



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON  
MULTICULTURE AND EDUCATION

# 2018 ICME

Theme : Transnational Immigration, Cultural Diversity, and Education

27. October. 2018  
Jungseok Memorial Library in Inha University

## Hosts

- Inha University(BK21+ Center for Global Multicultural Education Professional Development, Education Research Institute, Graduate School of Education, The Convergence Institute for Asian Multicultural Studies)
- Korean Association of International Culture Exchange
- The Korean Language and Culture Education Society
- Korean Association for Literacy
- Institute of Northeast Asian National Culture studies, Minzu University of China

---

# Table of Contents

2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education

Opening Remark .....	viii
Welcoming Remark .....	x
Program .....	xxii

## Keynote Speech

● Global modernity and its repercussion .....	3
<i>Volker H. Schmidt(Singapore)</i>	
● Language education for marriage immigrant women and their families .....	17
<i>Seonjung Kim(Korea)</i>	

## Cultural Performance

### Session A-1

● Research on transnational ethnic relations: World context and cases in Vietnam ...	29
<i>Vuong Xuan Tinh(Vietnam)</i>	
● Local cadres, corruption and villagers' protests in a Red river Delta village, Vietnam ...	50
<i>Nguyen Van Suu(Vietnam)</i>	
● Young Korean Argentines in the Argentine garment industry and their social integration .....	69
<i>Jihye Kim(UK)</i>	
● In search of globally compassionate multicultural/intercultural education: Critical lessons learned from Rev. Theodore Hesburgh's vision and social activism during the civil rights movement and afterwards .....	88
<i>Jeasik Cho(USA)</i>	

### Session A-2

● Language diversity: The new challenge to Korean education .....	109
<i>Eunyoung Jang(Korea)</i>	

- A Study on Literacy of KSL Child Learners ..... 116  
*Jisoon Park(Korea)*
- The chronological development of Korean literacy and the appearance of the Korean Poet, Yoon, Dong Ju ..... 126  
*Sungsook Kim(Korea)*
- A Study on the Selection of Korean Cultural Vocabulary for Foreign Learners ..... 144  
*Ryeong Kim(Korea)*
- Aspects of the Korean history through the prism of Bulgarian archives from the cold war period ..... 165  
*Evgeny Gerchev Kandilarov(Bulgaria)*

#### Session B-1

- Asia community and cross-cultural comparative studies ..... 189  
*Jinyu Qi(China)*
- Movement and migration of people in pre-modern east Asia- Focusing on the Korean peninsula during the Imjin war ..... 206  
*Taeho Kim(Japan)*
- Trusting rather than understanding others: Another intercultural cosmopolitan education ..... 216  
*Yuzo Hirose(Japan)*
- The minority nationalities in the national chronicles of China ..... 228  
*Jingjiang Zhu(China)*

#### Session B-2

- Brief study of the reconstruction of Puning temple in Chengde – A study on the relation between politics and religion in terms of a Tibetan Buddhism temple from a historical anthropology perspective ..... 245  
*Yahui Zhang(China)*
- Ethnic identity and nationalism of Chinese Manchu in cyberspace ..... 262  
*Rongrong Zhang(China)*
- Study on the national identity mechanism of Qingzhou Manchu ..... 276  
*Mingxin Liu(China)*
- Beyond protectionism: The study of media aesthetic education in the internet age .. 288  
*Meichen Huo, Caiyun Wen(China)*

---

# Table of Contents

2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education

## Poster Session

- A Study on Improvement of Operation and Revitalization of Multicultural Education Ordinance ..... 305  
*Myounghee Jung*
- A Study on the Relationship Between Factors Child Readers Consider in Selecting Books and Identity: Focused on PictureBooks' Cover ..... 307  
*Seongryeong Yu, Haeju Cheon*
- A Case Study on the Participation Process of Immigrant Youths in an Art–Narrative Therapy Program ..... 309  
*Youngsub Oh, Geummi Wang*
- An Exploratory Study on Citizenship and Citizenship Education in the Fourth Industrial Revolution ..... 310  
*Yuseong Choi*
- A Case Study of Korean Language Education for Jumma Refugee Children ..... 312  
*Na Kyung Kang, Youngsub Oh*
- A Qualitative Study on Re–immigration Experiences of North Korean Immigrants .. 313  
*Sungnam Kim, Gahwan Yoo*
- Art and Emigrant: A Case Study on Young Artists ..... 314  
*Jinhee Kim, Subin Kwon*
- A Study on Communication Experiences of International Marriage Korean Women in Germany ..... 315  
*Youngsoon Kim, Hyekyeong Nam*
- Multi–cultural cases and types in ancient Korean Society Focusing on the 「Samguksagi」 and the 「Samgukyusa」 ..... 317  
*Chunyang Li*

- 
- A Study for Process-based Writing Education Strategies of Korean ..... 318  
*Jing Fei*
  - A Case Study of the Education of Global Understanding ..... 320  
*Ariunbolor Chinges, Jinhee Kim*
  - Analyzing the influencing factors of self-reflection on teachers behavior through the activities of the global citizenship education leading teachers in China ..... 321  
*Juanjuan Zang, Hyunjoo Lee*
  - Analysis of Trends of ‘An Investigation on Multicultural Families in Korea’ at the KOSIS ..... 323  
*Eun-hie Chae*
  - An Exploratory Study on the Improvement of Multicultural Sensitivity for Citizens ... 324  
*Bokseon Lee, Taehoon Kim, Yuseong Choi, Jongchun Ha*
  - Study on the Reality of Checkups Before and After Entry to Korea of Married Immigrant Women ..... 326  
*Suha Jung, Hanghee Yun, Sekyung Jeon*
  - Research Trends on Chinese Minority Policy ..... 328  
*Long Zhu*
  - A Study on the Adaptation of Immigrant Adolescents in Korea ..... 329  
*Duong Thi Thanh Phuong*
  - The Impact of Multicultural Youth's Development Assets on Multicultural Citizenship .. 330  
*Wonhee Choi*
  - The Effect of Picture Book Use Instruction on Multicultural Perception and Acceptance of Non-Multicultural Students in Lower Grade of Elementary School ..... 331  
*Lee Wol Yong*
  - A Case Study on the Effect of Bilingual Education Utilizing the Role-play of Fairy Tales on the Self-Confidence of Immigrant Students in Elementary Schools ..... 332  
*JeongSoon Bae*
  - A Study on Communication experience of Uzbek Students in College life ..... 334  
*Firuzza Azizova*

---

# Table of Contents

2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education

- A Qualitative Study on the Experience of Divorced Fathers' Child Raising by the Dissolution of Multicultural Families ..... 336  
*Kyeongjoon Eo*
- A Study on the Planning of the Cultural Content in Jeollanam-do ..... 337  
*Kim dohyung, Lee Seryeon, Lee Jeongeun, Yang Siyul, Kwak Cheolung, Park Hyeheon, Park Jeongmin*
- A Study on the Success of Local Cultural Festival in Korea ..... 338  
*Serin Yang, Sejun Kim, Minhyeok Kim, Ahjeong Jeong, Joeun Min, Junghun Park*
- Exploring the Aspect of Social-Cultural Changes through Architecture in Modern Period ..... 339  
*Youngseob Lee, Seongha Park, Seungjae Na, Bonwook Koo*
- The teaching method of culture change concepts through the Incheon Open Port's Alteration ..... 340  
*Bohyung Kang, Yuna Park, Jinyeong Jang*
- Teaching Method of Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology through Korean Rail History ..... 341  
*Deokyu Seo, Chaeyoung Lim, Gyuhyun Lee, Sookyung Lee*
- Alteration of Teenager' Recognition by SNS(Social Networking Service) ..... 342  
*Seongbin Kim, Subin Park, Nayeong Lee, Chaerin Jeon*
- A Study on the Change of Multi-cultural Perception among High School Students .. 343  
*Yeri Seol, Soomin Kim, Soyoon Park, Hyesoo Won*
- The Meaning of Volunteer Experiences of High School Students Participating in Talent Donations ..... 344  
*Dayeon Yoon, Jiwoo Kim, Gaeun Yoon, Yunjung Nho*

- 
- A Study on Program Development for Adult Citizen's Multicultural Sensitivity ..... 345  
*Mihye Kwak, Jinseung Hong, Youngsub Oh, Hyekyeong Nam*
  - A Study on the Effects of Middle School students' Multicultural Susceptibility  
 Education Program Using Film Media ..... 346  
*Heynjoo Lee, Jungsoon Bae , Hyejin Cho, Wonhee Choi*
  - A Study on the Budgeting and Operation of the Student-Oriented Unit School .... 347  
*HeungBok Kim*
  - How can participation in the community be competent? ..... 348  
*Miae Kwon, Minjung Kim, Jinhee Park*

---

# Opening Remark

2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education



*Dr. Youngsoon Kim*

*Organizing Chair of 2018 ICME*

Hello, Every one.

I am Youngsoon Kim of Inha University, and I stand here in front of you as the organizing chairman of 2018 ICME(International Conference on Multiculture and Education). I want to express my sincere gratitude to all participants, who come from Singapore, Bulgaria, UK, USA, China, Japan and Korea.

As you all know, this conference is co-organized by ten groups: three Korean academic associations(Korean Association of International Culture Exchange and the Korean Language and Culture Education Society, Korean Association for Literacy), two educational institutes(Graduate School of Education in Inha University, Education Research Institute of Inha University), three research divisions(Convergence Institute for Asian Multicultural Studies of Inha University, Glocal Multicultural Mentoring Research Team, BK21+ Center for Glocal Multicultural Education Professional Development).



---

The theme of today's conference is “Transnational Immigration, Cultural Diversity, and Education”, which is a severe issue within a glocal multicultural society. 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.

Here, I especially want to express my deepest gratitude to today's keynote speakers, Professor Volker H. Schmidt and Professor Seonjung Kim. And I want to show my gratitude to all session moderators, speakers, and participants who will take their part in the thesis presentation, discussion, poster presentation, interpretation, and as 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.

---

# Opening Remark

2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education



*Dr. Jinyu Qi*  
*Chair of NANCF, China*

Hello everyone!

I am very happy and honored to participate in the 2018 International Conference on “Transnational Immigration, Cultural Diversity and Education”. This conference was also a grand gathering of Chinese and Korean academic circles for in-depth cooperation and exchanges. 2018 is an extremely important year for Northeast Asia, Asia and over the world. Korea is in a great change now. The international situation in Northeast Asia has eased. The relationship between them has gradually warmed up. In Inha University, where the scenery is beautiful in the golden autumn season, the international academic forum of the 9<sup>th</sup> Northeast Asian Ethnic Culture Forum jointly organized by academic research institutions of China and South Korea coincides with the right time. Minzu University of China and Inha University can have such a smooth communication channel. First of all, I would like to thank Professor Youngsoon Kim. We have met and become good friends. While developing personal friendship, we also promoted the academic exchanges and mutual students of the two universities. The good cooperation mechanism of the visit and joint academic research has laid a solid foundation for future exchanges and cooperation. Secondly, thanks to the strong support of colleagues in the Korean academic community, the Northeast Asian National Culture Forum have taken root, sprouted and thrived, and we have strengthened mutual understanding and mutual appreciation.

---

"Globalization", like other historical development stages in the long history of human history, has its own typical characteristics and basic connotations of the times. The integration of the world economy, the diversification of international politics, cultural globalization and world citizenship are its notable feature. From the perspective of cultural genesis, the countries of the Northeast Asian Community are inextricably linked to each other. The close relationship between human populations and the history of ethnic interactions, cultural contacts and effective exchanges have naturally brought the region closer. Frequent exchanges between cultures, economies, and people across countries.

At the end of the 20th century, with the prevalence of globalization and regionalization, and the rapid economic development in Northeast Asia, people gradually regarded Northeast Asia as a region. This is based on the following factors: First, since the end of the Cold War, relations between countries in Northeast Asia have eased and improved, political and security pressures have been greatly reduced, and economic, cultural, and personnel exchanges between countries have gradually frequently and objectively stimulated cultural and economic exchanges between countries in the region. Second, the need for real-world policies such as political, economic, security, and cultural exchanges in the region is also the dominant factor in promoting exchanges and trade between countries. In particular, the economic development of China, Japan and South Korea requires the cooperation of all countries and contributes to the promotion of the concept and model of regional cooperation. The regional cooperation model such as the Tumen River Joint Development Plan, the Bohai Sea Yellow Sea Economic Circle, and the Northeast Asian Economic Circle launched one after another. In addition, the sensitive political issues and strategic location in Northeast Asia are also propellants to promote closer exchanges and cooperation between the countries of the region. Sensitive topics in the international political and economic landscape, such as the Korean Peninsula issue, the nuclear crisis, and the oil strategy, have undoubtedly increased the frequency of frequent regional exchanges and cooperation.

---

Through the establishment of the "Northeast Asian National Culture Forum" as an academic exchange platform, we will further strengthen the academic exchanges and cultural interactions between China and our close neighbors in Korea, Japan, Russia, North Korea, Mongolia and other countries, and build a Northeast Asia from academic exchanges. The "academic community" in which the intellectual elites of all countries in the region participate extensively has reached a consensus in the academic circles. Academic dialogues and discussions on some issues with much controversy can avoid causing a wide range of political disputes. Political and military conflicts. The initial consensus reached by the intellectual elites after participation in the discussion can be cited as one of the think tank resources for the government of various countries. At the same time, the ideas of the elites will always have a greater impact on the general public, which in turn will have side effects on politics. Therefore, first of all, it is necessary to construct an "academic community" dedicated to the study of the Northeast Asian Community. The role of this community will certainly play a very important role in the long run.

While constructing a dialogue and exchange platform such as the "Academic Community" in Northeast Asia, we will actively explore various modes of civil cooperative research mechanisms, which are crucial for promoting Northeast Asia research and reaching the ultimate goal of the community. Under the current circumstances, there are certain difficulties in conducting multilateral cooperation research first, but we can try bilateral cooperation research, such as China, South Korea, China, Japan, China, Russia, Korea, Japan, China, Korea, Russia, Russia, Russia, Japan, etc. There is a certain possibility and strong operability in the bilateral research and dialogue between countries, and there is also a strong demonstration effect. On this basis, when the right time and conditions are ripe, it is necessary to gradually promote trilateral or multilateral cooperation research.

---

We hope that scholars engaged in humanities research can work together to make East Asian local knowledge, our special experience, such as literary and artistic, musical, philosophical, and historical knowledge, not only have the local meaning of our own tradition, but also It has global significance. Today, some scholars from Northeast Asia have conducted in-depth discussions on relevant major issues on the platform of the "Northeast Asian Ethnic Culture Forum", an international academic exchange and dialogue, and are committed to jointly discussing the commonalities and differences of ethnic cultures in Northeast Asia. It is also committed to finding a real regional community from the academic community, and to find the values and ethics shared within the community, thus pushing this regional indigenous knowledge from Northeast Asia to the sharing of all humanity. The values of global ethics and universalism are the common mission of the "academic community" in Northeast Asia and all "public intellectuals."

thank you all!

---

# Welcoming Remark

2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education



*Dr. Myeongwoo Cho*  
*President, Inha University*

Good morning ladies and, gentleman. It is great honor to be here.

I would like to warmly welcome you to the Inha University for the 2018 ICME(International Conference on Multiculture and Education).

Inha University was established in 1954 with the help of Korean immigrants in Hawaii. Since the foundation of the University, we have highly talented graduates who have contributed to the development and modernization of Korea for the last half century. Needless to say, Inha University continues its education and research endeavors as the two most important responsibilities of a university. Looking toward the future, Inha is now concentrating all its efforts to become a world-class-university, while continuing to contribute to the development of the local community.

As you heard, our university was given a lot of help from Korean immigrants in Hawaii. For this reason, our university has a further interest in multicultural studies and multicultural education. So there is the postgraduate curriculum for Master and Ph.D courses as only one academic major in Korea The department of multicultural studies and

---

education performs a variety of research project sponsored by the Korea Ministry of Education as well as National Research Foundation.

According to statistics, over 200 millions of foreigners currently live in Korea. This is Almost 4% of the total population. Korea has already indicated that it is entering into a multicultural society. In this context, I'd like to say hosting International Conference is very significant. In particular, the agenda of today's conference is the “Transnational Immigration, Cultural Diversity, and Education”. This topic will lead you to think how transnationalism, diversity, and education will interrelate in the multicultural society.

Through the conference, we have a great opportunity to discuss and learn together. I hope all participants finding the way to coexistence of multicultural society through academic exchanges today.

I give special thanks you for Prof. Youngsoon Kim as an organizing chair, Prof. Deokyou Park, Prof. Heemo Chong, Prof. Janguen Oh and Prof. Sunjeong Kim as the chair of co-organizing association. And I want to express my sincere gratitude to all participants, who come from Singapore, Bulgaria, UK, USA, China, Japan and Korea.

Thanks for all.

---

# Welcoming Remark

2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education



*Dr. Deokyu Park*

*Dean, College of Education, Inha University*

*Director, Education Research Institute, Inha University*

Good morning everyone,

As Dean of College of Education at Inha University, I feel truly privileged to be here among an array of distinguished individuals who are jointly committed to the cause of the 2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education. I'm really happy to have a chance to talk to you here.

For the past several decades, we have witnessed great changes taking place in virtually every aspect of our life. It is very difficult to pin down one single factor that has brought about such changes, but no one would deny that some of them have resulted from the exchange of people, money, tools, information, and it would be hardly plausible for any single country or culture to succeed on its own in achieving prosperity and progress. In other words, we live in an unprecedentedly interdependent, highly interactive world.

Meanwhile, we also live in the world where competition rather than cooperation is considered a virtue and thus more and more individuals, groups, societies are talking about the way to win, without paying much attention to what others think, what others



---

do, and more importantly, how others live. This could be a serious problem unless humanity moves into a new level of consciousness that allows people around the world to see, hear, and feel united efforts to understand and respect not only their own cultural heritage but also the rich variety of heritage from other cultures. You may agree with me that throughout the human history, at no other moment is the role of multiculturalism more important than the present. Only through the point of view of multiculturalism can we better understand other peoples and their cultures and thus make this world a more peaceful and harmonious place we all can live together.

I believe this is the cause of the 2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education. You support this cause, and that's why you are here. You've wanted to meet and talk with those who you think you can share your cause with, and this is the perfect place for this kind of meeting. If you scholars from various backgrounds come together, keep together and work together as one, you can give and receive more than you think you can. Please remember: You are here to speak; you are here to discuss, and you are here to connect. I hope that this conference is a place for you experts from different cultures to share what you've been working on. And I really hope that the conference will be fruitful and enjoyable.

Thank you very much.

---

# Welcoming Remark

2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education



*Dr. Heemo Chong*

*President, Korean Association for Literacy*

Hello. It is Heemo Chong, President of Korea Association for Literacy. I think it is a great honor to speak a congratulatory message in such a precious place. And first of all I sincerely welcome esteemed scholars and professors from all over the world.

Today, local conflicts and terrorism around the world are destroying precious human life, destroying the brilliant culture and life of mankind. These international disputes and conflicts can be alleviated through mutual respect and understanding of the culture of each other. As the political and military conflict between nations grows deeper, the need for mutual cultural exchange becomes more urgent.

In this sense, it is very meaningful for us to come together today and have a serious academic discussion about 「Transnational Immigration, Cultural Diversity and Education」.

The future of human society will depend on what kind of education the growing generation is receiving. If you are only ultranationalistic and nationalistic educated with a closed mind, you will know only your superiority, you can ignore and invade other countries. We have seen many such defeats through history. We must actively promote international cultural exchanges, promote understanding among countries, and create a world of mutual respect.

---

It will be possible by actively and understanding international cultural exchanges. I am very pleased to have an international conference on 「Transnational Immigration, Cultural Diversity and Education」 at the time when international cultural exchange is requested more.

I would like to thank all the scholars and professors who came from far away Bulgaria, UK, USA and near Japan and China for this conference. I look forward to expanding mutual understanding through these opportunities.

I hope that it is time to encourage each other and share rich academic exchanges. Thank you.

---

# Welcoming Remark

2018 International Conference on Multiculture and Education



*Dr. Janggeun Oh*

*President, Korea Association of International Cultural Exchange*

Good afternoon everyone. As a President of Korea Association of International Cultural Exchange, I feel truly privileged to be here among an array of distinguished individuals who are jointly committed to the cause of the 2018 International Conference on ‘Transnational Immigration, Cultural Diversity, and Education’. I’m really happy to have a chance to talk to you here.

Since the 2000s, we have experienced tremendous changes in almost every aspect of our lives. These dramatic changes that have not been experienced in the last century are solved with the keyword 'the fourth industrial revolution'. The core keyword of the 4th industrial revolution that caused socio-cultural transformation at the global level can be summarized as 'convergence' and 'connection' in that it presupposes the development of digital information technology. It is very difficult to determine the socio-cultural changes that the 4th industrial revolution has driven up as one of two factors. Nonetheless, many scholars have defined these changes in terms of 'super-connected,' 'convergent,' and 'out-of-border,' which suggests that we now live in an unprecedentedly interdependent and connected world.

---

On the other hand, we live in a world where competition is considered virtue rather than convergence and coexistence. So, more and more individuals, organizations and societies are focusing on how to win without paying much attention to what others consider more important. This idea can be applied from a cultural point of view and can be a serious problem unless we move to a new level of consciousness that allows people around the world to understand and respect their cultural heritage as well as the rich and diverse cultural heritage of other cultures. Throughout human history, transnational migration and communication have never been active like today. As a result, the educational significance of cultural diversity will become more outstanding. Only in terms of cultural diversity, we will be able to better understand others and their culture and thus make this world a more peaceful and harmonious place for us to live together.

In this sense, it is very meaningful for us to come together today and have a serious academic discussion on the topic 'Transnational Immigration, Cultural Diversity and Education'. Here we will all share a variety of arguments and meet scholars with the same interests. And this is the perfect place for such a gathering. If we can share what our experts from different cultures have been studying through this conference, it will be a good time for us all. I would like to express my special thanks to scholars from Singapore, the United States, the United Kingdom, China, and Japan. We will successfully finish this conference with these scholars.

Lastly, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Prof. Young Soon Kim, the executive committee chairman for the effort to organize the 2018 ICME, and to the staffs and the Inha University who provided us such a wonderful place. Professor Volker H. Schmidt of the National University of Singapore and Professor Seon Jung Kim of Keimyung University who gave keynote speeches. And I would like to extend my gratitude to the renowned scholars from all over the world who will make this place even more prominent by their presentations and discussions. Thank you for your attention.

# Program

Date: 27, October, 2018

Venue: Jungseok Memorial Library

Time	Program	
9:30–10:00	Registration	
10:00–10:20	<b>Moderator: Seungeun Choi</b>	
	<b>Opening Remark</b> – Youngsoon Kim(Organizing Chair of 2018 ICME) – Jinyu Qi(Chair of NANCF, China)	
10:00–10:20	<b>Welcoming Remark</b> – Myeongwoo Cho(President, Inha University, Korea) – Deokyu Park(Director, ERI, Inha University, Korea) – Heemo Chong(President, Korean Association for Literacy) – Janguen Oh(President, Korea Association of International Culture Exchange)	
10:20–11:00	<b>Keynote Speech</b> - Volker H. Schmidt(National University of Singapore, Singapore) <i>Global modernity and its repercussion</i>	
11:00–11:40	<b>Keynote Speech</b> - Seonjung Kim(Keimyung University, Korea) <i>Language education for marriage immigrant women and their families</i>	
11:40–12:00	Cultural Performance	
	– Gayagum Byeongchang / The feast of twelve strings(Jinmal Elementary School, Korea) – NANTA performance / A NANTA team of marriage migrant women(Ansan multicultural families support center, Korea)	
12:00–13:30	Lunch	
13:30–13:55	<b>International Conference on Multiculture and Education</b> “Theme: Transnational Immigration, Cultural Diversity, and Education”	<b>The 9<sup>th</sup> Northeast Asia National Culture Forum</b> “Theme: Transnational Culture and Exchange”
	<b>Session A-1</b> <b>Chair: Jinhee Kim(Korea)</b>	<b>Session B-1</b> <b>Chair: Youngsoon Kim(Korea)</b>
13:55–14:20	<b>Vuong Xuan Tinh(Vietnam)</b> <i>Research on transnational ethnic relations: World context and cases in Vietnam</i>	<b>Jinyu Qi(China)</b> <i>Asia community and cross-cultural comparative studies</i>
	<b>Nguyen Van Suu(Vietnam)</b> <i>Local cadres, corruption and villagers’ protests in a Red river Delta village, Vietnam</i>	<b>Taeho Kim(Japan)</b> <i>Movement and migration of people in pre-modern east Asia- Focusing on the Korean peninsula during the Imjin war</i>
14:20–14:45	<b>Jihye Kim(UK)</b> <i>Young Korean Argentines in the Argentine garment industry and their social integration</i>	<b>Yuzo Hirose(Japan)</b> <i>Trusting rather than understanding others: Another intercultural cosmopolitan education</i>

Time	Program	
14:45–15:10	<b>Jeasik Cho(USA)</b> <i>In search of globally compassionate multicultural/intercultural education: Critical lessons learned from Rev. Theodore Hesburgh's vision and social activism during the civil rights movement and afterwards</i>	<b>Jingjiang Zhu(China)</b> <i>The minority nationalities in the national chronicles of China</i>
15:10–15:50	Break Time & Poster Presentation	
	<b>Session A-2</b> <b>Chair: Somin Chung(Korea)</b>	<b>Session B-2</b> <b>Chair: Jia Chen(China)</b>
15:50–16:15	<b>Eunyoung Jang(Korea)</b> <i>Language diversity: The new challenge to Korean education</i>	<b>Yahui Zhang(China)</b> <i>Brief study of the reconstruction of Puning temple in Chengde – A study on the relation between politics and religion in terms of a Tibetan Buddhism temple from a historical anthropology perspective</i>
16:15–16:40	<b>Jisoon Park(Korea)</b> <i>A Study on Literacy of KSL Child Learners</i>	<b>Rongrong Zhang(China)</b> <i>Ethnic identity and nationalism of Chinese Manchu in cyberspace</i>
16:40–17:05	<b>Sungsook Kim(Korea)</b> <i>The chronological development of Korean literacy and the appearance of the Korean Poet, Yoon, Dong Ju</i>	<b>Mingxin Liu(China)</b> <i>Study on the national Identity mechanism of Qingzhou Manchu</i>
17:05–17:30	<b>Ryeong Kim(Korea)</b> <i>A Study on the Selection of Korean Cultural Vocabulary for Foreign Learners</i>	<b>Meichen Huo , Caiyun Wen(China)</b> <i>Beyond protectionism: The study of media aesthetic education in the internet age</i>
17:30–17:55	<b>Evgeny Gerchev Kandilarov(Bulgaria)</b> <i>Aspects of the Korean history through the prism of Bulgarian archives from the cold war period</i>	.
17:55–18:10	Annual Meeting	





# Keynote Speech

- **Volker H. Schmidt**

(National University of Singapore, Singapore)

*Global Modernity and its Repercussions.*

- **Seonjung Kim**

(Keimyung University, Korea)

*Language Education for Marriage Immigrant  
Women and their Families*



# Global Modernity and its Repercussions

*Volker H. Schmidt*  
*National University of Singapore*

## Abstract

I

The past four decades or so have seen what arguably amounts to the greatest and most dramatic transformation in human history. During this phase, various critical thresholds have been surpassed as a result of which many of the hallmarks of modern development for the first time reached genuinely global proportions, shaping the lives of people around the world and turning what until then had been a minority phenomenon into a lived reality for the majority of the human population (Schmidt 2007). To make sense of this development, I propose the concept of global modernity. This concept bundles and systematizes, at a relatively high level of abstraction, changes that have been observed separately in the pertinent social science literature, including the literature on globalization, much of which has advanced our understanding of the contemporary social world considerably but at the same time lacks an integrative perspective. The concept of global modernity aims to provide precisely such a perspective, treating change as a highly complex, multi-dimensional, yet interrelated process that leaves no sphere of life untouched.

The paper proceeds as follows. In a first step (section II), I will present data from several fields to illustrate what I mean by the global breakthrough of modernity. I will then briefly sketch the concept of global modernity as I use it (section III). Finally, I will make two suggestions as to the likely consequences of this breakthrough (section IV).

---

## II

Beginning with the economy, the world of today is rich beyond the imagination of even the most farsighted 19<sup>th</sup> century observers, and much of this wealth is the product of modern economic growth, widely believed to have taken off around 1820 (see Maddison 2001). Following this take-off, the value of the world's GDP increased by the equivalent of 22 trillion US\$ until 1985. Nothing like this had ever happened before. But as spectacular as it must have appeared to any historically conscious contemporary, by today's standards this "economic miracle" is in fact quite unimpressive. For as early as 2010, just 25 years later, global GDP had risen by another 30 trillion dollars (Eckes 2011). So the value added in a single quarter century is substantially greater than the combined total of the 150 years preceding it. A comparison with earlier stages of societal evolution gives us an even stronger sense of just how fundamental this change is. For instance, it is estimated that the economic growth in the three years from 1995 to 1998 is "greater than total growth in the 10,000 years before 1900" (Christian 2004: 446). Not surprisingly, this pattern also translates into higher incomes. Measured in constant dollars and using purchasing power parities (PPP), world average per capita incomes increased by US\$ 5,000 between 1870 and 1980 (up from US\$ 870 to US\$ 5,949 per annum). That is a remarkable development. But then they shot up by an additional 3,500 dollars in the next three decades (to US\$ 9,541 in 2009; cf. Eckes 2011). If we trust the CIA (2017), they now stand at \$ 16,300, measured in 2016 dollars.

Economic growth is not an isolated phenomenon. It is accompanied by developments of similar scale in other spheres, some of which I will get to below. But first I will stay a little longer in the economic realm. As we all know, and as many of us deplore, the fruits of growth are very unevenly distributed. Were they more equally distributed, then far more people could benefit from them, and nobody would have to suffer poverty. In the pre-modern world, poverty was largely a production problem – the aggregate social product was simply too small to lift everyone above the poverty line, meaning that poverty was the "normal" expectation for most sections of the population. Today, poverty is a distribution problem; the resources needed to eradicate it are principally available. Given this background, the continuing existence of mass poverty is widely viewed as a scandal. Nonetheless, significant reductions in the relative population share of the global poor have in fact occurred over the course of the past 200 years. Using the one dollar per day consumption standard of the World Bank to determine absolute poverty, three quarters of our ancestors fell below that line as late as 1820, and with an estimated per capita income of US\$ 651 annually, "the" average world "citizen" came in fact quite close

to it (Firebaugh 2003: 13). 160 years later, in 1981, the majority of the world population (51 per cent) was still poor by the slightly more demanding US\$ 1.25 per day standard that the World Bank used until recently (UNDP 2014: 19). After revising the standard again to US\$ 1.90 per day in 2015, the World Bank estimates that the level of extreme poverty has now dropped below 10 per cent of the world population, to 705 million people, down from 2.2 billion half a century earlier (Roser and Ortiz-Ospina 2017). This still reflects a lot of unnecessary suffering. But it also means that over 90 per cent of people around the world have now escaped the worst forms of poverty, and while the numbers would be different, the trend would be the same if we raised the poverty line to a yet higher standard. The recent rise of a genuinely global middle class (see e.g. Kharas 2010) mirrors this trend.

Three quarters of the (remaining) poor live on the land. During the Neolithic Age, the overwhelming majority of humankind had been securing its livelihood through agriculture. This began to change with the Industrial Revolution, whose impact initially remained small even in Britain though, where it affected only a relatively small sector of the economy until far into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As late as the 1930s and 1940s, the agricultural population still comprised up to 40 per cent in many of the world's socio-economically most advanced countries, down from 60 to 90 per cent in the centuries preceding the Industrial Revolution (Crone 1989). By the 1980s, it had been reduced to levels as low as three to five per cent. Thus, in a matter of roughly two hundred years, what determined the lives of humanity's overwhelming majority for millennia, had virtually vanished from this part of the planet. In other regions, where it set in later, the decline of the peasantry was even more rapid. As late as 1950, 64 per cent of the global workforce was still engaged in farming. The ultimate shift toward a predominantly non-agricultural workforce took place after 1980, when the share of peasants first dropped below the 50 per cent mark (down from 52 to 47 per cent in 1990; FAO 2000: 18). Today, the sectoral composition of the global workforce is approaching a pattern which resembles that of the West several decades ago, with the largest group of employees (44.7 per cent ) working in services, only 31.7 per cent left in agriculture, and the remaining 23.6 per cent being industrial workers (CIA 2017).

A change that typically accompanies the decline of the peasantry is the rise of the city. Modern life, it is widely agreed, is urban life. But until recently, most of the world's population lived in rural areas. That is no longer the case. Between 2007 and 2010, half the world's population became urban for the first time, comprising 54 per cent in 2015. Cities have existed for millennia, but the distinctly modern process of urbanization was very gradual and uneven. In 1820, just 2.5 per cent of the world's population lived in

---

cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants (Kumar 1999). By 1900, that figure had risen to 13 per cent (Economist, 3 May 2007) – a fivefold increase in eighty years, but in terms of its effects on humanity still a far cry from the developments following the Second World War. Thus, between 1950 and 1980, the world urban population grew by one billion, and even this increase pales in comparison with the most recent period, between 1980 and 2010, when this population grew by another 1.75 billion, finally surpassing the still sizeable rural population which is expected to shrink further in the coming decades (United Nations 2014).

Related to the above trends is a dramatic increase in global life expectancy, which currently stands at 69 years at birth (CIA 2017). This is exactly what a person born in 1960 in a high-income country could expect, and it exceeds by more than 50 per cent the 41 to 45 year range typical of what comprised the socio-economically most advanced countries of Western Europe and North America in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Easterlin 2000; Eckes 2011). Indeed, even sub-Saharan Africa mostly reports life expectancies of 50 years and above now, with just a few countries hovering around the 45 years mark that leading Western countries had achieved by the turn to the 20<sup>th</sup> century (UNDP 2014)

Formal education is one of the key characteristics of modern development, yet mass inclusion of the global population is a recent phenomenon. In 1950, 53 per cent of adults aged 15 and over had experienced at least some schooling, but it took until the 1970s before the illiteracy level dropped below 50 per cent; today roughly 86 per cent of the world's population can at least read and write. In 2010, almost all children of primary school age were enrolled, and 86 per cent of adults have had some formal education, with close to 50 per cent exposed to several years of secondary education as well. The average years of schooling rose from 3.17 to 7.76 in this period. The absolute numbers are more striking still, both by themselves and in terms of their implications for human capital formation. In 1960, there were about 150 million adults around the world who had completed at least secondary education, 80 million of whom lived in the developed world. Today, there are 1.24 billion, 940 million of whom are from developing countries (Barro and Lee 2013). Tertiary education shows an even steeper increase. In 1900, roughly 500,000 students were enrolled in higher education organizations worldwide, representing 1 per cent of college-age people. By 2000, the figure had grown two-hundredfold to 100 million, now representing about 20 per cent of the global cohort (Schofer and Meyer 2005). A mere decade after the millennium another 80 per cent increase had occurred, with 182 million students enrolled globally by 2011 (UNESCO 2014: 16). So a single decade adds almost as much absolute growth as the entire century preceding it.

No less momentous is the expansion of science. The current academic revolution is much larger in scope and likely more consequential than the one that created the research university in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, German universities, generally believed to have led the world of science at the time, had 2,667 academic staff between them (Cozzens 1997). By 2015, this number had risen to 239,200, and the 46,344 strong corps of German professors alone (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016: 24) several times exceeds the world's entire academic workforce of a hundred years ago. Globally, the number of research scientists (excluding social sciences and humanities) increased from 5.2 million in 1997 to 7.8 million one and a half decades later (in 2013; cf. UNESCO 2001, 2015). Even more dramatic is the surge in scientific output. Following several centuries of exponential growth (Price 1963), global science reached an inflection point after which the numbers became staggeringly high. Thus, approximately 360,000 science and engineering articles were published annually by 1985. Then, in a matter of less than two decades, that figure skyrocketed to 1.1 million per year in 2003. Just 10 years later, in 2014, it had reached almost 2.2 million (see the chart in World Bank, n.d.), and at its current growth rate of 7-9% (Bornemann and Mutz 2015, National Science Board 2016) will double to 4.5 million in another decade. The trends in patenting exhibit a similar trajectory. In both cases, the main driving force is the recent massive build-up of research capacities in (East) Asia (see WIPO 2014; UNESCO 2015; Hu et al. 2017).

The list of changes does not end here. It could be extended by several important developments in the fields of technology (e.g. the rapid expansion of high-speed mass transportation and communication systems that have increased the mobility, connectivity and world awareness of billions of people enormously within a few decades), in the global economy (i.e. the reversal of a situation in which only a minority of the population lived under capitalist institutions to the present situation where this is true of the large majority in just two decades), in the political field (since 1992, more than half of all states have been ruled democratically for the first time), and so on.



Considered individually, each of the above developments marks a dramatic change in the domain(s) of life and sector(s) of society they affect. Taken together, they amount to nothing short of a social revolution – the ultimate breakthrough of modernity on a global scale. Temporally, most of this revolution is concentrated in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; spatially, it is concentrated in Asia, especially in East Asia, with South Asia "joining in" a little later, but by and large moving in the same direction. Substantial

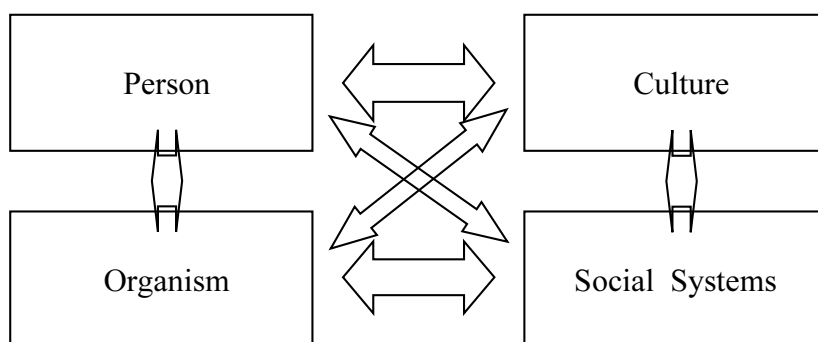
---

change is also underway in the Middle East and in Africa, even if the overall picture in these regions is as yet more mixed. And Latin America finds itself somewhere in between.

Despite its enormous significance, the breakthrough of global modernity has thus far largely gone unnoticed in sociology. The concept of global modernity aims to shed light on the novel constellation brought about by this breakthrough, as well as on some of the consequences and challenges they present – practically as well as theoretically.

The phrase "global modernity" is not new, but mostly used in a loose, unsystematic fashion. My own conceptualization is rooted in Talcott Parsons' distinction between the social system, the cultural system, the personality system, and the organismic system (or behavioral organism). Both the deductive mode of system-derivation and the substantive ways in which Parsons designates his systems must be viewed as obsolete and hence dispelled. Heuristically, the scheme is nonetheless useful, not least because its ability to capture modernity's complexity is unmatched by any of the alternatives currently on offer in the social science literature.

Drawing on this scheme for mapping the field yields a four-dimensional concept of change, with modernization processes involving fundamental transformations in each dimension and all of them being interrelated. Graphically, this can be depicted as follows:



In a nutshell, the following structural developments (discussed at greater length in a recent book; cf. Schmidt 2014) are believed to epitomize the modern condition:

- (1) Modernization of society (= one of several social systems): functional differentiation
- (2) Modernization of culture: rationalization; growth of reflexivity/understanding of the malleability of human affairs and environments; value generalization



- (3) Modernization of the person: emergence of activist, multiple and reflexive selves; increasing individuation; enhanced cognitive capacities
- (4) Modernization of the organism: disciplining and perfecting of the human body

The scheme's purpose is to sketch an analytic framework that demarcates the range of phenomena which must be minimally taken into account if we are to arrive at a meaningful understanding of (global) modernity. Its usefulness must ultimately prove itself empirically. The underlying assumption is that the patterns deemed structural characteristics of the modern are not confined to any particular location. Instead, they reflect universal developments that materialize wherever modern arrangements take root. They can do that to different degrees in different dimensions, in different forms, and in different combinations of the various elements. But total absence of any of these elements would refute the scheme's validity.

As I have tried to show, the breakthrough of global modernity is a fairly recent incident. This argument is at variance with other proposals that posit a much earlier breakthrough. One such proposal is Wallerstein's claim about the emergence of the capitalist world system between the mid 15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and since to him modern capitalism is the most important aspect of modernity, everything else we associate with the modern condition more or less follows from it, are epiphenomena of this fundamental transformation. Substantively, Wallerstein thus focuses on the economy, arguing the transition to modernity involves a shift from a politically determined system of empires to a capitalist world-economy, which henceforth takes the lead over and above the political system (see Wallerstein 1974; 2004). This view is rejected by the advocates of a second position who take the 19<sup>th</sup> century birth of the first truly international order as key to the emergence of global modernity (Buzan and Lawson 2015). These authors continue to treat politics as the lead social system, and while conceding the existence of an international economic system since the European voyages of discovery, they consider the politically determined power shift from a polycentric to a westcentric order of worldwide, permanent and multidimensional yet highly asymmetric interrelations as the most essential element in the transition to global modernity. A third position treats the breakdown of colonialism in the aftermath of the Second World War and the subsequent rise of the nation-state to global pre-eminence as the world historical turning point that ushers in global modernity. This is the position of the neo-institutionalist world-polity school of John Meyer and his followers (see Meyer et al. 1997). Finally, my own position pushes the breakthrough of global modernity yet more forward in time, to somewhere between the 1970s or 1980s and today.

---

I believe good cases can be made for all four positions, so none should be dismissed lightheartedly. Since this is not the place for a whole-scale defense of my position, I restrict myself to a few supporting notes. During a conversation we had in August 2014, political scientist Jing Huang suggested the following figures as rough indicators of the degree to which the modern revolution had penetrated and mobilized the human population at different points in time: 40 million people in 1850; 400 million people in 1950; and 4 billion people today. With the world population standing at 1.2 billion in 1850, 40 million people represented less than 4 per cent of the total. By 1950, this total had grown to 2.5 billion, so the tenfold increase in the number of people now included in the modern system reflected a share of approximately one sixth of the world population. This share increases to almost two thirds of today's 7 billion strong world population if indeed some 4 billion people now have their lives fundamentally shaped by modern arrangements.

Assuming these figures are at least broadly accurate, as they probably are, they give us a sense of the degree to which the world population were included in the most important systems of modern society at different points in time. The differentiation theoretical school of social thought, whose premises I largely share, treats the differentiation of society into a multitude of social systems in charge of distinct functions as the key structural characteristic of societal modernity. Functional differentiation is a protracted process that takes centuries to unfold and at least formally opens all societal subsystems for access by the entire population based on technical, realm-specific criteria. These criteria replace descent and other ascriptive factors that determine people's social status and position in the stratified, hierarchically differentiated societies that precede modern society. While initially confined to a few locations and elite social groups in its European birthplace, functional differentiation eventually gives rise to a world society whose reach transcends all previously existing boundaries, including the political boundaries of the nation-state that nationalized just about every feature of society in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Sassen 2007) before giving way to the full-blown globalizations of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, even though the systems' operations principally target the entire planet from the outset (as Marx has forcefully argued for the economy), the overwhelming majority of humankind remains excluded from the evolutionary achievements of modernity until recently. And large-scale social exclusion is incompatible with the logic of functional differentiation, says Niklas Luhmann (2004), the leading exponent of contemporary differentiation theory. A functionally differentiated (hence: fully modern) society cannot therefore emerge on a global scale until at least the majority of the world population is included, however modestly, in its main systems. As Huang's

estimate and the data reported earlier in this paper suggest, this is a condition the world began to meet no sooner than around the millennium.

According to Luhmann (2012), a fully developed modern society is not only a functionally differentiated society, but also a world-encompassing society, meaning that after the breakthrough of global modernity it no longer makes sense to think of society in the plural. Instead, a singular world society replaces the multiplicity of societies that existed throughout history. This has substantial implications for social analysis. One such implication is the need to discard the methodological nationalism that equates society with the nation-state and that has guided the social sciences since their inception. I cannot go into detail here, but I hope the foregoing shows that looking at the world as a whole and analyzing world-level rather than country-specific data, can yield interesting insights. Another strength of Luhmannian-style differentiation theory is that, by directing the analytic gaze to a multiplicity of societal subsystems rather than just one or two (typically the economy or the polity), it avoids the reductionisms that beset sociological analysis to the present day. My inclusion of data from the educational and scientific systems, while far from providing a comprehensive picture of world society, is driven partly by this concern.

## IV

Let me now conclude with a few rather sketchy notes about the consequences of the breakthrough of global modernity. One such consequence has recently begun to attract growing interest in several social science disciplines: the shifting of modernity's power centers from West to East and other parts of the world. As mentioned above, much of the recent change is concentrated in Asia, especially in East Asia. Space precludes a full analysis, so a brief glance at the economy must suffice. Thus, while per capita incomes grew by 62% in the United States and 74% in the United Kingdom between 1980 and 2009, these rates, remarkable as they are, pale in comparison to those exhibited by India (+ 230%), South Korea (+ 360%), the Asia-Pacific region (+ 594%) and China (+ 1.083%) (Eckes 2011: 9). When interregional performance varies considerably over longer periods of time, then this changes the relative weight of regions in the world. The perhaps most consequential shift of this type in modern economic history was the rise of, first, Europe, then the West following (what is now often called the First) Industrial Revolution. Currently, we are in the midst of an equally consequential shift, this time from West to East. Calculated in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms, the EU28's share of global GDP was roughly 31% in 1980, while that of the United States stood at 25%

---

according to the IMF. At the same time, China's GDP accounted for as little as 2.2%. By the year 2012, the EU's share was down to 19.2%, that of the US to 19.5%, while China's had risen to roughly 15% (Global Vision 2013). Looking at Asia as a whole, the continent's share of global GDP increased from less than one quarter (23.2%) in 1990 to 38.8% 25 years later (2014), just surpassing the combined output of the EU and the US in 2012 (38.7%). These trends have since continued. By 2020, the joint economic product of the EU and the US is expected to have declined to approximately 30% of world GDP, while that of China alone should have risen to as much as 19%. Five years later, in 2025, Asia is projected to account for 45% of global GDP and to be home to by far the largest fraction of the world's middle class (Asian Development Bank 2011, Deloitte University Press 2016).

Similar shifts are taking place in education; science and technology; and, last not least, military spending/build-up/capacity. Taken together, their impact is huge, representing nothing less than a world-historical turning point. They bring to a close several centuries of Western global dominance and supremacy, giving rise to an increasingly polycentric world wherein the West ceases to be the single most important driver, model and beneficiary of modernization and is reduced to one of several players, no longer able to determine the rules of the game and the parameters of change for all.

A second consequence of the breakthrough of global modernity is the unprecedented acceleration and intensification of change in all aspects of life. Acceleration of change has been a feature of the modern condition from the outset. Today, it nonetheless assumes a new quality. Contemporary modernity has empowered far more people than any earlier social formation to play a meaningful role in the transformation of our inner and outer nature. Combined with ever more powerful technologies, hugely expanded capital and knowledge stocks, as well as institutions that put a premium on innovation, this unleashes "productive" (as well as destructive) forces and creates transformation potentials unlike anything seen before. Moreover, these forces are extremely hard to control because of their highly decentralized and uncoordinated nature. Globally transformative change can now originate anywhere and, due to unparalleled human connectivity, quickly diffuses to virtually all other parts of the world where new insights and technologies are instantly picked up and modified to create the springboard for the next round of change. Competitive pressure in the economy, but also in science, in the military, and in other systems, adds a further stimulus to incessant innovation.

Early signs of transformative change are already appearing on the horizon. Following recently accomplished technological breakthroughs in artificial intelligence, robotics, the

internet of things, big data gathering and processing, nanotechnology, 3D printing and other fields that are ushering in what has been variously labelled a "Second Machine Age" (Brynjolfsson and McAfee 2014), a "Fourth Industrial Revolution" (Schwab 2016) or simply "Industry 4.0", highly disruptive change is expected to occur in the way we live, work, and relate to one. In the short run, this has the potential to transform the future of work for billions of people around the world, as a growing number of studies are prognosticating (Frey and Osborne 2013; Ford 2015; Chang and Huynh 2016; OECD 2017). In the long run, an even greater transformation could occur, as gene-technological, neurological and other interventions into the human body driven by the desire to enhance, upgrade, augment and perfect its physiological and cognitive functions may result in substantial advances in longevity and massive increases in intelligence, thus effectively giving rise to a posthuman age in which humans as we know them today are either replaced by a much more powerful transhuman species or marginalized by them (see, e.g. Bostrom 2014; Harari 2016). Needless to say, the emergence of such a possibility constitutes enormous challenges. But whether we dread or welcome it, we had better prepare ourselves before it is too late.

---

## References

- Asian Development Bank (2011) *Asia 2050: Realizing the Asian Century*. Manila: Asian Development Bank.
- Barro, Robert J., and Lee Jong-Wha (2013) "A New Data Set of Educational Attainment in the World, 1950-2010", *Journal of Development Economics* 104: 184-198.
- Bornmann, Lutz, and Rüdiger Mutz (2015) "Growth Rates of Modern Science: A Bibliometric Analysis Based on the Number of Publications and Cited References", *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 66: 2215-2222.
- Bostrom, Nick (2014) *Superintelligence. Paths, Dangers, Strategies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brynjolfsson, Eric, and Andrew McAfee (2014) *The Second Machine Age. Work, Progress, and Prosperity in a Time of Brilliant Technologies*. New York, N.Y.: Norton.
- Buzan, Barry, and George Lawson (2015) *The Global Transformation. History, Modernity, and the Making of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chang, Jae-Hee, and Phu Huynh (2016) *Asean in Transformation. The Future of Jobs at Risk of Automation*. International Labour Office, Bureau of Employers' Activities, Working Paper No 9. Geneva: International Labour Organization.
- Christian, David (2004) *Maps of Time. An Introduction to Big History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- CIA (2017) *The World Factbook*. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>, accessed 19 June 2017.
- Cozzens, Susan E. (1997) "The Discovery of Growth. Statistical Glimpses of Twentieth-Century Science", pp. 127-142 in John Krige and Dominique Pestre (eds.) *Science in the Twentieth Century*. Amsterdam: Harwood.
- Crone, Patricia (1989) *Pre-Industrial Society: Anatomy of the Pre-Modern World*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Deloitte University Press (2016) "Packing a Mightier Punch: Asia's Economic Growth Among Global Markets Continues", <http://dupress.com/articles/asia-pacific-economic-outlook-q1-2016-asia-economic-growth-continues/>.
- Easterlin, Richard A. (2000) "The Worldwide Standard of Living Since 1800", *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 44: 7-26
- Eckes, Alfred E., Jr. (2011) *The Contemporary Global Economy. A History since 1980*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Eurostat (2015) "The EU in the World – Economy and Finance", [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/The\\_EU\\_in\\_the\\_world\\_-\\_economy\\_and\\_finance](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/The_EU_in_the_world_-_economy_and_finance).

- FAO (2000) *World-Wide Estimates and Projections of the Agricultural Population and Labour Force 1950-2010*. Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.
- Firebaugh, Glenn (2003) *The New Geography of Global Income Inequality*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Ford, Martin (2015) *Rise of the Robots. Technology and the Threat of a Jobless Future*. New York, N.Y.: Basic Books.
- Frey, Carl B., and Michael A. Osborne (2013) *The Future of Employment: How Susceptible Are Jobs to Computerisation?* Oxford: Oxford University, [http://www.oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/downloads/academic/The\\_Future\\_of\\_Employment.pdf](http://www.oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/downloads/academic/The_Future_of_Employment.pdf).
- Global Vision (2013) "EU-28 is no Longer the World's Largest Economy", <http://www.global-vision.net/blogging-brussels--beyond/eu-28-is-no-longer-the-worlds-largest-economy>.
- Harari, Yuval Noah (2016) *Homo Deus. A Brief History of Tomorrow*. New York, N.Y.: Harper Collins.
- Hu, Albert G.Z., Peng Zhang, and Lijing Zhao (2017) "China as Number One? Evidence from China's Most Recent Patenting Surge", *Journal of Development Economics* 124: 107-119.
- Kharas, Homi (2010) *The Emerging Middle Class in Developing Countries*. OECD Development Centre Working Paper No. 285. Paris: OECD.
- Kumar, Krishan (1999) "Modernization and Industrialization", pp. 72-94 in Malcolm Waters (ed.) *Modernity. Critical Concepts. Volume 1: Modernization*. London: Routledge.
- Luhmann, Niklas (2004) *Law as a Social System*, translated by Klaus A. Ziegert. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Luhmann, Niklas (2012) *Theory of Society. Volume 1*. Translated by Rhodes Barret. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Maddison, Angus (2001) *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective*. Paris: OECD.
- Meyer, John W., John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez (1997) "World Society and the Nation State", *American Journal of Sociology* 103: 144-182.
- National Council of Intelligence (2008) *Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- National Science Board (2016) *Science and Engineering Indicators 2016*, <https://www.nsf.gov/statistics/2016/nsb20161/#/>.
- OECD (2017) *OECD Employment Outlook 2017*. Paris: OECD.
- Peck, Jamie (2017) *Offshore. Exploring the Worlds of Global Outsourcing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- 
- Price, Derek J. De Solla (1963) *Little Science, Big Science*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.
- Roser, Max, and Estaban Ortiz-Ospina (n.d.) *Global Extreme Poverty*. Our World in Data. Accessed 15 June 2017, <https://ourworldindata.org/extreme-poverty/>.
- Sassen, Saskia (2007) *A Sociology of Globalization*. New York, N.Y.: Norton.
- Schmidt, Volker H. (2007) "One World, One Modernity", pp. 205-228 in Volker H. Schmidt (ed.) *Modernity at the Beginning of the 21st Century*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Schmidt, Volker H. (2014) *Global Modernity. A Conceptual Sketch*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schofer, Evan and John W. Meyer (2005) "The Worldwide Expansion of Higher Education in the Twentieth Century", *American Sociological Review* 70: 898-920.
- Schwab, Klaus (2016) *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*. Cologne/Geneva: World Economic Forum.
- Statistisches Bundesamt (2016) *Bildung und Kultur. Personal an Hochschulen*. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.
- UNDP (2014) *Human Development Report 2014. Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience*. New York: United Nations Development Programme.
- UNESCO (2001) *The State of Science and Technology in the World, 1996-97*. Montreal: The UNESCO Institute for Statistics.
- UNESCO (2014) *Higher Education in Asia: Expanding Out, Expanding Up*. Montréal: The UNESCO Institute for Statistics.
- UNESCO (2015) *UNESCO Science Report. Towards 2030*. Paris: UNESCO.
- United Nations (2014) *World Urbanization Prospects. Revision 2014*. New York: United Nations.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (1974) *The Modern World System I. Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (2004) *World-Systems Analysis. An Introduction*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press
- WIPO (2014) *World Intellectual Property Indicators 2014*. Geneva: World Intellectual Property Organization.
- World Bank (n.d.) *Science and Technical Journal Articles*. Retrieved 24 March 2017, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IP.JRN.ARTC.SC>.



# Language education for marriage immigrant women and their families

*Seonjung Kim*  
*Keimyung University, Korea*

## Abstract

The purpose of this study is to find Korean language education programs for marriage immigrants and multicultural students and to propose the direction of language education for them. The objective of Korean language learning of marriage immigrants is to naturally settle down in Korean society by learning Korean language and thereby take part in social activities, such as playing a role as a parent, working, or studying. Accordingly, when it comes to Korean language education for them, not only practical Korean language education programs in the dimension of communication, but the Korean language programs for specific purposes, such as local culture based Korean language education, Korean language for child-rearing, and the advanced Korean language education for working or studying should be provided. The objective of education support for multicultural students is to make truly significant social integration with general students and thereby grow to global talented persons. Therefore, language education programs for multicultural students shall be performed together with education support for other subjects in the dimension of bilingual education, beyond the dimension of Korean education.

**Keywords:** female marriage immigrants, multicultural students, Korean language education, Korean language teaching for specific purpose, bilingual education, social integration.

---

## 1. Introduction

According to the statistical data of Korea Immigration Service, the number of foreigners residing in Korea reached 2,180,498 as of 2017, among whom the number of marriage immigrants with multicultural families was 155,457. The number of multicultural students including students born in Korea, immigrant children, and children in foreign families reached 122,212. To respond to the social and cultural environment change, the government has made efforts from various angles.

For marriage immigrants, it is important to secure communication skills in Korean from the basic communication level to the advanced level of Korean language. According to the survey conducted by Korean Institute for Healthy Family(2018), The Korean language learning objective of female marriage immigrants is more than their understanding and use of Korean language for survival. Their objective of Korean language learning is to enjoy everyday life and essential social life in Korea and furthermore to instruct their children to learn and work. In short, they hope to have Korean language skills in the same level of people who are born in Korea and speak Korean language as their mother tongue.

For the Korean language education for marriage immigrants, National Institute of Korean Language (2009) designed the Korean language curriculum for marriage immigrants and developed and distributed the customized Korean language textbooks 『Korean language 1-6 for marriage immigrants』. Since 2007, Korean Institute for Healthy Family has performed Korean language education for marriage immigrants mainly at multicultural family support centers across the nation.

It has been more than 10 years since the policy on Korean language education for them was performed. As the result of such efforts, marriage immigrants came to settle down as a member of the Korean society and live together with Korean people. They play their roles in their life and dream of better future. Over 100,000 multicultural students go to elementary and middle schools.

The Korean language education for marriage immigrants and multicultural students has been developed academically and significantly in the Korean language education area. It achieved good results more than other studies for learners. However, it is impossible to take an optimistic view that the present curriculum and education policy always bring about the current results. Now is the time to look back the outcomes of Korean language education for marriage immigrants and to find its future direction.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to propose the direction of the customized Korean language education for marriage immigrants on the assumption that the objective of marriage immigrants' Korean language learning is to learn Korean language enough to settle down in Korean society naturally and to play a role as a parent, work, study, and join other social activities. In addition, this study looks into the characteristics of language education support programs for multicultural students and proposes a desirable education support direction for improving their competency.

## 2. Current state and direction of Korean language education for marriage immigrants

As the Korean language education for marriage immigrants performed in the dimension of the government, there are the Korean language education program at Multicultural Family Support Centers of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and the Korean language education program as a social integration of the Ministry of Justice. The Korean language education program of Ministry of Gender Equality and Family is performed at 151 local health & family support centers and 217 local multicultural family support centers, where marriage immigrants and immigrant children learn Korean language. Although their textbooks and class contents are equal in the nation, programs can be opened somewhat differently if necessary. For instance, depending on centers, topic class is opened or writing class is added. A regular Korean language education program has four steps (step 1 to step 4), each of which has 100 hours of Korean language learning. Sometimes, Korean language education is provided in the form of home schooling service. In this case, the service is offered once a week for 10 months. To children, language (Korean language) development support program, bilingual family environment program, and child growth support program are offered.

The social integration program of the Ministry of Justice is aimed at helping domestic immigrants get adapted or independent as a member of the Korean society, and providing convenience in line with the direction of immigration policy according to which immigrants who complete a certain education curriculum approved by the minister of Justice can acquire nationality and residence permit. The program is comprised of Korean language and Korean culture education, and Korean society understanding from step 0 to step 5. Korean language and Korean culture education are provided in the basic steps from step 0 (15 hours) to step 4 (beginning level 1, beginning level 2, intermediate level 1, and intermediate level 2, 100 hours each). The education of Korean society understanding is provided in step 5, which consists of basic course (50 hours) for general evaluation of permanent residence and advanced course (20 hours) for general evaluation of naturalization.

---

These two programs were compared in terms of diverse aspects, such as educational purpose, curriculum, textbooks, education subjects and regions, accessibility, operation type, and possible association with other services. With respect to educational purpose, the Korean language education at multicultural family support centers is aimed at child rearing, conversation with family members, entrance into society, and other activities of daily living and social adaptation. Accordingly, parent-child participation program and the education program for optimizing female marriage immigrants are provided. Aside from that, in enhanced interaction with other programs opened at multicultural family support centers, marriage immigrants are able to get some help to settle down in Korean society. However, the purpose of the social integration program is to acquire permanent residence and nationality. Accordingly, it does not provide any program for children or the program essential after their acquisition of permanent residence or nationality. In addition, there is no advanced course of Korean language for jobs or going to school.

With respect to curriculum, both the Korean language education program at multicultural family support centers and the social integration program of the Ministry of Justice provide 100 hours of classes from step 1 to step 4 as a regular course. In this case, multicultural family support centers use 『Korean language for marriage immigrants』 1 to 4 published by National Institute of Korean Language as their main textbooks, and 『Korean language and Korean culture for immigrants』 beginning level 1 to 2 and intermediate level 1 to 2, if necessary. In the social integration program, 『Korean language and Korean culture for immigrants』 beginning level 1 to 2 and intermediate level 1 to 2 are used. Multicultural family support centers operate special advanced course and additionally the course for immigrant children. The special advanced course provides a variety of classes depending on local demands, and are as significant as a regular course in consideration of the number of opened classes and participants.<sup>1)</sup> Although the social integration has the step 0 class with 15 hours, such a class time is not enough. The step 5 class as advanced Korean language education is not sufficient.

Regarding education subjects, multicultural family support centers take into account the sex and age of their education subjects in order for differentiation and liberalization of education course. By giving an opportunity to create a community for female marriage immigrants with the same nationality on the basis of the empathy of international marriage, it is possible to practically help them get adapted to the Korean society. In addition, the centers perform the curriculum reflecting regional specialities (urban area and rural area). The social integration program targets foreigners only for education so that it is hard for class participants with various backgrounds to have empathy and face the

---

1) Special advanced course at multicultural family support centers

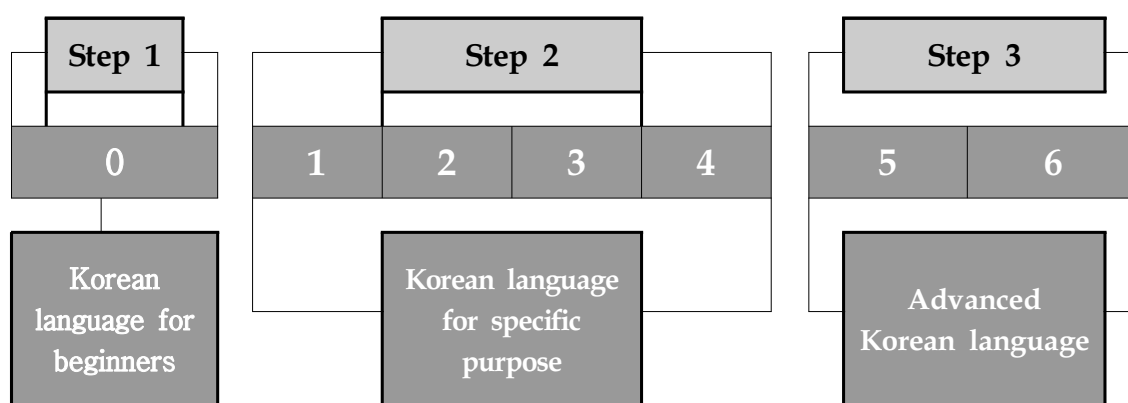
limitation to the creation of a community based on homogeneity. The single three-semester system based curriculum is applied without any consideration of specialties of education subjects and regions.

With respect to accessibility to education places, multicultural family support centers open classes at the easy-to-access places, such as Nonghyeop or community halls, with the help of local governments. In this aspect, the Korean language education program of multicultural family support centers is advantageous to class participants living in rural area. On contrary, the social integration program makes it hard for class participants in rural and remote areas to make access. In particular, class participants living in poor transportation system have to take long-distance travel.

Regarding operation type, the Korean language education program of multicultural family support centers is different from the social integration program of the Ministry of Justice. In the former case, multicultural family support centers under the direct support of local governments and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family directly operate the education program. Therefore, through the nationwide network of multicultural family support centers, it is possible to deliver a variety of information on living, education, jobs, and others quickly. In the latter case, the Korean language education program is not directly operated, but is operated on commission. Accordingly, of organizations operating the social integration program, some have poor professionalism of Korean language education. Another advantage of the Korean language education program at multicultural family support centers is that all education projects performed by multicultural family support centers, such as ‘bilingual support project for multicultural families’, ‘home schooling education project for multicultural families’, ‘Korean language education project of local governments’, ‘Korean language home schooling support project for preschool children in multicultural families’, and ‘Korean language education project for immigrant children’ can be available in one-stop service. Accordingly, marriage immigrants using multicultural family support centers are able to obtain all kinds of essential information that they need at their registered multicultural family support center. These multicultural family support centers are like ‘the homes of the parents’ of marriage immigrants poor at speaking Korean, where they can ask for any helps. The social integration program is independently operated so that it is hard for marriage immigrants to acquire all kinds of information that they want. They can receive the Korean language education only provided in the social integration program.

As the result of the inspection on multicultural society response policy by the Board of Audit and Inspection in Dec. 2017, the social integration program of ‘the Ministry of

Justice' will be integrated with the Korean language education program at multicultural family support centers of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family in 2020. As described earlier, only with the social integration program of the Ministry of Justice which consists of beginning and intermediate levels in Korean language education, it is difficult to meet various needs of marriage immigrants. Therefore, it is required to survey marriage immigrants' needs and thereby perform Korean language education for them.<sup>2)</sup> The diagram of stepwise Korean language education for marriage immigrants is illustrated as below:



<Fig. 1> Steps of Korean language education

Step 1 is Korean language learning for beginners, in which participants learn the basic Korean language including Korean alphabets. Step 2 is divided into grade 1 to grade 4. Marriage immigrants participate in the social integration program of the Ministry of Justice for general purpose of Korean language education, and at the same time take the customized Korean language education for special purpose. Step 3 is advanced Korean language learning, in which they have Korean language education not offered in the social integration program.

2) A questionnaire survey was conducted with 565 marriage immigrants in order to determine the direction for what needs to be focused on in designing a Korean language education program for marriage immigrants. The respondents were mainly in their 20s and 30s. Vietnamese accounted for 45%; Chinese 15%; Filipinos 12%; Cambodians 8%; Japanese 4%; some Nepalese, Thai, Mongolian, Indonesian, Uzbekistan, and Taiwanese. More than a half of them (55%) have lived in Korea more than five years; 71% more than 3 years; 82% more than 2 years. The result of the questionnaire survey will be suggested in summary at the time of thesis presentation.

### 3. Current state and direction of Korean language education for multicultural students

A total number of multicultural students in 2018 is 122,212. More specifically, the students born in Korea numbered 98,263; immigrant students 8,320; students in foreign families 15,629. Therefore, the Ministry of Education performs a variety of policies in order for multicultural students to grow as talented persons in Korean society. In particular, National Institute for Lifelong Education established National Center for Multicultural Education and has been performing policy research and policy project on multicultural education in the national dimension since May 2012. In terms of policies, the education support project for children in multicultural families is performed in the categories of multicultural students born in Korea, immigrant students, and students in foreign families. The summary is presented in the below table.

<Table 1> Education support for children in multicultural families

	Entrance	Adaptation	Development
<b>Children born in Korea</b>	·Language and basic learning at <b>multicultural kindergarten</b> (operation in 17 cities and provinces in 2017)	·University student mentoring support ·Basic learning support in association with basic education support project	·Career decision along with <b>roll model</b> · <b>Expansion of global bridge</b> to improve talents in language, mathematics, science, and other areas
<b>Immigrant children &amp; children in foreign families</b>	·Korean language (KSL) and Korean culture learning at preschool <b>Mother tongue based university student (from university of foreign studies) mentoring</b> (Seoul)	·Monitoring after entrance into general class	Career guidance in consideration of <b>multicultural students'</b> characteristics

As of 2018, 131 multicultural kindergartens are operated. In consideration of young children's development stages and multicultural factors, the language and basic learning support for multicultural young children is performed. In case of multicultural preschools, there are 195 schools and 221 classes in which immigrant students and students in foreign families learn Korean language and Korean culture intensively in order to access public education and get adapted to school life without problems.<sup>3)</sup> Multicultural education-oriented schools provide the multicultural education and language education using curriculum and extra-curriculum.

3) Aside from that, university student mentoring system is operated in order to support multicultural students' school life adaptation and basic learning. In interaction with learning clinic center, basic learning is supported. Multicultural research school is operated to develop a career education model in consideration of multicultural students' characteristics.

<Table 2> Educational contents of multicultural education-oriented schools

Area	Description
Multicultural education associated with curriculum	Education in association with multiculturalism in the curriculum of ethics, society and others
Multicultural education associated with extra-curriculum	Multicultural education with the use of resources in and out of school aside from curriculum (club activity, invitation of lecturer, experience activity, etc.)
Language education	Enhanced program of Korean language and basic learning; bilingual language education

An effort is made to establish the foundation for practical social integration of both multicultural students and general students by applying multicultural understanding education to not only multicultural students, but general students and providing customized support to multicultural students. In addition, multiple policies are performed to grow multicultural students to global talented persons. For example, global bridge project is performed to provide a special education program in four areas (mathematics & science, global leadership, language, and art, music & physical education) in order to actively develop the potential competency of multicultural students.<sup>4)</sup> In the national dimension, bilingual education is supported and bilingual speech contest is held.

Korean Institute for Healthy Family operates the multicultural family support portal ‘danuri’ and the online multicultural understanding education ‘danuri school’ for giving education support to immigrant students and children in foreign families. In addition, language development support project for multicultural students, multicultural family home schooling project, and multicultural student growth support project. In the ‘language development support project for multicultural students’, a language development degree of multicultural students aged less than 12 is evaluated, and thereby a proper language education is provided. In the project, parent consulting and education service is also offered, if necessary.

Aside from those, a variety of programs are performed in the private dimension. Cases in point are Rainbow School and LG Multicultural School Program. Rainbow School supports immigrant adolescents according to Juvenile Welfare Support Act and supports school transfer for regular curriculum and career guidance to help multicultural students to get adapted early to multicultural society.<sup>5)</sup> LG Multicultural School Program is jointly operated by LG and Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Center for

4) In 2018년, some universities including Jeju National University operate 20 global bridge projects in the nation.

5) As of 2017, a total of 23 organizations operate the program ‘Rainbow School for the Initial Adaptation Support for Immigrant Adolescents’ in the nation.



Multicultural Education. In the program, Korean language and second language education is offered to multicultural students in order for them to understand their parents' culture and grow to global talented persons. As of now, a two-year education program for Korean, Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, Vietnamese, and Indonesian languages is operated.

#### 4. Closing

Marriage immigrants hope to acquire Korean language in the similar level of those speaking Korean as their mother tongue, beyond basic communication skills, and live as Korean people. It is necessary to help multicultural students make full social integration with general students and to grow to global talented persons. To do that, it is required to provide a customized language education program to marriage immigrants and multicultural students.

---

## References

- Kong Na-hyung. (2014). A study on the Korea language education policy for female married immigrants living in small city through the grounded theory : focused on Gunsan-si. Master's Thesis, Yonsei University.
- National Institute of Korean Language. (2009). Korean Language Curriculum for Female Marriage Immigrants
- Kwon Sun-do. (2012). A Study on Support for Marriage Migrant Women in terms of policy tool approach. Master's Thesis, Chung-Ang University.
- Kim Seo-hyung. (2015). A Study on Teaching Culture for Marriage Emigrants in Korean Language Education -focus on studying the real condition of the researches, education and suggesting improvement-. *Chongnan Language & Literature*, 55, 151-175.
- Kim Seon-jung. (2007). Korean Language Education for Marriage Women Immigrants. *The Korean Society of Bilingualism*, 33, 423-446.
- Kim Se-jung. (2015). A Study on The Effects of Sociocultural Characteristic on Korean Proficiency of Marriage Immigrant Women. Master's Thesis, Pai Chai University .
- Kim Shin-hee. (2013). A Discourse Analysis of the Free Colloquial Discourse of the Female Marriage-Immigrants. Master's Thesis, Keimyung University.
- Park Gi-soon. (2017). A Study on Efficiency of the Visiting Korean Language Education Program: Focusing on Female Marriage Immigrants in Andong City Area. Master's Thesis, Andong National University.
- Yang Ye-jin. (2018). A Study on The Korean Education for Female Marriage Immigrants. Master's Thesis, Mokwon University.
- The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. (2013). A Study on an Improved Program for Supporting Initial Settlement of Marriage Immigrants.
- The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. (2016). Policy on Multicultural Family Children Support.
- Yoon Eun-joo. (2017). The Effect of Cultural Language Education based on Socio-cultural Need of Marriage Migrant Women -focused on Marriage Migrant Women from Asia-. *The Society for the Education of Korean Language and Culture*, 11(1), 69-118.
- Jeong Myeong-sook. (2010). Korean Language Education in Multicultural Context. *The Society for the Education of Korean Language and Culture*, 4(2), 131-152.
- Choi Joo-yeol. (2015). A Study on the management of Korean language curricula for the female immigrants of multicultural marriages. *Journal of the Society of Korean Language and Culture*, 12(1), 167-189.
- Korean Institute for Healthy Family. (2018). A Study on the Improvement of Korean Language Education Project.

# Session A-1

Chair: Jinhee Kim(Korea)

- **Vuong Xuan Tinh(Vietnam)**

*Research on transnational ethnic relations: World context and cases in Vietnam*

- **Nguyen Van Suu(Vietnam)**

*Local cadres, corruption and villagers' protests in a Red river Delta village, Vietnam*

- **Jihye Kim(UK)**

*Young Korean Argentines in the Argentine garment industry and their social integration*

- **Jeasik Cho(USA)**

*In search of globally compassionate multicultural/intercultural education: Critical lessons learned from Rev. Theodore Hesburgh's vision and social activism during the civil rights movement and afterwards*



## Research on transnational ethnic relations: World context and cases in Vietnam

*Vuong Xuan Tinh*  
Vietnam

### ABSTRACT

*Transnational ethnic relations (TER) are the relations between ethnic groups, living internally in one country and their coethnics or counterparts of other ethnic minorities, living abroad in other countries that share or do not share common borders. For a multi-ethnic country, TER play a very important role, affecting national socio-economic development and security, since being external relations with counterparts living abroad, but they have profound internal impacts on live of the country.*

*So far, there have been various TER researches conducted by scholars in all over the world. Concerning the studied concepts and theories, the most notable are: the concepts of fluid border, soft border, social space border, the theories of diaspora and neoliberalism. In accordance with these concepts and theories, the authors have carried out the application researches on transnational migration, marriage, religious belief, culture, politics, smuggling, crime.*

*In Vietnam, a country with 46 ethnic groups having coethnics inhabiting in various countries, under the influence of historical background, globalization and the Doi Moi (the Innovation policy of Vietnam), TER have been developing significantly, especially since 1986. This relationship has been expressed in numerous fields, such as politics, economy, society, culture and national security; in the majority Kinh and other ethnic minorities. This relationship relates to, not only 3 countries bordering Vietnam, such as China, Laos and Cambodia, but also to other countries: USA, Canada, France, Australia, Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia... that do not share common borders with Vietnam, as well.*

*TER researches in Vietnam reveal that, economic TER are the most exposed, via such as aspects: labor migration, trade, cross-border business, especially those activities*

---

*carried out in the areas along Vietnam-China, Vietnam-Laos and Vietnam-Cambodia borders. Concerning the social TER, transnational marriages have been increasing, since trend of getting married to coethnics is preferred, especially in ethnic minorities. On cultural relations, festival and religious activities have connected many ethnic minorities in Vietnam with their overseas coethnics and counterpart who are practicing the same religion. Meanwhile, TER have also resulted in some illegal activities, such as cross-border smuggling, drug or women trafficking.*

**Keywords:** Research, transnational ethnic relations, transborder ethnic relations, ethnic groups, border, world, Vietnam.

Transnational ethnic relations (TER) are the relationships between an ethnic group living in a country and their coethnics or counterparts from other ethnic groups residing in other countries that share or do not share common borders. For a multi-ethnic country, TER play a very important role, affecting the socio-economic development and security of that country, since these relationships relate to partners abroad, but profoundly influence people's livelihoods within inner country.

In Viet Nam, a country with 46 ethnic groups having counterparts in other countries, due to historical impacts, globalization, Doi Moi (innovation policy), TER have been developed well, especially since 1986 (the beginning of innovation). These relations are expressed in various fields, such as politics, economics, society, culture and security; they are developed in the Kinh (Viet) and in other ethnic minorities. The relationships link to people not only in three countries sharing common borders (China, Laos and Cambodia) but also to people in other countries, such as USA, Canada, France, Australia, South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia... that do not border Vietnam, as well.

Since TER play such an important role, this issue is interested seriously by scholars in the world, but in Vietnam, it has been researched intensively just in some recent years. This paper will present an overview of researches on TER undertaken in the world and Vietnam.

## 1. Research on TER in the world

To study this issue, it is necessary to put it in the background of transnationalism, examining the concepts of border and referring to the relevant researches. Due to limited document resources accessible, the overview mainly refers to studies in European region and the mainland of Southeastern Asia.

### 1.1. *The transnationalism*

According to the overview of Dunn (2005, pp. 15-31), transnationalism is used to describe and classify the activities of immigrants. It involves in sending goods, gifts, letters, phone calls and other immigrant benefits related to their original homeland; the activities concerning politics, network of health care and their emotional ties. Transnationalism is defined as the bindings and diversified contacts connecting people and cross-border institutions of the nations - states. With their cross-country operations, immigrants become transmigrants, they can present and reinforce the links with their original countries. Other author also proposed the concept of transnational society referring to the society where immigrants are living. Above all, transnationalism mentions

---

the deterritorialized world, the state/nation's power controlling population movement and other forms of circulation.

