion of Korean wholesale shops around Av. Avellaneda. The phase of economic growth, employment and real wages expansion that the country experienced roughly from 2003 to 2012 evidently benefitted the apparel sector. Thus, many of those I interviewed who are currently operating garment wholesale businesses entered the market in the post-2001 crisis period. They stressed that the rapid growth of the garment wholesale market was related to the recovery of the economy after the 2001 fiscal crisis.

In the meantime, several negative side effects have been identified as many Koreans concentrated in the wholesale sector. In particular, competition has become a pressing issue among Korean wholesalers. Moreover, while a considerable number of Koreans have achieved upward mobility, of course, it cannot be applied to all the community members. Certainly, there are some others who remain fixed in the same place or some who have even experienced downward mobility.

As a result of these uneven trajectories, the cleavage between rich and poor grows deeper and wider within the Korean Argentine community, as it did for Argentines as a whole, after the several severe economic crises. In other words, although most of them are physically confined in a specific geographic location and industry sector, Korean entrepreneurs cannot be viewed as a unitary business group: huge differences emerge among community members in terms of

economic position, background, life trajectory, and degree of integration into the host society. As the classical theorists of “ethnic and class resources” claimed, while in the initial stage of Korean immigration and involvement in the garment industry ethnic resources played an essential role, today “class” resources appear to have become more significant for Korean businesses.⁷⁰

New Generation Korean Argentines in the Argentine Garment Industry and their Social Integration

Globally, previous literature on immigrant communities has suggested that although a high proportion of first-generation immigrants operate their own businesses, most succeeding generations change their careers, as their families blend into the mainstream society.⁷¹ This has been the case for younger generation Koreans in the US and other developed economies.⁷² In contrast, a far smaller proportion of Korean Argentines seek their success by pursuing professional careers such as those in medicine, law, engineering, finance, and academia. Instead, they tend to remain in ethnic businesses largely represented by a range of garment ventures, from wholesale or retail shops to clothing factories.

For many first-generation Korean immigrants in Argentina, the garment business provided an accessible entry point into the host country’s economy, and one with distinct rewards. Certainly, the reasons why 1.5- and second-generation Korean Argentines might want to engage in a garment business are quite different from those of their first-generation predecessors. Korean Argentines who grew up in Argentina are native Spanish speakers and understand their social environment like any other Argentine.

In order to start a business, entrepreneurs primarily need access to capital and business expertise. Unlike the first generation of Korean immigrants, who were often dependent on ethnic networks to obtain venture capital, the 1.5- and second-generations tend to obtain business information, know-how and initial capital from their families or else take over the family firm to continue developing wholesale or retail enterprises. While, there were a few cases in which young Korean Argentines accepted a small amount of credit from friends or others, usually community members, we did not encounter any cases of young Korean Argentines starting wholesale or retail clothing businesses exclusively on credit, most young interviewees agreed that financial injections from parents are crucial in starting one’s own business. If they are unable to obtain economic support from the family, they take on work with other Korean entrepreneurs as employees, usually as shop or factory managers. As illustrated in the following interview with a second-generation Korean Argentine, who ran a retail clothing shop in Buenos Aires, financial injections from his parents were crucial for starting his own business: ‘I worked for a big local dairy production company, as an engineer for about two years. I compared my father’s income [running a retail shop in Bahía Blanca] to the salary of my boss, who worked more than twenty years as a professional engineer at the company. My father’s income was much higher than my boss’s. [...] My friends who really wanted to continue their careers went overseas. My wife, who studied odontology, and I decided to stay here because we wanted to be close to our families. We took over my parents-in-law’s retail shop in Buenos Aires. My father put up the money to upgrade and improve the

building. [...] A clothing business requires a lot of money. It is impossible to save money and gather the initial capital to start a business working on your own. [...] Shop repairs and improvements also require a lot of money. Without family support, it would be very difficult’.

Besides, as in the interview above, Korean Argentines repeatedly expressed the view that the low salaries in Argentina are the crucial factor inclining them towards the family business. In addition, my interview data further confirm that many complex social factors are involved in the decision of Korean Argentine youth to pursue the garment business. Particularly, job market circumstances typical of a developing country like Argentina, such as low professional salaries, un- or underemployment, job dissatisfaction, and blocked opportunities, seem to act as push factors towards family businesses or co-ethnic jobs. Thus, as the concept of mixed embeddedness suggests, this trend should be understood as related to the social, economic, and political environments in the host country.

Another possible approach to better comprehend these findings is to analyse the different forms of social capital. While the topic of racism or outward discrimination did not arise much in interviews and conversations, issues around limited social capital in wider society did, as evidenced in the following: ‘Children need role models in mainstream society to inspire their future plans outside the garment industry, but available role models are very limited. Ninety-five percent of Koreans are in the garment business, so the odds are that ninety-five percent of our children will run a garment business. I sent my children to the US in order to show them another world. For instance, local Jews have many relatives who have professional jobs, so they can follow those professions naturally. Koreans are too limited’.

Many interviewees from the Korean community held a similar view that Koreans pursuing professional careers have limited opportunities, connections and social capital in the wider job market. According to Portes and Sensenbrenner, ethnic minorities are frequently characterised as having tight social networks and beneficial resources.⁷³ However, these features can have advantages as well as disadvantages. On one hand, ethnic social networks and resources are often believed to provide security, solidarity and opportunities within the ethnic business community.⁷⁴ On the other hand, ethnic networks and resources are also viewed as negative, thereby hindering economic integration within the host society.⁷⁵ The case of Korean Argentine entrepreneurs demonstrates that favourable class resources (the initial capital and know-how from the family) as well as ethnic resources (strong inter-ethnic ties and information sharing) are beneficial for advantageous business and employment opportunities within the Korean business community; nevertheless, that powerful combination of resources does not necessarily contribute to a better socio-economic position in the larger mainstream Argentine society.

Conclusion

As many previous scholars in migration studies have emphasised, the unfavourable local labour market, particularly stemming from language barriers in the new country, was the main reason for self-employment of the first generation of Koreans in Argentina. For those in the early stages of immigration, the garment sewing and knitting subcontracted work was one of the most suitable options for the immigrants as it could be carried out without significant language

skills or capital investment; this was true for individual workers and those pursuing small business opportunities. Furthermore, co-ethnic networks facilitated the efficient transmission of the necessary skills and distribution of tasks, materials and opportunities. As a result of its labour-intensive nature and vertical structure, the garment industry offered various types of jobs, easy business entry, and dynamic economic opportunities.⁷⁶ As previous studies suggested, these pathways that Korean immigrants undertook in the early stages are quite common and similar to the ways in which many immigrants engage with the clothing production sector in other countries.⁷⁷

Yet, Korean immigrants did not remain in the arduous and financially less rewarding sewing and knitting jobs for very long. Based on the accumulated know-how and capital, and the secure foothold they gained in the sector, Koreans managed to move into the garment wholesale and retail sectors, where bigger returns beckoned. Certainly, Koreans used their ethnic resources and networks effectively, extensively and intensively to enlarge their businesses. For many of the Koreans I interviewed, invisible Korean manufacturing operations and informal co-ethnic credit systems were cited as significant aids for their business expansion into the commercial garment sector. However, in this research, I stress the importance of context in these choices: the particular characteristics of the Argentine garment industry provided Koreans easy entry and rapid upward mobility into the commercial garment sector.

According to my interviewees, the open structure of the Argentine garment industry, with numerous available niches, provided the essential opportunities and conditions for entrepreneurial Korean immigrants to enter, remain, and/or transit between garment sectors. The Argentine garment industry is characterised by a high rate of informal or semi-formal management structures, not only in apparel production but also in a considerable portion of the clothing distribution sector. This circumstance is quite distinctive from that in other countries; in Argentina, this has translated into a broader array of niches for Korean entrepreneurs to enter the commercial garment sector.

The beneficial macro-economic conditions after the 2001 financial crisis were important drivers influencing Korean business expansion into the wholesale garment sector. During the subsequent phase of rapid economic growth, numerous Koreans initiated complex business operations, undertaking both garment manufacturing and wholesale enterprises. In these ventures, the business scale was enlarged significantly and many attained significant success in the Avellaneda wholesale market. By the turn of the 21st century, while the macro-economic contexts and individual economic power influenced the entry and development of Korean businesses critically, ethnic resources paled in significance compared to the previous decades. Nevertheless, the stories from those successful Korean wholesale businesses indirectly encouraged and motivated other Koreans to enter the wholesale sector.

Unlike second-generation Koreans in other countries, who tended to reject the small-business preferences of their parents and sought to pursue professional careers and to achieve mainstream-oriented mobility, Korean Argentines continued to choose work within the garment industry. The interviews hint that this counter-trend should be understood in the typical economic and social circumstances of a developing country. Primarily, Korean Argentines expressed the view that low professional salaries in Argentina are the crucial factor and the practical reason for the strong business preference of successive generations. Furthermore, for Korean Argentine youth, the typical job market circumstances of a developing

country, such as unemployment, underemployment, job dissatisfaction and/or blocked opportunities, seem to have acted as push factors toward family business or co-ethnic job opportunities. Unquestionably, the undeveloped and informal garment market conditions in this developing country provided advantageous opportunities for easy entry and rapid advancement for Korean entrepreneurs; at the same time, the difficult overall conditions of the labour market in Argentina militate against and limit satisfying employment opportunities and economic chances for young Korean Argentines in mainstream society. In summary, the continuous concentration of Korean businesses in the Argentine garment industry is the result of both the positive and negative sides of the social, economic and political environments of this developing country.

So why have ethnic Koreans in Argentina so continuously engaged in the garment industry? In this study, I assert bluntly that, in the difficult and complicated host country context, a considerable number of Koreans achieved upward mobility through available opportunities provided by the garment industry; they accumulated key advantages over time; and most still believe these opportunities and advantages can yield comparative benefits. If a considerable number of Korean immigrants in the garment industry had not been able to achieve this upward mobility, the story would have probably differed.

With regard to the specific factors that influence Korean business development and upward mobility within the garment industry, I certainly found that ethnic networks and resources were used as a strategic tool by Korean entrepreneurs to achieve economic viability, financial support, and eventual upward mobility within the Argentine society. However, as discussed in this research, several intertwining factors were coming to life in the entrepreneurial narratives of Koreans. Some of these factors arose from individual abilities to adapt, while others stemmed from micro- and macro-environments providing opportunities. In this case, the concept of mixed embeddedness seems a more appropriate framework for focusing on how the micro-level of individual and ethnic variables interface with the macro-level of social-structural factors; the interface of these variables is particularly relevant in the distinctive contexts of a developing country like Argentina.

Finally, although most Korean Argentines have been working in the same sector for half a century, this research shows that the motivations behind their involvement and the types and styles of their businesses have been re-shaped over time through intricate processes in the host country. These findings further illustrate the point that any comprehensive account of an immigrant group's entrepreneurial behaviour must bring together not only the determinant factors of previous theories but also the differences in historical contexts and generations. As a contribution to studies in immigrant entrepreneurship, this research proposes and illustrates the application of a new approach that combines existing theories with historical perspectives.

Notes

1. There is no official data vis-à-vis the number of Korean-owned garment businesses. However, the main community organisations, such as Korean Association in Argentina and the Chamber of Korean Entrepreneurs in Argentina, typically report and agree that 80–90% of ethnic Koreans are engaged in the apparel industry.
2. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 246–247.
3. “Episode 86: Kim Hongyeal”, *Age of Global Success*, KBS Documentary (16/03/2013).
<http://goo.gl/xNdfJ6> (shortened URL).
4. For research into the role of ethnic resources as well as that of class in the formation and operation of ethnic enterprise, see Light, “Immigrant and ethnic enterprise in North America”; Light and Gold, *Ethnic economies*; and Light and Rosenstein, *Race, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship in urban America*.
5. For summaries of middleman minority theory, see Bonacich, “A Theory of Middleman Minorities”; and Zenner, *Minorities in the middle: A cross-cultural analysis*. In particular, many researchers have indicated that Korean entrepreneurs in the US serve as a middlemen minority because they are caught in vulnerable positions between white providers and low-income black customers. For studies on the middlemen minority characteristics of Korean entrepreneurs in the US, please see Min, *Caught in the Middle: Korean Merchants in America’s Multiethnic Cities*; Min and Kolodny, “The Middleman Minority Characteristics of Korean Immigrants in the United States”; and Yoon, *On my own: Korean businesses and race relations in America*.
6. For other studies on ethnic enclaves, see Portes, “The social origins of the Cuban enclave economy of Miami”; Portes and Shaffer, “Revisiting the enclave hypothesis: Miami twenty-five years later”; and Zhou, *Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave*.
7. Kloosterman and Rath, *Immigrant entrepreneurs*, 5.
8. Kloosterman et al., “Mixed embeddedness: (in)formal economic activities and immigrant businesses in the Netherlands.”; Kloosterman and Rath, “Immigrant entrepreneurs in advanced economies: mixed embeddedness further explored.”; and Rath, *Unravelling the rag trade: immigrant entrepreneurship in seven world cities*.
9. Kloosterman et al., “Mixed embeddedness: (in)formal economic activities and immigrant businesses in the Netherlands”; Barrett, “Socio-economic and policy dimensions of the mixed embeddedness of ethnic minority business in Britain”; and Kloosterman, “Matching opportunities with resources: a framework for analysing (migrant) entrepreneurship from a mixed embeddedness perspective”.
10. Waldinger, “Structural opportunity or ethnic advantage? Immigrant business development in New York”.
11. Waldinger, *Through the eye of the needle: Immigrants and enterprise in New York’s garment trades*; Morokvasic, “Immigrants in garment production in Paris and Berlin”; Bonacich and Appelbaum, *Behind the label: Inequality in the Los Angeles apparel industry*; Green, *Ready-to-wear and ready-to-work: A century of industry and immigrants in Paris and New York*; and Rath, *Unravelling the rag trade: immigrant entrepreneurship in seven world cities*.
12. Jeon, *Segyeui Hanminjok (6): Jungnammi*, 62.
13. Park, “Nobody remembers the losers: The story of Korean agricultural emigration to South America”.
14. Lee 1992, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 130–34; and Son, “Nyeondae Nammi Nonggeom Imin: Beurajil, Areuhentina, Paragwai”, 163–64.
15. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 87–89.
16. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 187.
17. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 241.
18. Light and Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965-1982*; and Min, *Caught in the Middle: Korean Merchants in America’s Multiethnic Cities*.
19. Morokvasic, “Immigrants in garment production in Paris and Berlin”; Light and Bonacich, *Behind the label: Inequality in the Los Angeles apparel industry*; Light et al., “Immigrant Incorporation in the Garment Industry of Los Angeles.”; and Chin, *Sewing women: immigrants and the New York City garment industry*.
20. Light and Bonacich, *Behind the label: Inequality in the Los Angeles apparel industry*.
21. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 141
22. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 141. According to Lee, the small grocery shop was another business preference of pioneering Korean immigrants. However, since the early 1990s, the number of Korean grocery shops has declined noticeably, as many of those owners moved into the garment industry.
23. Cited by Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 141.
24. Bialogorski, “La presencia coreana en la Argentina: la construcción simbólica de una experiencia inmigratoria”, 97–98.
25. Light and Gold, *ethnic economies*, 114–115.

26. Yoon, *On my own: Korean businesses and race relations in America*, 142.
27. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 249.
28. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 249.
29. Bialogorski, “La presencia coreana en la Argentina: la construcción simbólica de una experiencia inmigratoria”, 296.
30. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 327.
31. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 288.
32. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 288.
33. Waldinger, *Through the eye of the needle: Immigrants and enterprise in New York’s garment trades*; Morokvasic, “Immigrants in garment production in Paris and Berlin”; Bonacich and Appelbaum, *Behind the label: Inequality in the Los Angeles apparel industry*; Green, *Ready-to-wear and ready-to-work: A century of industry and immigrants in Paris and New York*; and Rath, *Unravelling the rag trade: immigrant entrepreneurship in seven world cities*.
34. Light, *Deflecting immigration: Networks, markets, and regulation in Los Angeles*, 85–86.
35. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 197–198.
36. Bialogorski, “La presencia coreana en la Argentina: la construcción simbólica de una experiencia inmigratoria”, 295.
37. Lee, *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa*, 197–198.
38. In the interview with Hanjun Park, the former president of the Chamber of Korean Entrepreneurs in Argentina used and cited the estimates provided from the same organisation prior to 2014.
39. The most used Korean websites in Argentina are Chamber of Korean Entrepreneurs in Argentina (<http://www.iacea.com.ar/gnu/bbs/index.html>); and Nammihanuri (<http://nammihanuri.com/>).
40. Interview with Hanjun Park.
41. Interview with Hanjun Park.
42. Light and Gold, *Ethnic economies*; and Yoon, “The Changing Significance of Ethnic and Class Resources in Immigrant Business: The Case of Korean Immigrant Business in Chicago”.
43. Kim, “Leaving the Ethnic Economy: The Rapid Integration of Second-Generation Korean Americans in New York”; Portes and Zhou, “The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants”; Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*; and Zhou, “Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation”.
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Soviet Culture and Soviet Koreans (1920-1930)

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Abstract

The author examines the problems of proletarian (Soviet) culture, its inception, and activities of the creative intelligentsia of the Soviet Koreans. In the USSR, the leaders paid great attention to the liquidation of illiteracy, youth education, and the formation of the Soviet Korean Culture in the 1920-1930. During this period, Soviet authorities opened two pedagogical colleges and teachers training institutes, newspapers and magazines were published in the Korean language, and selected works of Korean Proletarian writers were published. Soviet cultural policy contributed to the development of Korean Culture. In 1932, Soviet Koreans created the Korean theater; artists, musicians, painters, and poets appeared among Korean youth.

Keywords: Proletarian culture, Soviet culture, Soviet Koreans, education, literature, music, Korean theater

I. Introduction

Proletarian culture (the Proletkult)¹ in the USSR

The issues of cultural development at critical periods of the history of any society remain an acute problem. Against the background of the development of traditional Russian culture, the events of 1917 led to the formation of a new proletarian culture. It is highly relevant to examine the theory and practice of the original cultural policy of the USSR in the 1920s-1930s. After October 1917, the building of a new workers-and-peasants society became the main task of the Soviet state. In the cultural policy, the most important issues were the creation of a new community culture, its relationship to the culture of the past, and the ratio of universal human and class values in this new culture.

After the February Revolution of 1917, the Bolshevik leaders created a mass cultural and educational organization *Proletkult* (Proletarian culture), to support the *samodeyatelnost' of the proletariat*². The main aim of this organization was to create a new proletarian culture, spreading it among the masses. The chief ideologue of *Proletkult* was Alexander Bogdanov (Malinovsky), a well-known figure of Russian social democracy at the beginning of the 20th century. He believed that proletarian culture was a class culture, more reliable and constructive than the bourgeois culture. This culture, based on the principle of collectivism, relied exclusively on life, social, and professional experience of Soviet workers denying authoritarianism. This culture was new and unique, solely created by the Soviet proletariat. It was A culture that nobody had seen before³.

***Proletkult's* task was the development of independent spiritual culture. It sought to give a worker a holistic upbringing that immutably guided the collective will and thinking.**

Thus, the *Proletkult* ideologists consciously abandoned the culture, which humanity had been creating for 2000 years prior to the Revolution. *Proletkult* quickly involved a large number of ordinary people in its activities. In 1919, the organization had about 100 branches in Russian cities, and already in October 1920, it numbered about 400 thousand workers signed up for various departments, clubs, and studios.

However, the main question concerning the nature of the new, proletarian culture remained. Vladimir Lenin answered this question. He was firmly against the independence of *Proletkult* as a mass cultural and educational organization. In the draft resolution of the First All-Russian Congress of *Proletkult* (5–12 October 1920) Lenin wrote: *Marxism has conquered its world-historical significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat by the fact that Marxism by no means rejected the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois era, but, on the contrary, assimilated and reworked everything useful in the more than 2000 years of human thought and culture development. Only further work on this basis and in the same direction, inspired by the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as its last struggle against all exploitation, can be recognized as the development of genuinely proletarian culture*⁴.

¹ The Proletkult as cultural and educational organization (1917-1932) due to ideological differences about the essence of proletarian culture and pressure from the Central Committee of the RCP(b) disintegrated in 1932. The term *proletarian culture* changed to term *soviet culture*.

² *Samodeyatelnost'* is a unique Soviet cultural term describing the voluntary participation of the Soviet workers during their leisure time in various cultural endeavors sponsored by the state.

³ Yudin M.V. (2018). Proletarskaya kul'tura glazami sovetских vozhd'ey (Proletarian culture through the eyes of Soviet leaders) // Bulletin of Slavic cultures. T. 50, 56-65.

⁴ Lenin, V.I. (1920). O proletarskoy kul'ture. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy. (About proletarian culture). Full

Lenin outlined the fundamental principles of proletarian culture:

1. *Not unique ideas, but Marxism.*
2. *Not the invention of a new proletarian culture, but the development of the best samples, traditions, and results of existing ethics from the world outlook of Marxism, and the conditions of life and struggle of the proletariat in the era of its dictatorship...*⁵

According to the decision of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) and Vladimir Lenin, *Proletkult* became an integral part of the People's Commissariat of Education as a body that was supposed to implement the proletarian dictatorship in culture. *Proletkult* tried to defend its independence from state structures, but was obliged to fully submit to the Ministry of Education. In November 1920, Soviet leaders drew up instructions on the relationship between *Proletkult* and the People's Commissariat for Education at the meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP(b). *Proletkult*'s duties included political and educational work, and the fight against bourgeois propaganda.

The People's Commissariat for Education developed an entirely new theory and practice of proletarian culture, reflecting the following theses based on:

1. Creating a culture of a new society;
2. Relation to the culture of the past;
3. The ratio of universal human and class values in culture.

In the first years of Soviet experiment, Soviet cultural life was characterized by creativity, amateur performance, a variety of opinions, art schools and trends, but at the same time, there was a tendency to strengthen the role of the state limiting creativity. On the one hand, the letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) On *Proletkult* spoke about the freedom of creativity and opinion. On the other hand, they strengthened administrative-party control over the organization. Ideologists did not contest the right of the Communist Party to manage the cultural activities of *Proletkult*. There was a gradual shift toward the command-bureaucratic methods of managing culture⁶.

II. The birth of the creative intelligentsia of Soviet Koreans

Liquidation of illiteracy for the Soviet leaders became one of the main tasks in building a new society and educating a *new Soviet man*. Authorities carried out a lot of work throughout the country to overcome the illiteracy and cultural backwardness of the peoples of the USSR. The local organs of public education and the Korean branches of the provincial committee of the RCP(b) headed ethics and educational work among the Koreans of the Far East. Koreans ranked first in illiteracy eradication among national minorities.⁷ In 1923, there were 224 Korean schools with 12 822 students, of which 40 state schools (2334 students) and 184 national schools (10 488 students) were located in Primorye. The number of Korean schools increased every year. Korean intellectuals excelled in public education, creating first Korean language textbooks. They translated school textbooks and works of Russian literature from

composition of writings, 5th ed, T. 41. Moscow: Politizdat, 1974, 336-337.

⁵ Ibid. 462.

⁶ Belova, T. (1991). *Kul'tura i vlast'*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Filosofskoye obshchestvo / Belova, T. Culture and power. Moscow: Philosophical Society Publishing House, 211.

⁷ *Otchet o likvidatsii negramotnosti i malogramotnosti*. GARF. Fond 1235. Opis' 120. Delo 61. Listy 2 – 9. (Report on the eradication of illiteracy. GARF. Fund 1235. Inventory 120. Case 61. Sheets 2 - 9.

Russian to Korean.⁸

The ranks of the Korean intellectuals grew exponentially after the opening of two Korean pedagogical colleges and a Korean Pedagogical (Teachers Training) Institute in Vladivostok. Graduates of these educational institutions went to work in schools, Korean publishing houses, becoming workers of Soviet public education.

The literature of the Soviet Koreans

In the 1920s-1930s, great opportunities for creative development in literature, music, and Art opened up for Koreans in the Soviet Far East. Among prominent Korean writers and poets there were famous fighters for the Korean independence, as well as writers and poets of the new generation, like Chae Kho Rim, Chin Woo Chak, Cho Myung Hee, Khan Anatoly, Jung Dong Hyuk, Cha Gang, Kim Vasilii, Cho Dong Gyu, Kim In Sub, Tae Chang Chun, Chul Do Hyun, Oh Son Muk, Kang Chu Ryok, Yu Il Ryuong, Kang Te Su, Kim Hye Woon, Oh Chan Hwan, Ge Bon Woo, and others⁹.

The poets Chae Kho Rim and Cho Myung Hee were widely known. Chae Kho Rim headed the Far Eastern Regional Union of Writers from 1934 to 1936. The magazine *Literary Almanac Homeland of Workers* [로력자의 고향] began to publish in Korean on Rim's initiative. This magazine featured stories, poems, plays, and songs by Korean writers. Unfortunately, it only came out until 1937. Currently, only two issues of this magazine have survived, from 1934 and 1937. Korean writers dedicated their works to oppressed Korea. They dreamed of a revolution in Korea and glorified their life in the USSR.

Cho Myung Hee is rightfully considered the founder of Soviet Korean literature. In 1925, he was one of the active organizers of the Federation of Proletarian Art in Korea. In 1929, fleeing the persecution of the Japanese authorities, Cho Myung Hee emigrated to the USSR. Here, in the USSR, he continued his literary activity. Cho Myung Hee wrote famous poems such as *Trampled Korea* [짓 밟인 고려], *Song of October* [십월의 놀애], *To my brother Che Ok* [아우 채옥에게], *May 1 demonstration* [오월일일 시위 운동장에게], and others¹⁰.

Soviet Koreans, with state support despite the economic difficulties that the USSR experienced from 1924 to 1937, prepared for publication and published more than 550 books. Among them were textbooks for schools, texts on agriculture, socio-economic and political themes. They made the first translations of works of Russian literature¹¹ in the same period.

The facts mentioned above prove that until August 1937, the Korean language and Korean literature in the Soviet Far East had experienced rapid prosperity and development. Even under

⁸ Son Zh.G., Jin Sil. (2019). *Prosvetitel'skaya i obrazovatel'naya deyatel'nost' koreytssev na sovetskom Dal'nem Vostoke (1920-1930)* (Outreach and educational activities of Koreans in the Soviet Far East (1920-1930) // VIII FEFU International Korean Studies Conference Proceedings, Vladivostok, 17-18 May 2019 / Otv. Ed. M.P. Kukla. Vladivostok: Publishing house of the Far East. Federal. Un-ta, C. 71-81.

⁹ Rodina trudyashchikhsya. *Literaturnyy al'manakh (na koreyskom yazyke)* (로력자의 고향. 원동조선인문예작품집록. 구 월). Moscow-Khabarovsk: Far Eastern Regional Publishing House, 1934; Rodina trudyashchikhsya. *Literaturnyy al'manakh (na koreyskom yazyke)* (로력자의 고향. 원동조선인문예작품집록. 구 월). Moscow-Khabarovsk: Far Eastern Regional Publishing House, 1937.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Son Zh. *Korean-language textbooks (Hangul) published in the USSR (1920-1930)* // 2019 International Conference on Multiculture and Education, (2019 ICME), 23 November 2019, Incheon, Korea.

the strict control of the party and state apparatus, Koreans retained their national identity. There was an active adaptation to Russian culture through language and literature and an interaction of two civilizations. The Soviet Korean culture was born before the forced resettlement of Koreans in 1937.

Korean theater

Since the mid-1920s, Far Eastern theatre life has been oriented towards the creation of a **Soviet theater**, developing a **creative methodology** of **socialist realism** in the dramatic, directorial, and acting terms. The Ministry of Education established the Directorates of Theater and Entertainment Enterprises at national and regional levels. All theaters of the USSR were subordinate to them. In addition to the traditional forms of drama and musical theaters that developed in the Russian Empire, new ones came into existence, e.g. national, village, collective farm, road theaters, a theater of working youth, and others.

Proletkult took active steps toward the creation of amateur art clubs. These clubs existed in almost all areas of compact residence of Soviet Koreans. There were school circles, clubs at enterprises, etc. in villages and townships. At the very beginning, the Korean theatre represented the amateur effort in a form of a traveling [booth] theatre. The actors were members of collective farms [*kolkhozniks*], fishermen, and students. They gave performances mainly in the fisheries. The exact date of the origin of the theater collective is unknown. We can assume that the period of activity of Korean actors participating in traveling [booth] theaters covers the period from the late 1920s to 1932.

National theatres appeared following Lenin's policy, according to which all peoples of the USSR had the right to develop their national cultures. In the Far East, this policy concerned **Eastern workers**, that is, the Chinese and Koreans.¹² National theaters were state-funded, and artists received wages and housing. The club at the tobacco factory in Vladivostok played a unique role in the history of the theater; an actress Choi Bong Do hailed from there. Additionally, such artists as Lee Ham Dec, Lee Ger Soo, Thai Dian Chun, and others came to this theatre from the Korean neighborhood of Vladivostok.

In September 1932, Soviet Korean activists created the Korean Regional traveling [booth] theatre, which was to fulfill the mission of an agitator and propagandist of a **new life and a modern international society on the Far East** among its national audience. The theatre lasted just over six months, and was disbanded because of bad governance, but re-created in July 1933. The theatre director was Choi Kil' Chun, and the art director was Wang Il' Chu. The Korean troupe included 18 members, of which 15 actors and three actresses, including five Komsomol members, two CPSU members, and one CPSU candidate member. The Young Korean Theater gave performances in newly erected buildings and collective farms [*kolkhozes*] in the Posyetsky District. In 6 months, the theater gave 18 performances, of which 11 were free of charge.¹³

The Soviet leadership was interested in the development of the Korean theater,

¹² Son Zhanna. Social and Cultural Adaptation of Korean youth in the Former USSR (1920s-1930s) // Korea Journal, vol.58, no. 2 (summer 2018): 141–168.

¹³ Son, Zh. Rossiyskiye koreytsy: vsesiliye vlasti i bespraviey etnicheskoy obshchnosti. 1920-1930. (Russian Koreans: the absolute power and rightlessness of an ethnic community. 1920-1930). Moscow: Grif & K, 2013, 229.

attaching a unique role and significance to it. However, there were many organizational and economic problems. The Primorsky Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) revealed the unsatisfactory work of the People's Committee of Education and the Regional Department of Culture and Propaganda. This committee identified many shortcomings in the work of these organizations. Artists and theater workers received low salaries, there were no premises for the theater, regional administration of theaters displayed insufficient leadership and distorted funding policies. From year to year, the theater was not paid financial resources according to the approved subsidy: in 1934, authorities did not pay 200,000 rubles to the Korean theater. In 1935, the Korean theater was supposed to receive 164,000 rubles from the grant-in-aid, but in reality, the theater received only 92,000 rubles, and the salary of the head, director, and actors of the Korean theater was 50% lower in comparison to other theaters¹⁴. The executive authorities did not provide the Korean theater with appropriate working conditions.

Many of the decisions of the bureau of the regional committee of the CPSU (b) focused on correcting these adverse facts. In 1935, Soviet authorities decided to build a Korean theater in Vladivostok. In January 1936, the theater passed into the jurisdiction and maintenance of the Soviet People's Commissariat for Education, making it possible to acquire theatrical costumes, musical instruments, and literature annually. The authorities allocated for these purposes five hundred rubles in gold¹⁵. Since that time, the Korean National Theater, the first and only theater in the USSR, had acquired the status of all-Union significance.

The merits of the theater were great. In three years of its existence, the theater staged plays reflecting the life and struggle of Korean working people for Korea's independence, such as *Tian-Fen-Don torch*, *North-East Highway*, *Chan Hak Mok*, *Chun Hyang Deung*. Theater staged performances on the participation of Korean workers in socialist construction in the Far Eastern Territory, such as *Key*, *Mezha*, *Skipper She San Sob*, etc.

In 1934, the theater performed in 5 districts of the Far Eastern Region; more than 47,500 people attended them. In the first half of 1935, 24,000 people attended performances¹⁶. Along with proletarian culture, the theater also developed ethnic drama. Contemporaries highly appreciated the activities of the Korean Regional Theater in the Far East, calling it *true culture-bearer*¹⁷. The theater played a massive role in cultural and educational work and morale-building activities among the Soviet Korean population. The performances recreated a truly ethnic image of the historical homeland in a new cultural space. At the same time, the Korean Theater promoted Russian and Soviet Art. The Korean theater has undergone many difficulties, but thanks to the enthusiasm and hard work of its directors and theater actors, it still flourishes in Kazakhstan today. Korean theater was and remained the only drama theater in the world outside the Korean Peninsula.

Music of Soviet Koreans

¹⁴ Postanovleniye Primorskogo obkoma VKP(b) o rabote koreyskogo teatra ot 25 sentyabrya 1935. (Resolution of the Primorsky Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks on the work of the Korean theater of September 25, 1935). RGASPI. F. 17, Op. 21, D.3640, L. 170

¹⁵ Ibid. L.171

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Gilev Alexander. V Koreyskom teatre [In the Korean theatre] / Krasnoe znamya [Red Banner newspaper]. – Vladivostok, 1937, March 15.

The suppression of anti-Japanese demonstrations in Korea sparked new flows of political immigration to the Soviet Far East. Active national liberation struggle of the Yyben Liberation Army fighters based on Russian territory for the independence of Korea, as well as Korean and Chinese partisans who fought together with the Russians against the Japanese invaders in the Russian Far East, is reflected in the songwriting. The genre of historical songs, replenished with songs and marches of Korean partisans, Russian revolutionary songs, and songs of the Civil War, became widespread among Koreans¹⁸.

At the Korean Pedagogical College in Nikolsk-Ussuriisk, they trained elementary knowledge of European musical culture and taught to play European and Russian musical instruments. Through the efforts of Russian music teachers, Korean students mastered the necessary knowledge, which they later used in educational and social activities. Their practical skills, patriotic, and moral qualities were a testament to the inception of a phenomenon of Russian Korean intellectuals¹⁹.

Sovietization of Koreans and the building of a new proletarian life brought in significant modifications to the music culture of Korean people. Nevertheless, revolutionary marches and songs split the Korean musical community. Famous Korean Folk Singer Yeon Sung Yeon²⁰ defended the interests of traditional performances of Korean melody and tried to preserve the national flavor. The revolutionary poet Cho Myunghee was his staunch opponent²¹. He criticized Korean conformist music as backward, unable to be at the forefront of moving progress. More and more often, the lyrics of the songs remained unchanged, but the melody changed. Famous singer Lee Ham Dok²² was one of the leading arrangers of old Korean songs in the Soviet-style, and today his tunes still reverberate among Russian Koreans.

During this transition period, older Koreans performed Korean national songs with a traditional melody. However, these songs were gradually ousted by authorities as anti-Soviet. In the process of assimilation of the Korean population into the Russian culture, the melody and rhythm of the songs changed. In Korean songs, there was a mixture of Soviet and Korean tunes. It was here that tunes manifested the combination of the two cultures.

The Art of the Soviet Koreans

There is very little information about the activities of Korean artists during this period. The Far Eastern press reported that the first art exhibition was held in May 1936, in which Korean artists also took parts, such as Byung Wor Young, Lee Woon Ho, and Kim Gregory²³. The newspaper *Songbon* in the Korean language, published notes about the artists of those years, such as Beck

¹⁸ Ten Chu. (1978) *Pesennaya kul'tura sovetskikh koreytsev* (Song culture of Soviet Koreans). (Doctoral dissertation, Kazakh. University, Alma-Ata).

¹⁹ Koroleva V.A. *Muzykal'naya kul'tura Dal'nego Vostoka Rossii vtoroy poloviny XIX veka – 1922 goda: poiski regional'noy identichnosti // Observatoriya kul'tury*. (Koroleva V.A. Musical culture of the Russian Far East in the second half of the 19th century – 1922: the search for regional identity) // *Observatory of Culture*. No. 1, 2015, 50.

²⁰ Kim, Bo Khi. (2007). *Muzykal'naya deyatelnost' rayonnykh koreyskikh Domov kul'tury v Sovetskom Soyuze*. (Musical activities of the regional Korean Houses of Culture in the Soviet Union. 소비에트 시대 고려인 소인 예술단의 음악 활동. 김 보 희). Seoul, Hanul Academy, 44.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid, 45.

²³ *Songbong*. June 12, 1936.

Alexandr, Kim Ki Sung, and Chon Pavel²⁴. This topic remains understudied.

Repressions concerning Korean intellectuals.

In the USSR, massive repressions began against Soviet citizens in the 1930s, including the Koreans, who were preventively convicted of espionage for Japan. Among the total number of victims of the Stalinist terror against Korean ethnic group (6385), I identified that 292 (4.6%) people were students of higher and secondary schools; 277 (4,3 %) people were teachers of universities, technical colleges, researchers, school teachers, most of them were teachers of the Korean language; 140 (2.2%) people were engineers and technical personnel; 24 (0.4%) people rural intelligentsia (agronomists, livestock specialists, etc.); 36 (0.6%) people were doctors and nurses; 31 (0.5%) people were art workers (artists, writers, painters, musicians); 5 people were religious workers. Still, I could not identify data on education and specialty belonging to a group of 957 Koreans (15%). Many Korean intellectuals were afraid of exposure and gave inaccurate information about themselves. They called themselves workers, collective farmers, *laborers*, or just *farmers*.

Among the workers of literature and art, Soviet authorities repressed many writers, and poets, such as Choi Ho Rim, Cho Myung Hee, Oh Chang Hwan²⁵, Lee Ho Young²⁶, Oh Son Muk (Peter Alexandrovich), Kim In Sub²⁷, and Tsai Yong²⁸. The most famous of them was Choi Ho Rim - a journalist, teacher, poet, who worked in the editorial offices of the Soviet Far Eastern newspapers and magazines. Authorities arrested him on three occasions: the first time, he was arrested in 1935 on the territory of the Far East Region, then twice in Kazakhstan, where the Soviet authorities deported him in 1937.