Still according to Dunn (2005, pp. 15-31), in transnationalism, the concepts of deterritorialized world and movement citizens increasingly play an important role, as can be seen in the analysis of cases of Chinese immigrants in USA, the work was carried out by Dunn and his associates (1999). In the study, there are discussions on the subjects of the cross-country problem, they are people involve in two or more nations. Today, many people have positive opinion on global issues, considering themselves as world citizens. From a wider viewpoint, transnationalism is considered in four main aspects: the specific activities, establishing relationships, new social context, and being subjective or perspective. Actually, the transnationalism is not a new phenomenon. So in researched context, regarding the activities or relationships, new types of connection or movement (such as using email to contact) should be prioritized.

Apparently, discussing transnationalism, the authors usually attach it to the migration. In this context, the concept transnationalism relates to multicultural society. For example, Castles (1993, p. 25) has emphasized that, migration is not just the physical movement from this society to the other one, but it is that, immigrants and their offsprings keep long-term political, economic, social and cultural relationships with their original society and their coethnics living in all over the world. The concept transnationalism also creates new demand of democracy, at the levels both below and above the state/nation's one. The self-assertion of local communities, the mechanism controlling democracy of the global economy forces and the transnational cooperation are supposed necessary, when democracy is the target the globalized world aims at. Hannerz (1989) also said that, in transnationalism, there are aspects of cross-country culture, such as cultural products, food or communications.

Portes and associates (1999) suggested that, transnationalism can be ranged into 3 types: economic, political and socio-cultural ones. The economic transnationalism mentions transnational cooperation activities, small trade and transferring funds across border. The political transnationalism denotes struggles with political institutions in original countries, with commitments of countries and NGOs influence. The remaining activities are listed for the socio - cultural transnationalism.

Ip and associates (1997) suggested 3 other types of transnationalism concerning the relationship, the experience and the law. Accordingly, the relationship transnationalism includes shifting of individuals between two or more countries, where they visit their



relatives, rest or do business and connect information. The experience transnationalism includes awareness of the characteristics or the belonging, the immigrants' conceptions on their old and new homelands, at both national and local levels. The law transnationalism refers to instrumental citizenship, for example, migrants' strategies in using their passports and citizenship.

Looking back, transnationalism may be comprehended based on the definition written in the encyclopedia, declaring that, this theory refers to diaspora (the common phenomenon of transnational migrant groups), cross-country crime and international terrorism network. Cross-country operations include not only commerce, but also drugs, prostitution and weapons trafficking, additionally. Transnationalism closely links to multi-identity and has profound influence on politics. The global cities impose challenges of the power and democratization influence upon the states, creating a new kind of citizenship - the transnational citizenship<sup>1</sup>).

To study transnational issue, Vertovec (1999) has proposed six main contents: 1. Global or transnational network; 2. Subjectivity, awareness and global viewpoint on global issues (for example, the global citizenship); 3. Heterogeneity type, global fashion and media (especially the sub-group of youth culture); 4. Economic integration; 5. Theory of political transnationalism (international migration organization, the political characteristics of transnational migration); 6. New points of migration, i.e. social transnational characteristics. These studies can be approached from different viewpoints. For example, anthropologically, regarding the case of Europe, Manos (2016, pp. 4-13) has stated, how the studied problems, such as characteristics, territory and state relate to each other in formation of themselves and group features; the viewpoint from below on the border built, how to negotiate and conceive; and the necessity of considering social relations beyond territorial limits, with commitments of individuals and cross-border political, economic, social, cultural groups.

### *1.2. Concepts and viewpoints on border*

Under transnationalism, concepts and viewpoints on border are diversified. Some main points can be generalized as follows:

#### ***The hard border, physical border and fixed border***

The above-mentioned concepts are within the range of political borders, showing the sovereignty of a country, serving mainly for administrative management. The "border

1) <http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/transnationalism>.

---

wall” that is still constructed in some national borders, such as in USA - Mexico, Israel - Palestine borders (Nail, 2013) is typical for this type.

### *The fluid border, soft border*

This border type is “loose” and easy to be transformed by relations and management in border areas. Fluid border, soft border do not coincide with national borders (hard border, physical border, fixed border), but are expanded or shrunken according to “national influential posture” (Thoi Huc Than, 1992; Schultermandl and Toplu, 2010; Maochun and Wen, 2014; Brouwer, 2015).

### *The borderscape*

This concept is applied mainly in Europe. It reflects the multi-dimensional nature of geopolitics and border relevance; has the nature of dispersal and deterritorialization; has process of being border and its next institution in the era of globalization and cross-border flow. In summary, this is not only political border, but also the cultural border, having in itself the dynamics and variation. The conception of border should be logical, historical and imagined in migration background. Therefore, Europe should be considered as an ambiguous space, reflecting the colonialism and post-colonialism experiences; and the ambiguity of Europe links it to neighbors in various ways. After disintegration of the Soviet Union, the border was regarded by different countries in Eastern Europe. Accordingly, some authors proposed two ways to approach border: dynamic approach and structural approach. With these approaches, four modes of border can be viewed: threats, obstacles, resources and protection.

In Europe, to manage boundary issues in new background, the project EUBORDERSCAPES (the border landscape of European Union) has been set up. This project aims at: 1. To reflect the important political, social and cultural changes; 2. To construct the indicators responding to the changes; 3. To learn the diversities of state borders via social terms - i.e. opportunities, aspirations, values, acknowledgment of the individuals. Accordingly, the border concept reveals not only meanings to different agents, powers, in accordance with international standards - including the EU, dynamic, multi-dimensional, complex concepts on border; not merely territorial boundary, but also political, social, cultural differences between “us” and “them”, as well. Thus, the conceptualization of border as a political, social structure is opened and changed (Van Houtum, Laine and Scott, 2016, pp. 135-152).

### ***The border is social space***

This concept is applied not only in Europe but also in Asia and some other areas. Border is considered as social space, because this is an expansion performed by community share. The social space is characterized by adaptation to external pressure, interaction with other agents; setting up of post-politics for regions and territories, and community relations in order to manage territorial conflicts of global capital (Scott, 2014). Being unlimited by political border, commercial activities are based on the cross-border cultural relationships, social relations, such as ones regarding their lineage, marriages, cross-border travelling, economic exchanges (Turner, 2010, pp. 265-267).

Faist (2016, pp. 1-36) also said that, the term transnational social space does not refer to only the state-to-state relations, it also includes NGOs relations. That is social ties, such as ties between individuals, groups, and religious belief, as well. That is also symbol ties: the people's participation for community spirits, collective memories, and expectations for the future, common interpretations. Language is typical for symbol ties. Social and symbol ties usually develop among people sharing the same language, circumstances and culture. The transnational social space is ranged at low level, that is networks (connecting traders, intellectuals, lawyers); and at high level, that is the institutions (such as groups of relatives, families, communities, religious and business organizations). For development of transnational social space, technology plays an important role. Culture, media and daily social life have influenced on this type of social space.

### ***The post-national border***

The concept of post-national border does not affirm state disappearance or territorial decline, it declares the appearance of new frontier, functions of new frontier, or new territorial management method based on traditional concepts of national territory. It is the promotion of new political functions in integration and state cross-border integration (Scott, 2014).

#### ***1.3. Some theories applied in studies on TER***

“Theory” is relatively different from “concept”, as in fact, some above- mentioned concepts are theoretical.

#### ***Diaspora (The theory on transnational migration group)***

Within the class of scholars studying international relations, term diaspora is very

---

popular, concerning the groups of people that originate from the same homeland, migrate and live in various areas in the world, and still keep close ties with their homeland. However, according to Faist (2010, pp. 9-34), it is necessary to realize that, concept/theory transnationalism is wider than diaspora, as diaspora emphasizes collective characteristic, while transnationalism emphasizes cross-country shifting, travelling. Diaspora is global in meaning, appeared long ago and emerged vigorously in few recent decades (Jews, Kurds, Chinese, Muslim groups in the Middle East live in Western Europe and Northern America). The author also said that, there are three aspects in diaspora: 1. Causes of migration (not only political, but commercial and working); 2. Relationship with their original homeland; 3. Integration of migrants in target countries (in old concepts, it was assimilation, i.e. the end of diaspora; in new concept: the creation of hybridization, or hybridization culture as in immigrant groups in Europe).

Discussing diaspora, Brettell (2007, pp. 26-89) supposed that, there is appearance of racial boundary, exactly cultural boundary of immigrants in their target country. For example, the African-Americans always set boundary of their own, and they are “crossing the national border” with other immigration groups, mostly with people practicing the same Islam religion.

### *Treatise Zomia*

This treatise embodied in James Scott’s work (2009) titled: “The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia”. Zomia is a metaphor region, corresponding to the highlands, originating from Eastern and Southeastern India, stretching partially in China, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos and reaching the Central Highlands of Vietnam. This land is inhabited by hundreds of millions of ethnic minorities, and from the earliest time, in this territory, the state never appeared. According to Scott, Zomia inhabitants have their own culture, live without border, under traditional anarchism and have fewer contacts with lower land. These traditions have affected their ethnic relations and development in the current context.

Treatise Zomia has imposed quite a great effect on studies, especially the studies by native Western authors. Under treatise Zomia, examining the Khmu in Northern Laos; Hmong, Thai, and Tay in Northern Vietnam; Hani, the Yi, the Dai (Tai Lue) and Hani (Akha) in Xishuangbanna belonging to Yun nan, China, Forsyth and Michaud (2011, pp. 1-27) suggested that, the minorities having TER tend to attach to commercial and cultural relationships rather than to follow the border strictness. The authors identify three problems concerning cross-country livelihoods of the minorities residing this area: 1. Their

livelihoods are under impacts created by external economic, political changes, and their own representative structure - i.e. the influence from culture and ethnic characteristics; 2. Minorities involving in TER are more related to commercial and cultural relationships than to thinking in a disciplined way within borders; 3. Peoples involving in dynamic relationships under the state's control or lacking citizenship, and share the political, economic, cultural characteristics.

However, exploring business activities in Vietnam - China border, denying Scott's arguments (2009), which supposed that, upland people were living in isolation, Turner (2010, pp. 265-287) proved that, relationships of the inhabitants living in upland with ones in lowland existed from the oldest times. Their trade can be interrupted for short time, but keep going on through the small roads, despite the state prohibitions. Being not restricted by political border, trade is based on cross-border cultural relationships, social relations, such as ones linked to their lineage and marriages, cross-border shifting and economic exchanges. So far, there have been changes concerning residents in Vietnam - China border. Debating with James Scott, the author supposes that, it would be nonsense if the study includes only ethnic border minorities, the majorities should be under studies, as well. On the other hand, Tunner also developed James Scott's idea: people will manage to avoid obstacles made by the state to find anyone who can meet their goods demand. Instead of being within the state-controlled scope, their trade shifting area is social space. They overcome controls of both the states by negotiating. They considered political border as bridge, or connective, interactive point rather than a barrier. However, regarding cross-border trade, smuggling conducted via relative ties still occurs, evading state administration. Therefore, James Scott's Zomia keeps being valuable.

### ***The neoliberalism***

The neoliberalism is comprehended and practiced by different meanings that sometimes overlap or contradict each other (Ferguson, 2009; Bie and partners, 2013). Ferguson (2009) and Truong Minh Huy Vu (2015) suggested that, there were three important contents related to neoliberalism: 1. The neoliberalism maximizes role of market, allows full market decision; 2. The neoliberalism constructs international institutions in economic development and other areas; and 3. The neoliberalism is "art of neoliberal government", i.e. it is essentially state administration, however, the administration in a new way. The research on TER is also approached from neoliberalism viewpoint.

The above-mentioned research can be seen through Mosuela's work (2013), that

---

reviews transnational citizenships in the research on transnational migration groups, under neoliberalism, that originate from their homeland in Manila (Philippines) and live in Roma (Italy). The author has explained that, the values, meanings and practices of transnational Philippines migrants are bound to their citizenships, that are shown in three arguments: 1. The transnational migration community relates to new citizenship and occupies new post in neoliberal management; 2. The neoliberal criteria concerning self-governance, social practices and citizenships promote cultural logics of transnationalism; or in other words, they are bilateral promotions between neoliberalism and transnationalism, leading to mobilization of civil rights elements, resulting in formation of market, governmental and cultural institutions under transnationalism; 3. How neoliberalism is influenced by cultural and historical elements and how cross-country migrant families impose challenges on their citizenship.

Research following that direction is also found in Holmes' work (2011, pp. 1-21), that studies alignment of global elite for environmental protection under neoliberalism. According to the author, global elite always occupy decisive post in world development. The alignment of the global elite in environmental protection, through NGOs, international organizations and other relationships, such as ones within coethnics, believers of the same religion evidences their connection to neoliberalism development.

#### *1.4. Challenges of TER and response of the states*

In TER studies, the authors have often raised challenges, or impacts influencing mainly to: 1. Nation - ethnic security; 2. Sovereignty of nation - ethnic; and 3. Loyalty of citizens to nation-ethnic.

The author also has discovered responding strategies of the countries to cope the challenges. Scott (2014) has explored perception strategy, since the nature of border is that, it must be opened and collaborative, however, the cooperation should be harmless. In Europe context, Brie (2013, pp. 2-10) has found the heightening of self-protection - not only in politics, economics, but also in society and cultural identity, as well. Maochun and Wen (2014, pp. 113-125) have detected way how to ignore, temporarily accepting any insufficient matters. For example, Chinese authorities have ill-treated some crossing-Vietnam-China-border marriages, these marriages were not registered due to lacking of cooperation between authorities of the two countries, and the errant cases were not reported to the authorities because of the threat of resentment.

## 2. Research on TER in Vietnam

In many research works by Vietnamese and foreign authors, concept TER and transborder ethnic relations are seen nearly the same. However, we suppose that TER has wider meaning, indicating the relationships of ethnic peoples with their coethnics or counterparts of other ethnic groups in other countries that share or do not share common borders [Vuong Xuan Tinh - Vu Dinh Muoi (Eds), 2016, tr. 11]. In order to know TER in Vietnam, first of all, we will mention relevant programs, projects and themes, essential research works in recent time; and on this basis, review contributions of the studies.

### 2.1. *The projects, themes and research works*

According to Vuong Xuan Tinh - Vu Dinh Muoi (Eds) (2016, tr. 19-45), in Vietnam, researching TER has not been considered satisfactorily. The evidence is that, there have been few monographs on this issue; and if any, they are primarily referring to cross-border relations within neighboring countries. Having looked through the majority of works, which are not monographs, the author reports that, in past many years, TER were just perceived as ethnic history [Be Viet Dang and associates, 1971; Nguyen Chi Huyen (Ed), 2000], cultural ties [Chu Thai Son, 1985; Vuong Xuan Tinh (Ed), 2014]; migration and labor (Pham Dang Hien, 2010; Bui Xuan Dinh, 2010), married and lineal relationships (Phan An and associates, 2005; Vuong Xuan Tinh, 2011). Within these studies, the works concerning ethnic relations around Vietnam - China border are majority. However, the stated overview by Vuong Xuan Tinh - Vu Dinh Muoi (Eds) (2016) has not yet presented the focal programs, research themes, which has been implemented or being carried out in recent years.

The focal program, research, themes on/related to TER has been mainly carried out at Institute of Anthropology, and developed in a number of state-level projects. At Institute of Anthropology, regarding ones at ministerial level of projects, from 2000 to 2015, there were 10 themes on border problems, such as ones on ethnic relations, Hmong people, ethno - religion, socio - economic, political system and staff policy, ethnic policy, and culture. Throughout development of Institute of Anthropology, i.e. from 1968 to present, border issues gained the highest interest in the above-mentioned period. However, merely in the period 2013 - 2014, when Institute of Anthropology carried out concurrently 3 projects at ministerial level in three regions related to Vietnam - China, Vietnam - Laos and Vietnam - Cambodia borders, TER researches in Vietnam became professional. The projects have been implemented at ministerial level, while the collaborations, such as in sharing frame analysis, surveys, questionnaires... were quite

---

close [Vuong Xuan Tinh - Vu Dinh Muoi (Eds), 2016; Tran Minh Hang, Nguyen Cong Thao (Eds), 2016; Ly Hanh Son - Tran Thi Mai Lan (Eds), 2017].

Beside studies undertaken at the Institute of Anthropology, in recent years, TER have also been examined in a number of state-level projects, doctoral and master's theses and in works of international cooperation. The studies explore the problems, such as cross-border ethnic relations in Northwestern border regions (Lam Ba Nam - Dau Tuan Nam, 2016); cross - border marriage in the mountainous provinces of Vietnam (Dang Thi Hoa - Nguyen Ha Dong, 2015; Tran Thi Minh Giang, 2016), cross-border migration for employment (Nguyen Van Chinh, 2013; Luong Thi Trang, 2017). Additionally, there have been other TER studies (Nguyen Van Thang, 2010 Phu Van Han, 2011).

## *2.2. Some research results*

In this section, we will overview research results of analysis on TER real situation, the impacts of those relationships on socio-economic development and security in Vietnam; the analysis and impact assessments have been carried out mainly in zones inhabited by ethnic minorities. TER are specific in each region, therefore, our works have been carried out in three main locations, that are Northern mountainous area, Central Highlands and Southern region; and on that basis, we will connect the problems Vietnam has been facing.

### *2.2.1. TER in Northern mountainous area.*

This zone borders China and Laos, and is inhabited by more than 30 ethnic minorities, most of that have migrated from China and Laos to Vietnam in different periods; simultaneously, there are also migration flows back to the original residence [Nguyen Chi Huyen (Ed), 2000].

Regarding to economic relations of ethnic inhabiting the Vietnam - Laos border area, commodities are traded in the markets and villages on both sides of the border. Private traders of ethnic minorities associate with the Kinh traders in business to collect agricultural and natural products for cross-country sales. Many households in Vietnam borrowed or rented land in Laos for cultivation, services or planting opium poppy. In Vietnam - China border region, Vietnamese often go to China to work, carry cargo across border, or lead hiring.

Socially, based on the influence of early migration, twinning customs, cross-border marriages and economic ties, familial, lineal, married relations, cross-country friendship



has been boosting. Cross-country marriages are the most remarkable: merely in Nung people, there are thousands of cross - border marriages between people on both sides of Vietnam - China border, unfortunately, most of the marriages are not registered. Uncontrolled migration through Vietnam - Laos border continues. The illegal crossing the Vietnam - Laos and Vietnam - China borders through livelihoods is very popular. Somewhere along border, unrighteous religious belief (Duong Van Minh religion) appears. Cross-country smuggling, drugs, women and kids trafficking supported by coethnics on the other side of border keep continuing.

Cross-country cultural relations are thriving in Vietnam - China, Vietnam - Laos borders in various ways: people participate in familial, lineal ceremonies and community festivals. Local ethnic peoples prefer native traditional cultural products manufactured by technology imported from China, Thailand and the USA, such as apparel, movies and music CDs.

TER of peoples in Northern mountainous area have somewhat had positive impacts on socio-economical development. These relationships contribute to create incomes, change production structure and develop opportunities for product consumption. Numerous families, mostly in the Tay, Nung, Hmong people, who are expanding their cross-country relations are conducting wealthier life; they even convert their economic structure significantly. People's social networks are also enriched. TER also create favorable conditions for people of the same and different ethnic groups on both sides of the border, so that they can expand the exchanges, push up their foreign language abilities, share traditional ethnic cultural values kept in each country.

Regarding negative effects, somewhere along China - Vietnam border, Vietnamese become dependent on their ethnic counterparts or enterprises on the other border side for crops, livestock, consumption markets, and hire incomes. Therefore, relying on precarious income gained via cross-country economic activities, they lost focus on internal forces, and they even were lured into smuggling, drug, women and children trafficking. TER also enable illegal migration flows, causing social unrests, especially difficulties in managing local demography and social relationships. The penetration of many foreign cultural products also endangers preservation of ethnic and national cultural identities in Vietnam [Ly Hanh Son - Tran Thi Mai Lan (Eds), 2017].

### *2.2.2. TER in Central Highlands*

Bordering Laos, Cambodia, the Central Highlands of Vietnam is inhabited by more than 50 ethnic groups, while 12 of that are indigenous peoples, most of the other are

---

ethnics having migrated from Northern mountainous area after 1975. After the American war and country unification, there were migrations of some indigenous peoples to the USA and other countries.

Regarding economic field, TER in Central Highlands have not yet developed: people mostly purchase, sale and exchange goods across border, get financial help or gifts from their expatriate relatives. The business links with their cross-country coethnics virtually have not seen.

In social and cultural fields, cross-country relationship networks of the Gia-rai, E-de, Mnong are more developed than in the other ethnics and tend to increase. The main causes resulting in this circumstance are integration policy, international economic cooperation; convenient transportation and communications between countries; activities of various political, social, cultural, educational, religious organizations formed and developed by counterpart ethnic groups in Cambodia and abroad.

Along Vietnam - Laos border, visiting expatriate relatives, getting married; practicing community rites are very popular. In border region between Vietnam and Cambodia, socio-political relations have raised. After the riot in the Central Highlands in 2001, part of indigenous people have implemented some illegal border crossing and were offered help by coethnics in Cambodia to seek refuge in this country.

The consolidation among believers of the same religion to build cross-country religious communities is also expanding, since ethnic relations enable an easy growth for religious community. This trend is clearly seen mostly in the Protestant community of indigenous peoples living in Central Highlands, such as the Gia-rai, Mnong, E-de, Co-ho. This consolidation is formed not only within the indigenous ethnic people, but also among uncontrolled Hmong migrants, among followers of the same region in Vietnam and overseas as well. The religion - politics relationship continues within mavericks related to FULRO force, “De Ga State”<sup>2)</sup> and overseas migrants counterparts.

Long-lasting relationships between indigenous peoples in Central Highlands and peoples in neighboring countries have contributed to socio-economic development of community and region. In TER economic aspects, capital provision, products consumption, food and foodstuff supports in difficulties have partially solved practical problems of many households. In social and cultural fields, the development of familial, lineal relations, transnational culture is valued as a driving force. On politics and security,

---

2) FULRO (Front Unifié pour la Libération des Races Opprimées) and “De Ga State” are organizations formed by mavericks of some indigenous peoples in Vietnam Central Highlands, the activities of which are against the state of Vietnam.

fruitful ties between peoples of Vietnam and Laos have enabled stability in border locations.

However, TER in Central Highlands also result in some political negative impacts. The operations of FULRO organization against state of Vietnam, the riots in Central Highlands in years 2001 and 2004 were supported by this relationship [Tran Minh Hang, Nguyen Cong Thao (Eds), 2016].

### 2.2.3. TER in Southern region

Southern region borders Cambodia, in this locality, beside the Kinh (Viet), live mainly 3 ethnic minorities: the Khmer, Hoa and Cham. After 1975, especially after the war in Vietnam-Cambodia border in 1978, there were large migration flows of the Khmer to Cambodia, and the Cham to many countries in Southeast Asia and other continents.

On TER, due to the historical conditions and development, these relationships in three ethnic Khmer, Hoa and Cham share their similarities and varieties.

In economic field, TER develop well within the Hoa, partially in the Cham, but limitedly in Khmer people. With the Hoa, before 1986, they mostly got help from their expatriate relatives; however, after 1986, business links with their overseas counterparts have been increasing. Before the world economic crisis, capital funded by overseas the Hoa was major contributions for the Hoa's economic development in Southern region. In Ho Chi Minh City, so far, the Hoa's enterprises join trading capital (primarily with their counterparts) in more than 40 countries around the world. In the region, the countries and territories involving significantly in economic relations with the Hoa are China, Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand, and Cambodia. Today, due to world economic recession, many the Hoa in Vietnam provided supports to their overseas relatives. Within the Cham, economic relations with their cross-country partners are expressed mostly by small enterprises' operations in some countries, such as Cambodia, Malaysia, and the USA. In the Khmer, this relationship is mostly carried out with their counterparts in Cambodia, via hiring, natural resource exploitation and small enterprises.

Cross-country social relations here are expressed mainly by familial, lineal, married, educational relations and connections with some social organizations. The majority of the Khmer, Cham families in border areas, and the Hoa families in Ho Chi Minh City have relatives in countries of Asia, Europe, and USA. Familial or lineal relationships are usually expressed by visiting relatives, supporting each other. Transnational married relations are also increasingly developed in all three ethnic groups. In group the Hoa Hai

---

Ninh (a local group of the Hoa), around 60% women get married to Taiwanese. On education, more and more students of ethnic groups Hoa and Cham migrate for overseas studies. The Cham in An Giang often offer studies in Malaysia, Indonesia to their children; Hoa students in Ho Chi Minh City travel to study in China, Singapore, USA, Canada, and UK... Cross-country social organizations people involve in are often related to their lineage or religious believes. The protests or violence carried out by the Khmer in Southern region, especially in Vietnam - Cambodia border were encouraged sufficiently by the supportive participation of anti-Vietnam extremists groups organized by the coethnics in Cambodia and some other countries. Transnational smuggling, particularly in Vietnam - Cambodia border is still serious. Some bad cases were noticed: goods owner abused the Khmer's TER to transfer tax-dodged goods, provoking social unrest in border zone.

On cultural ties, all three ethnics heighten the importance of traditional cultural values exchange, concerning the dress, music and language. Traditional religious believes, such as Southern Buddhism practiced by the Khmer, Muslim followed by the Cham and temple worship believed by the Hoa... have consolidated TER. Therefore, many the Khmer's churches, the Chăm's mosques and the Hoa's temples have been constructed and assisted materially and financially by overseas organizations and individuals.

TER have profound impacts on economic structure, especially ones among the Hoa and the Cham. In the period of 1975-1986, the Hoa's economic structure in urban areas primarily included services and handicraft, currently, they also develop commerce and industrial production. In Cham people, in the past, economic structure includes mainly natural exploitation (fishing) and handicraft, however, the Hoa have presently shifted to trade, handicraft and services. Thanks to those changes, incomes of households and individuals also increase. The Hoa's business class has released many billionaires. Besides imposing impacts on the economic life, TER also enrich and diversify their social life, contributing to share and exchange ethnic cultural values.

Concerning the negative effects, TER in general and TER in Vietnam - Cambodia border in particular make it difficult to control smuggling. This relationship also has influenced on some conflicts in border regions [Vuong Xuan Tinh - Vu Dinh Muoi (Eds), 2016].

## Conclusion

There have been various studies on TER implemented by scholars in the world. The notable concepts and theories are: Fluid border, soft border, social space, diaspora and neoliberalism. Based on these concepts and theories, the author has carried out application researches on transnational migration, marriage, religious beliefs, culture, politics, smuggling and crime.

Under context of ethnic history, the impacts of political, socio - economic conditions and globalization, the studies on TER in Vietnam affirm that, these relationships are developing well, not only within their coethnics or people of other ethnic groups living in the countries sharing common border, but also in countries in other continents, affecting more and more deeply ethnic groups' livelihoods, especially the lives of peoples living in border regions. Learning TER situations in three regions: Northern mountainous area, Central Highlands and Southern region, we comprehend that, while cross-country economic relations grow just within some ethnic groups inhabiting border areas or amongst peoples having business traditions, social and cultural relations are popular in all the studied ethnic groups.

The main positive point TER present is that, based on close social relations, diversity of cultural ties, the economic relations have contributed to increase household incomes, change economic structure, attract foreign investment, thereby, make contributions to GDP growth and socio-economic development of the country.

On the other hand, TER in three regions result in some negative factors, affecting economy, social stability and national security. The resultative situations are: many ethnic households are economically dependent on their overseas coethnics or enterprises abroad; the cross-country migration, marriage, smuggling, drug trafficking and trafficking in women, children are difficult to be controlled. TER also have impacted greatly on ethnic politics, especially on the politics lives of peoples inhabiting Central Highlands and Southwestern regions.

---

## References

### *Vietnamese*

- Phan An va cong su (2005), *Hien tuong phu nu Viet Nam lay chong Dai Loan*, Nxb. Tre, Tp. Ho Chi Minh [The Phenomenon on Vietnamese Women Married Taiwan'men].
- Be Viet Dang va cong su (1971), *Nguoi Dao o Viet Nam*, Nxb. Khoa hoc xa hoi, Ha Noi [The Dao Ethnic Group in Vietnam].
- Bui Xuan Dinh (2010), “Mot so van de ve quan he dan toc lien bien gioi o vung Dong Bac hien nay” trong *Quan he toc nguoi va phat trien xa hoi o Viet Nam hien nay*, Vien Nghien cuu phat trien Tp. Ho Chi Minh, Nxb. Tong hop Tp. Ho Chi Minh [Issues on Transborder Ethnic Relations in Northeastern Region Recently].
- Tran Thi Minh Giang (2016), *Hon nhan xuyen bien gioi cua toc nguoi Hmong tai xa Nam Can, huyen Ky Son, tinh Nghe An*, Luan van Thac si dan toc hoc, Hoc vien Khoa hoc xa hoi, Ha Noi [Transborder Marriages of the Hmong Ethnic Group in Nam Can Commune, Ky Son District, Nghe An Province].
- Tran Minh Hang - Nguyen Cong Thao (2016), *Quan he dan toc xuyen quoc gia o Viet Nam: Nghien cuu tai vung Tay Nguyen*, Nxb. Khoa hoc xa hoi, Ha Noi [Transnational Ethnic Relations in Vietnam: Research on Central Highlands].
- Phu Van Han (2011), “Quan he toc nguoi xuyen bien gioi cua nguoi Cham o Nam Bo voi khu vuc”, trong Vien Nghien cuu phat trien Tp. Ho Chi Minh, *Quan he toc nguoi va phat trien xa hoi o Viet Nam hien nay*, Nxb. Tong hop Tp. Ho Chi Minh [Transborder Ethnic Relations of the Cham Ethnic Group and Social Development in Vietnam Recently].
- Pham Dang Hien (2010), *Nguoi Lo Lo trong moi truong kinh te - xa hoi vung bien gioi Viet - Trung*, Bao cao Nhiem vu cap bo, Thu vien Vien Dan toc hoc [The Lo Lo Ethnic Group in the Context of Social - Economics Issues of Vietnam - China Border Region].
- Dang Thi Hoa - Nguyen Ha Dong (2015), “Hon nhan xuyen bien gioi o cac tinh mien nui Viet Nam hien nay”, Tap chi *Khoa hoc xa hoi Viet Nam*, so 8(93), tr. 49-57 [Transborder Marriages in Mountainous Provinces in Vietnam Recently].
- Nguyen Chi Huyen (Chu bien) (2000), *Nguon goc lich su toc nguoi vung bien gioi phia Bac Viet Nam*, Nxb. Van hoa dan toc, Ha Noi [Ethnic Historical Origin in the Northern Border Region in Vietnam].
- Lam Ba Nam - Dau Tuan Nam (2016), “Quan he toc nguoi xuyen bien gioi Viet -

- Trung va su phat trien ben vung vung Tay Bac”, Tap chi *Ly luan chinh tri*, so 9 [Transborder Ethnic Relations in Vietnam - China Border Region and Sustainable Development of the Northwest Area in Vietnam].
- Chu Thai Son (1985), “Tang cuong yeu to van hoa quoc gia o cac tinh vung cao bien gioi phia Bac”, Tap chi *Dan toc hoc*, so 1 [Enhancing National Culture in the Northern Highland Region in Vietnam].
- Ly Hanh Son - Tran Thi Mai Lan (2017), *Quan he dan toc xuyen quoc gia ở Viet Nam: Nghien cuu tai vung mien nui phia Bac*, Nxb. Khoa hoc xa hoi, Ha Noi [Transnational Ethnic Relations in Vietnam: Research on the Northern Mountainous Region].
- Thoi Huc Than (1992), *Cuoc dau tranh ganh giat "bien gioi mem"*, Vien Nghien cuu chu nghia Mac - Le-nin va tu tuong Ho Chi Minh, Ha Noi [The Fighting Scramble for the Soft Borders].
- Nguyen Van Thang (2010), “Ban sac cua nguoi Kho-me o khu vuc bien gioi tinh Kien Giang”, *Tap chi Dan toc hoc*, so 2, tr. 52-58 [The Identity of the Khmer Ethnic Group in the Border Region in Kien Giang Province].
- Ngo Duc Thinh - Nguyen Van Huy (1986), “Van hoa toc nguoi va van hoa Viet Nam”, Tap chi *Dan toc hoc*, so 4 [Ethnic Culture and Vietnam Culture].
- Vuong Xuan Tinh (2011), *Mot so van de co ban ve dan toc duoi tac dong cua su phat trien vung bien gioi Viet-Trung (Nghien cuu nguoi Ha Nhi o mot lang cua tinh Lao Cai va mot lang thuoc chau Hong Ha, tinh Van Nam, Trung Quoc*, Bao cao Nhiem vu cap bo, Thu vien Vien Dan toc hoc [The Ethnic Issues Impacted by the Development in the Vietnam - China Border Region].
- Vuong Xuan Tinh (Chu bien) (2014), *Van hoa voi phat trien ben vung o vung bien gioi Viet Nam*, Nxb. Khoa hoc xa hoi, Ha Noi [Culture and Sustainable Development in the Border Region in Vietnam].
- Vuong Xuan Tinh (2016), *Quan he toc nguoi voi cong dong dan toc - quoc gia o Viet Nam trong boi canh phat trien kinh te thi truong va hoi nhap quoc te*, Bao cao tong hop de tai cap bo, Thu vien Vien Dan toc hoc [Relationship between Ethnic Groups and Nation - State in Vietnam in the Context of Market Economy Development and International Integration].
- Vuong Xuan Tinh - Vu Dinh Muoi (Dong chu bien) (2016), *Quan he dan toc xuyen quoc gia o Viet Nam: Nghien cuu tai vung Nam Bo*, Nxb. Khoa hoc xa hoi, Ha Noi [Transnational Ethnic Relations in Vietnam: Research on the Southern Region].
- Luong Thi Trang (2017), *Di cu lao dong xuyen bien gioi cua nguoi Ngai o Luc Ngan, Bac Giang*, Luan van Thac si nhan hoc, Dai hoc Khoa hoc xa hoi va nhan

---

van, Dai hoc Quoc gia Ha Noi [Transborder Labor Migration of the Ngai Ethnic Group in Luc Ngan District, Bac Giang Province].

Truong Minh Huy Vu (2015), “Chu nghia tan tu do”, *Nghien cuu quoc te*, [http://nghienquoccte.org/2015/03/16/chu-nghia-tan-tu-do/\[Neo-Liberalism\]](http://nghienquoccte.org/2015/03/16/chu-nghia-tan-tu-do/[Neo-Liberalism]).

### **English**

Bie, Qianlong, Shangyi Zhou, Cansong Li (2013), “The Impact of Border Policy Effect on Cross-Border Ethnic Areas”, in Workshop on *Borderlands Modeling and Understanding for Global Sustainability*, 5 - 6 December 2013, Beijing, China.

Brouwer, Emma (2015), *Transnationalism in Theory and Fiction: Fluid Identity and Magical Realism in Contemporary Migrant Fiction from the US*, Master Thesis, Utrecht University.

Brettell, Caroline B (2007), “Race, Ethnicity, and the Construction of Immigrant Identities”, in Brettell, Caroline B (Eds) (2007), *Constructing Borders/Crossing Boundaries: Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration*, Lexington Books, pp. 26-89.

Castles, Stephen & Miller, Mark J. (1993), *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, London, The MacMillan Press.

Chinh, Nguyen Van (2013), “Recent Chinese Migration to Vietnam”, *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol. 22, No.1, pp. 7-30.

Dunn, Kevin M. (2005), “A Paradigm of Transnationalism for Migration Studies”, *New Zealand Population Review*, 31(2), pp. 15-31.

Faist, Thomas (2010), “Diaspora and Transnationalism: What Kind of Dance Partners?”, in Bauböck, Rainer and Thomas Faist (Eds) (2010), *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, Amsterdam University Press. pp. 9-34.

Faist, Thomas (2016) “The Border Crossing Expansion of Social Space: Concepts, Questions and Topics”, in Faist, Thomas and Eyüp Özveren (2016), *Transnational Social Spaces: Agents, Networks and Institutions*, Routledge, pp. 1-36.

Ferguson, James (2009), “The Uses of Neoliberalism”, *Antipode*, Vol. 41, pp 166-184.

Forsyth, Tim and Jean Michaud (2011), “Rethinking the Relationships between Livelihoods and Ethnicity in Highland China, Vietnam, and Laos”, in Michaud, Jean and Tim Forsyth (Eds) (2011), *Moving Mountains Ethnicity and Livelihoods in Highland China, Vietnam, and Laos*, UBC Press, pp. 1-27.

Hannerz, Ulf (1989), *Scenarios for peripheral cultures*, Paper presented at the symposium on Culture, Globalization and the World System, University of Stockholm, Sweden.

Holmes, G (2011), “Conservation’s Friends in High Places: Neoliberalism, Networks, and Transnational Conservation Elite”, *Global Environmental Politics*, 11 (4), pp. 1-21.



- Ip, D., Inglis, C. and Wu, C.T. (1997), "Concepts of Citizenship and Identity Among Recent Asian Immigrants in Australia", *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, No. 6 (3/4), pp. 363-384.
- Manos, Ioannis (2016), "Understanding Borders And Bordering Processes: The Ethnographic Study Of International Frontiers", in Nitsiakos, Vassilis and Others (Eds) (2016), *Ethnographic Research in Border Areas Contributions to the Study of International Frontiers in Southeast Europe*, The Border Crossings Network.
- Maochun, Liang and Chen Wen (2014), "Transnational Undocumented Marriages in the Sino-Vietnamese Border Areas of China", *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol.23, No.1, pp. 113-125.
- Mosuela, Cleovi C (2013), *The Duel Impetus of Neoliberalism and Transnationalism: Philippines Citizenship in Contemporary Governance*, MA Dissertation, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary.
- Nail, Thomas (2013), "The Crossroads of Power: Michel Foucault and the US/Mexico Border Wall", *Foucault Studies*, No. 15, pp. 110-128.
- Ong, A. and Nonini, D.M. (Eds.) (1997), *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*, New York, London, Routledge.
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E. and Landolt, P. (1999), "The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, No. 22, pp. 217-237.
- Schultermandl, Silvia, and Sebnem Toplu (2010), *A Fluid Sense of Self: The Politics of Transnational Identity*, Wien: Lit Verlag, Print.
- Scott, C. James (2009), *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scott, James W (2014), *Bordering, Border politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe*, Euborderscapes, Working Paper 7.
- Turner, Sarah (2010), "Borderlands and Border Narratives: A Longitudinal Study of Challenges and Opportunities for Local Traders Shaped by the Sino-Vietnamese Border", *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 5, pp. 265-287.
- Van Houtum, Henk, Jussi Laine and James Scott (2016), "Euborderscapes - Potentials and Challenges of Evolving Border Concepts", in Dr. hab. James Scott (Ed), *Cross - Border Review*, Year Book, 2016.
- Vertovec, S. (1999), "Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, No. 22, pp. 447-462.
- <http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/transnationalism>

---

# Local cadres, corruption and villagers' protests in a Red river Delta village, Vietnam

*Nguyen Van Suu*

*VNU Hanoi University of Social Sciences and Humanities*

## ABSTRACT

In Vietnam, corruption is a problem that can be recognized in both feudal and colonial history. Under the Socialist State, corruption continues to be found in various forms, and involves different types of people in the state and society. Since *Đổi Mới*, corruption has increased, to the extent that it is seen as a national disaster, an internal enemy threatening the survival of the Socialist regime, and resulted in the people's discontent as well as the party-state's campaigns to curb corruption. Putting in such a context, this paper shows how local cadre corruption has become closely related to the communal resources, especially the land, and became one of the key causes for local conflicts in the rural areas. I argue that while villagers accept minor amounts of corruption, they do not tolerate too much corruption. Villagers' protests became more severe when corruption took place alongside local cadres' moral misbehaviours to the villagers, and therefore being used to judge the morality of local cadres. An in-depth case study in the Red river delta is presented to illuminate the argument.

**Keywords:** Local cadres, local corruption, resistance, Red river delta villagers, Vietnam.

## 1. Introduction

In Vietnam, corruption is a problem that can be recognized in both feudal and colonial history. Under the Socialist State, corruption continues to be found in various forms, and involves different types of people in the state and society. Since *Đổi Mới*, corruption has increased,<sup>1)</sup> to the extent that it is seen as a national disaster, an internal enemy, which has been considered a huge danger threatening the survival of the regime, and resulted in the people's discontent, as well as the party-state's campaigns to curb corruption.<sup>2)</sup>

Putting in as a context, my paper shows how local cadre corruption has become closely related to the communal resources, especially the land, and became one of the key causes for local conflicts in the rural areas. I argue that while villagers accept minor amounts of corruption, they do not tolerate too much corruption. Villagers' protests became more severe when corruption took place alongside local cadres' moral misbehaviours to the villagers, and therefore being used to judge the morality of local cadres. I present an in-depth case study to illuminate the argument. In the following sections, I discuss the concept of corruption in the context of Vietnam, and examine a case study to see various forms of local cadre corruption for private gain, and consequently the villagers' protests, to see villagers' attitudes towards local cadre corruption in a Red river delta village.

## 2. Conceptualizing corruption: perspectives from the state and society

Corruption exists at different extent in all society. The key is to analyse corruption within the political and cultural context of the studied society.<sup>3)</sup> In Vietnam, the term “*tham nhũng*” is a translation of “corruption” in English language. But what is perceived as corruption from the perspectives of the state and society? In the view of the state, according to an official definition by the state, “Corruption is the behavior of the persons who hold power, position and abuse that power, position for private gain”.<sup>4)</sup> More specifically, the state's law has generalized corrupt acts into 12 major forms that focus on the state sector.<sup>5)</sup> Of those who work in the state, similar to China,<sup>6)</sup> greater emphasis

1) Ngo T. Phuong 2017

2) Kerkvliet 1995b and c, 1997, and 2001

3) Levy 1995: 2

4) Luật Phòng, Chống Tham nhũng (Law on Prevention and Anti-corruption), 2005.

5) Luật Phòng, Chống Tham nhũng, 2005. A new draft law on corruption completed in 2018, however it has to be delayed to be passed by the National Assembly due to several key issues, especially three questions: Should the law cover corruption in

---

has been put on the persons who hold power and position (người có chức vụ, quyền hạn), i.e. officers and cadres<sup>7)</sup>, and might also indicate all persons being given a power, position in the state.<sup>8)</sup>

From the perspective of the society, people used the same general term *tham nhũng* as the state to indicate corruption. However, they referred to corruption as a variety of more specific acts; consequently they used numerous terms to express such acts of corruption in everyday life. In the rural areas, many villagers narrowly related corruption to graft, extortion, embezzlement, speculation and profiteering. Expressing those forms of corruption, they used various words like *chiếm đoạt* (to usurp), *lấy của công* (to take public property), *biến thủ* (to embezzle), *đưa hối lộ* (to offer a bribe) or *ăn hối lộ* (to eat/take a bribe), *đút lót* (to bribe), *lợi dụng* (to take advantage of), *ăn* (eat) and *chạy* (containing various meanings, as discussed below), etc.

Of those terms used by the villagers, several are neither new to Vietnamese society as they can be found in feudal history, nor are they peculiar to the Vietnamese, but have also been recognized in other societies. Offering or taking bribes for example, is a clear act of corruption perceived in many societies. However, Vietnamese people have often used *chạy* and *ăn* to indicate these two and these need to be further explained in the context of Vietnamese culture as they convey various meanings.

The term that has become a common expression of corrupt acts in Vietnam today is *chạy*, literally meaning to run. *Chạy* in the corrupt sense is to use money and personal connections, or other means, to make arrangements in return for payment to make private gain for someone who is not legally and morally eligible to enjoy something. For example, *chạy điểm* is the act of giving money, or other inducements, to ensure that teachers, lecturers or other staff members give higher marks to a student or pupil; *chạy trường* is the payment to a school, officials or teachers in order to illegally move from one school to another, or to enrol in a good school; *chạy dự án* or *chạy đề tài* is the use of connections, resources and lobbies to get a project approved, or to be funded; *chạy chức* is to pay for promotion, or to gain a position that one has not legally merited;<sup>9)</sup> *chạy án* is to pay for less heavy or no punishment in the court for a crime that could

---

non-state sectors? How to resolve property that has no clear origin? Who control property, income of the state officers? See details at: <https://vov.vn/chinh-tri/quoc-hoi/3-diem-moi-cua-luat-phong-chong-tham-nhung-lam-nong-nghi-truong-772910.vov>.

6) Levy 1995: 4

7) As being defined in Decree number 64 of the government in 1998

8) See: [http://duthaoonline.quochoi.vn/DuThao/Lists/DT\\_DUTHAO\\_LUAT/View\\_Detail.aspx?ItemID=1241&TabIndex=1&LanID=1410](http://duthaoonline.quochoi.vn/DuThao/Lists/DT_DUTHAO_LUAT/View_Detail.aspx?ItemID=1241&TabIndex=1&LanID=1410)

9) This particular act of corruption is nothing new. As in China (for an overview of the Chinese case, see Lu 2000: 199–200), in traditional Vietnam a few rich villagers and landlords were able to buy official positions and titles from the local authorities to become mandarins, or those who did not have to pay head tax to the state. During the period of collectivization, this practice disappeared and only re-emerged in different forms after *Đổi Mới*.

normally be more severely punished, or even to get out of prison when the sentence was guilty;<sup>10)</sup> and so forth.

Another one is ăn, literally means eat. Eating, or ăn, can convey both positive and negative meanings. In the conventional sense, ăn is to eat food in everyday life. In a positive sense, ăn được (to eat well) is the ability of one person to work and speak well. In contrast, the negative meaning of ăn is to corrupt, like eat bribery (ăn hối lộ), eat of the people (ăn của dân), or eat of the state (ăn của nhà nước) or collective (ăn của công). Such perceptions of the negative meaning of ăn are also commonly found in various parts of the state and society. In a study about “speaking pictures” on government corruption and political thought, Phạm Thu Thủy presented vivid satirical cartoons, which were originally published in Báo Lao Động and Báo Sài Gòn Giải Phóng in 1997 and 1998, showing worms and rats, i.e. corrupt cadres and officials, eating public funds and state property.<sup>11)</sup>

Perceptions of corruption of the state and the people show a common view that corruption is the abuse of power and position for private gain. This shared view supports a consensus in the literature on corruption which centres on public office and/or interest versus private interest<sup>12)</sup> - corruption is perceived as acts which abuse public office and/or public interest for private gain.<sup>13)</sup> Public interest can be understood as the interest of a community, institution, or of the state as a whole. Similarly, the concept of private gain is not simply seen as the interest of one person; rather it can also be the interest of a group (lợi ích nhóm) of people, work units, departments, regions,<sup>14)</sup> or locality, which has become popular in Vietnam recently. In most cases, corruption was collectively committed by a group of local cadres, therefore, it is called collective corruption, which is a major feature of local cadre corruption practices in Vietnam since Đổi Mới, as well as in China.<sup>15)</sup>

A modest number of studies have analyzed corrupt practices and state’s anti-corruption campaigns in Vietnam. Kerkvliet examined corruption during and after the agricultural collectivization and how it generated the people’s discontent, as well as contributed to the party-state’s campaigns to curb corruption.<sup>16)</sup> Martin Gainsborough used

10) The prosecuted case of Nam Căn, in which Trần Mai Hạnh and other officials were involved, is a good example of this. Trần Mai Hạnh, the Head of Vietnam Radio, used his official positions to get Nam Căn out of prison in 1997.

11) Phạm Thu Thủy 2003: 102–103

12) Gillespie and Okruhlik 1991: 77; Goudie and Stasavage 1998: 115–116; Lu 2000: 8–9

13) It should be emphasized that viewing corruption in this way cannot be broadly applied to examine all forms of corruption in cross-culture studies. Some acts that abuse public office and/or interest for private gain might be seen as corrupt in one society while not in others. However, it perfectly reflects the perceptions and attitudes of the state and villagers towards corruption in my case study.

14) He 2000: 244

15) Ma 1989; Gong 1997; and He 2000

---

large corruption cases in the 1990s<sup>17)</sup> to argue that the central state made great efforts to detect and prosecute corruption cases in an attempt to threaten and discipline the lower cadres and officials in the context of increased decentralization. His study also illuminated a key term involving corruption in decision-making”: ô dù (umbrella) - “the idea of the umbrella whereby lower level institutions or individuals receive backing or protection from those higher up the political chain”.<sup>18)</sup> A few studies have briefly reviewed the current picture of corruption in the country,<sup>19)</sup> while others have shown prevalent corrupt practices in more specific fields, including health<sup>20)</sup> due to both structural and individual reasons,<sup>21)</sup> link between corruption and grassroots democracy,<sup>22)</sup> corruption and its effect on the growth of private sector,<sup>23)</sup> foreign direct investment and corruption,<sup>24)</sup> etc.

However, the existing research literature shows a serious lack of rich ethnographic informed research to understand how villagers perceived, why they reacted, and what they used to judge corrupt practices by local cadres in village communities since Đổi Mới. Drawing from a long-term fieldwork in the village under study, with an intensive use of participation observation, in-depth interviews and local archival materials, my case study helps to enlighten this in a certain context of time.

## 1. A case study of local cadre corruption and villagers’ protests in the Red River Delta

### *The village*

*As one of three villages that make up a commune,<sup>25)</sup> Phú Dương village is now 20 kilometres from Hà Nội downtown. The commune authorities reported in 2001 that the village contained 655 households and 2,343 inhabitants.<sup>26)</sup> By the time of my fieldwork*

---

16) Kerkvliet 1995b and c, 1997, and 2001

17) The mass media recently reports numerous large cases of corruption committed by the state officials in the past ten years that the party–state has executed.

18) Martin Gainsborough 2003: 73.

19) Ngo T. Phuong 2017

20) Vian T, Brinkerhoff DW, Freeley FG, Salomon M, Nguyen TKV. Confronting corruption in the health sector in Vietnam: patterns and prospects. *Public Adm Dev.* 2012; 32:49–63; Brinkerhoff Derick 2011. “Confronting corruption in the health sector in Vietnam: patterns and prospects”. *Health and Development Discussion Papers*, Boston University Center for Global Health and Development.

21) Tuan A. Nguyen, Rosemary Kight, Andrea Mant, Husna Razee, Geoffrey Brooks, Thu H. Dang and Elizabeth E. Roughead 2018. “Corruption practices in drug prescribing in Vietnam – an analysis based on qualitative interviews”. *BMC Health Services Research*, 18: 587, pp. 1–21.

22) Nguyen Hong Hai 2016

23) Thuy Thu Nguyen

24) Gueorguiev, Dimitar, Edmund Malesky 2012

25) For confidential reasons the name of this commune is not used. Accordingly, all documents that show confidential information on these studied village and commune are not fully displayed.

26) Which comprised 551 agricultural households, eight small handicraft and industrial households, three builder–households, six

*in the village, agricultural production remained essential for many Phú Dương villagers, but agricultural land use rights<sup>27)</sup> per capita in the village was just 584 square metres.<sup>28)</sup> Since an electrical accident on the 3rd June 1998 stole the life of one female villager, many Phú Dương villagers have been involved in public resistance against a number of key commune cadres,<sup>29)</sup> initially because of these commune cadres' immoral and unjust treatment of the victim's corpse and her family. However, the protesting villagers' target soon shifted to claims regarding village communal land, local cadre corruption and misbehavior. Under the great pressure of such public resistance, which occurred in the form of petitions, acts of denunciation in numerous offices of the state, circulation of leaflets, and delay of payment of agricultural land taxes as well as other fees in the village, the provincial authorities had to inspect corruption practices by local cadres protested collectively by Phú Dương villagers.*

### ***Local cadres' major forms of corruption***

In their protests against a number of commune cadres, many Phú Dương villagers concentrated on several forms of local corruption involving land and local resources. The first type is cadres illegally benefitting from the distribution of land. A clear example is the sale of 77 shares of land for residences in 1995 when the commune authorities transferred 13,775 square metres of communal land located in Phú Dương and another village of the commune to residential land for selling to the villagers to use. Prior to the sale of the use rights for residence, a Committee that included 13 key cadres, headed by the leader of the commune<sup>30)</sup> was set up to be in charge of preparing the site and deciding who was eligible to buy the land under qualified households.<sup>31)</sup>

Even at the step of the preparation of the site, the Committee was accused by many Phú Dương villagers illegally pay for 4,193.5 cubic metres of dirt to enjoy 130,000,000 VND profit, and paid a higher amount of 10,000 VND per each cubic metre of dirt. When the site was ready for sale, instead of selling all the land shares to qualified households who needed the land and had applied to purchase the land, the Committee

---

trading households, 18 services—housholds, and 69 others.

27) Hereafter will be land instead of land use rights.

28) The village has undergone radical changes since the making of an industrial and urban zone took 700 ha of agricultural land in this area since 2007. Agricultural land appropriation for building this development project has also resulted to strong reactions from the villagers in the involved villages. However, their reactions to the authorities during the building of this zone differ from their previous reactions to local cadres in the commune (that I presented here) in various aspects. In this paper, therefore, I limit my analysis and explanation within the context of time from the 1990s to years prior the making of this huge development project.

29) The term "commune cadres" refers to the cadres of the commune to which Phú Dương administratively belongs. Also, the real names of the village has been replaced with pseudonyms.

30) I avoid using the true position of the cadre for confidential reason.

31) That is those families who had three kitchens under the same roof, and who could buy it under auction

---

decided to auction one-third of the 77 shares in order to gain more money for the “locality”. This meant the commune authorities had more money for the commune’s use, but a number of villagers making applications to the commune could not get access to the land they were qualified for.

In addition, in the auction of one-third of the 77 land shares, some poor villagers who needed the land for residency could not buy the land because they did not have sufficient money. Meanwhile, some better-off commune cadres, who some villagers believed needed no more residential land, bought one share each. A number of villagers even argued that the commune cadres achieved shares that were larger in area and better in location compared to the amount they paid for them. In contrast, ordinary villagers had to accept shares that were smaller in area. The clearest example some villagers saw was that the area of land shares that 10 villagers bought under qualified households had been illegally reduced from 150 square metres to 100 square metre each, while the three shares that the key cadres of the commune bought at auction had been illegally increased from 72 square metres each to over 100 square metres.

The second form of corruption is illicit use of funds for infrastructure construction in the villages and commune. The construction of local infrastructure like the electricity system, roads, schools, clinics and so forth was a key plan of the local authorities in the 1990s. In the commune of which Phú Dương village is a part, from 1995 to 1997, alongside over one billion VND that the commune authorities obtained from the sale of communal land for residency in 1995, the higher authorities also gave it several hundreds of million VND as state capital for local infrastructure construction. In addition, during these years, the commune authorities collected tens of million VND from villagers in the commune, and gained over 360 million VND from communal land output. In the local context at the time, all these sources of funding amounted to a large sum, and were all put into the commune budget to be managed and used by the commune authorities. From 1995 to 1997, almost all the above funding was used to build local commune infrastructure, including a water-pumping station for agricultural production, a commune clinic, a primary and secondary school, and so forth. However, various acts of corrupt behavior by the same cadres of the commune were reported by villagers in Phú Dương village, the most common being: 1. Claiming the prices of building materials higher than they actually were; 2. Purchasing building materials of poor quality (thus cheap in price) while claiming for payment of materials of good quality (therefore more expensive) in order to enjoy the difference; 3. Claiming for payment of what had not been purchased. All these related to the abuse of official position and manipulation of legal documents for personal gain.



The third form of local cadre corruption relates to agricultural land ranking. Prior to the 1988 distribution of agricultural land, in theory all communes in the district had to rank their agricultural land. Ranking statistics prepare the ground for an equal distribution of land among recipients, and provide a criterion for the state to collect land use taxes from the villagers. In Phú Dương, however, like many other communes in the area, commune cadres implemented the ranking of land themselves by using the land ranking statistics previously collected in 1978 for 1988 agricultural land distribution. In 1992 redistribution of agricultural land, commune cadres continued to use the ranking statistics of agricultural land collected in 1978 to decide the land taxes that the villagers have to pay to the state. This agricultural land ranking became seriously troublesome in 1997 as the state officials came to rank agricultural land of the villagers to be compensated for building a national highway. The state officials' records revealed that the areas of agricultural land appropriated in Phú Dương were of the second rank, while they had to pay taxes to the commune authorities for the first rank for years. Therefore, Phú Dương villagers denounced that the cadres had corruptly misranked their agricultural land to collect more land taxes for private gain.

Another one, but not the last, was the selling of electricity. Although it did not relate to land, this corrupt act was done by the same key commune cadres the villagers had petitioned and denounced. It also directly affected the villagers, and caused an electrical accident that provoked collective protests in the community. Since 1990, the sale of electricity to the villagers in this commune had been governed by a team headed by the leader of the commune. From 1990 to 1998, this team charged the electricity purchasers a higher price than had been regulated by the higher state authorities. In addition, this team had been illegally selling the electricity to a company and kept the differences between the prices the team charged the company and the lower one it paid the electricity company. None of the profit from these manipulations in electricity sales was placed in the commune budget, but was shared among the cadres in different forms. Furthermore, the illegal sale of electricity to the state company had caused the death of a woman in Phú Dương, but the commune cadres refused to accept responsibility for this accident.

In short, these forms of corruption that villagers objected to, and higher authorities later investigated, reveal that local cadres regularly abused their authority during the 1990s. These acts of collective corruption related closely to the collectivity of the commune cadres, especially the key cadres, who shared residential location and everyday interaction with villagers. The corruption also related to collusion between local cadres and businessmen, and sometimes with higher officials. In most cases, the corruption occurred in relation to land, especially communal land and local resources. However, local

---

cadre corruption is not peculiar to the village and commune under study, but has commonly occurred in many rural communities in the Red river delta since decollectivization. To date, the most widespread case of local cadre corruption that has been brought to light occurred in Thái Bình province, which a study shown various key cadres of the commune and village were corrupted,<sup>32)</sup> leading to the fact that villagers in 252 of the total of 285 communes, precincts and district capitals in the province denounced, petitioned and protested against the corrupt cadres, which eventually led to social unrest in 1997. Responding to this, the central state punished nearly 2000 cadres in this province.<sup>33)</sup>

### *Villagers' protests*

The above discussion of different forms of corrupt acts by local cadres prepares the ground for my analysis of the villagers' protests in Phú Dương. The villagers relied on various forms of protest including questioning cadres, writing petitions, circulating propaganda and delaying the payment of taxes and fees. The fight against corruption started in 1998 and proceeded through different stages, from gossip and questions to public protests, depending on the responses of the local and higher state authorities. Of all the reasons for conflict in Phú Dương, local cadre corruption and other forms of wrongdoing and misbehavior was most clearly articulated to the public, especially to the higher state authorities, and was finally used as a means to attack the commune cadres and to force the higher state officials to investigate the case. Therefore, the reactions of the protesting villagers in this case can not be understood solely as resistance to corruption, but also as a response to other issues.

From 1998, a number of Phú Dương villagers started to collectively question the cadres about the 1995 sale of communal land, especially how the money and other communal resources had been used for local infrastructure building. As these villagers considered that some cadres did not pay enough attention to their inquiries, or went around and resorted to elaborate subterfuges to avoid answering their questions, they set up an "inspection team" to investigate the socio-economic issues in the locality. However, the leader of the commune soon dismissed the team because of its illegitimacy. He indirectly accused the protesting villagers, particularly the elderly who led the way, of "wrongly petitioning him" and other commune cadres. More importantly, some cadres named the petitioners "the gang of regular petitioners", "the public-unrest-provoking gang", or called them bad names like "bad elements" and talked about them as

---

32) Vu Quan ly Khoa hoc va Cong nghe 2000: 161

33) Kerkvliet 2001: 266–267

troublesome and disturbing villagers. He also mockingly told some elderly that he “challenged them to petition him”. As a result, these protesting villagers, especially the elderly, critically accused the key cadres, particularly the leader of the commune, of “scorning and ignoring the villagers”, and “not wanting to listen to their opinions”, and moved to stronger collective action by going to the district authorities to denounce these key cadres for committing corrupt acts and other wrongdoings, and demanded that the district authorities investigate the case. At the same time in the village, a number of villagers organized their school-aged children to stand in queues, wear red scarves, and go around the village, beating drums and repeatedly shouting the slogan “Overthrow the corrupt gang!”. They also wrote poems that they circulated in all three villages of the commune to publicize the corruption and other wrongdoings that they believed, or suspected, the commune cadres had committed since 1995.

The various forms of protests of Phú Dương villagers eventually forced the district authorities to investigate the case. However, the villagers soon disagreed with the conclusions of the district inspectors, and moved to appeal to the provincial authorities, and even visited various central agencies in Hà Nội to send their letters of denunciation and petition. Finally, the provincial authorities decided to investigate the problems that the Phú Dương villagers had highlighted. The provincial authorities then concluded that the collectivity of the commune cadres had committed corruption and other wrongdoings, and requested to confiscate the corrupt resources and punish those corrupt cadres.

The decisions of the provincial authorities, however, would not be strictly implemented. To the protesting villagers, their acts of petition and denunciation had cost them a lot of time, energy and even money. What they wanted was not simply to point out which cadre had committed what wrongdoing or corruption, but more importantly, to recover the money that had been obtained through corruption and to punish the corrupt cadres. When they could not achieve these aims, many turned to more confrontational actions. They delayed paying taxes and fees, and pressured higher authorities to punish the corrupt cadres and retrieve what had been stolen.

The deliberate delaying of payment of taxes and fees in fact started in the first season in 1998 when four families, who were close relatives of the female victim in the electrical accident, did not pay their taxes and fees to protest against the commune cadres. In the second season of that year, more villagers followed this action, and in 1999, the collective delay of payment of various kinds of taxes and fees became a weapon that the protesting villagers used to press the higher authorities to investigate the case against the commune cadres (see Table 1). The number of villagers who participated in this action

depended on how the higher state authorities treated the problems in their village and commune. For example, in the first season of 1999, when the district inspectors came to investigate corruption and other wrongdoings in the commune, the number of households who delayed payment of taxes and fees was only 48. However, in the second season, 345 households collectively delayed their payments to protest against the conclusions of the district inspection teams. Later, in the first half of 2000, when the provincial inspectors had thoroughly investigated the case again, the number of households who delayed their taxes and fees reduced to 28. But again, from 2001, when the protesting villagers noticed that no progress in retrieving the corrupt money and punishing the corrupt cadres had been made, many more villagers delayed their payments. In the first half of 2002, 400 of the total 665 households collectively delayed their payment of various taxes and fees to the state.

Table 1: Delay of taxes and fees payment in the village from 1998 to 2002

Year	1998		1999		2000		2001		2002	
Season	First	Second	First	Second	First	Second	First	Second	First	Second
Number	4	8	48	345	145	28	200	350	400	

Source: Synthesis of data from taxes and fees books in the commune.

The commune and district authorities had to use various means to deal with the villagers' collective delay of payment of taxes and fees. When many villagers began to collectively delay their obligations, the commune authorities established a Committee to mobilize them to pay their obligatory taxes and fees. Either by directly talking to the protesting villagers or via the local radio, the Committee and other cadres tried to persuade villagers to carry out their duties to the state. At the same time, some district officials also visited the village to persuade the protesting villagers to carry out their obligations. Such efforts led to nothing other than giving a number of villagers a chance to express their own views and reasons why they would not pay taxes and fees. Finally, the commune authorities used coercive means to press the protesting villagers to pay their obligatory taxes and fees. For example, any villager who did not pay taxes and fees to the state would not be able to gain a birth registration or a letter of introduction from the commune authorities. This solution, however, did not prove very effective since it could only apply to those villagers who needed a certificate. As a result, debt collectors of the commune had to come directly to those villagers. In some cases, the protesting villagers fiercely resisted.

### *Villagers' views towards corruption*

In the views of many villagers, corruption became problematic when it exceeded the

culturally acceptable level and entailed economic and political greediness. Once corruption surpassed this acceptable level, it became a question of violation of state laws and moral values, although it is not easy to identify the blurred line between what is acceptable and not acceptable regarding corruption. In severe circumstances, corruption was not tolerable if it occurred alongside other forms of legal and moral violations and caused adverse consequences to the state and the people. Therefore, corruption was not something totally bad and unacceptable which must be totally condemned. Many villagers who I talked to often indicated that it would not have been a big matter if the cadres had abused the communal resources a little bit while doing good for the village and commune. They called those minor corrupt acts *lấy tiền uống nước hút thuốc*, meaning to get some money for tea and cigarettes, while travelling back and forth to do business. Some villagers even said that everyone would be corrupt while doing his or her job by referring to a Vietnamese proverb: “Eating from what you are doing” (*Làm nghề gì ăn nghề ấy*), like “A tailor eats clothing materials, a builder eats building materials” (*Thợ may ăn vải thợ xây ăn hồ*). This does not mean that villagers agree with all forms of corruption; rather it shows their little concern about minor acts of corruption. Consequently they did not see such acts as a big problem or use them as evidence to judge the morality and performance of a person.

Such attitudes of the villagers originate from the Vietnamese culture, which not only tolerates minor corrupt acts by the elites, mandarins and officials of the state, but also nurtures various traditional customs of reciprocity. The custom of gift giving and taking, for example, has long been a positive tradition in Vietnamese society. One student might bring a little gift to his mentor on some special occasions, the Lunar New Year for example, to show respect and gratitude to the person who has taught him. Such attitudes are also commonly held in other societies. In Thai society, for example, people either see minor acts of corruption as cultural practices or as a way to help to smooth interactions among parties involved in business or other work. For example, many Thais saw minor corrupt acts of policemen and state officials as gifts of good will, tea money,<sup>34)</sup> therefore, “...for many Thais, acts ... will be called corruption only if they involved large sums of money, stem from aggressively greedy intentions, and have consequences which are clearly damaging for society as a whole”.<sup>35)</sup>

In this case study, corruption by the cadres really became a big problem to the protesting villagers because of its extent, circumstances and consequences, therefore violated moral values. In regard to the first, many villagers argued that the cadres had

34) Phongpaichit and Piriyaangsan 135–140

35) Phongpaichit and Piriyaangsan 1994: 163

---

been involved in too much corruption and other wrongdoings, although some were aware that the problem of corruption was not peculiar to their commune, but a national disaster. They had seen that the same group of cadres committed corruption, and finally, accused these cadres of “eating too much,” and vividly compared them with a man who has a big stomach and a polished forehead – two of the symbolic characteristics that villagers used to judge a man of fulfilled life.

Although the villagers sometimes could not spell out exactly the volume and ways in which the cadres had committed corruption, they could see and feel this qualitatively through an examination of the outcome of the cadre conduct in regard to management and use of land and other communal resources, as well as the economic status of the cadres. In Phú Dương, many villagers saw the commune authorities collected a large amount of money from different sources. However, the output from this large sum of funding seemed to have been little in quantity and poor in quality, and brought the villagers less benefit than they expected. As a result, a number of villagers suspected that the cadres were corrupt.

At the same time, the fast increase in economic status of some commune cadres concerned the villagers. To the villagers who lived together with their local cadres in a small village, some could see the amount and sources of everyday income of these cadres, and knew that their salary and other income from agricultural production as well as other work did not demonstrate that these cadres had a good income. Some elderly villagers even recalled the life history of these key cadres, and noted that they had become rich in a short period of time. Similar cases have been noted in Thái Bình province that “many key cadres of the commune [...] have built new houses, changed their motorbikes from this model to another, and the wives of commune cadres also changed their life style and clothing fashion to become the rich in the countryside”.<sup>36)</sup>

Therefore, many villagers questioned the fast increase of wealth of some commune cadres, which the visible evidence indicated could not have been achieved legally. How could these commune cadres become rich so fast? This question concerned the villagers. In a letter of denunciation which the protesting villagers wrote to the higher authorities, they questioned the fast increase in wealth of the local cadres in a short time, and vividly told the higher state officials that if these cadres had become rich legally, then they should share their ways of doing business with the villagers so they could all get rich together.

---

36) Vu Quan ly Khoa hoc va Cong Nghe 2000: 79

This case study shows that the attitudes of the protesting villagers towards cadre corruption became more critical when the corrupt behavior occurred alongside the cadres' misbehavior towards the villagers. In Phú Dương, when a number of villagers discovered corruption and other wrongdoings by the commune cadres, they came to ask the cadres about the wrongs and rights in the management and use of communal resources and other issues. However, instead of dealing properly with the reactions of the villagers, some commune cadres did not accept their misconduct and corrupt acts or attempt to correct them. Instead they mistreated the protesting villagers.

In regard to consequences, in contrast with the view in the literature on corruption which simply argues that corruption can contribute to economic development in some societies,<sup>37)</sup> this case study shows that corruption in the village under study directly and negatively affected the economic interest of both villagers and the community. Many villagers became the subjects who had to bear the consequences of local cadre corruption. Corruption and other wrongdoings by the commune cadres led to a loss of the village communal land area and poor quality infrastructure.

Gathering all three factors together, many villagers had clear evidence to judge the nature of their cadres on the basis of two key virtues: talent (tài) and morality (đức). In regard to talent, unlike some researchers who argued that the local cadres in Vietnam since decollectivization were low in educational level, weak in working ability, and therefore poorly governed the local government,<sup>38)</sup> the protesting villagers in this case study believed that the key commune cadres were those who had talent and had a good ability to manage local government in comparison to many ordinary villagers. In his own terms, one villager said that these cadres “are good in eating, speaking and working”, positively meaning that the cadres can speak, think and work very well. In the eyes of the elderly, the cadres are young, active, and have talent.

From the perspective of morality, however, they judged some commune cadres as those “whose characteristics are bad”. To explain their bad characteristics, different villagers mentioned different things, and pointed out different aspects of the story depending on who they were, what they had experienced with which cadre, or when and where they talked about it. However, some common expressions used by protesting villagers included: “committing too much wrongdoings”, “eating too much”, “not listening to the villagers”, “having no willingness to help the villagers”, “looking down on the villagers”, or “ignoring and scorning the villagers' opinions”.

37) Johnston 1986: 459; Gillespie and Okruhlik 1991: 78; Bardhan 1997: 1322; Goudie and Stasavage 1998: 138–140

38) Thang Van Phuc va Nguyen Van Khanh 1996; Pham Quang Minh 2002

---

In the Vietnamese culture, from traditional to modern times, the virtue of morality (đức) is really key, and is seen as no less an important quality than a person's talent (tài), especially as a leader. For the villagers, I think that what they indicated about morality not only referred to morality at work but also to the everyday life behavior between villagers and cadres in the community. Therefore, the lack or decay of morality of the cadres became one of the critical problems that resulted in the protests of villagers against some local cadres. In this case study, when some villagers hated and disrespected the cadres, they called them bad names.

Finally, the protesting villagers began to protest against these cadres as a result of their perceived wrongdoings. In their minds, however, some villagers were aware that it would be a hard job for them to fight against the corruption problem. To explain how difficult this might be, one elderly man vividly compared the corrupt forces to an eel (con lươn), which often lay deep down under the mud. If the villagers did not pay attention to it, or looked at the surface of the mud, they would not be able to recognize it. Even when they had recognized it, and started stopping its progress, it would be able to go in other areas too, and finally the villagers would not easily get or stop it.

But did the problem of local corruption really concern the villagers and consequently generate their protest? In comparison to the corrupt behavior of other types of people in other sectors in the 1990s throughout Vietnam, studies have shown that local cadre corruption in this case study occurred on a much smaller scale.<sup>39)</sup> In addition, local cadre corruption is not a totally new phenomenon; it had already occurred in various forms during the period of collectivization.<sup>40)</sup> But local cadre corruption during collectivization and the corrupt acts by other types of people like businessmen and higher state officials after decollectivization did not create much public reaction from the villagers. However, corruption by local cadres since decollectivization has really had an effect. How can we explain this? I have emphasized that local cadre corruption created serious reactions from villagers because it occurred alongside other forms of wrongdoings and misbehavior committed by the cadres. In this case study, the villagers could see corruption; therefore, they were aware of the subject of their protest. More importantly, they used claims of corruption to accuse a number of cadres of breaching state laws and regulations for private gain, which resulted in the higher authorities having to investigate and punish the cadres. This strategy of the protesting villagers resulted from the fact that the state had articulated critical attitudes to the problem of corruption, and threatened to strictly punish those who were corrupt. Such views of the state have been expressed

---

39) See Gainsborough 2003 and Kerkvliet 2001 for discussion of these big cases.

40) Tran Nhu Trang 1972: 418–430; Kerkvliet 2001: 264; Chu Van Lam et al. 1992: 74.



clearly and strongly through various channels like the voices of some high-ranking officials and leaders<sup>41)</sup> and in various legal documents like the law on Prevention and Anti-Corruption, Criminal Code, and anti-corruption campaigns since 1990. In such a context, the protesting villagers found that fighting corruption represented a legal and reasonable way to help them to attack local cadres. As a result, the local conflicts became more troublesome and difficult to resolve.

## 1. Conclusion

In Vietnam since *Đổi Mới*, corruption has become a real concern of the nation. Coping with this, both the state and people concern more about the abuse of power and position for private gain as common corrupt practices by those who hold power and position in the state. In rural villages since agricultural decollectivization, corruption related closely to the communal resources, especially the land, and became one of the key causes for local conflicts. Not all villagers condemned corruption. However, they did not tolerate too much corruption. Their attitudes towards the extent of corruption and their resulting reactions became more critical when corruption was closely related to other forms of wrongdoing and misbehavior. In the situations in which corruption by local cadres exceeded the culturally acceptable level, it can be easily used by the villagers to judge the morality of the cadres - one of the two key virtues of a leader - and therefore used corruption as a means to denounce, petition and fight against a number of local cadres. This has become plain in the case study of *Phù Dương* village during the 1990s and 2000s, where the protesting villagers were not only discontent with local cadres because of the considerable extent of corruption and other wrongdoings, but also because of their misbehavior and the villagers' failures in their claims for their village communal land and its output.

---

41) Kerkvliet 1994: 20–28

---

## References

- Bardhan, Pranab 1997. "Corruption and Development." *Journal of Economic Literature* 35, no. 3: 1320-46.
- Chu Van Lam 1993. "Doi Moi in Vietnamese Agriculture." In *Reinventing Vietnamese Socialism*, edited by William Turley and Mark Selden, 151-163. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Chủ Văn Lâm (et al) 1992. *Hợp tác hóa nông nghiệp Việt Nam: Lịch sử, vấn đề, triển vọng. (Agricultural Collectivization in Vietnam: History, problems, prospects)*. Hà Nội: Nxb. Sự thật.
- Derick, Brinkerhoff 2011. "Confronting corruption in the health sector in Vietnam: patterns and prospects". Health and Development Discussion Papers, Boston University Center for Global Health and Development.
- Đỗ Hoài Nam, Lê Cao Đàm (chủ biên) 2001. *Xây dựng cơ sở hạ tầng nông thôn trong quá trình công nghiệp hóa, hiện đại hóa ở Việt Nam (Rural Infrastructure Construction in Industrialization and Modernization Period in Vietnam)*. Hà Nội: Nxb. Khoa học Xã hội.
- Gainsborough, Martin 2003. "Corruption and the Politics of Economic Decentralization in Vietnam." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 33, no. 1: 69-84.
- Gillespie, Kate and Okruhlik, Gwenn 1991. "The Political Dimensions of Corruption Cleanups: A Framework for Analysis." *Comparative Politics* 24, no. 1: 77-95.
- Gong, Ting 1997. "Forms and Characteristics of China's Corruption in the 1990s: Change with Continuity." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 30, no. 3: 277-88.
- 2002. "Dangerous Collusion: Corruption as a Collective Venture in Contemporary China." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 35: 85-103.
- Goudie, A.W. and Stasavage, David 1998. "A Framework for the Analysis of Corruption." *Crime, Law, and Social Change* 29: 113-59.
- Gueorguiev, Dimitar, Edmund Malesky 2012. "Foreign investment and bribery: A firm-level analysis of corruption in Vietnam". *Journal of Asian Economics*, 23: 111-129.
- Guo, Xiaolin 2001. "Land Expropriation and Rural Conflicts in China." *The China Quarterly*, no. 166: 422-39.
- He, Zengke 2000. "Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Reform China." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 33: 243-70.
- Johnston, Michael 1986. "The Political Consequences of Corruption: A Reassessment." *Comparative Politics* 18, no. 4: 459-77.