*Choi Ho Rim*²⁹ was born in 1896; a native of Musan, Hamgen-Pukto province of Korea; higher education, non-party, arrested on September 9, 1936, in Vladivostok, on charges under Article 58-10 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, sentenced to 3 years in prison. He was serving a sentence in the Gulag. He was arrested again on December 14, 1939, by the Kzyl-Orda NKVD on charges under Art. 58-10, lived in Alma-Ata, worked as a journalist. October 26, 1940, sentenced to 8 years in prison and served a sentence in the Kraslag of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. He was released on November 16, 1947. He was arrested for the third time on November 2, 1949, on charges of participation in an anti-Soviet espionage organization and condemned to settle in the Krasnoyarsk Territory. From February to March 1950 to September 2, 1954, he was a worker at the B. Uluis power plant. He died on May 25, 1960.

²⁴ Songbong. April 2, 1936

²⁵ Koreytsy – zhertvy politicheskikh repressiy v SSSR. 1934–1938. Kn. 9 / Avt. i sost. Svetlana Ku-Degay. M.: Vozvrashcheniye. (Koreans are victims of political repression in the USSR. 1934–1938. Book 9 / Aut. and comp. Svetlana Ku-Degay). Moscow: Return, 2007, 116.

²⁶ Koreytsy – zhertvy politicheskikh repressiy v SSSR. 1934– 938. Kn. 4 / Avt. i sost. Svetlana Ku-Degay. (Koreans are victims of political repression in the USSR. 1934–1938. Book 4 / Aut. and comp. Svetlana Ku-Degay). Moscow: Return, 2004, 105.

²⁷ Koreytsy – zhertvy politicheskikh repressiy v SSSR. 1934–1938. Kn. 6 / Avt. i sost.: Svetlana Ku-Degay, Vladimir Kim. (Koreans are victims of political repression in the USSR. 1934-1938. Book 6 / Author and compiler: Svetlana Ku-Degay, Vladimir Kim). Moscow: Return, 2005, 274, 37.

²⁸ Ibid, 122.

²⁹ Koreytsy – zhertvy politicheskikh repressiy v SSSR. 1934–1938. Kn. 7 / Avt. i sost.: Svetlana Ku-Degay, Vladimir Kim. (Koreans are victims of political repression in the USSR. 1934-1938. Book 7 / Author and compiler: Svetlana Ku-Degay, Vladimir Kim). Moscow: Return, 2006, 265–321.

Cho Myung Hee³⁰ was born in 1899; a native of the village of Pekamin, Korea, instructor of the regional administration of the Union of Soviet Writers. He lived in Khabarovsk. The National Security Agency Department of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs arrested him on September 18, 1937, on charges under Article 58-10 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Authorities sentenced him to capital punishment by the decree of the troika of the NKVD for the Far East Region from 04.15.1938. He was executed on 05.11.1938 in Khabarovsk and rehabilitated on 07.20.1956.

Oh Son Muk³¹ (1886–1938). He was born in North Hamgyong. In 1892, he moved with his family to Manchuria. In 1913, he began anti-Japanese activities. In 1915, he moved to Primorye, then worked in the Ural. In 1918, he participated in the establishment of the Union of Korean Socialists in Khabarovsk. After the Civil War, he was the executive editor of the Korean newspaper Songbon. Arrested on June 16, 1938, Convicted on October 9, 1938, to capital punishment – execution. He was rehabilitated on December 18, 1956.

Pak Sergey Alexandrovich³² was born on October 17, 1913, in the village Putsilovka, Suifun District, Primorsky Region, Korean, secondary special education, graduated from an art college in Blagoveshchensk. An artist-teacher came from the peasant ranks. Non-party. He lived in Minusinsk. Drawing teacher in high school No1. He was arrested on October 29, 1937, charged with counter-revolutionary agitation, espionage. In 1937, he painted large portraits of Stalin, Dimitrov, Pushkin. On May 12, 1937, the Minusinsk newspaper Vlast Truda published a photograph: Pak against the background of his paintings. Soon, he was arrested "for distorting the image of Stalin." Sentenced on February 3, 1938, to capital punishment. He was shot on February 26, 1938 and rehabilitated on September 8, 1989.

Stalin's repressions destroyed a significant part of Korean intellectuals in the Far East, and in fact, preventively arrested every third Korean family. In many families, several people, mostly men, were subjected to repression. Students, teachers, scientists, engineers, doctors, artists made up 12.2% of all arrested. The intellectual base of the Soviet Korean society was mercilessly destroyed. In current conditions, it is difficult to measure the damage done to Koreans during the state terror. Destructive policy towards ethnic groups undermined the foundations of the formation of ethnic consciousness.

III. Research Method

In this article, I used historical and cultural methodology. I carried out the study of the social and cultural adaptation of Koreans as a phenomenon of public life based on the principle of historicism within the framework of a systematic approach. This principle allowed for displaying the Korean society as an integral part of the Soviet state. The systematic approach served as a foundation for a structural-functional analysis, which made it possible to obtain a complete picture of the internal structure of the Korean group and understand the dynamics of infrastructural ties.

I analyzed cultural and educational activities of Koreans from a cultural perspective, that is, I considered this activity not from its economic efficiency standpoint, but as a factor of socio-

³⁰ Ibid , Book 1, 140

³¹ Ibid, Book 1, 202, 207.

³² Ibid, Book 2, 115.

cultural development. I examined the tools and means for creating conditions for the development of Soviet Korean culture. I used the comparative method to identify the chronological landmarks in the process of building Soviet Korean culture.

Korean youth, in comparison with the adult population, more easily adapted to life in the USSR, and sought to take a worthy place in the existing socio-economic structure of the socialist state. For a long time, the adult population opposed the cultural reforms carried out by the Soviet government. In the USSR, immigrants from peasants and workers had more opportunities for career growth, and children from intelligentsia and wealthy families (kulak families) were persecuted by the authorities and subjected to repression. For the Soviet regime, the social status was the merit of social loyalty: the lower the rank, the higher the trust.

IV. Conclusion

What were the results of the development of Korean culture in the context of the development of the state national cultural policy in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s? The Soviet administrative system actively used the class approach and internationalist propaganda to destroy the traditional closeness of the eastern community on Soviet territory, involving the *working easterners* in Soviet public life.

I showed the dual policy of the Soviet leadership, headed by Joseph Stalin, using the history of Soviet Koreans as an example. On the one hand, the country's administration supported the socio-economic and cultural development of Koreans in the Far East. On the other hand, as the foreign policy situation on the eastern borders of the USSR deteriorated, namely the deterioration of relations with the Japanese Empire, political repressions were carried out against the Soviet people. Not only Koreans, but also people of other nationalities were preventively accused of spying for Japan, anti-Soviet propaganda, and terrorist activities.

Most Koreans, and especially young Korean people, accepted the Soviet regime, sincerely believing in the future of communist ideas. They had the opportunity to study free of charge at school and in higher educational institutions. Soviet Koreans had a chance to get any profession from a doctor to an artist or writer. They knew that there, beyond the Tumangan River, their compatriots had none of this. Soviet Koreans suffered intensely from a sense of powerlessness and lack of any opportunity to help their Korean homeland.

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Online aggressivity and online hate speech based on ethnicity. New forms: anti-gypsism

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Abstract

This article presents the concept of anti-gypsism as a new form of the manifestation of discrimination and violence against an ethnic minority. Besides the social and economic aspects that Roma citizens are confronted with, every day, the issue of racial discrimination is the most sensitive. The discrimination that Roma is facing is captured by a series of key concepts in order that the phenomenon to be better assessed and tackled. EU and international bodies try to raise the awareness of the states' citizens about the adverse consequences at all societal levels in spreading discriminatory attitudes. To simply use antigypsyism as a synonym for 'Roma discrimination' or as a reference to certain specific expressions (such as hate speech or negative stereotypes) without an in-depth explanation obscures the specificity, extent, and underlying structure of the phenomenon. Its gradual adoption signals the recognition that Roma and associated groups fall victim to a specific form of racism, unique to Roma. This recognition is a momentous step in the struggle for substantive equality.

Keywords: anti-gypsism, discrimination, online hate speech, Roma

I. Introduction

Romania is one of the European country with the largest Roma minority. According to Council of Europe and civil society estimations, there are about 2000000 Roma in Romania. According to the results of the population and housing census carried out in 2011 (hereinafter referred to as the census), 621573 Romanian citizens declared themselves Roma (National Institute of Statistics, 2011), which represents a percentage of 3,3% of a total of 18884831 persons who are part of the stable population of Romania. The estimations regarding the number of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma ethnic minority are not consistent, since, for example, the Council of Europe (2012) advances a number of 1850000 people.

Education is a key area in ensuring the sustainability of intervention for the social inclusion of the Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority. Several reports (see, for example, Ivan & Rostas, 2015) have analyzed the main variables that characterize the education system for Roma. There is a need of programs targeting Roma in the area of social inclusion and poverty, a necessity to invest strategically in the development, inclusion, and participation of the Roma at all level of the social and economic life, not to mention of the communities where they are living in, as they contribute to the demographic growth and have the potential social base for economic development. The young Roma situation remains severe, especially that of the NEET's social group (not in education, employment or training), as they represent 17% of the youth population (European Commission, 2020, Youth Guarantee Report). One of the causes of this high percentage of the NEETs being economically inactive or discouraged workers is early school leaving. The incidence among women is particularly high too, according to European Commission.

Besides the social and economical aspects that Roma citizens are confronted with, every day, the issue of racial discrimination is the most sensitive. The discrimination that Roma is facing is captured by a series of key concepts in order that the phenomenon to be better assessed and tackled. One of the most recent conceptualizations is the antigypsyism. EU and international bodies try to raise the awareness of the states' citizens about the adverse consequences at all societal levels in spreading discriminatory attitudes. To simply use antigypsyism as a synonym for 'Roma discrimination' or as a reference to certain specific expressions (such as hate speech or negative stereotypes) without an in-depth explanation obscures the specificity, extent, and underlying structure of the phenomenon. Its gradual adoption signals the recognition that Roma and associated groups fall victim to a specific form of racism, unique to Roma. This recognition is a momentous step in the struggle for substantive equality.

Key texts reflecting this process include the 2005 European Parliament resolution on the situation of the Roma in the European Union, which for the first time used "anti-Gypsyism" in an official EU document. The OSCE, EU Fundamental Rights Agency, and, in particular, the Council of Europe have been pioneers in exploring the implications of antigypsyism, placing it on policy makers' agendas. The Council of Europe's ECRI Recommendation no. 13 (2011) remains as the benchmark of monitoring antigypsyism in a more coherent and comprehensive manner at the level of member states. More than a decade after, the European Parliament (2017a, 2017b) reiterated its call from 2005 to tackle antigypsyism in the context of Roma integration in the EU and of the fundamental rights. European Commission (2018), for the first time, made significant headway by acknowledging antigypsyism as a root cause of the social exclusion and discrimination of Roma in its evaluation report on the implementation of the EU framework for national Roma integration Strategies. The growing institutional use of the term is a seemingly development. The great test for decision makers is now to translate the recognition of antigypsyism into effective action – based on a profound understanding of what

the phenomenon entails, and to allocate sufficient resources that will make possible the implementation of the future-to-be juridical norms.

If we claim and agree that dehumanization forms the central tenet of antigypsyism, then the argumentation of the EU Strategy for Roma integration (2011/2012) is more evocative than systematic on the deep level of what Roma discrimination means. The effects of historical discrimination and persecution do not end with the act itself, but continue to negatively affect the people persecuted as ‘gypsies’ in their economic, social and psychological lives. After three centuries since the slavery of Roma people had formally been abolished on the Romanian territory, the social practice of perceiving Roma people as less than human has continued to produce prejudice and everyday discrimination (Zamfir & Preda, 2002). Moreover, the historical conditions of slavery deprived Roma durably of the possession of land, means of production, or wealth. The poverty of many Roma today is still, to a certain degree, shaped by the historical fact of Romani slavery. Historical segregation policies have similarly isolated Romani communities from economic opportunities in many places and continue to affect the livelihoods of those communities.

The term antigypsyism as the strongest acceptance for discriminations suffered by Roma covers the level of social stereotypes, clichés and prejudices. These are commonly accepted and internalized by individuals as the basis and validation of their own prejudiced attitudes against Roma and associated groups. While the persistence and omnipresence of such prejudices has been well documented, not every person holding them will act from them, nor necessarily will approve of extremist postures towards or violence against Roma. The level of attitudes and prejudices, therefore, must be understood as a necessary but not sufficient condition for antigypsyist discrimination, hate speech and violence. There are other social and individual factors that influence the way antigypsyism surfaces. A personal bad experience with somebody perceived as a member of the stigmatized group or with the social status of the individual in question may play a role in it, for instance. Antigypsyism can be properly understood as the result or aggregation of multiple forms of discrimination and intolerance towards Roma.

II. Theoretical Background

The term hate speech covers all forms of expression that disseminate, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism or ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people who are descendants of immigrants. International Network Against Cyber Hate describes hate speech as “the intentional or unintentional use of discriminatory or defamatory statements in public or intentional incitement to hatred and / or violence and / or segregation against a person or group of persons actual or perceived membership in a defined group based on race, ethnicity, language, nationality, skin color, religious beliefs or lack of religious beliefs, gender, gender identity, sex, sexual orientation, political beliefs, social status, property owned, birth , age, mental health, disability or illness. ”

It is a form of violence against the different, which occurs when the logic of the arguments can no longer be used. Unfortunately, lately we are witnessing an increase in this type of discourse in the public space, especially in virtual communication, online (on social media platforms).

There are several categories of motivations for the emergence and proliferation of such a type of discourse:

- Racial / ethnic motivation, especially towards Roma;

Example: "All Romanians complain about gypsies, that they come with the tent to kill you. Why don't Romanians unite? They are more than the gypsies and they must not endure the humiliations on their part. " (Roman Criss Case)

- Sexual motivation, especially for homosexuals

Example: "All social actions of homosexuals have only one motivation: obtaining an official validation from the state for their behavior, behavior rejected by society as unnatural, unnatural and perverse." (Romanian Family Alliance)

- Economic motivations: poor versus rich (in the case of social workers or illegal evictions). Also, among certain families or even public figures, there were statements such as "Hey, you poor man!";
- Gender motivations: feminism versus traditional woman. The cultural models of the Romanian post-communist society determined the appearance in the public space of the female model in the pan, according to which it is impossible for the woman to have an active professional life and a traditional family (with children, husband and house). Therefore, in the online environment there are a number of aggressive elements against this category of women who are labeled, stereotyped in a certain pattern.

Hate speech is a form of verbal communication that has a certain rhetoric that, in the online environment, is supported by various images, photos or movies. All this is manifested by varying degrees of violence, from simple irony (generally accepted jokes) to explicit exhortations to action, effective behavior (inscription with Nazi symbols of Roma organizations, breaking windows, physical aggression against an LGBTQ member, etc.).

In most cases, excessive generalizations are made to the whole group or community when a member violates or is suspected of violating social norms or legislation. These generalizations are extremely dangerous because they can cause irreversible damage and fuel extreme violence (see Holocaust of Jews and Roma, deportations from Banat, and more recently: Muslim invasion and fear of the "Chinese" - as a name for the Asian population in spread of the new coronavirus).

Discrimination and stereotypes, as well as the appeal to negative emotions towards certain minority groups are the main ingredients through which the hate speech manifests itself.

If in schools, the law against bullying / aggression and violence was adopted starting with 2018, the Romanian legislation suffers from the lack of measures to sanction explicit hate speech. There is the possibility of proving incitement to hatred, hostility or emotional violence for the hate speech to fall under the provisions of criminal law.

However, we can speak of a fragile balance between freedom of expression and the protection of other rights such as the right to privacy, one's own image and reputation, the right to dignity, etc. Freedom of expression ensures access to public debate, and the media is the vehicle for spreading opinions and attitudes in the public sphere. Equity and social justice are also premises for the free, unconditional access of marginalized groups to public space so that there is no single, predominant voice. Leaders and opinion formers have a significant role to play. But also ordinary citizens, ordinary people can multiply the messages to infinity through social media. The key to this balance between freedom of expression and respect for one another is the inclusion of responsibility in this report. The right to an opinion as a fundamental right can only be exercised when the values of truth, respect and tolerance are included.

What can we do:

- Promoting tolerance and respect for those around us, regardless of ethnicity or religious or sexual orientation;
- Using techniques to block online aggression and leave places (sites, online groups) where such discussions occur;
- Offering support to victims;

- Awareness of the risk of social acceptance of hate speech can lead to conflict, violence or other forms of escalating tensions.

1. Legal framework against online hate speech

The use of legal means is one of the legal prohibitions on hate speech applicable in the virtual world. Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states that "Any promotion of hatred of national, racial or religious origin that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence is prohibited by law." Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination states that all propaganda activities that promote and incite racial discrimination are illegal. Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights protects freedom of expression, but allows it to be restricted "for the protection of the reputation or rights of others" and for other purposes.

This article makes it possible for Member States to prohibit certain manifestations of hate speech at national level. Article 17 of the Convention prohibits any action aimed at "destroying any rights and freedoms [contained in the Convention]". This article has also been used to legislate government restrictions on certain forms of instigating discourse.

Another relevant legislative instrument of the Council of Europe with international application is the Convention on Cybercrime (also known as the Budapest Convention, 2001). The Council of Europe Convention on Cybercrime is the only international instrument with binding provisions on this issue. It serves as a guide in the development of comprehensive national legislation against cybercrime, but also as a framework for international cooperation between the Member States of this treaty.

The Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime concerning the criminalization of racist and xenophobic acts committed through computer systems (2003) is an optional protocol. It defines "racist and xenophobic material" as any "written material, image or other representation of ideas or theories which advocates for, promotes or incites hatred, discrimination or violence against an individual or group of individuals, on the basis of race, color, descent or nationality, ethnicity and religion, if any of these factors are brought before the court". The protocol requires Member States to take certain measures that tend to ban and criminalize acts of racism and xenophobia.

The Commission on Cybercrime brings together the representatives of the Member States to the Convention for consultation on the implementation of the Convention in the Member States and the support measures to be taken in this regard.

In 2014, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted the Guide to Human Rights for Internet Users (CM / Rec (2014) 6). The guide contains information on the practical application of rights and freedoms in the context of the Internet and how they can be invoked and enforced, as well as how the various remedies can be accessed. The guide provides an overview of how to apply non-discrimination and freedom in the online environment.

At the level of the Romanian state, there are also a series of mechanisms through which IUDs can be combated:

- a. The appeal to self-regulatory mechanisms - the existence of certain regulations that users of online sites or social platforms are contractually obliged to comply with. Deviations are sanctioned by exclusion or suspension of the account / access for a period of time
- b. The appeal to the legislation from the civil law: the existence of some state institutions that are meant to supervise and punish clearly by using the legislative mechanisms created for this purpose, at the level of the Romanian state: the National Council for Combating Discrimination and the National Audiovisual Council.
- c. Appeal to criminal law: The Criminal Code through Article 369 punishes hate speech when

the victim is in imminent danger, as well as incitement to hatred and violence, as well as racist, Nazi, xenophobic, fascist and legionary propaganda together with the related symbols.

II. Fighting Against Hatespeech and Discrimination – Romanian institutions and statistical perspectives

The National Council for Combating Discrimination is the autonomous state authority, under parliamentary control, which carries out its activity in the field of discrimination. It guarantees the observance and application of the principle of non-discrimination, in accordance with the internal legislation in force and with the international documents to which Romania is a party.

The Council exercises its attributions in the following fields:

- Prevention of discrimination by conducting information campaigns, human rights awareness, the effects of discrimination, the principle of equality, training, information courses, projects and programs at local, regional and national level, conducting studies, reports, etc.
- Mediation of the facts of discrimination of the parties involved in the case of discrimination, in the presence of the representatives of the National Council for Combating Discrimination. The National Council for Combating Discrimination seeks to reduce and eliminate acts of discrimination and not to impose fines.
- Investigating, ascertaining and sanctioning acts of discrimination. In order to analyze the cases as correctly as possible and to take decisions in case of received petitions or self-notifications, the Board of Directors has measures to investigate the cases, following which it finds the existence or not of the act of discrimination and, as the case may be, its sanction.
- Monitoring cases of discrimination following the finding of cases of discrimination by the CNCD, through the subsequent supervision of the parties involved.
- Providing specialized assistance to victims of discrimination by explaining the legislation to those interested by the legal advisers of CNCD, by assisted guidance regarding the activity of submitting the petition and additional information arising from this procedure.

The Government of Romania adopted on the prevention and sanctioning of all forms of discrimination on August 31, 2000. Article 2 para. 1 of O.G. no. 137/2000 defines the concept of discrimination: *direct discrimination occurs when a person is treated less favorably than another person was or would be in a comparable situation on the basis of race or ethnic origin.* " (...) *Discrimination means any difference, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, social status, belief, sex, sexual orientation, age, disability, chronic non-communicable disease, HIV infection, belonging to a disadvantaged group, as well as any other criterion which has as its object or effect the restriction, removal of the recognition, use or exercise, on equal terms, of human rights and fundamental freedoms or the rights recognized by law, in the political, economic, social and cultural field or in any other field of public life.*

Pursuant to art. 27 of law no. 137/2000R, the person who considers himself/herself discriminated against may submit to the court a claim for damages and remedies in order to re-establish the situation prior to the discrimination act or to cancel the situation created by the discrimination act, according to the general rules of the law. The interested person must prove the existence of some facts that allow the assumption of some direct or indirect discrimination, while the person against whom the claim was made must prove that the facts in question do not represent a form of discrimination

The year 2019 represented a high intensity period for the activity of the Romanian National Council for Combating Discrimination, which is reflected in the current Activity

Report issued by institution. This Report includes information on our activity related to processing complaints, issuing expert points of view for the courts and for citizens, the administrative proceedings activity, investigations and prevention.

During the year under review, the Council recorded the highest number of complaints, adopted the highest number of decisions since the institution was established (in 2002), undertaking a relevant and quality-based activity in administrative proceedings and issued a high number of expert points of view towards the courts.

There were identified a significant number of complaints filed based on criteria such as disability, nationality, ethnicity, gender, age and language. The targeted areas of discrimination were access to employment and professions, protection of personal dignity, access to services and access to education.

Fig. 5 Criterii de discriminare în cazuri de constatare, sub incidența Directivei 2000/43/CE									
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Criteriu									
Romi		22	5	18	9	8	13	13	9
Maghiari		0	1	2	1	0	0	2	0
Evrei		0	1	1	0	0	3	2	0
Rusi lipoveni		0		1	0	0	0	0	0
Lipoveni ucrainieni		0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Tatari									
Turco-musulmani		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Români		0	1	2	0	0	2	0	0
Limba minoritari		0	1	2	0	1	3	3	0
Rasa/culoare		0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total		22	9	27	12	8	22	20	9

Figure 1. Discrimination criteria according to EU Law 2000/43/CE

As it results from the Figure1, the complaints addressed to CNCD experienced a progressive annual increase, the maximum being registered in 2008. In 2009 there was a decrease in the number of complaints, largely due to the amendment of anti-discrimination legislation (GO no. Republished 137/2000), in particular GEO. no. 75/2008 which delimited the competence of CNCD in relation to the legislative measures in the field of remuneration of the personnel from the budgetary system and the Decision of the Constitutional Court no. 997/2008 by which it was ruled that CNCD does not have the competence to rule on the discrimination that has its direct source in the content of some legislative norms.

The decreasing ratio of the complaints addressed to CNCD in 2009 is also reflected in the number of complaints regarding discrimination based on the social category, respectively socio-professional. If in 2007 out of the total of 836 complaints, 515 concerned social and socio-professional categories, in 2008 the number of these complaints decreased to 372 and in 2009 to 222.

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010 ^[21]
Criteriu									
Boala cronica necontagioasa	0	0	6	2	3	2	4	2	0
Orientare sexuala	1	5	6	9	6	7	6	6	3
Infectare HIV/Sida	0	1	15	10	5	3	7	1	2
Limba	0	2	1	2	2	7	11	13	8
Convingeri	4	12	23	19	8	10	14	13	3
Religie	2	9	9	11	8	12	15	6	3
Categorii defavorizata	2	0	10	6	4	26	22	9	2
Vârsta	6	11	14	17	10	10	24	10	8
Gen (Sex)	3	14	13	9	11	22	32	9	13
Nationalitate	1	12	21	39	20	39	54	28	28
Handicap (Dizabilitate)	3	31	18	21	20	70	55	49	25
Etnie	34	66	45	85	69	82	62	62	23
Altele	52	184	108	61	132	32	159	96	42
Rasa	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	1
Categorii sociale	26	126	63	90	132	514	372	222	124
Total	134	473	353	382	432	836	837	528	285

Figure 2. Number of complaints registered to CNCD 2002-2010

From the total complaints addressed to CNCD (2002-2010), Figure 2, they aim at discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin. Approximately 528 complaints concerned discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin, on the basis of national origin, complaints on the basis of the language of national minorities and approximately complaints on the basis of racial origin.

Of the total number of complaints addressed annually to the CNCD, a significant percentage is held by complaints of discrimination based on ethnic origin, a percentage that stands at an average of 10-12% of cases. Complaints about discrimination on the basis of national origin are at a rate of 4-5%, slightly increasing, followed by complaints about discrimination based on the language of national minorities (about 2%). Complaints of discrimination on the grounds of racial origin are extremely low, reaching a maximum of 2 complaints per year, in some cases.

IV. Conclusions

Antigypsyism remains one of the main realities of the daily lives of marginalized people. It is real, visible, and, in the same time, hidden, subliminal, detectable both in small age groups, in school, but also in adults, when looking for a job or employment. Life in difficult conditions, but also in precarious educational circumstances, leads to a high probability of school dropout, especially when it is correlated with the mass urban education in the proximity. Cases of antigypsyism, marginalization in classrooms, as well as within the school, deepen the negative representations of the children from the researched neighborhood, and, subsequently, lead to school dropout.

After so many years of social research with thousands of pages of reports about Roma, a period within which the decision-making dust has settled on them, it is rather tautological to reassert the importance of a coherent state policy that should tackle the educational realm of an important Romanian minority. Positive action measures should be promoted more forcefully

among young people, including for young mothers, so that access to the higher education and better jobs becomes easier. We believe that the support offered by the Romanian state, either nationally or locally, is achieved with syncope, in a non-strategic and atomized manner. The sustained efforts should cope, simultaneously, with various measures.

Poverty discrimination, correlated with the ethnic one, is an important aspect of hate speech and online aggressivity towards Roma people in Romania. Special institutional mechanisms should be reinforced and applied in order to maintain equilibrium between the fundamental rights and censorship.

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A study on the Adaptability of the English teaching program students in China

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Chinese is often rated as one of the most difficult languages in the world, and has become the biggest obstacle in recruiting international students. Therefore, more and more universities choose to set up English teaching programs to recruit more international students. Although learning in English can temporarily overcome the language barrier, however, compared with the ordinary international students, they will encounter more problems in cultural adaptation. In this article, I will take the 'Contemporary China Studies' English teaching master program in Renmin University of China as an example, to analyze the adaptability of the international students studying in the English teaching program in China.

About the Contemporary China Studies program (CCSP)

The Contemporary China Studies program was set up in 2004, which is the first English teaching program in Renmin University of China (RUC). RUC hope it can change the sources of students and enroll more students. In 2018, RUC set up a new school called 'Silkroad School' in Suzhou to enroll more students to study on China and 'Belt and Road' initiative. The CCSP now is divided in two parts, Beijing and Suzhou.

These two parts adopt two different ways to enroll students. In Beijing, CCSP offer very few scholarship. Most of the students can not apply for dormitories on campus and they have to rent apartment by themselves. But in Suzhou, all the students can have scholarship which cover the tuition, leaving expenses and accommodation. All the students live in a separate community for international students. These two different ways have different effects on the adaptability of international students.

Through observing the adaptation of students in learning, life, cultural value and other aspects, this paper try to analyze the adaptability of the English teaching program students in China.

About the Adaptability

English teaching programs only temporarily overcome the language barrier for the enrollment. However, because the students live in China, they are mainly in the Chinese environment besides learning. Most of the international students in English program don't understand Chinese or their Chinese is not good. Compared with the overseas students of Chinese programs, these students face more difficulties with the adaptability.

1. Learning adaptability

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Total	9	14	5	7	38	74	72
Native English speaker	3	3	0	4	12	22	16
Non-native English speaker	6	11	5	3	26	52	56

from the table above, it can be seen that, except the year 2016, the number of students from non-native English speaking countries among CCSP students is significantly higher than those from native English speaking countries. The English level of some students can not meet the requirements of learning. In 2015, 2017 and 2018, there were students who chose to drop out because they could not follow the learning progress. Postponing graduation has also become a common choice. The average ratio of students who can not graduate on time is about 10% every year, and even 15% in some years.

Except for the students' English level, professors' teaching method is also an important factor affecting students' adaptability. All the professors of CCSP are Chinese. Although some of them graduated from overseas universities, they still prefer to adopt the Chinese teaching method. There is less interaction in their class. Although some professors also arrange students to make presentation, they seldom give comments after the presentation. Getting no feedback from the professor often makes students confused and unable to find out their problems in learning. At the same time, although the professors are very fruitful in their research area, but when they use English to talk out their academic views, it's hard for them to be let the lecture be lively and interesting. So it is very hard for the students to get the point of views of the professors.

2. Life adaptability

Generally speaking, CCSP students are good in life adaptability. The is very convenient, the delivery services are well developed, and the goods on App such as Taobao and Tianmao are very cheap and convenient. Students can easily know how to use these Apps by the instruction. This has become one of the main reasons why international students like China. Meanwhile, Beijing and Suzhou are internationalized cities. When eating out and shopping, it is easier to find people who understand English to provide help. However, there are still some inconvenient problems.

The first problem is the climate. The smog in Beijing has become the most worrying problem for students. It leads to a series of diseases of respiratory system, which makes students feel very uncomfortable. Although the students in Suzhou do not need to be affected by the smog, the humid weather and the 40-day rainy season also cause a lot of physical problems.

The second problem is transportation, CCSP students in Beijing often live far away from the university in order to save some money. They have to spend more time because of the traffic jams and untimely transportation. Although CCSP students in Suzhou do not need to travel far to the university, but they have to face the same problem when they go out. The public transport system in Suzhou is well not developed, the average waiting time for the bus is more than 20 minutes. This has seriously affected the experience of going out.

3. Culture Adaptability

Chinese culture is a kind of "situation centered" culture, Chinese people often don't have a strict concept of rules and often make different choices according to the change of situation. For international students, it is very difficult for them to grasp the propriety and often become very confused. But for the Chinese people, it is very hard to understand that the international students always ask for an accurate answer to everything. This cultural difference is one of the reasons which cause misunderstanding between international students and Chinese people.

Chinese people are very warmly to foreigners, so it is easier for international students to get help when they encounter problems. However, excessive enthusiasm often makes foreign students feel uneasy. Chinese people are often curious about foreigners. They will ask the foreign students questions, ask them to take photos together, and some of them will be photographed secretly. When foreign students' Chinese is not good enough to understand what the Chinese people are saying, this uneasiness will be magnified. International students will feel being offended, and sometimes even feel fear.

Limited by the language, the friends the international students make are either international students or Chinese university students. They can find common topics and learn from each other, but they often have to face a big problem, that is, parting. Some international students will return home country after graduation, and some Chinese students will work in other cities or study abroad after graduation, which often leads to separation. If they can't overcome the depression caused by separation, it will cause depression and communication difficulties. In the past two years, two students in CCSP have had depression due to separation.

In addition to adapt to Chinese culture, the international students need to adapt to the cultures of each other. In the Chinese programs, international students are mainly Korean students, students from other countries often choose to be follower, follow the 'sub mainstream culture' Korean Culture. However, in CCSP, the students are from different countries, there is no 'sub mainstream culture'. The communication and collision between different cultures can sometimes lead to conflicts. For example, a Muslim girl strictly adherence to the religious requirements, and do not allow mails to sit with her in the classroom, nor allow their classmates to visit her, or even not allow her classmates to look into her room when they pass by. This caused strong dissatisfaction from her classmates.

Factors affecting the adaptability of international students

Foreign students' understanding and adaptation to Chinese culture can be divided into three period: (1) freshness period. When the international students newly come to China, they are full of curiosity and freshness about everything, and hopes to actively adapt to the environment; (2) exclusion period. With the increase of interaction with Chinese people, they gradually experience the difference between Chinese culture and their own culture, and realize the gap between China's social reality and personal imagination. At the same time, there is still insufficient familiarity with the surrounding areas, which can not form an effective social support system. International students will feel homesick and tired of learning, and their adaptability is poor in this period. (3) Adjustment period. With the continuous expansion of social interaction, the international students have more opportunities to participate in cultural activities, know more people and understand more about Chinese people, and gradually adapt to Chinese culture.

First, the management mode has an important impact on the adaptability of international students

As mentioned above, CCSP in Beijing and Suzhou take two different ways. Comparing the advantages and disadvantages of the two models can help us understand how to support students' adaptability from the aspect of student management.

In the Beijing mode, international students need to complete many things independently. Before coming to China, international students need to search a lot of information, including housing, transportation and other aspects. And they have to adapt themselves to traffic, living

conditions, etc. just arrive in China. It means when they start their new study, they will quickly transition to exclusion period in a short period of freshness. Because the transition time is limited, the adaption becomes more difficult. Some students choose to give up their studies and return home. Some students have anxiety, depression and other problems. However, because they do not live on campus, international students have more opportunities to interaction with the Chinese society. Therefore, it is relatively easy to quickly build a social support system. In this situation, international students can smoothly enter the adjustment period and gradually adapt.

In the Suzhou mode, the adaptation of international students is gradual. They live in a community specially provided for international students. The supporting facilities are convenient. There are English instructions in all living areas and canteens. All the managers and waiters can speak English. The freshness stage of international students will last longer, which is better for the psychological adjustment. However, because the dormitories and classrooms are all separated from Chinese students, they have less opportunity to communicate with Chinese people. When they are gradually familiar with the surrounding environment and try to meet with the real society, they will face more difficulties. Compare with the students in Beijing, they will experience longer exclusion period. Some students even "hide" in their own community and refuse to contact with the outside world, thus losing the meaning of studying abroad.

Through the above comparison, we can see that social support is very important in the adaptability of international students. Universities or local governments should give certain social support to international students when they first arrive in China, which can make the adaptability happen gradually. But this kind of support should not be provided continuously, or at least, social support should not become "special". It is necessary to create opportunities for international students and Chinese people to learn and live together, so as to help them adapt faster and better.

Secondly, the adaptability of international students is affected by their own factors

The personal factors of foreign students include interpersonal communication ability, Chinese level and cultural distance. Among these factors, interpersonal communication ability is the most important.

For international students, interpersonal communication mainly occurs between students and students, students and teachers, students and administrators. The interaction with classmates helps international students acquire communication skills and change their inherent thinking; interaction with teachers helps international students understand Chinese culture and values; interaction with administrators helps them quickly solve problems and better adapt to Chinese university culture. Therefore, if international students have strong interpersonal skills, and can quickly establish their own social support system, it will have great help to the improvement of adaptability.

Because English teaching program has no requirements on the Chinese level, most students' Chinese level is not high. At the same time, in Beijing, Suzhou, such international cities, there is very few limited of English communication. Therefore, the high level of Chinese of international students can help them quickly solve problems, but the Chinese level has little impact on the improvement of adaptability of foreign students.

In terms of cultural distance, people often think that the closer the culture is, the easier for people to understand each other and adapt to each other's culture. However, in fact, although they belong to the Asian cultural circle, Korean, Thai and Vietnamese students tend to be less adaptable than European and American students. This is probably because people in the Asian cultural circle are conservative and introverted, so they are not good at interpersonal interaction, thus affecting their adaptability.

Reflections on a special case

If we draw a line for the adaptability, on the one end of the line is failure with adaptability, drop out finally; on the other end is success with adaptability, better adapt to Chinese culture. Most students are distributed in the middle of the line and seek self balance.

However, there is a special case, she has a very good adaptability with Chinese culture, but encounter with other problem.

This is a Pakistani girl from a very traditional and conservative Muslim family. When she arrived in China, she wore a turban and a robe and strictly adherence to the religious requirements. With the increase of contact with Chinese people, she gradually adapted to Chinese life, took off her turban, cut her hair, wore T-shirt, wrote poems and sang songs. Because she is very nice, she made many Chinese friends and was loved by everyone. However, when she returned to her country, she was strongly criticized by her parents and forced to marry a boy she had never met. This cultural conflict caused her inner disorder. This case suggests that we should not only pay attention to improving the adaptability of international students, but also remind them to achieve the balance between their own culture and new culture. Adaptability does not mean giving up their own cultural value, but the integration of both cultures.

CIVIL SERVICE CULTURE IN PERFORMANCE IN THE MULTIVE CULTURE CONTEXT AND IN THE POST CORONA ERA

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Abstract

In the past years, in implimentation of the Project “The regime of civil service reform”, the civil service in Vietnam had been changed optimately to reach to efficiency and effectiveness. There are some values, that are necessary to public servants, such as diligence, effectiveness, honesty, integrity, that are core values of the civil service for public servants. The Project “The regime of civil service reform” with the objective of serving people, to reinforce believe of people to civil service and to reach to the civil service with profectional, accounbility, transparence, dynamic, effectiveness, that are also core values for the civil service culture in Vietnam.

In Vietnam civil service culture, there are some values, that are necessary to public servants, such as diligence, effectiveness, honesty, integrity, that are core values of the civil service for public servants. In the time of Covid19, there are some change in civil service culture to impact to performance of public servants.

There are some factors impact to performance of public servants such as, social distancing, community quarantine, public servants behaviour in performance. Civil service culture has impact to results of performance and impact to people’s belief in the civil service, in general.