- Kerkvliet, Ben 1994. "Politics of Society in the Mid 1990s." In *Dilemmas of Development: Vietnam Update 1994*, edited by Ben Kerkvliet, 5-43. Canberra: Political and Social Change Monograph number 22. Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995a. "Village-State Relations in Vietnam: The Effects of Everyday Politics on Decollectivization." *Journal of Asian Studies*, 396-418.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995b. "Rural Society and State Relations." In *Vietnam's Rural Transformation*, edited by Ben Kerkvliet and Doug Porter, 65-96. Boulder: Westview Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. *The Power of Everyday Politics: How Vietnamese Peasants Transformed National Policy*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London.
- Lê Mạnh Hùng, Nguyễn Sinh Cúc, Hoàng Lê Vinh (chủ biên) 1998. *Thực trạng công nghiệp hóa, hiện đại hóa nông nghiệp, nông thôn (The Real Situation of Industrialization and Modernization in Vietnam's Rural Agriculture)*. Hà Nội: Nxb. Thống kê.
- Levy, Richard 1995. "Corruption, Economic Crime and Social Transformation since the Reform: The Debate in China." *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 0, no. 33: 1-25.
- Lu, Xiaobo 2000. *Cadres and Corruption: The Organizational Involution of the Chinese Communist Party*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Ma, Stephen K 1989. "Reform Corruption: A Discussion on China's Current Development." *Pacific Affairs* 62, no. 1: 40-52.
- Mau, Michael P. 1969. "The Training of Cadres in the Lao Dong Party of North Vietnam, 1960-1967." *Asian Survey* 9, no. 4: 281-96.
- Ngo T. Phuong 2017. "Corruption in Vietnam: the current situation and proposed solutions". In *The changing face of corruption in the Asia Pacific: Current perspectives and future challenges*. Edited by Marie dela Rama, Chris Rowley. Cambridge: Elsevier.
- Nguyen Hong Hai 2016. *Political dynamics of grassroots democracy in Vietnam*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nguyen Van Suu 2004. "The Politics of Land: Inequality in Land Access and Local Conflicts in the Red River Delta since Decollectivization." In *Social Inequality in Vietnam: Challenges to Reform*, edited by Philip Taylor. Singapore: ISEAS, November 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. "Contending Views and Conflicts over Land in Vietnam's Red River Delta". *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 38: 2, pp.309-334
- Pham Quang Minh 2004. "Caught in the Middle: Local Cadres in Hai Duong

- 
- Province". In *Beyond Hanoi: Local government in Vietnam*. Edited by Ben Kerkvliet, David Marr, pp. 90-109. NIAS Press. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies – Singapore.
- Pham Thu Thuy 2003. "Speaking Pictures: Biem Hoa or Satirical Cartoons on Government Corruption and Popular Political Thought in Contemporary Vietnam." In *Consuming Urban Culture in Contemporary Vietnam*, edited by Lisa B.W. Drummond and Mandy Thomas, 89-109. London and New York: Routledge Curzon.
- Rama, Marie dela, Chris Rowley (eds.) 2017. *The changing face of corruption in the Asia Pacific: Current perspectives and future challenges*. Cambridge: Elsevier.
- Phongpaichit, Pasuk and Piriyaransan, Sunghsidh 1994. *Corruption & Democracy in Thailand*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Thang Văn Phúc và Nguyễn Văn Khánh 1996. "Về đội ngũ cán bộ nông thôn (On the Local Cadres)." In *Quản lý xã hội nông thôn nước ta hiện nay – Một số vấn đề và giải pháp*. Phan Đại Doãn (chủ biên), 190-214. Hà Nội: Nxb. Chính trị Quốc gia.
- Thuy Thu Nguyen, Mathijs A. van Dijk 2012. "Corruption, growth, and governance: Private vs. state-owned firms in Vietnam". *Journal of Banking & Finance*, pp. 2935-2948.
- Tran Nhu Trang 1972. "The Transformation of the Peasantry in North Vietnam." University of Pittsburgh.
- Tuan A. Nguyen, Rosemary Kight, Andrea Mant, Husna Razee, Geoffrey Brooks, Thu H. Dang and Elizabeth E. Roughead 2018. "Corruption practices in drug prescribing in Vietnam – an analysis based on qualitative interviews". *BMC Health Services Research*, 18: 587, pp. 1-21.
- Vụ Quản lý Khoa học và Công nghệ (Bộ Công an) 2000. *An ninh nông thôn trong chiến lược phát triển kinh tế - xã hội ở nước ta hiện nay (Rural Security in the Socio-Economic Development Strategy in Contemporary Vietnam)*. Hà Nội: Nxb. Công an Nhân dân.

## Young Korean Argentines in the Argentine garment industry and their social integration

*Jihye Kim*  
UK

### ABSTRACT

Since the beginning of the Korean migration to Argentina in 1965, the Argentine garment industry has served as a distinctive gateway to integrate into the host society, not only for the first generation of Korean immigrants but also for younger generation Argentine Koreans. Based on ethnographic research conducted in Argentina, this study illustrates (1) why the successive generations of Korean Argentines either follow the entrepreneurial route of their parents or stay within the ethnic economy rather than choose other paths, and (2) how trends in career paths reflect the social negotiation and adjustment processes undertaken by Koreans under Argentina's particular socio-economic conditions. The findings suggest that favourable family and co-ethnic resources are beneficial for advantageous business and employment opportunities within the garment industry; nevertheless, this powerful combination of resources does not necessarily contribute to a better socio-economic integration in the wider host society, as it clearly limits broader social capital and employment opportunities outside the Korean business community.

**Keywords:** Korean Argentines, 1.5- and second-generation, Argentine garment industry, Korean immigrant entrepreneurship, ethnic network, family business, social integration.

---

## I. Introduction

Among the approximately 20,000 ethnic Koreans in Argentina today, more than 80% are engaged in the garment industry – both in the production and distribution sectors. Many Korean immigrants began their lives in Argentina by taking on machine sewing or knitting jobs as self-employed businesspeople, gradually expanding into the commercial apparel sector by opening wholesale or retail shops. Because of the profits entailed in these commercial activities, this kind of shift has been viewed as a mark of upward social mobility. Often they intend to eventually hand over their businesses to their children, who are 1.5- or second-generation immigrants.<sup>1)</sup> Indeed, many of these children view the opportunity of inheriting the family business as an easy pathway to achieving greater economic success. Thus, instead of branching out into a diverse range of professions, younger Korean Argentines tend to be inclined towards working for the family business.

The status and career development patterns among 1.5- and second-generation Korean Argentines greatly contrast with Koreans in the USA. While many first-generation Korean immigrant families in the USA run small or larger businesses within and outside their ethnic enclaves, their children tend to disfavor inheriting their parents' occupation or family business. Dae Young Kim (2004, 156) states, "Despite the success of the strategies of mobility used by their immigrant parents, second-generation Korean Americans have shunned the small-business path." The second-generation Korean Americans he interacted with even expressed that they would do anything besides taking over their parents' businesses, disdainful of the sacrifices that the whole family had to make to develop and run them, especially in the initial period after migrating to the USA (Kim 2004, 179; 2013, 48–49).

The corresponding generations of Koreans in Argentina stand in almost complete contrast in that they do not reject the trajectory of their parents' business endeavors. Indeed, they value highly the option of staying in the family business, viewing it as a career opportunity that offers a means of pursuing and sustaining modern capitalist lives in Argentina. Thus, many of them voluntarily engage in the work or aim to develop their own businesses in the same industry. Clearly, in comparison with Koreans in the USA, a far smaller proportion of Korean Argentines – whether of the same or different generations – seek their success by pursuing professional careers such as those in medicine, law, engineering, finance, and academia. Instead, they tend to remain in ethnic

---

1) In this research, the term "1.5-generation immigrant" refers to a Korean Argentine who was born in Korea and moved to Argentina at a very young age, while the term "second-generation immigrant" refers to a Korean Argentine born in Argentina to a Korean immigrant family.

Korean enclave businesses largely represented by a range of garment ventures, from wholesale or retail shops to clothing factories.

Based on ethnographic research on Korean business entrepreneurs in the Argentine garment industry, this study seeks to answer such critical questions as: Why do the successive generations of Korean Argentines follow the entrepreneurial route of their parents or stay within the ethnic economy rather than choosing other paths? What advantages do Korean Argentines perceive in maintaining their dedication to the family business or to work within the ethnic-centered garment industry, and what is their discourse concerning this situation? Also, how have the specific economic and social environments that Korean immigrants have encountered in Argentina led them to follow very different career paths from their counterparts in the USA or elsewhere? By answering these questions, this study hopes to unravel how trends in career paths reflect the social negotiation and adjustment processes undertaken by Koreans in Argentina within the particular socio-economic conditions posed by migration.

For this research, twenty-five individuals who fell into the category of 1.5- and second-generation Koreans in Argentina were interviewed. These relatively young Korean Argentines were asked about their family backgrounds and immigration history, and their parents' settlement experiences and entrepreneurial activities, and strategies for maintaining or developing their own or their family's businesses. In addition, a number of first-generation Korean business owners in garment industry were also invited for an interview. They were asked to share their experiences as Korean immigrants in Argentina and their views and opinions about their children's career pathways in the process of settling down and/or professionally establishing themselves in Argentina. With its focus on individual immigrants and their experiences of migration and settlement, this research sheds light on diasporic Korean lives in Argentina, particularly in terms of why Koreans tie themselves closely to the garment industry and to their family's businesses, what ethnic businesses have signified for both older- and younger-generation Korean Argentines, and finally, what can be extrapolated through these experiences about the relationship Korean immigrants have with the Argentine host society.

## II. Korean Immigration and Ethnic Entrepreneurship in Argentina

The first Koreans immigrated to Argentina in 1965 as part of a governmental program to increase the country's agricultural production (Jeon 1996, 62). They were

---

settled in the province of Rio Negro in southern Argentina and given previously unworked land to open up (Jeon 1996, 62). 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 (Park 2013). Consequently, the majority of these early Korean immigrants gave up on farm ownership in southern Argentina and left for the capital, Buenos Aires (Lee 1992, 130–34; Son 2007, 163–64). Their failure to pursue rural agrarian life ended up revealing a new opportunity for them and for those that would follow.

Once in Buenos Aires, the Koreans quickly came to focus their economic activities primarily on the knitting and sewing industry, working as sub-contractors for Jewish factories or in self-employment producing apparel in the city's slum areas. Although many early Korean migrants and their sewing workshops were concentrated in Buenos Aires, they gradually spread to most parts of Argentina, opening retail clothing stores in most city and town centres (Lee 1992, 246–47). By the mid-1980s, Koreans had attained a leading position in the mid-range garment market, managing both the production and distribution sides of apparel industry. Currently, over twenty thousand ethnic Koreans reside in Argentina and about eighty percent of them are engaged in the garment industry.<sup>2)</sup>

The classical literature on immigrant entrepreneurship suggested that the phenomenon of co-ethnic first-generation immigrants concentrating in particular occupations has been quite prominent in various places around the world. However, this narrow occupational span widens as the immigrant generation shifts and the following generation expands their business interests into a wider variety of labor markets (Alba 1998; Alba and Nee 1997; Farley and Alba 2002; Lieberman and Waters 1988; Kasinitz et al. 2011). If a high proportion of first-generation immigrants have operated their own businesses, succeeding generations accumulate agency, enabling them to shift and expand their careers as they and their families gain financial affluence and social standing within wider society. This scenario is particularly prominent among Asian immigrants in developed countries (Kim 2004, 2006; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut 1994; Zhou 1997).

---

2) There are no official data on the number or rate of Koreans in the Argentine apparel industry. However, the main community organisations, such as the Korean Association in Argentina and the Chamber of Korean Entrepreneurs in Argentina, tend to agree that eighty to ninety percent of ethnic Koreans are engaged in that industry in some way.



Other studies with particular focus on Korean immigrants in the USA (for example, Light and Bonacich 1991; Light and Gold 2000; Light and Rosenstein 1995; Min 1984; Volery 2007; Waldinger et al. 1990; Barrett et al. 2002; Basu 2006) point out that the difficulty for first-generation Korean immigrants in entering into more diversified local labor markets is the language barrier that they face as cultural newcomers. The lack of language proficiency is one of the major factors in their opting to run their own businesses. For recent arrivals, subcontracting work in garment sewing and knitting presented itself as the most viable option for immigrants without significant language skills, while the garment industry offers a range of jobs for Koreans to choose from as they accumulate business experience and social capital in the industry (Morokvasic 1987, 1993; Waldinger 1984, 1986; Green 1997).

Korean immigrants in Argentina did not remain confined to the arduous and financially unattractive sewing and knitting jobs. As they accumulated experience and capital and gained a secure foothold in the industry, Koreans managed to move into garment manufacturing and the wholesale and retail sectors, where greater returns beckoned. Certainly, Koreans tapped into their co-ethnic networks to great effect in enlarging their businesses. In the 1980s and 1990s, significant numbers of Korean factories supplying finished articles of clothing exclusively to co-ethnic retailers and wholesalers were not officially registered. Many Korean Argentines in the industry cited these unofficial factories as a significant under-the-table resource for building their businesses. Many also cited *gye*, the informal Korean co-ethnic credit system, as a significant and convenient financial resource for building and expanding their businesses, especially into the larger commercial sectors. Such informal and unofficial ethnically based resources, however, can lead to negative effects as well. For example, economic instability in Argentina, such as the recession and inflation of the 1980s and 1990s, can exacerbate the potential insecurity inherent in such informal credit systems. For example, during periods of high inflation, sometimes *gye* members avoided paying back loans and retailers deliberately dishonored cheques.

The Korean community in Argentina continued to grow steadily into the early twenty-first century. A substantial number of Koreans arrived in Argentina as a new category of immigrant investors in the 1980s and 1990s (Lee 1992, 289).<sup>3)</sup> This new group had a significant impact on the existing Korean community in Buenos Aires, providing extensive new capital and entrepreneurial energy (Lee 1992, 342).<sup>4)</sup> Nowadays,

---

3) Lee (1992, 289–92) stated that from 1985 to 1987 the number of Korean community members rose from 10,000 to 36,000, based on a population census conducted by the Korean embassy and the Korean Association in Argentina.

4) These new arrivals were mostly from a middle-class background. They tended to open retail clothing stores or grocery stores rather than engage in garment production (Lee 1992, 342).

---

a significant number of ethnic Koreans are concentrated in the wholesale sector,<sup>5)</sup> while a relatively smaller number operate subcontracted workshops or retail stores.

### III. One-point-five- and Second-Generation Korean Argentine Entrepreneurs

#### 1. Advantages of Participating in a Family Business

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. More than half of the younger interviewees stated that they worked in their family's business in the garment industry before they became independent entrepreneurs. The proportion of young Korean Argentines moving into the garment industry from other sectors is also relatively high. However, unlike the first-generation immigrants, not many of the younger generation seemed to build up their garment businesses independently of family resources.

Angela is a 34-year-old Korean Argentine. Born in Seoul, she has lived in Buenos Aires since 1993. After high school, she began studying apparel design at an Argentine university. At the same time, she worked as a manager at a wholesale garment shop owned by a first-generation Korean immigrant. After two years at the shop, her parents' business began to falter, and so she quit the job, withdrew from the university program, and, along with her sister, began working with their parents. While she and her sisters took charge of new designs and sales, their parents managed factory production. With Angela and her sisters helping out, the business eventually regained stability. During the interview, Angela said that for younger-generation Korean Argentines, working with in their parents' garment business is common in Buenos Aires: "Parental influence is huge. [...] We [young Koreans] marry at 25 or 26 years old, and our parents prepare and give us a shop, or we start working in the shop of our husband or wife. [...] As parents get old, they want to work less or stop altogether. They want their children to help them. They know how to make good money and they want their children to follow" (interview with Angela Cho, May 20, 2014).

---

5) It is estimated that of the three thousand or so shops in Buenos Aires's Avellaneda Avenue wholesale garment district, around 1,400 are Korean-owned (including small shops or stands in malls). The exact figure is constantly changing, particularly because the number of small shops or stands whose owners are distributors only and do not produce apparel directly is currently increasing (interview with Dr. Park, former president of the Chamber of Korean Entrepreneurs in Argentina).

Esteban, a 30-year-old second-generation Korean Argentine, ran his own wholesale garment firm. He told a similar story: “Half of it was at my mom’s insistence and the other half was my own decision. I am the oldest son. My mom needed help, so I felt responsible. I was a second-year engineering student, but I quit halfway through. After I started working with her, her business did well. I worked with her for ten years and then started my own independent business two years ago, after I got married. It would have been very difficult if I hadn’t started working and learning before” (interview with Esteban Moon, June 10, 2014). Esteban admitted during his interview that although at first he didn’t relish the garment business, he eventually came to like it.

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 it 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, I 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.<sup>6)</sup> For Daniel, who ran a retail clothing shop in Buenos Aires, financial injections from his parents were crucial for starting his own business: “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. It is very difficult [to run a garment shop] without parental support. 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. For both wholesale and retail shops, the most important thing is to find a good location. To rent well-located premises is really expensive. Shop repairs and improvements also require a lot of money. Without family support, it would be very difficult” (interview with Daniel Lee, May 29, 2014). For Esteban, economic support from the family has also been crucial from the beginning of his wholesale venture: “I accumulated some savings while working with my mom, but it was not enough to start up a wholesale business. She helped me with the money to rent a shop and offered to share her cutting factory and storage space. She also contacted some fabric providers and asked them to provide me with fabrics on credit. Without her

6) Many young 1.5- or second-generation Korean interviewees considered working for Korean entrepreneurs as an attractive option because the informal “black” salaries these provide are relatively high; they value better pay more highly than the benefits they would gain from a formal contract. This helps explain why those young Korean Argentines who cannot run their own business tend to work for other Koreans in the garment industry.

---

help, it would be completely impossible. She continues to help me today” (interview with Esteban Moon, June 10, 2014).

As interviews indicate, young Korean Argentine entrepreneurs usually gain their entrepreneurial skills and industry knowledge, in addition to financing, from their parents. Learning management skills from their parents is particularly important for those starting a wholesale business since wholesale entails more complex processes than retail, as Daniel confirmed: “The reason I didn’t start a wholesale clothing business is that my family did not have much experience running wholesale shops. My parents have been running a retail [garment] shop for more than twenty years in Bahía Blanca. For them it is difficult to help me here [in Buenos Aires]. I had to manage everything, and I didn’t know much [about the wholesale business]. I have relatives running wholesale businesses but I didn’t want to bother them. They also have a lot of work to do” (interview with Daniel Lee, May 29, 2014). Most interviews and personal conversations with young Korean Argentines suggest that they obtained both their start-up capital and their business and industry knowledge primarily from their families.

However, in the case of Korean Argentines who cannot or do not obtain adequate business support from the family, the extended community network also functions to provide alternatives. For example, Dani, whose parents ran a successful retail clothing store, learned how to manage a wholesale enterprise from his parents’ friends: “My mother has been very successful in running retail garment shops in suburban Buenos Aires. I graduated from high school and university in the US. [...] When I came back, I wanted to run a retail shop because I know a lot about how to do that. However, my parents strongly suggested that I work at their friends’ wholesale shop and learn how to manage wholesale. I worked there without pay just to learn the business. After a month a [wholesale] shop came on the market, so I bought it and started my own business” (interview with Dani Oh, May 14, 2014). Marcelo, who ran his own wholesale enterprise for many years, also found that the ethnic network is useful and helpful for many Koreans: “Korean Argentines mainly learn from their families. However, when you run a shop, you can also readily get information from the community because most Koreans work within the garment industry and it is easy to ask other Koreans. It is convenient for us to use the [ethnic] networks” (interview with Marcelo Kim, June 9, 2014).

In their book on ethnic economies, Light and Gold (2000) make a distinction between “class” and “ethnic” resources.<sup>7)</sup> Class resources derive primarily from “private

---

7) According to Light and Gold (2000, 105), ethnic resources are the “features of a group that coethnics utilize in economic life or from which they derive economic benefit,” whereas class resources are “those cultural and material assets, outlooks, and skills possessed by all the persons of a common class position, regardless of their ethnic background.”

property and wealth,” as well as from “values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills transmitted in the course of socialization from one generation to another” (Light 1984, 201-02; Light and Gold 2000, 84). Ethnic resources, on the other hand, include “identifiable skills, organizational techniques, reactive solidarity, sojourning orientation, and other characteristics based in group tradition and experience” (Light 1984, 201; Light and Gold 2000, 105). My interview data suggest that unlike the first generation of Korean immigrants in Argentina, for second-generation Korean Argentines class resources are viewed as important while ethnic resources constitute a secondary form of support.

More to the point, my interviewees claim that young Korean Argentines are in a position of advantage: the financial support and expertise offered by their families help them to better develop their businesses. The following representative comment from Marisa, who was working with her parents in their wholesale clothing firm, confirms the comparative advantages Korean Argentines have over both majority Argentines and members of other minority ethnic groups in the garment industry: “On the basis of what our parents built, we [Korean Argentines] are learning and developing businesses further. Our parents gave us the capital. We learned all the basics from them. More than that, we learned from our parents how to manage a shop and how to manufacture clothing. Young people have a better eye for designs that suit the tastes of the local market. Many of us go overseas to obtain new designs” (interview with Marisa Cho, May 20, 2014). Mr. Lee, a first-generation Korean immigrant who has run a retail shop for more than twenty years, expressed a similar view: “It is difficult [for young people] to start [a garment enterprise] by themselves. However, they have access to all the expertise we have accumulated. For instance, you need a lot of small bits of information and resources [to run a garment business], such as an eye for purchasing garments that meet local tastes. Based on these resources, if parents support them [economically], the chance of being successful is much higher” (interview with Sang-Cheol Lee, March 15, 2014).

The younger generation brings new sources of information and knowledge to the family firm, which can help it adapt to changing market circumstances. In this regard, the intergenerational dynamic permits firms to flourish while remaining family-owned. While in most cases a young Korean Argentine’s involvement in the garment business is not only a family obligation but also a personal choice, there are other social factors involved in their decision to take on a garment business.

## 2. Disadvantages of Participating in Mainstream Society

In fact, the processes at work in Korean Argentines’ decision to work with the

---

family business instead of pursuing other job opportunities in mainstream society are not as simple as the strong overall trend would suggest. As they freely admitted in conversations and interviews, many young Korean Argentines agonized over the decision of whether to follow their preferred occupations or take over their parents' company, particularly when it came time to enter the job market. I repeatedly heard statements like, "When I was in university, I talked a lot with my friends about my career and future, about whether to take over our parents' clothing shop or go my own way." In the end, a majority of young Korean Argentines opt to take over their parents' garment business or open their own.

There are several crucial factors that push Korean Argentines to remain in the family business. In recent decades, a high rate of self-employment has characterized Argentines' personal and institutional adaptation strategies to an increasingly hostile economic environment. For every young Argentine, regardless of ethnicity, factors such as un- or underemployment, job dissatisfaction, and blocked opportunities seem to act as factors pushing them towards self-employment (Martínez Pizarro 2000; Esteban 2003).

In interviews, Korean Argentines repeatedly expressed the view that the low salaries in Argentina are the crucial factor inclining them towards the family business. Korean Argentines confront labor market problems typical of a developing country by accessing career opportunities within the businesses of their own families or through ethnically based business networks. At the time of her interview in 2014, Sabrina, who completed an undergraduate degree in business, was at a loss as to which to choose: "I would like to work for a local company, but the salary is too low. In the case of Korean companies like Samsung and LG [in Argentina], the salary is a little bit better, but you have to work very long hours, like in Korea. Because of the [salary] problem, I'd rather have my own business and make money that way" (interview with Sabrina Cho, April 23, 2014).

For younger Korean Argentines, income potential seems to be the main reason for choosing not to continue on a professional career path, as many interviewees confirm: "You can make much more money in the garment [business]. My first son studied for much longer than my second son, but my second son is making much more money [running a wholesale shop] than the first. In Korea you can earn a good salary working for a big company, but here [in Argentina] it is different. The clothing business is much better in economic terms." (Interview with Seung-Ja Joo, May 19, 2014) "In the case of Koreans in the USA, if you study hard and graduate from a good university, you can earn a good salary. But Argentina is not like that. In Argentina, even if you graduate from a good university, you will get only 20,000 to 30,000 pesos a month [2,000 to 3,000 USD

at the time of the interview]. Running your own garment business has more advantages.” (Interview with Young-Ah Kim, March 31, 2014)

As the above interviewees pointed out, the younger generation tends to hold the view that studying hard and entering into a big company do not guarantee a high economic return. Furthermore, the difference in Argentina between a salaried person’s income and that of a businessperson is generally wide, as many young Korean interviewees argued. Although this depends on the type of job and the scale of the business, the average income in the garment industry is much higher than a typical salary. One possible explanation can be discerned by comparing the scale of Korean businesses in Argentina with that in developed countries. For instance, Korean businesses in the USA are “small, labor-intensive, and vulnerable, but highly diversified in terms of the nature of their markets” (Kim and Hurh 1985, 84). The situation in other developed countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, are relatively similar: Korean businesses tend to be small, such as Japanese restaurants, grocery shops, or liquor stores. On the other hand, Korean garment businesses in Argentina are quite significant in size. In the wholesale sector, which encompasses complex systems of production and distribution, a company may employ at least ten people for the shop and a similar number for the factory. Thus, for many young Korean Argentines, the attraction of a business sector that provides comparatively big profits within easy reach is hard to resist. For instance, Daniel, who studied engineering at a prestigious university in Buenos Aires and worked for several years in large local companies as an engineer, ended up running a garment business with his wife. They chose to start their own business mainly because of the huge difference in income between the professional job market and the garment business: “I worked for La Serenísima, a big local dairy production company, as an engineer for about two years. My boss’s salary was around 24,000 pesos. At that time, the [US] dollar was 1:4, so that was approximately \$6,000 [USD]. My own salary was approximately \$2,500 [USD]. 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. [...] Many of my friends didn’t finish their studies. Most of those who really wanted to follow their chosen profession left [Argentina]. My wife, who studied odontology, and I decided to stay here because we wanted to be close to our families. These days we are running the retail shop together in Buenos Aires.” (Interview with Daniel Lee, May 29, 2014)

Mi-Ae, who studied accounting at the University of Buenos Aires, started a retail clothing store in a high-class neighborhood in Buenos Aires after she got married. Several years ago, her husband and she opened a large-scale wholesale garment company in

---

Buenos Aires, after the success of their retail store. She attributed their choices to the huge income difference between salaried workers and businesspeople, along with the competition among close community members in terms of income and economic situation: “Even if you complete university study, it is very difficult to be salaried in this country. In particular, there is no comparison between the incomes of people on salaries and of those in business. This is the reason why Koreans want to run businesses. Of course young [Korean] professionals could live off of their salaries. All the local people do so just fine. The problem is that Koreans are competitive. They live in close communities, so they compare themselves with others. If half were professionals and the other half businesspeople, the situation would be all right. However, most [Koreans] are concentrated in business; young people are inclined towards business. It is a shame that there are only a few [Korean] professionals.” (Interview with Mi-Ae Cho, April 23, 2014)

However, not all Korean Argentines are motivated to start a garment business or work for co-ethnic employers. Some, like their young fellow Argentines, feel inclined to leave the country in search of better conditions, as Antonio mentioned: “The main problem is that the second-generation Koreans do not make an effort to behave professionally. There were several successful 1.5-generation professionals, but most of them left for other countries. There were several famous Korean lawyers, but they got job offers from foreign companies to work overseas. We need a leader who can inspire the second-generation, but there is no one to lead us or guide us or show us a better way.” (Interview with Antonio Beun, May 23, 2014)

Daniel also reflected on this drain overseas: “Normally parents help children start businesses, but not in all cases. There are many parents who can’t support their children’s businesses. Those young Koreans who can’t obtain financial support from their parents usually work as employees in Korean-owned enterprises. Also, there are many young people who finish university and go overseas. In many cases, they go overseas through their companies. My friends who really wanted to continue their careers went overseas.” (Interview with Daniel Lee, May 29, 2014)

The above interviews suggest that this trend of professionally trained Koreans leaving the country should be understood in the context of economic and social circumstances that are typical of a developing country. Those circumstances, such as low salaries, job dissatisfaction, and blocked opportunities, seem to have acted as push factors for highly educated and skilled professionals to leave Argentina in search of better working opportunities (Martínez Pizarro 2000; Esteban 2003). This is applicable to all young Argentines, not just Korean Argentines.



Granovetter (1995) pointed out that a certain level of discrimination faced by minority groups in Argentina aids not only in the development of ethnic businesses but also in their continuity, since succeeding generations, also exposed to prejudice, would be more likely to stay within the family business. 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 by Mi-Ae's comment: "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" (interview with Mi-Ae Cho, April 23, 2014).

Maria held a similar view that Koreans pursuing professional careers have limited opportunities in wider job market. This is why many young Korean professionals are easily tempted to abandon their career of choice in favor of the garment business: "The problem is that there are too many professionals in Argentina. For instance, there are too many doctors. Their salaries are low and they have to work very hard until they get a good position. The general social context is a problem, but the fact that we are Koreans is another problem. This is the reason why many Korean professionals quit their careers and re-enter the garment business. It's a faster route towards economic success. The number of Korean professionals is declining and [young Koreans] are more and more concentrated in the garment business. It's a vicious cycle" (interview with Maria Lee, March 18, 2014).

Family and co-ethnic resources have been used primarily as a form of social capital to provide a foundation for entrepreneurial activities. Wahlbeck (2007, 555) pointed out that ethnic networks provide social capital that can serve efficaciously within the ethnic business community, noting, however, that this may hinder access to social capital that can be utilized within the wider labor market in the host country. Some scholars refer to this secondary effect as "negative social capital" (Portes 1998; Portes and Landolt 2000). As a result of their concentration within a specific sector for several decades, Korean Argentines have had adequate access to certain resources, such as family support for start-up capital, business information based on ethnic networks, and informal access to co-ethnic labor within the garment industry. However, the interview data clearly suggest that they still tend to be lacking in forms of broader social capital, a disadvantage from the perspective of most Korean Argentines.

---

## IV. Korean Garment Business and Limited Integration within the Host Society

Researchers in migration studies have pointed out the problematic relationship between immigrant entrepreneurs and socio-economic incorporation into mainstream society (Fong and Ooka 2002; Pécoud 2003; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Zhou 1997). Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) claimed that through dense ethnic networks, immigrants are able to start businesses that generate jobs for co-ethnics within the host society. In another study, Pécoud (2003, 259) suggested that the impact of self-employment on immigrants' integration into the host society would be at best neutral, and that other solutions should be envisaged to reduce the gap between immigrants and the majority host population.

Nevertheless, such a supportive ethnic structure can lead to negative social consequences (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Zhou 1997; Fong and Ooka 2002). For example, Fong and Ooka (2002) concluded that individuals participating in ethnic economies have fewer opportunities to interact with individuals outside their group and more difficulties obtaining information about external opportunities, as well as being less likely to experience a high level of participation in the social activities of the wider society.

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. However, interviews with Korean community leaders suggest that the continuing concentration of succeeding generations in the industry has had its negative sides, such as limited integration into mainstream society: "It's not a hundred percent, but most ethnic Koreans are concentrated in the garment business. The main problem is that the second- and third-generation Koreans have not integrated into mainstream society over fifty years. We should support the smart ones to work in diverse areas such as journalism and politics. Because everyone has been in the garment business for so long, there are no Koreans in the public eye. There are some young ones who are trying to get good positions, but it's difficult. We should support them." (interview with one whose name was withheld, March 19, 2014) "Most [young Korean Argentines] take over their parents' business or get engaged in jobs related to the garment industry. They very rarely integrate into mainstream society. Even for [Korean] lawyers or doctors, it is difficult to compete with Argentines. If you are not outstanding, you can't compete in Argentine society. Of course, if you work within the Korean business community, you can make much more money. I don't blame them. It's natural. You have to feed your kids and pay the bills.

But we need individuals who can lead the second-generation of our community.” (interview with Antonio, May 23, 2014)

As alluded to by these interview excerpts, worries within the community over the failure of young Korean Argentines to integrate into mainstream society are increasing. Consequently, community organizations regularly make efforts to encourage them to continue their studies and pursue university or professional careers. Nevertheless, despite these increasing concerns within the Korean community, most interviewees presume that it will be difficult for young Korean Argentines to develop alternative careers in the short term and that the current trend is likely to endure. They also expressed that if social integration is to become a widespread and ultimate goal among Korean Argentines, ways must be found for this issue to be addressed.

## V. Conclusion

Unlike second-generation Koreans in the USA or other developed countries who have tended to reject the small-business preferences of their parents and seek to pursue professional careers and achieve mainstream-oriented mobility, Korean Argentines have continued to choose work within the garment industry over succeeding generations. With regard to the specific factors that encourage the concentration of Korean Argentines in the industry, I found that beneficial family and co-ethnic resources were among the key factors in the process. Accumulated expertise and capital provided by kin have created relative path-dependency, motivating young Korean Argentines to continue taking advantage of these whenever possible. Yet, they are also embedded in, and subject to, variables stemming from the wider social, economic, and political environment, in a more dramatic and complicated way.

My interview data suggest that the specific situation of the Korean minority in Argentina, as compared to other countries whose Korean immigrant community has also been studied, should be understood as resulting from Argentina’s specific economic and social circumstances. Korean Argentines mainly stressed that low professional salaries in Argentina are the crucial factor and the practical reason for the strong preference of successive generations towards business involvement. Furthermore, for Korean Argentine youth, difficult overall conditions in the labor market in Argentina militate against and limit satisfying employment opportunities for, and the economic changes of, young Korean Argentines in mainstream society.

---

Another possible approach to better understanding these findings is to analyze the different forms of social capital at play. Ethnic minorities are frequently characterized as having tight social networks and privileged access to certain resources (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). 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 (Light and Bonacich 1991; Light and Gold 2000). On the other hand, ethnic networks and resources are also viewed as negative in that they can hinder economic integration within the host society (Portes 1998; Portes and Landolt 2000; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). The case of second-generation Korean Argentine entrepreneurs demonstrates that favorable class resources (start-up capital and expertise offered by kin) as well as ethnic resources (strong co-ethnic ties and information sharing) are beneficial for advantageous business and employment opportunities within the Korean business community, but that this powerful combination of resources does not necessarily lead to a better socio-economic position within wider society.

## References

- Alba, Richard. 1998. "Assimilation's Quiet Tide." In *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in American Life*, 6th ed., edited by Norman Yetman, 327–35. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Alba, Richard, and Victor Nee. 1997. "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration." *International Migration Review* 31 (4): 826–74.
- Barrett, Giles, Trevor Jones, David McEvoy, and Chris McGoldrick. 2002. "The Economic Embeddedness of Immigrant Enterprise in Britain." *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research* 8 (1/2): 11–31.
- Basu, Anuradha. 2006. "Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship." In *The Oxford Handbook of Entrepreneurship*, edited by Mark Casson, Bernard Yeung, Anuradha Basu, and Nigel Wadeson, 580–600. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Esteban, Fernando Osvaldo. 2003. "Dinámica migratoria argentina: inmigración y exilios" [Migration Trends in Argentina: Immigration and Exile]. *América Latina Hoy* 34: 15–34.
- Farley, Reynolds, and Richard Alba. 2002. "The New Second Generation in the United States." *International Migration Review* 36 (3): 669–701.
- Fong, Eric, and Emi Ooka. 2002. "The Social Consequences of Participating in the Ethnic Economy." *International Migration Review* 36 (1): 125–46.
- Green, Nancy L. 1997. *Ready-to-Wear and Ready-to-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Granovetter, Mark S. 1995. *Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jeon, Gyeongsu. 1996. *Segyeui hanminjok* (6): jungnammi [Koreans in the World (6): Latin America]. Seoul: Tongirwon.
- Kasinitz, Philip, Noriko Matsumoto, and Aviva Zeltzer-Zubida. 2011. "'I Will Never Deliver Chinese Food': The Children of Immigrants in the New York Metropolitan Labor Force." In *The Next Generation: Immigrant Youth in a Comparative Perspective*, edited by Richard Alba and Mary C. Waters, 229–48. New York: New York University Press.
- Kim, Dae Young. 2004. "Leaving the Ethnic Economy: The Rapid Integration of Second-Generation Korean Americans in New York." In *Becoming New Yorkers: Ethnographies of the New Second Generation*, edited by Philip Kasinitz, John H. Mollenkopf, and Mary C. Waters, 154–88. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Stepping-Stone to Intergenerational Mobility? The Springboard, Safety Net, or Mobility Trap Functions of Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurship for the

- 
- Second Generation.” *International Migration Review* 40 (4): 927–62.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. *Second-Generation Korean Americans: The Struggle for Full Inclusion*. El Paso, Texas: LFB Scholarly.
- Kim, Kwang Chung, and Won Moo Hurh. 1985. “Ethnic Resources Utilization of Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the Chicago Minority Area.” *International Migration Review* 19 (1): 82–111.
- Lee, Gyobeom. 1992. *Areuhentina haninimin 25nyeonsa* [History of 25 Years of Korean Immigration in Argentina]. Busan: Seonyeongsa.
- Lee, Jeong-Kyu. 2006. “Educational Fever and South Korean Higher Education.” *Revista Electrónica de Investigación Educativa (REDIE)* 8 (1): 1–14.
- Lieberson, Stanley, and Mary C. Waters. 1988. *From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Light, Ivan, and Edna Bonacich. 1991. *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965–1982*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Light, Ivan, and Carolyn Rosenstein. 1995. *Race, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship in Urban America*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Light, Ivan, and Steven Gold. 2000. *Ethnic Economies*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Martínez Pizarro, Jorge. 2000. “Migración internacional de jóvenes latinoamericanos y caribeños: protagonismo y vulnerabilidad” [International Migration of Young People from Latin America and the Caribbean: Leadership and Vulnerability]. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)—United Nations. *Población y Desarrollo* 3.
- Min, Pyong Gap. 1984. “From White-Collar Occupations to Small Business: Korean Immigrants’ Occupational Adjustment.” *The Sociological Quarterly* 25 (3): 333–52.
- Morokvasic, Mirjana. 1987. “Immigrants in the Parisian Garment Industry.” *Work, Employment & Society* 1 (4): 441–62.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. “Immigrants in Garment Production in Paris and Berlin.” In *Immigration and Entrepreneurship: Culture, Capital, and Ethnic Networks*, edited by Ivan Light and Parminder Bhachu, 75–95. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Park, Hea-Jin. 2013. “Nobody Remembers the Losers: The Story of Korean Agricultural Emigration to South America.” PhD diss., The Australian National University.
- Pécoud, Antoine. 2003. “Self-employment and Immigrants’ Incorporation: The Case of Turks in Germany.” *Immigrants & Minorities* 22 (2–3): 247–61.
- Portes, Alejandro. 1998. “Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 1–24.

- Portes, Alejandro, and Patricia Landolt. 2000. "Social Capital: Promise and Pitfalls of Its Role in Development." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32 (2): 529-47.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Min Zhou. 1993. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530: 74-96.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Sensenbrenner, Julia. 1993. "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (6): 1320-50.
- Rumbaut, Rubén G. 1994. "The Crucible Within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation Among Children of Immigrants." *International Migration Review* 28 (4): 748-94.
- Son, Jeongsu. 2007. "1960 nyeondae nammi nonggeom imin: Beurajil, Areuhentina, Paragwai" [Agricultural Immigration in South America in the 1960s: Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay]. In *Jungnammi haninui yeoksa* [Korean Experience in Latin America]. Gyeonggido: Guksapyeonchanwiwonhoe.
- Volery, Thierry. 2007. "Ethnic Entrepreneurship: A Theoretical Framework." In *Handbook of Research on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship: A Co-evolutionary View on Resource Management*, edited by Léo-Paul Dana, 30-41. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Wahlbeck, Östen. 2007. "Work in the Kebab Economy: A Study of the Ethnic Economy of Turkish Immigrants in Finland." *Ethnicities* 7 (4): 543-63.
- Waldinger, Roger. 1984. "Immigrant Enterprise in the New York Garment Industry." *Social Problems* 32 (1): 60-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1986. *Through the Eye of the Needle: Immigrants and Enterprise in New York's Garment Trades*. New York: New York University Press.
- Waldinger, Roger, Howard Aldrich, and Robin Ward. 1990. *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Zhou, Min. 1997. "Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation." *International Migration Review* 31 (4): 975-1008.

---

# In search of globally compassionate multicultural/intercultural education: Critical lessons learned from Rev. Theodore Hesburgh's vision and social activism during the civil rights movement and afterwards

*Jeasik Cho*  
University of Wyoming, USA

## ABSTRACT

*They say one is living in difficult times, locally and globally. The current social, cultural, and political turmoil of the world in which one lives is unprecedented in many ways. Zembylas warns that one lives in the crisis of pity, which leads to indifference toward the suffering of the other. The 21st century is in need of a new (or forgotten) moral virtue that could help restore fundamental lessons learned from the Civil Rights Movement during the 1960s-1970s. This paper examines the possibility of how multicultural/intercultural educators can incorporate the ideal of compassion as a virtue into various local and global societies of which schools are a part of. A way in which one simply feels pitiful, sympathetic, and empathetic toward sufferings of distant others is necessary but not sufficient if looking for social change. Sustained interest and taking action are needed to identify root causes of social problems relative to racism, discrimination, and injustice. A biography of Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, who worked hand-in-hand with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is analyzed in search of key principles related to compassion-based multicultural/intercultural education. Father Hesburgh recognized and appreciated common humanity as well as the fragility of humans by insisting that civil rights are a fundamentally moral issue. Serving on the Civil Rights Commission for 15 years, Father Hesburgh demonstrated how globally compassionate educators should express themselves in relation to notions of the good life and human flourishing.*

**Keywords:** *Compassion, Civil Rights Movement, Theodore Hesburgh.*



*Trouble times for education that is multicultural ..... Our time, this time is an opportunity to revisit, rethink, and re/new our vision for and approaches to multicultural education that are responsive to critiques and the current contexts (Rios, 2018, p. 169, 172).*

In stark contrast to the idea of a post-racial society, it is likely that people of color are experiencing the enormous backlash of the 2016 election results. Tensions, conflicts, and feeling discomfort about race/racism are still prevalent in everyday life through schools and societies across the nation (Stevenson, 2014). Racial discrimination and inequalities are not new, but what is interesting about recent developments pertaining to race/racism in the U.S., is the emotional factor. Many White people are considerably upset about the persistence of racism, but they don't want to talk about it. They may merely think, some racism exists but they, personally, are responsible for none of it. At present, many White people learn racial avoidance as quickly as they can (Bonilla-Silva, 2013; Cho, 2012; Michael, 2015).

The politics of fear surges. Educationally, the words, diversity and social justice, are less emphasized in language used for recent teacher education accreditation processes. It is widely known that the 2016 U.S. presidential election has been controversial in many ways. One of the most striking things that surprised many Americans was the notion of 'It is okay to speak racism thoughts' becoming more popularized and accepted. In other words, during the election, the then presidential candidate of the U.S. opened the door to the public that invited them to say any discriminatory words against anyone or any group of people if they pleased. Simply, Pandora's Box has been opened. People of color (and people at margin) are experiencing enormous backlash characterized by xenophobic immigration policy, the increase of hate crimes, and indifference toward the other (Dreamson, 2017). This paper examines the possibility of how multicultural/ intercultural educators can incorporate the ideal of compassion as a virtue into various local and global societies of which schools are a part of. A way in which one simply feels pitiful, sympathetic, and empathetic toward sufferings of distant others is necessary but not sufficient if looking for social change. Sustained interest and taking action are strongly needed to identify root causes of social problems relative to racism, discrimination, and injustice. A biography of Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, who worked hand-in-hand with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is analyzed in search of key principles related to compassion-based multicultural/intercultural education. Father Hesburgh recognized and appreciated common humanity as well as the fragility of humans by insisting that civil rights are a fundamentally moral issue. Serving on the Civil Rights Commission for 15 years, Father Hesburgh demonstrated how globally compassionate educators should express themselves in relation to notions of the good life and human flourishing.

---

## Fear vs. Hope

Are fear and hope really different from each other? Boukala and Dimitrakopoulou (2016) analyzed the country of Greece's 2015 pre-election and referendum campaigns through a framework (the politics of fear vs. the politics of hope) that argues that both are interchangeable concepts. They coexist in a framework of uncertainty and are directly related since there are both instances in which "we hope for something to happen or not to happen, or we fear something occurring" (p. 40). Spinoza's 'affects' is employed as an overarching framework of this paper:

Hope is nothing but unsteady joy, arising from the image of a future or past thing about whose issue we are in doubt. Fear, on the other hand, is an unsteady sorrow, arising from the image of a doubtful thing. If the doubt be removed from these affects, then hope and fear become confidence and despair, that is to say, joy or sorrow, arising from the image of a thing for which we have hoped or which we have feared. (2001, p. 113, cited in Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou, 2016, p. 40) The president of New Democracy examines the politics of fear and writes that: a conflict between two worlds will take place on Sunday. These two worlds have huge differences. Our world focuses on security— we aim to secure our borders against illegal immigrants. In contrast, Syriza asks for open borders. They will drive us to anarchy, together with their communist allies in Europe. They will destroy Europe! (Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou, 2016, p. 46)

In contrast, the Syriza party takes a politics of hope:

We all together—no matter what you voted in the past—can bring back to our country the sun. The sun of justice; the sun of dignity; the sun of democracy ... On Sunday, Greece, the birthplace of democracy, will send a message of democracy to Europe ..... They focus on a bisectational discourse, while we focus on a unifying discourse. We leave him alone to preach on the Greek Civil War and use hate speech, while we focus on hope. We face fear via hope. (Boukala & Dimitrakopoulou, 2016, p. 47)

In the end, the hope of Syriza defeated the fear of New Democracy.

## The Civil Rights Movement

*Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and nonviolence, when it helps us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves. For from his view we may indeed see the basic weakness of our own conditions, and if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition ~ M. L. King, Jr., 1964.*

The Civil Rights Movement, one of the most important humanitarian, non-violent world histories, took place mainly during the 1950s and 1960s for Blacks to gain equal rights under the law in the U.S. While the Civil War was officially finished, it did not end discrimination against Blacks. The cruel discriminatory effects of racism, especially in the South, have still prevailed. African Americans suffered from lawful, systematic prejudice and violence. They, along with many Whites, launched a non-violent fight for basic human rights that spanned many decades.

Following is a synoptic introduction of what the Civil Rights Movement was like and how it progressed during the 1950s and 1960s.

In 1868, the 14th Amendment to the Constitution gave Blacks equal protection under the law. In 1870, the 15th Amendment granted Blacks the right to vote.

**Jim Crow Laws (1896)**



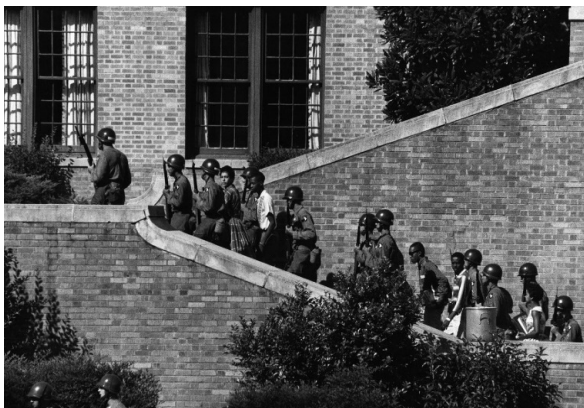
Blacks could not use the same public facilities as Whites, live in many of the same towns or go to the same schools. Interracial marriage was illegal, and most Blacks could not vote because they were unable to pass voter literacy tests. The U.S. Supreme Court declared in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that facilities for Blacks and Whites could be “*separate but equal*” (1896).

**Rosa Parks (1955)**



On December 1, 1955, a 42-year-old Black woman named Rosa Parks found a seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus after work. When a White man got on the bus and could not find a seat in the White section at the front of the bus, the bus driver instructed Parks and three other Blacks to give up their seats. Parks refused and was arrested. It lasted 381 days until segregated seating was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

**Little Rock Nine (1957)**



In 1954, the Civil Rights Movement gained momentum when the United States Supreme Court made segregation illegal in public schools in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. In 1957, Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas asked for volunteers from all-Black high schools to attend the formerly segregated school. On September 3, 1957, nine Black students, known as the Little Rock Nine, arrived at Central High School to begin classes but were instead met by the Arkansas National Guard and a screaming, threatening mob. The Little Rock Nine tried again a couple weeks later and made it inside but had to be removed for their safety when violence ensued. Finally, President Dwight D. Eisenhower intervened and ordered federal troops to escort the Little Rock Nine to and from classes at Central High.

### Civil Rights Act of 1957



The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1957)



Many southern states required Blacks to take voter literacy tests that were confusing, misleading and nearly impossible to pass. On September 9, 1957, President Eisenhower signed the Civil Rights Act of 1957 into law. This was the first major civil rights legislation since Reconstruction.

Members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at the White House, January 3, 1958. Second from left *Father Theodore Hesburgh (I)* and second from right, President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

### Woolworth's Lunch Counter, 1960



On February 1, 1960, four college students took a stand against segregation in Greensboro, North Carolina when they refused to leave a Woolworth's lunch counter without being served. Over the next several days, hundreds of people joined their cause. After some were arrested and charged with trespassing, protestors launched a boycott of all segregated lunch counters until the owners caved and the original four students were finally served at the Woolworth's lunch counter where they had first stood their ground.

### March on Washington (1963)



On August 28, 1963, the March on Washington was organized and attended by civil rights leaders. More than 200,000 people, Black and White, congregated in Washington, D. C. for the peaceful march with the main purpose of forcing civil rights legislation and establishing job equality for everyone. The highlight of the march was Martin Luther King's speech in which he continually stated, "I Have a Dream..."



**Civil Rights Act of 1964, 1965**



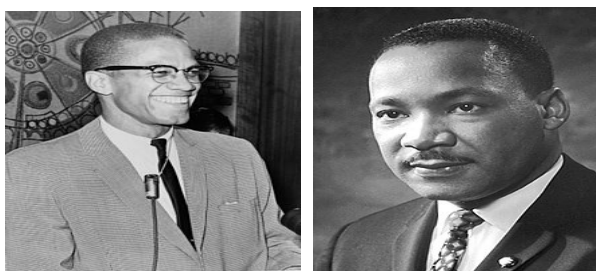
President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964—legislation initiated by President John F. Kennedy before his assassination—into law on July 2 of that year. Martin Luther King and other civil rights activists witnessed the signing. The law guaranteed equal employment for all, limited the use of voter literacy tests and allowed federal authorities to ensure public facilities were integrated. When President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law on August 6, 1965, he took the Civil Rights Act of 1964 several steps further.

**Bloody Sunday (1965)**



On March 7, 1965, the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama took an especially violent turn as 600 peaceful demonstrators participated in the Selma to Montgomery march to protest the killing of a Black civil rights activist by a White police officer. The entire incident was televised and became known as “Bloody Sunday.” Martin Luther King pushed for nonviolent protests and eventually gained federal protection for another march.

**Civil Rights Leaders Assassinated (1965, 1968)**



On February 21, 1965, former Nation of Islam leader and Organization of Afro-American Unity founder Malcolm X was assassinated at a rally. On April 4, 1968, civil rights leader and Nobel Peace Prize recipient Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated on his hotel room’s balcony.

**Fair Housing Act of 1968**



The Fair Housing Act became law on April 11, 1968, just days after Martin Luther King’s assassination. It prevented housing discrimination based on race, sex, national origin and religion. It was also the last legislation enacted during the civil rights era.

(Modified from Sources: <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/civil-rights-movement> and many other internet archives)

---

In closing, the Civil Rights Movement was empowering for Blacks in America. The efforts of civil rights activists and several protestors of all races, including Whites, led to legislation to end a) segregation, b) black voter suppression, c) discriminatory employment, and d) discriminatory housing practices. The movement in and of itself succeeded. It was made possible because of many of dedicated leaders and courageous citizens. As seen above, Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, an unknown hero, was officially invited to join this unprecedented historical movement when President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the Civil Right Act of 1957.

### **Critical Compassionate Multicultural Education**

*We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools ~ M. L. King, Jr.*

In these days, calls to compassion have mushroomed in many different contexts. In particular, the discourse of compassion has been well received in the politics of European countries facing global issues pertaining to migrations, refugees, health care services or social issues ( Castagno, 2014; Koppelman, 1989; Nordström, 2008; Valverde, 2010). This paper adopts Peterson's (2017) definition of compassion: a virtue, one which can be understood as a cognitive, emotional and volitional response to the suffering of others. Compassion is based on a recognition and appreciation of common humanity, including human's fragility. It requires empathic distress, care for others, and can inform and lead to actions in support of others. Compassion represents an expression of ourselves and our humanity, and relates to notions of the good life and human flourishing. (p. 2)

It is likely that compassion is a virtue that stems from an emotional response to the suffering of others. "Emotions plays a crucial in helping us to understand significant moral features of given situation" (Peterson, 2017, p. 37) and three particular emotions such as pity, sympathy, and empathy are viewed as central to compassion.

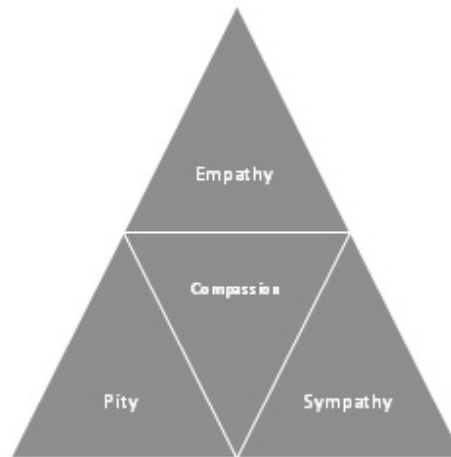


Figure 1. Emotions at the Heart of Compassion

**Pity** is a feeling of recognition and sorrow in response to the suffering of others. Pity is “a largely negative (or at least largely unproductive) response to the suffering of others ... as an excessive form of compassion, involving a deviation ... feeling distress for those whose suffering is of their own making” (Peterson, 2017, pp. 41-42). Importantly, pity doesn’t motivate action and is based on the subject’s superiority over the suffering object. Pity is what compassion is not, because pity is “(1) distanced, (2) passive, and (3) involving superior power relations.” Conversely, compassion is conceived “(1) engaged, (2) active, and (3) involving equitable relationships between humans” (p. 43).

**Sympathy** is “closer moral and relational connection between humans than might be the case with pity, identifying with others that we start to draw them closer to our circle of concern, reducing the distance between ourselves and others” (Peterson, 2017, p. 45). In other words, sympathy requires us to create some form of relation with others at a human level. Sympathy might motivate the alleviation of suffering, but equally it might not. For example, it is reasonable that one could be sympathetic but not take action.

Empathy is much broader than pity and sympathy. In order to understand others, we have to imagine ourselves into their position. It is obvious that empathy motivates us to some form of behavior aimed at alleviating the suffering, connecting the compassionate agent to those suffering. For this connection to occur, we need to recognize “the existence of the difference between self-focus role taking (our pasts in order to our placing ourselves in the position of others) and other-focus role taking (the feelings of those suffering) and an imaginative gap between our (re)construction of the sufferer and their suffering” (Peterson, 2017, p. 54). This imaginative gap is the most important point that we should highlight in relation to the nature of compassion:

---

... while cognitive imagination is a necessary condition of the sort of empathy which compassion needs, it is not sufficient alone without emotion and vice versa. Compassion involves an emotional response to the suffering of others which operates in relation with our cognitive endeavours. (Peterson, 2017, p. 51)

That is, unlike pity and sympathy, empathy is “rooted in sincerity, mutual concern and unforced dialogue, rather than less positive self-serving ends” (Peterson, 2017, p. 57). Even though it is psychologically possible to feel the same emotional response as another, it is not always certain that this is what is actually going on in case of empathy. For example, we feel some form of emotional distress that others are starving or are suffering physical pain, however, it is unlikely to suggest that the same emotion is being experienced by both the sufferer and the empathizer. Simply speaking, “we feel sad because others are sad, but the sort of sadness is different in kind from the precise sadness which the other is feeling” (p. 53).

**Compassionate Anger:** If we accept the premise of an imaginative gap, and that such gaps owe to a range of possible contributory factors – including perhaps, ignorance, a lack of imagination, incomplete facts or misunderstanding – it becomes necessary to ask how we might go about closing the gap. Anger is perhaps best understood as a secondary emotion because beyond a superficial level it depends in the first place on the existence of pity, sympathy and empathy. Compassionate anger builds from “a sorrow at the suffering of others, our care for others, and our imaginative reconstruction of their suffering” (Peterson, 2017, p. 59).

\* \* \* \* \*

*I grew up learning how to be a nice person, and I am generally quite good at it. The few times that I did not act in ways that were consistent with the niceness that were expected of me, I was quickly brought back into the fold. I can remember questioning an administrator in high school about what I perceived to be inequitable treatment based on the families to which students belonged. I can remember being told that I was simply wrong but also disrespectful and inappropriate in my accusations. For me, school was not the place where I learned about equity, oppression, or injustice. It was not until my early adult years that I started noticing these things. And it was only through explicit exposure to potentially uncomfortable concepts, relationships with people who are willing to challenge my worldview, and compelling evidence that injustice and unfairness were rampant in my community that I was able to see what was previously invisible to me. Once I started paying attention, I quickly became **angry** that my schooling was so*



*inadequate. I was academically prepared to be very successful in college and beyond ..., but I was never asked to think critically or write about things like racism, institutional oppression, homophobia, or social-class injustice. To have engaged in this kinds of issue would have been inconsistent with the nice White girl who I was and who I was expected to be (Castagno, 2014, p. 12, emphasis added).*

\* \* \* \* \*

Anger can play something of an important role in motivating the compassionate agent to (seek to) not only alleviate the suffering but to challenge the structural causes of the suffering (Peterson, 2017, p. 59). Some may be concerned with the fact that anger itself can result in excessive actions and perhaps violence in the name of compassion. “Compassionate anger is a form of deliberative anger mediated by rational deliberation through which those witnessing sufferings make judgments as to its cause and decisions about appropriate action” (p. 60).

By reviewing Martha Nussbaum’s two seminal works *Compassion: The Basic Social Emotion* (1996) and *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (2001), Zembylas (2013) warns the current *crisis of pity* as “the crisis of a particular conception of politics of compassion where the justification for action takes place in the name of a sentimental discourse of suffering” (p. 505). Arguing that “not just any action is good action; that is, it does not mean that any concern for distant others can be regarded as noble concern” (p. 505), Zembylas theorizes *critical pedagogies of compassion* in the framework of the emotional complexities of teaching for/with compassion:

As critical pedagogies, critical pedagogies of compassion engage in the critical interrogation of power relations and aim at subverting patterns of subordination. However, critical pedagogies of compassion mark a valuable intervention in the broad domain of critical pedagogy by focusing more specially on identifying and challenging the emotional investments and emotion-informed ideologies that underlie possible responses to ward suffering – by students and teachers alike – and seeking to make a concrete difference in suffers’ lives ... what distinguishes critical pedagogies of compassion is their emphasis on compassion to critique *emotional ideologies* and engage students in action-oriented solidarity and altruism. (p. 515, emphasis added)

Together, what compassionate anger and emotional ideologies have in common does not endorse an extreme level of emotion on the side of the empathizer, nor does it mean that taking immediate action to alleviate sufferings is trivial. Just being concerned about distant others is a beginning and it is desirable that more actions follow, particularly by

---

critically delving into the causes of the suffering being observed (Langstraat & Bowdon, 2011). Castagno's (2014) compassionate anger and Zembylas' (2013) critical pedagogies of compassion are convergent with the disturbing but positive emotional reaction to the root problem persistently exemplified as race/racism, power, or structural inequality. By viewing "Compassion as Caring" as spontaneously concerned for those who are suffering, Peterson (2017) explains "Compassion as Justice":

focuses on the provision of more focused and sustained support for those who suffer, including challenging and seeking to redress the causes of the sufferer's plight, ... more focused and sustained support for those who suffer, including challenging. (p. 69)

As "the problem of white racial privilege transcends the nation state" (Leonardo, 2010, p. 29), more appropriate tactics and strategies, for example, 4 Ds -- Direct (Intervene right in the moment), Distract (Redirect the focus of the group), Delay (Intentionally wait to call someone in at a later time), or Delegate (Ask someone else to intervene) -- are urgently in need for those in the margins of schools and universities. In Greek mythology, the evils of the world were released when Pandora's Box was opened. The only thing remaining in the box was Hope. Undoubtedly, Pandora's Box has been opened with a political agenda. Hope will come and provide long-term insight into ways of enhancing internal pedagogical dialogue for mainstream white students toward a celebration of diversity (Depalma, 2010; Snyder, 2002). Duncan-Andrade (2009) believes that hope is pain and one doesn't exist without the other. In his article, entitled *Note to educators: Hope required when growing roses in concrete*, he notes that the solidarity to share in others' suffering, to sacrifice self so that other roses may bloom, to collectively struggle to replace the concrete completely with a rose garden is what is called *audacious hope* (pp. 5-6).

### **Theodore M. Hesburgh**

*Whatever you value, be committed to it and let nothing distract you from this goal*  
(Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh)

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh (1917 - 2015) was born in Syracuse, New York, and was an educator and author. It is interesting that the contribution that Father Hesburgh made to the Civil Rights Movement was little known. Hesburgh was a public servant and social activist involved in numerous American civic and governmental initiatives, commissions, and international humanitarian projects. Hesburgh received numerous honors and awards for his service, most notably the United States' Presidential Medal of Freedom

(1964) and Congressional Gold Medal (2000). He also held the world's record for the individual with most honorary degrees, 150 plus.

He counseled four presidents (Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon) before, during, and after the Civil Rights Movement. Fr. Hesburgh was ordained a Holy Cross priest in 1943 and received his doctorate in theology in 1945. At the age of 35, he was appointed President of the University of Notre Dame in 1952 and retired in 1987 after serving 35 years. His active involvement in the U.S. federal government began in 1954 when President Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed him as a member of the National Science Board, which was the first of his sixteen presidential appointments. Three years later, President Eisenhower appointed him to be a charter member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Fr. Hesburgh reflected on the day when receiving a phone call from the White House:

[T]hey finally passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which boiled down to the first that they created a commission to see what the problem was and what the U.S. should do about it: achieving civil rights for all Americans. I said to myself, “it would be just my luck to get on that commission.” ... I got a call from the White House ... “It is a very important subject, and I have been interested in it all my life and, of course I will take the appointment.” (Schmuhl, 2016, p. 63)

The American Civil War broke out in 1861 and President Abraham Lincoln made an executive order entitled *The Emancipation Proclamation* on January 1, 1863. The Union (34 States in the North) defeated the Confederacy (7 slave states) in 1865 when slavery was abolished and 4 million Black slaves were freed. The House passed the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment (No Slavery) to the Constitution in 1865. It was well known that the Blacks were not equal as U.S. citizens to Whites. Since slavery was abolished in 1865, Black and White education was segregated and unequal. In the 1896 Jim Crow Law, the U.S. Supreme Court declared that school facilities for Blacks and Whites could be “*separate but equal*.” In the 31 years after slavery was constitutionally abolished, the U.S. continued to systematically discriminate against blacks regarding education, voting, employment, and housing. Fortunately, the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case, unanimously decided by the U.S. Supreme Court, overturned the Jim Crow Law, but it took 60 years for this landmark justice decision to be observed. Fr. Hesburgh compassionately pointed out:

Human beings who happened to be white owned other human beings who were black – who had no rights whatever, who worked dawn to dusk, who got no pay for it, who lived in shacks while the whites lived in mansions. They had no civil rights.

---

They couldn't vote, they got no education whatever. It was a pretty awful thing, but it was a picture of what America was when Lincoln became president, and it took enormous courage on his part..... While slaves were free they were still living in those shacks, they were still working dawn to dusk, they were getting paid pennies. They had no education set up at all, and life went on pretty much the way it had in the past, except they were free. None of them ever voted, none of them ever got education, with a few exception here and there.

(Schmuhl, 2016, p. 65)

Hesburgh's oratory concerning the lives of Blacks in the U.S. before and even after the Emancipation Proclamation was simple and straightforward. He defined "civil rights as a moral issue, a position that many political leaders and people of faith later embraced" (Murray, 2015, p. 122). This simple principle adopted by Fr. Hesburgh, unlike many other executive leaders, is compassionate in that one cannot think of civil rights without basic human rights.

Politicians could not find a solution that secured civil rights for Blacks and other minorities in the 1950s, simply because they had a tendency to separate political and legal problems from the humanistic moral issue. As a member of the Civil Rights Commission (a total of 6), Fr. Hesburgh was the only one who fought to preserve its political independence. In doing so, he believed that the Commission's mission could be accomplished.

By listening to those who suffered racial discrimination and translating their complaints into proposals for congressional and presidential action, Father Hesburgh and his colleagues on the Civil Rights Commission contributed significantly to the success of the movement for equal rights. (Murray, 2015, p. 122)

For example, Blacks in many southern states were unable to vote mainly because they failed a literacy test that was very confusing, setting them up for failure. Fr. Hesburgh had an interview with Dr. John L. Reddix, an African American dentist from Monroe, Louisiana (Murray, 2015, p. 134):

\* \* \* \* \*

Hesburgh: You are an American citizen who has served in the armed forces, who is a law abiding man, married with three children, and a professional man and a college graduate, and you are not able to vote for the next president of the United States, is that correct?

Reddix: Yes, sir.

Hesburgh: You still pay taxes.

Reddix: Yes, sir.

Hesburgh: I think you ought to go back and try to vote again, and I would like to hear how you make out. I would like to report this directly and in person to the president of the United States.

\* \* \* \* \*

Listening to those who suffered discriminatory pains was his idea. Perhaps a reader of this paper may wonder if Fr. Hesburgh's fundamental claim of equating civil rights with human rights came from his religious background. Indeed, yes, it did. At this time, there were hundreds of religious leaders in the U.S. but none, particularly White religious leaders, were more courageous than Fr. Hesburgh, who took a principled stand against prejudice and racism. Following is one of Fr. Hesburgh's famous statements that expresses the value of human dignity as the most important mission for a country:

Our moral blindness has given us a divided America, an ugly America complete with black ghettos. We can spend \$24 billion to get a man on the moon where no life exists, and yet we continue to condemn millions of human beings to substandard, unsanitary and dilapidated housing. We allow children to grow up in city jungles, to attend disgraceful schools, to be surrounded with every kind of physical and moral ugliness, and then we are surprised if there are low in aspiration and accomplishment. (Murray, 2015, p. 151)

The compassion embraced by Fr. Hesburgh was clearly evident in the above creed. He "stood for those who could not sound, he spoke for those without a voice. Human dignity and freedom are not something to come automatically. You have got to create an environment, which is possible" (n.d.).

Fr. Hesburgh gave the 1986 Commencement address at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln: "Be the kind of person who not only understands the injustices of this life, but is also willing to do something about them." It is clear that Fr. Hesburgh did not just talk the talk, but walked the walk to build a just society.



In closing, a famous photo, taken on June 21, 1964, at a civil rights rally at Soldier Field in Chicago, showed Father Hesburgh together with Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., singing “We Shall Overcome.” An excerpt of this song follows. The author of this paper compassionately wanted to add an attachment to the end of this song, ‘Oh, deep in our heart, We do believe, We will continue to work, together’:

We shall overcome  
We shall overcome  
We shall overcome, some day  
-----  
We'll walk hand in hand  
We'll walk hand in hand  
We'll walk hand in hand, some day  
-----  
We shall live in peace  
We shall live in peace  
We shall live in peace, some day  
-----  
We are not afraid  
We are not afraid  
We are not afraid, TODAY  
-----  
The whole wide world around  
The whole wide world around  
The whole wide world around, some day  
-----  
Oh, deep in my heart  
I do believe  
We shall overcome, some day

## Conclusion: Toward Critically Compassionate Global Intellectualism

*[Former U.S. president Obama] credited the priest's civil rights work as instrumental in opening the doors of the White House to person from a minority, such as himself. (Schmuhl, 2016, p. 82)*

Over the last few years, the two symbolic words, *walls* vs. *bridges*, represent a divide between me/us vs. you/them all over the world. The eruption of the fear of a dominant cultural group is so unprecedented that it is time to revisit the taken-for-granted question in multicultural and/or intercultural education (Nieto, 2000; Sleeter & Grant, 2009; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). At the core of discrimination and social injustice surrounding the fear of difference is racism that publicly appears to be acceptable. In the U.S., for example, the way White nationalists behave toward minorities is no different than the way Whites in the south behaved before the Civil Rights Movement. One thing that has not changed is the integrity of the conscience of White liberals in the past and many Whites at present during the turmoil of social change. Simply, we need to be reminded that history is always a great teacher.

It is time to collectively recognize and appreciate the ultimate value of common humanity (Higgs & Higgs, 2015; Roxis, Cho, Rios, Jaime, & Becker, 2015), which can be “often sparked by ... a particular stimulus which engages the heart and mind in a way that compels one to action on the basis of a sense of shared, common humanity and a genuine concern for others” (Peterson, 2016, p. 7). Racial discrimination is a basis for all sorts of other discriminations (Michael, 2015). Fr. Hesburgh demonstrated compassionate anger for the suffering of others: What good are voting rights if you can't get food for your family and you don't live in a decent house and you don't have health insurance and you continue to go to inferior schools? (Murray, 2015, p. 154)

In a speech to honor Fr. Hesburgh and celebrate the 14<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Notre Dame Center for Civil and Human Rights, McAward (2013) concludes, “I imagine Fr. Hesburgh would say the same thing today as he did toward the end of his tenure on the Civil Rights Commission:

But the crisis facing our country today is every bit as serious, if not more so .... There are many more obstacles to be overcome before the dream of equality on which this country was founded is finally redeemed.... Americans should be concerned and should look for answers that will help create a society where man

---

[and women] can move about freely and people are not feared simply because they are strangers and where every human being is assumed to be a person of dignity and value and worth and respected as such.... it is up to us to recognize the sacred value of each human being, and it is up to us to advance Fr. Hesburgh's work by ensuring that concern for human dignity is the guiding value of our communities and of our laws and policies. (p. 322)

This paper ends with some questions, formulated by a Native American scholar, that Rios (2018) urges the global multicultural/intercultural community members to compassionately answer. Like Fr. Hesburgh courageously did, we educators and social leaders need to listen to those who have suffered all sorts of discrimination in global society and translate their complaints and basic human wishes into research projects for policymakers (Romero, Arce, Cammarota, 2009). Yes, of course, we have been doing this type of research every day, but we now need to bring more compassionate anger to the work we do:

- \* How do we more fully address historical and contemporary forms of oppression, locally and globally?
- \* Toward what justice? That is, what is our vision of liberation and for what are we seeking?
- \* How do we reach ideological and political clarity which can also inform our theory of change?
- \* Given that vision, what is in most need of transformation as part and parcel of a humanizing (and rights-based) education?
- \* How do we engage in the kinds of scholarly research-central to the advancement of any future efforts around education centered in social justice - that is meaningful and respectful of students and communities? (Tuck, 2014, cited in Rios, 2018, pp. 177-178)



## References

- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2013). *Racism without racists: Colorblind racism and the persistence of racial inequalities in the United States* (4th ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Boukala, S., & Dimitrakopoulou, D. (2016). The politics of fear vs. the politics of hope: analyzing the 2015 Greek election and referendum campaigns. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 14(1), 39-55.
- Castogno, A. (2014). *Educated in Whiteness: Good intentions and diversity in school*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.
- Cho, J. (2012). On critical performance race theory: Principles, pedagogy, and loving community. *Multicultural Education Review*, 4(2), 1-37.
- Depalma, R. (2010). Toward a practice of polyphonic dialogue in multicultural teacher education. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 40(3), 436-453.
- Dreamson, N. (2017). *Reinventing intercultural education: A metaphysical manifest for rethinking cultural diversity*. New York: Routledge.
- Duncan-Andrade, J. (2009). Note to educators: Hope required when growing roses in concrete. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(2), 181-194.
- Higgs, R., & Higgs, E. B. (2015). Compassion – a critical factor for attaining and maintain a free society. *The Independent Review*, 19(4), 637-630. History.com <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/civil-rights-movement>
- Koppelman, K. (2006). Media strategies for multicultural education: Using technology to teach compassion. *Educational Media International*, 26(2), 82-84
- Langstraat, L., & Bowdon, M. (2011). Service-learning and critical emotion studies: On the perils of empathy and the politics of compassion. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 17(2), 5-14.
- Leonardo, Z. (2002). The Souls of White Folk: Critical pedagogy, whiteness studies, and globalization discourse. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 5(1), 29-50.
- Michael, A. (2015). *Raising race questions: Whiteness and inquiry in education*. New York: Teachers College.
- Murray, P. (2015). "To Change the Face of America" Father Theodore M. Hesburgh and the Civil Rights Commission. *Indiana Magazine of History*, 111, 121-154.
- Nieto, S. (2000). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). New York: Longman.
- Nordström, H. (2008). Environmental Education and Multicultural Education - Too Close to Be Separate? *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education*, 17(2), 131-145.

- 
- Nussabaum, M. (1996). Compassion: The basic social emotion. *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 13(1), 27-58.
- Nussabaum, M. (2001). *Upheavals of thought: The intelligence of emotion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Peterson, A. (2017). *Compassion and education: Cultivating compassionate children, schools and communities*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rios, F. (2018). The legacy and trajectories of multicultural education: recognition, refusal, and movement building in troubling times, *Multicultural Education Review*, 10(3), 165-183. DOI: 10.1080/2005615X.2018.1497876
- Romero, A., Arce, S., & Cammarota, J. (2009). A Barrio pedagogy: identity, intellectualism, activism, and academic achievement through the evolution of critically compassionate intellectualism. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 12(2), 217-233, DOI: 10.1080/13613320902995483
- Roxis, K., Cho, J., Rios, F., Jaime, A., & Becker, K. (2015). Critical cosmopolitan multicultural education. *Multicultural Education Review*, 7(4), 230-248.
- Schmuhl, R. (2016). *Fifty Years with Father Hesburgh on and off the Record*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Sleeter, C., & Grant, C. (2009). *Making choices for multicultural education: Five Approaches to race, class, and gender* (6<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Danvers, MA: Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Snyder, C. R. (2002). Hope theory: Rainbows in the mind. *Psychology Inquiry*, 13(4), 249-275.
- Stevenson, H. (2014). *Promoting racial literacy in schools: Differences that make a difference*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Tarozzi, M., & Torres, G. (2016). *Global citizenship education and the crises of multiculturalism*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Valverde, C. (2010). *Toward a pedagogy of compassion: Extracting principles of education from teaching a high school multicultural literature class* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, CA.
- Zembylas, M. (2013). The “Crisis of Pity” and the radicalization of solidarity: Toward critical pedagogies of compassion. *Educational Studies*, 49(6), 504-521.

## Session A-2

Chair: Somin Chung(Korea)

- **Eunyoung Jang(Korea)**

*Language diversity: The new challenge to Korean education*

- **Jisoon Park(Korea)**

*A Study on Literacy of KSL Child Learners*

- **Sungsook Kim(Korea)**

*The chronological development of Korean literacy and the appearance of the Korean Poet, Yoon, Dong Ju*

- **Ryeong Kim(Korea)**

*A Study on the Selection of Korean Cultural Vocabulary for Foreign Learners*

- **Evgeny Gerchev Kandilarov(Bulgaria)**

*Aspects of the Korean history through the prism of Bulgarian archives from the cold war period*



# Language diversity: The new challenge to Korean education

*Eunyoung Jang*  
*Seoul National University of Education*

## ABSTRACT

More and more children in Korea speak more than one language. However, K-12 teachers in Korea, the majority of whom were raised and educated in mainstream culture and monolingual context, are barely trained to teach and interact with these children. Emphasizing that language diversity is critical challenge to Korean education, this article aimed to identify and examine the salient and challenging issues involving language diversity through reviewing language policies, programs, and related research literature from multiple angles. Here, I examine the issues of language diversity in Korea in two major categories, Language ideology and monolingualism, and then, critical literacy based on critical multiculturalism is suggested as an alternative pedagogical approach to dealing with linguistic inequality in the multicultural and multilingual classrooms. Not only economic capitals but also cultural and social capitals play critical roles as tools for reproduction of power hierarchies in society (Bourdieu, 1991). Language ability is, undoubtedly, one of the powerful cultural capitals but this may not be true for all languages and thus, not for all language users. I contend that at the center of problems and conflict surrounding language issues in Korea are obvious and taken-for-granted 'double standards' in recognizing the values and usages of diverse languages; some languages are socially and institutionally legitimized and valued but others are not. If there are language and communication problems in multicultural families, I think it is not because a foreign mother spoke her language to her child, but because she did not do so.

**Keywords:** language diversity, language ideology, monolingualism, English fever, multicultural families, critical pedagogy, critical literacy

---

## I. Introduction

Along with the rapid increase in the number of foreign residents, language diversity began to be noted in South Korean (Korea from hence) classrooms. More and more children speak more than one language. Nevertheless, K-12 teachers in Korea, as the majority of them were raised and educated in the context of Korean language and culture, are barely trained to teach and interact with these children and to manage the multicultural and multilingual class (Miname & Ovando, 2004). The problem is simple: how can Korean mainstream teachers deal with situations where children with different languages, cultures and communicative paradigms from typical Korean students come into the classroom. Emphasizing that language diversity is critical challenge to Korean society and Korean education, this paper aims to identify and examine the salient and challenging issues involving language diversity and education through reviewing language policies and research from multiple angles. Then, critical literacy based on critical multiculturalism is suggested as an alternative pedagogical approach to language education in multicultural and multilingual Korean society.

## II. Background of the Study: Demographic and Linguistic Features

Most academic reports addressing multiculturalism in Korea tend to include comments on the ‘historical homogeneity’ of this country in terms of ethnicity, culture, and language as well as on the national pride of the homogeneity. However, foreigners are now seen in our daily lives as wives or daughter-in-laws of mine or my neighbors and as colleagues or peers working besides me or my families. As of August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017, the number of foreign residents has reached approximately 2 million, taking up almost 4 percent of the entire registered population in South Korea. In other words, 4 out of 100 registered residents in Korea are foreigners and 77.7% of the foreign residents are not nationalized. Foreign laborers, marriage-based immigrants and their children account for a major percentage of all foreign residents.

Although the types of languages used by foreign residents not identified officially, it is possible to speculate the composition of languages other than Korean used in Korea by examining the nationalities of multicultural families. According to 2017 statistics, the number of multicultural students categorized by nationalities of their foreign parent as follows: Vietnam (26.5%), China (22.5%), Korean Chinese (11.3%), Philippines (12.0%), Japan (10.5%), and so on. It is assumed that, except for the group of Chinese Koreans

who speaks Korean fluently, languages used in Korea include Mandarin, Vietnamese, Japanese, English, Tagalog (Philippines), Mongolian, and so on.