Key words: Civil service, civil service culture, culture values, civil service performance

I. Introduction

Civil service culture is considered in relationship with culture in general, there are some main characters of civil service culture as civil service culture consists object culture, intangible culture and goods, results of people activities to meet with people demand; dealing with system of values, norms that are accepted and can be learned from generations and can be hybridized.

In Vietnam civil service culture, there are some values, that are necessary to public servants, such as diligence, effectiveness, honesty, integrity, that are core values of the civil service for public servants. In the time of Covid19, there are some change in civil service culture to impact to performance of public servants.

In this paper, there are some contents that are considered such as, civil service culture, civil service values, civil servants behaviour in performance and some impacted factors of environment in the corona era.

II. Civil service and Civil service culture

1.1. Concept of Civil service and Civil service culture

In the public administration, researchers define “The civil service is a collective term for a sector of government composed mainly of career bureaucrats hired on professional merit rather than appointed or elected, whose institutional tenure typically survives transitions of political leadership. A civil servant or public servant is a person so employed in the public sector employed for a government department or agency. Civil (or public) servants work for government departments, and answer to the government, not a political party. The extent of civil servants of a state as part of the "civil service" varies from country to country”¹.

Public officials shall ensure that they perform their duties and functions efficiently, effectively and with integrity, in accordance with laws or administrative policies. For public resources, they are responsible are administered in the most effective and efficient manner. Public officials shall be attentive, fair and impartial in their functional performance, in particular, in their relations with the public. They shall at no time afford any undue preferential treatment to any group or individual or improperly discriminate against any group or individual, or otherwise abuse the power and authority vested in them (United Nations 1996).

Civil service is a type of legal and authorized activities, that performed by civil servants, public servants. They are responsible for their tasks and functions in serving people and the State. To study in Civil service in practice always go with civil service culture, and

¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil_service

civil service values for civil servants' performance. Civil service's performance is implementation of tasks and functions of civil servants, public servants. There are some characters of civil service activities as follows²:

- Follow the Laws, administrative processes;
- Implementation by civil servants, public servants;
- Using State power and acting in legal ways;
- To serve people, the State for public interests and non-profit;
- Using State budgets.

Civil service activities are implemented in culture context and impacted by common culture, society culture. UNESCO defines culture as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, that encompasses, not only art and literature, but lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs (UNESCO, 2001)³. From cultural diversity to cultural pluralism, The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity⁴ shows that "In our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together. Policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens are guarantees of social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace. Thus defined, cultural pluralism gives policy expression to the reality of cultural diversity. Indissociable from a democratic framework, cultural pluralism is conducive to cultural exchange and to the flourishing of creative capacities that sustain public life".

In study in public administration, civil service culture can be defined as a system of values, behaviors, norms, symbols that are developed in the civil service development, they can pass by tradition and impact to civil servants, public servants⁵.

1.2. The contents of civil service culture

Civil service culture is considered in relationship with culture in general, there are some main characters as follows:

- Civil service culture consists object culture, intangible culture and goods, results of people activities to meet with people demand;
- System of values, norms that are accepted;

² Ngô Thành Can (Chief Author) (2019), Civil Service and Performance Management, National Political Publishing House, Hà Nội

³ https://www.google.com/search?sxsrf=ALeKk00AEIcfBJID928Pyig2TtIdlJWAMQ%3A1594695134393&ei=3hONX6DVF5GS0gSzyYqICg&q=definition+of+culture+unesco+2002&oq=definition+of+culture+by+unes&gs_l=cp=CgZwc3ktYWIQARgBMglIADIGCAAQFhAeMgYIABAWEB4yBggAEBYQHjIGCAAQFhAeMgYIABAWEB46BAgAEEc6BQgAEJEC0ggIABCxAXCDAToFCAAQsQM6BAgAEM6CQgAEEMQRhD5AToHCAAQsQM6QzoFCAAQywe6CggAEMsBEEYQQE6CAgAEBYQChAeUOJRWJikAmDqmANoAHABeACAAZsBiAGaFJIBBDIzLjaYAQCgAQQgAQdnd3Mtd2I6&scIent=psy-ab

⁴ http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/5_Cultural_Diversity_EN.pdf

⁵ Ngô Thành Can (2014), Core values of civil service, *The State Management Review*, No. 227- 12/2014

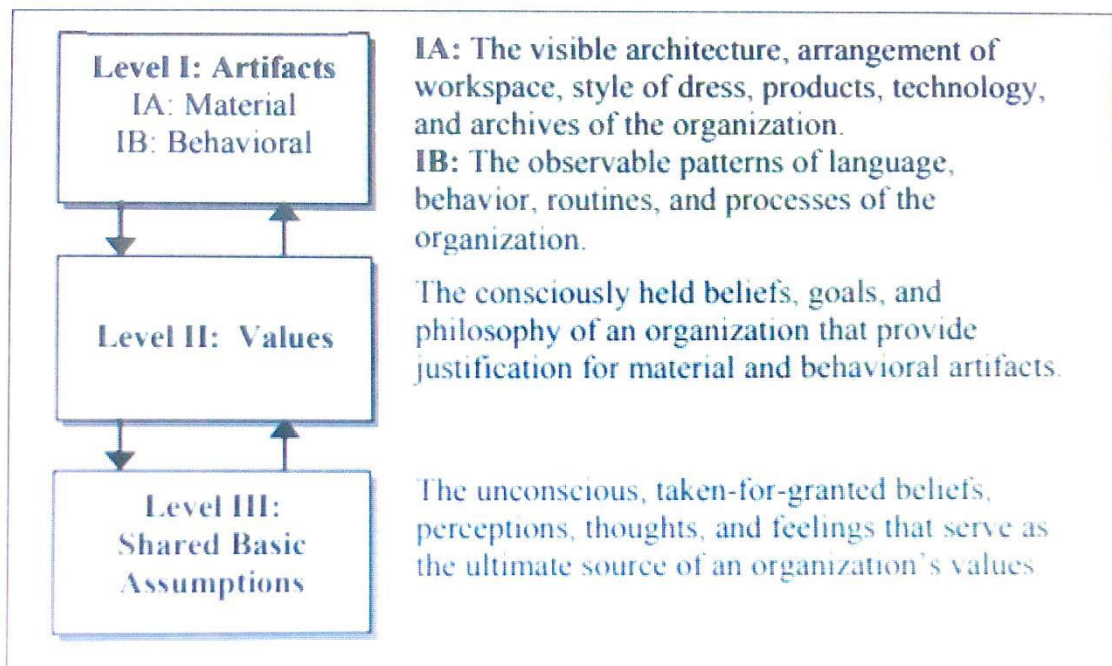
- Can be passed by tradition, can be learned from generations and can be hybridized.

In the civil service culture, there are different levels: individual, organisation and system levels. At all levels, civil service culture is shown by some characters:

- Reflect vision and goals of the civil service;
- Follows the laws, regulations, carry out programs and plans;
- The role of power, authority; self control orientation; relationship between managers and staff; the ways of cooperation;
- The ways of decision making, group vs individual orientation; leading the change;
- Leadership style, the ways of staff evaluation.

Study in organisation culture, Edgar Schein (1992)⁶ who argued that organizational culture is made up of three separate but interrelated levels. These levels consist of: 1) a surface level of material and behavioral artifacts, 2) an intermediate level of espoused values, and 3) a core level of basic assumptions.

Levels of Organizational Culture



Source: Adapted from Schein (1992), Ott (1989), and Van Wart (1998).

The contents of the civil service culture has some factors, that are showed as follows:

- Values, beliefs, attitude, moral code, behavior normals;
- Goods, results of performance of civil servants, public servants;
- The way of performance and behavior;
- Government office, outside forms as logo, uniform.

⁶ Anthony DeForest Molina(2009). Values in public administration: the role of organizational culture, International Journal of Organization Theory and Behavior 12(2):266-279 · March 2009

The contents of the civil servants can be recognized as some terms as follows:

No.	Contents	Manifestations
1	Values, standards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Core values - Standards for life and moral - Administrative procedures - Communication standards
2	Goods, results	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Philosophy, Action guidelines - Programmes, plans, Results, Goods of the civil service activities - History, tradition - Stories, Language manners, Learning consciousness
3	The way of performance and behavior	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working consciousness, Attitude - Working style, Communication manners, Rituals - The way of Decision making, Problem solving, Management of change
4	Agency, office, outside forms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The visible architecture, Office workplace arrangement - Logo, Symbol - Uniform.

1.3. Civil service values

OECD study (1996) defined values as “the individual principles or standards that guide judgement about what is good or proper”. While this is a more useful interpretation. Values relate to the norms of a culture, but they are more universal and abstract than norms. In certain cultures, norms reflect the values of respect and support of friends and family. The source of values is an issue of substantial continuing debate in ethical philosophy and is similarly challenged in organisational theory. Public values are defined as those values that provide normative consensus about the rights, benefits and prerogatives to which citizens to be entitled. These are the obligations of citizens to society, the state and one another. Values are the principles upon which government and policies must be based (Bozaman, 2007)⁷.

For bureaucracies, adherence to high-level public service values can produce substantial public trust and assurance. On the contrary, weak application of values or promotion of incorrect values can lead to reductions in these essential elements of democratic governance,

⁷ <https://www.civilserviceindia.com/subject/General-Studies/notes/public-civil-service-values-and-ethics-in-public-administration.html>

as well as to ethical and decision-making quandaries. Though a core set of public service values is necessary, it is also factual that different values apply to different parts of the public service. As values can differ within different parts of the public service. One of the principal tasks of managers and leaders is to synchronize, reconcile or cope with differing values between individuals or even between parts of the organisation. Also, there are a number of dynamics challenging traditional values in the public service. These include new modes of governance and the fragmentation of authority, market-based reforms, politicisation and political expectations, the growth in the use of agencies, decentralisation or relocation, changes in human resource management and recruitment, and the advent of new technologies and methods of information sharing⁸.

Sherman (1998) discovered the following values that are most common:

- Honesty and integrity
- Respect for the law
- Diligence
- Responsiveness
- Impartiality
- Respect for persons
- Economy and effectiveness
- Accountability

Categories of public service values⁹:

Ethical	Democratic	Professional	People
Integrity	Rule of law	Effectiveness	Caring
Fairness	Neutrality	Efficiency	Fairness
Accountability	Accountability	Service	Tolerance
Loyalty	Loyalty	Leadership	Decency
Excellence	Openness	Excellence	Compassion
Respect	Responsiveness	Innovation	Courage
Honesty	Representativeness	Quality	Benevolence
Probity	Legality	Creativity	Humanity

In the UK, the current civil service code was introduced on 6 June 2006 to outline the core values and standards expected of civil servants. The core values are defined as integrity, honesty, objectivity, and impartiality. A key change from previous values is the removal of anonymity within the core values. The Code includes an independent line of appeal to the Civil

⁸ <https://www.civilserviceindia.com/subject/General-Studies/notes/public-civil-service-values-and-ethics-in-public-administration.html>

⁹ <https://www.civilserviceindia.com/subject/General-Studies/notes/public-civil-service-values-and-ethics-in-public-administration.html#:~:text=The%20Government%20of%20India%20encourages,leadership%20development%20and%20personal%20growth>

Service Commissioners on alleged breaches of the Code¹⁰. In this Code:

- Integrity is putting the obligations of public service above your own personal interests
- Honesty is being truthful and open
- Objectivity is basing your advice and decisions on rigorous analysis of the evidence
- Impartiality is acting solely according to the merits of the case and serving equally well Governments of different political persuasions.

Generally, in the state management area, there are some characters as follows:

- Ensure to effective, effectiveness in management;
- Be responsible to the State and People;
- Follow the laws, implication of socio-equity;
- Respect to dedications, merits, contributions of public servants.

In the Vietnamese context, there are some civil service values, such as: integrity, professional, responsibility, transparency, honesty, objectivity, effectiveness and serving people.

III. Research Method

In this paper, the main study method is desk study. The concepts, ideas come from researches of the researchers, scholars

Beside, observe be used to get information make more clear in behaviour of public servants in performance in the office.

Other study method is discussion with managers at different level to get their opinion on the ways of doing in office in covid19 time and on behaviour of public servants in performance.

Some group of managers are:

- Department director group (44 persons), Ministry of Finance, 8 July 2020, in No, 123 Tran Quoc Thao Str. Ho Chi Minh City
- Department director group (69 persons), Ben Tre Province, 17 July 2020 in Ben Tre City
- Provincial department director group (32 persons), 28 July 2020 in NAPA hanoi.

IV. Civil service culture in performance in the multive culture and the corona context

In the multive culture and the corona context, the civil service culture has some change. There are some changes as follows.

¹⁰ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil_Service_\(United_Kingdom\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil_Service_(United_Kingdom))

The first, change in awakening on attitude for Covid 19 such as discriminant or avoid of the covid 19 patient or people come from covid 19 areas. During the time of Covid 19, the covid 19 areas are closed areas, that are communities quarantine. So that, most people in other areas always tread people in the covid 19 areas by not good way, such as discriminant or avoident.

In the performance, public servants need to understand how to tread people in the right way, for example, public servants should understand and have behaviour to every one aquality and equal. Public servants' attitude impacts to quality of performance of public servants and impacts to belief of people to civil service.

The second, set up social distancing make people to implement administrative procedures well and in orderly. Social distancing with 1m or 2m between people and people, makes everyone pay more attention to follow the regulations, orders in the public and in the public office. One of the outcomes of the public servants performance is the way of people respect to regulations and orders when they are in public. The people in general, and staff in the office in the covid19 time and after that, there are some changes in performance their tasks in keeping social distancing, keeping gauze mask, polite gesture in cough, sneeze in pulic place or in office.

At the time of Covid19, the most staff in government agencies are working to do by turns, 1/3 of staff working in the office and 2/3 working at their home.

The third, this is administration procedures to be done in public office in the right ways. All people seem to be patient in the queus and wait to their turn to work with public servants. Most of the people in the public office are in peace, unnoise. At the result, administrative procedures are run well bestter and bestter and more effective.

The fourth, there are problems not as much as in the time before covid19. Some normal problem are dealing with staff behaviour or procedures that are not see in covid19 time in the office. In performance, public servants solve problems with much of impact to the results of problem handling. More over, most of people pay more attention to the symptoms of Covid19, like cough, fever, headach, tired, difficulty breathing, chills or sweats. So that, people are eazy to cooperate to focuss on the works and results of performance, but not other things.

The fifth, this is behaviours of staff or people in the office have change so much. It seems that, staff do their job very well with good behaviour and results, sothat no more much complein on the staff job.

For civil service reform, aim to achieve objectives: profectional, accounbility, transparence, dynamic, effectiveness, there are twoo main ways for implementation:

1. Development of public servants with good competence to meet with requirement of public administration reform.
2. Development of legal framework for performance of public servants.

For more detail, there are some solutions to implement civil service culture, as follows:

- Development of legal system for civil service culture
- Enhancing awareness and keeping communication on civil service culture
- Training public servants on civil service culture
- Implementing civil service culture, strengthening disciplines in performance of public servants.

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The Core Values and Development Direction of Cultural Diversity Education

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the core values and development direction of cultural diversity education in Korea. In order to achieve the purpose of this study, the concept and core values of cultural diversity and cultural diversity education are summarized, and the current state of cultural diversity education policy conducted by the government is analyzed to find ways to develop a cultural diversity education policy suitable for our society. The core values of cultural diversity were derived from differences, cultural sensitivity, dialogues, and interdependency, and the contents of education that could realize this value were presented.

As a result of the study, the problems of the cultural diversity education policy are as follows: First, the mixed use of the terms of multicultural education and cultural diversity education, second, the implementation of the policy of assimilation. As a way to develop cultural diversity education policy, first, the transition from assimilation policy to cultural diversity education, second, the definition of terms for multicultural education and cultural diversity education, the third expansion of national cultural diversity education.

Keywords: cultural diversity, cultural diversity education, cultural diversity education policy, core values, assimilation.

I. Concept and Characteristics of Cultural Diversity

1. Concept of Cultural Diversity

Even though some front-line schools are recently seeking for the measures for instructional design/practice by reflecting the cultural diversity into learning design, it is still insufficient in the aspect of quantity and quality. Especially, the concept of multicultural education that has not been settled down in the education field, is mixed with the concept of cultural diversity education that has just come into bud, which is causing conflicts and confusion. Also, the researches on the development direction and analysis of cultural diversity education policy are remarkably insufficient. Thus, examining the concept of cultural diversity education and exploring the development measures and analysis on the current cultural diversity education policy could be a work with academic value. Thus, this thesis aims to explore the development measures for ideal cultural diversity education policy suitable for the current Korean society by analyzing the actual state of multicultural education and cultural diversity education in Korea.

The discussions of cultural diversity were fully started after the 『Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity』 was selected in the 31st UNESCO General Conference held in Paris, France of 2001, and after the ‘Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression(Hereafter, Convention on Cultural Diversity)’ was selected in the 33rd General Conference of 2005. Through the convention, the UNESCO set up the cultural diversity as the core value of human culture. The cultural diversity mentioned by the UNESCO could be something that includes cultural differences between people such as methods to form language, clothes, tradition, or society, concepts of ethics and religion, and interaction with surroundings, and the contents of Article 1 emphasize the importance of cultural diversity for the continuous development of mankind just as the biodiversity is important for the conservation of lives and ecology.

On April 1st 2010, Korea joined the ratifying countries(110th) of this convention by sending an instrument of ratification for the ‘Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression’ to the UNESCO secretary general through the Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Korea to UNESCO. According to this convention, the ratifying countries should establish the measures(regulation, financial support, establishment/support of public institutions, and etc.) for the protection and promotion of cultural diversity, so that Korea also has established the ‘Act on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Diversity’ on May 28th 2014. This act defines that “The cultural diversity means the expression of cultures of groups and society in diverse methods delivered between groups and society and within groups and society, and includes the diversity of methods used for expressing, promoting, and delivering cultural heritage of mankind regardless of means and techniques, and also the diversity of methods related to artistic creation, production, spread, distribution, and enjoyment(Article 2, Clause 1 in the Act on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Diversity)”.

<Table 1> Comparison of the concepts of multicultural and cultural diversity

	Multiculture	Cultural Diversity
Concept	Special aspect of establishing relationships between many individual cultures	Universal essence of culture
Implication	Conflict and struggle between cultures	Motility of culture as an alive organism
Object	Numerous cultures (coexisting in the same space and time)	Every culture
Nature	Cultural event	Innate/constant attributes of culture
	Belonging to specific time/society	Supra-time/social
Focus of problem	Race, nationality(human rights)	Overall culture such as language, gender, class, obstacle, race, and nationality

Historical background of discourse	Supranational capitalism of modern times	Reflective thinking of supranational capitalism of modern times
Orientation of discourse	Acknowledgment of 'differences' from 'discrimination'	Taking the 'differences' as a driving force to create new culture after acknowledging them
	Acknowledgment and hospitality of others	Approval of others as equal subjects of culture
	Social integration	Cultural maturity of society
Nature of discourse	Technique of reciprocal coexistence between many individual cultures	Radical thinking of desirable formation, growth, and exchange of culture
Hierarchy	Sub-concept	Upper-concept

Source: Kim, Soo-Ei(2013), 36~37.

The multicultural is a term about social, historical, and political problems in countries starting as multi-racial/ethnic countries, or countries in which multi-races/ethnic groups have added to the single race/culture in modern times, which could be a method for diverse races, ethnic groups, and tribes to coexist within specific time and space(Kim, Soo-Ei, 2013). On the other hand, as a term meaning the essential and universal attributes of culture, the cultural diversity is the concept emphasizing the diversity within culture such as the internal diversity and essential characteristics of human group composed of various individuals. This implies that the cultures of each country, ethnic group, tribe, group, and region should be maintained and conserved by mutually recognizing the value of diverse and different cultures in the whole world(Kim, Soo-Ei, 2013).

2. Concept & Characteristics of Cultural Diversity Education

To live a life in multicultural society, the cultural diversity education for mutually recognizing the value of diverse cultures is important. Kim, Seung-Hwan(2007) who comparatively researched the multiculturalism and cultural diversity defined the multiculturalism as a concept that respects the culture of minorities within a country, and the cultural diversity as a global-scale concept that mutually recognizes different cultures of each race and ethnic group in accordance with the globalization.

Kim, Soo-Ei(2008) defined the cultural diversity education as the education exceeding the level of teaching simple refinement such as diverse information/knowledge and culture between races, ethnic groups, and classes. Eun, Ji-Yong(2009) defined the cultural diversity education as the education that could grow an ability to understand cultures of diverse groups such as race, ethnic group, gender, class, and region, and an ability to actively cope with conflicts or prejudices caused by cultural differences. Also, Kang, In-Ae & Jang, Jin-Hye(2009) more clearly present the concept of cultural diversity as the education in which the students overcome the single race-centered thinking and prejudices and establish the correct identity focusing on the understanding of diversity and differences between races, gender, ethnic groups, society, and class, and furthermore, learn the abundance of culture derived from other cultures, and the future direction of coexistence. Moreover, Kim, Hyeon-Deok(2010) defines the multicultural diversity education by expanding the category as the education that helps for overcoming the thinking and prejudices focusing on race, gender, ethnic group, and ethnocentrism, and also for understanding the background of oneself and other groups residing at home.

Banks & Bands(2010) defines the cultural diversity education as something that leads the members of multicultural society to be equipped with cultural competency that should be obeyed, which makes them perceive the educational equality despite differences in gender, race, culture, ethnic group, language, religion, and class related to the members of society. Also, it was argued that the purpose of cultural diversity education that would clarify the concept of cultural diversity education would be to learn the knowledge, attitude, and techniques necessary to interact, negotiate, and exchange opinions with various groups(Banks, 2010; Im, Cheol-Il et al, 2014 recitation). Moreover, the cultural diversity education could be to grow basic abilities of listening closely, cognitive flexibility, empathy, modesty, and capacity for the

successful performance of dialogues between cultures.

For the mutual coexistence of diverse cultures, Bennett(2004) mentions, first, strengthening the cultural perception, second, understanding the heritages and contribution of diverse countries and groups in diverse perspectives, and third, the smooth interactions with people belonging to different cultures.

According to the data by Lee, Dong-Seong et al.(2013) compared the passive multiculturalism education policy and the cultural diversity education policy, there were differences between passive multiculturalism education policy and cultural diversity education policy in many aspects.

<Table 2> Comparison of passive multiculturalism education policy and cultural diversity education policy

	Passive multiculturalism education policy	Cultural diversity education policy
Object of education	Sociocultural minorities, immigrants	Everyone including majorities and minorities
Perspective	Assimilation of identity and unity	Social trend based on diversity
	Static society	Dynamic community
Type of group	Unilateral aid, dispensational policy	Emphasis of mutual reciprocity and dependency
Identity	Macroscopic culture & education policy	Microscopic approach, emphasis of daily life
	Separative & additional education direction	Cross-curricular integrated curriculum
Curriculum	Based on vertical power relation	Based on horizontal power relation
Power relation	Emphasis of differences, focusing on reformation	Differences, understanding, dialogues
	One-time	Daily and repetitive practice
Teaching method		
Policy realization		

Source: Lee, Dong-Seong-Joo, Jae-Hong-Kim, Yeong-Cheon(2013), 22.

The passive multiculturalism education policy and cultural diversity education policy show differences in various parts. The passive multiculturalism education policy takes a position of assimilation of identity and unity targeting sociocultural minorities or immigrants. The passive multiculturalism education policy is practiced as the state-led dispensational policy, emphasizing differences or reformation-centered or one-time policy. On the other hand, the basics of cultural diversity education policy are the dynamic community based on the diversity, emphasis of mutual reciprocity & dependency, microscopic approach, emphasis of daily life, cross-curricular integrated curriculum, horizontal power relation, understanding of differences, and daily & repetitive practice targeting everyone including majorities and minorities(Lee, Dong-Seong et al., 2013).

Putting together the arguments above, the cultural diversity education could be the education that grows the abilities to acknowledge the cultural backgrounds and differences of every group such as race, ethnic group, gender, class, region, society, and religion after getting out of self-centered thinking, and also to coexist through cultural communications(Lee, Jeong-Geum-Lee, Byeong-Hwan, 2020).

II. Core Values of Cultural Diversity Education

The cultural diversity aims to realize the permanent welfare of mankind through the major values of globalization such as coexistence and peace. Joo, Jae-Hong(2013) drew the core values of cultural diversity such as differences, cultural sensitivity, dialogues, and interdependency, by analyzing the research results related to the cultural diversity so far.

1. Core Values of Cultural Diversity

A. Differences

The first core value of cultural diversity is ‘differences’. For the cultural diversity, it is important to perceive and understand cultural differences between groups. The differences as a core value are the precondition for pursuing the respect, tolerance, and embracement that could be viewed as the upper-level values. First, in order to recover the pride of one’s own culture, to recompose the identity of individual and group, and also to build up an embracing society or social integration through cultural communication, it is needed to respect and mutually understand different cultures. The respect for cultural diversity has more important value and meanings in the aspect of according with the universal principle of social composition in the globalization era such as human rights, freedom, and democracy supposing the ontological status of individuals as a subject of dignified and equal acts. Also, through the values of tolerance and embracement, we could contemplate and reflect on ethnocentrism, cultural prejudice, stereotype, discrimination, and racism. In this context, the cultural diversity competency development activities accompanied by tolerance and embracement should not be limited to classroom lesson at school, but be expanded to the universal live area. The values of tolerance and embracement are to teach the method of peaceful coexistence to all the members of our society including students. As the values of cultural diversity, the respect, tolerance, and embracement could be realized only when the differences are basically preconditioned.

Thus, in order for such diverse cultural differences to become social assets, we should acknowledge the differences such as everyone with different racial and cultural backgrounds has their own unique languages, diverse religions, lifestyles, foods, and history just like us. Through the cultural diversity education based on differences, all the members of society could form the correct knowledge and attitude toward other cultures, establish the positive ego-identity, and actively accept various differences.

B. Cultural Sensitivity

The second core value of cultural diversity is ‘cultural sensitivity’. The cultural sensitivity means the understanding and integration of one’s own culture and other cultures, knowledge about other cultures, individuals’ belief and motive to acknowledge the cultural diversity of other cultures, and changes in act to respect other cultures, necessary for humans to get along with groups with other cultures. Recently in Korea, the interactions between groups with various sub-cultures in society get vitalized on top of ethnic/racial multicultural phenomena by inter-social contacts such as the increase of foreign workers and international marriage immigrants. The importance of cultural sensitivity that respects for cultural diversity and does not perceive differences as discrimination is emphasized.

To cultivate the cultural sensitivity, it is primarily needed for every member of society to cultivate the sensitivity to cultural differences. Despite the cultural differences, we could acquire the intercultural competency to be able to live together with others through culturally-sensitive education. The cultural sensitivity is deeply related to cultural experiences, and such cultural experiences eventually influence the attitude of cultural diversity by improving the intercultural communication skills.

C. Dialogues

The third core value of cultural diversity is dialogues. A dialogue means the exchange of information by understanding meanings in others’ perspective. This process is based on a precondition of mutual respect, open questions, and the impossibility to judge right from wrong only in a single person’s perspective. The intercultural dialogue is to face different value, world view, knowledge, and belief, and explores the possibility of challenges to ordinary assumptions, and new and creative lifestyles. Also, the

intercultural dialogue makes people explore their aspiration and vision for the future, and also provides them with experiential opportunities to understand, respect for, and develop diverse cultures. And the intercultural dialogue makes it possible for knowledge exchange to explore methods to more creatively live together.

For the intercultural dialogues, the permissive attitude toward other cultures besides one's own culture should be maintained. To strengthen the competency related to intercultural dialogues, all the participants should participate in dialogues based on the dignity of equal humans with no loss of individual or collective identity. The intercultural dialogues that are performed in various cultures of the earth could be very important in the level of local/international dispute settlement and international understanding. Thus, in order to harmonize the opposing values such as diversity and integration, the practical effort to draw the intercultural dialogues suitable for Korean situations would be important.

D. Interdependency

The fourth core value of cultural diversity is interdependency. This means that everything on the earth has interdependent relationships. The recent cultural diversity policy is raising a great challenge to the traditional and closed culture policy because the culture policies in arts and culture area implemented in most countries do not fully reflect the interdependent reality of society. Thus, in order to live in the pluralized society, we need to strengthen the cultural competencies such as mutual understanding and interdependency of others and other cultures. The cultural diversity education for perceiving and cultivating the interdependency, should be practically performed in every area of society including school education.

The value of interdependency in the primary-level is a precondition for pursuing the coexistence and collaboration that could be viewed as the upper-level values. First, the coexistence is a value directly connected to the concept of cultural diversity or community meaning 'one composed of many'. The enhancement of cultural diversity based on the value of coexistence means the respect for and tolerance of differences, which could be a starting point of building up a democratic and open society. And the cultural diversity based on the value of coexistence implants pride of intrinsic cultural heritages in members of groups with various sociocultural backgrounds, and also contributes to the continuous development and exchange of intrinsic cultural heritages. In this context, the value of coexistence could be regarded as an essential value for the maintenance and continuity of free, peaceful, and affluent society.

Next, the value of collaboration could cause synergy effects of new form for the integration and development of community when the individuals or groups with diverse cultural backgrounds reciprocally utilize their own characteristics and strengths. The collaboration based on positive interactions between individuals and groups is originated from heterogeneity rather than homogeneity of members in society. Thus, the heterogeneity of individuals and groups with diverse sociocultural backgrounds could be changed into new energy that could integrate a noisy and divided society into one through the value and process of collaboration. To draw the value of collaboration for the integration and development of a certain society, it is needed to have the value of respect for and tolerance of differences. Also, in order to draw the value of collaboration, there should be a window for dialogues, so that all the majorities and minorities with diverse cultural backgrounds could share their strengths and characteristics with each other in a place for education(Joo, Jae-Hong, 2013).

2. Educational Contents for the Realization of Core Values of Cultural Diversity

The cultural diversity education program aims to make people embrace others with different cultural backgrounds, share cultures with each other, correctly perceive their own culture, and have an open and receptive attitude toward other cultures. For this reason, the cultural diversity education should not be a specific program only for minorities. Instead, it needs to be designed on the basis of multiculturalism aiming for that every student could be equipped with knowledge, values, attitude, and functions for understanding the society and living as a responsible citizen in the multicultural society. In other words, it would be necessary to emphasize the formation of multicultural society respecting the core values of cultural diversity, and the formation of community society through the establishment of cultural identity. In this aspect, the contents of cultural diversity education could be summarized as follows.

<Table-3> Contents of cultural diversity education

Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowing the characteristics of similarities and differences between cultures • Growing the respect for and understanding of each culture • Developing the positive intercultural attitude
Collaboration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing the abilities to collaborate and interact with various people
Anti-prejudice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forming critical thinking of stereotype, prejudice, and fixed idea • Growing an ability to cope with problematic situations
Formation of identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing positive concepts • Forming the identity and group identity
Equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing the positive attitude toward state, ethnic group, gender, ability, and class • Forming a value that every human is equal
Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledging the existence of diverse individuals and groups • Having a mindset to respect the diversity

The domain and contents of cultural diversity education start from understanding the general meaning of culture. By perceiving the concepts like functions, characteristics, and attributes of culture, and then understanding diverse cultural phenomena between people coexisting in culture, the necessities to collaborate with the world community could be realized. Therefore, the curriculum should be composed to have the collaborative and interdependent world view and identity by finding the common features and differences in many cultures(Kim, Gyeong-Sik et al., 2013).

III. Problems and Development Measures of Cultural Diversity Education

1. Problems of Cultural Diversity Education

The problems shown in the process of establishing and carrying out the cultural diversity education policy could be suggested as follows.

First, the terms of multicultural education and cultural diversity education tend to be mixed(Kim, Gyeong-Sook, 2016). The passive multicultural education policy and cultural diversity education policy presented in the concept of cultural diversity education have differences in object of education, perspective, identity, policy direction, approach, curriculum, power relation, teaching method, and policy realization. Nevertheless, even the departments planning and executing the cultural diversity policy tend to use them in mixture without recognizing the differences.

Second, after implementing the 1st and 2nd multicultural family policies in Korea, the 3rd one is currently under implementation. However, the multicultural support policy is still remained as passive multiculturalism policy by assimilation of minorities. The 1st basic plan aiming to ‘establish the foundation for carrying out the multicultural family policy, and to provide the customized-service for the settlement of married immigrants in Korean life, and the 2nd basic plan aiming to ‘support multicultural families for their stable settlement and improvement of life quality, to strengthen the support for multicultural families, and to promote global talents’ do not include the part about mutual understanding of cultures related to cultural diversity. This implies that it is no better than multicultural education based on assimilation forcing the multicultural families in Korea to accept Korean culture to adapt themselves to Korean society after forgetting their own cultures. Fortunately, the 3rd multicultural family support policy shows a will to acknowledge the cultural diversity of multicultural families residing in Korea, under the goals like ‘realization of discrimination-free multicultural society where everyone could be respected, expansion of

social/economic participation of multicultural families, and promotion of healthy growth of children from multicultural families'. However, examining the five detailed policy tasks, the 'improvement of multicultural acceptability based on mutual respect' is the only 'task related to cultural diversity education', which is even excluded from tasks of each department and local government.

Third, the multicultural acceptability of Korea is still lower compared to other major advanced countries. In the future, it would take lots of time and efforts to change people's perception of and attitude toward multicultural families. In the plans by key ministries such as the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and the Ministry of Education, it is rare to find the cultural diversity education targeting the whole nation.

Fourth, in the process of carrying out one-time project and policy, there are problems like overlapped support caused by the absence of communication between relevant organizations. Based on such results, each department would need to have active communications and coordination of opinions, so that the absence of communication and disagreement of opinions do not cause any disadvantages to multicultural families.

2. Development Measures of Cultural Diversity Education

Just as examined so far, the multicultural education policies have many problems in the aspect of implementation, and the development measures for complementing the cultural diversity education could be suggested as follows.

First, it is urgently needed to change the multicultural education from assimilation education to cultural diversity education. For the development and implementation of programs related to cultural diversity education of multicultural family policy, the implementing departments and each local government should be equipped with active attitude. There should be the institutional support for the whole nation to cultivate the global citizenship that could understand and acknowledge other cultures based on open perspective.

Second, the terms of multicultural education and cultural diversity education need to be organized. As the Western countries have different opinions about those two names, it would not be easy to set up relations of terms in Korea as a second-mover of cultural diversity education. However, quite a few things of multicultural education and cultural diversity education are not clearly divided, but overlapped(Lee, Dong-Seong-Joo, Jae-Hong-Kim, Yeong-Cheon, 2013), so that it would be necessary to discuss if the existing multicultural education should be included in the sub-category of cultural diversity education, and if the cultural diversity education would be used as an alternative to the passive multicultural education.

Third, the multicultural acceptability index should be increased by expanding the cultural diversity education to the whole nation. So far, most of the multicultural education were the education for minorities focusing on multicultural families. Still, the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism is carrying out the cultural diversity education through the 'day for rainbow bridge project & cultural diversity, operation of research school for improving the perception and spreading the values of cultural diversity in the collaboration with the Ministry of Education, promotion of understanding of cultural diversity & vitalization of mutual culture education, and expansion of multicultural programs within cultural facilities'. However, just as shown in the survey by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the multicultural acceptability index is low in the majority of the people, so that the cultural diversity education for every citizen would be needed.

Fourth, it would be necessary to review the measures for providing the cultural diversity education to every student by establishing the cultural diversity subject in the school regular curriculum. Facing the 4th industrial revolution era in the global village, the attitude to exclude other cultures should be avoided. Just as our own culture and identity are important, the cultures and identities of other countries should be acknowledged and respected.

Fifth, the collaboration and communication between relevant organizations would be needed. In order not to cause any multicultural families disadvantaged by the absence of communication between relevant organizations, and also not to have any dead zones of multicultural support policy, the communication and collaboration between organizations implementing the multicultural policy would be important.

Sixth, there should be a place for active cultural exchanges by holding the multicultural festival. Regarding the multicultural festivals held by local governments, most of the participants in the festivals were multicultural families while it was tough to find ordinary citizens. Through the multicultural festival participated by every citizen, there should be a place for enjoying diverse cultures of each country, and learning the attitude to understand and acknowledge the cultural diversity.

Seventh, it is to develop and broadcast the broadcasting programs related to cultural diversity. As one of the mass media that could be the most easily accessed by the whole nation, the ripple effect of broadcasting cannot be ignored. Once they get to know the historical backgrounds, unique cultures and values of other countries, the eyes upon multicultural families could be warmer a bit(Jang, Ui-Seon, 2016).

Eighth, the targets of cultural diversity education of local governments should be expanded from multicultural families to the whole residents(Kim, Hyeon-Deok, 2010). So far, the cultural diversity education of local governments was mostly focusing on multicultural families in culture centers. Now, however, there should be a place where multicultural families and ordinary families get along with each other in the unit of village or each community center. If the instructors in cultural diversity are sent to each village hall to provide the village residents including multicultural families with opportunities to understand other cultures and to communicate with each other through the cultural diversity education, this would be a chance for harmony between residents.

Ninth, it would be necessary to form the third new culture with open eyes upon cultural diversity(Kim, Soo-Ei, 2013). As many foreigners with various racial, ethnic, and national backgrounds are recently settled down in Korean society, the new cultures are formed on top of the coexistence and convergence of various cultures. The creation of new cultures through interactions of various cultures is a basis and reason why the cultural diversity should be respected and acknowledged. As the creation of new cultures in Korean society is led to the expansion of our lives and possibilities, it becomes a chance to review the necessities of cultural diversity policy.

IV. Conclusions & Suggestions

Based on the results of discussing the concept and core values of cultural diversity education, this thesis suggested the development measures of cultural diversity education as a part of multicultural education.