Not only the nationalities of foreign residents/multicultural families, but also the uniqueness of multicultural population of Korea should be noted to understand the issues of language diversity in Korea. First, children of multicultural families in Korea have limited opportunities to be exposed to the languages of their foreign parent so many of them are monolinguals rather than bilinguals. Second, Korean language variety used by North Korean defectors should be taken into consideration because it adds another dimension to Korean language diversity. Third, issues relating to language diversity cannot be fully discussed without addressing the impacts of English on Korean education and society. Acknowledging that these features are fundamentally intertwined to each other, the focus of this article will be particularly on two critical issues relating to the language diversity in Korea due to the page limitation.

### III. Findings and Discussion

Here, I examine the issues of language diversity in Korea in two major categories, Language ideology and monolingualism, and then, I suggest critical literacy education as an alternative approach to dealing with linguistic inequality expecting promising results for helping students to cultivate communicative competence in this global era.

#### 1. Language ideology: English and ‘other’ languages in Korea

To discuss language ideology, I begin with the status of English in Korea. English in Korea is not regarded as an ‘EIL.’ Instead, it is one powerful language that comes before any other languages. Asserting that Korea may be placed within ‘outer circle’ rather than ‘expanding circle’ as in Kachru’s (1992) concentric circles model, Curan (2018) highlights the ‘intranational function’ of English as gatekeeper. ‘English fever’ refers to the overemphasis on English ability which is often driven by lunatic passion and unreasonable expectations for the social rewards of English abilities that parents, schools, and society have shown for decades. Many Koreans feel deprived and marginalized deep inside when they fail to speak English like ‘natives’. One of the experts in English has also revealed his emotion towards English as a “complicated feeling of oppression and secret worship inside” (Yoon, 2007, p. 389).

Language ideology is embedded in the ways languages of multicultural families are addressed. Park and Shin’s (2013) study on the international marriage couples (mostly

---

foreign husband and Korean wife) who sent their children to French International School located in Seoul were found to support strongly for multilingualism for their children. All of the parents interviewed said that although they were living in Korea, it is much more important for their children to acquire English and French (especially English was prioritized) than to learn Korean simply because the former languages are necessary for their children to be successful in schools and job market. Korean language was regarded as a ‘secondary’ and informal language that would be useful in developing mother-child affiliation at home.

It is interesting to compare the result of this study with the cases of typical multicultural families. Only 10% of multicultural families allows a parent from foreign countries, mostly mother, to speak her mother tongue to child at home (Yoon & Kim, 2012). One of the most salient features of language education for multicultural population in Korea is the dominant, or almost exclusive focus on developing and promoting accuracy of the Korean language. My colleague and I conducted a meta-analysis of 416 multicultural education research papers relating to language and language education published in Korea (Lee & Jang, 2013). We confirmed that, in spite of the effort paid to deal with multiculturalism successfully in Korea, assimilative approaches to language diversity is obvious and predominant in a substantial body of research literature.

Later on, we examined specifically the topic of bilingualism and bilingual education by reviewing 74 multicultural studies focusing on ‘bilingual education’ (Jang & Lee, 2018). 78% of the empirical studies reviewed were found to target multicultural families and their children while only 3 studies addressed domestic families and their children. Unfortunately, there was no research found on how two or more languages are co-developing in multicultural families. Taken together, bilingualism is supported only if the additional language learned is assumed powerful. For many multicultural families in Korea, their mothers’ languages are not considered cultural capitals. Instead, monolingualism is the underlying ideology that operates language education policies and research for multicultural families.

## 2. Predominance of monolingualism

The Korean government’s effort to support language diversity for multicultural families has shown considerable advancement but still remained inconsistent based upon weak understanding of the tenets of multilingualism. The government’s first response to the sharp increase of diverse population was the “Basic Law Concerning the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea” implemented in 2007. The programs implemented by the Basic



Law contributed to establishing a considerable number of multicultural support centers across the countries but the roles of those centers were limited to providing supports for assimilation such as Korean language teaching and translation and Korean cultural experiences, and for social welfare services (Kim, 2014). One of the unintended results of these programs is creation of preconception that multicultural families are deficient and incompetent, and thus need helps from others in one form or another.

It was not until 2009 that educational policies for promoting bilingual education in some public schools was established. The 3-year Plan for Multicultural Education (2009-2011) was established and implemented programs that aimed to empower and recognize potentials of diverse students. The Bilingual Teacher Training Program supported by Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education was one of the attempts to recognize the marriage immigrant women' bilingual ability and intercultural experiences as assets for promoting multicultural and multilingual education in K-12 schools. This program was one of the meaningful businesses as it withdrew the existing deficiency perspective to immigrants by highlighting what they possess as strengths and assets. In spite of the expansion of the program nationwide and the teachers' contribution to multilingual and multicultural education, however, it discontinued from 2012 due to lack of financial, social, and institutional support. Most of all, the bilingual teachers with immigration background were not fully acknowledged as teachers in the field and encountered various forms of unequal, unfair, and depressing treatment at schools (Won & Jang, 2017).

Bilingual education in Korea typically takes a form of transitional bilingualism of which the main purpose is to help diverse learners to acquire the mainstream language, that is, Korea. The new languages entered with new people in Korea are not considered assets or at least, part of identity. Research trends and educational policies implicitly show that a foreign mother's language tends to be regarded as a barrier to her child's Korean language development or a mere tool for one's language shift as in transitional bilingualism. This idea also implies a prescriptive approach to language education by emphasizing accuracy of language. There is a fear that to support the mother tongues of multicultural students might lead to underdeveloped languages in both first and second language. This idea of 'semilingualism' is fundamentally based upon an ideology of monolingualism (Baker, 2006).

---

## IV. So What? Critical Literacy for all

Multiculturalism and multicultural education are often criticized for their naïve and benevolent approaches to power relationships. About multiculturalism in Korea, Kim (2014) states that the “intensity and volume of multicultural programs, policies, and practices are impressive” (p. 401) but points out the gap between intentions and realities by saying that these activities “outpaced the reality of multiculturalism.” As discussed thus far, what penetrates the issues of linguistic diversity in Korea is the lack of critical understanding of the ways power operates in language education and policies. Unfortunately, the benevolent approach to multicultural education” rather fails to uncover hegemonic ideas and practices surrounding linguistic inequality.

Critical pedagogy and critical literacy (Freire, 1970), which are counterhegemonic and reflective in nature, need to be considered as alternative approaches to language education in Korea. Specifically, language teaching and learning should *demythify cultural essentialism* (Kubota, 2004) as it may lead to monolingualism, and both domestic and immigrant students need to be educated to deconstruct the institutionalized power hierarchy of diverse languages and to view language and culture as social practices. It is difficult to conclude what type of language education would be proper for multicultural families and their children because they are not homogeneous groups in terms of language use and exposure. Terms such as bilingual education, heritage language (Tse, 2001), mother tongue, L1, and L2 are not explicitly defined in the literature of Korean multicultural research. The first step for critical literacy pedagogy is, as always, critical self reflection; teachers and students can “critically re-evaluate the taken-for-granted conceptions about cultural groups, Self or Other, and understand how these conceptions are produced and perpetuated” (Kubota, 2004, p. 45). If there are language and communication problems in multicultural families, I think it is not because a foreign mother spoke her language to her child, but because she did not do so.

## References

- Baker, C. (2006). (3rd ed). *Foundation of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters LTD.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Curran, N. M. (2018). English, gatekeeping, and Mandarin: the future of language learning in South Korea, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, DOI: 10.1080/13670050.2018.1501332
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Jang, E-Y., & Lee, J-A. (2018). Trends in multicultural studies published in Korea: An analysis of the studies focusing on bilingualism and/or bilingual education. *Journal of Education and Culture*, 24(3), 501-521.
- Kachru, Yamuna, and Cecil Nelson. 2006. *World Englishes in Asian Contexts*. Hongkong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Kim, J. K. (2014). The third-order multiculturalism: civil rights, diversity, and equality in Korea's multicultural education. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 15, 401-408.
- Lee, J-A., & Jang, E-Y. (2013). Trends and issues in multicultural studies focusing on language or language education. *Foreign Languages Education*, 20(2), 271-301.
- Minami & Ovando (2004). Language issues in multicultural contexts. In J. Banks (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* (pp. 567-588). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Park, S., & Shin, D. (2013). How parents in multicultural families perceive multilingualism for their children: from the cases of SeoRae Maul in Korea. *Korean Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 29(1), 69-100.
- Tse, L. (2001). Resisting and reversing language shift: Heritage-language resilience among U.S. native biliterates. *Harvard Educational Review* 71(4), 676-706.
- Yoon, J. G. (2007). *English, colonialism in my mind*. Seoul: Dang-Dae.
- Yoon, I-J. & Kim, E. B. (2012). Language use of multicultural family and social identity of their children. *Bilingual Research*, 48, 273-307.
- Won, J. S. & Jang, E. -Y. (2017). A study of multicultural bilingual teachers' identities. *The Journal of Korea Elementary Education*, 28(2), 173-198.

---

# A Study on Literacy of KSL Child Learners

*Jisoon Park*  
*Yonsei University*

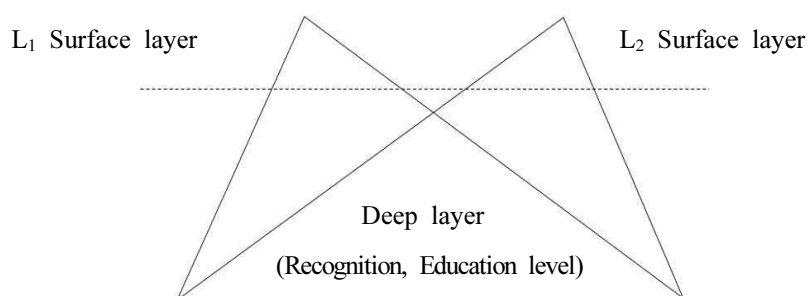
## 1. Introduction

As children of multi-cultural families in school age have increased rapidly in recent years, there is a growing need to support them to adapt to school life and study. These are children who are not native speakers of Korean and are called KSL (Korean as a Second Language) learners because they should use Korean as a very important mediating language of communication. The most important part of KSL Korean language education is to improve learning language skills to help KSL learners study well. The reason is because when in a second language acquisition situation, child and adolescent learners naturally acquire Korean needed for basic communication due to their nature, but language skills needed for learning are not learned on their own. In addition, learning is a problem that learners face and a very important issue in the learner's personal life. For them, this task, that is, to improve the Korean ability from basic to academic level, is a task impossible without systematic support. In addition, Korean classmates continue to develop academically, so this is a dual task that should hit two moving targets.

Recognizing the need to support the KSL learners' study, the Ministry of Education also sets up the 'Learning Korean' area separately in the Korean language course announced for the first time in July 2012 and the education course in September 2017 revised and announced thereafter. There is a constant debate about this in the field and academic circles. However, several studies are discussing the curriculum, the educational materials, and the teaching model with the lack of basic discussion about learning Korean (Gu, Ji-min 2017:28-29). In this paper, we are to examine the literacy that is the basis of learning Korean language ability as a part of the basic discussion on learning Korean, the core of KSL education. In other words, we are to examine the literature developmental aspects of Korean native speaker children and KSL child learners through literature review and discuss the key issues in the literacy education of KSL child learners.

## 2. KSL Child Learners' Language Skills

A KSL child learner is a bilingual learner who has already developed a certain level of ability to use a native language. Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to the discussion of Cummins to understand their language ability. While observing children's second language acquisition, Cummins found that different types of language abilities tend to develop at different time intervals (Cummins, 1979, 1982, 1984). Cummins classified children's language skills into Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) necessary for subject learning. In order to distinguish this clearly, it is necessary to understand the cognition and context underlying children's second language acquisition discussion. First, based on the context, BICS and CALP are divided into BICS, which can get help from situations, scenes and contexts, and CALP, which is difficult to depend on situations, scenes and contexts. Based on the cognitive aspect, BICS does not require a high level of cognitive ability, but CALP requires a high level of cognitive ability. In particular, Cummins (1991, 1996) tried to explain the relationship between cognitive development and language ability when discussing children's bilingual ability. Supporting the common theory arguing that two languages are separate languages, but there is a common aspect of these language abilities in the deep structure in which these abilities are exercised, he refuted 'Separate Underlying Proficiency' (SUP), in which the bilingual speakers' two languages are significantly unrelated. The following figure shows the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) with the example of an iceberg.

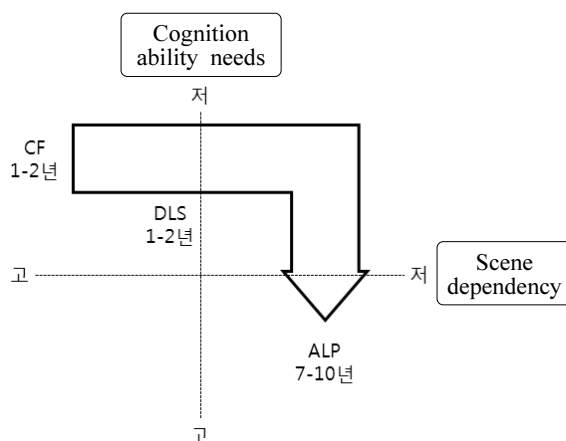


<Figure 1> Common Underlying Proficiency

Cummins said that two languages of bilingual speakers share a deep aspect, so there are two languages exist on the surface, but they have one root in the deep side. In particular, explaining that not only the deep aspects of two languages are shared as a major issue of the 'Common Underlying Proficiency', but also 'transfer' occurs in the common part, he stresses CALP required for subject learning, which is distinguished from

BICS as a language skill which is easy to be common between two languages (Ju, Hyun-sook 2015: 8 Recited).

After that, Cummins (2000) extended the discussion on BICS and CALP and classified language skills into three categories of Conversational Fluency (CF), Discrete Language Proficiency (DLS), and Academic Language Proficiency (ALP) based on ‘cognitive ability need’ and ‘scene, context dependence. DLS, which refers to the ability to recognize the relationship between letters and phonemes and use characters differentially, can be said to be basic literacy, which is the basis of literacy development that can decipher and produce text. Literacy, including basic literacy, is developed at all stages of learning language ability acquisition, and literacy education is a key part of KSL education because it is essential for language learning ability development. Cummins (2000) said that it is more difficult to learn and it takes more time toward the arrow shown in <Figure 2>. He also said that the conversational fluency corresponding to existing BICS with low need for cognitive ability and high context, scene dependence requires a high cognitive ability over a period of one to two years and the learning language ability corresponding to existing CALP with low context and scene dependency is learned over a period of 7 to 10 years.



<Figure 2> Internal structure of language ability (Cummins 2000)

As shown in <Figure 1>, Cummins (1991, 1996) said that cognitive learning language skills needed for subject learning can be easily transferred between two languages while sharing the deep aspects of two languages in CUP. Francis (2000: 176) developed a central operating system model by modifying Cummins' model, and this model separates the part shared in the linguistic aspect and the part shared in the conceptual and abstract aspect, assuming that conceptual knowledge does not move from one language to another, but there is a non-verbal and conceptual common base ability.

What is transferred between languages is linguistic knowledge such as word order, voice pattern, morpheme rather than concept. And these are the ones that do not require cognitive means such as generalization and analytical ability, which was found through experimental research. As shown in <Figure 2>, DLS as well as ALP shares the base ability. Therefore, if the language ability is formed as the mother tongue, the acquisition of the basic literacy of the second language becomes easy as well.

### 3. Development Pattern of KSL Child Learners' Literacy

Literacy can be thought of as comprehensive, including linguistic literacy, critical literacy, cultural literacy, and media literacy, but considering literacy to be dealt with in the Korean language subject that is distinguished from the Korean subject to be basic literacy that can distinguish Hangul graphemes and reading and writing ability to decode and produce text based on it, we are to limit the discussion here. In the previous studies, the matters found to be the literacy development patterns of Korean native speaker children and KSL child learners show the distinctive features by age, which can be summarized as follows (Kim, Bong-soon 2011; Eom, Jin-myung, Lee, Pil-sang 2016).

#### 3.1. Early childhood

For mother tongue speakers, early childhood is basically the period of spoken language and the beginning of basic literacy development. During this period, the Korean reading ability starts from the level of recognizing a word as a whole unit, and develops to the level of connecting the phonemes of the word with the sound of the syllable unit.<sup>1)</sup> In the case of Hangul writing ability, children aged about 4 can recognize the difference between the picture and the letter and can make the shape of the letter. However, the writing direction and sequence are not constant, and they write using their arms than their wrists. When they are 5 or 6 years old, they will be able to write letters, but look at the letters one by one, move slowly and irregularly.

1) The acquisition of Hangul alphabets is known to go through the following four stages of development (Yun, Hye-kyung 1997).

- Word reading stage: The level of connecting character words with spoken words by perceiving a word as a whole and forming a single representation.
- Letter reading stage: The level of connecting the phonemes of a word to the sound in a syllable unit. It corresponds to children aged 3 to 4, and 50% of 3-year-olds can match letters and syllables
- Alphabet reading stage: The level of breaking down alphabets and connecting graphemes and phonemes. It is a key stage in the acquisition of Korean language and is completed from the age of 4 to the second grade of elementary school. The achievement rate is 40% at age 5, 80% in the first grade of elementary school, and 100% in the second grade of elementary school.
- Spelling reading stage: The stage of applying pronunciation rules to correctly pronounce characters with different letters and sounds. As a level that accurately connects characters and voices, it is completed at the fourth grade of elementary school.

---

On the other hand, if failing to keep up with the development pattern of the native speaker of that age, KSL child learners tend to keep the difference of literacy with the mother tongue speaker as the age increases. Park, Sun-gil et al. (2014) examined the development of Hangul literacy in children aged 4 ~ 5 living in multicultural families, rural areas and cities. As a result, there were few statistical differences in literacy development between rural children and urban children as age increased, whereas there was a difference in literacy from children of multicultural families. This shows that the quality of linguistic interaction between parents and children is more important than the socioeconomic level of the family to which the child belongs.

### 3.2. 1<sup>st</sup>~2<sup>nd</sup> grades in elementary school

A Korean child entering elementary school reaches a stage where he/she can connect graphemes and phonemes of a single letter, and this ability is almost completed in the second grade of elementary school. Muscles are still too nervous, hesitant and slow to write, but they move more smoothly than before. The writing direction and order are still irregular and discontinuous. When reading, he/she decodes words, phrases, and sentences while mainly reading aloud. He/she understands the text with a bottom-up model. It was found that he/she understands a story well among the text genres (Bridge & Tierney 1981), and there is a developmental turning point between 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> grades in the ability to understand text (Kim, Bong-soon 1999, 2000).

The research findings show that KSL learners in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> grades of elementary school have poorer phonological awareness and word recognition ability than native speakers and have higher reading comprehension and spelling error rate in writing. Kim, Mi-ja (2010), who studied phonological awareness and application of phonological rules of Filipino and Japanese multicultural family children in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> grades of elementary school their mothers, compared syllable awareness of children from multicultural families and native speaker children. As a result, it was found that there was no significant difference, but there was a significant difference between groups at phoneme level. In addition, Jung, Hyo-jin(2013) studied children aged 7 to 8 and found that children from multicultural families had relatively low phonological awareness, especially significantly low phoneme discrimination ability. With regard to the ability to recognize words, the study of Bae, So-young and Kim Mi-bae (2010) showed that word recognition of children from multicultural families in 1<sup>st</sup>~ 3<sup>rd</sup> grades of elementary school is significantly lower than that of native speaker children. And Lee, Yu-lim (2012) also studied the ability to recognize words applying phonological rules for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> graders in an elementary school, and children from multicultural families have the relatively



poorer word recognition ability than native speaker children. And the reading comprehension ability of the lower graders in elementary school was found to be significantly low, especially morpheme awareness, comprehension of figurative language, and ability to understand homonyms. This leads to problems of phonological awareness and vocabulary, suggesting the need for strengthening literacy learning in the 1st and 2nd grades in an elementary school learning Hangeul alphabet at earnest. The spelling error rate was also found to be relatively high in the lower-grade learners (Bae, Hee-sook, 2015), which seems to originate from the same cause.

### 3.3. 3<sup>rd</sup>~4<sup>th</sup> grades in elementary school

The native speakers during this period begin to distinguish between the letters and phonetic values according to the pronunciation rules. This ability to read letters in their original pronunciation by correctly connecting the letters and voices is completed at around the fourth grade. The performance of the fourth graders is known to be not so different from that of high school students (Kim, Myung-hee 2003). When in the third grade of elementary school, children can not write a stroke straight and constantly, but the speed of writing increases and the movement of their arms gradually decreases. In terms of reading ability, the percentage of understanding that thinks meaning increases after the stage of decoding which changes the character into sound. It is a stage where there are many visually familiar words, long sentences are broken down into meaning, and fluency is improved. It is a transitional period of oral reading and silent reading, and a bottom-up model is mainly used to understand the contents, but a top-down model can be used as an aid. In terms of text comprehension, they understand the explanatory text from the third grade. In the second grade, understanding of stories (narrative) was high, while understanding of explanatory text was very low. By contrast, the third grade period can be said to be a transition period. In this regard, Duffy et. (1987) said that 'children's reading ability develops after the age of 9 (grade 3)'. 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> graders generally show similar levels of comprehension. The 3<sup>rd</sup> grade is a period of showing sudden changes in inference, unlike the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade.

The KSL learners in this period showed that the number of words calculated from writing was relatively smaller than that of the native speakers (Kim, Eun-jung, 2015), and the understanding of homonyms was lower than that of the native speakers (Kwak, Shin-sil 2012). This indicates that the vocabulary of KSL learners is poorer than native speakers, which is also expected to lower reading comprehension. KSL learners also showed a lower performance level than the native speakers in understanding short texts and carrying out tasks according to socio-cultural context

---

(Kwak, Shin-sil 2012), which shows the lack of their socio-cultural background knowledge. On the other hand, they did not show significant difference from native speakers in the lexical error rate, but grammatically incorrect sentences and spelling error rate were relatively higher in KSL learners (Kim, Eun-jung, 2015).

#### 3.4. 5<sup>th</sup>~6<sup>th</sup> grades in elementary school

The native speaker children in this period had already mastered the Hangeul alphabet at the previous period, and only a very small number of underachievers reached the completion stage in the 6th grade. When writing Hangeul, the movement of their hand is natural like adults, and the writing direction and the order are also regular and the line becomes stable as well. It is a period when a unique calligraphic style is created. As a reading stage, they can read characters fluently and do silent reading that can be reminiscent of meaning directly from the characters without going through oral reading. Since they can decode characters freely, content-centered reading becomes possible in earnest, and both bottom-up and top-down models can be used to understand text. However, there is a lack of background knowledge and vocabulary, which makes it difficult to understand the text in depth yet.

It was found that KSL learners in this period had significantly lower ability to understand idioms in their reading abilities than native mothers (Cho, Song-ah 2012) and lacked the ability to identify and infer the contents of a text with a complicated sentence structure (Yang, Song-ji, Park, Seong-ji 2016). According to Kang, Hee-jung (2013), the writing ability of KSL learners in the 5th to 6th grades of elementary school showed a big difference compared to native speakers, and there was a more significant difference in contents than the morphological aspect. The errors of the conjunctions including the use of simple and limited vocabulary were found, and there were a lack of accuracy in spelling and spacing, errors in endings and postposition in the morphological aspect (Kim, Mi-jin 2013; Ahn, Won-suk 2007).

#### 3.5. Comparison by age

Many studies show that the higher the grade level, the better the Korean language ability. In some areas, there is no significant difference from the native speaker of the same age. For example, the study of Jung, Hyo-jin(2013) found that children from multicultural families aged 7~8 showed significant differences in spelling accuracy compared to native speaker children, but 8-year-old children had a lower error frequency than 7-year-old children. This suggests that the higher the child's age, the higher the spelling accuracy. The study of Park, Sun-gil et al (2015) showed that as the grade levels

rise, the dictation skills of KSL learners are not much different from those of Korean children. Lee, Sun-hee(2011), who investigated the postposition use of KSL learners in the 1st and 3rd grades of elementary school, showed that KSL learners' ability to use postposition was also lower than that of Korean children, but their ability to use postposition improved as they advance into a higher grade.

#### 4. Considerations for Literacy Education of KSL Learners

The following points are suggested in the literacy education of KSL child learners. First, the curriculum should be differentiated according to the age at which KSL learners start to study Korean. Many studies showed that learners in the higher grades show higher achievement than learners in the lower grades of elementary school. This is due to the fact that lower language skills in the lower grades are improved as the grade goes up, but it is more likely to be caused by differences in learning periods. According to CUP of Cummins(1991, 1996) or central operating system model of Francis(2000), two languages of bilingual children share in-depth aspect or underlying ability. This in-depth aspect or underlying ability is the conceptual knowledge already learned as mother tongue and is very easy when learning the second language because discrete language knowledge such as word order, voice pattern, and morpheme also belongs here. In other words, if you have enough knowledge of a written language as mother tongue, it is much more advantageous to perform reading and writing activities by learning the Korean alphabet than if you do not. The higher the age of Korean language learning, the easier it will be to acquire basic literacy than starting at a younger age. Therefore, it is necessary to vary the duration and concentration of basic literacy learning according to the learning period. If starting learning in the lower grades, you may extend the duration of the Hangul alphabet learning period and develop the curriculum so that you can learn it repeatedly and integrally, and if in the upper grades, you may intensively place the period of learning a written language in a short period of time.

Second, the level of achievement should be different considering the level of development of KSL learners. The current curriculum aims to improve the level of Korean proficiency to TOPIK level 4 within one year regardless of grade. According to this, if you started studying Korean during the first and second grades, you should complete your Korean ability around in the second and third grades. Even in the case of Korean native speaker children, however, Korean language acquisition including spelling reading is completed around in the fourth grade. Therefore, it is desirable to set the level of achievement of the KSL Korean language course for the lower graders to the grapheme reading stage which can connect the alphabet and phonemes. In addition, the level of

---

achievement in terms of reading and writing skills needs to be set in consideration of the aspects of physical and cognitive development.

Third, it is necessary to differentiate educational contents according to the Korean acquisition patterns of KSL learners. As shown in the results of the study, for example, KSL learners in 3rd and 4th grades show the lack of vocabulary such as lack of production vocabulary and lack of understanding of homonyms, which is an important factor to lower the text comprehension. In addition, the ability to perform tasks that can be accomplished only by understanding the socio-cultural context is poor, so background knowledge about socio-cultural context and vocabulary learning should be provided intensively to learners in this period.

As shown above, it is necessary to make Korean language literacy education effective by taking into account the language and cognitive developmental aspects by age of KSL learners and aspects of Korean language acquisition. To end this, the Korean acquisition patterns of learners of that age needs to be clarified in more diverse ways.

## References

- Kim, Myung-hee(2003), Word Recognition of Low Achievers and High Achievers in Reading, Dankook University Master's Thesis.
- Kim, Bong-soon(1999), A Study on the Comprehension Development of Explanatory Text Structure: 2<sup>nd</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> grades in Elementary School, Reading lesson method, Edited by Korean Society for the Study of Elementary Education, Park, Lee-jung.
- Kim, Bong-soon(2000), A Study on the Awareness Development of the Text Structure of Learners: Targeting 11 grades in elementary, middle and high schools, Korean Education 102, Korean Education Association.
- Kim, Bong-soon(2011), Development of Literacy in Childhood and Adolescence, Collection of Dissertations of Gongju National University of Education\_Education Research Institute of Gongju National University of Education, 25-56.
- Nakazima Kazuko (2012), Education of Dual Languages and Multi Languages-Research and Practice in Canada, USA and Japan-, Hangeul Park.
- Eom, Jin-myung, Lee, Pil-sang(2016), Analysis of Domestic Research Literature on the Literacy Development of Children from Multicultural Families, Special Education Curriculum Education Research 9(2), Korea Education Curriculum Instruction, 81-108.
- Yun, Hye-kyung(1997), A Study on the Development of Children's Hangul Reading, Pusan National University Thesis.
- Choi, Eun-ji(2014), The Critical Application of Holistic Language Approach for Korean Literacy Education for Children, Bilingualism 57, 199-221.
- Choi, Eun-ji(2014), Early Literacy Development of Korean Child Learners as Second Language, Korean Education 25(1), The International Association for Korean Language Education, 235-265.

# The Chronological Development of Korean Literacy and the Appearance of the Korean Poet, Yoon, Dong Ju

*Sungsook Kim*  
*Yonsei University*

## 1. The Concept of Literacy

The original meaning of Literacy was the ability to read but nowadays it was broaden to including the ability to handling something well, such as computer literacy. Leu, et al(2017:1)<sup>1)</sup> said that the nature of literacy has become deictic.<sup>2)</sup> This simple idea carries important implications for literacy theory, research, and instruction that our educational field must begin to address. They argue that we have to consider the followings to define the concept of literacy which is continuously changing.

- 1) Global economic competition within economies based increasingly on the effective use of informations and communication.
- 2) The rapid appearance of the Internet in both our professional and personal lives.
- 3) Public policy initiatives by nations that integrate literacy and the Internet into instruction.

In order to establish the concept of New Literacy and seek appropriate teaching methods, Leu, et al(2017:1) have reviewed how important effective information acquisition and communication has recently become in global trade competition, how quickly it spreads, and how important integrated education of internet and literacy is in government policy. These conditions referenced in the formulation of the concept of New Literacy are also considered in defining the concept of Old literacy. In other words, literacy is the communication ability and the information acquisition ability to achieve a practical purpose justifiably, and the literacy education for mastery of the information medium of the public is encouraged at the government level.

1) Leu, D. J., et al.(2017), New Literacies: A Dual-Level Theory of the Changing Nature of Literacy, Instruction, and Assessment, *Journal of Education*, Vol 197(2), pp. 1-18.  
(<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/002205741719700202>)

2) Deictic(the meaning changes according to the position of a narrator, a listener, and utterance, such as you, me, here, and next week)

As the French philosopher Descartes(1596-1650) declared, "Cogito, ergo sum.", the West developed a modern philosophy that emphasizes universal human rights getting out of the god-centered medieval view of the world, starting from the awareness of cognitive activity of subject. Although the starting point of modern times differs slightly from country to country, not only the rise of philosophy that emphasizes moral justification of equality for all, but also the transition to a system of capitalist economic system are generally regarded as a sign of modernity. After the Reformation(1517) triggered by Martin Luther, the translation of the Christian Bible, the crystallization of medieval knowledge, into the mother tongue of Germany and other countries played an important role in spreading the concept of equality for all throughout the world. The Bible's mother tongue translation is an epoch-making event in human history in that both the amount and speed of information dissemination has increased by using familiar letters familiar to the public, human beings have been enlightened to live for a cause, and the number of individuals who have a higher level of thought in the world has increased as a result of the spread of rhetoric of analogy and symbol used in Bible writing to the public<sup>3)</sup>. The proliferation of Calvinism, which suggests that the growth of private property does not violate the will of God but rather the degree of accumulated wealth is in proportion to the possibility of salvation, has become a driving force for the development of the capitalist economic system.

At the time of the Reformation in the West, a phonogram system was developed to replace Chinese characters, which were an absolute means of communicating knowledge on the Korean Peninsula of the Far East. As King Sejong who led the development of characters wished, he made Korean alphabets based on this character system that Korean residents could easily learn and use since the modern era, in order to eliminate the social discrimination caused by information monopoly and pursue economic practicality efficiently<sup>4)</sup>. This study aims to clarify the general principle of the pattern where traditional conceptual literacy is advanced to the advanced level, focusing on the ability to understand and use spoken and written words by the media of Korean alphabet phonemes and characters<sup>5)</sup>. And this study will analyze the contribution of a poet Yoon,

3) 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God.' (Matthew 4:4)

4) King Sejong believed that universal thinking could be expanded through the spread of printed information and hoped that the people live a value-oriented life. In response to the monarch's will, the linguists in the early Joseon Dynasty developed phonogram named 'Hun-Min-Jeong-Eum' meaning correct sound. In addition, using the newly developed characters, he experimented whether artificial Hangeul is suitable to be used as a character by writing literary works, Buddhist scriptures, and educational materials such as <Yongbieocheonga>, <Wolincheongangjigok>, and <Sohakonhae>. The process of popularization of Hangeul, which has been used as a means of writing on the Korean peninsula for 600 years since 1443, shows intensely how the spread of literacy improves public life.

5) Since the popularization of smartphones, the ability to decipher audiovisual image information and the ability to communicate with the Internet have been emphasized in the literacy curriculum, but the discussion on new literacy as noted by Leu, et al(2017: 1) has a limit to becoming old literacy when it is a subject of debate because the discussion on new literacy is dealing with media which is upgrading its performance even now.

---

Dong Ju to raise the level of aesthetic literacy of the Korean discourse community. To this end, it will first identify the general principles of literacy development in Chapter 2, and classify the rhetoric applied in Yoon, Dong Ju's 119 poems as Mimesis, Allegory, and Irony in Chapter 3. Through this analysis, it aims to reveal the value that intellectuals of the 21st century can gain by improving Korean literacy.

## 2. The General Principles of Literacy Developing

The purpose of this study is to examine the historical development process of literacy in order to find a teaching method to improve Korean literacy of domestic and foreign students, who completed secondary education course, efficiently in terms of quantity and quality. As students have been forced to understand and develop their knowledge through the reading and writing lessons in schools since the modern age, the world population with literacy has increased dramatically. But as the universal goal of capitalism spreads throughout the world, the goal of universities pursues practical benefits and accordingly most of the population is trying to live as a practically skilled profession. There are not many intellectuals looking for moral justification for literacy or making ethical judgments. Therefore, this study aims to review the history of the development of human literacy and then establish a universal principle to be referred when teaching native language and foreign language literacy in college. Thus if the structure of adult stem cell<sup>6)</sup> of the cognitive activity that promote literacy is identified, it can provide a teaching method that can help students master multimedia literacy that is renewed day by day.

### 1) The occurrence of a species replicates the occurrence of phylogeny.

To contextually understand a sentence that someone has read or heard, you should search all the memories of the text that he or she had previously encountered, both morphologically and functionally similar. In order to accurately understand the meaning of a sentence or utterance, it requires knowledge of the form or function of the text that speech community members have acquired by the ages. Therefore, foreign language literacy learning is more easily achieved when learning the standardized curriculum that the target speech community members have passed through. In addition, foreign language literacy is promoted in proportion to the amount of literacy and listening experience accumulated by level. And the individuals who are able to speak their native language at a professional level are more likely to reduce cognitive burden or shorten the time required to apply literacy learning in new areas by applying learning strategies that were

---

6) Cells that are dead by external shock or aging should be replaced with new cells that continue to function. Adult stem cells supply these new cells. In other words, adult stem cells refer to undifferentiated cells that, when necessary, differentiate into cells of a specific tissue. (See [Naver Doosan encyclopedia])



beneficial. Since new knowledge is delivered by language, those who have mastered the mechanism in which a language works become easier to enter into new disciplines.

**The process of development of the individual's native language reproduces the development patterns of the world's trend of literature.** In the history of world's literary trend, the rhetoric of mimesis, allegory and irony was mainly used in ancient, medieval and modern times<sup>7)</sup>. Likewise, individuals also imitate the basic norms of literary system in infancy, and identify and expand the boundaries of self-awareness through experiences that are recognized or denied by authorities by attempting not to follow norms in adolescence. The sequential development of individual cognition is also identified in a cognitive system classification (Bloom, 1956), which is hierarchized by 'knowledge-comprehension-application-analysis-synthesis-evaluation'. Among Bloom's cognitive goals classified for improving the reading comprehension of American adolescents, 'application' is mastered by the task of constructing a new narrative by fitting information from different disciplines together to form a similar pattern. The greater the discerning eye that finds out a similar pattern or regularity from heterogeneous context or theory, the higher the creative 'application' ability is. This 'application' skill is also key cognition needed for the implementation of allegory rhetoric.

**The Korean language acquisition process is similar to the general acquisition pattern of a mother tongue.** In the case of Korean learners, a mimesis learning method is effective in applying basic vocabulary and high frequency sentence expression correctly at a beginner level as a child imitates adult speech. At the intermediate level, the formal norms are followed, but the allegory narrative ability to produce good examples and different examples can enhance academic achievement. In this way, the process of learning Korean as a foreign language follows the pattern of mother language acquisition analyzed previously, so a biological proposition "Ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny" can be commonly applied to the learning process of language literacy. The Korean learner with an academic purpose enhances a critical thinking ability by sequentially strengthening the specialized writing knowledge of form, structure, and content according to the proficiency level of Korean proficiency. The style-related knowledge that is learned at the beginner level covers the general normative knowledge of general Korean language grammar and academic discourse. It can be charted as follows when an academic learner is matched with the growth stage of academic literacy in the process of proficiency in the form, structure and content-related writing ability of academic discourse to Korean learners.

---

7) This study referred to Kim, Sung Sook(2015) about the homogeneity of the world literary trend and the literary development process of groups and individuals.

<Table 1> Writing Knowledge Growth Process for Academic Purpose by Korean Language Level (Kim, Sung-Sook, 2011: 25)

Korean proficiency	Goal knowledge	Teaching method	Strategy	Goal function	Types of academic thinking
Advanced	Content	Expressive writing	Expression of signifié	Differentiate	Self-reflective
Intermediate	Structure	Reflective writing	Reflection of structure	Remake	Norm-critical
Beginner	Style	Imitative writing	Representation of signifiant	Assimilate	Informative

Structural knowledge, which is the main goal of the intermediate level, corresponds to the cognitive skill of 'application' which remakes the structure of general academic discourse and develops one's argument<sup>8)</sup>. The Korean Intermediate Curriculum is designed to learn simile that makes an example that the audience knows to teach the attributes of invisible objects, such as 'My friend is as good as an angel', or comparative expressions including 'My room is as big as this class' as well as personification, exaggerated expressions, idiomatic expressions, and proverbs. Therefore, the strategy, which compares knowledge familiar to the listeners and readers of the Korean discourse community and knowledge familiar with their native language and ponders the difference, is useful.

The ability ultimately required for advanced learners in Korean language classes is critical thinking and self-reflection. First, the critical thinking ability is necessary to control conflicting desires such as moral justification and economical benefits as the most important thinking ability in domestic and foreign university curriculums. And self-introspection is a cognitive function needed to grasp the context of situation and make a decision by meta-reasoning the desires of justification and practical benefits.

8) Park, Gyu Joon(2010:195) models the characteristics of academic research methodologies that extend critical discussion to the concept of 'theoretical framework' and 'approach framework'. In other words, he demonstrates the process of writing a research plan for the follow-up study by analyzing the structure and content of the existing thesis, and suggests the theory of cognitive apprenticeships to seek for 'approach framework' that a learner himself explores a new discussion from the existing 'theoretical framework'.

## 2) Nothing is complete unless you put it in final shape

Individually learned knowledge is difficult to store in long-term memory. The more structured the schema, where relevant knowledge is followed one after the other if subject knowledge is recollected as individual knowledge nodes overlap with each other and linked, the higher the utility value is. A unique cognitive scheme that a student acquires is integrated with the similarity in the existing main schema<sup>9)</sup>.

The more complicated and stronger the existing schema structure, the easier it is to join the newly formed scheme, and the synergy effect from the joining is great. According to the complexity theory of knowledge<sup>10)</sup>, cognitive activities are driven by a mechanism that is diverse and short-cut by linking with adjacent nodes in a small but complete structure of each scheme node. Like an apprentice who constantly imitates the master's work in order to inherit a set of targeted knowledge from his master, the knowledge sets acquired through repeated experiences have the property of 'Irigwanji' being able to penetrate everything with only one logic. The experience of adjusting the cognitive activities of passive imitation and active deformation to be balanced each time one task is accomplished becomes a factor in increasing the total amount of individual literacy.

**I am Alpha and Omega**(Revelation 1:8). The reason the Lord God can define his identity in this way is that he first created the (alpha)world as an object, and after finishing the creation he is a cognitive subject who can evaluate at the final (omega)level, or in other words, parenthesizes the world and sees from the outside. Recognition of an object is only possible when standing under the object and parenthesizing and viewing the entire. The time it takes for an apprentice to inherit a knowledge set from his master and to be recognized as a master in the field depends on the learning ability of the apprentice, the teaching ability of the master, and the difficulty of the task. However, if he passes through the first challenge of any task that she performs by herself, and has a set of realistic, procedural, and instrumental knowledge needed to perform a specific task in the course of repeated accomplishments, the master is more likely to easily acquire the knowhow to carry out the tasks in the adjacent fields besides their fields of expertise. In other words, if you become a master calligrapher, you can increase the completeness of

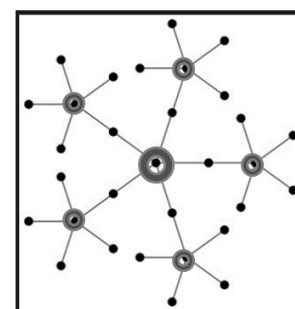
9) Quantitative integration is the moment of quality conversion, bringing qualitative transformation.

10) The theory of complexity focuses on the changes and procedures that take place in the broader areas of the brain. Unlike other cognitive psychological approaches, it states it should consider not only a cognitive factor between learning strategy and achievement, but also the role of variability such as aptitude, motivation, personality, learning strategy, and cognitive style. The theory of complexity is divided from natural science, and Larsen-Freeman(1997) first applied it to the second language acquisition study.

the task regardless of brush types. Masters who know the beginning and end of a specific task can expect to see how the introduction-development-turn-conclusion process of accomplishing a task will be realized. Therefore, they can prevent failures and promote success by utilizing expertise in professional background when performing tasks even in the adjacent field. As the core principle of literary works after Aristotle, 'beginning-middle-end' is still accepted as the truth because the structure repeated in a certain pattern is the general property of organisms that maintain a life phenomenon. Therefore, students can enhance background knowledge which is the basic nod of literacy by increasing the indirect experience of completed narrative structures such as novels, plays, and movies during school days. At the same time, they can improve high-level literacy through the tasks in which they evaluate an object of the text that they appreciate, from an omniscient viewpoint like the God.

**Scheme is created with the thesis-antithesis-synthesis paradigm and then assimilated into a schema structure or regulates the structure.**

In the dialectical world view of the West, when a society reaches a state of synthesis as a result of a dynamic struggle of both thesis and antithesis, the power of antithesis that shakes this stable state is naturally created and history is advanced<sup>11)</sup>. This principle of dialectic of materialism is related to Yin-Yang thought of oriental philosophy<sup>12)</sup>. The Oriental Yin and Yang principle also explains the movement of



<figure 1> cognitive structure mechanism

all things by the power of circulation that is filled and refilled when it is full. Yin and Yang philosophy is a product of wisdom that they gain after Asians long observed natural phenomena such as the moon and seasons. In Oriental philosophy, human beings are part of nature, so they believed that they could predict the future of individuals and society through observation of nature, and thought that the universe could be harmonized when they follow the laws of nature. This common principle of East and West, which grasps the progress of any phenomenon as the function of confrontation and integration, has become the basis of modern philosophy and is also the key mechanism of theory of children's cognitive development established by Piaget.

According to Piaget's Theory of cognitive development, cognitive activity is induced by mechanism of assimilation and accommodation. A child makes a nod of scheme through his experience, and the accumulated simple schemes gather together to form a

11) Muelle, E. Gustav(1958), The Hegel Legend of "Thesis-Antithesis-Synthesis", Journal of the History of Ideas, University of Pennsylvania Press, Vol. 19(3), pp. 411-414.

12) Lee, Ki Dong(2006), Jooyeokgangseol(I-Ching), Sungkyunkwan University Press, pp. 22-26.

complex cognitive structure. The cognitive mass for this specific field is linked to the scheme of the adjacent field centered on a specific hub, completing a complex schema structure that is complicatedly connected gradually. To efficiently organize this cognitive structure, hub nodes must be strategically placed and frequently stimulated so that local schemes can be completed on a variety of subject areas and these schemes can be connected serially or in parallel.

**Literacy is reinforced and expanded by the antagonism of norm-oriented centripetal force and de-normative centrifugal force.** The system-oriented attributes and anti-system attributes of a language community have been variously compared to Apollo and Dionysus, cosmos and chaos, Yang and Yin, centripetal and centrifugal forces. Korean beginner learners should have a strong willingness to comply with norms, and advanced learners should have a strong centrifugal willingness to pursue norms. The former is proficient in accuracy and fluency, and the latter needs to raise higher cognition required in a workplace or a school. The content that advanced learners intend to convey even by diverging from the norm will contain the issues that a Korean discourse community should pay attention to, and such information contributes to expanding the boundaries of the Korean discourse community.

Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development can be used to describe the process by which literacy is matured in a particular field. This is because the content of specific character information is an object to be recognized immediately. New literacy, which is similar to the literacy that has been already acquired in a student's brain, is quickly assimilated and stored in the existing literacy structure under the function of strong centripetal force. The fact that learners who are fluent in Japanese easily learn Korean is due to the knowledge transfer principle of this knowledge. On the other hand, when an entirely new knowledge is encountered, a student searches for the maximum similarity point to apply an old and new knowledge system within the existing cognitive system. This cognitive centrifugal inquiry effort of cognition creates a new knowledge scheme, which makes an individual's cognitive system unbalanced temporarily. This imbalance should be adjusted to the level of restoring the balance by adjusting with a student's ability so that the student can try the centrifugal inquiry to solve a cognitive imbalance problem. In other words, only students, who can view the reason why the efforts to solve cognitive imbalance at the present stage are needed for the development of a cognitive structure, or who has an omniscient view outside the parentheses, can spend their time and effort for motivating themselves to expand their literacy. This dialectical mechanism of assimilation and accommodation can be schematized as antagonism of centripetal force and centrifugal force as follows.

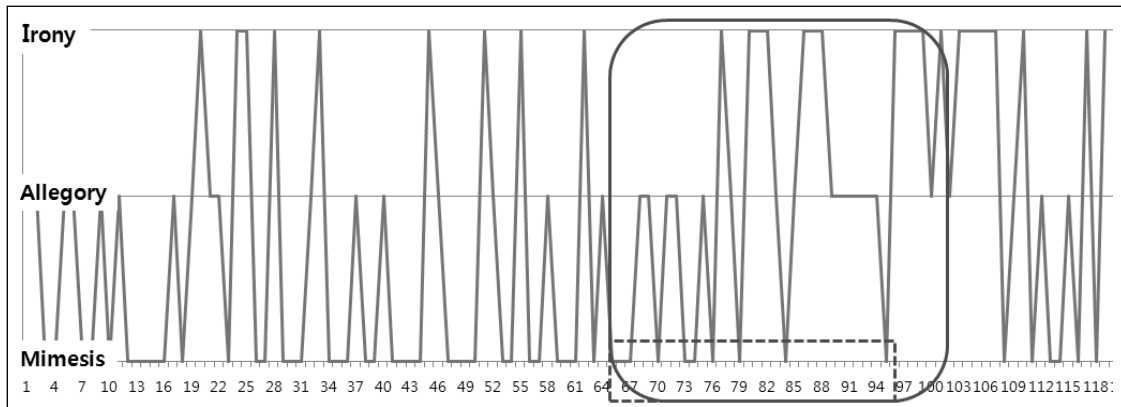
- assimilation: + Coherence = Centripetal force - Centrifugal force
- accommodation: - Coherence = Centripetal force - Centrifugal force

In the course of assimilating less new knowledge into the existing cognitive system, centripetal force is stronger, and therefore, it has a strong property of coherence into norms. On the other hand, centripetal force functions more strongly in the process of adjusting the existing cognitive system due to very unfamiliar knowledge, and therefore coherence appears to weaken. In the above scheme, this mechanism is represented by the coherence indexes of positive and negative values.

Coherence refers to a property that indicates that a piece of text is unified in structure or content. The degree of coherence of text can be measured by whether or not the selected topic is consistently developed and concluded when a specific genre of utterance is started, whether a topic sentence is set in consideration of the deductive or inductive structure in an individual paragraph, whether the appropriate amount is distributed according to the importance of the main idea, and whether discourse markers such as 'first, then, next, such, and as a result' structuring the content is used appropriately (Kim Sung Sook, 2011: 53). These coherence indexes are related to the ability to measure the relative weight of local in the whole, so if you want to create high-quality text using literacy, you should increase the coherence index by adjusting the intensity of centripetal force and centrifugal force in your background knowledge.

### 3. The Aesthetic literacy Developed by Yoon, Dong Ju

In the middle Joseon Dynasty, Chinese characters were almost the only means of conveying knowledge to untact readers. At that time, the scholars of the Chinese classics opposed Sejong's plan to use Hangul as a common language for the public, because they attempted to perpetuate a caste system where yangban(gentry) monopolized capital and power by limiting the number of people who knew the characters. Due to this closed world view of the officials, the late Joseon Dynasty missed the opportunity to modernize and was colonized by Japan. The western productivity increased by the Industrial Revolution forcibly opened a door to Japanese market, and then Japan colonized Asian countries including Joseon in a similar way. In the modern era where the world order was reorganized centering around the gigantic capital, the Korean peninsula was dragged from the status of neighboring countries of the Chinese character cultural sphere, and merged into the great power of Japan, so preserving its indigenous spoken and written language, itself is the independence movement.

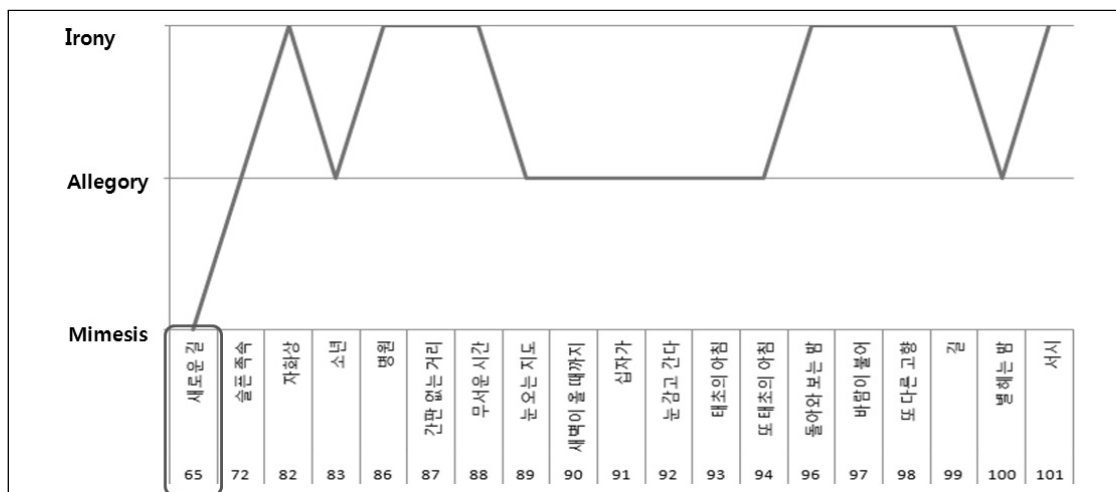


<Figure 2> Rhetoric aspects applied to Yoon, Dong Ju's 119 poems

At that time, the modern citizens of Western powers were able to pursue the individual's practical benefits and justification under the protection of national capitalism, the so-called imperialism, while the intellectuals of the colony of modern powers underwent the dilemma of choosing between practical benefits and justifications. The intellectuals of Joseon Dynasty, who agonized long and acted carefully at the crossroads of choice, raised the aesthetic level of Korean language, and Yoon, Dong Ju is the central figure. Like other intellectuals who spent their childhood in the era that lost national sovereignty and were educated in modern times, Yoon, Dong Ju wanted to become a citizen of an independent nation and enlighten the people by enhancing the aesthetic literacy of Hangeul readers. Yoon, Dong Ju thought a lot as an ethical intellectual with a Christian faith and expressed such worry in a self-reflective poem, thereby raising the level of aesthetic literacy in Korean language. <Figure 2> is a result of classifying the rhetoric applied to Yoon, Dong ju's 119 poetry into three categories: Mimesis(55), Allegory(32), and Irony(32). In this book, the 119 poems are arranged according to the order in which the poems were written or published. In the late poetry where Yoon, Dong ju's experiences of poetry creation became more and more popular, ironic introspection on himself is conspicuous rather than a mimetic depiction or allegory analogy.

What is notable in <Figure 2> is the poems created at the similar time as the 65th to 101th poems included in 『The Sky, the Wind, the Star, and the Poems』. Among a total of 37 poems, 18 marked by the dotted line below were excluded, and the rest of 19 were selected by the poet. If you look at the excluded 18 poems in detail, 9 poems including No. 66 <Mountain Echo> were created by mimesis rhetoric, 9 poems including No. 68 <Temple of Love> by allegory rhetoric, and 3 poems including No. 77 <Cricket and Me> by irony rhetoric. In other words, Yoon, Dong Ju was well aware of the effect of allegory and irony rhetoric because among the 19 poems of his choice in a collection of poetry, there were 9 allegory poems which focused on similarities between objects, and

9 ironic poems with the disintegration of subject and object, except only one poem that experimented with a sonata form<sup>13)</sup>. Yoon, Dong Ju's world of poetry is characterized by the fact that he was ashamed of the indecisiveness of ethical intellectuals, who were in conflict between benefits and justification and expanded Korean aesthetic literacy at the boundary between the norms and non-norms of the poetry genre.



<Figure 3> Rhetoric aspects applied to 『The Sky, the Wind, the Star, and the Poems』

### Application aspects of Mimesis rhetoric

The characteristic of Mimesis rhetoric applied to Yoon, Dong Ju's poetry is that it preserves the traditional norms of poetry in terms of form, such as vocabulary and syntax. In order to have the voice of the poetic narrator who is needed to convey thought and emotion in a poem, Yoon, Dong Ju mastered the viewpoint and gaze movement technique of various personae. Sometimes it was a child's pure voice, and sometimes a college student's sad tone. Delivering an object realistically is the core of the Mimesis rhetoric that he used.

13) Sonata form: It is a form of music developed after the early Baroque in the mid-16th century, with the repeated structure of 3 stages: theme presentation(AB), the development(A'B'), and theme reproduction(AB).



&lt;Table 2&gt; Application aspects of Mimesis rhetoric

Type	Structure	Vocabulary	Formality	Content
Children's poem	Antithesis	Homonym	Indentation	Background Theme Image
Descriptive poem	Repetition	Vowel harmony	Noun ending	
Prose poem	Catechetic	Collocation	Punctuation marks(·, -)	
Serial poem	Seongyeonghujeong(description of scenery before telling a poet's emotion)	Contraction	Rhyme	
Narrative poem	Sonata form	Onomatopoeic or mimetic words	External rhythm(metre, syllabic meter)	
2-line poem	Sumisangwan	Conjunction	Title(subtitle)	
Letter poem	Chaining	Adverb	Refrain	

A close look at the characteristics of the applied Mimesis rhetoric in detail with <Table 2> finds the followings. First, there is an experiment with various kinds of poetry, such as Children's poem, prose poem, and 2-line poem, which he studied in the English and American Poetry Class of the university<sup>14</sup>). Secondly, the poetry was structurally rhythmical by repeating Korean syntactic sentence patterns or same phonemes<sup>15</sup>). Third, he extended the poetic vocabulary field in Korean language, such as homonym, onomatopoeic or mimetic words, and basic forms of verbs. Fourth, he applied the formality generally required for poetic text. Fifth, the detailed observation and description of time and space background delivered the attributes of object and situation realistically. In this way, various visual and auditory images were used for realistic storytelling.

### Application aspects of Allegory rhetoric

The characteristics of Yoon, Dong Ju's poetry with Allegory rhetoric are summarized as norm breaking, deep retrospection, and textual maturity. First, he created a poetic tension effect by deliberately breaking traditional, poetic norms in terms of both form and content. For example, in order to effectively communicate emotions, he rather creates a more realistic effect by intentionally increasing or decreasing the number of words, and not obeying syntactic rules like 'Dark, dark, darkness is deep ad deep yet bright'(<morning>). Second, in the process of applying Mimesis rhetoric, on the basis of the unique formality

14) Almost every attempt at various kinds of poetry was made by keeping traditional norms, except for a poem <miracle> in which he wrote a prayer in a poem to reflect his lack of faith, recalling the miracles of Jesus.

15) The enumeration and climax used to construct the structures of his poems <Counting Stars at Night> and <Daydream> were classified as Allegory rhetoric in this study. The enumeration and climax itself does not have allegory properties. However, this study aims to classify the enumeration and climax in these two poems as Allegory rhetoric because the narrators of both poems emphasized the special circumstances of a foreign student at the colonial period, who could not accept the public world view, as they listed figurative poetic words that could be analyzed by tenor and vehicle. For the same reason, since the recitation used in his poems <Life and Death> ("Like engraving elaborately/Who is singing this song?/And like after shower passes/Who stops this song?", 1934.12.44) and <Sorrow> ("Ah - this young man is/sad like a pyramid", 1937.8.18) expressed the sorrow of a narrator who did not agree with the public world by using analogy, this study also classified these poems as Allegory.

of a poetry genre that he solidly learned, Allegory rhetoric expressed the poetic narrator's inner reflection aesthetically. In case of mimesis poems, the persona was selected to be useful in the realistic delivery of objects or situations. The narrator of Allegory poems was appropriate to represent reflective reasons based on similarities between familiar facts and unfamiliar situations<sup>16</sup>). Third, the poems classified as Allegiance rhetoric have more sophisticated rhythm than other poetry, so there are several poems made of songs (<Keep your eyes closed>, <Cross>). In addition, the characteristic of Allegory rhetoric in his poetry is that he expresses maturely a wish to convey to the younger students as a university student of the colonial period by creatively transforming the Christian view of the world or the poetics of the contemporary poets.

<Table 3> Application aspects of Allegory rhetoric

Vocabulary device	Objective correlative
Synecdoche(white jeogori and skirt)	Comparison(tenor and vehicle, simile, metaphor)
Antithesis(between modernism words and nature)	Intertextuality(inter-honorific, Freudianism, parody)
Homonym(Chinese characters) color symbol	Personification(prosopopoeia, allegoric rhetoric)
Imagism(using usual poetic words but creating symbols through images, "withered life, bitter life", <Jang>)	Synecdoche, metonymy
	Ambiguity
	Allegory

<Table 3> shows in detail what rhetorical techniques Yoon, Dong Ju used to achieve the effect allegorical analogy. Allegory was orgially used by a wise author to describe the content of the Bible or lessons, in the context of 'A:B=a:b' with objective correlative familiar to the public with a view to enlightening the ignorant public, like a medieval monk. Therefore, in order to implement Allegory rhetoric, it is necessary to have a proper combination of tenor which is truth itself and vehicle which has a similar nature to the truth. Yoon, Dong Ju applied not only vocabulary and syntactic devices such as synecdoche, antithesis, and homonym but also rhetorical techniques such as personification, allegory, and metonymy to achieve the aesthetic effect of Allegory rhetoric. In addition, the images such as vision and hearing are individually experimented in Mimesis poetry, whereas in Allegory poetry, the usual poetic words closely combined by sensuous similarities were used as an 'objective correlative', thereby contributing to conveying the poetic narrator's emotions overall.

16) So, in the poetry of Allegory rhetoric, we need a narrator as a spirit mediator who hears the voice of God("The God is telling us./"What revelation it is?" <Again, the primal morning>. Then in the poetry with irony rhetoric, the narrator is intelligent(On the road where the twilight is thick/When the poet tilts the ears all day long/The sound of footsteps moving dusk//To hear the footsteps/Was I intelligent?<White Shadow>) and even shows a polyphony that divides into shadows with multiple personality("Now, after foolishly realizing everything/In the deep heart/Many of myself suffering pains/If I return one by one to its home/into the dark corner of the street/a white shadow disappearing silently").

### Application aspects of irony rhetoric

Yoon, Dong Ju expressed his feelings of anxiety because he could neither accept nor deny his identity as a colonial student. As in <Cricket and Me>, he made the situation ironic in a confession tone to the reader while trying to keep a secret with the cricket, and attempted to break the rules even in terms of a form of poetry. An untitled poem like <Seosi(Prologue)>, or a poem that ends with not a final ending but a connective ending which seems to be continuing like <Street with no signboard> are the examples of de-norms<sup>17)</sup>.

The characteristic of irony rhetoric realized by Yoon, Dong Ju is to express the mode of the poetic narrator about the divided self after naming the divided self as a poetic object such as 'shadow, skeleton, man'. Even though the person, who is close to the poetic narrator like the alter ego or 'friend' of the poetic narrator, is assumed to be the expected audience, Yoon, Dong Ju's poetry is featured by emphasizing that what the reader is reading is just a poem and hindering the reader's immersion about a poetic situation by means of rhetorical devices such as satire, irony and paradox without delivering familiar feelings or lessons<sup>18)</sup>. Thus, in his poetry, the literary devices used to expose the tone and mode of the poetic narrator about the reader were classified as irony rhetoric.

Table 4 Application aspects of irony rhetoric

Tone to the reader	His feeling mode
Apostrophe(call yourself or the reader to talk) Irony(ironical interrogation, paradox) Aside(Talking to the reader as the audience) Direct quotation (impossible hope) Wit(inversion), satire	Equation (hatred, pity, longing) Contemplation(myself of the present is contemplating myself of the past) Sentiment(sorrow of self-division) Catharsis Sentimentalism

17) As seen in "Where does the wind blow from/Where does it flow to//The wind is blowing/There is no reason for my suffering//Isn't there a reason for my suffering//I've never loved a woman/I've never mourned the times//As the wind is blowing/My feet are standing on the rock//As the river is flowing/My feet are standing on the hill", questions and statements are asymmetrically arranged. Therefore, an intonation pattern of '↗↘↗↘↘↘' progresses to heighten the feeling of reaching to a catastrophe. If he had been engaged in poetry creation activities for a longer time, it would be presumed that the attempt to destroy these norms had a greater aesthetic effect.

18) In the poem <Afternoon of Ravine>, "On the valley road/the shadow/is too sad.//Afternoon meditation is/Ah — sleepy.", the sudden insertion of the phrase that doesn't fit in the sad mode of the present context is an example of such strangeness.

---

In his ironic poetry, the tone to the reader is classified according to how courteous honorific of the final ending is applied to the final ending<sup>19)</sup>, and how real and close the relationship is<sup>20)</sup>. In his poems, the poetic narrator tries to have a hope, but signifiant and signifié often collide in this poem because his hope can not be realized in the context before and after the lines in which such efforts are revealed. In the same way, the expressions of mode poetry to reveal the mood of the poetic narrator are conflicting with the feelings about the divided-self such as sadness, hatred, sorriness, longing, etc.

In the above, this study divided the rhetoric used in Yoon, Dong Ju's 119 poems into the categories of mimesis, allegory, and irony, and analyzed the characteristics of the three categories realized in his poems. As a result of the analysis, 119 rhetorical methods were not exclusively dependent on any one category, and were variously used to complete the form and function of 119 poems according to the modes of poetic tone and syntax phrases. In general, in Mimesis, there are many rhetorical techniques to refine morphological and functional aspects with the aim of observing the formalities of poetry. In Allegory poetry, there are many applications of rhetoric to identify similarities between poetic objects. In irony poetry, rhetoric was used as a device to introspect the divided self into the reflective self and the reflected self in a cold or compassionate manner, and these 119 literary devices were variously used in 3 rhetoric categories.

#### 4. The future-oriented values of Korean literacy

Computer Meditated Communication is building a supranational imaginary community. Even at this moment, not only highly educated people who lead professional meetings in the virtual space, but also ordinary people with the same hobbies and tastes are engaged in communication beyond their native language. This is because the translation function of large portal sites has been improving day by day, and the barriers of foreign languages have been lowered. In the near future, if everyone can communicate in real-time without any hindrance due to the development of digital technology, global civilization developed around the standard language of each region will meet a new paradigm. However, the performance improvement of computer interpretation or search

---

19) <Returning and seeing the night> is a very courteous expression like 'I return to my narrow room as if returning from the world and turn off the light. Keeping the light on is too tiring. That is the extension of the day —', so it gives the impression that a theater actor recites in an aside in front of the audience.

20) In <Mandoli>, the narrator gives the reader a question like putting a riddle: 'The next day, Mandoli/is stuck and gives his teacher/a white paper. If not really/would he get sixty points'. In <Valley>, one verse 'a man wearing gat(Korean traditional hat) rides a donkey and passes through pretending not to know it./An island man riding a horse, who is rare in this land/asks the way and passes, so it is strange./Again, a deep valley is calmer than the mind of a traveler.' was deleted at the time of the publishment because the underlined part can be interpreted as a political satire of the reality of those days.

engine currently in progress is not always positive for the future of mankind. First of all, it is ethically problematic if the quality of digital devices or equipment access opportunities that will dramatically improve the universal intelligence of modern human beings is not fair according to the property level. In addition, the education world is concerned about the degradation of students' writing literacy, and worries that if the performance of translation devices improves, there will be no international students who want to receive Korean language education as a foreign language in the future.

However, given the fact that language education has been aimed at enhancing individual literacy, the demand for language education will not disappear very soon. This is because high-level cognitive activities are required to understand and generate information mediated through language. The higher the literacy of a particular language, the more likely he or she will have a higher level of thinking and awareness. However, if the development of digital devices neglects literacy education for a specific language, there is a fear that a man's higher level of cognitive ability will be weakened. The superiority of human beings over computers is the cognitive ability to think by themselves. Language teaching should be continued if language education can develop human's unique cognitive abilities.

The learners of the mother tongue experience the history of the evolution of human literacy unconsciously, and Korean learners experience the process of learning their native language literacy and the universal development process of world literary history while learning Korean language. As we have seen in Chapter 2, since the Far East Asia has been incorporated into the modern history of the world since the 1900s, the Korean community has developed literacy that is unique to the Korean language as it pursues the literary history of mankind's literacy. In this way, the principle of language universal learning applies to the process of learning Korean as a foreign language, and the motivation inherent in the international student, who wishes to learn Korean literacy, such as love for hallyu(Korean Wave), encourages individual learning. By learning Korean language literacy, the futuristic values that intellectuals can obtain in the 21st century can be summarized as follows. First, there will be a continuing demand for Korean speakers for special purposes such as academic, military, and hobby. Because Korean is a language with relatively low threshold to learn, people can learn Korean characters in a short period time and communicate effectively with the Korean dialogue community, and it is a language of the country which is a source of attractive Korean Wave, has achieved rapid economic growth, and is located in a military hub. Second, Korean language curriculum as a foreign language has a topic area that is specialized for each grade. Thus, completing the 6-level curriculum will expand not only linguistic expression to perform

---

professional activities in Korean, but also critical thinking<sup>21</sup>). In particular, by studying and creatively transforming the rhetoric applied to Yoon, Dong Ju's poetry works, it is possible to improve the ethical consciousness and aesthetic literacy necessary for intellectuals in the 21st century.

In order to prove the need for Korean language education through literature class and to develop the related curriculum, this study analyzed the common points of human literacy growth and global literary trends, and confirmed that the rhetoric that a Korea's famous poet Yoon, Dong Ju used in his poetry has phase-specific common points in the implementation of rhetoric. In the world literary trends, the rhetoric of mimesis, allegory, and irony gradually was mainly used and developed the literacy of the public reader, and Yoon, Dong Ju also developed the aesthetic literacy of Korean by applying rhetoric in such an order as his skill of creating a poem was greater. Yoon, Dong Ju's poem reveals a reflection on the conflict between reality and ideals that he felt as an intellectual who lived during the Enlightenment period, and the feeling of the conflict itself. Therefore, the process of analyzing and discussing the subject and rhetoric of the poetry while listening to and reading the poetry of Yoon, Dong Ju, which is classified according to the grade of Korean language curriculum, helps learners not only to have the mastery of Korean literacy but also to enhance the aesthetic literacy necessary for ethical intellectuals in the 21st century.

---

21) In the Korean language curriculum, students will learn the vocabulary and grammar expressions that are mainly used in the private field(beginner level) such as daily life, the public field(intermediate) such as public institutions and working life, and academic field(advanced) such as current affairs. Elementary students feel pleasure and fun just like a child who learns a word for the first time even if they complete a simple expression. In order to complete the advanced course, it requires a certain level of background knowledge and professional discussions on how Korea, which generates added value in the process of "milking cows, making a product of milk, and serving milk tea, has a relationship with the international community such as China and the United States and what kind of relationships it has had so far, and therefore Korean class is also helpful to develop a higher level of cognition of global intellectuals.

## References

- Kim, Sung Sook (2011), Academic Purpose Korean Writing Skills Evaluation Scale Development and Validation, Doctoral dissertation, Yonsei University.
- Kim, Sung Sook (2013), Pedagogical Effect of Teaching Module of Lens Essay for Cultivating Freshmen's Compositional Thinking Ability, A Study on Writing, p.19.
- Kim, Sung Sook (2015), Acquisition Process of Special Authority in Digital Academic Discourse Community, A Study on Modern Literature, The Journal of Modern Literature Research, pp. 629-656.
- Park, Gyu Joon (2010), The Discourse of Education on the Academic Writing - On the Analysis of Research Paper and Writing of Protocol, URIMALGEUL: The Korean Language and Literature, Collection 50, pp. 83-106.
- Yoon Dong Ju(Author), Hong Sang Hak(Compiler, 2004), 『Jeongbon Yoon Dong Ju』, Moonji Publishing.
- Lee Ki Dong (2006), Jooyeokgangseol(I-Ching), Sungkyunkwan University Press, pp. 22-26.
- Bloom, B. S.(1956), *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Goals: Handbook 1: Cognitive Domain*, New York: David McKay Company, p. 185.
- Larsen-Freeman, D(1997), Chaos/complexity science and second language acquisition, *Applied Linguistics* 18, pp. 141-165.
- Leu, D. J., et al.(2017), New Literacies: A Dual-Level Theory of the Changing Nature of Literacy, Instruction, and Assessment, *Journal of Education*, Vol 197(2), pp. 1-18. (<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/002205741719700202>)
- Muelle, E. Gustav(1958), The Hegel Legend of "Thesis-Antithesis-Synthesis", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Vol. 19(3), pp. 411-414.
- Yoon, Dong Ju (2016), *Hanulgua paramgua pulgua si* (The Sky, the Wind, the Star, and the Poems), Classico. pp. 199-220.

# A Study on the Selection of Korean Cultural Vocabulary for Foreign Learners

*Ryeong Kim*  
*Hongik University*

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Purpose and necessity of research

Currently, Korean culture education for foreign learners is an important part of Korean language education. The reflection 5C (Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities), which is the standard of foreign language education and the principle of foreign language learning emphasized in the mainstream education in the US, in Korean language education also had a positive effect on culture education. Accurate understanding and acceptance of Korean culture can alleviate misunderstanding and distance due to cultural collision, and has a positive effect on adapting Korean society. In addition, communicative competence can be improved by using the correct language appropriate to the cultural context through culture education. Therefore, the positive effects of cultural teaching and learning can not be overlooked in language education.

Due to the need for culture education, various studies have been actively conducted, including selection of cultural items, design of syllabus, culture education method, and selection of cultural vocabulary. Starting from the fundamental question of 'why do we have to teach culture', we have been constantly studying what we should teach. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of research on contents research and there are only a few cultural teaching materials suitable for field education. In this paper, therefore, we are to review the existing research results and to extract a basic list of cultural vocabulary for Korean language education that can be widely applied. This is because the approach through the selection of cultural vocabulary is the most basic and useful method in culture education<sup>1)</sup> It is effective to teach culture-related basic vocabulary first, to form sentences,

1) Introducing the concept of 'Cultural Literacy', Hirsh(1987) said that based on knowledge shared by authors and average readers, basic knowledge on all fields such as society, economy, politics constitute cultural literacy. In particular, the



and to learn implications. Next, the cultural vocabulary should be presented with the cultural scene and understood through the discourse context. In addition, it is necessary to select vocabulary closely related to the cultural theme and add cultural vocabulary reflecting the age.

There are several reasons for the need for cultural vocabulary selection.

First, language education should be integrated with culture education. It can be said that language and culture are interdependent. The culture of one nation is inherent in one language, and language act is the external expression of culture. As argued by Park, Young-soon (2002), culture education can improve the accuracy of language education and the efficiency of language understanding education and can help the learner to communicate smoothly.

Second, vocabulary and culture are closely related. About the relationship between vocabulary and culture, Kang, Hyun-hwa·Lee, Mi-hye(2011:167) explained “Vocabulary is the basic area that is most connected with culture” and specifically divided the cultural area that is linked with the target vocabulary teaching into the following: First, they are words that appear only in Korean. The vocabulary that symbolizes Korean culture or the vocabularies that appear only in a specific lexical field of Korean can help to understand Korean culture. Second, "There are the characteristics of Korean Culture revealed in the idioms and proverbs. A study of ethnographic characteristics revealed in idiomatic expressions that have been used conventionally can help to understand the target culture." Third, it is to examine the cultural characteristics that appear in "Taboo word, Euphemisms, Buzz-word, Genderlect, Honorifics & Humble language, and slang. It develops the ability to use vocabulary suitable for context because it also plays an important role in terms of the learner's output.

Third, cultural vocabulary compresses the overall Korean culture including Korean society and history. Therefore, the learner's perception of the image of Korean culture or the identity of Korean culture must be kept in mind in terms of Korean language education policy. Therefore, it is necessary to set cultural categories and specific items of Korean culture education and consider the vocabulary.

Fourth, previous studies have presented the classification of cultural vocabulary in part while discussing the selection of cultural vocabulary at the beginner's or intermediate

---

approach from the dimension of vocabulary ability etc. and the emphasis on the help of organizing cultural literacy suggest that providing basic cultural knowledge and cultural vocabulary in Korean culture may be the most useful way (Kim, Jong-chul, Recited from 2010: 349)

---

level and teaching methods. Of course, the education should be different according to the learning purpose and motivation of the Korean learner or the characteristics of the learner, but it is necessary to select the cultural vocabulary list for the Korean language education and classify it for the combination with the actual teaching and learning field.

Therefore, the primary goal of this study is to review the studies related to the Korean language culture education and the selection of cultural vocabulary. In addition, we are to organize vocabulary list by reflecting previous research results and select educational cultural vocabulary for foreign learners through comparative analysis with corpus.

## 1.2 Review of previous studies

The research on Korean culture education in Korean language education started in the mid 1990s, and various studies have been carried out to suggest the goal and direction of culture education such as the need for Korean culture education, culture education method, selection of cultural syllabus etc. Among them, research on the selection of cultural vocabulary started in 2000, but no active research has been conducted compared with other areas. The result of examining the research on the selection of cultural vocabulary for foreign learners from 2000 to present showed a total of 16 theses, including 7 master's theses, 2 doctoral theses, 7 journal theses.

In this paper, we are to focus on the following several aspects and select the analysis targets focusing on the studies related to cultural vocabulary selection for Korean learners with general purpose.

- What are the criteria for selecting cultural vocabulary?
- What is the procedure for selecting cultural vocabulary?
- What data can be analyzed to select cultural vocabulary?

Therefore, it is important to select appropriate materials to select the cultural vocabulary necessary for Korean learners. Considering the above, we are to review the criteria, procedures and methods for selecting a total of 7 previous studies<sup>2)</sup>. The selection criteria of each previous study are summarized as follows:

---

2) We examined only 7 out of the 16 theses surveyed earlier because we excluded studies related to special purposes such as multicultural purpose, vocational purpose and studies related to the selection of cultural vocabulary by theme such as traditional cultural vocabulary. As a recent study, we could find Lee Eun-hee (2015), "A Study on the Selection of cultural vocabulary for Korean Culture Education and Class Model", a doctoral dissertation of Chungbuk National University, but it was impossible to review because the author set the data as not open to the public.

&lt;Table 1&gt; Criteria for selection of cultural vocabulary in 7 previous studies

	Kang, Hyun-hwa (2002)	Jung, Yeon-Hee (2007)	Jeon, Mi-soon Lee, Byeong-woon (2009)	Oh, Na-young (2011)	Jeon, Mi-soon (2011)	Lee, Hyang-ju (2012)	Lee, Ji-young (2012)
<b>Methodology</b>	Eclectic	Eclectic	Eclectic	Deductive	Eclectic	Eclectic	Eclectic
<b>Criteria</b>	<b>Criteria for vocabulary selection</b>	·Textbook redundancy ·Corpus frequency ·Basic vocabulary ·Possibility of inclusion ·Regularity ·Learning burden	·Frequency	·Frequency		·Frequency	·Frequency
	<b>Criteria for cultural vocabulary selection</b>	·Linguistic needs ·Availability and familiarity	·Importance of cultural contents ·Reflection of everyday culture ·Proverbs, idioms and literature	·Concept of cultural vocabulary	·Classification of cultural vocabulary ·Category (concept) of cultural vocabulary ·Unit of vocabulary selection	·Learner's needs ·Category (concept) of cultural vocabulary	·Concept of cultural vocabulary ·Classification of cultural vocabulary ·Reflection of everyday culture

The criteria for vocabulary selection have a decisive influence on creating the final vocabulary list. In addition, in the case of cultural vocabulary, it is necessary to accept general standards and think about other considerations. Most studies have chosen an eclectic method to synthesize objective and subjective criteria and extracted different vocabulary lists because of the inconsistency between the concepts and the categories.