To cope with the future society, the cultural diversity education is useful for the acquisition of attitude, knowledge, and techniques necessary for the process of mutual communication with diverse groups. For the realization of human rights and equality of mankind, now, it should be the era when the diversity of each culture is respected and acknowledged. To raise the perception and prospect of cultural diversity to the level equal to the global level in the 4th industrial revolution era when the whole world becomes a global village, it would be academically valuable to examine the necessities of cultural diversity education, and also to explore the future direction. Thus, the purpose of this study was to explore the development measures of cultural diversity education suitable for our society by understanding the actual state of cultural diversity education and multicultural family support policy led by each governmental department. To achieve the purpose of this study, this study aimed to seek for the development measures of cultural diversity education suitable for Korean society by clarifying the concept and characteristics of cultural diversity and cultural diversity education, and analyzing the current state of multicultural families, multicultural family support policy, and cultural diversity education policy.

In the trend of globalization changing into multi-racial society, the Korean society is rapidly changing into multicultural society based on the continuous increase of foreign workers and married immigrant women through international marriage. Thus, the government feeling the necessity of multicultural education is implementing the multicultural education, and also attempting to change it into cultural diversity education. As the education targeting all the members of society instead of education focusing on minority groups, the cultural diversity education means the education for the coexistence of multiracial multicultural. Thus, the open attitude to throw away prejudices, and to acknowledge and accept differences of other cultures should be a precondition of cultural diversity education. This could be the education that grows an ability to coexist through cultural communication by throwing away thinking focusing on race, ethnic group, gender, and ethnocentrism, and acknowledging the cultural backgrounds of oneself and other groups(Lee, Dong-Seong et al., 2013).

As our society has the ethnic identity as a single-race country, there is strong repulsion against the acceptance of other races/cultures. In order to actively respect other cultures through extensive thinking for removing this repulsion and prejudices and understanding diverse cultures, the perception of cultural diversity education needs to be changed.

Regarding the problems of cultural diversity education policy of our society, first, the terms of multicultural education and cultural diversity education are mixed. As the mixed use of terms is also happening in the advanced countries, it might be unavoidable to see this in Korean society that is a second-

mover of cultural diversity education. However, it would be needed to set up the clear relations between two terms through scholars' discussions. Second, the cultural diversity education is still remained in the assimilation policy. The 1st & 2nd multicultural family policies do not include the mutual understanding of cultures related to cultural diversity. Even though the 3rd multicultural family policy includes the cultural diversity education, it has only one of five tasks, which is even excluded from plans of each department. Third, the multicultural acceptability of Korea is still lower than other major advanced countries. It would take lots of time and efforts to change the national perception and attitude as the identity of single-race nation has been fixed for a long time. Fourth, in the process of carrying out the one-time project and policy, there are problems like overlapped support by the absence of communication of relevant organizations(Lee, Jeong-Geum·Lee, Byeong-Hwan, 2020).

In the practical measures of cultural diversity education, first, the assimilation policy should be urgently changed to the cultural diversity education. On top of organizing the terms of multicultural education and cultural diversity education, the target of cultural diversity education needs to be expanded to the whole nation. It would be necessary to newly establish the cultural diversity subject in the school regular curriculum. Also, it would be needed to minimize disadvantages of multicultural families through mutual collaboration and communication between relevant departments, to establish a place for communications such as festival to have the active exchange of cultures, to establish opportunities to experience diverse cultures through the Korea Communications Commission, and also to establish chances to create the 3rd new culture with open eyes upon cultural diversity.

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Culinary Semiotic as Agenda for Multi-, Inter- and Fusion-cultural Studies

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1. Introduction

In Vietnamese, there are many compound verbs with ‘an’, a verb meaning ‘to eat’, ‘to possess a certain ability’ and ‘to acquire’, such as ‘an ngu’(to eat and sleep: home life), ‘an nam’(to eat and lie: sexual life), ‘an choi’(to eat and play: entertainment), ‘an noi’(to eat and speak: articulation), ‘an lam’(to eat and work: labor) and ‘an mac’(to eat and get dressed: clothes)(Kimminich 2005). This indicates ‘eating’ is the key to cohere all activities of human community. Simply, food, which is directly related to human life, is the complex system of notation that five senses of vision(color, shape, garnish, ornament), auditory sense(ventilation effect through sounds), olfactory sense(smell), sense of taste(taste) and sense of touch(texture) are woven in synesthesia. This is gathering increasing attention in the era of Multi-, Inter- and Fusion-Culture.

1.1 Trends of food research

I am currently writing ‘The Prospect of Culinary Semiotic’ as a part of research on Multi-, Inter- and Fusion-Culture(MIF), and the followings are the main trends that become the basis of the study.

- Historical studies and social science: G. Simmel, a sociologist and structural theorist already grasped the social value of food, and N. Elias(1969) witnessed the core of Western civilization process at ‘Liberation from Slaughter Instinct’(Kimminich 2005: XXIV). The beginning of this attention is the transition from ‘nature’ to ‘culture’, or ‘the raw’ to ‘the cooked’ that Lévi-Strauss, a structural anthropologist, saw through.

“Shared meals promote the physiologic primitiveness and incidents of inevitable generality to the domain of social interaction. [...] Therefore, food has acquired tremendous social values since its early stage.”(Simmel 1910/1997: 131).

The position of historical studies and social science was implemented by British cultural sociology led by French Annales(especially F. Braudel 1979), which regarded eating food as repeating ritual ‘continuous patterns’, and J. Goody(1982), and a series of research results were introduced in *The Sociology of Food: Eating, Diet and Culture*(Mennel. 1992):

- Religious change: Charles Fourier(1772~1837), a socialist in the Enlightenment era of France considered food as impulsion divine that is useful to create joint action harmonious for the society, and its core is the role of father(=Joseph) in ‘the holy(Christian) family(Familia Sagra- da)’. Until pre-modern era, a family is a basic economic unit, or ‘Oikos

household community' and a small church where the Holy Spirit was practiced through worship. A meal was a holy ritual that promotes the homogeneity of community and mediates this physical world with divine next life, and food was compared to the physical property of God's son(Jesus) incarnate. The basis of body and soul, the balance of spirit, and abstinence and fast that liberate the spirit from the body was the aphorism 'This(=bread) is My(=God) body(hoc est corpus meum) and symbolizes my body(significat corpus meum)' emphasized by Spirituality Movement of Hildegard von Bingen(1089~ 1179).

Meanwhile, in modern times, the roles of husband and wife were divided into mental nurture(husband) and physical nurture(wife) at home, and at society, '(conceptualized by Luhmann)functionally differentiated social systems(funktional ausdifferenzierte soziale Systeme. examples: economy, law, politics, art, education, etc.)' were initiated. Regarding the phenomenon of Catholic Spirituality Movement collapse in this process, Salaverria(2005) raised very provocative claim that modern McDonalds ethics, which is represented by mega-factory and franchise, was triggered by Calvinism:

"Fast food is a product of American style Puritanism ethics based on Calvinism and it has degraded the function of food from the medium for divine nature to secular means called satisfaction of physical desire."

- Industrialization of food culture: As the modern society becomes mechanized and individualized, the coded food culture as a sort of program becomes more standardized through re-coding, and it is led to globalization of fast food and franchised industry. Although the principle of economic feasibility to provide the greatest satisfaction at the lowest cost is justified, it is the ignition point of the collapse of the Oikos community viewed from the societal perspective. As a result, the art of home cooking is not studied, so it is not inherited. The soul food made by mom turns into a product manufactured according to standard process of a food factory. At the antipodal point of the food industry that maximizes the fantasy and convenience through design and branding, the humble pride to maintain food as home semiosis is still the prerequisite of culture. Meanwhile, street food culture of various countries such as South East Asian countries shows unconventional possibility between home and industry in the in the era of Multi-, Inter- and Fusion-Culture.

- Sharp fluctuation of politics and ideology: As the reflection of the conflict between the US and Europe after the 9/11 Attacks, the name of french fries(pomme frites) of French or Belgian style was changed into freedom fries, and that of German Sauerkraut was changed into liberty cabbage(Gerhardt 2013). Regarding this, there are many topical subjects discussed such as 'Food Policy and Culture Movement'(Nestle & Nesheim 2012), 'Food and Advertisement'(Conner & Armitage 2002), 'Quantitative and Qualitative Study on Food'(Miller & Deutsch 2009), 'Food Geography' (Cummins & Macintyre 2002, Yasmeen 2006), 'Food Porno', 'Trash Food', 'Ethics of Food'(Singer & Mason 2006) and 'The Globalization of Food'(Watson & Cladwell 2005).

1.2 Accomplishments of Linguistics and Semiotics

- From the structuralism perspective, the impressive accomplishments are the study of cultural anthropology by Mary Douglas and Marvin Harris who stated "The meaning of food is found in the system of repeated inferences. All individual foods convey meanings of different foods. Individual foods are social incidents that structuralize other foods in their

own ways(Mary Douglas, 1972: 69)”, and ‘Empire of Signs(L’empire des signes. R. Barthes)’, a critical book of Japanese culture by R. Barthes.

- When food texts are studied from the perspectives of morphology, word formation, semantics, pragmatics, conversation · text linguistics, conversation analysis and historical · cognitive linguistics, there are such analyses as ‘Wine Tasting Language(Lehrer 1991)’, ‘Food, Gender and Power(Counihan 1999)’, ‘Folk Etymology(Schnitzel, Burger)’ and ‘Loanword(butter, cheese, camembert, spaghetti, maize)’. When food words are analyzed from the perspectives of historical · comparative linguistics, there are such notable accomplishments as Intercontinental Dictionary Series (Key & Comrie 2012), “Food and Language: Sprache und Essen”(Lavric & Konzett 2009,), and “Encyclopedia of Food and Culture”(Katz & Weaver 2002).

- An international academic journal of German semiotic association *Zeitschrift für Semiotik* recognized cooking and meal as the subject of semiotics in 1982 and announced Culinary Semiotics as a division of Semiotics through six research papers of ‘Semiotics of Cooking Act(W. Enninger)’, ‘Wine Tasting Language(A. Lehrer)’, ‘Structure and Translation of Wine Tasting Field(Ch. Küper)’, ‘Food Culture of New Guinea(V. Heit- feld-White)’, ‘Food as Ritual · Sign · Myth(M. Rector)’ and ‘Cooking Act as Sign Act(W. Enninger)’. Recently, there is a publication of *Culinary Linguistics: The Chef’s special* (ed. C. Gerhardt/M. Frobenius/S. Ley, 2013, John Benjamins) that compiles the accomplishments of Culinary Semiotics in Germany, Britain and the United States.

- In *Gastronomic Theory(美食論: GastroLogie, 2004)*, a collection of ‘World-Body-Language(*Welt-Körper-Sprache*)’ edited by Professor Kimminich of Romance Linguistics Department at University of Potsdam in Germany, contains ‘Essence of Neo-avant Garde Food and Famine Appearing in Luigi Malerba and Gianni Celati- Neoavantgardistische Essens- und Hungerexzesse bei Luigi Malerba und Gianni Celati(G. Fuchs)’, ‘Reading-Indulgence(S. Grossen)’, ‘Cosmotology and Food Theory at the End of Ancient Rome: Method to Eat Cosmos Appearing in Petronius and Martianus Capella(R. Kruger)’, ‘Fast Food and Christ’s Body: Pragmatic Contemplation on Regulation between Christianity and Food Culture(H. Salaverria)’, ‘Fantasy of Book Eating: Bookworms and Their Meal Time(M. Schmitz-Emans)’.

- *Nouveaux actes sémiotiques* Vol. X(Univ. d. Limoges. M. Fontanielle, 1998) written by Professor Michelle Fontanille, a scholar of French Limoges Semioticians that lead Table ecole, with the theme of ‘Senses between Taste, Aesthetics and Sociality(*De goût, entre esthétique et sociabilité*)’ has original French discourses such as ‘Acceptance and Constitution of Gustatory Objects(G. Marrone)’, ‘For Gustatory Semiotics; Aesthetics of Taste(G. Grignaffini)’, ‘Formation of Taste Sense and Lifestyle(S. Montes & L. Taverna)’ and ‘Taste Sense and New World(F. Marsciani)’.

- The interest in food in domestic academy started by Bae Hae-su(1982) and Rho Dae-gye(1988), and the access from the perspectives of linguistics and semiotics was after 2000s. A study of Lim Ji-ryong(1997, 2005) based on cognitive psychology speaks volumes, and there have been such accomplishments in the semiotics as Park Yeo-seong(2014, 2016, 2020), Park Yeo-seong/Kim Seong-do(2000), Choi Woong-hwan(2003), Park Yeo-seong/Kim

Hyeong-min(2013) and Park(2007). These studies solve the corresponding relation and the structure of passions of soul appearing in food texts in the actor model and semiotic square reflecting the structure semantics theory and the perspective of semiotics while utilizing the accomplishments of the cognitive linguistics. A major accomplishment in the living culture history field is a study of Ju Yeong-ha(2005, 2007).

- Recently, I ‘re-read’ ‘Physiology of Gustatory Sense’ by Brillat-Savarin, a justist and writer during the French Revolution and achieved some designated results(Park Yeo-seong 2020). I have identified that the explanation of Savarin describes the semiotic square of Greimas almost completely from the semantic dimension. Especially in regards to the relation among contrast, contradiction and implication, it has been revealed that Savarin accurately pointed out the ‘conflicting’(opposing) relation between <epicure-voracious eater> and <light eater-big eater>, the ‘contradictory’ (incompatibility) relation between <epicure-big eater> and <voracious eater-light eater> and the ‘implication’(complementary) relation between <light eater-epicure> and <big eater-voracious eater>. In the syntactic aspect, Savarin identified the harmony of food ingredients and the syntactic features based on mathematical and linguistic possibility of series of types of tastes, combinations, taste vocabularies, along with the fact that the tasting process of prepared meals is dominated by ‘spatio-temporal grammar’. Lastly from the pragmatical dimension, Savarin identified the emergence of subjects and space(restaurant) where all acts involved with definition of epicure and food are performed, power and jobs, and new types of texts from the extended line of court etiquette established based on specific space like the Versailles Palace. In the idea of Savarin, all the requirements of three layers of semiotics are preempted, so I came to a conclusion that his essay can be considered as an extraordinary history of Culinary Semiotics.

- Overseas academic journals that cover food as subjects are <*Zeitschrift für Semiotik*>, <*Semiotiica*>, <*Kodikas*>, <*Food and Foodways*>, <*Gastronomica*>, <*Appetite*>, <*Anthropology of Food*>, <*Petits Propos Culinaires*> and <*Food and History*>.

1.3 Necessity of establishing the subject

The area of Culinary Semiotics interest is located in the contact of the material and spiritual world, individual and society, and text linguistics(Textlinguistik) and semiotics. Therefore, while accomplishments of biology, ecology, food engineering and pharmacology are respected, the social ‘value object’(objet de valeurs: Greimas 1986) as incident, or semiosis should be emphasized. Directly speaking, the object of Culinary Semiotics is semiotic ‘complex system’ composed of life activities of the five sensory organs, so the functions of food can be grasped from the ecological(=biological), psychological · social(=cognitive/communicative), cultural(=symbolic) dimensions based on the accomplishments of text linguistics, anthropology, sociology and Ethnographie.

Meanwhile, the domestic semiotics world has contributed to the development of the humanities as a interdisciplinary field that embraces literature and linguistics, but the access to real life and practical use of the society hasn’t started until recently. Then, what standards are required for the study on food as a living culture to be established for serious subject? First, the real ‘living world’(Lebenswelt) should be covered. It is necessary to focus not only on the western world but also on Korean society and neighboring countries’ MIF

environment(refer to chapter 2 and 3 of this paper). Second, the infinite symbolic phenomena should be restored to finite semiotic ‘order’. Third, ideas that started with heterogeneous interest should be organized into homogeneous technical terms, and consistent ‘system theory’ should be established. Fourth, food as the agenda of cross-cultural studies of MIF-era can be a bridge that connects members of multi-cultural society and at the same time, it can be a conflicting factor. Such elements as food ingredient, smell, taste, color, religion, recipe and eating habit can promote cultural exchanges, but at the same time, they can be cause of conflict and feud. What diagnosis and solution for Semiotics can be prepared?

2. Horizon of Culinary Semiotics

‘Horizon of Culinary Semiotics(Horizont der kulinarischen Semiotik) macroscopically explains the layers of system theory, or semantic, syntactic and pragmatic layers of culinary semiotics by gathering food studies and gastronomy(Gastronomie) in German(and Europe) and East Asia, and microscopically analyzes and diagnoses food semiosis using concept tools of culture semiotics and text linguistics, and contemplate methods to apply to education programs of MIF-era.

This book, which deals with theory, practice and application, consists of Section 1 ‘Foundation of culinary semiotics as a division of semiotics’, Section 2 ‘Practice of culinary semiotics’ and Section 3 ‘Application of accomplishments’, and specific itemized discussions are described in 13 chapters.

2.1 Theoretical Frame of Culinary Semiotics

The theoretical frame of culinary semiotics is established as it is organized as ideological pedigree with the academical tendency on food diagnosed, and clues of Europe and East Asia extracted.

Chapter 1 ‘Culinary Semiotics as a Division of Semiotics’: The culinary semiotics is divided into three layers to establish the theory of culinary semiotics, and detailed tasks for each layer are decided.:

- Semantics(Semantik): The distinctive foundation elements of culture, or cultural elements(Kultur Einheit=KE) are extracted, and each cultural element is assigned with a view of the world such as Yin-Yang and the Five Elements theory, the theory of divination based on topography, phrenology, constitution theory, elements theory and cosmology. This can be both the universal instance for communication among cultures and the factor of conflict and handicap.

$$K_{sem} = \{KE_1 [sem a: +/-], KE_2 [sem b: +/-], \dots, K_n [sem n: +/-]\} \text{ (sem=quality)}$$

- Syntax(Syntaktik): In the connection of various cultural elements, combinations of familiar/strange, suitable/unsuitable, normal/abnormal and consistent/inconsistent are distinguished.

$$K_{syn} = \{E_1 \times \dots E_2 \times \dots E_n\} \text{ (Logical operators like } \in, \ni, \cup, \cap, \wedge \text{ and } \vee \text{ intervene.)}$$

- Pragmatics(Pragmatik): All actions of the sign have function(F) on the relation between sign and user, between power and ethics, and between demonstration and narrative structure operated.

$$K_{prag} = F \{[K_{mor} \cap K_{sem} \cap K_{syn}] \leftrightarrow [user <power, ethics...>]\}$$

As the replacement of homogeneous signs at the vertical axis, or latitude called Paradigma, and the connection of heterogeneous signs at the horizontal axis, or longitude called Syntagma are crossed, a specific sign world is organized. While paradigma is formed by the (partial) equivalence of elements chosen in the sign list of five senses, syntagma is formed by spatio-temporal and logical proximity of elements. The following is the principle compared to ‘table setting’.

Structure of table setting		Syntagma(spatio-temporal and logical proximity)					
		Dinnertable	Birthday table	60 th birthday table	Memorial ceremony table	Liquortable	
Paradigma (equivalence)	Main dish	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	
	Side dish	Soup	a	b	c	d	e
		Side dish 1	f	g	h	i	j
		Side dish 2	k	l	m	n	o
		Side dish n	p	q	r	s	t
Liquor/dessert	u	v	w	x	y		

Chapter 2 ‘Academic Interest in Food’: The element notions that can embrace text linguistics and semiotics are extracted based on the observations in such fields as history, sociology, religion, industrialization of food culture, and politics and ideology, and leading ideologies such as Brillat-Savarin, Barthes, Greimas, Floch, Elias, Douglas and Harris are summarized.

Chapter 3 ‘Media Outcome during Food Golden Age’: While the cult-phenomenon of star chefs that dominate mass-media such as TV, broadcasting and movie along with epicure cartoons(‘Lonely Epicure’, ‘Mr. Sushi King’, ‘Food Guest’, etc.) are examined, topical agenda such as food violence, food porno and semiotic pollution is diagnosed.

Chapter 4 ‘Clues of Culinary Semiotics in Europe’: The leading accomplishments of German cultural sociology, French Annales historical school and British cultural sociology that provided nutrition to culinary semiotics are gathered with the use of data of Georg Simmel Archiv located in Berlin, Germany. Here, the key words ‘consistent patterns’, ‘ritualization of meal’ and ‘birth of modern manners through civilization process’ are noted.

Chapter 5 ‘Clues of Culinary Semiotics in East Asia’: The food texts of Joseon Dynasty and modern Korea such as ‘Food Dimibang’ of Andong and Pansori(Heungbuga, Chunhyangga, classical novels) are researched. Especially, food culture of neighboring countries such as China, Japan, South East Asian countries and India(Barthes, Gerhardt, Kimminich), which have more important values in the MIF-era, is summarized.

2.2 Analysis of each field

Specific cases are explored from the layers of culinary (morphologic) semantics, culinary syntax and culinary pragmatics, and analysis of each field is processed at the relevant layers.

Chapter 6 ‘Cases for actual analysis’: Cases are selectively gathered from books, research papers, column, media outcome(TV, broadcasting, movie, internet, etc.) and fields(lecture, TED).

Chapter 7 ‘Culinary Semantics’: Various menus that compose food’s morphology and semantics are divided by era, region and use. Nouns(object), verbs(act) and

adjectives/adverbs(property) related to cooking methods are analyzed. These units explain realistic models(basic dichotomies, cosmology, Yin-Yang and Five-Elements, win-win · incompatibility, constitution theory, etc.) that involve relevant culture areas about values.

Chapter 8 ‘Culinary syntax’: The conformity and unconformity are discerned among cultural elements. After the syntax of time and space is explained, the collocation between noun and adjective, and between verb and adverb from the grammar aspect. From the sensory aspect, interlock among five senses and Synesthesia(共感覺: Synästhesie) are covered.

Chapter 9 ‘Culinary Pragmatics’: This chapter covers food(signs)’s communication process, or the relationship between doers and all factors involved with manufacture-acceptance-medium-process, for example, power and politics, ritual and manner, home style meal and eating out, space and building, dress code for banquet and interior design, and food text types.

2.3 Utilization of Accomplishments

Semiosis Maxims for successful communication is suggested, and the accomplishments of ‘theory’ and ‘practice’ are applied to theme space and storytelling, and methods to contribute to cultural business are considered.

Chapter 10 ‘Semiotic Pollution and Communication Rules’: Based on ‘Cooperation principles’ and ‘Conversation Rules’(Grice 1975, Levinson 1983) suggested by H. P. Grice(1913~1988), a leader of British ordinary language school, ‘semiotic world communication rules’ needed for successful communication related to food are suggested. Specifically, this chapter covers methods to diagnose and control physical, economic, psychologic, ceremonial and sensory pollutions related to food.:

◎ Production, process, distribution and acceptance of signs should be suitable for the establishment and direction of goals accepted in the communication that you currently participate in. Communication participants must obey ‘Semiotic world communication rules’ for successful operation of semiotic world.

- ㉑ Rule of Quality(質: Qualität): Do not damage or distort the medium property of signs appearing in the communication process.(i.e.: polluted substance, fake food ingredient, etc.).
- ㉒ Rule of Quantity(量: Quantität): Provide sign outcome only to the degree that is needed for the current goal establishment.(i.e.: A phenomenon that food is dominated by excessive seasoning and flavor enhancer).
- ㉓ Rule of Validity(Relevanz): Input sign medium proper for the current time and space situation.(i.e.: Stores, buildings and surrounding environment related to food cooking, consumption, media and spread).
- ㉔ Rule of Clarity(Manner): Prevent uncertainty between signifier and signified. Promote logical combination of sensory layers. Here, ‘Synesthesia’ among senses is important.

Chapter 11 ‘Food Theme Space: Museum and Storytelling’: Food related theme parks in Europe(Italian Cheese Museum, German Bread Museum) and Korea(Jeju Tangerine Museum, Bongpyeong Buckwheat Exhibition Center, Jeonju Hanok Village, Sunchang Korean Chili Paste Village, Imsil Cheese Park, Andong Food Dimibang Exhibition Center, etc.) are selectively diagnosed, and semiotic space composition for attractive theme space and storytelling methods are suggested.

Chapter 12 Culture Education in MIF-era

The concept of MIF is already mentioned above. Let me explain briefly. The translated word multi-cultural has negative connotation whether it is wanted or not. The concept Multi-culture not only has prejudice but also is limited in listing of cultural elements. The concept of Inter-culture suggested with the intention of focusing on communication of cultures is slightly progressed, but sometimes implies hierarchy of cultures. Therefore, I would like to suggest the concept of Fusion-culture that aims dialectical creation by crossing horizontally and vertically beyond simple listing, parallel and cultural supremacy.

This presentation focuses on foods in the real market, but cultural communication is a comprehensive issue about whole semiotic system's production, distribution, process and acceptance. If the concept of channel-reduction and channel-expansion proposed by F. Poyatos, a cultural psychologist who adopted cognitive semantics to culturology and translation studies, is applied, 'channel-reduction' occurs when a certain component is filtered, and 'channel-expansion' occurs when it is added in the process that the semiotic elements of starting culture are transported to target culture in the broad meaning cultural exchange process. The object that becomes deformed and restored after reduction and expansion, or 'real object' that generally refers to expression and thing distributed in daily life of individual country or region functions as a universal or differentiated cultural element. If cultural communication fails, the conflict of meanings between positiveness and negativity emerges such as 'sameness/difference', 'same/different', 'familiar/strange', 'comfortable/uncomfortable', 'good/bad', 'superior/inferior', 'elegant/dull', 'educated/ignorant', 'coexistence/conflict' and 'integration/separation' in the objects that evoke the characteristics of ethnicity and race, regionality and identity, and areas of ceremonial occasions, food and manners(ingredient, color, combination, recipe, eating, service, cleaning up, etc.). In this perspective, let's think about the news coverage about global K-Pop bands that were blamed for frequent cultural mistakes. The Korean wave, or Hallyu can create hundreds of millions of enemies while providing great contents to many fans. When I learn the serious MIF-level of world famous entertainment companies, I realize again how urgent and important our culture education is as a national task.

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Black Pink, which writes a new history of K-Pop girl group, used Hindu divine body for their music video of new song 'How You Like That' and received complaints from Indian netizens. They had to revise the music video, according to the coverage of NYT on July 11, 2020(local time). The song was ranked 33rd place at 'Hot 100', the US Billboard main single chart on the 7th of July. This was the highest rank that Korean girl group's single song has accomplished. According to NYT, Black Pink used the divine body of Ganesha, one of Hindu gods, for the music video and removed it due to the complaints of Indian netizens. Ganesha is a god in the Hindu myth. The god has human body and elephant head and symbolizes wisdom and luck. It is one of the gods that Indian people love the most, and India holds a festival for Ganesha each year. The divine body of Ganesha appeared briefly at the left bottom of the screen in the scene that Lisa, a member of Black Pink, does a rap sitting on the chair decorated with gold and jewelry. Indian netizens took issue with the divine body neglected on the floor. One fan pointed out "We always lay the divine body over the head. It is very rude to put near the foot." Another fan criticized "Our Hindu gods are not a toy or pedestal to be used for music videos of pop music." As the controversy continued, YG Entertainment that Black Pink belongs to removed the image from the music video and changed it to utensils used in ancestral rites. According to NYT, YG Entertainment explained it as 'an unintentional mistake'. NYT

pointed out this wasn't the first time that K-Pop groups aroused cultural controversy. The examples are a group Mamamoo's 'Uptown Punk' performance with face painted black at their concert in 2017, and a photo of RM, a member of BTS, wearing a hat with Nazi Hakenkreuz pattern in 2018. At NYT interview, Crystal Anderson, professor of George Mason University, said "It is rude to use cultural elements to degrade people in other culture." The music video of 'How You Like That' released on 26 of June recorded 8,630 views on the first day, which is the most YouTube video views within 24 hours. As of July 12, the video has over 270 million views.

[Reporter Kim Eun-gyeong] Copyrights © The Chosun Ilbo & chosun.com (July 12, 2020)

Chapter 13 'Food Culture Contents and Culture Business': This chapter proposes culture contents and semiotic strategies for globalization of K-Food, which is an important part of K-Culture, and summarizes this paper.

3. Prospects and Tasks

- Commercialization of research accomplishments: The cultural semiotics has reached the point where it should consider not only classical themes such as language, culture, myth and legend but also contribution to living world. I intend to contribute to MIF-education by pursuing practical accomplishments of culinary semiotics while respecting value neutrality of study.
- Synergy effect of theory and practice: This paper critically reviews the previous research tendency and seeks 'theory and practice of culinary semiotics' that can be practiced in language and literature related departments. The synergy effect is promoted with the application of accomplishments to culture education, five sensory semiotics, text linguistics, marketing semiotics, restaurant management, contents manpower cultivation and museum design.
- Cultivation of MIF-competence: While considering organic cooperation of theory and practice, and education and industry, culinary semiotics pursues to cultivate multi-cultural(observation of difference), inter-cultural(communication of cultural elements) and fusion-cultural(creation of coexistence and convergence) competences needed to foster talents that will work in the global world.
- Development of integrated curriculum: The curriculum of language and literature majors still sticks to dichotomy of literature/linguistics, and it doesn't cope with the demand of society promptly. This study will improve the dichotomous curriculum and promote tie with storytelling and culture industry, so that the development of integrated curriculum can be implemented at undergraduate/graduate levels.
- Promoting competitiveness of humanities: Everyone talks about the crisis of the humanities, but this study is facing a chance to rebound as a blue chip equipped with both convenience and economic feasibility by being in charge of tasks related to production, acceptance, mediating and process of various texts and contents. While paying attention to the current situation that projects about culture including food are progressed mostly in schools of business administration, arts and journalism, this paper is intended to promote competitiveness of the humanities with the use of the original tools of semiotics.

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Research papers: Semiotics, Text Linguistics, System Theory, Storytelling

A Paradigm and Practical Issues of a Community Education in Post-Covid-19 Era

-Community literary education based on local culture contents

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1. Purpose and Necessity of Research

This study aims to find the direction and system of media literacy education as community education under the premiss that media education is needed more as community education after Corona 19. In particular, the Jecheon area in which the researcher resides is a small and medium-sized city with a population of 130,000 and is a metropolitan and urban complex with a rapidly aging population. Considering this demographic and social specificity along with the change to the untact and digital environment caused by Corona 19, I believe that education for media literacy competency between generations in the community is necessary.

As a core competency of Jecheon community members in the 21st century, media literacy cultivation will make the following effects. First, it is possible for media literacy cultivation to induce members of the community (old people and elementary school students) to consume media in a healthy manner based on their understanding of how media works. In particular, it is possible to enhance the ability to creatively utilize the information and knowledge of cultural contents in the media and ultimately to develop democratic and global citizens with interactive communication capabilities beyond the Jecheon region. Second, community education based on media literacy makes inclusion and empathy between regions and generations, and finally community integration can be achieved. Based on media literacy, it can promote regional communication, bridge the cultural enjoyment gap, narrow the gap between linguistic and cultural communication among members of urban and rural areas in Jecheon, and enhance mutual understanding capabilities.

In particular, the proposed media literacy education in this study can develop the local community while sharing and considering community issues related to local culture among the elderly, elementary school students in Jecheon through media that is shared between generations, that is, elementary students and elderly.

2. Direction of Community Education after Covid-19

This study proposes the following four main directions for local community education: Digital, green, human, and mutual local community education.

2.1 Digital-based local community education

Digital-based education is needed in the way of communication, dissemination and supply of local cultural contents. From a convergence point of view between digital technology and cultural resources, it can be accessed from the culture technology (CT), that is, new media, AR/VR, archives, and media content creative.

As the term 'Cultural Technology' began after the declaration of the 'C-Korea 2010 Vision' in 2005, the concept of fostering the cultural contents industry and cultural technology development in the digital convergence era began to be introduced seriously. It has been

connected to human-centered technology (Artificial Intelligence, Big Data, 5G technology) in relation to 4th industry revolution (Korean Culture and Information Service, 2020:35). In the future of cultural education, it is necessary to create a convergent approach between culture and digital technology and to create a regional cultural ecosystem. So far, the link between technology and technology has been realized at the level of ‘media art’, but is gradually expanding into the cultural content market combined with virtual reality, augmented reality, and big data (Lee Sang-yeol and Jong-eun Jung, 2017:239).

2.2. Human-based local community education

In developing or creating local cultural contents, aspects of emotion and empathy are important. As an alternative to overcome human alienation in the era of the 4th Industrial Revolution, creativity and win-win education are needed through the universality and specificity in the global level and collective creation of cultural contents based on open source.

2.3. Green-based local community education

Environmentally-oriented cultural education is needed as a cultural response to natural ecosystems and climate change. The fusion of culture and local environment, that is, cultural urban education, is becoming more active by linking the local environment and culture.

2.4. Mutual local community education

Local community education requires mutual exchange and convergence in terms of space, people, and content. In terms of space, local culture content must be trans-locality and globalized beyond the region. In addition, by breaking the boundary between the social and cultural majority and minority on the human side, we must move toward strengthening solidarity and community consciousness. In addition, in terms of content, the genre of local culture should aim for cultural diversity through convergence between traditional and popular culture.

3. Characteristics of Jecheon Community

As of April 30, 2020 in Jecheon, the total population of Jecheon is 133,638, of which 28,392 are aged 65 and older, accounting for 21% of the total population. In addition, 8,593 of the elderly population live in 8 towns and villages, and 19,799 people in 9 districts, compared to the total elderly population, the elderly in rural and urban areas account for about 30% and 69.7%, respectively. Due to the peculiarities of the demographic and geographical environment, there is an imbalance in the communication and cultural competence of Jecheon citizens between the adolescents and the elderly and between urban and rural areas.

Administrative area	Population over 65 years		
	Total	Men	Women
Count	28,392	12,466	15,926
Bongyang-eup	2,276	1,019	1,257
Geumseong-myeon	739	345	394
Cheongpung-myeon	513	234	279
Susan-myeon	889	417	472
Deoksan-myeon	899	412	487
Hansu-myeon	254	112	142

Baegun-myeon	1,330	615	715
Songhak-myeon	1,693	771	922
Kyo-dong	2,397	993	1,404
Uirimji-dong	1,386	599	787
Chongang-dong	1,634	745	889
Namhyeon-dong	1,369	619	750
Youngseo-dong	2,186	944	1,242
Yongdu-dong	2,578	1,042	1,536
Shinbeak-dong	2,011	825	1,186
Chungjeon-dong	3,664	1,640	2,024
Hwasan-dong	2,574	1,134	1,440

<Table 1> Population aged 65 years or older in Jecheon (April, 30 in 2020)

3. Designing media literacy education for sympathetic generations using cultural contents

3.1. Goal of Media Literacy Education for Jecheon Community

The Association for Educational Communications and Technology presented six elements of media literacy: creativity and innovation, communication and collaboration skills, research and information, critical thinking and problem-solving skills, digital citizenship, and technology utilization ability. At the same time, the 2015 revised curriculum in Korea emphasized ‘media literacy’ as a core competency in the future. And among self-management competency, knowledge and information processing competency, creative thinking competency, aesthetic sensitivity competency, communication competency, and community competency, especially those related to media literacy like communication competency, knowledge and information processing competency, and community competency are proposed as core competencies. This study aims to set the following educational goals in media literacy education for sympathetic generations using local cultural content.

Comprehension of media
· Understanding of the media concept and how it works
Ability to understand information in media
· Correct understanding of knowledge information delivered and expressed through media
Ability to utilize media technology
· Expression, production and dissemination based on understanding of media technology
Awareness of media community
· Attitudes such as sensitivity, empathy, and consideration required as members of the media ecosystem
Ability of media cultural communication

· Accurate and appropriate consumption and production according to the custom of various media platforms

[Figure 1] Goals of Media Literacy Education

3.2. Content system of media literacy education

In this study, the media literacy education mainly deals with the literacy of the media in the seven domains.

Elements of media literacy education include understanding of media, media language and communication, ideological attributes of media, understanding and expression of media content, production, and ethics of media community members. In addition, I believe that media literacy education activities should be conducted in terms of knowledge acquisition, appreciation, analysis, and production of media and media content.

Domain	Education element	Activity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> News literacy <input type="checkbox"/> Advertisement literacy <input type="checkbox"/> Movie literacy <input type="checkbox"/> SNS literacy <input type="checkbox"/> Video content literacy <input type="checkbox"/> Television literacy <input type="checkbox"/> One person media literacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Understanding of media <input type="checkbox"/> Media language and communication <input type="checkbox"/> Ideological attributes of media <input type="checkbox"/> Understanding and expression of media content <input type="checkbox"/> Production, consumption, and supply of media <input type="checkbox"/> Ethics of media community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Knowledge <input type="checkbox"/> Appreciation <input type="checkbox"/> Analysis <input type="checkbox"/> Production

[Figure 2] Content system of media literacy education

4. Conclusion

We expect the following human, social and educational effects through media literacy education for the Jecheon community.

First, the “filter bubble” problem among the elderly and youth is resolved.

According to the digital media environment, new media platforms and media content are being produced, consumed, distributed, and disseminated, and cognitive and emotional bias arises due to excessive dependence on personalized information and services. In particular, critical digital literacy education for the vulnerable elderly and adolescents is required.

Second, it is the pursuit of regional cultural identity of Jecheon as a “video culture city” utilizing media infrastructure.

Jecheon City uses the “Video Culture Industry” as the new growth engine industry, such as the Jecheon International Music and Film Festival. Currently, although media education for citizens is conducted centering on the Jecheon Video Media Center, the only video and media related institution in the region, there are limitations in the complex geographical and demographic conditions of Jecheon. Through media literacy education for citizens, it will be possible to revitalize the identity of Jecheon local culture as a city that fosters media culture.

Third, it is to promote the distribution of local cultural contents based on media.

It is expected that the media literacy education will be conducted using the cultural contents of the Jecheon region, and that the stagnant regional cultural contents will be actively consumed, disseminated, and reproduced. Furthermore, it will induce mass culturalization of local culture by raising the interest and awareness of Jecheon citizens through local media platforms.