Specific vocabulary selection methods and procedures can be summarized as follows:

&lt;Table 2&gt; Procedure for selecting cultural vocabulary list in 7 previous studies

Previous study	Selection procedure
Kang, Hyun-hwa(2002)	Extraction of Corpus cultural vocabulary for Korean education → Redundancy comparison with list of textbook headwords → Re-check of list of learning dictionary headwords → Presentation of final list
Jung, Yeon-Hee(2007)	Data analysis → cultural vocabulary extraction → Presentation according to cultural vocabulary classification → Addition and deletion by criteria → list presentation
Jeon, Mi-soon·Lee, Byeong-woon(2009)	
Lee, Hyang-ju(2012)	
Oh, Na-young(2011)	Setting the criteria for cultural vocabulary classification → Analysis of data according to cultural vocabulary classification → Extraction of cultural vocabulary
Jeon, Mi-soon(2011)	Data analysis → Extraction of cultural vocabulary with frequency of more than 3 times → Analysis of learners needs → Addition and

Previous study	Selection procedure
	deletion by criteria → Presentation of 1st by topic / level
Lee, Ji-young(2012)	Data Analysis → Extraction of cultural vocabulary → Summary according to redundancy / high frequency → Verification of culture vocabulary (Match with criteria list, verification by expert group) → presented according to cultural theme

The process of selecting a cultural vocabulary can be classified into the selection of cultural vocabulary based on basic data and classification of vocabulary corresponding to a cultural subject area, or the selection of cultural vocabulary based on a cultural vocabulary classification framework. It is worthy to note that unlike other studies, Jeon, Mi-soon(2011) reflected the results through a survey of needs for learners, and Lee and Ji-young (2012) conducted a preliminary survey prior to the selection to enhance the validity of the analysis data.

On the other hand, there are some limitations in previous studies. First, most of them focus on the textbook analysis, but there is still lack of basic data. In addition to textbook texts, studies should be carried out based on spoken language, written language corpus on various subjects such as culture and society etc. Also, the discussions proceed without discrimination of beginner, intermediate, and advanced level proficiency, or they are selected only for the same rank list. In addition, most of the extraction lists are presented in 'alphabetical order', and classification was not carried out. Finally, since the vocabulary amount is vast in the process of judging the extraction list, there are problems such as selective judgment or grading according to awareness.

Through the above analysis, we examined various factors that can be considered in the process of selecting cultural vocabulary. Therefore, it is desirable to selectively apply these factors according to the learner's background and needs, and learning objectives, rather than considering them uniformly. In addition, the objectivity can be obtained by adopting multiple factors according to teacher's judgment and availability of data, teaching and learning environment, and prioritizing and applying them sequentially to select the final classification list of cultural vocabulary, rather than focusing on one factor.

### 1.3 Procedures and methods of research

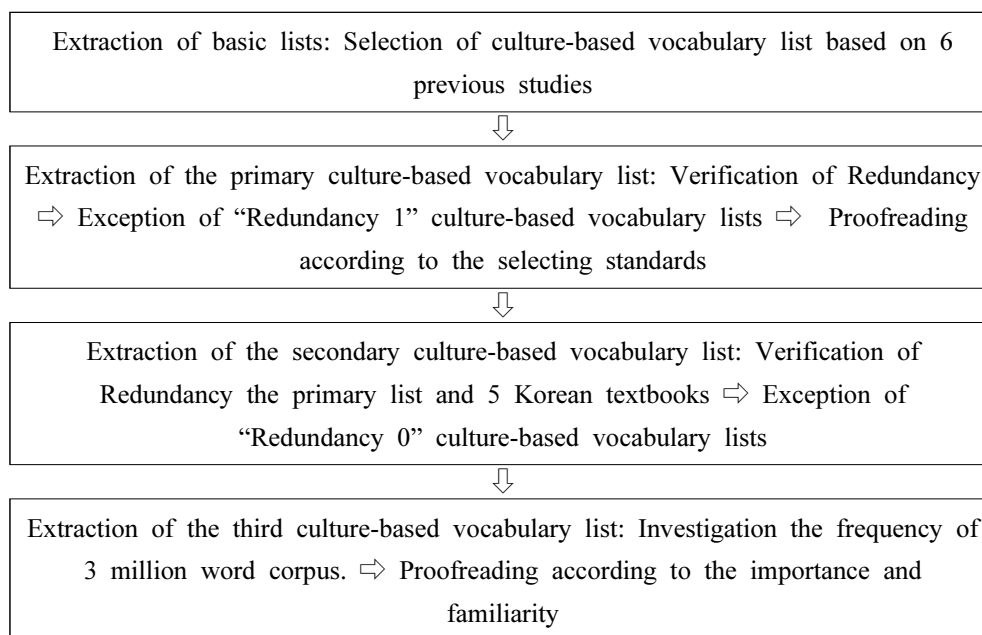
Considering the research method of existing discussion, we are to select cultural vocabulary through the following procedure. First, after collecting the final list of six types of previous studies on the selection of cultural vocabulary, the cultural vocabulary with redundancy 2 or higher is used as a basic vocabulary list. Next, the 1st vocabulary list is selected through the correction based on several criteria and the concept of cultural

vocabulary proposed in this study. Since existing papers have already undergone various stages of verification procedures for textbooks and vocabulary selection result reports, they are reliable data, and they are used as basic data for comprehensive review of research results so far.

Next, we check the redundancy between the list extracted from the primary work and the list of cultural vocabulary extracted from five Korean integrated textbooks. Previous studies review Korean integrated textbooks and cultural general textbooks, or beginner and intermediate classes. Therefore, in order to solve problems that are not systematic and to confirm the importance of cultural vocabulary, we will re-check the redundancy with the integrated texts of the prestigious college affiliated educational institutions. For example, Lee, Hyang-ju (2012) selected 'Hwanhaedo, Cheongsachorong' as cultural vocabularies, because it is necessary to review the practicality and importance of these vocabularies.

Finally, a secondary list is created through screening based on a vocabulary list with redundancy 1 or higher between textbooks. We investigate the frequency of use of the corresponding vocabulary list in the 21st century Sejong corpus (including 3 million word reduction, spoken and written languages), construct a final list, and proceed with the hierarchy according to frequency.

The research procedure and method of this discussion are illustrated as follows.



<Figure 1> Research methods and procedures

## 2. Cultural Vocabulary in Korean Language Education

Through learning and teaching of Korean, we can understand the life and emotions of Koreans underlying Korean language. Also, since language has developed based on culture, it is difficult to speak proper Korean without understanding Korean culture. As Brown(2001) pointed out “Since language and culture are intricately and closely intertwined, each time we learn a language successfully, we will learn about the culture of the target language, and when teaching the language, we teach cultural customs, values, thinking, feelings, behavior patterns.”<sup>3)</sup>, education on Korean culture is necessary in Korean language education because it can cultivate communicative competence of learners.

On the other hand, cultural vocabulary is an important component of culture education as vocabulary containing customs and background of Korean culture. Examining the discussion on the concept of cultural vocabulary prior to the selection of cultural vocabulary, it can be found that the rules vary for each scholar

The definition of cultural vocabulary in previous studies is summarized as follows:

<Table 3> The concept of cultural vocabulary in previous studies

	Study	Concept	Definition
1	Park, Young-soon(1989)	Cultural basic vocabulary	The most basic, representative, traditional, and symbolic vocabulary that represents the culture in food, clothing, and shelter
2	Park, Kap-soo(1998)	Cultural vocabulary	Vocabulary that reflects a broad sense of culture such as society, culture, and institutions
3	Park, Young-jun(2000)	Cultural vocabulary	Differences due to the background of Korean culture
4	National Institute of the Korean Language(2001)	Cultural vocabulary	Vocabulary that Koreans know well, have a significant cultural meaning and can be spread in the form of Korean due to the uniqueness of terms
5	Chang, Myung-hwan (2001)	Fossilized Vocabulary	The unique language of each nation is subdivided to express culture, and this vocabulary is called fossilized vocabulary
6	Kang, Hyun-hwa(2002)	Cultural vocabulary	Vocabulary that contains cultural elements that should be specifically reflected in Korean education, and vocabulary that contains cultural background
7	Lim, Chil-seong(2002)	Cultural language	Vocabulary essential for understanding Korean culture
8	Kim Gwang-hae(2003)	Vocabulary for cultural communication	A kind of professional cultural language s a list of vocabulary needed to understand Korean culture while performing Korean education,
9	Lee, Dong-gyu(2005)	Cultural vocabulary	Vocabulary that refers to culture products or culture in Korea and Vocabulary that requires cultural explanation

3) Recited from Kang, Hyun-hwa·Lee, Mi-hye(2012), 『Korean Education Theory』 .

	Study	Concept	Definition
10	Jung, Yeon-Hee(2006)	Cultural symbol vocabulary	Vocabulary containing symbolic meaning in addition to dictionary meaning, and all vocabularies that reflect the tradition of modern daily culture can be targeted
11	Shim, Hye-ryeong(2008)	Culture-based vocabulary <sup>4)</sup>	Vocabulary as a product of culture and experience of native speakers that foreign learners can not acquire only by linguistic theoretical approach
12	Jeon, Mi-soon(2011)	Culture-related direct / indirect vocabulary	A keyword to understand Korean culture because the socio-cultural meaning of Korea is reflected directly or indirectly
13	Lee, Hyang-ju(2012)	Cultural vocabulary	Vocabulary containing the culture, that is, vocabulary including lifestyle and notion, which are the cultural elements of the country
14	Lee, Ji-young(2012)	Cultural vocabulary	Means the vocabulary that refers to the cultural elements of Korea themselves. Vocabulary that can be interpreted in a secondary sense based on cultural content, rather than the lexical meaning itself implying cultural elements

In previous studies, cultural vocabulary is commonly considered to be vocabulary essential for understanding Korean culture. In addition, cultural vocabulary should contain a symbolic meaning in addition to the generally used dictionary meaning. In other words, it is emphasized that the lexical meaning itself should not only be a vocabulary containing cultural elements, but also a vocabulary that can be interpreted in a secondary or tertiary sense.

Various views on the concept of cultural vocabulary can be summarized as follows: First, there are vocabularies that refer to cultural products symbolizing Korea. For example, 'Taegu-gi, Kimchi, Hangeul' and so on. Second, there are vocabularies that have cultural meaning in a secondary or tertiary sense. In addition to the primary meaning of vocabulary. For example, 'Yangban, cousin, Panmunjom' and other vocabularies. If there is no understanding of the status system in the Joseon Dynasty, which is a class society, we can never know the meaning of the word 'Yangban' and, if there is no understanding of the history surrounding North and South Korea, 'Panmunjeom' will be recognized just as a place name. In addition, there is an opinion that vocabulary not corresponding to a foreign language or vocabulary not corresponding to 1: 1 is considered cultural vocabulary. For example, 'bibimbap' in Korean was judged to be a cultural vocabulary because there is no corresponding food in English-speaking countries, so it should be written as 'bibimbap', but in Chinese, there is a corresponding word '拌饭' (banban). Therefore, if a vocabulary is defined as a cultural vocabulary simply because there is no equivalent word, there will be a problem that the list of Korean cultural vocabulary may

4) Shim, Hye-ryeong (2013; 208) presented "Knowledge-based vocabulary" as "vocabulary that contains common knowledge, that is, knowledge of a liberal level, rather than specialized major knowledge, and technical terms that explicitly appear in textbooks which are used as a tool for expressing the knowledge constituting the school contents generally in the elementary, middle, and high school curriculum"

---

be different depending on the linguistic sphere. Therefore, it is unreasonable to judge a culture vocabulary by whether there is a equivalent word with a foreign language. Therefore, the setting direction of the vocabulary selection criterion has a crucial effect on the creation of the cultural vocabulary list.

Referring to the definition of cultural vocabulary in the previous studies, we defined cultural vocabulary as "all vocabularies that refer to Korean cultural products or should be reflected in Korean education symbolizing Korean culture". In addition, the list of vocabulary extracted from this paper is the list of the basic cultural vocabulary<sup>5)</sup> which is the most basis of Korean culture education, and we are to present the outline. The specific criteria of judging cultural vocabulary in this study are as follows:

- The vocabulary associated with tangible and intangible cultural products that symbolize Korea, that is, achievement culture and ideology culture, is adopted first. In addition, it should be able to contribute to the communication of Korean learners as a foreign language and realistically have a close cultural vocabulary, that is, dailiness.

Ex) Kimchi, Taekwondo, Mugunghwa etc.

- Vocabulary with Korean cultural background in addition to its primary meaning

Ex) We, humanitarianism etc.

- Vocabulary that does not exist in a foreign language, or a vocabulary with different symbolic meaning, cultural status even if it exists in a foreign language

Ex) ① Vocabulary that does not exist in a foreign language - Makgeolli, Ganggangsulae etc.

② Vocabulary with different symbolic meaning – Madam, Mugunghwa etc.

③ Vocabulary with different cultural status – Tteok, Seaweed Soup, noodle etc.

---

5) The concept of 'basic vocabulary' in Korean education is the vocabulary that is the foundation of the Korean and vocabulary necessary for leading an everyday life which does not change frequently over a long period of time. Based on this concept, this study also regards the most basic vocabulary that reflects the traditional and modern daily culture as a cultural basic vocabulary.



### 3. Selection of Cultural Vocabulary

#### 3.1 Collection of basic data

In order to select the cultural vocabulary needed for Korean learners, it is important to select suitable basic data. In this study, we tried to collect and review the extracted list from existing papers. Since these data have already undergone several stages of validation, reliability can be assured. In addition, this paper is a study that started from the review of the research performance until now, so the theses were used as the analysis data to avoid duplication. First, the analysis data in each study are summarized as follows:

<Table 4> Analysis data in previous studies

	Kang, Hyun-hwa (2002)	Jung, Yeon-Hee <sup>6)</sup> (2007)	Jeon, Mi-soon-Lee, Byeong-woon (2009)	Oh, Na-young <sup>7)</sup> (2011)	Jeon, Mi-soon (2011)	Lee, Hyang-ju (2012)	Lee, Ji-young (2012)
<b>Textbooks for analysis</b>	Korean Integrated Textbook + 5 kinds of functional textbooks	Korean Integrated Textbooks 5 kinds 30 volumes	Korean Beginner Integrated Textbook 3 kinds 7 volumes	Textbooks for all grades in elementary school 132 volumes	Cultural Universal Textbooks 7 volumes	Korean Beginner Integrated Textbook 7 kinds 18 volumes	Korean Intermediate Integrated Textbook 6 kinds 32 volumes
<b>Reference corpus</b>	Corpus for Korean education List of 7 kinds of dictionary headwords	Corpus for Korean education	Kang, Hyun-hwa (2002)	-	Seo, Sang-gyu et. al.(2001) Kang, Hyun-hwa(2002) National Institute of the Korean Language(2000) National Institute of the Korean Language(2003)	National Institute of the Korean Language (2001) Kang, Hyun-hwa(2002) Jeon, Mi-soon(2011)	-

The above table shows that various data such as textbooks including integrated textbooks, dictionary, corpus frequency are analyzed in previous studies. By analyzing systematic Korean textbooks, we can examine the current state of culture education at each university institution, which helps learners' practical learning by selecting a cultural vocabulary list from the textbooks learners encounter. In addition, cultural textbooks

6) We excluded Jung, Yeon-Hee(2007) from the analysis basic data because the study basically follows the method of Kang, Hyun-hwa(2002) and selectively present 50 symbolic vocabularies, which was judged not to be suitable for the purpose of this study.

7) Elementary school textbooks analyzed by Oh, Na-young(2011) include reading, listening, speaking, writing, mathematics, science and social studies in grades 1 to 6 according to the 7th curriculum (16 volumes) and the revised 7th curriculum. Therefore, cultural vocabularies extracted by Oh, Na-young (2011) contain many vocabularies that violate the selection criteria or do not seem valid to be regarded as cultural vocabulary (eg. swimming, etc.). It is also a vocabulary list for elementary school students and is excluded from the analysis data because it may be inappropriate for the education of adult learners.

contain more cultural vocabulary than integrated textbooks because they present diverse cultures beyond the limit centering on language education. In addition, various vocabulary reports comprehensively consider the aspects such as practicality and suitability of vocabulary, which is meaningful in selecting vocabulary necessary for learners. Therefore, this study premises that the five vocabulary lists extracted by analyzing textbooks (integrated textbooks, cultural textbooks), corpus, dictionaries and vocabulary reports are fully recognized. Although the data of National Institute of the Korean Language(2000) are already analyzed in these data, we added them again because this paper focuses on the selection of cultural basic vocabulary that is the basis of cultural education, so we used the same data as the cultural basic terms. In order to solve the missing problems in the analysis process of other studies, the list was also collected and the primary data were composed. The results of the selection of cultural vocabulary in each previous study are as follows:

<Table 5> Basic data for selection of cultural vocabulary

Author (Year)	Selected contents	Number of selected vocabulary
National Institute of the Korean Language(2000)	Basic terms of Korean culture	235
Kang, Hyun-hwa(2002)	Cultural vocabulary to be included in learner dictionary	329
Jeon, Mi-soon· Lee, Byeong-woon(2009)	Elementary Level Culture Vocabulary	538
Jeon, Mi-soon(2011)	Korean cultural vocabulary	111
Lee, Hyang-ju(2012)	Elementary Level Culture Vocabulary	141
Lee, Ji-young(2012)	Cultural vocabulary for intermediate learners	208
Total		1562

Of basic data, National Institute of the Korean Language(2000), Kang, Hyun-hwa(2002) and Jeon, Mi-soon(2011) selected cultural vocabulary without considering the learning stage. And Jeon, Mi-soon·Lee, Byeong-woon(2009), Lee, Hyang-ju(2012) and Lee, Ji-young(2012) selected the cultural vocabulary by setting the learning stage, and in this paper, we referred to all of them as we aimed to collect as much data as possible. The above cultural vocabulary lists were collected and as a result, a total of 1,562 cultural vocabularies appeared.

We then reviewed the redundancy between the lists collected. The results of the redundancy review are shown together with examples as follows:

&lt;Table 6&gt; Cultural vocabulary redundancy of 6 previous studies

Redundancy	Number of words	Example
7	4	Kimchi, Tteok, dumpling, Hanbok
6	62	Tteokguk, Soy sauce, gochujang, Gimbap, Kimchi Stew, kkakdugi, greens, cold noodles, doenjang ...
5	45	Iron pot, gayageum, galbi, geomungo, rubber shoes, noodle, guk, Gut, gimjang ...
4	116	Gat, Ganggangsulae, Gangnam, Gangwon-do, National foundation Day of Korea, Gyeonggi-do, Gyeongbokgung Palace, breast-tie, Beef Bone Soup ...
3	128	Palanquin, gangjeong, Gyeongsang Province, Gyeongju, gye, Goguryeo, aunt, gosa ...
2	161	63 Building, bar rice cake, Song, dog-meat soup, expressway ...
1	522	10000 won, privately owned taxi, Marriage information company, gongu, Manlipo, Muninsu, video room, B-boy, Samjinnal ...

As shown in <Table 6>, there are 522 cultural vocabulary with Redundancy is 1 in 6 kinds of data, accounting for about 50% of the total cultural vocabulary. In the vocabulary list with redundancy 1, "Gonu, Manlipo, Samjinnal" are not suitable for learner education because they are not frequently used in the Korean society. In addition, vocabularies such as "pepper, marriage information company, privately owned taxi, piano, wine" do not represent Korean culture or contain cultural backgrounds, so all relevant vocabularies were excluded and the cultural vocabulary with redundancy 2 or higher was used as a basic list.

Next, we performed the second correction for the 1st cultural vocabulary list of 516 words with redundancy 2 or higher according to the definition and selection criteria of the cultural vocabulary discussed above.

First, vocabularies with similar meanings or forms are presented as related words.

Ex) Republic of Korea–Korea, rainy season–monsoon season ; Korean - Korean, Filial piety–filial duty

Second, foreign languages are excluded.

Ex) IT , KBS etc.

Through these verification methods, we extracted 6 kinds of final 471 cultures vocabularies.

### 3.2 Redundancy investigation between textbooks

In order to examine the importance of 471 primary cultural vocabularies selected through the correction in Korean education, we examined the redundancy in the five kinds of textbooks. The Korean integrated textbooks of the following each university institution were selected for analysis.

- Institute of International Education of Kyung Hee University(2000), 『Korean』 (1~6), Kyunghee University Press.
- Korean Culture and Education Center of Korea University(2010), 『Funny Korean』 (1~6), Kyobo Book Centre.
- Sogang University Korean Education Center(2008), 『Sogang Korean』 (1A~5B), Sogang University International Cultural Center Press.
- Korean Language Institute of Yonsei University(2013), 『Yonsei Korean』 (1-1~6-2), Yonsei University Press.
- Language Education Center of Ewha Womans University(2011), 『Ewha Korean』 (1-1~4-2, 5, 6), Ewha Womans University Press.

For 471 cultural vocabularies selected through the second correction, we examined redundancy by verifying each presentation pattern in total 44 Korean textbooks of 5 kinds.

<Table 7> Redundancy in 5 kinds of textbooks

Redundancy	Number of words	Examples of cultural vocabulary
5	134	Tteok, dumpling, Hanbok, Tteokguk, Soy sauce, gochujang, Gimbap, Kimchi, greens, cold noodles, doenjang ...
4	58	Kimchi Stew, gimjang, Deoksugung Palace, dongji, Classical scholar, seolleongtang, visiting ancestor's grave, Main room, Janggu, porridge ...
3	64	kkakdugi, gayageum, rubber shoes, maeuntang, dog day, bureom, saju, jeogori, Temple, jing ...
2	68	Makgeolli, Gut, Dano, Mugunghwa, hundred-day, National foundation Day of Korea, Gyeonggi-do, breast-tie, nongak, Daecheong ...
1	71	iron pot, geomungo, Dangun, Dol hareubang, dried persimmon, geumjul, lacquerwork inlaid with mother-of-pearl, pickled radish ...
0	76	Durumagi, jangseung, norigae, lucky bag, sujeonggwa, ornamental silver knife ...

The cultural vocabulary shown as redundancy 0 in <Table 7> corresponds to a list of words that did not appear in the integrated textbook. It is difficult to regard the vocabularies as vocabularies that are not necessary in Korean culture education, but they were excluded because of lack of availability and familiarity. Therefore, 395 vocabularies with Redundancy 1 or higher were extracted as the 2nd cultural vocabulary list.

### 3.3 Investigation of frequency of use in corpus<sup>8)</sup>

To investigate the redundant appearance of the cultural vocabulary among the textbooks can be said to be an important task to check the importance of the Korean education field. Next, the corpus-based frequency-of-use investigation is another important indicator for judging usage patterns in everyday life in Korea. Therefore, based on redundancy among textbooks of 395 cultural vocabularies, we investigated the frequency in the three million words reduction Sejong corpus.

First, the cultural vocabularies with textbook redundancy of 5 were all included because of their importance. According to the result of frequency survey using three million words reduction corpus, the vocabulary such as "alcohol, Seoul, older brother, husband, middle-aged man, sister, meal" appeared at a significantly higher frequency. The appellation words appeared in large quantities, which is attributable to the fact that there are many appellation words in the spoken corpus. The richness of appellation words is an important feature of Korean, and they were included in cultural vocabulary because they reflect culture. Next, cultural vocabularies with a frequency of 10 or less include "Soy sauce, Bulgogi, yut, adzuki-bean gruel, jajangmyeon, lease, bibimbap, Korean food, galbi, japchae, housewarming, ancestral rites, Chinese zodiac sign" etc. Although these vocabularies are relatively rarely used, they were selected as cultural vocabulary for learning because they are frequently used and familiar in Korean everyday life.

Second, most of cultural vocabularies with textbook redundancy 4 or lower appeared frequently. Vocabulary with a frequency of 10 or less also appeared, for example, "spear, Folk Village, calligraphy, chili powder, janggi, sticky rice cake, dongji, Arirang, Kimchi Stew, seolleongtang, soft tofu stew, Parents' Day, ogokbap, patbingsu, Nanta" etc. It can be assumed that although these vocabularies are basic vocabulary related to Korean food culture and holiday culture, they are rarely used due to the balance of corpus and the number of words. Therefore, the relevant list was reflected in the vocabulary list.

8) For a list of specific vocabulary, see Appendix.

---

Third, the vocabulary with a frequency of 10 or less showed a high percentage among cultural vocabularies with textbook redundancy 3, and the vocabularies that symbolizes Korean culture and contains cultural background were included in the list according to the selection criteria of this paper. For example, “money gift for happy occasions, Hahoe mask, pajeon, National Liberation Day, Ganggangsulae, sundae, pyebaek, ancestral ritual formalities, dog day, kkakdugi” etc.

Fourth, in the case of cultural vocabulary with a textbook redundancy of 2, the cultural vocabularies with a corpus frequency of 100 or more were included in the list. Vocabularies with a frequency of 100 or more include “North Korea, Korean Peninsula, God, Gyeonggi-do, Insa-dong, Christianity” etc. Among the vocabularies with a frequency of 100 or less, vocabularies symbolizing Korean culture were selected: “Makgeolli, Gut” etc.

Fifth, cultural vocabularies with a frequency of 100 or more were included in the list among the cultural vocabularies with textbook redundancy of 1. These vocabularies include “Pyongyang, Silla, Baekje, Jeju-do, Ulsan, Dangun” etc. For vocabularies with a frequency of 100 or less, some vocabularies were selected by checking them one by one. Added vocabularies include “A-frame, Jongno, Gimpo airport, cloth, Hallasan Mountain, iron pot” etc.

### 3. 4 Selection of final cultural vocabulary list

The final 241 cultural vocabularies were selected through a series of extraction and judgment processes as above. By constructing the basic data through the 1st previous study, we were able to collect vocabularies that can be included in the cultural vocabulary list as many as possible. Next, we tried to verify the importance of educational corpus by examining the redundant appearance in Korean textbooks. Finally, the comparative analysis with the frequency of use based on corpus is an important basis for judging the necessity and reality. It is regrettable that we failed to carry out the verification of the teacher and expert group in this process for the vocabulary requiring subjective judgment,

The list of finally selected cultural vocabularies is as follows:

<Table 8> List of finally selected cultural vocabularies<sup>9)</sup>

Alcohol, Seoul, Older brother, Husband, Middle-aged man, Sister, Meal, Grandfather, Brother, Apartment, Housing, Sister, Grandmother, Neighbor, Rice, Senior, Busan, Goryeo, king, young lady, Buddhism, Madam, meeting, Daejeon, Tteok, Hangang River, Soju, real estate, department store, father, subway, relative, ramen, Incheon, Gyeongju, nephew, salt, Chuseok, mother, aunt, bus, chilli, club, husband's family, parents-in-law, ginseng, grandchild, palace, rainy season, dialect, garlic, East Sea, cousin, aunt, holiday, ceramics, fortune-telling, manners, Lunar New Year's Day, chopsticks, Hanbok, Gimhap, greens, pansori, Hangeul, Myeong-dong, Andong, drinking, Jamsil, club, tuition, gukak, ssireum, noodle, azalea, skirt, mask, spa, wife's mother, sale, Taekwondo, spoon, boarding house, ancestor-memorial rite, gochujang, mask dance, drum, Korean fan dance, Namdaemun, supermarket, doenjang, ondol, New Year's bow, tofu, straw shoes, hanji, Daehak-ro, church, seodang, funeral, we, stone, elder, dumpling, Kimchi, cold noodles, songpyeon, Tteokbokki, Joseon, jjigae, Seaweed Soup, samgyetang, samulnori, Korean-style house, convenience store, maternal grandmother, reunion, Tteokguk, pork belly, Soy sauce, Bulgogi, yut, 팥porridge, jajangmyeon, lease, bibimbap , Korean food, galbi, japchae, housewarming, ancestral rites, Chinese zodiac sign, Republic of Korea, Wife, Uncle, Yangban, Gwangju, Ancestor, Main room, Pine, Jeonju, Expressway, Song, Confucianism, Side dish, Classical scholar, Karaoke Room, Tug-of-war, Pipe, Goblin, Celadon, porridge, Baduk, taegeuk, Maternal grandmother, Gift certificate, Janggu, spoons and chopsticks, mineral water, gimjang, laver, bean sprouts, kalguksu, soup, Temple, Daegu, Oriental medicine, Three States, Daughter-in-law , Filial piety, Folk song, Magpie, Married woman's parents' home, Table, Bachelor, Fate, Gangnam, wife's parents' home, jeogori, pot, rubber shoes, dolmen, Gyeongbokgung Palace, rice bowl, marriage, gayageum, pavilion, Children's Day, honeymoon, Gat, gosa, wife's brother, Rice Soup, jing, palanquin, shrine, deep bow, 60th birthday, thatched house, marriage expenses, deposit, identification card, kkwaenggwari, raw fish, saju, hemp cloth, barley tea, soup, kkakdugi, luck, jegichagi, ancestral ritual formalities, pyebaek, sundae, Ganggangsulae, National Liberation Day, pajeon, Hahoe mask, money gift for happy occasions, North Korea, Korean Peninsula, God, Gyeonggi-do, Insa-dong, Christianity, Makgeolli, Poison, Gut, Pyongyang, Silla, Baekje, Jeju-do, Ulsan, Dangun, A-frame, Cheongju, Jongno, Gimpo airport, cloth, Hallasan Mountain, iron pot.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this study, we constructed a basic data through previous studies and analyzed the frequency of appearance of corpus, redundancy between textbooks to select a cultural vocabulary list for foreign learners. It can be said that this paper is an attempt study to present cultural basic vocabulary for Korean education and is also a task to re-examine existing research results. As vocabulary selection methods, meta and corpus analysis methods are mainly used. This study tried to secure the validity and applicability by collecting the vocabulary lists of the previous studies and verifying them through textbooks and corpus.

9) The order of proposed vocabulary is presented according to the order of higher frequency in the corpus list based on the redundancy between the textbooks.

---

While existing studies focus on 'what are the vocabularies that meet the standards', the purpose of this paper is to outline the cultural basic vocabulary list to solve the question "What are the vocabularies that can be taught"?. The selection of the list may be different because it does not necessarily have to be taught in cultural education, but this paper still has some limitations. First, there is the lack of objectivity in the selection process of cultural vocabulary. After the analysis of textbook redundancy, the selected list was not validated by the teacher or expert group and judged subjectively, so some highly important vocabularies may be missing. Second, in terms of contents, the data analyzed in this paper does not fully reflect the diverse areas that can cover Korean traditional culture and modern culture.

In order to supplement the study, it is possible to expand the scope of the basic data by adding data such as previous studies, textbooks, corpus, and Korean cultural reading books for foreigners. In addition, if Korean integrated textbooks and cultural general textbooks are separated, compared and analyzed, a more useful list will be extracted. Next, we think that it would be meaningful to examine the equivalent terms of cultural vocabulary and construct a list considering the category of culture when targeting a specific language.

Ultimately, the selection of cultural vocabulary should lead to categorization and classification of cultural vocabulary, and as a result, it should be actively utilized in the development of teaching materials and education. On the other hand, culture in foreign language education is related to everyday life which is constantly changing, so there is also a need for a thorough review of data that reflects the times.



## References

- Kang, Hyun-hwa(2002), “A Study on the Selection and Technology of Korean Cultural Vocabulary”, Published by Park, Young-soon, 『Present Status and Tasks of 21st Century Korean Language Education Society』(Seoul: Hankook Munhwasa, 2002), 397~417.
- Kang, Hyun-hwa(2011), “A Study on Design Method of Korean Cultural Syllabus”, 『Language and Culture』7(3), 1-27.
- Kang, Hyun-hwa·Lee, Mi-hye(2011), 『Korean Education Theory』, Korea National Open University Press.
- Kim Gwang-hae(2003), “Vocabulary for Korean Education and Vocabulary for Korean language Education”, 『Korean Language Education』 111(0), Korean Education Association 255-291.
- Kim Jong-chul(2010), “Issues and Prospects of Korean Culture Education in Korean Education”, 『Korean Language Education』133, Korean Education Association, 339-367.
- National Institute of Korean Language(2003), "Report on the Selection Result of Vocabulary for Korean Education", National Institute of Korean Language,
- Park, Kap-soo(1998), “Korean language education and cultural background as a foreign language”, 『Seoncheongeomun』Vol.26, 133-150.
- Park, Young-soon(2002), "(For Korean language education) Korean culture theory", Hankook Munhwasa,
- Park, Young-jun(2000), “Education of cultural vocabulary and expression for cultivation of Korean proficiency”, 『Korean Education』11(2), International Association for Korean Language Education, 89-110.
- Bae, Yoon-jeong(2013), “Korean integrated education plan using Korean food cultural language”, Kongju National University Graduate School Master's Thesis.
- Shim, Hye-ryeong(2009), “A Study on 'Culture-based vocabulary' for Korean learners(1) -Centered on proper nouns-”, 『Language and Culture』5(2), Korean Language and Culture Education Society, 175-195.
- Shim, Hye-ryeong(2013), “A Study on the Presentation of Culture Knowledge-based Vocabulary for Korean Learners”, 『Grammar education』 No.19, Korean Grammar Education Society, 203-234
- Oh, Na-young(2011), “A Study on Selection and Presentation of Cultural Vocabulary for Korean Learners: -Focusing on the cultural vocabulary of elementary school textbooks-”, Pai Jae University Graduate School Master's Thesis.
- Lee, Dong-gyu(2005), “Korean cultural vocabulary education for intermediate and

- 
- advanced learners: Focusing on the proverbial idiomatic language education”, Korea University Master's Thesis.
- Lee, Eun-hee (2015), A Study on Selection of Cultural Vocabulary and Class Model for Korean Culture Education, Chungbuk National University Doctoral thesis
- Lee, Ji-young(2012), “Selection and analysis of cultural vocabulary for culture education of intermediate learners”, Yonsei University Graduate School of Education Master's Thesis.
- Lee, Hyang-ju(2011), “Selection and teaching method of Korean language vocabulary as a foreign language -focusing on beginner level-”, Sun Moon University Graduate School of Education Master's Thesis.
- Lim, Seo-yeon (2005), “Korean Language Education: A Study on Korean cultural vocabulary education”, 『New Korean Language Education』71, Korean Language Education Association.
- Chang, Myung-hwan(2001), "Culture-related vocabulary and foreign language learning guidance: focusing on Fossilized Vocabulary", Dankook University Master's Thesis.
- Jeon, Mi-soon · Lee, Byeong-woon(2009), “Selection of Elementary Level Culture Vocabulary and Cultural Education Plan”, 『Korean Language and Culture Studies』 6(1), International Network for Korean Language and Culture, 119-144.
- Jeon, Mi-soon(2011), “A Study on Korean Culture Vocabulary”, Pusan University Doctoral Thesis.
- Jung, Yeon-Hee(2007), “A Study on Korean Culture Symbolic Vocabulary for Korean Language Education as a Foreign Language”, Yonsei University Graduate School of Education Master's Thesis.

#### <Textbooks>

- Institute of International Education of Kyung Hee University(2000), 『Korean』(beginner-intermediate-advanced), Kyunghee University Press.
- Korean Culture and Education Center of Korea University(2010), 『Funny Korean』 (1~6), Kyobo Book Centre.
- Sogang University Korean Education Center(2008), 『Sogang Korean』(1~4), Sogang University International Cultural Center Press.
- Korean Language Institute of Yonsei University(2013), 『Yonsei Korean』(1~6), Yonsei University Press.
- Language Education Center of Ewha Womans University(2011), 『Ewha Korean』(1~6), Ewha Womans University Press.

<Appendix> List of final cultural vocabulary (Comparison of Textbook redundancy and Corpus frequency)<sup>10)</sup>

cultural vocabulary	Related words	Textbook						3 million word corpus
		Yonsei University	Ewha Womans University	Korea University	Kyunghee University	Sogang University	Redundancy	
Alcohol		1	1	1	1	1	5	3053
Seoul		1	1	1	1	1	5	1848
Older brother	Older brother	1	1	1	1	1	5	1296
Husband		1	1	1	1	1	5	1156
Middle-aged man		1	1	1	1	1	5	612
Sister		1	1	1	1	1	5	602
Meal		1	1	1	1	1	5	523
Grandfather		1	1	1	1	1	5	501
Brother		1	1	1	1	1	5	446
Apartment		1	1	1	1	1	5	444
Housing		1	1	1	1	1	5	439
Sister		1	1	1	1	1	5	421
Grandmother		1	1	1	1	1	5	409
Neighbor	Good neighbor	1	2	1	1	1	5	408
Rice		1	1	1	1	1	5	395
Senior		1	1	1	1	1	5	348
Korea	Republic of Korea	1		1	1	1	4	3081
Wife		1	1	1		1	4	1060
Uncle		1		1	1	1	4	386
Yangban		1	1	1		1	4	234
Gwangju		1	1	1		1	4	221
Ancestor		1	1	1	1		4	180
Main room		1	1	1	1		4	168
Pine		1	1	1		1	4	127
Jeonju		1	1	1		1	4	99
Expressway		1		1	1	1	4	84
Song			1	1	1	1	4	79
Confucianism		1	1	1	1		4	75
Side dish		1	1	1		1	4	68
Classical scholar		1	1		1	1	4	66
Karaoke Room		1		1	1	1	4	53
Tug-of-war		1	1	1	1		4	50
Pipe			1	1	1	1	4	47
Goblin		1	1		1	1	4	44
Celadon		1	1	1	1		4	41
Porridge		1	1		1	1	4	40
Baduk		1	1		1	1	4	38
Taegeukgi		1	1		1	1	4	36
Maternal grandmother		1	1	1	1		4	35

10) For lack of space, only the top frequency vocabularies of the final cultural vocabulary list were presented.

cultural vocabulary	Related words	Textbook						3 million word corpus
		Yonsei University	Ewha Womans University	Korea University	Kyunghee University	Sogang University	Redundancy	
Gift certificate		1	1		1	1	4	35
Janggu		1	1		1	1	4	30
Soup	Soup bowl	1		1		1	3	703
Temple			1		1	1	3	295
Daegu			1	1		1	3	160
Oriental medicine		1			1	1	3	152
Three States		1		1	1		3	126
Daughter-in-law		1		1		1	3	95
Filial piety		1		1	1		3	77
Folk song			1	1	1		3	74
Magpie			1		1	1	3	72
Married woman's parents' home				1	1	1	3	67
Table		1	1	1			3	64
Bachelor		1		1	1		3	58
Fate			1	1	1		3	57
Gangnam				1	1	1	3	48
North Korea		1		1			2	1905
Korean Peninsula				1	1		2	270
God		1				1	2	220
Gyeonggi-do		1		1			2	216
Insa-dong		1			1		2	132
Christianity		1				1	2	104
Makgeolli				1		1	2	83
Poison				1		1	2	82
Gut		1			1		2	63
Pyongyang				1			1	365
Silla		1					1	268
Baekje		1					1	163
Jeju-do					1		1	116
Ulsan		1					1	107
Dangun					1		1	79
A-frame				1			1	45
Cheongju				1			1	44
Jongno					1		1	38

## Aspects of the Korean history through the prism of Bulgarian archives from the cold war period

*Evgeny Gerchev Kandilarov*

*(Associate professor Evgeniy Kandilarov, Sofia University)*

This paper will try to give an example how national history even of a country that stays thousands of kilometers away could be researched from a certain foreign archives. The study is based on a research project between Sofia University and the Academy of Korean Studies of Republic of Korea. Within the project the research team worked in six different state archives in Bulgaria. The archives contained 36 relevant fonds (record groups), comprised of more than 150 records and about 1,800 archival units (folders) related to Korea. The folders are organized chronologically, thematically, or geographically. Each folder can include as little as a single document composed of a single page or a collection of documents reaching as many as 200-300 pages. In total, for the period from 1945-1995, the Bulgarian archives contain more than 30,000 pages broadly related to Korea and different aspects of the Korean History during period.

The profound research of the Bulgarian archival documents reviles many different aspects of the contemporary Korean history. The core of all Bulgarian arrives related to the Korean Peninsula are from the most dramatic and turbulent part of the Korean history, the time when the country has been divided into two parts and two Korean states has been established which eventual reunification had become a hostage of the confrontation between the two main Superpowers during the Cold War period – USSR and USA.

The interwar and World War II period was not represented with original archival documents with a sole exclusion of a few materials inside the personal records of two Bulgarian leaders of the Communist International in Moscow – Vasil Kolarov and Georgi Dimitrov. The authentic historical evidences could be found only after the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and North Korea in November 1948. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is the first East Asian state that Bulgaria has established diplomatic relations with. It happened soon after the establishment of North Korea as an independent state on 9 September 1948. On 29 November 1948 Bulgarian foreign minister Vasil Kolarov have sent a letter to the Korean foreign minister

---

Pak Heon Yeong declaring that “*Bulgaria recognizes the DPRK and is ready to establish a diplomatic relations with it*”.<sup>1)</sup> This date has been considered as the official beginning of the diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and DPRK.

I will briefly give some examples of the various aspects of the Korean history that could be researched on the base of the Bulgarian archives.

The first key issue of that period is the Korean war (1950-1953), one of the most dramatic and crucial event of the present Korean history, and its consequences and impact over the development of both Korean states. In this regard some versatile collections of archival documents on the Korean War can be viewed both in Bulgarian political, state, and military archives. They give us new light and understanding about the political campaigns, material aid, organization of special humanitarian medical missions (1952-1956) in North Korea, and welcoming and care for more than 500 Korean orphan children (1952-1960) in Bulgaria.

Bulgarian position during the Korean War has been expressed officially for the first time in August 1950 in a letter of the Bulgarian Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov to the chairman of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization Jacob Malik. In the letter the Bulgarian government sharply condemned the American aggression and the violence of the UN Charter, as well as the main principals of the international law and the Geneva Convention on the protection of the civil population. Bulgarian government insisted UN to take urgent measures to stop the American bombings and to start a process of a peaceful solution of the Korean issue.<sup>2)</sup> Unlike some other Eastern European member states of the United Nations like Czechoslovakia and Poland, who were actively involved in the discussions within the global organization and in 1953 sent their representatives to the peacekeeping mission of the United Nations, Bulgaria was unable to participate directly in the discussions and the elaboration of the resolution about the conflict through diplomatic channels, since the country has not yet been a member of the UN.

By large scale public campaigns and with the provision of specific material and moral support, Bulgarian government however decisively stood behind the North Korean side in the conflict.<sup>3)</sup> By the initiative of the National Committee for Protection of Peace there has been established a Committee for Support and Assistance of the Korean people. The Bulgarian Red Cross also organized a campaign for raising funds in support of

---

1) *Тодорова, Р.* Отношенията на България с азиатските страни с “народна демокрация” (края на 40–те – края на 50–те години на XX век) – В: *Следвоенна България между Изтока и Запада*. С., 2005, 44.

2) *Ibidem.*

3) *Баев, Йордан.* Военнополитическите конфликти след Втората световна война и България. С., 1995, с. 52.

PDRK's population. In result until October 1950 Bulgarian government has been sent to North Korea more than 53,6 million leva, as well as a humanitarian aid which includes food supplies, medicines and clothing.<sup>4)</sup> Bulgaria also sent a special protest notes on behalf of the Bulgarian people to the Security Council of the UN organization "against the American aggression in Korea".<sup>5)</sup>

In March 1952 in Korea has been sent a special Bulgarian medical team, composed by 27 doctors and medical equipment needed for the establishment of a field hospital. The leader of the team was Dr. Konstantin Michev.<sup>6)</sup> This team stayed in Korea until the end of the conflict. Later, the Bulgarian Government has sent a second medical team consisting of 55 doctors and 50 nurses with equipment, drugs, beds, sheets and others needed for the establishment of a hospital with over 400 beds. It lasted in North Pyongyang province until 1956.<sup>7)</sup>

After the end of the Korean War, Bulgarian government took a decision (15 September 1953) for provision of material assistance to the DPRK. In November 1955 in Sofia has been signed a contract for providing an economic assistance for the recovery of the devastation of war. For the period 1954-1956, the Bulgarian aid in goods and construction materials for North Korea amounted to 30 million rubles. With Bulgarian aid has been built one brick factory, and a factory for textile and for wood processing.<sup>8)</sup> In July 1955 has been signed also a mutual Agreement on cultural cooperation. In the same period Bulgaria accepted more than 500 North Korean orphan children, as well as Korean students who graduated their education in Bulgarian Universities.<sup>9)</sup>

4) Тодорова, Р. Цит. съч, 48.

5) Баев, Йордан. Военнополитическите конфликти след Втората световна война и България. С., 1995, с. 52.

6) Central State Archives of the Republic of Bulgaria (CSARB), F. 1B, in. 6, a.u. 371

7) Ibidem, с. 53.

8) Баев, Йордан. Другата Студена война. С., 2012, с. 57. Тодорова, Р. Цит. съч., с. 49. In the period between 1954 and 1961, economic and military aid to the DPRK reached 5.78 billion rubles (1.45 billion dollars). The amount included loans, most of which were pardoned. The economic assistance helped North Korea repair or build ninety industrial sites, which constituted roughly one-fifth of all reconstructed or newly built plants and facilities in the country. North Korea's integration into the socialist system in the 1950s helped the economy quickly recover after the war; the economy grew at annual rates between 20 and 30 percent in the second half of the 1950s. Between 1954 and 1961 North Korea's foreign trade volume virtually doubled. Technical assistance was an integral part of industrial aid. Socialist countries sent more than 5,000 specialists to the DPRK in the 1950s, and 7,837 North Korean workers and technicians traveled to fraternal countries for training (mainly in production process operations). Foreign specialists trained North Koreans at the industrial sites in the DPRK as well. In addition, the Chinese troops stationed in North Korea participated in numerous efforts towards the reconstruction of infrastructure, housing, and industry projects. (Agov, Avram. North Korea's Alliances and the Unfinished Korean War – The Journal of Korean Studies 18, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 225–262); Jongchol, Park, Enule Jong. A Study on East Europe's Aids for the Reconstruction of North Korea after Korean War. – In: Outlining the Korean Society. Ed. Prof. Dr. Habil. Alexander Fedotoff, Prof. Dr. Svetla Karteva–Dancheva. Sofia, 2015, 82–100.

9) Until the end of 1950s the number of North Korean students in Bulgaria is already more than 250. East Germany accepted 610 orphans, Romania, 500, while Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland each accepted around 200 children. (CSARB, F. 1B, op. 5, a.e. 502); North Korea sent 4,200 students to study in the socialist countries, and many scientists and engineers took part in academic exchange programs. (Agov, Avram. Ibidem.)

---

In the initial postwar years the Bulgarian material aid to DPRK and the development of bilateral commercial, scientific and cultural cooperation had been promoted.

The other key issue of the Korean history that can be discovered through a profound research of the Bulgarian archives is **the relations between each of the two Korean states and the Super powers in the Cold War as well as their allied countries**. In this regard one of the most intriguing moments during the Cold war is how DPRK acts during the dramatic clash in the world communist movement caused by the Sino-Soviet split at the beginning of the 60s. Through the exam of the relations between Bulgaria from one side, known as the most faithful ally of the Soviet Union during the Cold war period, and the DPRK from the other side which was one of the very tender spots within the bipolar global rivalry between the superpowers, we can analyze and verify the rationalities of the position and actions of the North Korean state within the Sino-Soviet split as well as the position of the Soviet Union toward DPRK during the dramatic change of the whole paradigm of the Cold war in East Asia from the end of 60s and the beginning of the 70s.

During 50s North Korea was very much reliant on both the Soviet Union and China for aid. From the other side Kim Il Sung was trying to strengthen his power in the DPRK leadership and his position was dependent on both Soviet and Chinese support.

North Korea started to diverge from the Soviet Union as a reflection of China's deviation from the Soviet Ideological and political positions and actions at the end of 50s and the beginning of 60s. In their standard, Cold War-era study of Korean communism, Scalapino and Lee suggest that in the mid-1950s the DPRK was still essentially a faithful Soviet satellite, an Asian Bulgaria.<sup>10)</sup>

In fact, it is quite clear from the East European documents that North Korea at this time was already not very amenable to Soviet control despite its dependency on Soviet and fraternal aid. After Stalin's death in 1953, at the XX<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU in February 1956 Nikita Khrushchev initiated the so called de-Stalinization policy as well as the so called peaceful coexistence with the USA and the other capitalist countries in the West. However, all international communists were expected to follow Khrushchev's new party line. Three of Khrushchev's new concepts directly threatened Kim Il Sung's authority: 1) the rejection of Stalin-style cults of personality, 2) the shift from heavy-industry-intensive development to light, and 3) the call for peaceful co-existence with capitalist countries.<sup>11)</sup>

---

10) Scalapino, Robert, and Chong-Sik Lee. *Communism in Korea*. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972, 546-558.

11) *Bisbee*, Jim. *North Korean Rationality. The Impact of Legitimacy on DPRK Behavior* 5/6/2012 Challenges of North Korea. Final Paper. Johns Hopkins University-SAIS.



The North Korean leader had built one of the most stable personality cults in the communist world and the stability of the system was essential to preserving his hold on power. If the DPRK were to adopt peaceful co-existence with the USA and the Republic of Korea (South Korea), it would sacrifice its primary goal of eventual victory over South Korea and a solution of the issue about the unification of the country. And least but not last if Pyongyang shifted resources away from heavy industry, it would diminish its ability both to defend itself against renewed attack from the United States and to resume its campaign against the South.<sup>12)</sup>

In order to avoid these consequences Kim Il Sung tried to ignore Khrushchev's new policy directives. However, since some members of the Korean Workers' Party delegation who had attended the XXth Party Congress of CPSU and were dissatisfied with the authoritarian Kim Il Sung's leadership eventually tried to impose the new Soviet line in North Korea. Kim Il Sung responded by expanding the purge within the Party. In addition to expelling these cadres from the KWP, two other top Party leaders - Choi Chang Ik and Pak Chang Ok (head of the pro-Soviet faction) were both expelled from the Party and arrested.

As a consequence of the 1956 crisis, Kim Il Sung achieved greater independence and more equal status in dealing with Beijing and Moscow. As a result, when Kim further consolidated his absolute control over KWP and state through a series of massive purges, he also dramatically enhanced Pyongyang's capacity in resisting influences from Beijing and Moscow.

During this period at the end of 50s and the beginning of the 60s North Korea was in a very favorable position since both Soviet Union and China tried to gain over the country on its side. Until the Sino-Soviet relationship was good, both China and the Soviet Union needed North Korea for the strength of the Socialist bloc. When China and the Soviet Union clashed, at the beginning of the 60s, both sides attempted to win the DPRK's support to enhance its own authority and prestige. North Korea was situated at the front-line of two conflicting blocs during the Cold War and between two giant neighbors. This geographic location made it possible for North Korea to extract enormous economic aid from both neighbors. Kim Il Sung was adept at maintaining a delicate balance between Beijing and Moscow. <sup>13)</sup>

---

12) *Weathersby, Kathryn*. Dependence and Mistrust: North Korea's Relations with Moscow and the Evolution of Juche. - U.S.-Korea Institute Working Paper Series, WP 08-08, December 2008, p.11.

13) NKIDP Working Paper #4, "China and the Post-War Reconstruction of North Korea, 1953-1961," By Zhihua Shen and Yafeng Xia May 2012 pp 34-36.

---

Actually exactly the strive of Kim Il Sung for more independent policy was one of the most important conditions under which Kim introduced in 1955 the “*Juche*” ideology, emphasizing that the Korean revolution must be carried out in an indigenous Korean way and must achieve “self reliance” in all spheres. This way Kim Il Sung sought to strengthen his autonomy. It became clear that the KWP and the state government in North Korea are going to pursue an independent course to create a unique ideology. No matter that *Juche*, was first articulated in the mid-1950s actually it became official policy in the mid-1960s. Some scholars argue that the *Juche* ideology was intended to eliminate the Soviet influence in the KWP, while strengthening North Korea’s ties to China but actually *Juche* was used as an instrument giving opportunity to North Korea to try to stay distant from the ideological and political possibly overwhelming influence of both communist giants – USSR and PRC.

In the mid-1950’s North Korea’s strategic importance to the Soviet Union declined for several reasons. First, as it was already mentioned Nikita S. Khrushchev downplayed the prospect of war with the United States and pursued instead a policy of peaceful co-existence and economic competition with the West. In this context, the threat of a remilitarized Japan appeared less threatening. This resulted in normalization of the Soviet-Japanese relations in 1956, and in the 1960s Moscow consistently neglected Kim Il Sung’s objections to Soviet-Japanese rapprochement. On the other hand Khrushchev did not have the strong ideological commitment to Kim Il Sung’s regime.<sup>14)</sup> The North Korean leaders considered Stalinism the only and unique orthodox Marxist-Leninist line. Kim Il Sung himself considered Stalin as North Korean ideological “father.”<sup>15)</sup>

But still, until the beginning of the 60s Soviet Union was trying to do everything in order to prevent further rapprochement between Pyongyang and Beijing. That’s why Soviet Union signed the 1961-1967 Soviet technical aid agreement and the 1961-1965 Soviet long-term loan agreement with Pyeongyang on 24 December 1960. On July 6, 1961, the DPRK signed a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance with the USSR in Moscow. Meanwhile on 29 June 1961 the Chinese notified the North Koreans that Kim would be welcomed to visit China on 10 July after his trip to the Soviet Union and that the two parties could sign the Sino-North Korean Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. The Treaty with PRC was signed on 11 July. These two alliance treaties reflected North Korea’s masterful manipulation of Beijing and Moscow rather than trilateral cooperation. At the same time both Moscow and

---

14) Sergey S. Radchenko, “The Soviet Union and North Korean Seizure of the USS Pueblo: Evidence from Russian Archives,” Cold War International History Project, Working Paper No47, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, USA, p.3.

15) *Seong-Chang Cheong*. Stalinism and Kimilsungism: A comparative Analysis of ideology and power. – *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 2000, pp. 133–161

Beijing stated that their entering into alliance with Pyongyang was a countermeasure against the fear of the attempt by the United States to actively revive Japanese militarism and building a Northeast Asian military coalition, which was a reflection of the new US-Japanese Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security signed in Washington on January 19, 1960.

By maintaining a policy of equidistance between Moscow and Beijing, Kim Il Sung not only consolidated his power within the party and in North Korea, but he gradually felt as an important and indispensable member of the Socialist bloc. This policy of North Korea clearly shows that at the beginning of the 1960s North Korea carefully steers a course between the Soviet Union and China, refusing to take sides publicly in the Sino-Soviet dispute but gaining economic assistance and pledges of military aid from both Moscow and Beijing.<sup>16)</sup>

Meanwhile Kim Il Sung continued to purged the people who followed Khrushchev's de-Stalinization policy, but at the same time he did not publicly show his negative reaction toward the Soviet Union, unlike China's policy which publicly denounced Khrushchev. In the *Nodong Sinmun* in November 1961, he emphasized that "*the judgment of Stalin's role in the Soviet Union was an internal problem and he had no intention of interfere with that country's domestic problems.*" Kim also stated "*the Workers' Party of Korea should abide by the principle of noninterference in domestic problems of fraternal parties.*"<sup>17)</sup> Yet, North Korea made efforts to remain neutral as much as possible within dispute between the Soviet Union and China on this issue.

The situation has obviously changed after the XXII Congress of the CPSU, in October 1961. Then Khrushchev started the second round of the de-Stalinization policy, condemning once again Stalin's personality cult and criticizing both Mao Zedong and Kim Il Sung about their position on this issue. At a party meeting on 27 November 1961, Kim stated that the KWP stood resolutely against revisionism, which according to him is a major threat to the contemporary international Communist movement. Soon afterwards, Radio Pyeongyang suspended its broadcasts of Korean language programs of Radio Moscow, while copies of *Pravda* and *Kommunist* were locked away at post offices. A few days later, ambassadors from Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, and East Germany met to discuss North Korea's relations with the Soviet Union and agreed that "*the influence of the pro-Chinese forces in the KWP leadership had increased and that Kim Il Sung had*

16) *Armstrong, Charles K.* Tyranny of the weak : North Korea and the world, 1950–1992. Cornell University Press, 2013, p.124.

17) Dallin, Alexander ed., "Diversity in International Communism," New York, Columbia University Press, 1963.

---

*made concessions to them.*” They also concluded that because of Kim’s own “*personality cult*” he naturally sees the Soviet critique of this phenomenon as a threat and thus shifted to anti-Soviet, pro-Chinese positions.<sup>18)</sup>

Up to the XXII CPSU Party Congress, the leadership of the KWP essentially adopted a middle position on the confrontations between the Marxist-Leninist parties and opinions held by the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Workers Party. The statement by the KWP delegation at the XXII Party Congress, and the latter's evaluation made at the 2nd [KWP Central Committee] Plenum, has to be considered a non-Marxist but still centrist position. Though influences from the CCP leadership were already notable back then. While the KWP arrived at clear positions on international issues (relevance of the XXII CPSU’s Party Congress and its adopted program, leading role of the CPSU, German question, disarmament, struggle against colonialism, etc.), it adopted opportunistic attitudes on questions like the cult of personality, the anti-party group, and the anti-Leninist positions of the Albanian leaders. Since then, the KWP leadership gradually moved towards positions of the CCP leadership. It can be assessed today that KWP leaders have ended the period of vacillations since the XX and XXII CPSU Party Congress.<sup>19)</sup>

The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Sino-Indian War in 1962 were contentious issues between the Soviet Union and China in which North Korea already supported the Chinese position more openly. In the spring of 1962, the *Nodong sinmun* declared, “*Let us oppose revisionism.*” In another issue at the end of the same year the KWP stated that “*one country cannot interfere in the internal affairs of another country.*” Unofficially, North Korean officials commented that the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba and the compromise with the United States was a “*retreat before imperialism.*”<sup>20)</sup> Since that time as Pyongyang notably joined the Chinese struggle against Soviet “*revisionism*” the Moscow leadership also condemned the North Korea as China’s satellite. In 1962-63 Soviet diplomats referred to Kim’s *juche* as a propaganda tactics that disguises Kim Il Sung’s pro-Chinese true positions. As one embassy officer wrote, “*in spite of all the efforts of the KWP leadership to present their propaganda as an example of an ‘independent line’ with regard to the international communist movement [...] in reality at the core of [their policy] lie[s] the so-called ‘general line’ of the CCP [Chinese Communist Party], anti-Marxist views of the Chinese leadership.*”<sup>21)</sup> Soviet–North Korean

---

18) NKIDP Working Paper #4, “China and the Post-War Reconstruction of North Korea, 1953–1961,” By Zhihua Shen and Yafeng Xia May 2012 pp 34–36.

19) “Positions of the Korean Workers Party Leadership on the Basic Issues of our Epoch,” December 02, 1963, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, SAPMO-BA, Berlin, DY 30, IV A2/20/251. Translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer. <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110124>

20) Agov, Avram. Op.cit., p.245.

relations virtually froze between 1962 and 1964.

The leadership in Moscow was frustrated with the perceived lack of “reliability” in the North Korean leadership. The result was a sharp decline in Soviet aid and credit, which could not be replaced by the less advanced China. In fact, Kim's enthusiasm for Mao Zedong's policies was limited, despite his rhetorical denunciations of “revisionism.” While he supported Chinese campaigns such as the Great Leap Forward, he considered Maoist initiatives such as the Hundred Flowers Campaign and especially the Cultural Revolution as destabilizing and dangerous. In this way, Kim Il-sung showed his determination to mark an independent path for North Korea when possible. Actually by the mid-1960s, the start of the Cultural Revolution in China and the domestic economic difficulties forced the regime in Pyöngyang to reconsider its alliance policies. The Soviet embassy in Pyongyang reported that by the end of 1964, North Korea had sensibly chosen “*to abandon a one-sided orientation toward China*” and return to the Soviet camp. This was more for economic than strictly ideological reasons: leaning toward China had damaged North Korea's economic ties with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which “*in turn, became one of the reasons for serious economic difficulties of the DPRK.*” This gave Moscow an opportunity to strengthen its strategic position on the Chinese periphery in Asia, but improvement in Soviet–North Korean relations depended on Moscow's continuing generosity.<sup>22)</sup> Gradually, the DPRK improved its relations with the Soviet Union, marked by Premier Alexei Kosygin's visit in Pyöngyang in February 1965 and the conclusion in the same year of a long-term agreement for trade and economic cooperation. Improved political relations with the Soviet Union were the preconditions for closer economic cooperation, the provision of capital, technical assistance, and expanded trade relations.<sup>23)</sup> Brezhnev and Kosygin appreciated that Kim Il Sung at last abandoned his presumably pro-Chinese views. Soviet leaders were even more enthusiastic about Kim's criticism of the Chinese Cultural Revolution as “*unbelievable idiocy.*” Relations sank to their lowest level during that period. The so called “Red Guards” in China denounced Kim Il-sung as a “*fat revisionist*”, and attacked North Korean diplomats in Beijing. North Korea ended its attempt to balance reliance for military and economic assistance and turned to Moscow for almost all aid.<sup>24)</sup> In December 1966 Brezhnev noted with satisfaction: “*the departure of the Korean comrades from the Chinese course is an actual fact.*” Kim Il Sung was definitely not inclined to

21) The Soviet Union and the North Korean Seizure of the USS Pueblo: Evidence from Russian Archives. Jul 7, 2011; By Sergey Radchenko WORKING PAPER # 47 Cold War International History Project of the Woodrow Wilson International Center

22) *Armstrong, Charles K.* Tyranny of the weak : North Korea and the world, 1950–1992. Cornell University Press, 2013, p.149.

23) *Agov, Avram.* Op.cit., p.247.

24) China and North Korea: Comrades Forever? – Asia Report N°112 – 1 February 2006

---

follow China into the chaos of the Cultural Revolution. The Sino-North Korean relations deteriorated sharply in the late 1960s, to the point of border clashes.<sup>25)</sup> Kim Il Sung in fact hurried to repair relations with China as soon as the Cultural Revolution subsided, not wanting to become over-reliant on Moscow and thus lose political maneuverability.

In this context a significant worsening of the situation in PDRK toward the East European socialist countries including Bulgaria could be noticed from the beginning of the 1962. Information by the head of "Foreign Policy and International Relations" department of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party witnesses about the deterioration of the conditions under which worked the Bulgarian Embassy in Pyongyang. Previously mentioned situation from 1960 when the North Korean government was strictly trying to prevent any meetings between Korean citizens and the staff of the embassy aggravated. In January a group of young North Koreans who used to live in Bulgaria and returned to PDRK in 1960 visited Bulgarian Embassy in order to receive some newspapers and magazines and to talk about Bulgaria. On their way out of the Embassy they have been detained by plainclothes officers who have recorded their names. Obviously those students were closely observed by the North Korean security forces. The cited document from Bulgarian archive gives information about similar case with the Rumanian Embassy. The document also testifies about the highly restrictive regime of movement of employees of the Bulgarian Embassy around the country. Least but not last, there is information that proves the sudden termination of the broadcasts of radio *Moscow* in Korean, which have so far been broadcast daily.<sup>26)</sup>

Later the same 1962 year accrued one of the most interesting and dramatic situations not only in the Bulgarian-North Korean relations but also in the relations between Bulgaria and all other communist countries. It is also one of the very rare cases when a political asylum was sought between communist countries. This is the story of the four North Korean students in Bulgaria who sought and ultimately received a political asylum in Bulgaria, where they spent most of the rest of their lives. The diplomatic scandal caused by refusing to return in North Korea its own citizens was quite considerable moreover that the students publicly announced in a statement that: "*The Korean War was a North Korean war of aggression*", and "*It is better to read the Bible than the Collected Works of Kim Il Sung.*"<sup>27)</sup> All this happened in the mid of 1962 and eventually led to almost break down of the relations between both countries. The archival documents allow

---

25) The Soviet Union and the North Korean Seizure of the USS Pueblo: Evidence from Russian Archives. Jul 7, 2011; By Sergey Radchenko WORKING P A P E R # 4 7 Cold War International History Project of the Woodrow Wilson International Center

26) CSARB, F. 1B, in.91, a.u.379, pp.2-4.

27) Kim So Yeol. Exchange Student Rebels Look Back <http://www.dailynk.com/english/read.php?cataId= nk02500&num=6489>, 2010-06-11 18:17

us to analyze the question why therefore did Bulgaria decide to take this risky step to protect these four students despite a serious diplomatic problem with North Korea? It also shows well how the ideological conflict between the Soviet Union and North Korea had an important impact on the granting of asylum to the four students in Bulgaria. Additionally to that through the documentation on this case we can clearly see all the arguments of the KWP and its government regarding the USSR and its allies including Bulgaria within the context of the Sino-Soviet dispute but nearly a year before its peak which came with the exchange of open letters between the Central Committees of the Communist Party of China and the Soviet Union.<sup>28)</sup>

It is the story of Choi Dong Sung, Choi Dong Jun, Lee Jang Jik and Lee Sang Jong. All of them had the chance to study abroad (in their case in Bulgaria) thanks to their excellent results from the high school or because they were descendants of good families; for example, their relatives were anti-Japan fighters. They came to Bulgaria for the first time in the mid of 50s. In 1959 North Korean government withdrawal, when all visiting students in the East European countries in order to be checked their faithfulness to the regime. In North Korea they were kept in a school building, unable to communicate with each other, and required to perform self-criticism and to describe their life abroad in detail. After testing and interviewing, about one third of the students were refused the right to go back in Bulgaria, because they were considered to be seriously affected by revisionist East European ideas.<sup>29)</sup> It seems that it was the turning point when this four particular students separately decided to seek asylum on their return to Bulgaria. At the beginning of 1960s they realized that they all had the same plan and made a pact to escape together. They began collecting information on the relations between Bulgaria, the USSR and North Korea, and saved money for their escape.

Thus in June 1962, Choi Dong Sung and Lee Sang Jong turned to the department of External Relations and Foreign Affairs of the Central Committee of the BCP with a request for political asylum with the argument that *“they did not agree with the position of the Central committee of KWP with regard to the decision of the XXth and XXII Party congresses of the CPSU”*.<sup>30)</sup> They stayed that the Kim Il Sung held nationalistic policy that leads to isolation and detachment of DPRK from the USSR and other socialist countries. The two students also insisted that *“if they follow the Instruction of North*

28) The archival do documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the Political Bureau, as well as interviews with those directly involved, revealing the case of the four North Korean students in Bulgaria was analyzed by Prof. Kim Soyoun and Prof. John Harbord, mainly through the individual drama of the students' efforts to resist repatriation. It was published in: Kim *Soyoun, Harbord, John. A Disparity between Faith and Reality – A story of North Korean political defectors in Bulgaria – In: Wiener Beitrage zur Koreaforschung. Viennese Contributions on Korean Studies. Koreanologie. Institut fur Ostasienwissenschaften. Universitat Wien. VI. 2014.*

29) Ibidem.

30) CSARB, F. 1B, in.91, a.u.380, p.1.

---

*Korean embassy to return back to their country they will be arrested immediately, as it happened with the students, who went back returned from other Socialist countries...*"<sup>31)</sup>. At the end of their expose, Choi Dong Sung and Lee Sang Jong declared that they did not agree with "*the criminal policy of Kim Il Sung.*" They refused to leave for North Korea, as long as the dictatorial regime of Kim Il Sung remained, and they asked for a political asylum from 15 June 1962. <sup>32)</sup>

It is important to be noted that at this stage, however, the Bulgarian authorities did not look very favorably on the students' appeal and the conclusion of the report of the head of the Department of External Relations and Foreign Affairs of the Central Committee of the BCP since, 9 June 1962 is that "*their [the students] stay in Bulgaria would have an unfavorable effect on the relationship between our two parties and countries*". That's why the suggestion of the Department is the students to "*be informed that after being called home by their government, they should not stay in Bulgaria.*"<sup>33)</sup>

Here the existing documents in the Bulgarian archives reveal the full aspects of the ideological conflict between North Korea and the Soviet Union (including Bulgaria as the most faithful ally of the USSR) which is an important part of the argumentation of the students in their request for political asylum. The main points of the KWP against the CPSU have been articulated on the March Plenum, 1962 of the KWP. There Kim Il Sung directly accused CPSU as a leader of the new revisionism which is even a bigger threat for the world communist movement than the forces of imperialism.<sup>34)</sup> Another accusation on the Soviet Union was that it leads a selfish and hegemonic policy toward the other socialist countries and all this is in favor of the imperialists. KWP stayed firmly against the thesis of the peaceful coexistence which according to North Korean government was simply revisionist slogan and following it the Soviet Union betrays the positions of the rest of the international communist movement.<sup>35)</sup> This gives a reasonable explanation for the start of a campaign in PDRK against CPSU under the slogan "*against the European way of life*".<sup>36)</sup> North Korean government was trying to expel from the country all citizens from the European socialist countries. An interesting point was the position of the KWP toward Bulgaria. According to the documents Bulgaria has been used by the North Korean government as an example for completely dependent on the USSR country which therefore strictly follow the revisionist line of development. North Korea accused

---

31) Ibidem.

32) Ibidem.

33) Ibidem, p.2. Report, D. Dichev, Department of External Relations and Foreign Affairs of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Sofia, 9 June 1962

34) Ibidem, p.3.

35) Ibidem, p.4.

36) Ibidem.



Bulgarian government that it cultivates the young people in in a spirit of selfishness and bourgeois morality.<sup>37)</sup> At the same time one of the assertions of the North Korean government was that most of the Bulgarian people actually support the Asian countries (like China and North Korea) and stay on a positions against the revisionist policy of its own government.<sup>38)</sup>

On 28 June 1962 the four students immediately decided to hide in a mountain cabin on mountain Vitosha. They wrote a political declaration, prepared by Choi Dong Sung, and sent it to Todor Zhivkov, as well as to the Central Committee of the BCP, the Bulgarian Prime minister, the head of the Parliament, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other institutions. In the declaration the students explained their motives for refusing to go back to North Korea. While the North Korean embassy initiated a search, sending a declaration for their arrest to Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the students continued to hide in the forest. In this situation the Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov, obviously after consultation with the Soviet Union finally agreed and ordered the State Security Service to protect the students. On August 25-26 Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs talked with the North Korean Ambassador addressing him the Bulgarian request to be given the students permission to study and work in Bulgaria.<sup>39)</sup> North Korean government considered that as a rough interference in the internal affairs of the PDRK and refused further discussions.

However, the staff of the North Korean Embassy succeeded to capture all the four of the students. They have been separated in two groups and imprisoned in the PDRK's embassy in Sofia. For several days the students were denied food and sleep, and urged to withdraw their request for political asylum, but remained firm. Shortly after that on September 27, Lee Sang Jong and Lee Jang Jik succeeded in escaping from the embassy, thanks to careless surveillance procedures. On 4 October 1962, Lee Sang Jong and Lee Jang Jik wrote a letter to Todor Zhivkov, explaining again why they wanted political asylum in Bulgaria, and how they had been tortured in the embassy of North Korea. They asked Zhivkov for help and to give them permission to stay and work for Bulgaria for the rest of their lives.<sup>40)</sup>

Meanwhile, on August 29 1962, the Politburo of the CC of BCP took a decision according to which the Bulgarian government notified North Korea that Bulgarian embassy in Pyongyang would be closed if North Korea could not guarantee freedom to

---

37) Ibidem, p.7.

38) Ibidem.

39) CSARB, F.1B, in.91, a.u. 380, p.18.

40) CSARB, F. 1B, in.91, a.u.380, pp.9-15.

---

the escaped students. Bulgarian government also warned Korean state that if the students were not set free, the North Korean ambassador, the military attaché at the embassy and the counsellor who took part in the kidnapping of the students will be declared "persona non grata" and compelled to leave Bulgaria within 24 hours.<sup>41)</sup>

Since the North Korean Embassy didn't agree with any of the Bulgarian requests on September, 3 the Politburo of the BCP took another decision according to which the Ministry of Foreign affairs addressed a protest note to the North Korean government regarding the issue with the captured students. After one more day of no any response from the Korean side on September, 5 the Bulgarian government declared the North Korean Ambassador as "persona non grata" and this way forced him to leave the country. On its side at September, 6 The North Korean government also declared the Bulgarian Ambassador in Pyongyang as "persona non grata".<sup>42)</sup>

A month later, the embassy staff nevertheless tried to escort the other two students back to Pyongyang. However, at the last moment after collision with the Bulgarian security forces on the airport the two students have been taken by the Bulgarian authorities and this way they have been released and saved from being deported.<sup>43)</sup>

After the incident, official diplomatic relations between North Korea and Bulgaria were almost severed for several years. In this period student exchanges between two countries stopped and diplomatic relations were almost completely frozen.

Bulgaria made efforts to normalize its diplomatic ties with PDRK after the shift in the Sino-North Korean relations caused by the start of the Cultural revolution in the mid of 60s. The protocol of a meeting of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP on July 18 1967 testifies about a decision for normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries. According to the decision *"the Bulgarian government would apologize for expelling the ambassador of North Korea of the time and suggests an exchange of ambassadors."* Bulgarian government also shows good will for establishing again close and active economic and cultural relations with PDRK. In order to demonstrate its favorable position toward North Korea Bulgaria shows commitment to strengthen its

---

41) Central State Archive (CSA), fond (F) 1B, inventory (I) 64; archival unit (a.u.) 298; F. 1B, in. 64; a.u. 298; a.u. 299.

42) CSARB, F.1B, in.91, a.u. 380, p.20.

43) In December 1962, the four students were settled in Stara Zagora. Choi Dong Sung and Lee Sang Jong worked in a chemical fertilizer factory, and Lee Jang Jik worked at the furniture factory. Choi Dong Jun worked for an architect of the city until his graduation, when he became a mining expert. Except for Choi Dong Sung, who remained single, all of them married Bulgarians. After the establishment of diplomatic ties with the Republic of Korea, Lee Jang Jik and Lee Sang Jong gained South Korean nationality, while the others took Bulgarian nationality. (Kim Soyoun, Harbord, John. A Disparity between Faith and Reality – A story of North Korean political defectors in Bulgaria – In: Wiener Beiträge zur Koreaforschung. Viennese Contributions on Korean Studies. Koreanologie. Institut für Ostasienwissenschaften. Universität Wien. VI. 2014.)

efforts in support of the North Korean positions within the UN and other international organizations. The Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the socialist states about its position and asked them for cooperation in normalizing of relations with North Korea. Another part of the decision is to be published “*more materials about the development of North Korea and also materials against South Korea.*”<sup>44)</sup>

In 1968 Bulgarian delegation visited DPRK for the 20 years anniversary from its establishment. In a special decision of the Political Bureau of Bulgarian Communist Party from 27 May 1969, dedicated to the “*Main directions and goals of the Bulgarian foreign policy*” Bulgarian government decided to accelerate the relations with DPRK in order to contribute for the decrease of the China’s influence over North Korea. The main goal was to affiliate DPRK again close to the positions of the Soviet Union and the other countries in the Soviet bloc.<sup>45)</sup> For this reason in the decision has been pointed out the importance of “*developing greater activity for the full normalization and further development of relations with the DPRK.*”<sup>46)</sup>

Over the next years Bulgarian government actively worked towards the implementation of this decision.

The shift of the relations was also in the context of the general shift of the whole paradigm of the Cold war in the East Asian region at the beginning of the 70s related with the new stage of the relations between China and USA. This as well as the era of a so called “Peaceful coexistence” promoted by the Soviet bloc as well as the era of Détente in the East-West international relations helped the improvement of the relations between Bulgaria and North Korea during 70s.<sup>47)</sup>

A key point for the activation of the Bulgarian policy toward the DPRK was the first visit of Todor Zhivkov in North Korea, in his capacity as a Chairman of the State Council and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The

44) Bulgarian State Agency Archives. Number: 1 B; op. № 6; a.e. № 6770. Date: July, 18, 1967. Protocol ‘A’ № 272

45) CSA, f. 1B, in. 35, a. u. 704, p. 46.

46) Ibidem, p. 47.

47) In the early 1970s, Cold War tensions began to ease, with capitalist and communist blocs seeking detente. Against this backdrop, Seoul and Pyongyang announced a South–North joint communique on July 4, 1972. The July 4 South–North Joint Communique marked the first official joint statement made by the South and North Korean authorities with regard to the principles and methods for national unification. The July 4th, 1972, Joint Communiqué, the first document to be agreed upon by both North Korea and South Korea following the division of the Korean Peninsula in 1945, was of particular historical significance. Notably, through the Joint Communiqué, the two Koreas reached an agreement on the three principles for reunification (independence, peaceful unification, and great national unity). The Communiqué also pushed the North–South dialogue to a new level, as both sides agreed to cease slandering one another, to begin various forms of exchanges, to setup a hotline between Seoul and Pyongyang, and to form a South–North Coordinating Committee charged with easing tensions, preventing armed clashes, and solving the issue of unification (<http://eng.unikorea.go.kr/content.do?cmsid=1806;http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/dprk-perspectives-korean-reunification-after-the-july-4th-joint-communiqu%C3%A9>)

---

visit took place in October 1973 when an official delegation led by Zhivkov visited DPRK. The Documents clearly show that the Bulgarian visit was not a result of its own decision but also an initiative of the Soviet Leader Leonid Brejnev. T. Zhivkov and Bulgaria have played the role of a mediator between North Korea and USSR. After the visit Brejnev told Zhivkov: *“Your visit to Korea is not a purely Bulgarian-Korean fact. You perform a joint mission in the spirit of our consistent policy, a useful mission of our fraternal socialist community. It is particularly important to detach Koreans from the Chinese, and to affiliate them with us.”* 48)

It is obvious that Kim Il Sung also considered this visit as a way to improve North Korean relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist community in general. The documents show that the meeting of the Bulgarian delegation was organized in a way that demonstrated extreme respect and honor. Kim Il-Sung has been strictly, all the time during the whole duration of the visit, by Zhivkov. He was with him everywhere which enabled them to have very important and interesting talks.

On the first place Zhivkov was trying and finally succeeded to convince North Korean leader in the line of the Peaceful coexistence. The second and very important issue discussed in the conversations was the attitude toward China. Zhivkov pointed out that the neutral position of the Koreans actually means a passive support for China and adoption of an anti-Soviet course of action. Finally Kim Il Sung agreed with Zhivkov and was even trying to convince him that the position of DPRK is anti-Chinese and surely pro-Soviet.<sup>49)</sup> But at the same time North Korean leader used a lot of arguments to explain why North Korea, mainly due to some security reasons, couldn't take a firm position and preferred to show neutrality although their true point of view was not neutral but in favor of the Soviets.<sup>50)</sup> The main argument of North Korean leader were that if DPRK take a direct course of confrontation with China that would mean to open a “second front”, since they already have one front on the south.<sup>51)</sup> Otherwise Kim Il Sung explained that the Koreans have principle disagreements and distinctions with China as well as the fact that China also threatens them.

Next issue that both leaders have discussion about was the Soviet plan of Collective security system in Asia as a guarantee for not dominance of China or any other State (meaning mainly USA) over some small countries in the region.<sup>52)</sup> Here T. Zhivkov again used as an argument the point that without such a Collective security system in Asia it

---

48) CSA, f. 1B, in. 35, a. u. 4459, p. 55.

49) Ibidem, p. 22.

50) Ibidem, p. 27.

51) Ibidem, p. 26.

52) Ibidem, p. 28.

would be difficult to be achieved the unification of the two Korean states.<sup>53)</sup> Todor Zhivkov was trying to convince Kim Il Sung that North Korea have to cooperate with all socialist countries in the International stage and to join again the socialist community.

Another part of the mission of Zhivkov was to incorporate North Korea for more intensive and beneficial economic relations with COMECON especially on the issue of the mutual the exploitation of some raw materials. The answer of North Korean leader on this issue was also not fully explicit.

The last issue that has been put under discussion during the visit was the plan for the Unification of Korea as a confederation. This was originally an idea of North Korean government as a strategy for decrease of the Japanese and US influence over South Korea and their military presence on the Korean peninsula. Part of the strategy was after creation of confederation the united country to enter the UN. T. Zhivkov was curious to know how it would be possible to be created a confederation between two countries with different socio-economic and political systems.

The conclusion remarks of the visit were that it has played a role of a push factor of the bilateral relations between Bulgaria and North Korea as well as between the relations of DPRK and the whole Soviet bloc.

So in this case we can see how new formerly secret documents discover the complex story of normalization of the bilateral relations between DPRK and Bulgaria as well as the new rapprochement between North Korea and Soviet bloc at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s.

Bulgarian archival documents displayed in details the advance and culmination of the political, economic, scientific, cultural, and societal relations between the two countries and peoples from 1973 till 1985. Only inside the Bulgarian Diplomatic records more than 800 files on the issue were preserved for that period. Among the analytical reports and references we founded a lot of significant documents and sensitive information about the “Korean Question” in general, and on DPRK relations with the USSR, PRC, Eastern European and Third World countries, and Republic of Korea relations with the USA and Japan, in particular.

The last but not least part of the Contemporary history of the Korean peninsula which could be comprehensively researched in Bulgarian archives is *the Issue of the Inter Korean relations and dialogue* and its dynamics from confrontation to détente and back

---

53) Ibidem, p. 29.

---

which touches upon the very key and probably the most important point related with this dialogue - *the issue about the Korean unification*. The Issue about the Korean unification is probably the most important one for both Korean states since the very beginning of their existence after the WWII with the division of the Korean peninsula and the establishment of two Korean states. But the main and most important factor for the future development of the so called Korean issue goes exactly through an Inter-Korean dialogue and negotiations. Since the core of the existing problems and the very reason for the division of the Korean peninsula stays in the era of the Cold war it is of a great importance from contemporary point of view, the Inter-Korean dialogue to be well studied and analytically traced from the very beginning of its start, which was in the middle of the Cold war years. Such a historical approach toward that issue could give us an opportunity to look at many of the currently existing points from the present Inter-Korean dialogue agenda from another perspective.

The study of the Inter-Korean relations during the Cold war period could show us clearly that none of the presently existing problems that are put on the table of negotiations nowadays are new. Exactly the opposite, most of them have been already a matter of discussion and negotiations as well as different strategies for solving of the core issue, the one of the possible Korean reunification has been explored, developed and negotiated again during the Cold war period. That's why studying of that period is critically important if we would like to understand and foreseen the current development of the problem as well as the chances for its positive progress.

The archival documents from different Bulgarian archives gives a rare opportunity to follow in depth the history of the Inter-Korean relations during the Cold War. This dialogue could be divided into four main stages, which have their own specificities that are determined by the general characteristics of the different phases of the confrontation during the Cold War. It is clearly visible that in the time of certain reduction of the tension in the relations between the two main superpowers (USSR and USA) and their military-political blocs, there is a process of intensification of the dialogue between the two Korean states. On the contrary in the periods of raising of the confrontation the Inter-Korean dialogue has been interrupted.

The first stage of the relations between North and South Korea is the time right after the end of the Korean War and the sign of the final armistice agreement on 27 July 1953. The armistice inaugurated an official ceasefire but did not lead to a peace treaty. It established the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), a buffer zone between the two sides. That period goes through the Park Chung Hee military coup at the beginning of the 60s

to the time of opening of the inter-Korean dialogue in the beginning of the 1970s. That first stage is characterized by relatively strong ideological, political and military confrontation and actual lack of dialogue between the two Korean states.

The second stage is related with the spirit of a general détente within the Cold war from the end of 60-s until the second half of the 70s. That was probably the most intensive and constructive time in terms of dialogue, propositions from the both sides and constructive discussion over the opportunities for the denuclearization and the Korean peninsula and the reunification of the Korean state.

That stage was followed again by a period of confrontation, mistrust and interruption of the dialogue which lasted from the second half of the 70s until almost the middle of the 80s.

The last stage in the relations between PDRK and ROK during the Cold war was the time of the general change and shift in the dialogue between USSR and USA which influenced the change of the international relations in many regions, including the one of East Asia and especially the zone of the Korean Peninsula. That was a time with a new warming up in the Inter-Korean relations. The existing documents in the Bulgarian archives clearly show an increasing activity of the North Korea during 80s of the XX th century, for the restart of the dialogue between both Korean states in order to try to find a possible peaceful solution of the issue about the Unification especially in the face of dynamic changes in the East-West relations and within the Eastern bloc during the second half of the 80s, pushed mainly by the new government of the Soviet Union. In this regard it is important to mention the new detailed plan of DPRK for the Unification launched in 1980 which was based on the Basic agreements between both Korean states from 1972-1973. The new moment in the program was the proposal for Unification based on the opportunity of the existence of two systems, two ideological and political frameworks in one unified confederative state. It was a version of the so called “one state, two systems” formula.<sup>54)</sup> In 1984 North Korea also proposed the beginning of tripartite talks between both Korean states and USA about the opportunities for signing a Peace treaty and Declaration for non-aggression as well as the withdrawal of the American troops from the Korean peninsula as well as the end of the annual US-South Korea joint military maneuvers called “Team spirit”.<sup>55)</sup> Later in 1985 in order to show its readiness for

54) Central State Archives of the Republic of Bulgaria (CSARB), F. 1B, in. 81, a.u. 15, p 13.

55) Ibidem. Team Spirit was a joint military training exercise of United States Forces Korea and the Military of South Korea held between 1976 and 1993. The North Korea regime abandoned talks following the January 1986 Team Spirit

---

positive and efficient dialogue PDRK joint the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.<sup>56)</sup> In September 1986 in Pyongyang there has been organized big international conference with representatives of over 120 political parties, governments, non-governmental organizations and different political figures from over 80 countries in the world. The main subject of discussion of the conference was for the opportunity for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. At the end of 1986 North Korean government makes a new proposition to the South for Inter-Korean submit meeting and the resumption of the dialogue on the issue about the peaceful unification of the country.

One of the most interesting documents from that period are from the last official visit Bulgarian party and state leader Todor Zhivkov to DPRK made from May 30 until June 2, 1985. Although Bulgarian government demonstrated again its decisive support for the North Korean strategy for peaceful Unification with South Korea, in a secret analysis in front of Bulgarian Communist Party's Politburo Todor Zhivkov has made a very interesting and quite unpopular (for a communist leader) and strictly unofficial conclusions. He have spoken that according to him idea of the North Korean government for peaceful Unification is completely nonrealistic up to this moment. The reasons for this conclusion according to Zhivkov are: the great differences in socio-economic systems of the two countries, second - the different levels of economic development in favor of South Korea and thirdly, because of the changes in the geopolitical situation in the region where there was a move toward establishing a political and military alliance between USA, Japan and South Korea. To this must be added the policy of China for more close relations with USA and Japan, which also became a major obstacle on the road of the peaceful unification of Korea.<sup>57)</sup>

However of the changing situation but not in favor of PDRK In July 1987 North Korean government proposes a new strategic plan for the Unification arranged in three stages which aims to complete in 1992 with the Unification of the two Korean states and denuclearization and demilitarization of the Korean Peninsula.<sup>58)</sup>

---

exercises, and in late 1992, North Korea unilaterally withdrew from the South-North High-Level Talks due to the 1993 Team Spirit exercise.

56) Ibidem. North Korea ratified the treaty on 12 December 1985, but gave notice of withdrawal from the treaty on 10 January 2003 following U.S. allegations that it had started an illegal enriched uranium weapons program, and the U.S. subsequently stopping fuel oil shipments under the Agreed Framework which had resolved plutonium weapons issues in 1994. The withdrawal became effective 10 April 2003 making North Korea the first state ever to withdraw from the treaty. North Korea had once before announced withdrawal, on 12 March 1993, but suspended that notice before it came into effect.

57) CSARB, F. 1B, in. 68, a.u. 590, pp. 41, 63.

58) Central State Archives of the Republic of Bulgaria (CSARB), F. 1B, in. 81, a.u. 15, p 14.



The warming up of the Inter-Korean dialogue ended with the sign of two key documents: the “Basic Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation,” (December 13, 1991), and the “Joint Declaration on Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula” (December 31, 1991), pledging not to possess, produce, or use nuclear weapons and prohibiting uranium enrichment and plutonium reprocessing.<sup>59)</sup>

The reached level of the Inter-Korean dialogue at the end of the Cold War and the accords signed between them looked extremely promising at that time. Now 27 years after that stage it sounds almost ridiculous since the Inter-Korean dialogue is again back at the same point discussing and negotiating issues as reconciliation, non-aggression, exchanges and cooperation, denuclearization and of course the very focal problem of the future possible Korean unification. The answer of the question why is laying more or less in the fact that until the end of the Cold War and even after that, the Inter Korean relations and its dialogue has been heavily dependent on external factors, such as the geopolitical interests of the “great” powers in the Asia-Pacific region. These powers remain relatively unchanged since the time of the Cold war. At that time they were dominantly USSR and USA, nowadays they are again US and Russia combined with the new regional and even global superpower in the face of China.

Finally I have to mention that in the Bulgarian Archives there are many newly accessible archival documents displaying the long term process for more than one decade of establishment of commercial, scientific, and societal contacts between Bulgaria and Republic of Korea, which led finally to establishment of official diplomatic relations between the two countries in March 1990.

In conclusion I would like to go back to the main point of that paper that the profound research of different Bulgarian archives from the Cold war period gives a very good opportunity to shed a light on many aspects of the Contemporary history, some of which has its consequences and impact on the current political, socio-economic and military processes on the Korean peninsula and the profound knowledge about them could help us not only to understand better the logic of these processes but also to try to predict and foresight, to some extend their future development.

---

59) *Victor D. Cha*. Korean Unification: The Zero-Sum Past And The Precarious Future – *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 21, No. 3, Winter 1997, pp. 63–92.



## Session B-1

Chair: Youngsoon Kim(Korea)

- **Jinyu Qi(China)**

*Asia community and cross-cultural comparative studies*

- **Taeho Kim(Japan)**

*Movement and migration of people in pre-modern east Asia-  
Focusing on the Korean peninsula during the Imjin war*

- **Yuzo Hirose(Japan)**

*Trusting rather than understanding others: Another intercultural  
cosmopolitan education*

- **Jingjiang Zhu(China)**

*The minority nationalities in the national chronicles of China*



## Asia community and cross-cultural comparative studies

*Jinyu Qi\**

*School of Ethnology and Sociology, Minzu University of China*

### ABSTRACT

“Regional mutual assistance and Global collaboration” has become a recognized norm for politicians and academics in globalization today. It is of a very important theoretical and practical significance to construct an “Asian community with shared destiny ” in the context of globalization. Give full play to Asia’s rich cultural resources and cultural and historical traditions; enhance the mutual communication between the ethnic groups in the region; enhance the charisma of transnational cultural identity. Construction of the “Asian community with shared destiny ” is not as simple as we thought and it is a long and bumpy road, but it is not out of reach. Build a platform that promotes cultural exchanges and cooperation among Asian nationalities, to promote dialogue and exchange among academic elites in Asian. The most effective ways are: firstly, building an Asian “Academic Community” full of vitality and vibrant, and committed to jointly promoting the study and exchange of ethnic cultures in the region; Secondly, it is the common mission of the Asian “academic community” and all the “public intellectuals” to spread this regional local knowledge from Asia.

**Keywords:** Community with shared destiny, Multiculturalism, Globalization, Localization, Symbiosis.

---

\* About the Author: Qi Jinyu, Dean, doctoral tutor and professor of the Department of Ethnology, School of Ethnology and Sociology, Minzu University of China; director of the Northeast Asian National Culture Institute of the Minzu University of China.

---

## Globalization & Localization: A composite set of concepts and Its Paradox

Globalization refers to the inter-continental flow and pattern of social interaction, which expands operations increase the breadth, speed and depth of influence. Globalization is a historical process; its trait is that the gradual disappearance of national boundaries, and historic world transformation model is shaping up in the context of network and modernization. Some thinkers who are the theory of the world system, such as Emmanuel ·Wallerstein, Ferdinand Brendel, Reinhold ·Bendix, Dieter Senghahas, etc. American scholar Roland Robertson is one of the distinguished promoters to popularize the concept of Globalization. He define the Globalization as the beginning of European world transformation process of medieval feudalism face the crisis.<sup>1)</sup> Generally "globalization" means that the process of growing economic and cultural in global scale, the influence and interaction among countries in the world is also increasing. Any single nation or state is difficult to survive if they leaving and enclosed the word by themselves. In the narrow sense, "globalization" refers to the process and state of human beings from an isolated regional state or nation state to the international community. A· McGrew describe the globalization is the complex and diverse interconnections and combinations of the nation-states that transcend the national systems that making up the modern world system. And through the process, events, activities, and decisions in one part of the earth will have a significant impact on individuals and communities far away from one another. Frederick Jameson believes that globalization is a communication concept that alternately masks and spreads cultural or economic significance. We feel denser and more extensive communication networks are spread all over the world today. On the one hand, these networks are the result of significant innovations in various communication technologies, on the other hand, they are based on the greater degree of modernization of countries around the world or at least in the major cities, including the cultivation of this technology.

David H. Held and Anthony McGrew pointed out that globalization refers to the changes and revolution of human organizations on a scale. It combine with distant societies, and expand the influence of rights relations in all regions and continents of the world. However globalization should not be seen as a sign of the arrival of a harmonious global society, nor as a process of universal global integration, with cultures and civilizations increasingly converging. The reason is that the growing internal links creates

---

1) [United States] Roland Robertson: "Globalization: Social Theory and Global Change", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2000.

new hostility and conflict, and globalization can also provoke reactionary politics and deep-rooted xenophobia.<sup>2)</sup> German scholar, Rainer Tetzlaff, believes that the current discussion of globalization has four main subjective meanings: First, globalization can only be talked when it has to describe the characteristics of global environmental crisis. Second, globalization is known as developing countries' expansion and conquest from the western's economic system. Third, globalization means the adverse effects of industrial economic from the expansion of developing countries and their growing world market integration and competitiveness (especially in new industrialized transition countries), the result is that industrialized countries' companies, departments and regions adapt to the pressure of change are exacerbated, and it leads to a global panic. Fourth, with the globalization systems of the economy, communication and transportation, the abnormal development of speculative capitalism such as unemployment, feminization of poverty, criminal crime, and drug trafficking is also becoming internationalized, that is, the globalization of crime.<sup>3)</sup> British sociologist Anthony Giddens also pointed out the four dimensions of globalization: the world capitalist economy; the world military order; the international division of labor and the national state system.<sup>4)</sup>

Economic globalization generally refers to the worldwide industrial restructuring and business activities based on scientific and technological progress, capital-driven, and multinational corporations. Economic globalization mainly refers to the economic factors at the productivity level and the globalization of the scope of activities. In terms of productivity entity elements, labor resources are globally distributed and deployed, and production technology skills are exchanged, cooperated and popularized globally; advanced production tools, process models, transportation, information control and other equipment are promoted and applied globally; new materials, new energy development and utilization on a global scale, etc. As far as productivity software elements are concerned, the transformation and application of new scientific and technological achievements, advanced management theories and methods, capital investment, financing means, market development, etc. In short, all the factors of productivity and the scope of economic activities break the boundaries of the region, the nation, and the country, and the process of globalization is to follow the basic principles of "economic globalization."

The process of economic globalization began in the beginning of the process after

2) [United States] David H. Held, Anthony McGrew: "Globalization and Anti-Globalization", translated by Chen Zhigang, Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2004, p. 2.

3) [German] Reiner Tetzlaff, editor: "World Culture under the Pressure of Globalization", Nanchang: Jiangxi People's Publishing House, 2001, p. 6.

4) [English] Anthony Giddens: "The Consequences of Modernity", Yilin Press, 2002, p. 62.

---

the world's geographical discovery and successful voyage around the world of modern capitalism and its foreign expansion in the global development of the 16th century. Regionalization or localization refers to the process of closer relationship between geographically neighboring countries and the increasingly integrated process of social relations within countries. Fredric Jameson pointed out misappropriation - not the process itself, but it come from its discussion, and regardless of these results is good or bad. In other words they are essentially a generalized judgment, the description of the role tends to separate specific factors rather than linking them to each other. In Jameson's view, globalization consists of five distinct levels in order to prove their ultimate internal connection and to connect a confrontational politics. These five levels are: technical, political, cultural, economic, and social.<sup>5)</sup>

Anthony Giddens says, the nation-state system had the characteristics of modernity in a long time. One of the dialectical qualities or paradoxes of globalization, have a relationship called "push&pull" between the two tendencies. On the one hand, it is the tendency of power concentration inherent in the reflective nature of the national systems; on the other hand, it is the tendency of each particular country to maintain its sovereignty. These two tendencies is the result of the tension between globalization and locality. Giddens pointed out that modernity is dis-placed, globalization and modernity are accompanied by each other. Therefore, he believes that non-localization is integration in a globalized "community" experience, and its corresponding word is re-embedding. In the context of globalization, more and more people live in such an environment. Through re-embedding, various kinds of delocalization systems connect local or regional practices with the social relations of globalization and organize all aspects of daily life. At the same time, the reciprocal contradictions of trust in modern society, such as trust and risk, opportunity and danger, also infiltrate all aspects of daily life, also affects the process of mutual embedding between globalization and locality.<sup>6)</sup>

When we talk about the complex concept of "globalization" and "locality", we must deal with the discussion of the "boundary" problem. Generally, people tend to explore the boundaries of geography or geopolitics, and invisibly ignores the boundaries of culture and its influence, the boundaries of this culture in real life and social practice may be more likely to trigger cultural conflicts or cause negative social events. Today, localization efforts are mainly reflected in the following areas or topics: many nation-states have placed great emphasis on strengthening state control, such as implementing state

---

5) Edited by Wang Fengzhen: Jameson's Anthology (Volume 4): Modernity, Postmodernity and Globalization, Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2004, p. 364.

6) [English] Anthony Giddens: "The Consequences of Modernity", Yilin Press, 2002, pp. 69, 130.



monopoly control over the military and the judiciary, systematizing official languages, creating a national education system, reviving national identity awareness and citizenship, and maintaining geopolitical strategies and means. The concept of "cross-border nationality" is related to the concept of international law such as "national sovereignty" and "national border", its emergence may be the product of political game and negotiation in modern nation-states.

Nowadays global economic integration are all around world, it is meaningless to stay in the general discussion of globalization proposition between countries and regions, we should think deeply about globalization and its many real and potential impacts on people's daily social life. The tension between globalization and anti-globalization is still continuing to wrestle, it also reminds us that at the level of policy formulation and operation, we must reflect on the international conflicts caused by cross-border ethnic issues in history and draw lessons from them; in addition, guiding and dealing with the relationship between cultural identity, ethnic identity and national identity of transnational ethnic groups has very important theoretical and practical significance for the practice of harmonious society development in multi-ethnic countries.

## Glocalization: reflection on cultural globalization

The process of globalization will inevitably accompanied localization and regionalization, which will lead to the convergence and homogenization of cultural characteristics, and at the same time aggravate the heterogeneity and nationalization. Some scholars worry that the real core issue of globalization is the standardization of world culture, and regional popular or traditional cultural forms are expelled or keep silent, it lead to the Disney, Hollywood movies, American dramas, music, food and clothing and other cultural and industrial products were replaced them. The American model is now replacing all other models have now spread beyond the scope of culture and spread to our remaining two categories: Because this process is clearly, at one level, the result of economic domination - the collapse of regional cultural industries due to American competition. On a deeper level, this anxiety becomes a social anxiety, and cultural anxiety is only a symptom: In other words, this fear is concerned that the way of life of a particular race will be destroyed.<sup>7)</sup>But there are also optimists who propose revisions to globalization, such as Anthony Giddens' globalization or modernity's "Beyond the dimension of the scarcity system": socialized economic organizations; transcendence of

7) Editor-in-Chief Wang Fengzhen: Jameson's Anthology (Volume 4): Modernity, Postmodernity and Globalization, Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2004, pp. 366-367.

---

wars; an ecological system; and a coordinated global order and etc.<sup>8)</sup>

The revival and Renaissance of the concepts of national self-identity, ethnic identity and geo-consciousness in the world today is naturally attributed to globalization and its efforts to further strengthen geo-consciousness or regional and local concepts, thereby strengthening the awareness of ethnic or national identity and narrow nationalism has a trend of further recovery and rising. Du Weiming believes that one of the most meaningful introspections at the end of the 20th century was to recognize that globalization did not mean homogenization. Many people have abandoned the idea that modernization tends to overcome differences. He pointed out:

Globalization not only reduces the differences of ethnic, social, cultural and religious, but also strengthens their contradictions and conflicts. Globalization not only reduces ethnic, social, cultural and religious differences, but also strengthens their contradictions and conflicts. In the process of building defensive cultural identity from within and aggressive religious exclusion from outside, as a source of strength as race, such as language, gender, land, class and belief, has forced all practicing global thinkers to develop new ideas. The source is to understand the circumstances and spirit of our times.<sup>9)</sup>

In the globalized community, we are confronted with two conflicting and even contradictory forces: globalization and localization. With the acceleration of the process of global economic integration, like Huntington worried people have begun to pervade sensitive and thoughtful academic circles and issues, such as cultural identity, role identity, geographic identity, ethnic identity (ethnic identity), multicultural and cultural diversity have become hot topics. The topic seems to return to what Hockheimer and Adorno once discussed, the prospects for the industrialization and marketization of culture, which seem to show us the homogenization and singularity of individual ideas and values. In the ocean full of industrialized "cultural" products, I, he, we, they and other concepts seem to have no difference, individual and group identity seems to have confusion, identification of meaningless has spread everywhere, modern people began endlessly to explore "Who are we".

With the gradual formation of cultural industrialization in Western countries, there emerged a challenging discourse of post-modernism and post-colonialism. Some scholars believe that globalization does not lead to the integration of the world (Westernization or Americanization) as many people worry about. On the contrary, it is a process always

---

8) [English] Anthony Giddens: "The Consequences of Modernity", Yilin Press, 2002, p. 144.

9) [US] Du Weiming: "Confucian Tradition and Civilization Dialogue", Shijiazhuang: Hebei People's Publishing House, 2010, p. 114.

accompanied by localization, full of differences and ruptures. The era of a sound solo had ended for a long time, and now there are many different voices singing in the interaction. As postmodern historians say, history has more than one sound. It is composed of multiple versions and multiple voices. At the same time, multiculturalism, cultural identity and differential politics have become the hot topics of the world's humanities and social sciences.

At the turn of the century, the crisis of identity has its specific context of discourse generation, which emerges in the context of post-liberalism and globalization. The crisis theory of identity began in the West at the end of the 20th century, especially Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilizations" as a representative, which set off a climax of political identity research. In his book *The Conflict of Civilizations and the Reconstruction of World Order*, Huntington said: "In the post-cold-war world, flags have value for consideration, and so do other signs of cultural identity, including the cross, the crescent, and even the hardcover, because culture has value for consideration, and cultural identity is the most meaningful thing for most people. People are discovering new but often old identities, moving under new but often old banners, which lead to war with new but often old enemies. Of course, Huntington was so interested in the issue of clashes of civilizations because, in his view, after the end of the cold war, the core force determining world order had shifted from ideological confrontation (socialism/capitalism) to confrontation between different cultural (or civilized) identities. "To a greater extent, people all over the world distinguish themselves according to cultural boundaries, which means that conflicts between cultural groups are becoming more and more important; civilizations are the broadest cultural entity; and therefore conflicts among civilizations are at the center of global politics." Jameson profoundly pointed out that besides the initial high praise of cultural differences, and often closely related to this high praise, is a series of different groups, races, gender, disadvantaged ethnic groups and other newly entered the field of public discourse. (Jameson, 2004) In addition, if we focus on the economic aspects of globalization, as Jameson put it, we can imbue the concept of globalization with those symbols and meanings. Now, first and foremost, greater identity (rather than diversity), and what has inspired our global thinking since then is a new, unparalleled picture of standardization on a scale; A picture of unity forced into the world system has since ceased to be possible, or even unimaginable, to "dissociate" (Samir Amin) from the world system. (Jameson, 2004) Assuming that globalization provides a stage for participants to play with each other and take what they need, the rules of globalization are to follow the rules of both parties or be eliminated. Every competition has its winning or losing points, but the premise is that the rules are not fair, so victory and defeat have

---

been seen. To some extent, the awakening and rise of local or regional consciousness is just the product of globalization.<sup>10)</sup>

The influence of globalization on identity is inevitable, but the identification of diversity is not “very deterministic and uniform” as he is. Conversely, under the background of globalization, the nature of individuals and groups may be generalized and differentiated, but some of the primitive identities such as ethnic affiliation, ethnic groups, national identity and religious identity, and other identities of belongingness will not disappear, instead they will be strengthened accordingly under some specific circumstances. In the context of economic integration, regional or geological consciousness are gradually reviving and rising, and the notion of family and ethnic groups also is likely to be further strengthened and reconstructed.; with the pace of globalization, culture identities in most regions, ethnic groups in the world have been strengthened and consolidated. As William Wallace said, we live in a extremely challenging contradiction--where management has gradually become a multi-level, complicated and institutionalized scattered activity. However, representation, faithfulness and identity remain rooted in the community of traditional tribes and regional and ethnic groups.

Since 1980s,the discourse of identity has been coming into our sight,being concerned and researched. The aim of talking about related identities and how they came into being is to illustrate that rapid promotion of cultural industries has caused a tendency to be ambiguous of identities. This is not merely a matter of individual identity and identity confusion, but a matter involving the loss of collective memory and the meaning of existence. Therefore, scholars have come up with the concept of culture capitals, believing that there exists a definite relationship between all activities held in cultural or art field and a dispute over position or capital, which is the dispute over filed cultural resources or capitals, raised by Bourdieu who said that individuals own different cultural capitals so that they have different status in the field. Western countries’ vigorously push to promote cultural industrialization has something to do with dispute over this kind of cultural resources, that is the so-called dispute over cultural naming right. So there are three relatively independent parts of culture derived: leading culture, elite culture and popular culture. Some scholars have differentiated these three types and think leading culture emphasizes the theme and a leading role of culture and art. Elite culture pays more attention to the aesthetic value and creativity of art. Through the artistic taste of elegance and the “defamiliarization” of life, it often appears as a pioneer or even a

---

10) Qi Jinyu: "Globalization and Locality: The Global Discourse of Identity: A Case Study of Anthropological Fieldwork in the "Wuyi" Area of Tongren County", Qinghai Ethnic Studies, No. 1, 2008.

heresy. The popular culture is more in a "real" form to show that it is completely different from the above.

Of course, popular culture comes into its own because of its entertainment, business value full of consumerism and hedonism, which is the most disliking and critical spot of Horkheimer and Adorno and others of the Frankfurt School. While promoting globalization of the material and cultural consumption of the world, globalization and cultural industrialization have gradually brought homogeneity and simplification to people of different origins. In particular, the global popularity of a popular fashion concept will greatly obliterate the characteristics of people who like change. In the ambiguous modern period identified by groups or individuals, it is necessary to conduct so-called modernity and postmodern reflection or criticism. Under a fragmentation and absence circumstance, these two popular words to me are the direct or indirect consequence of cultural industrialization. The postponement of cultural globalization and industrialization is the process of the obtaining and legalization of naming right. Bourdieu reckons that naming a thing means the empowerment of all rights of the existence of the thing. Under the circumstance of different culture coexists, culture differentiates with each other to a certain extent. Those subculture with a dominant priority or position usually has a hegemony supremacy over other culture. Obtaining of some culture discourse hegemony is far more complicated than people expect. Gramsci has pointed out that the cultural right to control can be obtained from two ways: first, to enlarge some certain culture to the common culture of human beings; second, to get the recognition of the society or other groups. The process of subculture's obtaining recognition and then further generalization will lead to distortion of the original meaning of culture, or even cultural fragmentation and absence of related meaning, thus causing modern crisis of cultural identity. Paul Ricoeur's opinion seems to be more likely to reflect the awkward situation of cultural identity: when we find out that there are more than one culture coexist and admit a monopoly of a certain culture, real or unreal, will arouse our panic feelings when we find out. Suddenly, we realize that there probably exist others and that we are just one of the others. At this time, all meanings and goals will disappear and roaming all kinds of civilization, such as traveling relics and ruins, becomes a possibility. All human beings become an imagined museum. Where are we going to this weekend? To Angkor Wat or Tivoli in Copenhagen?

#### Asian Community: Constructing Cultural Identity and Regional Consciousness

Whenever globalization is been mentioned, people will think of the common problems faced by human beings global issues: population, drug smuggling, terrorism,

---

environmental pollution, and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. As a specific stage of development in the long history of human history, like other stages of historical development, has its own typical characteristics and basic connotations of the times. This is: the integration of the world economy, the diversification of international politics and the globalization of national cultures of various countries. Today, globalization requires a global governance program based on the participation, interaction, symbiosis and mutual benefit of each country. It needs a multilateral and mutually beneficial cooperative global policy framework that is recognized and recognized by most countries, including replacing the superpower. This trend will become more and more obvious in a cooperative strategic framework for resolving regional conflicts. Just as the "One Belt, One Road" initiative proposed by the Chinese government has won the approval and support of more and more countries in the world, to a certain extent, it is an alternative international cooperative policy framework, and it has increasingly highlighted its policy influence and Radiation effect.

The "Asian Community" consciousness and "Asian Identity" should be a highly imaginary concept. How to operate and practice it in the reality dimension requires the hard work of the academic community, but the concept has been proposed for a long time. history. The concept of "Asian Community" should be a constructive and generative concept with its own rheological process. Ge Zhaoguang believes that "Asia" can be used not only as a geographical area, but also as a space for historical and cultural thoughts. It seems unreasonable to think about the past history and future prospects from this background. But he also questioned: When did it become "Asia" and "community"? Although we admit that some scholars in Japan, South Korea, and China revisit "Asia", in a sense, there is a political boundary that transcends their respective nation states, re-constructing an imaginary political space, and internally dissolving the "national center" ,to resist the meaning of "Western hegemony". But historically, how can Asia become, or when has become a culture, knowledge and history that can identify each other, have common historical origins, and have a common "other"? Even in a political community? Not to mention the countries and nations in which the West and Central Asia are now largely Islamic, or the countries of South Asia that are quite different from East Asia in culture and history, in the so-called East Asia, namely China, North Korea and Japan, when, Who has ever agreed with such a common space?<sup>11)</sup> Japanese scholars Akira Iriye are actively reflecting on the possibility of Japan establishing a common relationship with Asia after World War II. He proposed the following two points: The first method is

---

11) Ge Zhaoguang: "Imaginative and practical: Who agrees with "Asia"? ——About the "Asianism" of Japan and China from the late Qing Dynasty to the early Republic of China, edited by Gao Mingshi, "The Formation and Development of East Asian Cultural Circle: Confucian Thoughts", Taipei: Taiwan University Publishing Center, 2005, No. 323-324 pages.

Japan's redefinition of Asia that has been liberated by Japan's shackles (aggression and colonization) in the past 100 years. . That is to say, across the framework of a collection of sovereign states, it has entered an economic and cultural medium to strengthen the way of regional conscious awareness. The second method is not only to focus on Asia, but also to internationalize Japan and Asia between Japan and the international community.<sup>12)</sup> In Sasaki's view, studies by Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner show that within the nation-state of capitalism, the development of nationalism is hidden. It contains three structural relationships: first, the two-level structure of the center and the edge; second, the one-dimensional and homogenized imagination of value; third, the dominance and subordination, which are mainly used to explain the structure between post-colonial national systems. Sasaki said that in the context of globalization, when constructing new Asian images, we need to liberate the Asian images that have been shackled by Japan for nearly a hundred years, and to clarify the wall that transcends the national consciousness of breaking and the construction of the public. The conditions and processes required for space. He believes that the concept of globalization and localization exists at the same time, and the relationship between ethnic identity and nationalism is also inseparable.<sup>13)</sup> Similarly, the German scholar Friedrich Meynik has taken a different approach and conducted an in-depth study of whether differences and connections can be found between the national and national circles and between the state and the national system. He believes that a comprehensive analysis of the above issues must study the individual in the historical transformation and all other objects in historical research: society, culture, country, nation and human being exist through individual imagination, emotion and movement, they are history The original cell of life. Regarding how to deal with and think about the relationship between the nation-state and cosmopolitanism, Menik pointed out: "We hope to divide and entangle the boundaries between national development and universal development, not only between the nations and the countries. In action, it also seeks to discuss it in the inner life of mankind."<sup>14)</sup>

At the end of the 20th century, with the prevalence of globalization and regionalization and the rapid economic development in Asia, people gradually regarded Asia as a region. Based on the following factors:

First, since the end of the Cold War, relations between countries in the Asian region

12) [Japan] Sasaki Miki: "Globalization in East Asia: The Interlacement of Ethnic Groups and Nationalism", in Xu Xingqing and Chen Mingzi, eds. "East Asian Cultural Exchange: Space and Frontiers and Migration", Taipei: National Taiwan University Publishing Center, 2008, p. 3.

13) [Japan] Sasaki Miki: "Globalization in East Asia: The Interlacement of Ethnic Groups and Nationalism", in Xu Xingqing and Chen Mingzi, eds. "East Asian Cultural Exchange: Space and Frontiers and Migration", Taipei: National Taiwan University Publishing Center, 2008, p. 4.

14) [Germany] Friedrich Meynik: "Cosmopolitanism and nation-state", Shanghai: Shanghai Sanlian Bookstore, 2007, p. 12.

---

have eased and improved, political and security pressures have been greatly reduced, and economic, cultural, and personnel exchanges between countries have become more frequent, objectively stimulated cultural and economic exchanges of inter-regional countries.

Second, the need for real-world policies such as political, economic, security, and cultural exchanges in the region is also the dominant factor in promoting exchanges and trade between countries. In addition, sensitive political issues and strategic locations in the Asian region are also agents for promoting close exchanges and cooperation between the countries of the region. Japanese scholar KOYASU Nobukuni pointed out that nowadays; the "regional concept" in the Asian region has been inextricably linked with the penetration of the market economy logic that transcends national borders with the so-called "globalization". Defensively, or actively change the face and reshape. Further, the new geographical concept has also been formed by various kinds of stimuli.<sup>15)</sup>

In addition, the idea of strengthening geographical advantages, promoting regional cooperation, and building an Asian cultural and economic community is similar to building a community of human destiny. From the perspective of cultural genesis, Asian countries have intricate historical connections. The close relationships between human populations, ethnic interactions, cultural contacts and effective exchanges have naturally brought the culture and economy of countries in the region closer. And frequent exchanges of personnel. There are geographically and culturally more or less connections between countries and nations in East Asia, South Asia, Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia and Central Asia.

There are many cross-border ethnic groups living in these areas of Asia. They have close contacts and frequent contacts with people from neighboring countries. They also show many common points in cultural identity. The identity of national identity and cultural identity, in a certain extent, is also a propellant and driving force for the further development of the regional cultural and economic community. Along with the further deepening and continuous advancement of economic globalization, the space for population movement in the world is expanding and the frequency is increasing. An important factor that cannot be ignored in the context of globalization is the large-scale population movement on a global scale. Pierre Sane, Assistant Director-General for UNESCO's Social and Human Sciences, has pointed out that it is becoming increasingly clear that immigration is an important factor in the world economy. Immigrant-exporting

---

15) [Japan] KOYASU Nobukuni: "East Asian Concepts and Confucianism", in Gao Mingshi, eds. "The Formation and Development of East Asian Cultural Circle: Confucianism", Taipei: Taiwan University Publishing Center, 2005, p. 37.



countries continue to benefit from the remittances sent by foreigners from the country and the return of skilled immigrants; immigrant-receiving countries benefit from a younger workforce; immigrants themselves find new opportunities by moving to a new country. Immigrants redistribute wealth around the world and play an important role in promoting development and poverty eradication. In addition, the current globalization process is biased towards the free flow of goods, information and capital, and the free flow of population is worth considering.<sup>16)</sup> Graziano also expressed the same feelings. He pointed out that we live in a globalized world. Immigrants are regarded as one of various forces that help people understand the world is being shaped outside the territorial space. In his view, in the past, settled transnational immigrants tend to form a minority community to show that they are outside the mainstream society; however, nowadays, there are safer, faster and cheaper transportation now. With economic and cultural goods (such as ethnic traditional style diets, ethnic media), and more importantly, with timely and cheap communication equipment, they may form a transnational community.<sup>17)</sup> Graziano Batistala's research shows that in the context of globalization, population movements and migration development in the Asian region have experienced three stages in the distribution of time and space: the first phase: the destination is the Middle East labor service. Immigration (1970s); Stage 2: East Asia and Southeast Asia as new destinations for labor migration (1980s); Stage 3: Labor migration across Asia (1990s). The popular immigration policy model in the Asian continent is temporary labor migration. Such policies usually require immigrants to obtain access after signing a work contract with strict time limits, often for no more than two years, and then be required to return to their originality before renewing the contract. Its purpose is to avoid the emergence and formation of minorities as much as possible.<sup>18)</sup>

Discussions on further opening up of borders within Asia are still not optimistic in reality, but today Asian countries cannot evade an established fact that they cannot effectively manage immigration unilaterally. In the face of the trend of globalization, only by further strengthening the active participation of countries in the Asian region in consultations and consultations is the favorable opportunity for Asia to resolve and solve many problems arising from globalization. The Asian region is where population movements are most frequent and an important exporter of global population movements. It can be seen that Asia and its large-scale immigrant groups have a significant influence

16) [Switzerland] Antoine Pecco, [Netherlands] Paul Jude Gühternell: "The Immigration Without Borders – On the Free Flow of Population", Yilin Press, 2011, p. 1–2 (Preface) .

17) Graziano Batistala: "Boundless Immigration: A Long Way to Go in Asia",in [Switzerland] Antoine Pecco, [Netherlands] Paul Jude Guchnerel: "Borderless Immigrants – On the Free Flow of Population, Shanghai: Yilin Press, 2011, p. 194.

18) Graziano Batistala: "Boundless Immigration: A Long Way to Go in Asia",in [Switzerland] Antoine Pecco, [Netherlands] Paul Jude Guchnerel: "Borderless Immigrants – On the Free Flow of Population, Shanghai: Yilin Press, 2011, p. 196-213.

---

on the global economy, politics, culture and many other aspects.

The theoretical idea of constructing the Asian community: theoretical conception and operational path

Liang Shuming said: "People are paying attention to how to live, pay attention to mutual coexistence, and can also say that small groups, groups and groups fight, that situation must change, the scope of the group should also be enlarged, and the group and the group are not Such hatred and estrangement, I am afraid I have to change, and it has passed. It seems that there is a sentence called 'one world, one man', a world, and everyone is peacefully coexisting."<sup>19)</sup> As a representative of the new Confucianism, Du Weiming further pointed out: "We need to constantly remind ourselves that whether it is the history of history or the change of circumstances, whether it is skin color, ethnicity, language, educational background, cultural heritage or our religious tradition. The difference should not weaken our common humanity. Our genetic code clearly shows us that we share a common root. Humans constitute a community, not only for us and other human partners, but also for us and Other animals, plants, trees and stones are a whole."<sup>20)</sup> In Du Weiming's view, historically, every great nation and religious tradition encounters a completely different belief system and community of beliefs. They often get great energy from this encounter. By learning the other, a certain tradition can greatly expand the horizon. he thinks:

The arrival of a global community heralds the notion of "common public goodness". The earth village as an imaginary spiritual reality is not a community. The ideal meaning of the word "community" is that people live together, share a common value and tangible civic morality, and unite through commitment to public good.<sup>21)</sup>

First, cultural commonality and diversity. The countries of the Asian region have more common and similar characteristics in culture. Since the 16th century, European missionaries and subsequent Sinologists who have entered Japan, China, North Korea, Annam (present-day Vietnam) and other countries have confirmed the existence of the Asian-Chinese cultural region. In addition, the research results of some sinologists (Leon Vandermeersch, 1986) link the Han culture circle with the development of contemporary East Asia, Southeast Asia, and even politics, trying to reveal the causal relationship between Chinese culture and this type of development.<sup>22)</sup> The cultural commonality and

---

19) Liang Shuming: "Is this world going to be good? Liang Shuo's oral history in his later years", Tianjin: Tianjin Education Press, 2010, p. 172.

20) [US] Du Weiming: "Confucian Tradition and Civilization Dialogue", Shijiazhuang: Hebei People's Publishing House, 2010, p. 87.

21) [US] Du Weiming: "Confucian Tradition and Civilization Dialogue", Shijiazhuang: Hebei People's Publishing House, 2010, p. 88.

22) Shi Yuanhua and Hu Lizhong, Editor-in-Chief: "The Relationship between the East Asian Han Culture Circle and China",

diversity of the Asian region are mainly reflected in the aspects of ethnicity, religion, cultural ethics and universal values. The commonality of Asian regional culture is mainly reflected in the continuous migration and contact of various ethnic groups in the history of the Asian region, and the spread, borrowing, mutual infiltration and acculturation of various cultures formed by frequent contacts and cultural interactions among ethnic groups. Various situations, such as cultural integration, make the region the most significant region of cultural diversity and richness. In the future, because of the impact of global economic integration, the phenomenon of cross-cultural communication and interaction among groups in this region will become more frequent and lasting, and the awareness of the Asian Community will gradually take shape. Of course, different countries may have different views on Asian identity and the Asian Community's imagination, but looking at the historical laws of human social development, the possible future of the community will eventually come to the same place in the imagination of all countries.

Second, the construction of the Asian Community is based on the principle of complementarity and mutual benefit of political, economic and social cultural development in the region. In short, the construction of the community is conducive to regional integration of their respective decentralized forces, calmly coping with the challenges and competition of other geographical groups brought about by globalization. The revival of the concepts of "Asian values" and "Asian regional integration" is inextricably linked to the Asian monetary and financial crisis of 1997-1998. Under the pressure of international speculators, on July 2, 1997, the Central Bank of Thailand was forced to decouple its currency, the Thai baht, from the US dollar. At the same time, almost all East Asian and Southeast Asian countries were caught in the chaos of the financial crisis. By the end of 1997, Malaysia's Ringgit lost 41%; Thai baht and Korean won also depreciated 50%; Indonesian rupee depreciated 70%. Following the economic crisis, there have been signs of political crisis in various parts of Asia. The crisis also exposed the high-risk characteristics of a globalized society. The economic crisis similar to the "butterfly effect" is an irresistible "adjustment episode" in the historical context of capitalist globalization, or just a longer-term structural precursor to the crisis? However, one of the consequences of this crisis is to force people to take major measures to suppress "disordered markets" in the direction of regionalization and selective protectionism. At the same time, "conspiracy theory" began to emerge in the political and academic circles, pointing to criticism and anti-Americanism in the IMF, while others questioned "Asian values"<sup>23,24</sup>

---

China Social Sciences Press, 2005, p. 38.

23) Note: "Asian Values", according to a survey conducted by the Far East Economic Review in 35,000 people in 35 countries in 1998, Asians seem to have similar values. For example, honouring elders, frugality, hard work, attaching importance to the collective and strong family responsibilities, and having a good impression of a strong government. Negative aspects include

---

In order to find an "Asia" solution to overcome the crisis, the Asian regionalization cooperation and new thinking on overcoming the crisis, to a certain extent, fully demonstrated that Asia's "destiny community" and regional economic and trade cooperation and cross-cultural exchange have become the trend of the times.

Third, symbiosis. "Peer-to-peer" refers to the interrelationship between people of different nationalities and countries that exist mutually beneficially and can't survive without each other. The idea of "mutual benefit and symbiosis" is based on the following considerations: the construction of the Asian cultural and economic community needs to create a three-dimensional coordinated space for cooperation, a symbiotic world in which countries' manufacturing, finance, information industry, and culture are all aspects. The differences in language, culture, religion and system can be overcome and surpassed. This is a new road map for the future development of Asia. Japanese scholar Hamako Takeshi pointed out in his research on globalization and East Asian history that his research interest lies in studying the trade of East Asian and Southeast Asian merchants through the tributary system in the modern world, and exploring the formation, development and changes of the large-scale East Asian economic circle. Then propose and explore the internal mechanism of Asian development - the "Asian economic circle" theory.<sup>25)</sup>

## Thinking and discussion

The vision and construction of the Asian Cultural and Economic Community precisely captures and demonstrates the paradox of globalization and regionalism, transmitting the development prospects and trends of the earth we live in in the long future: Globalization and localization have always been a difficult partner in the long journey. Building the "Asian Cultural and Economic Community" is far more complicated than we think, but it is not out of reach. The most urgent task at present is how to build a platform that will promote the exchange and cooperation of Asian national cultures and promote dialogue and exchanges among academic elites in Asian.

The most effective way should be to first build a vibrant and dynamic Asian "academic community" that committed to jointly promoting the study and exchange of

---

the close family links in Asia that benefit small companies' competitiveness, and can also hinder the development of these companies to a certain extent. They are usually the chaebol group controlled by a few families. See [De] Reinertschaf: "World Culture under the Pressure of Globalization", Nanchang: Jiangxi People's Publishing House, 2001, p. 85.

24) [Germany] Reiner Tszczoff, editor: "World Culture under the Pressure of Globalization", Nanchang: Jiangxi People's Publishing House, 2001, p. 70-81.

25) [Japan] Hamako Takeshi: "Globalization and East Asian History", edited by Shi Yuanhua and Hu Lizhong, "The Relationship between East Asian Han Culture Circle and China", China Social Sciences Press, 2005, p. 25.

national culture in the region. We need a group of so-called "public intellectuals" like Du Weiming (Confucian tradition and dialogue with civilization, 2010), it refers to intellectuals who have strong concerns about politics, a sense of participation in society, and a willingness to study and develop culture. Such intellectuals can also play an active role not only in academia but also in government, media, enterprises, and in various social organizations and social movements. Through the joint efforts of various types of public intellectuals, the major issues encountered by human civilization and modern world are mentioned in the public sphere, so that everyone can discuss together. This is the role of public intellectuals.

We hope that scholars engaged in humanities research can work together, to spread the local knowledge and our special experience in Asia, such as literature and art, music, philosophy, and history, not only let all of this have the local meaning in our own tradition, but also have global significance. Today, some of our scholars from Asia have conducted in-depth discussions on major issues on "One Asia Community" which is a platform for international academic exchange and dialogue, Committed to jointly discussing the commonalities and differences of ethnic cultures in the Asia, and also looking for ways to reach a true regional community from the academic community and find out values and ethics shared within the community. Therefore, this regional local knowledge from Asia is pushed to the global ethics and universal values shared by all human beings. This is the common mission of the Asian "academic community" and "public intellectuals."

# Movement and migration of people in pre-modern east Asia- Focusing on the Korean peninsula during the Imjin war

*Taeho Kim*  
*Japan*

**Keywords:** Imjin War, Manryeok Cheon War, Sayaka, Sayeomo, Cheon Manli, Doo Sachung.

## Introduction

The act mass migration of people has been repeatedly carried out from the ancient times till now. In the pre-modern era where the concept of a nation was not common, movement and migration of people were easy if they were able to find a way to move. People tended to move when they faced risk of persecution, repression, natural disaster, and famine.

In this article, I will focus on the Imjin War, when the Hideyoshi armies invaded Choseon, from the point of movement and migration to the Korean Peninsula (It is called Bunroku Keicho no Eki in Japan, Manryeok Cheon War in China, Imjin War in Korea. Here, Bunroku no Eki indicates the Imjin War <1592~1596>, Keicho no Eki indicates Jeongyu War <1597~1598>.) The Imjin War, attracted not only the Hideyoshi invading armys but also the Chinese army, which joined the war from Myung to repel the Hideyoshi army. I would like to focus on the main reason Japanese and Chinese migrated to Korean Peninsula, based on the characteristics of the times and the political situation.

Conventionally, although there are number of studies on the Imjin War, there are not many studies that focus on people's movement and migration through the war. In particular, I will focus on Sayaka and Sayeomo who moved from Japan to Choseon as invaders, and later on settled there. In addition, both Cheon Manli and Doo Sachung also did not return to Myung after the Imjin War and instead, settled in Choseon.

Even though my studies have been on the Koreans that were taken away to Japan by the Hideyoshi army as prisoners of war, and whom later settled there, I will discuss this in another paper. Therefore, in this paper, I will explain the Imjin War based on the characteristics of the great voyage era, as well as Sayaka and Sayeomo who decided to leave the Hideyoshi armies, and settled in Korea. They played an active part in the Korean dynasty. In addition, both Cheon Manli and Doo Sachung decided to settle in Korea, instead of returning home, after joining the Korean army as reinforcements.

## Chapter 1 Background of the Hideyoshi Army and the Myung Army moving to the Korean Peninsula

### 1-1. The great voyage era and Hideyoshi Toyotomi

From what point did Hideyoshi start dreaming of the warring states and eventually deciding to attack an area as far away as Myung, and aligned himself with the emperor's delusions to emigrate to the capital of Myung? The answer lies deep within the great voyage era, considered to be the beginning of the Sengoku era and the cause of the Imjin War.

The great voyage era is also called the Christian era in Japan. During this time, Hideyoshi launched the Sengoku era, and later on, started the Imjin War, which became the driving force in moving people to the Korean Peninsula.

Looking back at the time, before Hideyoshi joined forces with other Sengoku commanders, the Sengoku warlords from the Great Voyage era, especially the Kyushu region warlords, opened its port. This resulted in trade with merchants from the West such as Portugal and the Southburgh. During this period, rifles, along with Christian missionaries entered Japan.

Rifles were first introduced to Japan by the West, but there are various theories about the precise period. However, "Portuguese" sailing to Tanegashima in the Japanese year of Tenbun 12 (1543) was recorded, according to the "Iron Gun" written by Bunya Monogatari, a monk from Daizhuji.

So, what kind of effect does the introduction of the "western weapons" have on the Hideyoshi soldiers going to the Korean Peninsula? Before I explain this point, I will first describe how the battlefield changed with the introduction of western weapons.

Western weapons radically changed the battle style in Japan. The army that uses

---

these weapons combined with traditional bows and arrows gave it victory. In short, Hideyoshi's victory of the Sengoku war using western weapons gave him confidence to invade Korea. There are various theories about the cause of invasion (movement) of the Korean Peninsula.

The cause can be classified into the exclusion of Christian warlords (Luis Floyce), territorial expansion (Nakamura Eikita), domestic centralization (Junosuke Sasaki, Naohiro Asashi), Sou Noriyuki (Hisashi Fujiki), and the New East Asia order (Shosuke Murai). In any case, an army armed with western weapons must be a major factor for invasion.

Furthermore, it is believed Hideyoshi learned about the movement of people from the merchants and missionaries who kept coming from the West during the Great voyage era. In the Japanese year of Tensho 10 (1582), Japan sent a Tensho Ambassador Juvenile Envoy to Rome.

Hideyoshi was also interested in the movement of people via ships. He was trying to get a ship in preparation for the Imjin War. According to "Nihon Saishi history," Hideyoshi intended to conquer China after uniting Gaspal Coelho, the deputy director of the Jesuit Association with his younger brother Hidehito. That was why Hideyoshi asked to arrange 2,000 vessels including two large and powerful Portuguese war ships. It is written that if the conquest of China goes well, he would allow Christianity to propagate in China.

Thus, Hideyoshi gained confidence in battle by acquiring western weapons, which can be said is a product of the great voyage era. At the same time, he also learned that people were being moved by the southern slave trade. At the preparation stage of Imjin War, he also tried to acquire ships which transported tools. It can be said that Hideyoshi gained the knowledge to the weapons of the great voyage era, the movement of people, the movement of tools and started the Imjin War.

## 1-2 Political situations in East Asia in the latter 16th century

There was a unique political order established within East Asia, especially between Korea and China (Myung) before the Great Voyage era. This was a tributary relationship established benefitting China. For example, Ri Seonggyeo, the founder who established the Korean dynasty asked for a statement from Myung to decide the name of Choseon.

To Choseon, China was a religious sector. Indeed, Choseon sent an envoy of Choseon Yeon Kyung Sa(朝鮮燕京使) to China to determine their intention and to maintain the relationship. However, in the latter half of the 16th century, Myung emerged



in the northeastern part of China and could not effectively cope with the movement of the Manchurian tribe who had strengthened its power.

Meanwhile, in 779, Japan has not publicly interacted with the Korean Peninsula after Kyun Sin La Sa(遣新羅使) was abolished. However, in the Japanese year of Ouei 26 (1419), the former Korean correspondent who started with Ouei no Wako traveled back and forth, maintaining an interlocking relationship.

After that, Hideyoshi who was conquering many lands in the Sengoku period suggested the invasion of Choseon in the Japanese year of Tensho 15 (1587), when he was dispatched to Kyushu and got Shimazu Yoshihisa to surrender. The following year, upon the request of So, he dispatched a mission from Tsushima to Korea. In July of the same year, while Hideyoshi was being dispatched in the Kanto region, Hwang Yun-gil and Kim Seong-il arrived in Kyoto from Choseon. In November, Hideyoshi met the envoy of Choseon.

In 1592, Hideyoshi started the Imjin War, when the Hideyoshi Army (Japanese) invaded Choseon (movement). Hideyoshi asked for "Ga Do Ib Myung(仮途入明)" from Choseon which he utilized as the way to enter Myung and "Jeong Myung Hyang Do(征明嚮導)". He also asked for a guide to enter Myung, however, this was unacceptable. For Myung, the stability of Choseon was important. Thus, to maintain its status as a religious country and to protect the order of East Asia, Myung had to enter the Imjin War (movement).

## Chapter 2 Migration and settlers of the Hideyoshi Army and the Myung Army to the Korean Peninsula

### 2-1. Japanese settlers and their activities

On April 13, the first year of Bunroku, the Hideyoshi army started invading Korea. First, they gathered troops led by each military commander in Nagoya, invaded Busan via Iki and Tsushima. In this Bunroku no Eki, ten battalions totaling 158,700 soldiers joined the invasion, with the soldiers forced to mobilize (movement).

The Hideyoshi army landed in Busan, made Busan Castle fall, and then attacked Donglae Castle. In April, Sayaka (1571 - 1642) was exiled with his soldiers. Although it is not certain which war he was active in, according to "Musashido Collection," he wrote that he "Became a farmer of Toho country (Choseon)." Thus, he decided his settlement in Choseon on his own free will.

---

After this, Sayaka joined the Korean side and played an active role in fighting against the Hideyoshi army. He taught the army western weapons and artillery techniques. In addition, it is believed that Sayemo (? ~ 1636) also surrendered to Korea along with Sayaka. As he has the same family name, presumably, he fought under the command of Sayaka.

According to the "Choseon Dynasty Record," in 1595, Josalang and Nogoyeomun surrendered. In particular, following Keicho no Eki, the number of people from the Hideyoshi army who surrendered increased. It is said more than 10,000 people including Seoiso and Mdasiji surrendered.

## 2-2. Working with Chinese settlers and their activities

After the Imjin War broke out, Hanseong (currently Seoul) was conquered by the Hideyoshi Army. Seon-gwan evacuated and asked for Myung reinforcements. In July 1592, So Seung Hun of Yo Yang Bu Chong Byung(遼陽副總兵) led 5,000 soldiers and attacked the Hideyoshi army who were occupying the Pyongyang Castle, However, they did not succeed.

In December of the same year, Lee Yeo Song led 43,000 soldiers and crossed the Aprok river. At the same time, Cheon Manli (1543 -?) and his two sons Cheon Sang (1558~?) and Cheon Hee was sent to Choseon as Jo Byung Lyung Lyung Yang Sa(調兵嶺糧使) as well as Chong Dok Jang(總督將).

In January of the following year, Lee Yeosong's Myung Army and Korean Army attacked Pyongyang Castle and successfully repelled Konishi, the warrior of the Hideyoshi army. This warrior of the Hideyoshi army who invaded various parts of the Korean Peninsula retreated in late January to Han Castle. Cheon Manli began attacking Pyongyang castle, and in Keicho no Eki as well as Battle of Ulsan Castle.

In January of the same year, Doo Sachung also participated in the recapture of Pyongyang Castle with Lee Yeosong and continued fighting all the way to Kaesong castle. However, in the battle of the Byeok Jekwan, he was defeated by the Hideyoshi army, and Doo Sachung was found responsible and was to be beheaded. However, he was rescued and returned home.

In the Japanese year of Keicho 3 (1598), Admiral Chen Yong, brother-in-law, joined his two sons Du Shan and Du Yuan, and repelled the Hideyoshi army in the Russian naval battle.

Thus, during the Imjin War, Cheon Manli and Doo Sachung fought boldly under the command of Myung Army. Like the Hideyoshi Army, the Myung Army including Cheon Manli, Doo Sachung, etc. was forcibly mobilized (moved) to the Korean battlefield and settled in the Korean Peninsula.

### Chapter 3 Japanese and Myung who settled in Korea

As Sayaka was exiled to Korea and decided to settle down, the king of Choseon gave Sayaka a surname, Kim and a Kim Hae of Original Region(本貫). This gift is called Sa Seong Kim Hae Kim Si(賜姓金海金氏) and as for her first name, Chungseon was given. So her name has changed from Sayaka to Kim Chae-young. Pen name(字) is JSeon Ji(善之), Pseudonym is Mo Ha Dang(慕夏堂), King was gave Si Heon Dae Bu(資憲大夫).

In 1603, after the Imjin War ended, Kim Chae-young voluntarily joined the army after learning that Manchuria was being invaded at the border. She defended the frontier for more than ten years until 1614. Following this, she was involved in " Lee Koal's Revolt (1624: Koshi Year)" and "Byeong Ja Ho Ran (1636)". Kim Chae-young became known as the "Imperialist of the 3rd Tribe" due to the Imjin War, Revolt of Kosi (Lee Koal's Revolt) 、 and Byeong Ja Ho Ran.

After her military service, Kim Chae-young was sent back to civilian life after returning to Tomoga-dong, Gyeongsangbuk-do District, Gyeongsangbuk-do, home of her settlement. Today, its descendants number about 7,500 people.

Sayeomo was also given a surname and first name from the king of Korea. It was Kim Seong-in. And his son was named Kim Kui-seong. In 1620, was gave Ga Seon Dae Bu(嘉善大夫) of Dong Ji Jung Chu Bu Sa(同知中樞府事).

Kim Seong-in fought with the Hideyoshi army under the direction of Kim Chae-young during the Imjin War and fought with the Qing Army during the Byeong Ja Ho Ran. He died in Gyeonggi Province. The area where Kim Seong-in settled was Gyeongsangbuk-do Aobo-gun. Currently, at Hambakkol (함박골) and Jumonikol (주머니골), their descendants live and maintain their ancestral tombs. Actually, their tombs are 7km from where Kim Tae-young and Kim Jang-jin settled.

From this, we can see that Kim Tae-young and Kim Jang-jin were involved in not only the Imjin War but also later in the situation of Korea.

The other people who surrendered were relocated to Gyeongsangdo. They were then

moved to Han Castle due to the famine in the south, and the rebellion. In the process, people with access and knowledge of technology remained at Han Castle while the others moved to both Pyeong An Do and Hamkyeong Do. For this reason, there were very few Japanese who surrendered in south of the Korean Peninsula. They were unhappy to move to a remote border in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula. In 1624, it is understood that 130 Japanese people who surrendered were participating in the " Lee Koal's Revolt " that occurred in both regions.

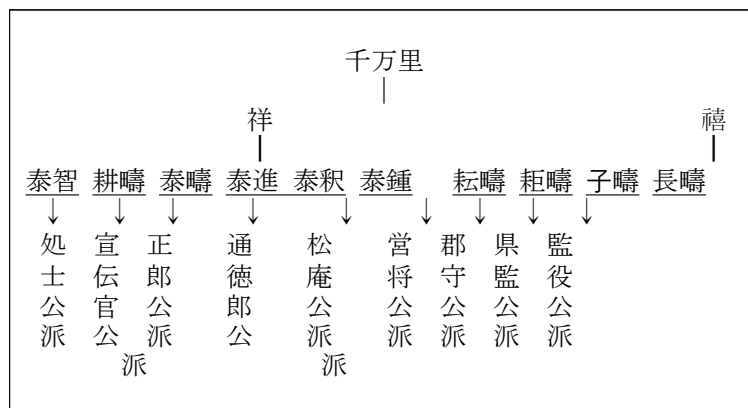
### 3-2. Cheon Manli and Doo Sachung

When Hideyoshi started the Imjin War and invaded Korea, the Korean King's family made a request to Myung for reinforcement to help repel Hideyoshi's invasion. Thus, Myung dispatched its army to Korea.

After the Imjin War ended and the Myung soldiers returned home. However, Cheon Manli decided to remain in Korea and settled down with his two sons. His ancestors were born in the area of Jong Buk San Man In Am(終北山万刃巖) in the Sichuan Province in China. Since his descendants lived in the area called Lianyang for a period, when deciding to settle in Korea, he decided Yeung Yang of Original Region(本貫).

Cheon Manli's descendants in Korea are called Cheon of Yeung Yang. He also became the founder of the family tree in Korea. The Korean King gave Cheon Manli the 「Hwa San Kong(花山公)」 family seal along with 30 rice fields. Here is the genealogy of Cheon Manli after he settled in Korea.

Cheon's Family Tree



Cheon Manli's settled in Joen La Buk Do Nam Won Si Kum Ji Myun Bang Con Li, Cheon Sang's settled in Kyung Sang Nam Do Koseong Gun Donghae Myung Jang Joa Li. This means him and his 103,000 descendants were granted residence in the south of the Korean Peninsula.

Next, I'll talk about Doo Sachung who joined the Myung Dynasty as part of reinforcements during the Imjin war. According to 『Do Reong Sa Si Se Bo(杜陵杜氏世譜)』, "a small Chinese (Korean), but not a savage man from far away" decided to settle in Korea. It indicated that he disliked being under the rule of Qing. Original Region(本貫)is Do Reong of San Seo Seong(山西省), Doo Sachung is the 22nd descendant of the Du Bo.

Korea gave Doo Sachung Sik Eub in the Daegu area. His pseudonym 「Mo Myung(慕明)」 means in remembrance of the Myung dynasty, and he named his village 「Dae Myung」. Today, the remains of "Dae Myung Dong" are still standing. The home of the settlement was Daegu City Man Chon Dong and Dae Myung Dong area. It is said that his descendants currently number about 500 people.

In short, people like Cheon Manli and Doo Sachung who decided to settle in Korea became the forefathers of the South Korean peninsula. This also takes into account the relationship with the new Qing dynasty.

Table 1. Other China who decided to settle in Korea

本貫	定住始祖	定住地	備考
浙江片氏	片喝頌	慶州	慶長の役の提督
蘇州賈氏	賈維	蔚山	
浙江劉氏	劉億壽	居昌	
浙江施氏	施文用	星州	
浙江徐氏	徐鶴	星州	
広東陳氏	陳泳	海南	陳璘提督の孫
広州董氏	董一元	鎮安	慶長の役の提督
海州石氏	石星	星州	明の兵部尚書
浙江紫氏	紫登科	泰仁	
浙江張氏	張海濱	軍威	慶長の役の総兵把掾

The others settlers in Korea and their descendants are shown below. Most of the Myung settlers in Korea kept their original Chinese last names.

---

## Conclusion

The Imjin War was a conflict between Hideyoshi and the traditional political order in East Asia, which influenced the Great voyage era. In other words, it can be said that the new order of the voyage era and the old order of the seal relationship in East Asia collided. During this period, the Japanese and Myung migrated to the Korean Peninsula.

Hideyoshi started the Imjin War due to the influence of the Great Voyage era. It was a time of new weapons, western weapons, and the movement of people. There is evidence of this from the fact that they used ships as a means of transport.

Therefore, Hideyoshi caused the Imjin War by invading Korea, forcibly moving the soldiers to the Korean Peninsula. The soldiers that surrendered eventually settled in the area. Mobilization of the army was a forced movement of soldiers to Korea, but they settled in Korea on their own free will.

Meanwhile, the Myung Army also moved a group of soldiers to the Korean Peninsula to fight the Hideyoshi army, and protect Korea. In the process, it became the savior of Korea. Even so, the Myung soldiers were forced to move, and they later settled in Korea on their own free will, just like Hideyoshi's soldiers.

The soldiers from the Hideyoshi army who surrendered to Korea, later on fought against the Hideyoshi army under the direction of the Korean army during Imjin War. Meanwhile, the Myung soldiers who settled in Korea did not return home after the end of the war and expressed their intention to emigrate and settle in Korea.

People who settled in Korea from the Hideyoshi Army dispersed and settled in the Eub(邑) of Gyeongsangno, but most of the people moved to the two northern regions and lived there. The people with knowledge and access to technology living at Han Castle taught their skills to people. They also participated in the suppression of the rebellion in Korea. The Japanese who played an active part changed their Japanese name to their Korean "gifted name" as well as Original Region(本貫). Meanwhile, the Chinese (Myung) settled in Korea and kept their Chinese surname.

Sayaka and Sayeomo, representative figures who were exiled from the Hideyoshi Army to Korea, were given surnames by the Korean King and became Kim Tae-young and Kim Jang-jin. There are many other who have a gifted name, but their records have been lost through time and it is difficult to confirm their descendants. Fortunately, as many people who settled from Myung are using their last names, they are able to locate

their descendants, among them Cheon Manli and Doo Sachung are famous figures.

Kim Tae-young and Kim Jang-jin who are identified as descendants from the Japanese and Myung in Korea, with Cheon Manli and Doo Sachung, created shrines (the shrine room) and care for their family lines, together with the tombs. In general, Japanese who settled in the Korean peninsula tended to immigrate to both regions and Myung to the southern region.

However, Kim Jong-jin who greatly contributed to the Choseon dynasty, settled in the southern region even though they were Japanese.

Finally, in the future, I would like to research the Koreans who were taken away by the Hideyoshi Army and settled in Japan, the people sold to the Southeast Asian slavery market, and the Japanese who brought China into the future.

---

# Trusting rather than understanding others: Another intercultural cosmopolitan education

*Yuzo Hirose\**  
*Japan*

## Introduction

It is still difficult to abandon the concept of cosmopolitanism, although it has been strongly and heavily criticized for its endorsement of Eurocentric colonial universalism, since cosmopolitanism seems to possess the capability to confront us with evil, conflict, and war. Cosmopolitan education, one of the actual forms of cosmopolitanism, has been examined from various perspectives, ranging from the application of a certain concept of cosmopolitanism onto education to cultivating humanity, tolerance, and oppressing negative feelings such as anger and aggression. These types of cosmopolitan education all attempt to provide relief from an egoistic individual and closed community. However, these types of cosmopolitan education tend to disregard human relationships and cultural backgrounds of people, which leads us to make cosmopolitan education transcend our actual ordinary life in this age of globalization. In this paper, I attempt to open a field of practical cosmopolitan education through a consideration of the art of trust, thereby suggesting another possibility for actual cosmopolitan education.

First of all, I begin by providing an overview of the discussion on cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education (section 1) and move to the issue of trust in human relationships (section 2). Then, I suggest a uniqueness of trust in education as an asymmetrical power of human formation (section 3), and consider that trusting others with different cultural backgrounds contributes to another practical cosmopolitan education (section 4).

---

\* Kyoto University, 606-8501 京都市左京区吉田本町, Kyoto, Japan, yuzo.hirose@gmail.com



## I. Cosmopolitanism and Cosmopolitan Education

Cosmopolitan thought has been discussed since classical antiquity by philosophers and thinkers, such as Diogenes, Cicero, and Seneca, and has been tested from different perspectives ranging from politics and economics to ethics and philosophy. Growing out of this historical stream of cosmopolitan thought, contemporary cosmopolitanism has a common basic characteristic. Such cosmopolitanism is largely regarded as the thought or theory that all human beings—regardless of nationality, race, and gender—belong to one world and share basic, common ideas, although individualism, egalitarianism, and universalism also intrude into cosmopolitanism in different ways<sup>1</sup>).

Despite the various interpretations of cosmopolitanism, an accusation against basic cosmopolitanism has been made with regard to the fact that it tends to ignore local obligations and community, underestimating the value of local diversity (Kymlicka 1995, MacIntyre 1995). Although Nussbaum had defended universal cosmopolitanism by referring to Stoic and Kantian philosophy (Nussbaum 1997), she could not also help revising her position after taking various local values into account (Nussbaum 2012, Schuman 2016). Her thinking about cosmopolitanism now contains elements of both universalism and localism, since she believes that a universal value such as humanity is not primarily opposed to localism, which can be regarded as a modified form of thin cosmopolitanism<sup>2</sup>).

Cosmopolitan education is understood formally as an application of one of these cosmopolitanisms, mainly a universal cosmopolitanism, that is, education cultivates universal human dignity and humanity and respects the human rights that all human beings should hold. Osler and Starkey estimate the value of human rights for cosmopolitan education, in contrast with citizenship education, which just emphasizes status in a certain community, a feeling of attachment toward the community, and practice within it (Osler and Starkey 2005). Universal human rights in cosmopolitan education must not be regulated within such a community. Nussbaum advocates cosmopolitan education as a clear application of her characteristic universal cosmopolitanism which focuses on a universal human nature based on Stoic and Kantian philosophy. She attempts

---

1) This cosmopolitanism has also been accomplished in two different versions: thick cosmopolitanism (strong, strict) (Singer 2002, O'Neill 2000, Nussbaum 1996) and thin cosmopolitanism (moderate, weak) (Scheffler 2001). Thick cosmopolitanism generally alleges that all rooted things at the local level—such as loyalties, commitments, and preferences—can only be justified by reference to all human beings. In contrast, thin cosmopolitanism claims that the common and universal idea shared in one particular world is not necessarily the ultimate source of legitimization. This version of cosmopolitanism insists that “one’s local attachments and affiliations must always be balanced and constrained by considerations of the interests of other people” (Scheffler 2001, p. 115).

2) Derived from this cosmopolitanism, we can find several further concrete forms of cosmopolitanism, such as moral (especially considering human rights), political, cultural, economic or commercial, and epistemological cosmopolitanism.

---

to oppress anger and aggression toward certain people through the rational modification of images of others in encounters with them (Nussbaum 1997, p. 48). They both describe cosmopolitan education as an applied practice of universal cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitan education for them is one practical example of cosmopolitanism in the educational field, which implies that they are not committed to children in developmental processes. In contrast, Hansen is engaged more in the educational field from the beginning and indicates that the crucial element of cosmopolitan education is “to balance reflective openness to the new with reflective loyalty to the known” (Hansen 2011, p. 1). He maintains his own cosmopolitan education, taking historical commitment into account, and characterizes it as the art of human existence: openness and tolerance. Hansen does not restrict himself to mere universal cosmopolitan education, rather he proceeds further and extracts common features of openness and tolerance from the idea of cosmopolitanism. The problem of these discussions on cosmopolitan education, however, is that they consider education with the idea of cosmopolitanism and disregard human existence in our actual world, although Hansen refers to general relational ideas of openness and tolerance: namely, the human relationships including even in cultural contexts. Contemporary cosmopolitan education is nothing but education that assumes one’s formation with others in different cultural backgrounds. Consequently, I extend the field of discussion on practical cosmopolitan education through an examination of the art of trust in human relationships so that cosmopolitan education is revealed as an actual contemporary education.

## II. Trust in General Human Relationships

Trust has been considered in various spheres such as sociology, psychology, and philosophy. Luhmann suggests that trust “reduces social complexity by going beyond available information and generalizing expectations of behavior in that it replaces missing information with an internally guaranteed security” (Luhmann 1979, p. 93). This definition extracts trust from actual human relationships and assumes the form of a social structure affected by trust. On the other hand, trust in psychology is described in human mental conditions as follows: “a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviors of another” (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, Camerer 1998, p. 395). The philosophical definition of trust abstracts these trusts and gives us just one form of them: A trusts B to C if (1) A entrusts B with a valued thing C; (2) A leaves B some control over how to take care of C; (3) A is confident that B is competent in taking care of C; and (4) A has confidence

in B's goodwill toward her or at least does not expect ill will or indifference from B (Baier, A. 1986)<sup>3</sup>).

According to Baier, two components are indispensable for trusting others, namely, competence and goodwill, although additional processes and conditions are needed. Hawley summarizes these comprehensive definitions as follows: “when we trust someone, we expect them to fulfil their commitments“ with goodwill (Hawley 2012, p. 8), but what I find lacking in this definition is that it does not take mutual understanding between the two parties involved into account, since we need to know whether one would have enough competence and goodwill or not. Moreover, without knowing someone and being known by them, we cannot express our competence and goodwill in an actual relationship. Accordingly, trust in general can be formed with the proposition that one trusts someone who has sufficient competence and goodwill to complete one’s works, while having a mutual understanding with each other.

### III. Trust in an Educational Context

Trust in an educational context is differentiated from trust in general, since the human relationship in which trust is problematized is different: the relationship between teacher (or parents) and child. For the first time in the history of philosophy of education, Pestalozzi clearly suggests the crucial role of trust in education. “Above all I tried to get trust and attachment from children and I had to do that. If it succeeded, I expected that everything could be certainly and naturally acquired” (Pestalozzi 1927, p. 8). Trust here becomes a necessary condition for the possibility of education. Pestalozzi has this in mind through his practice in an orphanage in Stans. We can find the same content in another well-known educational practice: the education of Helen Keller by Anne Sullivan. Sullivan came to Helen’s house as a house teacher when Helen, with acquired disabilities of sight, hearing, and speaking, was six years old. Helen was like a beast and did not know even the existence and meanings of a word. After struggling with Helen, Sullivan clearly realized that Helen needed to be dependent on her, if she expected to teach Helen anything (Sullivan 1905, pp. 308-309). Consequently, she made Helen totally dependent on her for 24 hours in a detached house and succeeded in making Helen dependent on and obedient to her, which brought Helen the light of words into her world. Sullivan had,

---

3) There are other definitions of trust with different emphases in philosophy: A trusts B to C if (1) A expects that B does X, and (2) A's expectation (1) is grounded in A's belief or knowledge in B's motivations (Hardin 1991). Furthermore, A trusts B to C if (1) A has an optimistic attitude about the goodwill of B; (2) A has an optimistic attitude about B's competence when it comes to B's expected behavior C; (3) A believes that B will be directly moved to C by acknowledging that A is counting on her (Jones 1996).

---

from the beginning, the intention of gaining Helen's love and confidence for the sake of teaching words; accordingly, by making Helen dependent on and obedient to her, Sullivan earned confidence and, furthermore, trust from Helen and could teach her. A child does not learn from a person whom he or she does not trust. Trust holds a fundamental power in human formation.

Associated with the power of human formation, the uniqueness of trust in education is regarded as an asymmetric relationship of trust: trust by children and excessive trust by teachers, which are, however, not completely separated from each other. With the absolute trust they have already acquired mainly beside their parents or guardians<sup>4</sup>), children do not only trust such close people but attempt to trust others such as teachers and friends, since they realize that parents are not able to accomplish all things, rather, they are also imperfect. Children ask themselves whether their teachers are trustworthy or not, checking their character and competencies both as human beings and teachers. These features of trust seem similar with that in general, but children have a clearer view of moral human beings and regard them as trustworthy. In other words, children trust others such as teachers with more strict criteria as well as with simpler and more general ones<sup>5</sup>). At the same time, children observe whether the teachers trust them or not, which is also one of their conditions for trusting teachers. This attitude of trusting children by teachers belongs to the character teachers hold.

The other side of trust in education is the trust by teachers. If children tell a lie or bully others, do teachers nevertheless need to trust them? Can we imagine teachers who do not trust children? The reason why it is not easy to assume that teachers do not trust children, or rather, distrust them, is that teachers do not confront children as ordinary people, but as teachers who teach them new things, enhance their competencies, and form their personalities through trusting them. Accordingly, if teachers are literally teachers who are obliged to educate children, then teachers must trust them. "When educators regard that this child can be trusted, is honest and has a competence to dedicate oneself to an activity, character which responds to these commitments can be awakened and strengthened in a child. Furthermore, a child being trusted by teachers, becomes the child who is trustworthy, honest and able to be devoted to an activity in reality" (Bollnow 1964, p. 47). This type of trust is qualitatively differentiated from that in general or the trust children have, since it does not matter whether children are trustworthy or not when

---

4) "An infant feels oneself as a weak existence who needs help and protection, and is supported by an adult world. However, an infant does not feel his weakness as a fault, since he knows that he is protected by adults and the help from them is natural, and therefore he trusts them. An infant appreciates them without doubt in these trust" (Bollnow 1964, p. 38).

5) Children have not just trusted teachers but tend to distrust them when they are gradually grown up and reached adolescence, for the sake of being independent from them. Trust is, in this sense, not fixed but even by itself formative and dynamic in the developmental and educational processes of children.

teachers trust them. Rather, children are transformed into trustworthy individuals and trusted through being trusted by teachers. From the perspective of teachers, the uniqueness of trust in an educational relationship is explicitly understood at this point. Namely, teachers trust children straightforwardly and unconditionally; teachers expect children to accomplish their work, to be developed much more when teachers trust them. In other words, teachers trust and if we can, they should trust children excessively and unreasonably. This tremendous trust is not separated from trust by children, rather interconnected in a sense that children can trust teachers by means of teachers' excessive trust in children.

#### IV. Trusting Others with Different Cultural Backgrounds in an Educational Context

Children have been trusted at first by parents or guardians, and subsequently by teachers and friends and others. Especially in an educational context, children are trusted by teachers unconditionally and excessively, although they do not trust teachers for the same reasons that teachers trust, since children do not have any intention of educating teachers. Consequently, children are, whether consciously or unconsciously, faced with two different types of trust, that is, trust in general and the kind they also show, and excessive and unconditional trust. Moving between these two kinds of trust, children learn how to develop relationships with others appropriately. This educational process of learning trust is associated with moral development, since relationships with others is one of the crucial issues for moral education. Besides, trusting others requires not only understanding others but furthermore, contributes to providing us with practice for cosmopolitan education.

With the absolute trust by parents or guardians and excessive trust by teachers, children begin to learn to trust others such as friends and classmates, or neighbors and so on. These are the people who are close to them or at least, whom the children more or less know. In other words, children trust others who share a same or similar cultural context and language. Trust in this meaning confines children, as a result, into a closed community. However, from a cosmopolitan perspective, children should not stay in a certain closed community, for they live not only in such a closed community, but at the same time in the whole world. Here, the issue of trust in education is connected with examining the actual practice of cosmopolitan education.

I think, trusting others with different backgrounds can show one the concrete practice

---

of cosmopolitan education. How can one trust others with different backgrounds, whom one also has difficulty to understand, since the others live in different cultures and speak different languages? What is the condition for trusting such others? How can we enhance such competencies for trusting them in an educational context? Following these questions, I clarify the meaning of trusting others with different cultural backgrounds for cosmopolitan education.

## 1. Bridging the Gap between Concrete Individuals and General Human Beings

In trusting others with different cultural backgrounds, children have to go beyond merely understanding others, since they do not share their cultural backgrounds with the others. In other words, since they cannot count on cultural backgrounds, they must accordingly see others as human beings as well as others as themselves, when they attempt to trust the others. However, if they are to trust others with different cultural backgrounds, children must not see only others as they are, but they must also stop seeing others just as abstract general human beings. The former assumes others as concrete individuals with quite mysterious backgrounds so that children find it hard to trust them. On the contrary, the latter suggests that children have to see only abstract human beings who are nothing but an idea, which cannot make them trust others. This act might be identified with not trusting others but believing things in their own heart or, accepting things blindly, which is involved in a vacant universal totalitarianism (Herder 2002, p. 329). In this respect, trusting others with different cultural backgrounds provides children with a significant opportunity for seeing both concrete individual and human beings, which leads children to approach being actual cosmopolitans.

Cosmopolitan education traditionally urges us to pay attention to human rights and dignity as merely an idea. It disregards actual concrete human beings and human relationships, which has the possibility to cause children to distort the art of life. Todd and Cavallar criticizes this point (Todd 2010; Cavallar 2015), but they do not clearly suggest how children are led to be cosmopolitan. In trusting others with different cultural backgrounds, children have to take into account both the individual they are confronted with and general human beings, combining both with each other. In this sense, trusting others with different cultural backgrounds shows an effective base of practice for cosmopolitan education.

## 2. Thinking about What it Means to be a Human Being through Attempting to Trust Others

Except in philosophical works, it is not easy for children and even for us to consider what being a human being means, since they and we are involved in ordinary life in which each concrete person is mainly problematized. Kant finally asks the fundamental question, “What is the human being?” after asking, firstly, what I can recognize, secondly, what I should do, and thirdly, what I may hope (Kant 2007). This indicates that the question on human beings is far from our ordinary experience. We often question where one is from and what kind of work one is engaged in, but not what human beings are. It is required to be relieved from oneself and one’s circumstances to reflect on the meaning of being human.

If children attempt to trust others with different cultural backgrounds, they cannot help but think what human beings are, since they are not able to rely on others as individuals nor as those with mysterious backgrounds. When they are just facing others, trying to have a mutual understanding with each other to some extent, they need not be thinking about the art of being human. On the contrary, if they are obliged to trust the others, and develop a close relationship, in order to collaborate and accomplish something together, then they attempt to consider whether they are trustworthy as human beings, which calls for an examination of what human beings primarily are.

Being confronted with such different others, children not only pay attention to cultural differences they have already acquired, but also to commonality and possibilities of sharing commonality, both of which are connected with prompting children to think about what being human means. As a matter of course, children are unlikely to have given much thought to what being human means in this process, since they have to decide trusting the others in a certain moment. Thinking about what being human means is always an ongoing and imperfect process, in cases where children attempt to trust others. In this sense, trusting others with different cultural backgrounds is an actual cosmopolitan anthropology.

## 3. Trusting Others with Different Backgrounds Leads Us to be Cosmopolitan Teachers

When confronted with others with different backgrounds, children learn to trust in different ways. They check such others from the point of view of whether they are

---

trustworthy as individuals and human beings. This situation differs from that in general, since children do not follow and understand cultural backgrounds clearly. They know to some extent how the others see things and behave in their daily life, but are almost unable to understand and accept them, for they do not share the same background. Nevertheless, children are required to attempt to trust the others when they collaborate and accomplish pressing problems together and avoid conflicting with each other during this time.

It is easy to recognize a criticism against this claim that trusting others should not be divided into trusting people in general as opposed to those with different cultural backgrounds. I agree with the fact that there are not trusts, but I insist that it is not a tiny matter to have a shared cultural background. Rather, if children do not live in a shared culture and in a common community in which the same language is used, they are radically led to take into account another element to trust.

Children notice that others with different cultural backgrounds speak different and mysterious languages and follow different customs and manners of eating, living, playing, believing, and so on, and perhaps have different-colored hair, skin, and eyes. Something is easily disagreed because of these explicit and basic but fundamental differences. It is necessary for children to have an insight into characteristic of common human beings, in order to overcome these various differences and trust them.

The problem here is that children nevertheless trust and should trust others, although children do not even grasp what human beings are. Rephrasing this, children should trust others with different cultural backgrounds straightforwardly no matter how different their cultural lives are, if they work and live together. One finds out that one aspect of trust in education can be picked out from this scenario, namely, trust by teachers toward children: the teachers should trust children excessively and unconditionally, even though children may be bad, dishonest, and not motivated enough to accomplish their work. This trust by teachers also contains the power of human formation, which is just differentiated from that for others with different cultural backgrounds, but children by themselves would be changed. However, trusting others straightforwardly approaches that by teachers, which is nothing but cosmopolitan, since they trust others without paying attention to differences such as race, nationality, and religion. It is thought that trusting others who are culturally different can be a training for becoming a cosmopolitan “teacher” who is identified not merely as a vocational teacher, but as a person capable of teaching something to others. That is, everyone can become this cosmopolitan teacher when they live in an actual community in which they live together in various ways. I situate trusting others with different cultural backgrounds as a touchstone for being cosmopolitan.



## V. Conclusion

We usually try to understand others by listening to their voices, translating their thought processes, and communicating with them. However, it is almost impossible for us to understand others, since we do not understand even ourselves. Understanding others is from the first step insufficient. Rather, we need to go beyond understanding others; we need to trust them. Trusting others with different cultural backgrounds urges children to think about what being human means and to decide to trust them, if they can rely on the others as human beings, which is an actual starting point of the practice of cosmopolitan education.

Consequently, how can children decide to trust such others, by thinking about what being human means? They need to have experiences of thinking about what and how human beings think and live in this world. In a school, we cannot find such independent courses on thinking the meaning of being human; rather, we are able to touch its existence indirectly by being engaged mainly in history, language, and art, which are unfortunately separated from each other instead of being comprehensively connected. I propose that one can become much closer to other human beings through a comprehensive study on human beings, that is, geography in a broad sense, since geography organically deals with everything on the earth, including fundamentally comprehensive human beings and their lives (Hirose 2017). A new phase can be suggested for practical cosmopolitan education: lessons of trusting others with different cultural backgrounds with the help of a basic geography education.

---

## References

- Baier, Annette (1986). Trust and antitrust, *Ethics* 96, pp. 90-111
- Bollnow, Otto Friedrich (1964). *Die pädagogische Atmosphäre*, Quelle & Meyer, Heidelberg.
- Cavallar, Georg (2015). *Kant's Embedded Cosmopolitanism: History, Philosophy, and Education for World Citizens*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Hansen, David (2011). *The Teacher and the World: A Study of Cosmopolitanism as Education*, Routledge, New York.
- Hardin, Russell (1991). *Trust and Trustworthiness*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.
- Hawley, Katherine (2012). *Trust: a very short introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Herder, Johann Gottfried (2002). *Philosophical Writings*, translated and edited by Michael N. Forster, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hirose, Yuzo (2017). *Kant's Cosmopolitan Geography Education: Considering the Meanings of Human Formation*, Minerva publisher, Kyoto.
- Jones, Karen (1996). Trust as an Affective Attitude, *Ethics* 88, pp. 102-123.
- Kant, Immanuel (2007). "Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View," in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant: Anthropology, History and Education*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kymlicka, Will (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship in A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Luhmann, Nicholas (1979). *Trust and Power*, John Wiley, Chichester.
- MacIntyre, Alasdair (1995). "Is Patriotism a Virtue?" in Ronald Beiner (ed.) *Theorizing Citizenship*, State University of New York Press, Albany, pp. 209–228.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. (1996). *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, Beacon Press, Boston.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. (1997). "Kant and Cosmopolitanism," in Bohman, James and Lutz-Bachmann, Matthias (eds.), *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp. 25-57.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. (2012). "Teaching Patriotism: Love and Critical Freedom", *University of Chicago Law Review*, 79-1, pp. 213-250.
- O'Neill, Onora (2000). *Bounds of Justice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Osler, Audrey and Starkey, Hugh (2005). *Changing Citizenship: Democracy and Inclusion in Education*, Open University Press, New York.
- Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich (1927). *Sämtliche Werke Bd. 13*, hrsg. von A. Buchenau, e. Spranger, H. Stettbacher, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Rousseau, D., Sitkin, S., Burt, R., & Camerer, C. Not so different after all: A cross-discipline view of trust, *Academy of Management Review*, 23 (3). pp. 393-404.

- Scheffler, Samuel (2001). "Conceptions of Cosmopolitanism," in *Boundaries and Allegiances*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 111-130.
- Schumann, Claudia (2016). "Which Love of Country? Tensions, Questions and Contexts for Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism", *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 50, No. 2, pp. 261-271.
- Singer, Peter (2002). *One World: The Ethics of Globalisation*, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Sullivan, Anne (1905). „A Supplementary Account of her Education, including Passages from the Reports and Letters of her Teacher”, in H. Keller, *The Story of My Life*, Doubleday, Page & Company, New York, pp. 283-431.
- Todd, Sharon (2010). *Toward an Imperfect Education: Facing Humanity, Rethinking Cosmopolitanism*, Routledge, New York.

---

# The minority nationalities in the national chronicles of China

*Jingjiang Zhu*

*School of Ethnology and Sociology, Zhongyang Minzu University*

## ABSTRACT

Image is a unique lens to study Tibetan frontier societies. From 1900s to present, authors with various backgrounds created numerous works about real historical events and figures in a specific time period. This text uses images about Tibetan frontier societies created in the past century. I will discuss the societies and cultures reflected in these images and reveal the positions, methodologies, and power relationship behind them.

**Keywords:** Tibetan frontier societies, visual ethnography, empowering effect of images, autonomous narrative.

From the end of the nineteenth century until the first decade of twenty-first century, Tibetan frontier societies had gone through radical social changes because of its complicated geographical, geopolitical, and ethnical features. Tibetan frontier means Tibetan communities in Yunnan, Sichuan, Gansu, and Qinghai Provinces. These places usually are the theaters of the collisions between Tibetan and other, sometimes foreign, cultures. A hundred years of cultural interactions had left us plenty of visual evidence on customs, religious beliefs, ways of life, and skills of cultivation. We can see them as visual records of the social changes in Tibetan frontier societies.

Generally speaking, one hundred years of “Tibetan frontier images” can be divided into three phases. The first phase was from late Qing to early Republic times (1900-1949). I term it the period of “intruders’ gaze.” The second roughly spanned from 1950 to 2000, termed as the period of “elites’ examinations” in this text. The third phase started from 2001. It can be seen as the germinal phase of “autonomous narrative.”

This text examines the images of Tibetan frontier societies. I will give an overview the differences in the images created in the three phases I listed, uncover the cultural standpoints and agendas underneath the images, and the power differential created by the camera.

### **1900-1949: INTRUDERS’ GAZE**

Back at the beginning of twentieth century, photography and film-making were the synonyms of the exotic zoetropes imported from foreign places. Because few Chinese people had the skills to operate the equipment, most early authors of “Tibetan frontier images” were Western ambassadors, journalists, explorers, and missionaries. They intrepidly marched into places considered wild by both the Han and the Tibetans, i. e. West of Sichuan, Northwest of Yunnan, South of Gansu, and Qinghai and made the first visual documents of local life and people.

Perhaps the Frenchman named Auguste François (1857-1935) was the “founding father” of this group of Westerners. He was the French Ambassador in Yunnan from 1899 to 1904. He liked photography and was equipped with skills to make glass plate negatives. He took thousands of photographs when he was traveling in Yunnan, Sichuan, and Guizhou, documenting geographical features as well as social lives. His traveling itinerary “started from Kunming and via Chuxiong, he reached Yuanmou. From there he followed Jinsha Jiang and reached Ta-liang and Xiao-liang Mountains. He arrived in Kangding after crossing Luding Bridge before reaching the intersection of Sichuan and Tibet. He took photos of Yi and Tibetan Peoples and caravans<sup>1</sup>.” Because the frontiers

---

of Tibet did not fall into the jurisdiction of François, majority of his pictures were taken in Kunming, East and South of Yunnan.

### Illustration 1. Porters with straw hats. Auguste François on the way from Yunnan to Sichuan, 1903)

Auguste François's photographs were travel-logs capturing the fleeting moments of tea trade on the frontier without touching upon the core of social and cultural aspects there. However, the situation began to change since the 1920s. Increasing numbers of Westerners established close connections with the Tibetan societies in southwest and northwest China. They lived there for a long time to carry out explorations and interview as well as spread religious teachings. Joseph F. Rock (1884-1962), the Austrian-American botanist, cultural scholar, and photographer, was the first person who introduced the mysterious places on the long border of Han and Tibet to the world. He went to Sichuan, Gansu, and Qinghai.

Joseph Rock arrived in Yunnan in 1922 with the tasks assigned by US Department of Agriculture. Besides collecting specimens, he wrote nine reports with illustrations for National Geographic Magazine, introducing the majestic geography and exotic life in southwest and northwest China. The first report was "Banishing the Devil of Disease among the Nashi" (1924: 473-499). It was about Naxi People in Lijiang and their Dongba religion. The other eight reports are, in chronological order: "Land of the Yellow Lama: National Geographic Society Explorer Visits the Strange Kingdom of Muli, Beyond the Likiang Snow Range of Yunnan, China" (1924: 447-491), "Experiences of a Lone Geographer: An American Agricultural Explorer Makes His Way through Brigand-Infested Central China En Route to the Amne Machin Range, Tibet" (1925: 331-347), "Through the Great River Trenches of Asia: National Geographic Society Explorer Follows the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salwin Through Mighty Gorges" (1926: 133-186), "Life among the Lamas of Choni: Describing the Mystery Plays and Butter Festival in the Monastery of an Almost Unknown Tibetan Principality in Kansu Province, China" (1928: 569-619), "Seeking the Mountains of Mystery: An Expedition on the China-Tibet Frontier to the Unexplored Amnyi Machen range, One of Whole Peaks Rivals Everest" (1930:131-185), "Glories of the Minya Konka: Magnificent Snow Peaks of the China-Tibetan Border are Photographed at Close Range by a National Geographic Society Expedition" (1930: 385-437), "Konka Risumgongba, Holy Mountain of the Outlaws" (1931:1-65), "Sungmas: the Living Oracles of the Tibetan Church" (1935: 475-486). All of them were based on his own experience in Tibetan frontier societies. National Geographic Magazine also

---

1) Pu, Yuanhua. 1998. "Auguste François and His Old Chinese Photos." *Wenshi Jinghua*, vol. 11, p. 21.

published Rock's hundreds of photographs. Through these photographs, Western readers first received the knowledge about natural wonders such as Three Parallel Rivers in Yunnan, Minya Konka in Sichuan, Amne Machin in Qinghai as well as religious festivals like cham (religious dancing) in Tibetan Buddhism monasteries in Gansu and Yunnan and sungma (Tibetan word for medium).

What distinguishes Joseph Rock from other Western travelers is that he went to Yunnan, Sichuan, Gansu, and Qinghai. The broadness of his travels and the remoteness of the locations were unprecedented. The publicity of National Geographical Magazine facilitated the wide spread of his writings. This enabled the West to have the rough impressions on the societies on the border of Han and Tibet. Rock always took pride in "being the first white man to arrive in a place." Second, Joseph Rock had both the skills and equipment of conducting scientific surveys. Consequently, his activities carried scientific values. Although he miscalculated the height of the peak of Konka Mountain, the data and specimens he collected were important primary sources to study geography, zoology, and botany of the area.

More important is that Rock took large numbers of photos on environment as well as social life. He even tried to use color. A scholar on Rock wrote, "Rock used to process negatives during the journey. Once he wrote, 'we built a dark room in a tent to develop the photos' in the forest." He used cotton to filter water and burned yak dung to heat developing solutions up to 65F. One of his assistants used cardboard to drive away flies to make sure the flies did not get stuck on the light-sensitive emulsion (1998: 30). From Rock's surviving photos we can see the spectacular dharma assembly in Choni, Gansu. There was the capturing scene of the sacrifice of Amne Machin. We can see Tibetan hunters from Tewa County in south Gansu and women's lavish clothing in Golong, Qinghai.

Although Joseph Rock dedicated his life to the study of Naxi People's Dongba religion in Lijiang, Yunnan, his works done in Tibetan frontiers received more attention from contemporary scholars. *Lamas, Princes, and Brigands: Joseph Rock's Photographs of the Tibetan Borderlands of China* gives detailed and comprehensive discussions on these images. Besides, a great number of his photos have been digitized and archived on the websites of Harvard University, Smithsonian, and National Geography. These are for people to look, examine, and study.

---

## Illustration 2. Lamas of Karma Kagyu [Black Hat sect] were carrying out religious activities. Joseph Rock, 1925)

Before 1949, Christian and Catholic missionaries also went to Tibetan frontiers and lived there for considerably longer time. Among them was an American missionary named M. G. Gribenow. He lived in an area close to Labrang in south Gansu for twenty-seven years (1922-1949). He gave himself a Tibetan name, Sherab Dangbe, and a Chinese one, Ji Weishan. Since Gribenow had been in Amdo for so long, he had close relationships with local political and religious leaders. He took about three thousand photos in those years documenting one quarter of a century of changing times. The abbot of Labrang, the 5th living buddha Gyamo Shang, was deeply amazed by Gribenow's artful photographs and tried to learn the skills from him<sup>2</sup>). Gribenow often used photo exhibitions pass religious teachings. Xiahe County Gazetteer wrote, "Father Ji Weishan with Labrang Monastery built an inn in the courtyard for the nomads to stay. There was fodder in it and nomads liked it very much. He also built a library for the display of photos featuring Tibetan people's lives and other objects<sup>3</sup>." Later these photos were collected and published under the title *Labrang: A Tibetan Buddhist Monastery at the Crossroads of Four Civilizations*. It told the stories of the tumultuous times between 1920 and 1940 on the Tibetan frontier with words and images.

## Illustration 3. A large crowd of Tibetan people waited in front of Labrang for a ceremony. Gribenow, time unspecified.)

Auguste François, Joseph Rock, and M. G. Gribenow each represented one category of Westerners working in Tibetan frontiers during early twentieth century, Western officials, explorers, and missionaries. They came from different backgrounds yet all chose to use photography to document when they had seen and experienced. These photos became important evidence if we want to trace the process of social changes in those societies.

Let us examine the standpoint they took. All three of them started with Western political and cultural perspectives. There photos were for colonial policies, academic activities, public curiosity, and spread of Christian teachings. The Tibetan society in those images was exotic and barbaric. It was a culture of "the Other" which was so urgently

---

2) Please see *Gansu wenshi ziliao xuanji*, vol. 13. Huang Zhengqing and the 5th Gyamo Shang, p. 41 and p. 105. Huang Zhengqing mentioned that "the 5th Gyamo Sheng often talked to him (Ji Weishan), asking about foreign countries and Christian teachings. He also learned photography from him."

3) Chen, Shengbo. 2007. "Jindai Gannan de Jidujiao chuanbo." *Lanzhou Daxue xuebao (sheke ban)*, p. 6. (Dissemination of Christianity in south Gansu.)



needed to be salvaged by Christianity and modern civilizations.

During the 1930s, especially after the 918 Incident, China gradually lost her territory in the east. As a result, universities and research institutions had to move to Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou, and Gansu. Research on west “frontiers” became a fashion in the academia. The works by photographer Zhuang Xueben and film scholar Sun Mingjing should be brought to our attention.

Zhuang Xueben had been wondering in Tibetan communities in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, Xikang, and Yunnan from 1934 to 1945. He had taken tens of thousands of photos and wrote millions of essays, documenting the things he had seen to details. Zhuang Xueben’s photos can often be seen in well-circulated illustrated newspapers such as *Liangyou* and *Zhonghua*. He held a solo exhibition in 1941 in Chongqing, Chengdu, and Ya’an, attracting numerous audience. His exhibition played an important role in helping Chinese know the political significance and cultural heritage in Tibetan frontier societies.

Sun Mingjing was a professor of film at Jinling University. He met Zhuang Xueben on a road to Xikang. He is equally important in Chinese film history. Sun Mingjing only did research in some Tibetan communities in Xikang in 1939. Yet his activities yielded the first images of Tibetan frontier societies made by Chinese people. These include eight silent black-and-white documentaries: *Xikang yipie* (A Glance at Xikang), *Ya’an biancha* (Tea Trade on Ya’an Frontier), *Chuankang dao shang* (On the Chuankang Road), *Tiekuang Jinkuang* (Iron Ore, Gold Mine), *Shenghui Kangding* (Kangding, the Municipality), *Caoyuan fengguang* (Scenery on the Steppe), *Kangren shenghuo* (Life of People In Kham).

These documentaries gave first sketches of Xikang, a Province adjacent to Tibetan, including its politics, economy, natural resources, daily life, and religious beliefs. Documentary films do more than photos in the sense that they preserve more comprehensive information on time and space and capture actions in motion. The latter helps to arouse audience’s sympathy more effectively. Besides documentaries mentioned above, Sun Mingjing took 870 photographs, later published under the title *Xikang*. “In addition to labeling and annotating the negatives and negative bags, developed photos have been into ten separate cases with annotations on each one of them<sup>4</sup>.”

The images made by Zhuang Xueben and Sun Mingjing represented the first visual

---

4) Sun Mingjing (photography), Sun Jiansan (texts). 2010. *Dingge Xikang (Capturing Xikang)*. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, p.002.

---

encounters between urban intellectuals and traditional Tibetan frontier societies. Compared to their Western counterparts, Zhuang Xueben and Sun Mingjing were more concerned with being equals of the people they documented. They made appreciation of a local culture their priority. They did not bring armed guards or servants. They must carry out their projects with sincerity and humility. Precisely because of this ideal, the Tibetan people in their images were glowing with liveliness. Deng Qiyao said, “We can see the cordial relationship between photographers and their subjects through the latter’s confident and relaxed expressions and gestures. They did not see the person behind the camera as an outsider. We see the beauty, peace, and dignity in Tibetan frontiersmen in Zhuang Xueben’s works<sup>5</sup>.”

From 1900 to 1940, Tibetan frontier societies in west China were encapsulated in isolation. They were dangerous barbaric places in the eyes of mainstream Han and Tibetan societies. The “intruders” who stepped in with different motives and stayed there for various lengths of time. Yet they all documented something that represents traditional social structures and cultural beliefs in Tibetan frontier societies. The value of these documents did not emerge until the so-called “old things” had been destroyed by the revolution. Images on Tibetan frontier societies during early twentieth century are particularly important for anthropology because they are the most direct evidence of customs, rituals, livings, clothing of the people there. They are also invaluable if we want to reconstruct the traditional society and study social change.

#### Illustration 4: Xiahe Tibetan people welcoming the 9th Panchen Lama on horsebacks, Zhuang Xueben, 1936)

#### 1950 – 2000 : STATE/ELITE’S EXAMINATION

Since 1950, Tibetan frontier societies in southwest and northwest China had been going through unparalleled social changes. Traditional political and religious systems, long-standing ways of life, and cultural beliefs all went through radical transformations. Although violent confrontations happened in Tibet proper as well as in Tibetan communities in Gansu, Sichuan, Qinghai, and Yunnan, generally speaking, these communities were gradually incorporated into the modernization and unification projects led by the CCP.

Images made during 1950 and 1980 formed a visual discourse injected with state power. Political agendas were conspicuous. Baiwan nongnu zhanqilai (Stand Up, Millions

---

5) Deng Qiyao. 2007. “Yu Tazhe duishi (Looking into ‘the Other’s’ Eyes).” *Zhongguo sheyingjia* (Chinese Photographers.)

of Serfs, 1959) and Xizang nongnu zhidu (Tibetan system of Serfdom, 1961) both constructed visual texts featuring feudal lords' merciless exploitations and brutal annihilation of millions of serfs. Xizang nongnu zhidu was later added to a series called "Zhongguo shaoshu minzu shehui lishi kexue jilu dianying (Scientific Documentaries on History and Society of Chinese Minority Groups)" and elevated into "canon of authentic history."

Besides films with the nature of political propaganda, some individuals took photographs. Zhang Zhongyun, a Tibetan scholar, collected a photo album of Diqing Tibetan Prefecture, Yunnan. These images were closer to the reality on the ground. A state-led committee visited Zhongdian in 1960. It is worth mentioning that an anthropologist named Wang Ningsheng took a series of photos, including Deqing Zangzu Wudao (Dance of Dechen Tibetan People), Diqing Zangzu yijiaren (A Family in Dechen), Zhongyang fangwentuan yu daibiao kan yanchu (Representatives Watching Performances), Ganbu Kaihui (Cadres in Meetings), Qixiangzhan (Weather Station). They gave sketchy descriptions about traditional cultures in Diqing Tibetan societies and the new objects brought there by the outsiders. However, none of the images from that era had real values. Both the quantity and the credibility of the images went into a period of stagnation.

With the beginning of the 1980s came the revival of Tibetan tradition and religious beliefs. Tibetan culture somehow was filled with Utopian imaginations thus being showered with attention. The interest in images of Tibetan frontier societies was also revived. Large numbers of photographers went into Tibetan communities and created equally large numbers of photographs of sceneries and ethnic features. However, few of them observed local societies closely. The fact that images can only give "shallow descriptions" but cannot function as narrations is also foregrounded.

In 1985, visual anthropology was introduced into China as an independent academic discipline. Some research institutions and anthropologists grew interested in it and went to Tibetan frontier societies to make ethnographic films. Visual anthropology workshop under Institute of ethnology and anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences made several documentaries in Garze Prefecture, Sichuan, including Lunhui yu Yuanquan: Zangchuan Fojiao wenhua xianxiang yanjiu (Incarnation and Circles) and Kangqu Zangzu mumu shenghuo yiri (One Day in Kham Tibetan People's Lives); in Huangnan Prefecture, Qinghai, including Shensheng de gushou (The Sacred Drummer), Longwu hepan de gusheng (Drum on the Bank of Longwu River); and in Golog Prefecture, Qinghai such as Tongbha Ang'ren.

---

Institute of Visual Anthropology under Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences made a series documentaries on Yunnan Tibetan people, systematically introducing Tibetans on Diqing Plateau to the wider world. Institute of Anthropology under Beijing Normal University also made documentaries featuring Huangnan Prefecture, Qinghai. A partial list includes, *Nü si duanzhang* (Fragments in a Convent), *Chonghui Longwusi* (Returning to Longwu Monastery), *Gengzang Zhaxi yu liuyuehui* (Tashe and June Sacrifice), and *Gaoseng zhi meng* (A Lama's Dream).

Chinese research institutions generally make ethnographic documentaries to show cultural features in Tibetan frontier societies. They have certain significance in the academia. However, the major setback is that they only stay in a locale for a short time. As a result, their works mostly contain "fragments," which only focus and analyze certain aspects. It is difficult to find lasting and profound narratives in those works.

### Illustration 5: Snapshot from *Delamu*, Tian Zhuangzhuang, 2005)

Parallel with the activities carried out by research institutes is Chinese film industry's interest in making images on Tibetan frontier societies. From 1980s until now, the state as well as provincial film production companies made considerable numbers of documentaries in several of frontier communities.

From 1984 to 1986, CCTV and Qinghai TV made two series: *Tang Bo gudao* (Ancient Tibetan Road in Tang Dynasty) and *Regong yishu* (Art in Regong), featuring the natural and the cultural landscapes in Qinghai's Tibetan communities.

In 1990, Wang Haibing, a director with Sichuan TV, made *Zangbei renjia* (A Family in Norther Tibet). It is about a nomadic family living close to Nam Lake. Fu Hongxing with *Zhongyang xinwen dianying zhipianchang* (Central News Film Production Company) made *Ganzi Zangxituan* and *Dege Yinjinyuan* in 1993. Peng Hui with Sichuan TV made *Pingheng* in 2000. It is about the rise and fall of animal protection organization called *Ye maoniui* established by Tibetan people. The renowned film-maker Tian Zhuangzhuang made *Delamu* in 2005. This documentary presents the mosaics of cultures on the Tea Horse Road.

Research institutions usually are not equipped with advanced film-making technologies. State-owned film production companies inevitably surpass these institution in making and promoting their works. Because they can deploy multiple visual and acoustic narratives and create a discourse that fits both the mainstream ideology and their own purposes. They do bring out the complications in Tibetan frontier societies. However,

Chinese film-makers are bounded to the political system. They cannot enter deep into a Tibetan society or interpret its core value (through official channels).

China's New Documentary Movement began in 1989. It was an attempt on the film-makers' part to separate from state monopoly and enter into civil system of narrative. Among the early participants of New Documentary Movement, Duan Jinchuan, who worked with Tibet TV in 1980, made *Jiada cun de nanren he nvren* (Men and Women in Jiada Village). It is on the salt trade in a place called Yanjing, on the border of Tibet and Yunnan. Jiang Yue went to Garze, Sichuan, when he began his career and made *Tianzhu zai Xizang* (God in Tibet), *Lama Zangxituan*, among others.

The most noteworthy film-maker in the independent documentary movement is a woman named Ji Dan. She went to a Tibetan village in 1994, lived there for a year, learned their language, and finished to films, *Gongbu de xingfu shenghuo* (Ghonbhu's Happy Life) and *Laorenmen* (The Old Men). The length and depth of her participatory observation are reflected in the sympathetic and respectful attitude in her films. They are still by far the best documentaries made by non-Tibetans.

### Illustration 6: *Gongbu de xingfu shenghuo*, Ji Dan, 1998)

Since the mid-twentieth century, Tibetan frontier images were the vehicles of state's minority policies. They functioned as footnotes of emancipation of the serfs, unity of ethnic groups, social progresses, poverty relief, and so on. Traditions, social values, cultural essences were nowhere to be found in these works.

However, in the 1980s, these images became an "enclave" of academic discourse. Elites from the outside used them to express their own emotions and opinions and create their theories or aesthetics. During this period, Tibetan frontier image became a subject of examination by the state, media, and researches. On the one hand, we can see more systematic and profound ways of descriptions of Tibetan frontier societies and cultures. On the other hand, the filmmakers and their subjects were still not equals. A relationship of reciprocity and sharing was absent. That is to say, Tibetan frontier societies are passive entities to be interpreted, explained, even distorted. The communities members were still mute. They did not autonomous voices. This was a major problem in the process of image-making.

---

## 2000 TILL NOW: AUTONOMOUS EXPRESSION OF TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS SOCIETIES

The end of 1990 saw new phenomena in the mechanism of China's image-creation. Digital Video (DV), internet, and DVD formed less expensive and more used-friendly ways of making and promoting of images. These technologies made film-making accessible to common people. With technological innovations, Chinese research institutions and NGO started to advocate "participatory image-making." It prevails in west China and becomes an important source of contemporary Tibetan frontier images.

In September, 2009, Guo Jing, Zhang Zhongyun, among scholars working with Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences launched in Deqing a program called "Community Visual Education." It was the first effort to invite Tibetan villagers as the so-authors of the images. The program made documentaries on local cultures in collaboration with villagers and local primary schools. They burned DVDs and used them as educational material to increase local people's awareness of their own culture.

The program went on for two year. With the assistance of the anthropologists, four Tibetan villagers made short documentaries. They were Heitao (Black Ceramics, by Sunnuo Qilin), Bingchuan (The Glacier, by Tashe Nyima), Cizhong Shengdanye (Christmas Eve in Cizhong, by Tashe Rebdeng), and Cizhong hongjiu (Red Wine in Cizhong, by Wu Gongdi and Hongxing). Heitao introduced traditional techniques to make ceramics. Cizhong Shengdanye and Cizhong Hongjiu were about Catholicism and wine making technologies brought into the area with it. Bingchuan discussed the impact of mass tourism on glaciers in northwest Yunnan from local people's point of views.

Community Visual Education was a modest project. Yet it started the entire practice of "participatory image-making" in China. Their slogan "autonomous creation and expression" had become the quintessential value of contemporary Tibetan frontier images.

Shan Shui is a Beijing-based environmental NGO established in 2007. One of its projects, Xiangcun zhi yan (The Eyes of the Villages: Documenting Nature and Culture with Images) is the main sponsor for Tibetan villagers in Qinghai, Yunnan, and Sichuan to receive training in film-making and to express themselves. The project hosted several training sessions to teach Tibetan villagers and nomads the skills of filming and editing. Instructors encourage Tibetan people to use images to bring out what is inside of them, preserve their cultural heritage, and tell their versions of ecological civilization.

This project is alive and well today. It has yielded a few seminal works. A nomad from Qinghai named Nanjia made Xiongdi (Brothers). The film is about a the affection

between an adopted Przewalski's gazelle and his son. Later, father and son were faced with the hard choice of whether to reintroduce the gazelle to natural environment. Another nomad named Tado made *Youxue caoyuan* (Wandering on the steppe), which presents the shocking deterioration of grassland in inner Mongolia. People can't help but worry about Tibetan Plateau. Tawang's *Jisha jishi* (Records of Jisha) is about a Tibetan village's struggle with investors caused by tourism. What makes *The Eyes of the Villages* a success is that it built a system of training, filming, and feedbacks. It helps to build a well-functioning bridge among NGOs, nomad communities, research institutions, local governments, and media.

*Nianbaoyuze·Xiangxun zhi yan* began in 2010. It is one of most significant sub-project in the whole project. It is set in Baiyu Township, Jiuzhi County, Qinghai, at the foot of Nianbaoyuze Snow Mountain. All participants are Tibetan nomads and/or religious personnels. Tashe Sang'e, the local organizer, is the *khenpo* (Doctor of Religion) of Baiyu Monastery. When he observed the snow mountain and the animals he noticed obvious changes on his homeland. So he decided to participate in the training and made a documentary on the rare Tibetan ducks. He tells the tragic the story of these unique birds being driven to the verge of extinction due to human's greed. Tashe Sang'e said:

"It is these first-hand experiences made me realize that documentaries can be so important and invaluable in recording the tradition and nature in my changing hometown. I in turn come up with the idea of training some local people who have both the techniques and sensitivity for making documentaries. We can use our own eyes and thoughts to inscribe how the culture and environment of our home have changed. We don't have to start with the issue of 'protection.' First we must let more people, local people as well as outsiders, see, how it used to be and how it is now."

### Illustration 7: A monk in Golog, Qinghai, Tashe Sang'e

Because of his consciousness of "recording" and "protecting," Tashe Sang'e invited the trainers and anthropologists with *Xiangcun zhi yan* to his hometown to teach filming techniques to his fellow villagers. This was different from all previous activities organized by NGOs in the sense the initiative came from community members themselves. It was the nomads, Tibetan villagers, and monks who decided what to shoot and how to shoot.

The trainers taught filming and editing techniques to their trainees in a highly eligible way and gave the idea of using images to record and sympathize with the people and environment around them. Lv Bin, the organizer of the training, said:

---

“When we are providing the training, we need pay close attention to who they are the the subtle dynamics in the interactions. A lot of the people had direct knowledge about and the same experience with the subjects they are to film. It is these factors that enable them to make something more than exoticism or anthropological deconstruction. These factors make their images more genuine and closer to real life. As a trainer, I need to suppress my urge to use certain styles. Instead, my job is to give them all the possibilities technology can offer and all the styles editing can produce. The purpose is to let them try these possibilities by themselves and choose the one they see as the best fit.”

First films produced in this project include Daziran de en'xie (Blessings from the Nature), Suyou (The Yak Butter), Ma'an (The Saddles), Chaosheng (The Pilgrimage), Suore jia he xuebao (Sore's and the Snow Leopard), and Niufen (The Yak Dung). Daziran de en'xie made by Tashe Sang'e incorporates interviews and dialogues. The film tells local people's gratitude toward the nature for helping them survive the famine in 1961. Suyou (by Lhewang) and Ma'an (by Lhodzu) introduce to audience how yak butter and saddles, the two most common products in Tibetan regions, are made. Niufen (by Lhanze) tells us the diverse usages of yak dung. Chaosheng is about Tibetan traditional religion. Suore jia de xuebao depicts a Tibetan man named Sore, who had to suffer the loss of his livestock to protect the snow leopards. These films touch upon the topics of oral history, preservation of traditions, and protection of wild lives. All of them are significant issues in Golog. Lhanze, a Tibetan nomad and the author of Niufen, conveys several ideas in his films filled with motifs:

“Tibetan Plateau often has temperature lower than minus 40C. Yak dung makes Tibetan people's homes warm. It does not cause pollution. We use it to make offering to the deities and to light the rooms. It is used to build houses and fences, to nurture crops, to treat diseases, and to cleanse the dirt. Children play with it. Artists make statues of Buddhas with it. We can see the condition of the soil from the yak dung. We can also see the health of the yaks from it. All in all, yak dung is indispensable. But someday we will have to live without it. This also means we will have to live without ourselves. This means catastrophes and making the nature as our enemy. When that day comes, we will lose our compassion, the idea of karma, and the kind nature in us.”

In July, 2011, Jigena Pasture in Jiuzhi County, Qinghai held “The First Nianbaoyuze Village Film Festival,” which showed the above mentioned six films. The event attracted peasants and nomads from various places and achieved its original goal, that is, local sharing. The festival also invited people from the government, the corporations, NGOs,



and the media thus it made villager's voices reach wider audience in hope to receive more constructive social opinions. (Followed the event were government's promise of funding and a multinational corporation's donation to ecological protection and village image-making.)

In the process of making these films, the main participants of Nianbaoyuze·Xiangcun zhi yan also wrote a proposal called *ri chu lags: Women yong yingxiang ganshenme* (What should do with village images) saying that they would “keep using films, images, and words to record the plants and the animals living around the snow mountain. This is a history of ecology. This is also a history of the relationship between Tibetan people and the nature.” These participants continue their mission of preserving traditional culture. They draw maps of the sacred mountains and lakes in the vicinity of Nianbaoyuze and highlighted texts on environmental protections in Buddhist scriptures. They hope the “old wisdom can caution people. The environmental issues we are faced with now are essentially cultural ones. We think it is not environment that has changed. It is the human hearts.”

By the autumn of 2012, Tibetan nomads living at the foot of the snow mountain can already learn film-making by themselves. There was already a system specialized in making images on the cultural protection of natural environment in Tibetan frontier societies.

Nianbaoyuze·Xiangcun zhi yan is particularly distinct because its efforts in using traditional local knowledge to reflect contemporary social reality. Community images, which carry the functions of recording, expression, and dissemination, will be an instrument for the Tibetan frontier inhabitants to realize their wishes and ideals.

I introduced Community Visual Education and Xiangcun zhi yan in the text. These are the new windows for future Tibetan frontier images because, most essentially, the organizers recognize and respect community members as autonomous narrators thus willing to let them hold the cameras. Film-makers build up confidence in expressing themselves during the process.

Not only were these works shown and commented in Tibetan regions, they reached wider audience's sympathy through community film screening, international film festivals, TV airing, and so on. As a result, community members' “local knowledge” was widely spread by means of “community visual ethnography” and became a component of global knowledge. A new interactive relationship between “the local” (Tibetan frontiers) and the “global” initiated from “the bottom up” has been obvious. These films proposed and made

---

by Tibetan nomads and peasants themselves also indicate a change of “Tibetan frontier images” in the power relationships. Villagers have transformed from “the muted other” to the expressive agents, which deserve attention in contemporary studies of Tibetan frontier societies.

## Session B-2

Chair: Jia Chen(China)

- **Yahui Zhang(China)**

*Brief study of the reconstruction of Puning temple in Chengde –  
A study on the relation between politics and religion in terms of  
a Tibetan Buddhism temple from a historical anthropology  
perspective*

- **Rongrong Zhang(China)**

*Ethnic identity and nationalism of Chinese Manchu in cyberspace*

- **Mingxin Liu(China)**

*Study on the national Identity mechanism of Qingzhou Manchu*

- **Meichen Huo , Caiyun Wen(China)**

*Beyond protectionism: The study of media aesthetic education in  
the internet age*



## Brief study of the reconstruction of Puning temple in Chengde – A study on the relation between politics and religion in terms of a Tibetan Buddhism temple from a historical anthropology perspective

*Yahui Zhang*  
*China*

### ABSTRACT

Based on the files concerned with *Puning Temple* in *Chengde* Municipal Bureau of Archives and other materials, this article reviews the reconstruction of Puning Temple from 1980s, including repair of the buildings, recovery and managing of the temple's property, reestablishing sangha and its relations with tourism and adjacent villages. Through referring to *Chengde Today* by James Hevia, this article intends to illustrate that it's not enough only from the viewpoint of state and modernity to look at *Puning Temple* and the history of ethnic relations indicated. This temple, after reconstruction, is rather the crosspoint of different perspectives from different historical backgrounds; and it is those dialogues between different points of view concerned with the temple that matter most in understanding it.

**Keywords:** Puning Temple, religious revival, sangha, Equal Stress on Religion and Agriculture.

---

James Hevia went to *Chengde* twice in 1991 and 1993. After observing the constructing and opening to the outside process of Temple of the Potaraka Doctrine, Temple of Sumeru Happiness and Longevity and *Puning* Temple, he wrote an article for *Chengde Today* (J.Hevia, 2004: 209-215). In this article, he compared the *Chengde* in his eyes and that described by Sweden explorer Sven Hedin, trying to explain the volition of the state and influence of tourism market presented in the Waimiao constructing process. As far as he is concerned, in terms of the volition of the state, *Chengde* was still interpreted the way Emperor *Kangxi* did before the end of 1980s as an institutional stage for ruling over various ethnic minorities in frontier areas. After that, *Chengde* was presented as a place of ethnic harmonious co-existence. Anyhow, it is a scene where Communist Party of China (CPC) will manifest its glorious history through the recognition of UNESCO. However, watching the lamas chanting sutra in the temple, he realized the tension between the assumption of *Chengde* being the stage of constructing nation state or multi-ethnic state and the pursuit of subjectivity for those lamas when they are immersed in their own culture. China under CPC would not permit the multi-lords institute, thus it's invalid to legitimate today's relation with Tibet through reexpressing the history of Qing Dynasty particularly when this kind of reexpression is connected to tourism. *Chengde* Imperial Summer Resort which presumably is the cultural heritage in historical senses now becomes a place just for fun and visitors oftentimes come to relax. Hevia said:

For if there has been one constant throughout the last three centuries, it is that *Chengde's* distinctive convergence of mountains, rocks, streams, and hot springs that first attracted the *Kangxi* emperor's attention three centuries ago continues to provide abundant resource for human beings to weave rich tapestries of aesthetic, political and cosmological imagery (J. Hevia, 2004:215 ).

Is it true, as described by James Hevia, that history overwhelmingly led by the state will shows irresistible cleavage? Or is it for want of materials and by overlooking the historical aspect that the self-acknowledging process of the state in historical narration has been blanketed? This article provides a detailed discussion on both relation and difference between the ways of organizing Tibetan Buddhism in Qing Dynasty and today's temple administration, attempting to connect the anthropological foundation with the historical study of *Chengde Waimiao* system.

### ***Puning Temple during the early years of the People's Republic***

In virtue of the aid from three main chiefs of Dörbet and Amarsanaa, the Qing Dynasty conquered Davachi in the 20th year of reign of Emperor *Qianlong* (1755 A. D.), which leads the collapse of junggar khanate. In October that year, Emperor *Qianlong* gave a fancy banquet in *Chengde* Imperial Summer Resort for the noblemen of four clans from Velatic Mongolian and also decided to build in the city the *Puning Temple* that resembles the Samye Temple in Tibet. *Puning Temple* was the very first Lamaism Temple Emperor *Qianlong* has built outside *Chengde* Imperial Summer Resort. Different from the Chinese architecture of *Puren Temple* built during *Kangxi* period in *Chengde*, *Puning Temple* is of the combination style of both Chinese and Tibetan architectures, where the part inside of the temple gate is Chinese and the part at the back of the Hall of Mahavira is Tibetan. The spectacular wooden statue of Avalokitesvara in Mahayana Pavilion is 27.28 meters tall. Emperor *Qianlong* also asked *Icang skya ho thog thu* to send for dance teachers from Tibet so as to start *Tiaodagui* (the ritual of driving ghosts) in *Puning Temple*. Subsequently, *Tiaodagui* would be performed on New Year's Day or other festivals, and the emperor would often watch it during his staying in *Puning Temple*. There are three epigraphs, which tell the story of conquering Velatic Mongolian, inscribed by Emperor *Qianlong* himself in *Puning Temple* and they were written in Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese. Tibetan had never been used before in epigraphs in *Chengde* area. *Puning Temple* had been subordinate to Lama Office in *Lifanyuan* (Court of Colonial Affairs: a top-echelon agency in the central government in Qing Dynasty) ever since its establishment. The Khenpo Lama was also assigned from the Lama Office. In its full flourish during *Qianlong* period, *Puning Temple* was once the place of strategic importance in dealing with the Buddhism affairs in Mongolia area for Emperor *Qianlong* and *Icang skya ho thog thu*. During his audience of Emperor *Qianlong* in 1780, the Sixth Panchen Lama from Tibet stayed in *Chengde* for several months and the lamas following him from Tashilhunpo Monastery in Tibet remained in *Chengde*, assisting Emperor *Qianlong* with affairs in *Waimiao* or *Waibamiao* (the floorboard of eight Tibetan Buddhism temples in the northeast of *Chengde* Imperial Summer Resort in *Hebei* Province). Ever since then, the Chief Khenpo Lama of *Waimiao* had been assigned by the Panchen Lama from *Yonghegong* Lamasery to *Chengde* and been stationed in Temple of Sumeru Happiness and Longevity in *Chengde* City. The decay of *Puning Temple* begun from the death of Emperor *Xianfeng*, and *Chengde* had been attached little importance ever since. *Waibamiao* were also on the wane after the subversion of Qing Dynasty. After the

---

invasion of Japanese troops, the last Chief Khenpo Lama from Xigaze region went back to Tibet and the Chief Khenpo Lama that hereafter was Mongolian moved to *Puning* Temple. Until November 1948, there were only 72 lamas altogether in *Waibamiao* instead of over 600 registered numbers and 17 instead of 324 in *Puning* Temple. From the lama registration list it can be known that many of them had just become Buddhist monks since they were only at their tens or twenties .<sup>1)</sup>

The Trustees Board of *Waibamiao* came into existence in 1949 in *Chengde* and the director was the previous Chief Khenpo Lama (equivalent to abbot in Han-Chinese Buddhism) Rinchen Sangpo. During that time many lamas still came in groups from adjacent areas of *Chengde* City. In 1950, the Panchen Lama wrote a letter to Chairman *Mao* from *Qinghai* Province, requesting for effective protection of the architectures and cultural heritages in *Waimiao*.<sup>2)</sup> However, the central government couldn't afford to neither support those lamas nor maintain the buildings in *Waibamiao*. Then the entrance ticket for Great Buddhist Temple had come into being with 5 cents per head. Because of the deterioration of walls, people could enter without buying tickets. Therefore, the income of ticket fee didn't count too much and the government could either do anything about this problem. Consequently, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission donated some money to establish an Elementary Cooperatives for *Waibamiao* and achieved the concentration of landholding with 150 Mu altogether. Founded in 1955, its president was named *Deming Wang* and the workplace was located in *Guangyuan* Temple in *Chengde* City. However, only these young and married lamas were members and they were paid by the government. And so were these non-members. As for those aged lamas, they were arranged into sideline production. In 1956, merely apiculture generated 500 Jin (250 kilos) honey. The other sideline productions also included raising pigs and rabbits and so on. In 1956, 5000 *yuan* of living subsidized were provided to these lamas by *Chengde* government and 400 *yuan* of relief money for impoverished lamas by Ministry of Civil Affairs.<sup>3)</sup>

For the establishment of cooperatives, the lamas resumed secular life one after another, leading to the decline of sangha. Although there were many people participated into activities in this temple, most of them were just “*Hei Lama*”, i.e. odd-job men. Besides, with the progress of protecting cultural relics, some elder lamas resumed secular life right there and remained working in the Trustees Board of

---

1) The data were provided by the ex-secretary-general of the Buddhism association named Buyandalai, 24<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2009

2) Interview of Buyandalai, 24<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2009

3) Interview of Buyandalai, 24<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2009.



*Waibamiao*. The most important Buddhist activities in *Waibamiao* were *Tiaodagui* on lunar January 13<sup>th</sup>, Buddha's Birthday on lunar April 8<sup>th</sup> and Dharma Assembly of Celebrating Tsong-kha-pa's birthday on lunar October 25<sup>th</sup>. All Buddhist activities were stopped in 1962.<sup>4)</sup> The deterioration of monks community also included the lax of inner commandments and rules. In 1950, lama's thefts of the golden layer on the temple roof occurred in both Temple of Sumeru Happiness and Longevity and Temple of the Potaraka Doctrine.<sup>5)</sup> The cases of dismissing lama for their disobedience were not rare, but larceny of this kind was extremely infrequent.

*Waibamiao* including *Puning* Temple had gradually decayed into grand but decadent building complex and the trend didn't cease until the beginning of 1980s. During such a circumstance, the political study was paid close attention though. They were continually asked to study the speeches of Chairman *Mao* and, then president, *Shaoqi Liu*. Except for inspiring the passion of those monks for production, the ideology of patriotism and anti-imperialism were also of priority. Thus Secretary of the Municipal Party Committee and the mayor both participated into the lama dharma assembly.

### **The reconstruction of both temple and sangha**

As one of the activities for reflecting on the series of historical experiences in Cultural Revolution, the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee issued *Of The Basic Ideas and Policies Concerned with Religious Issues during Socialist Period in China* on March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1982, which elaborated upon the attitude, policies and methods of the Communist Party of China (CPC) for religious affairs. Based on it, the state council transmitted *Of Confirming Key Temples of Buddhism and Taoism in Han Area* of the Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council in April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1983, which confirmed the 142 temples as the key temples in the Han area, including some monasteries of the Gelug Sect of Tibetan Buddhism such as *Yonghegong* Lamasery and *Huangsi* Temple in *Beijing*, *Puning* Temple in *Chengde* and so on. The document was mainly concerned with three aspects: firstly, both the temple and the ritual implements that were under the control of Cultural Relics Department should be transferred to Religious Affairs Department and supervised by religious organizations themselves; secondly, it should be assisted to elect abbots, supplementing and training religious staff like Buddhist monks and Taoist priests, establishing and improving administration organizations and various institutions, and guaranteeing valid religious activities for

4) Interview of Buyandalai, 24<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2009.

5) Interview of Buyandalai, 24<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2009.

---

professional religious personnel and religious adherents; thirdly, the protection of cultural relics and repair of buildings should be paid close attention.

The Ethnic Affairs Commission of *Chengde* submitted a report to the municipal government in 1983, requesting the Bureau of Ethnic and Religious Affairs to reclaim *Puning* Temple that was then subordinate to Cultural Relics Department, which included the transfer of family living quarter of Cultural Relics Department, the laboratory house rent by the Bureau of Animal Husbandry, the surrounding cultivated land that previously belonged to Lama cooperatives, and the ritual implements, Buddhist statues, sutra in *Puning* Temple. The report also made a deadline on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1984. Aside from this, it brought up the recruitment of 20 lamas from Inner Mongolia, *Liaoning* Province and other places in order to reestablish sangha (*Chengde* Archives, 73-1-15). The redundancy of recruiting measures and salary details are avoided here. *Puning* Temple would achieve self-support after restoration and three sources of financial support were confirmed then: the income from donation boxes in the temple, ticket fees and house rents of the temple's real estate. The large-scale repair of the buildings in *Puning* Temple was also funded by the appropriation from superior governmental bodies. This report was the programmatic document for the temple reconstruction, in which twists and turns had been gone through though, many ideas were accomplished gradually.

At the very beginning of this undertaking, government leaders at various levels and other significant people concerned came to visit one after another, including Venerable *Puchu Zhao*, Venerable Panchen, Venerable *Juzan*, Buddhists visiting groups from Tibet, *Lee Kuan Yew*, Norodom Sihanouk, representatives sent by the Dalai Lama from India and so forth. However, except three lamas who already resumed secular life working in the temple, there was no lama. They had no alternative but to borrow from other temples some lamas, including Tashi Lama from *Pingquan* County, *Gao* Lama from nearby *Anyuan* Temple, which totally embarrassed the Bureau of Ethnic and Religious Affairs (*Chengde* Archives, 73-1-24). But still, the recruiting procedure could not get started until the transfer was finished. Some of the repair had already started by the Cultural Relics Department. The transfer was not going well because it was concerned with issues of house and job settlement for many working staff, as well as the involvement of sugar and wine companies, the Bureau of Animal Husbandry and other sections in the house renting issue. Even the sofa and telephone in the reception room were involved to make things difficult (*Chengde* Archives, 73-1-15). The Municipal Ethnic Affairs Commission of *Chengde* frequently reported to its provincial counterpart and even the State Bureau for Religious Affairs, and the

transfer was finally finished on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1985. As soon as taking over, the Municipal Ethnic Affairs Commission of *Chengde* transferred cadres to establish the *Puning* Temple Administration Department, with 43 staff from the previous cast of the Cultural Relics Department. The office of the department was in *Puning* Temple (*Chengde* Archives, 73-1-24).

On July 31<sup>st</sup>, the vice-governor of *Hebei* Province *Yi Hong* added the number of lama on the list from 20 to 30. Subsequently, the ethnic affairs commission sought fund actively on the one hand, repairing *Puning* Temple that was already in a dreadful condition and solving the problems of the coming lamas' living houses, salaries, household registrations, and grain and oil rationing registration; on the other the recruiting work got started in Liaoning, Inner Mongolia and other places. They planned to recruit two kinds of lamas: the young lamas were required to be over 18, have a junior secondary education or above, speak Mongolian, and also be willing to remain unmarried for all his life and also the family members' backgrounds should be clear; no specific requirements were set for the elders since 2 to 3 accomplished lama were needed to help restore Buddhist activities in *Puning* Temple (*Chengde* Archives, 73-2-18). In December 1985, Vice Mayor *Yuxi Wang* and Department Director *Buyandalai* went to *Chifeng* City to recruit lamas. Then they met with a member of *Chifeng* Committee of the CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference) Living Buddha *Sen Yang*, who told them that the rules of Lama Buddhist activities should be observed and leave no loopholes for people with insider knowledge if *Puning* Temple was constructed to be the window of China's religious policy. Hence at least 12 experienced lamas would be in need. With the assistance of local committee of the CPPCC, 15 young lamas were recruited from *Wengniute* Banner. Three of them had a senior high school education and one of the three is the Secretary-general of *Chengde* Buddhist Institute *Elbegsang*. The 15 elder lamas were from Ar Horqin Banner and Bairin Right Banner and three of them were reincarnated Living Buddha: the abbot and Living Buddha *Hameur*, Living Buddha *Tereljid*, Living Buddha *Sedeng* and the chief manager *Nasunbuyan* (named *Fushou Wang* in Chinese)(*Chengde* Archives, 73-2-18).

Living Buddha *Hameur* was then 65 from Ar Horqin Banner. He was confirmed as the incarnate soul boy of the 3rd Living Buddha *Hameur* by the Panchen Lama when he was six and was ordained by *vjamdbyangs rinpoche* in *Hanmusu* Temple. In 1939, the Buddhist initiation ritual for him was held by Living Buddha *Zhagan*. He had lived in *Tar* Lamasery from 20 to 40. Then he went back to *Genpei* Temple in Ar Horqin Banner and reconstructed it. Receiving the invitation from *Yuxi Wang*,

---

Hameur was in hesitation as a matter of fact because of his doubt of the sincerity for rejuvenating Lamaism of *Puning* Temple and also of the actual implementation of religious policy in inland areas. Elbegsang has been Living Buddha Hameur's Chinese translator from coming into *Puning* Temple and his comment on him was "Laoshi" (honest and frank). He explained that Living Buddha Hameur was very *laoshi*. He loved the Communist Party and his religion for all his life and never said no to any governmental requests. However, another Living Buddha Tereljid was always unsatisfied with some governmental instructions, believing that the government exercised too much control over the temple. He went back to *Chifeng* finally in 2001. Nevertheless, the people in *Shizigou* Village said he was forced out instead because of being undisciplined. Now he is the Secretary-general of *Chifeng* Buddhist Institute. Since the transfer and the housing arrangement for the lamas had not completely finished yet, the lamas didn't come to Great Buddha Temple until April, 1986.

The newly coming lamas would receive various kinds of training, the gist of which was to foster these lamas' idea of "Taking The Temple as Home" based on observing the state religious laws and regulations. In other words, they were not only responsible for the Buddhist activities, but also had to develop tourism so as to maintain the temple financially (*Chengde* Archives, 73-Yongjiu-32). For this reason, Elbegsang and other four young lamas were arranged to learn Chinese, English and even study tourist guiding. They were the first five people who got Tourist Guide Qualification Certificate in *Chengde* City. Meanwhile, the guiding principle of religious activities "to solemnify the country and benefit the sentient beings" was identified. It has been reiterated that religious activities should be held according to the state laws and regulations, and the essential aim of those activities should be presenting and popularizing the state religious policies.

Administrative Commission of the Lamas was established as soon as Living Buddha Hameur came to *Chengde* to be in charge of the daily Buddhist activities in the temple. For want of the ritual implements, the Ethnic Affairs Commission of *Chengde* borrowed some from The Palace Museum and *Yonghegong* Lamaery and others from Cultural Relics Department (*Chengde* Archives, 73-Yongjiu-29). Living Buddha Hameur also went to Tar Lamaery with some people to buy some. The Tripitak in *Puning* Temple was bought by Living Buddha Hameur from a temple in Kham. On May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1986, chanting sutra in the temple returned to normal, and other two big Buddhist events were held in the same year (*Chengde* Archives, 73-Yongjiu-32). In February 1987, the lamas were arranged by the Ethnic Affairs Commission of *Chengde* to visit Beijing and the leader was *Buyandalai*. They visited

some important temples, the Palace Museum, the Summer Palace, the Ancient Observatory, the Great Hall of the People, Chairman *Mao's* Memorial Hall and Peony Television Sets Factory. On May 27<sup>th</sup>, the Panchen Lama received these lamas at his residence. They were also arranged to visit *Chengde* Ironworks and silk factories. The aim of factory-visit was very clear that lama should be exposed to the idea of self-support through production (*Chengde Archives, 73-Yongjiu-32*). Later, this kind of visit was made an annual thing and the destinations included *Wutai* Mountain, *Emei* Mountain and *Hainan* Province. However, Tibet was of exception although it's well known to be the holy place and every lama was dying to pay a visit to it. The earliest comers to *Puning* Temple like today's abbot Mergentu and Elbegsang all got opportunities to study further in *Huangsi* Temple in Beijing. The vice abbot *Dailin* Lama studied in a Buddhist Institute in Zhejiang Province. Other lamas were sent to study in *Labuleng* Lamasery in Gansu Province and in Tar Lamasery in *Qinghai* Province. The expenditures during studying were all borne by *Puning* Temple. Besides, other people would also be sent to study in *Labuleng* Lamasery in Gansu Province and in Tar Lamaery in *Qinghai* Province. Before the March 14<sup>th</sup> Incident in 2008, *Yundan* Lama went to study in Tashilhunpo Monastery in Xigaze. Then they were sent back to inland because of the incident. *Yundan* Lama now is still in *Puning* Temple. Speaking of the studying lamas, sometimes there were unexpected things to occur. In 1990, *Saixi* who had been sent to study in Gansu Buddhist Institute eloped with the daughter of the secretary of some organization under the pretext of his father's critical illness, disappearing without a trace (*Chengde Archives, 73-Yongjiu-47*).

In 1987, *Chengde* Buddhist Institute was founded and it's still located in *Puning* Temple. On the opening ceremony, except for the leaders of United Front Work Department who were supposed to attend, others including leaders of religious departments of *Hebei* Province, *Chengde* City, lama' hometowns, and religious leaders of Islam, Catholicism and Christianity in *Chengde* all came to offer their congratulations. Living Buddha Hameur was the Honorary President and Nasunbuyan the president. The only non-lama vice president and Secretary-General was Buyandalai the Director of The Trustees Board. *Chengde* Buddhist Institute was still under the control of Ethnic Affairs Commission of *Chengde*, thus all applications for fund needed to be approved by the commission. Resuming secular life, Elbegsang now is the representative of the commission accredited to *Chengde* Buddhist Institute and still the secretary-general.

In 1988, among those lamas who came to *Puning* Temple, five studied in *Gansu* Province, two studied in The Buddhist Academy Of China, *Nanjing*, one was crushed

---

to death accidentally when building vegetable cave for winter and three went back to hometowns for rest because of illness. Therefore, there was a lack of lama. Ethnic Affairs Commission of *Chengde* reported to the municipal government which reported to provincial government, asking for the permission of recruiting another 15 lamas. Nasunbuyan and Elbegsang went off to Qinghai Province, recruiting 15 lamas from Tar Lamaery. Thus lamas in *Puning* Temple were from *Qinghai* and Inner Mongolia respectively, which once led to disputes and even fighting between these lamas. This kind of tension does not die down till today.

Living Buddha Hameur came to *Puning* Temple and sent for Buddhist music teachers to restart the music in *Puning* Temple. From February to March in 1995, invited by the Philippines Puhtohtze Temple Association for Friendship, the Buddhist Music Group went aboard to give performances (*Chengde* Archives, 73-5-58). On June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1991, the tradition of *Tiaodagui* was restored by teachers sent for from *Yonghegong* Lamaery (*Chengde* Archives, 73-Yongjiu-50). Now *Puning* Temple is capable of putting up large-scale dharma assembly. Except for those of religious significance, *Puning* Temple also held big assemblies after the 5.12 Earthquake and the *Yushu* Earthquake, through which a sum of money was collected and donated to earthquake-stricken areas. Besides, when *Chengde* City held “*Chengde* International Tourism Festival” every summer, a dharma assembly will be held in *Puning* Temple correspondingly. In the winter of 2009, a candle-lighting dharma assembly was held to promote the tourism in a slack season. Recently during the 85th Foundation of CPC Commemoration, a praying dharma assembly was held in *Puning* Temple as well.

### **Tourism and “Equal Stress on Agriculture and Religion”**

Tourism has been attached great importance ever since the reconstruction of *Puning* Temple and the call of “Equal Stress on Agriculture and Religion” were summoned since the temple had no property to arrange except for tourism income. The municipal government of *Chengde* was unwilling to take the burden either. Those lamas who were against tourism were considered to be uneducated in both sides. However, coming along with tourism were chances for the government to interfere into Buddhist activities. Therefore, in 1989, *Puning* Temple Administrative Commission of the Lama put forward the idea of “Monk’s Control over The Temple”, asking for a full responsibility for the hall managing, sanitation and tourist reception and also the financial right including the state appropriate funds, ticket income, religious activities income and alms giving (*Chengde* Archives, 73-Yongjiu-46). This request was finally

approved by the municipal government. However, according to Elbegsang, Administration Commission has been under the control of *Puning* Temple Administration Department without getting the right of decision-making. As a matter of fact, the final accomplishment only included lamas' responsibility for hall administrating and sanitation. In financial aspect, *Puning* Temple Administration Department is still in charge of the state fund appropriations while only the ticket income, property income, religious activities income and small-amount donations are within the control of Administration Commission. The adjustment of chanting time in the morning was also mentioned in the application. The chanting time was made at nine instead of the time set in Buddhist regulations in order to interest tourists. In this "request", Administrative Commission of the Lama asked for an adjustment in which the chanting time was made five to seven in the morning except for the first, eighth, fifteenth and twenty-ninth of each month in high season; the chanting time was made six to seven in the morning in slack season. However, this request was not mentioned in the report made by Ethnic Affairs Commission of *Chengde* to the municipal government (*Chengde* Archives, 73-*Yongjiu*-46). Elbegsang was very unsatisfied with this: "In Buddhism, the morning chanting should be over before the sunrise. But it's made at nine in Great Buddha Temple in order to interest tourists. In the Hall of Mahavira, lamas are chanting while surrounding tourists are pointing. This is extremely un-solemn in the first place. It's no good for lamas' hermit cultivation because of too much exposure to secular things. Some tourists even ask them if they want to get a wife. The more they ask, the harder it's for their cultivation."

Another problem coming along with tourism is the frequent appearance of fake monks in non-religious Temple of the Potaraka Doctrine and Temple of Sumeru Happiness and Longevity. Lamas are not supposed to stay in these temples that were previously administrated by Cultural Relics Department. The donation boxes are neither supposed to set up. But now both exist. The fake monks are not out of nowhere but are supported by people in Cultural Relics Department secretly. Catching those fake monks by officials even like those section chiefs from the Bureau of Ethnic and Religious Affairs was always in vain because people in the Cultural Relics Department called earlier.

The ticket income is as follows: it amounted to 0.3 million in both 1986 and 1987; from April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1988, the price of each ticket increased from 0.5 *yuan* to 1 *yuan* thus the income was doubled. Later, after several adjustments, it's 80 *yuan* for one ticket now. Besides, an independent ticket is requested to visit the gigantic statue of The Thousand-Hand Bodhnhisattva in Mahayana Pavilion. Although the ticket income

---

was under the control of Administration Commission, later it became different. In 1992, it amounted to 2.80 million and 0.2 million of it was surplus. The financial turn-over was 0.642 million in which 0.23 million of the dharma assembly expenditure was taken out. It's requested by the Ethnic Affairs Commission of *Chengde* that 30% of the total ticket income be turned over or the amount was set to 0.9 million with 1% of annual increase (*Chengde Archives, 73-Quanzong-43*). In April 1994, the finance department of *Chengde City* asked for one million and it should be turned over monthly (i.e. the deadline is in the first five days of next month) (*Chengde Archives, 73-5-41*). Except for regular ticket income, *Puning Temple* also held exhibitions of thang-ga, Buddhist statues and so on. From May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1994 to October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1995, *Puning Temple* has rent a set of precious Esoteric Buddhist statues from the Bureau of Ethnic and Religious Affairs of Lhasa and put on display. The ticket fee was 5 *yuan* and the renting fee was 0.15 million (*Chengde Archives, 73-5-41*). The specific income is unknown but said to be great. The Distinguished Guest Hall in *Puning Temple* was reopened in 2000 and now is the most expensive hotel in *Chengde City*. After 2004, it has been contracted for by a businessman from the south at 1.2 million *yuan* a year. The abbot and vice abbot have moved into it after the removal of previous abbot in 2010 and the fee decreased to 0.6 million. In 2003, new housing for lamas was constructed in *Puning Temple*. The previous houses were turned into a business street i.e. today's *Puning Street*, which also generates some income. It's built in resemblance to the market in Qing Dynasty and all commercial tenants are from other places. Souvenir and Buddhist articles are available in these stores and all dealers are dressed in clothes of Qing Dynasty style since the designers took this as an opportunity for tourists' cultural experiences.

### Imperial Temple

In 1990, Nasunbuyan once again went to *Qinghai* Province to recruit lama and Mergentu was one of them who were recruited. He said he was then unwilling to come because he only knew there was a small Tibet Potala (Temple of the Potaraka Doctrine) in inland area but didn't know its location. As for *Puning Temple*, he had not even heard of it. Nasunbuyan told him that the small Tibet Potala was in *Chengde City* and was built by Emperor *Qianlong* for his imperial concubine to ease her homesickness. He finally decided to come because it's an imperial temple. In his opinion, temples in *Chengde* were of high status because of their political significance while they were of minor religious importance. According to him, imperial temples are



of high political status but not religious status. Tibet is of most significance religiously. He said, “The emperor is of high political rank while the Panchen is of religious importance. When teaching Buddhism, it’s natural that emperors should be good students. Even Living Buddha should show their respect to their teachers.” He also added that as the abbot in an imperial temple, some of his teachers would give a salute to him when they met with each other in meetings. But if he went back to Qinghai, he needed to give a salute to his previous teachers. As he emphasized, *Waibamiao* was the symbol of ethnic unity. In the Mongolians’ eyes, a good emperor should be a one who constructed temples. For this reason, quite a few of his classmates are now the executive officials in Mongolian region. It would be difficult for Mongolians to accept the emperor as a good one if they didn’t construct temples.

Another way of recruiting lama of *Puning* Temple was the recommendation from the lamas in this temple. Today’s chief manager *Han* Lama came to *Puning* Temple in 1989. Back to the time when he would graduate from high school very soon, his uncle *Qi* Lama asked someone to take a message back that if anyone wanted to be a lama. *Han* Lama was then not confident with college entrance examination and his two elder brothers all got married, so becoming a lama was his choice. Before his arrival, he didn’t know it was a complex of Buddhist temples. In their opinions, the holy place was Wutai Mountain and they would go on a pilgrimage to it. The Great Buddha Temple even the whole *Chengde* could compare with *Qinghai*, *Gansu* or Tibet in no way, but it’s still the most important Buddhist holy place in inland area. Nowadays, under the leading of Living Buddha Hameur, Great Buddha Temple has become world-wide influential. Still, under no circumstance would it exceed Tibet. He also emphasized the difference between imperial temples and Buddhist temples; the former are of great political influence.

Elbegsang had no idea of temples being in *Chengde* either. Nevertheless, he agreed with Mergentu . Although there was no emperor in *Chengde* Imperial Summer Resort and even in *Beijing*, as an imperial temple, *Puning* Temple is still extraordinary. They were preferentially treated by local lama when visiting *Qinghai*, Inner Mongolia and Tibet. He admitted that the temples in *Chengde* were important for their political status instead of religious status.

---

### Conclusion: history and a wool ball

The so-called “imperial temple” are actually Tibetan Buddhism temples administrated by the Lama managing the seals and Lama Office, including many temples in *Beijing*, *Rehe*, *Wutaishan* Mountain, Dolon-nuur and other places. The separation of church and state applied to these temples, with political affairs and finance were managed by *Lifanyuan* and *Neiwufu*, Imperial Household Department in *Qing* Dynasty (a multi-agency administrative organization responsible for serving the personal needs of the emperor his immediate family and his intimate attendants in the private residential quarters of the imperial palace). Thus they provided the money to support lamas and repair the temples. In terms of religious and educational affairs, it was the sangha’s responsibility; in principle all the lama teachers in dratsang were selected from temples in Tibet. As the center of the Gelug Sect of Tibetan Buddhism, these temples were still considered the legit source of knowledge and religious laws for temples in *Beijing*. However, speaking of its administration and management, the system of temples in *Beijing* worked as if it were a branch of an independent religious organization. Ever since its construction, *Puning* Temple has been under strict control of the state and considered deeply political-stained. It always has a low status religiously speaking. When it was reconstructed in 1980s, the Lama Office has ceased to exist due to some adjustment of management system for lamas in Beijing starting from the Republic of China (Jinliang, 1994: 27-40). In principle, the affairs of sangha were managed by local Buddhist Institute. Neither the previous Lama Office *Yonghegong* Lamasery nor the Gelug temples in Tibet played an important role in the reconstruction process. Living Buddha Hameur who played a significant role in the reestablishment of sangha was selected and invited by the municipal government of *Chengde* City. And the current abbot Mergentu was authorized by *Hebei* Buddhist Institute, which is rather different from the former mechanism of choosing a Khenpo. The Buddhist ritual instruments and Tripitak in *Puning* Temple were brought through Living Buddha Hameur’s religious relations established in his education experience after he came here. *Puning* Temple acquired a high independence in education. The former systematic way has been deserted, although monks were continuously sent to Gelug temples in *Beijing*, Gansu, Qinghai and Tibet to be educated. It was rather loose then, without a complete institution to support and restrict the education of Buddhists. The much attention devoted to lamas in Tibetan Buddhism nowadays more often appears in a personal pilgrimage instead of being as the main contact method in temple system.

The political affairs and the management of *Puning* Temple was the responsibility of *Puning* Temple Administration Department subordinate to the local Bureau of Ethnic and Religious Affairs. The reclaim of the temple's property, repair of the buildings and the operation of tourism were all organized by the department and the bureau in the reconstruction. The state invested a lot of money within its power for the reconstruction through the bureau, and at the same time rigorously governed religious activities of sangha as well as Buddhists' ideology. The thing that differs most from the regulation in Qing Dynasty is that: rather than getting money appropriated from the *Lifanyuan* and *Neiwufu* of the Qing government according to one's rank, today's monks get paid in principle by the bureau, as a matter of fact, under the precondition that the temple has to develop tourism in order to maintain itself as well as pay tax. To some extent, it's more similar to the management system of imperial temple in Qing Dynasty, i.e. a temple should be responsible for its self-support by being admitted a certain range of management. The basis of this type of policy was that the original distinctions in institutions and sangha organizations between Tibetan Buddhism temples have been removed; the system of "imperial temple" as a branch of a religious organization has gradually collapsed since the Republic of China and the replacement was the pattern of independent temple being administrated by the Bureau of Ethnic and Religious Affairs.

In the sense of the separation between politics and religion, the basic institutional pattern of Lama Office in Qing Dynasty has been preserved during its reconstruction and it also became the institutional basis for almost all the Tibetan Buddhism temples in this country, while the economic management model of the non-imperial temples in Qing Dynasty became the heart of today's economic management in temples. Elements of institutional history have been reassembled to meet the needs of state construction. Both historical cleavage and constancy have presented in a distorted way in the process of reconstruction. If constancy is more evident in terms of *Puning* Temple, instead of luckiness, it's because of the fact that the management system of Lama Office it, together with *Yonghegong* Lamasery and some other imperial temples, presented in history has become the institutional basis of religious revival in ethnic areas in 1980s.

The historical cleavage to *Puning* Temple does not lie in the cleavage itself, but rather in the fact that these religious organizations and political system it once belonged to have died out. Particularly after the other temples of *Waibamiao* gradually languished, *Puning* Temple was especially like a lonely survivor, looking back with turmoil of feelings. However, the entanglement and confusion were rather difficult to

---

detect only through a short-time observation. James Hevia made a dual-mistake on this point. For one thing, he acknowledged that *Chengde* was suitable for independent observing and surveying, without noticing that the religion in this place was rather a part of a religious organization branch like Lama Office, which was a necessary basis for judging the relation between the present and the past; for another, attentions were paid to the temples without lama inside and administrated by the Bureau of Cultural Relics. It is therefore hardly able to touch on the essential issue of religious revival in *Chengde*. What he got in those temples were presentations of Tibet, and couldn't however notice that the sangha in religious revival was composed mainly of Mongolians. The landscape in today's *Chengde*, on the one hand is the political relation between Qing Dynasty and Tibet presented by Cultural Relics Department, on the other is the religious issue concerned with Mongolians presented by the Bureau of Ethnic and Religious Affairs. As *Chengde* is the display window for religious policy, its meaning is not embodied in the daily activities observed by James Hevia, but in eventful foreign affairs, for instance, the arrival of Dalai Lama's brother or brother-in-law, political figures from in and aboard, meeting with Panchen Lama in Beijing, going aboard for performances and visits, and so on. All these were not observed by him. And tourism thus can be divided into two kinds: one kind as described by James Hevia is concerned with the presentation of the relation between Qing Dynasty and Tibet, developed for the Leisure Economy and controlled by Cultural Relics Department; the other kind is based on the investigation by big figures on today's China and Mongolia, Religion of Mongolians, is developed for self-support and controlled by the Bureau of Ethnic and Religious Affairs.

Maybe, only by going back from the methods of division and management of Tibetan Buddhism organizations in Qing Dynasty to the historical development of the relation between religion and politics in temples can we truly picture history as a wool ball, being constantly cut off and reconnected with itself is intertwined by the struggle of constancy and cleavage; and also can we truly see how strenuously both the state and the sangha tried to, according to their respective wills, shape and interpret the past and the present, both ending up in dissatisfaction and unreconciledness. Based on this, we can better understand all that *Puning* Temple has been through in its reconstruction and better unfold our historical imagination and reflection on the basis of this temple.

## Reference

- Hevia . J. 2004. “Chengde today”, in *New Qing imperial history : the making of inner Asian empire at Qing Chengde* , eds. Millward, Dunnell, Elliot, Foret. New York : RoutledgeCurzon.
- Chengde Archives*. 73-1-15. “Chengdeshi minzushiwuweiyuanhui guanyu puningsi kaifang zongjiaohuodong he jiaojie de yijian”(The Ethnic Affairs Commission of *Chengde* Showed its Opinion on *Puning* Temple’s Taking the Property from Other Units and Holding Religious Events) .
- Chengde Archives*. 73-1-24. “Guanyu puningsi kaifang zongjiao huodong qingkuang de huibao” (The Report on the Status of *Puning* Temple’s Opening Religious Events).
- Chengde Archives*. 73-2-18. “Zhaoshou lama tiaojian ji banfa”(The Conditions and Methods of Recruiting new lamas).
- Chengde Archives*. 73-5-41. “Chengdeshi Caizhengju guanyu xiada yijiujiusinian menpiao shouru renwu de tongzhi”(Information from *Chengde* Treasury Bureau about the task of Tickets income of 1994).
- Chengde Archives*. 73-5-58. “Guanyu puningsi foyuedui fu feilvbin jinxing foyue yishu jiaoliu de qingshi”(Request to go to Philippines to Perform Buddhism Music).
- Chengde Archives*. 73-*Quanzong*(General)-43. “Chengdeshi Minwei guanyu shangjiao puningsi menpiao shouru ticheng bili de baogao”(Report from the *Chengde* Ethnic Affair Commission on the Turning in Proportion of the tickets income of *Puning* Temple).
- Chengde Archives*. 73-*Yongjiu*(Forever)-29. “Guanyu jiejie puningsi sengfang he fa, gongqi wenti de jinji baogao”(An Urgent Report on the Problem of Lamas’ Houses and Ritual Implements).
- Chengde Archives*. 73-*Yongjiu*(Forever)-32. “Guanche dang de zongjiao zhengce , qieshi ba puningsi guanbao”(Managing *Puning* Temple well According to the Policies of CPC).
- Chengde Archives*. 73-*Yongjiu*(Forever)-46. “Chengdeshi minzu shiwuweiyuanhui guanyu puningsi shixing lama guanmiao de qingshi”(Referendum about Lamas managing *Puning* Temple from *Chengde* Ethnic AffairsCommission ).
- Chengde Archives*.73-*Yongjiu*(Forever)-47. “Puningsi guanlichu, Puningsi jiaowu weiyuanhui guanyu puningsi sengren Saixi weifan xiaogui jielv de chuli yijian”( *Puning* Temple Administration Department and Administration Commission of Lamas Gave Their Opinion on the Punishment for the getting out of line of the lama named *Saixi* of *Puning* Temple).
- Chengde Archives*. 73-*Yongjiu*(Forever)-50. “Guanyu puningsi gongzuo qingkuang de huibao”(Report about the work of *Puning* Temple).
- Jinliang eds. 1994. *Yonghegong zhilue*(The Brief History of *Yonghegong* Lamasery ) . Beijing: China Tibetology Press.

---

# Ethnic identity and nationalism of Chinese Manchu in cyberspace

*Rongrong Zhang*  
*Minzu University of China*

## Abstract

Internet has been developing rapidly in China, which made Chinese multi-ethnic culture experience great deconstruction and reconstruction. Meanwhile, it provides sufficient discourse space for those who seldom had a chance to express themselves sufficiently in mass media in the past. Taking Chinese Manchu as an example, this article describes that Chinese minority members are making cultural expressions and performances in cyberspace and realizing the reconstruction and imagination of the traditional community with their conscience from “In Itself” to “For Itself” under the guide of minority elites. On the other hand, the virtual community has become a new public space for Chinese minorities to strive for political, economical and cultural discourse rights and legal interests, and an important power to promote Chinese democratic process. The Chinese concept of “harmonious but different”, which has been a virtue to maintain harmony from time immemorial, should also be a principle of dialogue among different civilizations. Only by this can a common homeland shared by all ethnic groups be cultivated in cyberspace.

**Keywords:** Manchu, ethnic identity, ethnic nationalism, cyber anthropology.

## I. Introduction

Fei Xiaotong, one of Chinese famous anthropologists and socialists, called the rural society as an “acquaintance society” where villagers were so familiar with each other that they could “distinguish a person according to its sounds and smells”. (Fei Xiaotong, 1948) The “acquaintance society” is also what we usually call “community” where people shared a common space, lived closely and were linked together through region. Their labor and leisure all happened in regular places. These traditional communities provided rare and necessary living resources and gradually became living and social centers for community members.

German socialist Ferdinand Tönnies first raised the conception of “community” in his book *Community and Society*. He thought that “community” put more emphasis on intimate relationship, common culture and spiritual consciousness in people’s communication, and the sense of identity and belonging to the community (Ferdinand Tönnies, 1887). In today’s living scenes, the conception of “community” have taken place great changes. People do not live in the old centers and seldom gather together as before. The traditional communities no longer have the function of social intercourse and thus cracks begin to appear in their social structure.

In traditional communities, their social network is mainly based on cognation, region, industry relationship and so on. Under the impact of global modernization, these basis are being destructed to a great extent. Since China entered the 21th century, Internet has been developing rapidly, which made Chinese multi-culture experience great deconstruction and reconstruction. Meanwhile, it provides sufficient discourse space for those who seldom had a chance to express themselves sufficiently in mass media in the past.

Taking Chinese Manchu as an example, this article describes that Chinese minority members are making cultural expressions and performances in cyberspace, and realizing the reconstruction and imagination of the traditional community with their conscience from “In Itself” to “For Itself” under the guide of minority elites.

## II. Weakening and Strengthening of Manchu Identity

The Manchu people are distributed all across China, mostly in northeast and north China. According to the Tabulation on the 2010 Population Census of P.R.C., Manchu has the 3rd most populations in all 55 minorities.

---

Actually, Manchu is a quite special ethnic group. As is known, Manchu has dominated Qing Dynasty for nearly 300 years (1636-1912). There were such systems as “Eight-Banner” (Ba Qi ) that had profound impacts on the cultural tradition and psychological identity of the Manchus. However, Manchu seems to gradually lose her own distinctive cultural features during the later century. Nowadays, she has too many similarities with the majority in China - Han.

I have many Manchu friends in Beijing. They know clearly that which Banner they are from, but no one can speak in their mother tongue or tell their own specific culture. I can feel a kind of identity crisis from them. What does Manchu means to them? Where is her future?

In recent years, more and more measures have been taken to revitalize their culture by the Manchus. At the very beginning, those who participated in it were mostly the elites such as officials, scholars, directors, etc. Their common goal is to strengthen “the consciousness of Manchu” and are demoted to the “cultural revitalization of Manchu” although they might have individual motives and strategies.

For example, “Banjin Festival” is now well-known in all Manchu areas but few Manchus know that how this festival first rose in China. In 1981, Zhao Zhan, a professor in Minzu University of China and some other teachers and students organized the “New Year’s Party of Manchu”, which was a try to hold a Manchu festival. This was the first celebration on a Manchu festival and arose the enthusiasm of Manchus all over China to celebrate their own festivals.

Manchu in Shenyang, Liaoning celebrated the Manchu Festival in Chinese lunar 13rd, Oct., 1986. From then on, more and more Manchu began to celebrate this festival at this day. It was on this day when the first Manchu emperor Hong Taiji declared the name of Manchu and marked formally that Manchu began to appear on the historical stage.

The first “Manchu Culture Forum” was held in Dandong, Liaoning at the beginning of October, 1989. The Manchu Fraternity Associations from nine cities proposed to determine an exact time to celebrate the Manchu festival. Finally, the forum made a decision that this festival was 13rd, Oct. in Chinese lunar.

Since China entered the 21th century, more and more people are interested in Manchu culture. At the same time, the spread and application of the Internet gives the “grass roots” a great chance to express their craze about their culture. Therefore,



both the elites and the grass roots jointly take part in the action of “cultural revitalization”.

The new communication environment is not only the carrier but also a part of the ethnic culture. The online media can be divided into the following three types:

1. Websites-the cornerstone to communicate Manchu culture. *Auspicious Manchu*

(<http://www.qiren.cn>, later <http://www.manchus.cn>), founded in 2002, was once the biggest portal site of Manchu.



Pic. 1

2. Virtual communities-the activities fields of the communication of Manchu culture. There are two most popular Manchu virtual activities fields. One field is in the post bars (<http://tieba.baidu.com>) where are 15 bars till now with separate topics or audience (Pic. 1). Another field is *Manchu Online* (<http://www.manjusa.com>), the former *Youth Manchu Forum*, was founded in 2010.
3. Mobile new media-the extension of the communication of Manchu culture. The rising of new media such as “weibo” and “wechat” provide more possibilities for minority individuals to spread their culture(Pic. 2).



Pic. 2

### III. Manchu Identity in Virtual Community

During their migration to other places and mingle with other groups, the minority members inevitably feel their identity lost and their culture threatened to different degrees. They are eager to seek their homeland, restore their culture, feel respected and participate in the development so that they can preserve and strengthen their cultural identity and rebuild their ethnic community. Thus the virtual communities came into being.

As a rising and boundless public space, Internet provides for the minorities a place to reconstruct ethnic culture and reshape ethnic identity through imagination. The minority members build up a spiritual homeland across time and space, where they reshape the relationship among the individuals, the ethnic groups and the country.

Culture is the foundation to maintain the boundary of an ethnic group. The contents of an ethnic website should be the basic cultural factors that are different from other ethnic groups. These cultural factors play an important role in maintaining the boundary and represent the identity. They produce a common memory for all members and bring them back to their homeland.

Manchu is no longer the dominator as in the history and now becomes a modern ethnic group with a common ancestral imagination and historical memory. It does not “disappear”. The foundation of her identity is subjective social construction.



Pic. 3

Taking *Manchu Online* as an example, let's see how the virtual community produces the cultural identity and common memory.

It is a Manchu BBS founded in 2010. It has 17421 members and 66003 posts up to 24<sup>th</sup>, Sep., 2018. Maybe it is the most popular website among the Manchus in recent years since some other websites closed one after another due to different reasons.

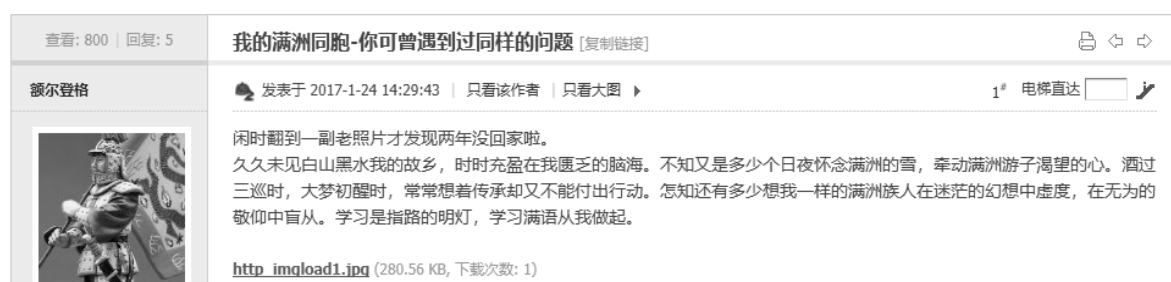
Its navigation bar is as above (Pic. 3). It has such four main channels as education, culture, media and Manchu in all places.

## 1. Language



Pic. 4

Manchu language study is the only topic in the education channel. All the six columns are about language study such as mother tongue area, elementary study, questions and discussions, language materials, digitization and teaching information (Pic. 4). Language is an important sign of ethnic identity. Manuel Castells thought that language, especially a mature language, is an essential element of self-identity (Manuel Castells: 2006). Nowadays, few Manchu people can speak Manchu language and most of them are the old.



Pic. 5

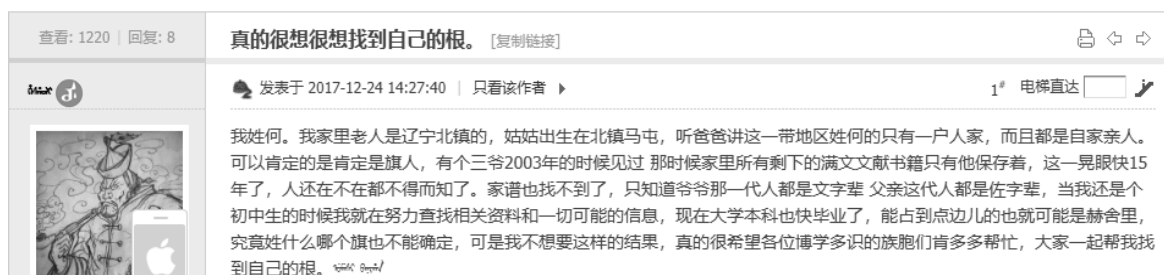
A netizen called Erdenge said, “I often want to inherit (our culture) but cannot take action. I wonder how many Manchus like me are spending time in vain and following respect for nothing? To study is the light to guide the road ahead. To study manchu language, start from me.” (Pic. 5)

Language is not only a tool for thinking and social intercourse but also a symbol of ethnic identity. At the micro level, language puts a direct impact on social activities; at the macro level, language plays an important role in the formation and maintain of ethnic identity.

## 2. Surnames

The culture channel includes nine columns as follows: history, music and dance, painting and arts, dress, surnames, skills, folk customs, literature, pictures. Among all these identity symbols, the column “surnames” is quite important for Manchu identity.

Since the downfall of Qing Dynasty, several generations of Manchus feel more and more obscure about their own ethnic identity. Those who feel doubted about their identity begin to question the elders of the family, or trace their surnames to get back the ethnic consciousness.



Pic. 6

This is a post with the subject as *I really really want to find my own root*. The author wrote, “My surname is He. The elderly of my family are from the north town of Liaoning provinceness. My aunt was born in the horse village of the north town. My father once said that the family in this area with the surname He was one big family. It is certain that we family are banner people. I’ve seen an uncle in 2003 who well preserved all the literature books in Manchu script of my family. Now fifteen years passed and I even don’t know whether he is alive. The genealogy cannot be found either. What I only know is that my grandfather is Wen generation and my father Zuo. I’ve been trying to find all possible information when I was in junior

*school and I'm a college graduate. I think the surname of my family may be Hexeri but I'm not sure what is my surname and which banner I am. I'm not satisfied with the result and really hope that there are knowledgeable Manchus can help me to find my root.”(Pic. 6)*

The surname is one of the most important signs in Manchu cultural system. The “old surnames” in Manchu have not been used in daily life since long ago. However, many Manchus never forget the surnames of their ancestors through the family oral inheritance or the family genealogy revised. It seems that there is no difference between the Manchu and Han surnames but actually the former is carrying different ancestral memories.

### 3. History

Nowadays, Manchu has fewer and fewer characteristics in her culture. How does Manchu preserve her collective identity since she lost the cultural particularity? The most important is the collective memory about the history.

全部主题 ▾ 最新 热门 热帖 精华 更多 ▾	<input type="checkbox"/> 新窗	作者	回复/查看	最后发表
[清代] 远去的铁骑——盛京八旗征战史		1115 2017-4-17	17 2868	šolon 2018-6-14 08:42
[清代] 新疆满族西迁史		Namutu 2013-1-2	41 12034	kinmark@163.com 2018-6-10 11:52
[清代] 一份珍贵的清末繙译会试考卷		橘玄雅 2018-4-3	8 844	不知咋的 2018-4-30 10:05
[清代] 朝鲜王朝的长白山认识		sada 2011-1-4	3 1627	66666666 2016-10-10 18:50
[满洲先世(清前)] 纪念金中都建都860周年-白山,黑水,海东青主题特展		akdun 2013-9-27	19 1836	千翎 2014-10-13 09:38
[清代] 造满文和改满文的三位baksi		airag 2012-10-6	14 1663	誉卅 2013-8-26 11:03
[清代] 璦琿阁八旗十讲 第一讲 八旗的基本构架和各个结构		橘玄雅 2011-6-21	23 5803	ditusbc 2012-1-20 21:34
[近现代] 满洲以前的大家族生活, 以自家的生活作为参考, 请勿转载		shurgan 2011-11-21	9 1991	manjuage 2011-12-23 22:52
1896年李鸿章访美时盛大场面		十一月笑 2011-6-20	1 1005	月窗斋主人 2011-6-20 18:11

Pic. 7

The Qing Dynasty is the last one in Chinese history and dominated China for over 260 years. The great empire had a vast territory across the eastern part of Asia and had a profound impact on China and the world history. The posts in history

---

column are divided into three types as pre-Qing Dynasty, Qing Dynasty and modern times (Pic. 7). There are a lot of legends, oral accounts, literature, research findings, old photos, etc., which represent the memory of the ethnic group and the inheritance of the empire. The splendid history made the common historical memories become the important source of the internal identity of Manchu.

The collective memory is the premise of ethnic identity. It is in the history that a group's characteristics different from another and the foundation of collective consciousness are formed. The developing history, myths and legends condensed a collective memory and represent the cultural genes of the ethnic group, which play a very important role in maintaining ethnic identity.

Mike Featherstone wrote, "The creation of an 'ethnic community' needs to have the myths, heroes, accidents, terrains and memory stored and combined together, making them have a nature of origin." (Mike Featherstone, 2009) The imagination about the ancestor and clan, and the memory about the region and history provide rich resources to construct the Manchu culture and make it continue. In the grass-roots, people possess a set of value system - genealogy, pedigree, customs or region - to form their conception about Manchu.

The ethnic identity is on the basis of cultural identity at the ideological level. That is why language and stories are so important to reconstruct the ethnic identity. The encyclopedic columns make the cultural performances ethnic and indigenous. We can say that the online media are the platforms for cultural performances. They can vividly unfold the culture of minorities and make the audience understand visually and aurally.

The virtual community makes people's life extend to the cyberspace and the traditional "acquaintance society" be extended. The traditional community focuses more on the region or function, while the virtual community can return to the ideal community life that Tönnies described to a certain extent.

In general, all such symbols as language, surname, totem, festival, legend and so on both in history and now in cyberspace are used to construct a new spiritual homeland and a shared "imagined communities" what Benedict Anderson called (Benedict Anderson, 1983). The increasing internal identity has an unnegligible influence on the real society.

## IV. Manchu Nationalism in Cyberspace

Jos de Mu thought that possessing an identity means having reflexivity, which is reflected in one's self image (Jos de Mul, 2007). The minority members use Internet not only to reconstruct their cultural characteristics but also confront with the external society and the mainstream culture. The virtual community has become a new public space for Chinese minorities to strive for political, economical and cultural discourse rights and legal interests.

The distinctive power of Internet has crossed the limitation of the virtual society and constructed a new kind of interaction between citizens and country to an appreciable extent. For a country, one of its main tasks is to maintain a multi-culture and a harmonious society. The ethnic nationalism and the social actions it might initiate has caused great focus on it.

Actually, the lost of Manchu ethnic culture in the course of the modernization make some elite members worried to be assimilated in the future. How to maintain her ethnic character and ethnic consciousness has become a problem that the Manchus must face. The Manchu virtual communities in cyberspace always focus on such original factors as language, surnames, genealogy so as to emphasize their sense of family and make the members share the common ethnic emotion and sense of mission. Therefore, there are a lot of active voices in Manchu websites and BBS to advocate to maintain the living power of ethnic culture and awaken the ethnic consciousness. Some of them discuss warmly in cyberspace to strengthen the marriage within Manchu and the revitalization of Manchu language and so on.

The Manchus seek and strengthen their self identification under external pressure. They use the right of speeches to resist the stronger group and mainstream culture in cyberspace. As is mentioned before, any cultural symbols like language, history, dress and so on can be used to build up the cultural boundary, motivate the ethnic identity and even arouse mass actions with the possess of the technical platform.

Yan Chongnian, president of Beijing Manchu Studies Association, is famous for his speeches on the history of Qing Dynasty on a program called "*the Lecture Room*" of CCTV (China Central Television), the national TV station of China. In his speeches, he sang high praise of Qing Dynasty and Manchu. For example, he thought that some historical accidents like "shaving hair and changing costumes", "Qing army invading Shanhaiguan", "literary inquisition" all had positive meaning, which is quite

discrepant with the narrative of the official history.

An extreme incident was that Yan was splatted by a young man on a book signing in 2008. The attacker called Hong Feng said that he was not satisfied with the ideas of Yan and could not but do this to maintain the dignity of Han people. After that, Hong was detained for 15 days by the local police.

This incident caused great focus both in Manchu and Han in cyberspace. Actually, Yan is neither the spokesman of official history nor the spokesman of Manchu nationalism. From this incident we can feel that the distinction between Manchu and Han does exist in the virtual community although the cultural differences are disappearing in the realistic life.

*Northeast Manchu Online* was a BBS in cyberspace and was first founded in 2004. It was very active at the beginning of the century. It showed extreme inclination of ethnic nationalism standing on the position of Manchu. At that time, the abuse and attack on it can be called “crazy nationalism”. Now we cannot watch their crazy performances because it was long gone.

Nowadays, the communication and understanding between Manchu and Han has been increasing. There are still come inharmonious voices from time time. We can find some posts with great anger in *Manchu Online* because of some excessive speeches.. (Pic.8 & Pic. 9)

One topic is “*The more we tolerate, the more they press step by step.*” Another is “*It’s time to get rid of some pigs.*” The floor host posted the picture that Manchu got slander and all the following posts expressed great anger and condemned the way of destructing the national unity. The unconscious Han chauvinism actually exists in real life and even some mainstream media in China today due to some reasons rooted in the history. The deeply suffered minorities, including Manchu, unavoidably begin to counterattack in cyberspace, which in turn become the rational excuse of Han chauvinism.



Pic. 8





Pic. 9

It is worth to think that Chinese Manchu has been in fact an ethnic group with a quite obscure boundary but it expresses so strong consciousness of ethnic nationalism. There are not so many extreme ethnic nationalists in cyberspace while most of the members strengthen their ethnic identity rapidly in recent years. Most people get the knowledge and information about Manchu history and culture by way of Internet and then strongly express their Manchu identity.

In virtual communities, there always are some members that have the inclination of ethnic nationalism and even send out the voices of extreme nationalism. Perhaps these are only a kind of expressions and cannot prove to be a certain relationship between ethnic nationalism and real social action. Anyway, it reveals that the thought of ethnic nationalism emerge out among some of social members.

Manuel Castells thought, “Most of the modern nationalism are reflective while less are initiative. Therefore, it is more cultural and less political. It is more inclined to defend the mechanical culture and less to build or defend its own country.” (Manuel Castells, 2006) What we need to pay close attention to is whether these speeches of Manchus convey the resentment and dissatisfaction with the mainstream society of group, whether they complain about the hatred and sorrow to be marginalized or dissatisfied. If there were extreme ethnic nationalism, it might pose a serious threat on national unity, state stability and people’s security.

## V. Conclusions

*Manchu Online* reveals the deep reflection on the Manchu culture during the course of confronting with the mainstream society. It vividly shows the internal structure and value of Manchu, describes an “imaginary community” on the base of language, region and cultural spirit and further construct and strengthen the cultural identity of Manchu.

---

The ethnic identity is on the premise of a long history. However, the defensive reflections become the new but important source of significance and identity. An ethnic group condenses her compatriots with the help of Internet while the boundary with the outside world is gradually clear.

In the reality, China is still on the way to build up a universal understanding and containment. In the information age, the minorities fully use Internet to express their wills, suggestions and sometimes strong even extreme opinions so as to get the attention from the government and the society. Many minorities have stronger ethnic consciousness and the appeal of cultural revitalization so that there might be some potential threats out of control. Anyway, these appeals are rational, mostly about pursuit of an equal member of Chinese nation. At the same time, the ethnic nationalism might come into being with the impact of Internet technology and human factors.

The minorities set up the ethnic identity on the base of culture and region, and the national identity beyond their ethnic identity. Only when the ethnic identity and the civic identity are equally satisfied can the national identity be strongly formed. If not, the ethnic identity will be strengthened while the national identity be weakened.

The Chinese concept of “harmonious but different”, which has been a virtue to maintain harmony from time immemorial, should also be a principle of dialogue among different civilizations. Only by this can a common homeland shared by all ethnic groups be cultivated in cyberspace.

## References

- Benedict Anderson (2011), *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, translated by Wu Ruren, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press.
- Fei Xiaotong (2008), *Rural China*, Beijing, People's Press.
- Guan Kai (2009), *Is Manchu Missing? - Community Study on Wula Street Manchu Town*, Doctal thesis, Minzu University of China.
- Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Sociey*, translated by Lin Rongyuan, Beijing: Commercial Press, 1999.
- Jos de Mul (2007), *Odyssey in Cyberspace - towards Virtual Antology and Anthropology*, translated by Mai Yongxiong, Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press.
- Manuel Castells (2006), *the Power of Identity*, translated by Cao Rongxiang, Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Mike Featherstone (2006), *Undoing Culture: globalization, postmodernism and identity*, translated by Yang Yudong, Beijing: Beijing University Press.
- Population Census Office of State Council (2010), *Tabulation on the 2010 Population Census of the People's Republic of China*. Retrieved from
- Xiao Rong (2007), *Vitual Space and Imaginary Community - Ethnic Identity and Interaction*, Master's Thesis, Minzu University of China.
- <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/rkpc/6rp/indexch.htm>
- <https://www.manjusa.com>

---

# Study on the national Identity mechanism of Qingzhou Manchu

*Mingxin Liu*  
China

## Abstract

Beicheng community of Qingzhou city is the only Manchu ghetto of Shandong province. On the basis of describing community's historical change, this paper will analysis factors of the ethnic identity mechanism of Manchu in this scattered area, and show its difference from others.

**Keywords:** Manchu of Qingzhou, Eight Banners Garrison City, Ethnic Identity.

In the Early years of the Qing dynasty, to consolidate its rule, the Qing Court made 100 thousand of the total 200 thousand Manchu Banners soldiers, who once followed their Emperor conquer the whole China, stationed in Beijing. Other 100 thousand Banner Soldiers were sent to more than 70 major cities, towns and amphibious crossroads, form the independent Garrison cities and the Beicheng of Qingzhou city is one of them. Currently, Beicheng community of Qingzhou city is the Unique Manchu populated area in Shandong Province, and this article will present the unique of the ethnic identity of Manchu, on the basis of clearing its historical changes, from the Ethnological perspective.

## I. From the "Banner town" to "Community"

In Shandong province, when comes to "Centipede City", "Banner town", "Beicheng", such different names are all refers to the Manchu populated village (community) in Qingzhou city, for in the beginning of constructing the Garrison, the layout of the soldiers' house were row upon row, just like the body of a centipede. It is called "Banner town", because it is once the Garrison of Qing Dynasty in Qingzhou City. It is called as "Beicheng", because the site of the town is located in the ancient Qingzhou city, where is on the north of Nanyang city.

To understand the changes of the Qingzhou Manchu ethnic identity in hundreds of years, the first thing to know is the cause why Qing court built the Banner town. Though there was the rumor of "Tian Wenjing pleaded the Emperor's approval three times", more people accept the version from the "Qing's memoir" that the governor of Hedong, Tian Wenjing pleaded the emperor because Qingzhou is the important place, closely contact with other soldiers fastness for the stability of costal and inland defense, the Yongzheng Emperor proposed to set the Qingzhou Garrison in Qingzhou. However, according to the research of Liu Xiaomeng, the Qing government set garrison town in Qingzhou, considering more important economic factors, which mainly is the livelihood issue of Manchu Banners. Therefore, Qingzhou Banner town, different from former Garrison town that Qing dynasty set up all over the country which located inside the original city, situated outside of the original city. As a "Permanent Garrison " considering the eight banners soldiers' livelihood, Qing dynasty decided to build the construction of the eight banners outside Qingzhou town. According to the "Qingzhou Prefecture Chronicle", in the ninth year of Xianfeng emperor,(1859) " Machu Banner Garrison town located in the north of Qingzhou prefecture, set in the Eighth year of Yongzheng emperor, and completed in the ninth year of Yongzheng emperor." In the tenth year of Yongzheng Emperor (1732), 15000 Manchu officers and soldiers were led by E Mida, moved to Qingzhou banner town, start Manchu's journey there.

---

From setting the Garrison in 1730, Qingzhou Banner town had undergone four development periods: the first period was from 1730 to the revolution of 1911; the second stage was from the revolution of 1911 to the founding of new China; the third stage was from the founding of new China to the 1980s and the last stage was from the 1980s to today.

The first stage is relatively stable, and the duration of the stage is special long. During this period, the Manchu were not engaged in agriculture, taking the officer or the soldier as the means of livelihood, living on military pay. Generally, in this period, the characteristics of Banner town embodied in two aspects: externally, its main task is military fighting; internally, its main character is being harmony with Han people. The current carving art galleries of Qingzhou museum stores two pieces of stone tablets. One is "the copy of zhenjiang in Jiangsu establishing monument for martyrs of Qingzhou Garrison " and the other is monument that Qingzhou town established for the martyrs of Qingzhou Garrison sacrificing in Zhenjiang War. These are the material evidence of the famous Zhenjiang war in history. According to records, in order to resist the invasion of the British fleet, Banners of Qingzhou fought so bravely and refused escaping and flinching from difficulty. The Zhenjiang war is not the unique war that Qingzhou Garrison participated but the most honorable war. Engels, in the context of " British new expedition to China ", spoke highly of the Zhenjiang garrison. It says, "the garrison soldiers fought risking their life until there's the last man left. If these invaders had encountered the same resistance everywhere, they definitely would have not have reached Nanjing". During the same period of military fight, Manchus in the Banner town gradually formed a harmony relationship with Han people. In the process of interview, many elders in Beicheng community talked about this point that there was a supply-demand relationship between Manchu's salary and the products of local Han people, then a harmonious relationship between the two ethnic groups was achieved through the exchange and complementation of resources, which also set a tone for the fate of Manchus in the Banner town.

The second stage is the turbulent period. The Revolution of 1911 indicates the end of the Qing dynasty, the historical events with political meanings undoubtedly exerted far-reaching influence on Manchus in Qingzhou Banner town. The influence in this period mainly embodied in two aspects: the self-transformation of Manchu's livelihood and large-scale flow of Manchu groups. The Ministry of Revenue in feudal China distributed the pay of officers and soldiers of Qingzhou Banner town. After the revolution of 1911, the Six Ministries were removed, Manchus lost the sources of income, to some degree, which great influent the Manchu group. After the revolution of 1911, three poles

prevailed among the Manchus in the Banner town. For the tradition education, the "pen pole" is one of their means of livelihood. The pole of steelyard means that Manchus established handicraft bureaus and the business operation transit from Han people to Manchu people in Beicheng at that time. The last is pole of gun, the Manchu of Banner town took as police and soldiers as their occupation. On the other hand, during this period, Manchus flow out of Banner town at a large scale. According to the records, there were 3500 households flow out of Beicheng, about 8300 people. Then, there were 1000 left, which population approximately is 2300

The third stage is from 1949 to the 1980s. During this period Manchus in Qingzhou Banner town are still under the influence of National policies and social environment, changing continuously. After the founding of People's Republic of China Manchu group of Beicheng community set up the production team, learn farming. Their previous livelihood and life style were completely changed. Farming becomes their major livelihood style. The following Culture Revolution great crushed the Manchu culture of Banner town. Affected by the "destroying the "four dregs of society" movement, Manchu group of Banner town ruined their genealogy, ancestors' tablets with religious superstition color, and the rope symbolized offspring, which were material culture with national identity and national spirit. Then the Manchu culture in this Banner town gradually faded.

The fourth stage is from the 1980s to now. The change in this period characterized two aspects. One is the improvement of national policies that a series of documents emphasizing ethnical affairs came out, which made the Manchu group in Beicheng gaining more freedom. Some of the Manchus liberated from the constraints of agricultural production, and were engaged in the development of industry and commerce. Another aspect is foundation of Beicheng community. In 2012, the Beicheng village, where Manchu group inhabited, was combined with Caiyuan, Beixin, Liushuwan these villages to be Beicheng Community. In 2015, there were 1654 households in Beicheng community, who mainly belonged to Manchu, Han, Mongol, Hui nationalities, including Tong, Na, Ma, Tang, Qi over 50 family names. Manchu people occupied 48% of the total. There were 14 teams of Beicheng community. Manchu residents are mainly distributed in the team of 8 to 14, with a total of 670 households, including the Chinese and Manchu intermarriage family for 356 households, accounting for 53.13% of the total. The political equality, the mutual care in daily life, and the support in the process in production make Manchu people in Beicheng in bloom again. Meanwhile, the unique scattered mixed residential pattern and ethnical characteristics have become cultural characteristics of Qingzhou, and even of Shandong province.

---

## II. Ethnic Identity Mechanism of Manchu in Qingzhou Banner Town

Although Manchu, especially those in the scattered and mixed communities, seem to be a modernized and homogenized group, their symbolic cultural elements and cultural expressions clearly show the uniqueness of their Manchu ethnic identity. While some have changed in the process and only taken effect at some level. In any case, as an important part of the intrinsic ethnic characteristics, their existence to a certain extent declares an identity mechanism of Manchus community in the Beicheng community, playing a role in many aspects.

### 1. Language Island: 'Listening to' the Identity

The relationship between language and ethnicity is usually based on the assumption that language is the main medium of daily communication among people. The common language and unimpeded communication are the basis for the formation of ethnic emotions. Language classification and ethnic classification are not a one-to-one correspondence, but to a certain extent, language is the representation and symbol of ethnic identity, and the close relationship between language and ethnicity cannot be denied. The Manchu dialect of the Beicheng community is a language that is different from the Northeast Manchu dialect and from the dialects used around Qingzhou. This dialect is commonly known as the 'Beicheng dialect'.

There is a big gap between the Beicheng dialect and the Han dialects in other surrounding areas. Through the historical research, it can be found out that Beicheng dialect is influenced by two kinds of dynamics in the course of historical development: one is the inheritance of tradition and the other is adaptation to the environment. The former is mainly embodied in the borrowing of traditional Manchu language vocabulary as well as pronunciation in Beicheng dialect. Nowadays, it can still be seen or heard: for instance, many elders in the Beicheng community refer to the 'spealbone' as 'Halaba' (pronunciation). The latter is mainly reflected in the borrowing of Qingzhou dialect. This influence includes three aspects: vocabulary, pronunciation and speed of speech.

In terms of vocabulary, Qingzhou dialect will reverse the use of two initial consonants 'r' and 'l' in pinyin, and the younger generation of the Beicheng Manchu is mostly affected by this aspect; in terms of pronunciation, the younger generation has some 'Qingzhou flavor', such as 'one layer' (pronounced as 'yi ceng' in pinyin) becomes 'yi xing'; in terms of speed of speech, the younger generation speaks Beicheng dialect



faster than the older generation.

Through interviews with some Manchu elderly, we learned that the use of language in Beicheng Manchu community has strong scenes, selectivity and flexibility. This phenomenon is also reflected in some literature, the so-called ‘diglossia system’: in the official and writing occasions, the Manchu language was used, while Chinese was used during the communication with Han people.

The difference is that within the Manchu ethnic group in Beicheng community, people speak Beicheng dialect and they generally speak local dialect when they communicate with groups outside the community, but it doesn’t exclude some particular words in Beicheng dialect emerging during certain expressions. When interviewing shops along the street, and asking people how to distinguish between the local Manchu and the Han, the general answer of the Han people is ‘listening to their accent’. Although some issues have not yet been fully clarified, one point is very clear, that is, ‘Beicheng dialect’, as an expression of language, is still a symbol of the Beicheng Manchu identity. They often speak unique vocabularies, and whether people can understand this dialect or not becomes a symbolic expression of their group identity in their daily lives.

## 2. Religious Belief: Establishing Identity at a Psychological Level

As an important element in ethnic cultures, religious belief is not only a tool for an ethnic group to form its cultural systems, but also a vessel that showcases that group’s distinctive aspects. In China, religious beliefs do not have a rigid form among rural communities or ethnic groups. Instead, being a form of “ideology”, these beliefs go through changes as the society develops. Nevertheless, the inherent logic of these belief systems remains. When the Qingzhou Banner town was established, the early religious belief of the Manchu people, Shamanism, was introduced. These Qingzhou Manchu people still follow some Shamanic traditions passed down by their ancestors, such as the veneration of willows. They plant willows, make sacrifices to the trees and venerate them. The willow is important in Manchu religious systems, in that it connects ancestors to their descendants. According to early records, the town was once surrounded by willows, and two willow-shaded avenues run all the way from its South Gate to the ancient town of Dongyang. In fact, in ancient Manchu legends, it was the willow that produced all living things and mankind. However, after Manchu people entered the Central Plains and became scattered in various provinces, the traditional influence of Shamanism gradually weakened and eventually died out. However, this Manchu relic has had a profound impact

---

on the belief system of Qingzhou region. Following the introduction of Christianity in the 1920s, Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity and Shamanism coexisted in Qingzhou at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For the Manchu people of Qingzhou, this marks the beginning of a period of religious diversity. After the 1911 Revolution, the large-scale population movement and ethnic integration challenged the traditional belief systems of Qingzhou Manchu people. The coexistence of multiple religions also provides alternative belief systems for the Manchu people. Today, the Manchu community in Beicheng has completely lost their traditional Shamanic religion. According to survey, in 2007, 84% of the community was atheists. This situation is basically consistent with the author's investigation. When being asked about their religious beliefs in interviews, the local people either answered that they had none, or that they only practiced ancestor worship. Next, in order to answer questions related to their ethnic identity, the author will expand on the role of religious beliefs as seen by the local Manchu people with an “insider’s point of view”.

The traditional Manchu people live by fishing and hunting. Instead of establishing ancestral temples like Han people, they worship ancestors by making sacrifices. This tradition is an important means of education and cultural inheritance among Manchu people. The Qingzhou Manchu people continue the tradition of ancestral worship, that is, descendants of the same surname would worship their common ancestor. Some of the most symbolic objects of ancestral worship are "ancestral board" and "ancestral pocket", which are commonly used before the Cultural Revolution to express the emotional connection between the Manchu ancestors of Northeast China and their descendants in Qingzhou. According to what the author has learned from interviews, these ancestral boards hanging on the west wall are mostly gone, while the only traditional religious symbol left there are the “hanging stickers”.

The religious beliefs of the Manchu, which was passed down in the form of ancestor worship, disappeared in the 1920s. According to the documents and reports from the elderly, the sacrifice offered to the ancestors is a black pig tied with a red thread that symbolizes happiness, and the ritual often takes place at midnight. The congratulatory speech at the sacrifice mainly focuses on praising the deeds of ancestors; praying for fertility; educating people to be moral, serve the nation well, and remember forever the virtues of the ancestors. Although large-scale ancestor worship activities in Qingzhou were never held again, practices of ancestor worship are still present in small families. During the interview, some elders spoke of those Manchu people who migrated to Qingdao and other places after the 1911 Revolution. They are mostly in their 70s now, and many of them hope to return to their hometown—Beicheng, Qingzhou—before death and worship their ancestors’ graves.

Overall, religious beliefs seem to have a less obvious influence on the ethnic identity of the Beicheng Manchu community than language does. However, if we expand the definition of Manchu religious beliefs from worship of nature and Shamanism to ancestor worship, we will find that the original psychological belief in deities has gradually evolved into a more practical code of conduct or a tool for spiritual comfort. In the course of the interview, some elders mentioned that the Manchu people in Beicheng community always show great respect and care to their elders. From there, we can assume that the veneration of deities and ancestors was not gone with the disappearance of sacrifice and rituals; on the contrary, it has developed into an external code of conduct within modern society, that is, to respect and care for their elders. At the same time, the recently popular "root-seeking journeys" may only be an emotional bond that holds the family together for the Manchu community, but from the view of outsiders, these acts definitely express a type of communal emotion and identity among the Manchu people. Systematic religious beliefs have long ceased to exist for the Manchu community of Beicheng, but the spiritual and emotional bonds it includes remain.

### 3. Family Tree: Affectional Bounding through Changes

In the fieldwork of anthropology and ethnology, it's very important to grasp the complex interpersonal relations in local society. And genealogical method is a really useful tool for analysis in fieldwork. Family tree effectively functions both as cultural practice and a text of cultural affection. To talk about family trees of ethnic groups, we will discuss their role in organizing social behaviors, as well as cultural mechanism related with ethnic identification and emotions. During my fieldwork in Beicheng Community from 2010 to 2014, I collected several family trees of Manchu families, including 8 old family trees dating back to Qing Dynasty and 3 new family trees.

Family tree of the family of Kou told me that it played a role to retain memory. Owners of the family tree couldn't recall exactly their ancestors and they could only recognize relations of their ancestors through names and characters on the family tree. But all of them affirmed that they were relatives of the royalty and their ancestors used to be prominent officials of Qing Dynasty. Words like "Tian en"(generousness from the heaven) and "Di ze"(kindness from the emperors) indicate identification of status and emotions. When introducing their family tree and telling stories of their families, interviewees usually chose to talk about ancestors who had a high position or used to be influential. Historical events like "Zhenjiang Battle", "the Sino-Japanese War", "Linqing Battle" constituted important contents when these old members introduced their family tree. Actually, these famous historical events are not directly related with interviewees'

---

families, but storytellers never cared. When telling stories, the family tree spreading on the floor was no longer resources of their stories, but the specific thing to evoke particular historical narrative and emotional expressions of their ethnic groups. Such a phenomenon--a special kind of historical sense and sense of memory in modern daily life, is prevailing in the Beicheng Community.

Besides, functions of family trees of Manchu in Beicheng Community were always evolving through centuries of historical change. From founding of Manchu Banner town to the Revolution of 1911, family trees used to be sacred esoteric texts, worshiped in sacrifice to ancestors. Family trees often appeared in influential events or religious rites of the family. During this period, family trees basically function as objects of worship and certificate of household registration. From the Revolution of 1911 to 1960s, family trees transferred from sacred texts to secular instrument for recording, which played a role to coordinate interpersonal relationship and relationships between ethnic groups. Such a change may be caused by two factors in that period. On one hand, as intermarriage between Manchu in Beicheng Community and other ethnic groups took place, family trees became necessary for Manchu to maintain their identity and differences. On the other hand, as more and more Manchu in Beicheng Community migrate to distant areas, family trees became important means for Manchu descendants scattering across China to be bound together and keep their ethnic identity and emotions. In 1960s, the movement of “destroying four dregs of the society” made a serious influence to family trees of Manchu. It is said that a large number of family trees were damaged in this times. Only a few families conserved their family trees in secrete. After 1980, with improvement of ethnic policies, Manchu in Beicheng Community regained opportunities to express themselves. How to retrieve ethnic identity and emotions as well as kinship became common concern of this era. In addition, attentions of academic circle made local Manchu to change their attitudes towards family trees. To a certain extent, attentions and influences from outside made it a new fashion for Manchu families in Beicheng Community to actively produce family trees and exhibit them.

From sacred in the past to secular instrument, from being oppressed in the Cultural Revolution to completely revive in nowadays, the role of family tree in the idea of Manchu People of Beicheng Community is really complex. They constitute a visible symbol of so-called invisible ethnic consciousness and identity. During my fieldwork, when I mentioned family tree and problems of lineage, the interviewees will have no hesitation to exhibit their family trees so as to express their common ethnic consciousness and ethnic emotions. We find that family tree in modern society can be seen as some kind of resource that is referred to by so-called “instrumental theory”. Such symbols and

expressions that are the crystallization of collective memory, not only helps to clarify and simplify interpersonal relationships of Manchu people in Beicheng Community, but also play a role to increase identification of Manchu. Moreover, a holistic Manchu culture symbolized by family tree, will help to increase its competitiveness in gaining necessary resources.

#### 4. Folk Custom: Remaining Identification

In their book *Interpretive Folklore*, Lin Jifu and Wang Dan proposed that folklore is not only one kind of traditional construction, but also one kind of expressions of daily lifestyle and emotions. In order to completely present the mechanism of ethnic identity of Manchu in Beicheng Community, I included the topic of folk custom of Manchu in my interview. I expected to see whether they still keep some different custom in daily life compared to Han people. And I found that a few Manchu characteristics still remained in their activities of folklore and life rites, though these activities had become already the same with that of Han people. And these Manchu characteristics mainly existed in customs of birth-giving, marriage and funeral. With increasing external influence, customs related with birth-giving of Manchu have become almost the same with Han, but a few details embodied characteristic of Manchu. In cognitive ideas of Manchu, there are strict taboos related with pregnancy of women in their sports, food and other activities. These taboos may derive from nature worship, empirical taboo and discrimination to pregnant women. In Beicheng Community, birth-giving custom is no longer complex, but a few taboos exist. For example, pregnant women cannot take part in wedding or sacrificial activities. And they cannot twist their bodies when sitting. When celebrating completion of the first month of the baby, a rite of tying a string (symbolizing continuity of the lineage) will be performed, relatives and friends will be invited to a banquet, and ancestors will be worshiped by the whole family. Names of the baby will not be given until completion of the first month, as they think "Ghosts usually came to catch babies in their first month. And a baby with a name in that period is easily to be found by ghosts." These customs are deep engraved on minds of the old Manchu and are passed on to the younger generations in daily life. However, these customs are more likely to be kept in words and thoughts than in practices of daily life.

From the late Qing Dynasty, Internal marriages were broken and intermarriage between Manchu and other ethnic groups increases. Influenced by Han people, Manchu in Beicheng Community form a set of complex but reasonable procedures of wedding. This set of procedures of wedding now almost has no differences with that of Han people, as arranged marriages in the past are completely replaced by marriage based on

---

romantic love. Old Manchu in the community told me that a remaining obvious characteristic of Manchu wedding is “Huimen”(a rite that the bride returns her natal family). If the bride returns her natal family on the day of the wedding, she should not stay there on that night. If the bride returns her natal family on the next day of the wedding, she should eat the dinner cooked by her natal family rather than her husband’s family on the day of wedding. The following important procedure is worship to ancestors. The newly married couple, led by the bridegroom’s parents, should go to the ancestral grave for worshipping. These tedious procedures have been simplified in Beicheng Community. Inter-marriage makes two parties of the marriage with different ethnic backgrounds and customs impossible to stick to their own fashions, but to gain a set of relatively practical wedding procedures through negotiating.

In these years, customs of funeral have undergone great changes. However, there are still some old customs remain, e.g. the custom to keep the corpse for three days after death. Old Manchu told me that the most characteristic customs of Manchu funeral remaining is announcement of the death and acknowledgement after the funeral. If an old man pass away, when his oldest son go to tell his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, the son should not enter their home, but only shout outside their gates. After the funeral, the oldest son should go to visit these relatives to show appreciations for their participating the funeral and present them with good meat and wine.

### III. Reflection

We have been feeling embarrassed in our researches on ethnic identity of minority nationalities living in mixed communities. We have been trying to identify in field researches the unique features of minority nationalities living in mixed communities in terms of language, religion, belief, organization, genealogy and customs. However, contrary to what we thought, we cannot find in field researches the ethnic identity and national sentiments stated in documentary records. What should we do to cope with this situation? Or can we say that this situation means minority nationalities living in mixed communities are completely homogenized by surrounding main nationalities? The answer seems not that simple.

During my research and analysis of the Manchu ethnic identity mechanism living in Beicheng Community, Qingzhou, the most impressive thing to me is that the aged Manchu there basically spoke with one voice that “we are not different from Han nationality at all” although they mentioned the unique features of ethnic identity in the

interview. While Han nationality around them thinks they have recognizable characteristics because they can be easily identified as Manchu through their language and accent.

Therefore, although explicit cultural elements of ethnic identity cannot be found in minority nationalities living in mixed communities, there are still remains and variants of some cultural elements, enhancing ethnic identity and national awareness of Manchu in Beicheng Community. The most representative example is the use of language. They speak Beicheng dialect in some interior scenarios to show that they belong to the same nationality. Identity in terms of belief and genealogy revision is internal and implicit and different from the identity being “heard”, handed down in the form of variants although many features are reserved as times change. Regarding customs and traditions, each individual is a part of his/her national culture network and his/her national identity and national awareness are assured by rituals and customs in his/her whole life. Although such identity system is becoming compromised and negotiable in open communities, given proper scenarios or opportunities, Manchu in Beicheng Community will not hesitate to resort to the national identity system existing in their psychology and thoughts to show their national identity and attitude toward national identity.

Therefore ethnic identity or national difference is not a emotional and identity system only reflected by explicit behaviors. In other words, it doesn't mean national awareness and identity vanish when you see no national difference. Besides, we can see unique features in language, religion, genealogy and customs among Manchu in Beicheng Community, Qingzhou. The difference between ethnic identity and daily life is basically a difference in the cultural system and social system. Ethnic identity and daily life are not be mutually exclusive. Ethnic identity doesn't result in conflicts in social communication while harmony in social communication doesn't mean loss of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity and normal social life of Manchu in Beicheng Community is a perfect example and a very special case for researches on minority nationalities living in mixed communities in China.

# Beyond protectionism: The study of media aesthetic education in the internet age

*Meichen Huo<sup>1)</sup>, Caiyun Wen*  
*Media Science School of Northeast Normal University*

## Abstract

In this paper, the author takes the media aesthetic education in the Internet age as the studying object, human theory of Marxism as the philosophical foundation, and “integrated development of human” as the supreme goal, and looks into the discussion on connotation and practice approach of the media aesthetic education concept based on “integrated experience”. Through the interpretation of the concept of media aesthetic education, combining with the newborn typical Internet culture phenomenon in the Internet age, this paper discusses how the “integrated experience” guides the audience to cope with the mediatization survival crisis, to break the aesthetic consciousness with binary opposition and to cultivate diverse aesthetic tastes that meets the requirements for harmonic development of “human media social relations”, and to construct the media aesthetic values of “intersubjectivity theory” through aesthetic education. Moreover, this paper also explores the practical education value of new media art in the Internet age for improving aesthetic judgment of the audience and the comprehensive practice strategies of media aesthetic education for improving “aesthetic perception, aesthetic emotion, and aesthetic creativity” of the audience combining with typical Internet art text.

**Keywords:** media literacy education, media aesthetic education, online museum, We Chat public welfare, APP art

---

1) Huo Meichen (1981–), female, born in Changchun, Jilin, a lecturer of Media Science School of Northeast Normal University, Doctor of Arts, Master Tutor



## I. What Is Media Education and Media Aesthetic Education?

Media education is the expression in Europe, and it is also known as “Media Literacy” in North America and Asia. The publication of the literary criticism work-*Culture and Environment: The Training of Critical Awareness* written by Professor F. R. Leavis (English Literature School of University of Cambridge), and his student Denys Thompson stands for the true birth of media education<sup>1)2)</sup>. Afterwards, media education activities quickly spread and expand in the United States, Canada and other countries. After more than half a century of evolution, media education has now become formal education of primary schools, secondary schools and universities for the whole or some cities of such countries as the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Australia, the United States, Canada, etc. In Asia, Japan, and Taiwan, Hong Kong of China and other regions, media education theories and educational practices have also become increasingly popular.

At present, although domestic and foreign scholars have a consensus on the definition of “media education”, they have not yet reached completely consistent criteria. Several influential definitions of concepts include: The Aspen Leadership Conference on Media Literacy (Education) in 1992 in the United States defined “media education” as: “the education of cultivating the ability to use, analyze, evaluate, and create various media”<sup>3)</sup>; in 1998, the famous American media culture scholar Joshua Meyrowitz divided media literacy (education) into three types: “Content Literacy, Grammar Literacy, and Medium Literacy. Besides, David Buckingham, a senior media education scholar in the UK, defined the media education as “the education to develop the knowledge, skills and abilities necessary for media application and interpretation”<sup>4)</sup>.

“Media aesthetic education” refers to the media education specific to aesthetics. In short, media aesthetic education refers to a comprehensive humanistic education using media as an educational intermediary to enhance the audience’s abilities of applying, analyzing and assessing media, as well as their aesthetic knowledge structure, aesthetic analysis skills, aesthetic critical reflection ability and self-aesthetic development ability for disseminating and producing various forms of media information. It should be emphasized

---

2) F. R. Leavis, Denys Thompson. *Culture and Environment: The Training of Critical Awareness*[M]. Chatto & Windus. Place of Publication: London. 1933.

3) Aufderheide, P.(ed.), *Media Literacy: A Report of The National Leadership Conference on Media Literacy*, Aspen, CO: Aspen Institute ,1993

4) David Buckingham, *Media Education: Literacy, Learning and Contemporary Culture*, Polity Press, 2003:36

---

that, unlike the normal aesthetic education of general sense, media aesthetic education refers in particular to the aesthetic education activities mainly focusing on education of artistic, social and scientific aesthetics in media activities (incl. information dissemination and receiving) which is carried out in the media dissemination environment. However, same as the normal aesthetic education, the media aesthetic education also focuses on cultivation of the aesthetic ability of the connoisseurs. It is a humanistic education for the educational goals of establishing correct aesthetics and perfecting the aesthetic realm as the main functions, and finally realizing the “all-round development of human beings”.

## II. Online Museum and Cultivation of Individual Aesthetic Perception

On the basis of digital technology, the online museums combined with the Internet first appeared in the 1990s. It is generally believed that the launch of online Louvre Museum in France is the beginning. So far, there are three types of online museums: “The first is the pure website form, that is, the integration of picture, text, multimedia information and other graphic information, such as China’s digital science and technology museums, digital engineering; and the Europeana Plan crossing borders, crossing agencies, crossing resources and crossing the central and local departments in Europe. The second is the virtual reality integration form based on the Internet, for scene representation by the digital science and technology on the basis of the physical museum, such as the online museum of the Capital Museum of China, the online museum of the Palace Museum. The third is the form of museums that provide user with interaction and simulation viewing through the VR equipment, also known as the online virtual museums; the online virtual museum is currently in the rapid development stage, such as China’s Digital Museum, “Digital Palace Museum”, “Digital Dunhuang”, “Digital Summer Palace”, “Digital Old Summer Palace”, and National Palace Museum, Taipei, etc. At the same time, the online virtual museum is being increasingly integrated with the mobile terminal equipment. Through the mobile phone APP software, the online virtual museums start to break away from the PC units to achieve a freer and more accessible viewing experience.

### 1. Freedom and Convenience of Online Representation and Aesthetic Experience of Mass Aesthetic Objects

The cultivation of aesthetic perception firstly requires developing the sensory acuity, i.e., liberating and enhancing perception in the process of keeping in close contact with the rich and vivid world of sense, which fundamentally requires accumulation of a large

quantity of aesthetic perception experience. Compared with the traditional class art teaching and aesthetic education of physical museums, online museums present archaeological relics, various works of art and intangible cultural heritage in form of digital information on the Internet via media of words, images (dynamic and static), sound (sound, music and commentary) and interactive experience, providing a large number of aesthetic objects for aesthetic perception education.

For instance, the Louvre Museum in France was the first one in the world which “moved” its physical exhibits to an online virtual museum. As early as 1995, the Louvre Museum opened an official website, but at that time it only provided a brief introduction to the history and exhibition information of the Louvre Museum. “In 2004, the Louvre Museum completed a comprehensive upgrade of its online virtual museum on which 35,000 collections exhibited in the museum and 130,000 pieces of paintings in storage were presented. It also offered a 3D virtual tour in four languages including French, English, Spanish and Japanese. In 2005, Louvre website opened its e-commerce function. In the 10 years from 1995 to 2005, with the popularity of the Internet, the number of visitors to the Louvre website kept rising. In 2004, this number was equal to the actual number of visitors to the Louvre Museum, both 6 million”<sup>5</sup>). The European Virtual Museum, launched in 2008 by the Culture Committee of EC, now has collected collections of thousands of libraries, galleries, newspaper exhibition galleries and archives centers from 27 European countries and regions, including 1,214,576 pictures, 47,362 texts, 1,045 pieces of videos, 571 audios and 438 pieces of 3D virtual images<sup>6</sup>). In addition, the Google Art Project among the Google Cultural Institute (GCI) Projects launched by Google Company is an online museum development project (<http://www.googleartproject.com>). As of April 2012, “Google Online Virtual Museum has covered 151 museums, art galleries, archives centers and cultural centers from 40 countries and regions, and it has displayed more than 32,000 works of art online; totally more than 20 million visitors have accessed the website; more than 180,000 individual online collections have been created”<sup>7</sup>). When so many exquisite works of art are presented free on the Internet, anyone having basic hardware facilities can browse and read them carefully. Also, online virtual museums extend the previous fixed teaching classroom to every family allowing teachers, parents and students participate in media aesthetic education practice.

In addition to providing large-scale information on aesthetic objects, online museums

---

5) Zeng Yan. *Virtual and Reality of Louvre Museum*[J]. Sanlian Life Week, 2009(2):5

6) Note: the above digital information is abstracted from <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/collections/art-history>, 2016-3-1

7) Ngak, Chenda. “Google Art Project features White House, the Met, National Gallery”. CBS News.

Retrieved April 15, 2012.

---

free the audience from restrictions of visit time and place of traditional physical museums benefiting from the media features of the Internet, thus making the accumulation of aesthetic perception experience freer, more convenient and faster. Taking the Louvre Online Museum as an example, the physical museum has above 400 exhibition rooms, including nearly 60,000 collections on display, so it is difficult for ordinary visitors to complete the tour of all exhibits in a week. However, with the virtual tour through the Internet, you can complete viewing of all the graphics and text information of the 35,000 exhibits in the “Ancient Oriental, Ancient Egypt, Ancient Rome and Greece Art, Painting, Sketch, Carving, Arts & Crafts Exhibition Halls”. “The audience can acquire the opportunity of being more accessibility and availability of museum information in the virtual museum space, and ‘digital exhibition’ goes beyond the geological restrictions”<sup>8)</sup>.

## 2. Operability Improvement of Aesthetic Perception Education

The cultivation of aesthetic perception requires not only accumulation of a large quantity of aesthetic experience, but also the deep processing of aesthetic object information in the process of transforming aesthetic sense into aesthetic perception, so that the sensory information generated by the brain due to external stimulation is translated into a unified, organized holistic representation. Therefore, it requires that in the process of aesthetic education, students should be provided with the training of repeated sensory stimulation of the same aesthetic object, a close contact with and partial detailing of aesthetic objects, and differential comparative feelings of similar aesthetic objects. To this aspect, it is very difficult for the traditional classroom aesthetic education teaching to achieve this long-term and deep training in aesthetic perception, because not everyone has the opportunity of a collector who can play with and appreciate works of art at close range every day, and not everyone has the chance to go to museums, art galleries, and exhibition halls every day to repeatedly study on works of art. For the majority of audiences who are exposed to art appreciation through books, publications, and video materials, it is difficult to feel the true restoration of color, pixels, texture and other details on the replicas due to technical limitations. Regarding to such problems, the network museum fundamentally broke restrictions of time, space, technology and material resources in the process of aesthetic education training, so that the operability of aesthetic sensitivity training can be greatly improved.

For example, the Louvre online museum tried to create pictures of Leonardo da Vinci’s Mona Lisa in high-definition digital format, allowing online viewers not only to browse the work freely as per their own time, but also to achieve amplification of any

---

8) Zeng Yan. *Virtual and Reality of Louvre Museum*[J]. Sanlian Life Week, 2009(2):5

part of this painting through the downloading a tool software, so that analysis of the lines, colors, light, texture, brushwork details of the work can be more practical. In addition, it is also important to note the role of Google's "Google Art Project" in the training of improving aesthetic perception. In 2012, "Google Art Project" implemented two new technologies: the first is the Indoor-version of the Google Street View 360-degree camera system (indoor panoramic "cart"), which is used to collect 360-degree panoramic imaging of the exhibition hall. With this technique, "Web surfers can, under the guidance of street view camera 'cart', make a 360-degree all-round tour of the interior buildings and exhibits of physical museums, art galleries, and exhibition halls, for example, the Palace Museum and have an online immersive appreciation of national treasures such as "Jadeite Cabbage with Insects" and "Duke Mao Tripod" and precious collections like Fan Kuan's "Travelers among Mountains and Streams"<sup>9)</sup>. The second technology is using Gigapixel technology to produce 7 gigapixel ultra-high-definition (UHD) images. "Through the head-mounted high-definition digital camera and the portable image decomposition storage device, the staff of Google Art Project can improve the magnifying multiple of artwork picture quality. The high-definition images produced by this technology have above 1,000 times the local pixel definition of a normal camera<sup>10)</sup>. Google's Amit Sood said: "taking Van Gogh's "The Starry Night" as an example, the Gigapixel technology allows you to see things that represent the details of the painting, how to do if you want to look at brush strokes? Through amplifying it and looking at it closely, you can truly see these cracks clearly. Also, for example, for the *Picture of the New Year* provided by the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Google's ultra-high definition image technology allows you to see the texture when you click on it. Even if you want to see a man's garment made of salmon skin, you can see the texture of the skin just clicking to enlarge it"<sup>11)</sup>.

### 3. Online Virtual Museum and Enhancement of Human's "Emotional Memory" Ability

The aesthetic memory of a man can be basically divided into such categories as motor memory, emotional memory, imaginal memory and word-logic memory<sup>12)</sup>. However, the content sensitivity against the emotional and imaginal memory is more prominent. In response to this feature of aesthetic memory enhancement, the panoramic walkthrough aesthetic activities of an online virtual museum, which are co-created with VR technologies and multimedia integration technologies, can exert a favorable

9) Zeng Shiwei, *China's Strategy of Google Art Project*[J]. *Art Value*, 2014(4): 24-25

10) Pack, Thomas. *The Google Art Project is a Sight to Behold*[J]. *Information Today*. 28th. May. 2011:5

11) Li Ronghui. *Gigapixel: Artwork in Google's Eyes* [J]. *CBNweekly*, 2012.6:8

12) Petrovsky. *General psychology*, translated by Zhu Zhixian[M]. Beijing: People's Education Press, 1981: 315---317

---

educational value of aesthetic perception.

For instance, in order to better present the art exhibits on Changsha Mawangdui archaeological site and provide visitors with an immersive aesthetic experience so that they can comprehensively and vividly understand ancient Chinese culture during the Western Han Dynasty, which was thousands of years ago, the Online Virtual Museum of Hunan Province created a special online exhibition area called Approaches to the Mansion of Daihou via virtual scenes and panoramic walkthrough technologies. Based on the cultural relics unearthed from Mawangdui Han Tombs and other relics and literature related to the Han Dynasty, 3D animation technology is used to virtually reappear the scenes in the mansion of Daihou, which was illustrious for some time. The scenes are guided by Xinzhui, Lady Daihou. Following her lead to step in, visitors can appreciate sumptuous cultural relics piece by piece and experience the aristocratic and extravagant life in the mansion of Daihou, making the highly developed material civilization in the Han Dynasty easily understood during appreciation and interaction.”<sup>13)</sup> Therefore, the exhibition is designed in a special scene in the mansion of Daihou, and the one-day reception of guests by Lady Daihou is set as the background of the story. When clicking to start the tour, visitors will be naturally placed into the specific scene of “an aristocratic day of the Western Han Dynasty two thousand years ago. With the advancement of the plot, the exhibition naturally integrates into various specific scenes the architectural landscape, archaeological artifacts and customs relating to the clothing, food, shelter and transportation in the aristocratic life of the Western Han Dynasty, which greatly mobilizes visitors’ aesthetic emotional memory.

#### 4. Online Virtual Museum and Enhancement of Human’s “Motor Memory”

“An important rule for improving memory is to fully process sensory materials. This processing involves classifying the characteristics of such materials, disassembling and reorganizing the formal structure, and deeply understanding the memory object. Moreover, muscular movement during the processing can improve memory”<sup>14)</sup>. For example, copying a well-known painting is more advantageous for memory than simply watching this painting, and reading a poem while loudly chanting it is more conducive for aesthetic memory than simply reading it silently. Via the psychological feature of aesthetic education, the interactive function of an online virtual museum gains greater development potential. For example, Hubei Provincial Museum cooperated with Digital Museum of

---

13) [http://www.hnmuseum.com/hnmuseum/index\\_gb.jsp#.2016.3.1](http://www.hnmuseum.com/hnmuseum/index_gb.jsp#.2016.3.1)

14) Du Wei. *The Theory of Aesthetic Education*[M]. Beijing: Education Science Publishing House, 2014 (2): 192

Baidu Baike in 2016 and exhibited 100 digital exhibits in four online branch exhibition halls which are respectively specialized for fine collections, bronzes, gold wares and jade wares as well as lacquer wood wares, comprehensively and vividly outlining the Jing-Chu Culture. The four key highlights of the collections, namely, Zeng Houyi Bells, human skull fossil of Yun County, Blue and White Prunus Vase with the Pattern of Four Historical Figures and Their Favorites and the Sword of Goujian, are all given prominence in the Digital Museum of Baidu Baike".<sup>15)</sup> Among them, the displaying interface of Zeng Houyi Bells is designed in an interactive manner, on which an interaction experience zone of playing knob bells and drums is established on its sub-interface of exhibits. Therefore, visitors can use a mouse as a drumstick to ring the virtual Zeng Houyi Bells anyhow, listen to the digitally simulated ancient sounds and play simple melodies with such sounds. This kind of motor memory has deepened experiencers' perception of the timbre, pitch and intonation of Zeng Houyi Bells.

### III. "WeChat Charity" and Cultivation of Individual Aesthetic Emotive Force

#### 1. Positive Emotion Experience of "WeChat Charity" as a Prosocial Behavior

"WeChat Charity" came out of several charity events on the "microblogging" social platforms of such portals as Sina, Tencent, NetEase and Sohu in 2011. For instance, Professor Jian-Rong Yu from Rural Development Institute Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, initially launched an online public welfare activity called "Take Photos to Save Children Beggars" on his personal microblog, and within only ten days, more than 900 photos were updated by netizens from various regions, which gradually turned "microblogs combat child-trafficking" into a public event. Later, the Ministry of Public Security carried out special rectification actions in combination with online crackdown on the abductions,<sup>16)</sup> and this "micro-charity" event is still going on. Again, for instance, Deng Fei, a reporter of Phoenix Weekly, cooperated with more than 500 domestic journalists and dozens of news media in February 2011 to carry out a microblog public welfare activity called "Free Lunch for Children" by providing the pupils in impoverished Chinese villages with free lunches. "By the end of 2012, "Free Lunch for Children" helped 36,467 children altogether, who came from 205 schools in 17 provinces all over the country, and an asset of RMB 29.18 million was raised at present."<sup>17)</sup>

15) <http://baike.baidu.com/museum/hubeisheng#branch=1113&collection=17824.2016.3.16>

16) Zhang Jianfeng. *Study on Weibo Charity Communication*(Doctoral Thesis) [D]. Hunan University. 2013.55

17) www.cnr.cn. "Free Lunch for Children" releases Financial Report: RMB 25.44 Million Income and RMB 11.12 Million

---

In 2012, with the emerging of WeChat, a free smart terminal IM App designed and developed by Tencent, “WeChat Charity” began to replace “microblogging charity” with the large user base,<sup>18)</sup> more active mobile interactive platform, high-viscosity aggregation effect of user participation and continuous innovation effect brought about by interactive experience, and became a new impetus to promote Internet charity events in China. Compared with the traditional offline public welfare activities, “WeChat Charity” is featured by a wide range of participation and involvement of diversified themes. Specific activity themes include caring for vulnerable groups and safeguarding social justice, promoting environmental protection and developing ecological public welfare, caring for health public welfare and promoting the rights and interests of the elderly and disabled people in the community, and the organization of various volunteering activities. In other words, participation in prosocial behaviors represented by “WeChat Charity” can be beneficial to the experience and cultivation of positive emotions, thereby enhancing the media’s aesthetic emotive force of the audience. Further along, specific cases will be used to demonstrate how “WeChat Charity” can enhance the aesthetic emotive force of the audience through the positive emotional development path of “release and experience”.

## 2. Dynamic Releasing Cultivation of Aesthetic Emotive Force

The cultivating value of the aesthetic emotive force of “WeChat Charity” is exactly established on the basis that the “strong-tie” interpersonal communication, represented by the Moments, is very conducive to creating a highly trusted emotional atmosphere. In 2012, Tencent added a new online socializing function called “Moments” to WeChat, shaping a new form of virtual social intercourse which mainly targets at mobile users as its application groups, intends to integrate the real relationship resources of users via prompt and constant online messages, pictures, audios, videos as well as other interaction experiences such as comments, likes, forwards and favorites, and takes the “acquaintance circle” as its main body. It is said in the *2014 Research Report on User Behaviors on Chinese Social Apps* issued by China Internet Network Information Center (CINIC) that, WeChat is an online socializing means based on the relation chain of acquaintances when compared with other ways of online socializing. The contacts of WeChat mainly include the friends, classmates, families, relatives and colleagues from real life, accounting for 70%to 90%.<sup>19)</sup> Based on a “strong-tie” interpersonal communication platform, the

---

Outcome [N]. Sina news.

<http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2013-04-03/054926719943.shtml>.2016.3.1

18) Note: According to the data released by Tencent's Penguin Intelligence in 2015, more than 10 million WeChat subscribers have participated in the donation through charity platforms, of which 95% monthly donation amount is within RMB 100, complying with the charity model of small and micro donations

19) China Internet Network Information Center. Behavioral Research Report on Chinese Social Application Users in 2014 [EB/OL].2014.7: 21



information passed on “WeChat Charity” is more reliable and more favorable for users to meet their emotional needs and senses of belonging in the public welfare activities among acquaintances.

### 3. Interactive Experience Cultivation of Aesthetic Emotive Force

If aesthetic emotive force is directly released, then the experiencing ability of aesthetic emotions is reflective and indirect. In other words, aesthetic experience is essentially the experience of ego emotion states.”<sup>20)</sup> This means that during aesthetic education, how to cultivate more active aesthetic participation and enthusiasm of the students and how to make them develop the habit of appreciating, feeling, and creating aesthetic objects in the process of aesthetic experience will be a main topic for developing emotive forces. On this topic, the interactive experience of “WeChat Charity” shows a greater educational value in the cultivation of the experience of aesthetic emotive force. For example, the interactive push notification and uploading of voices become a special function of “WeChat Charity”. In 2014, Tencent established a public account called “Reading for the Blind” (ID: voicedonate) on WeChat, hoping to change traditional charity donations through interactive service that users upload voices on WeChat and to form a new way of experiencing public welfare activities by “donating one-minute voice”. The participation process includes the collection of voices, smart screening, audio substantiation and listening by the blind.” For ordinary WeChat users, they can donate their voices when they are queuing up, waiting for a bus, willing to talk or anytime and anywhere, so as to complete the voice relay and create audio books for 12.63 million blind friends. So far, 575,864 users have participated in this activity and jointly completed the recording of more than 100 audio books. Similar interactive “WeChat Charity” events include On the Road to School initiated in 2013, which has been dedicated to the development of children’s spiritual level. Volunteers are invited to tell stories and recorded them into MP3 players that are later delivered to stay-at-home children. It is seen from the above-mentioned successful “WeChat Charity” events that, this kind of interactive experience can better mobilize the enthusiasm of the audience to participate in prosocial behaviors. In each person’s creating process, “public welfare works” are completed together, so itself has the “social beauty” value of “caring for others, respecting and sharing, and achieving harmony and gaining win-wins.”

---

20) Du Wei. *The Theory of Aesthetic Education*[M]. Beijing: Education Science Publishing House, 2014 (2): 200

---

## IV. APP Art and Individual Aesthetic Creativity Cultivation

In education, the improvement of aesthetic creativity is mainly reflected in the ability to dynamically create aesthetic images, while “the originality, novelty, uniqueness, vividness, transcendence and infectivity of artistic images and artistic conceptions are the internal roots of aesthetic creative thinking and behavior.”<sup>21)</sup> APP is the abbreviation of application software. Compared with the system software of a computer, APP is a microcomputer software that directly serves the needs of user applications, and is mostly installed on a smartphone, a portable computer, or a tablet. With the widespread use of APP applications, the artification of application software and the mobilization trend of digital arts have jointly promoted the birth of APP art. As a brand-new way of aesthetic education, APP art has the potential to promote aesthetic creativity in three aspects, namely, artistic creation, art communication and art appreciation.

Current mobile information receiving terminals, such as smartphones and tablets which basically have MICs for collecting sound, microphones for loud-speaking, front or rear cameras, and different types of embedded sensors (including physical measurements of speed, light, temperature, direction, magnetic force and gravity as well as human sense measurements of heart rate and movement pace, etc. are collectively referred to as mobile capture function of information. In addition, a smartphone also has a real-time locating function that is based on GPS technology or a base station based on a mobile operating network. It is with the support of these two new media technologies that APP art offers participants the possibility of a new way of artistic creation. For example, “Geometric Music” designed and developed by Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie (ZKM) in 2014 is an APP artwork, which uses rheomicrophone at a mobile terminal to offer participants the creation and appreciation of interactive art. Supported by the software application, this work encourages participants to improvise “music” using ambient sounds and vocal recordings recorded on mobile terminals. After that, through the data processing of software, these pieces of “music” are re-rendered into geometric figures, and users can re-edit such “music” works by mixing and matching different geometric shapes and changing the size and position of the graphic. “Geometric sounds” can help users achieve dynamic artistic puzzles with artistic creative behavior.<sup>22)</sup>

In addition to the materials, means, types, and ways of participation in art creation, APP art breaks the boundaries of traditional art creation and brings a new aesthetic

---

21) Qiu Zhengming, Zhu Liyuan. *Dictionary of Aesthetics*[M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Cishu Press, 2007.4: 69

22) <http://www.app-art-award.org.2016.3.30>

experience to the participants. At the same time, APP art brings about innovations in such art forms as game art and augmented reality art. For instance, Austrian artist Jorg Piringer designed an APP artwork called “Konsonant” in 2012, which was an artistic creation attempt using letters, sounds and software techniques. It consists of four different sound games, and rule is to let the participants find the consonants in a special letter system. After that, they can use the consonants found to create music, which means that the letters become the raw materials for automatically generating music. This game can be used not only to create new musical melody, but also to experiment with short experimental music.<sup>23)</sup>

The promotion value of the aesthetic creativity of APP art is also reflected in its innovation in art communication and art appreciation. Firstly, in terms of art communication, the mobile terminal device relied on by APP art can access the Internet through wireless network, so it makes the spread of art break the boundaries of time and space, and the appreciation of an artwork will no longer hinder the wide spread of its aesthetic charm because of the limited space of physical museums. Meanwhile, it is also possible to share art resources and coordinate various artistic activities to maximize the effect of art communication. For example, artist Michael Volkmer created an APP virtual community artwork (also known as group art or cloud art) called “Radwende” in 2014, which focuses on the discomfort and confusion brought to cycling enthusiasts by the development of European cities, represented by Wiesbaden, Germany. The creator believes that there must be contradictions between the rapid development of modern cities and the healthy development of human beings (such as participation in cycling). The reason for such contradictions is not simply because that the existing cities provide crude public facilities for the development of cycling, but also because bicycle lovers lack a “community” for communication. Therefore, the creator attempted to realize the visualization and instant image representation of suitable routes of the bicycles in Wiesbaden through APP software. In this special “community map”, traffic accidents that occur in a certain place in the city will be marked in this area at any time with bold fonts, and meanwhile, each cyclist can also link to the network through the APP’s mobile terminal, and record his or her own riding route on this “virtual map”. In the city museum of Wiesbaden, a dedicated exhibition area is set for visitors to view this wonderful city map in real time. On the one hand, it hints at the defects of urban traffic construction, and on the other hand, it reminds everyone not to forget cyclists who are often overlooked.<sup>24)</sup>

---

23) <http://www.app-art-award.org.2016.3.30>

24) <http://www.app-art-award.org2016.3.1>

---

By connecting to the Internet, APP art has created a way of art appreciation through virtual art community, which will invisibly enhance the participants' aesthetic appreciation creativity. Compared with the previous site-fixed and time-fixed school education, physical museum visits and family art appreciation, the use of APP software can access to the online art resources in different regions, and through collating and screening, it can create palmtop virtual museums, art galleries, exhibition halls". This kind of portable art appreciation at any time and place will greatly expand users' aesthetic vision and increase the accumulation of artistic literacy. At the same time, the participation in the activities of a virtual art community designed as APP art through interactive experience is a new way of aesthetic activity that "changes passivity to activity and integrates experience, creation and appreciation".

## References

- F. R. Leavis, Denys Thompson. *Culture and Environment: the Training of Critical Awareness*[M]. Chatto & Windus. Place of Publication: London. 1933.
- Aufderheide, P. (ed.). *Media literacy: A Report of the National Leadership Conference on Media Literacy*. Aspen, CO: Aspen Institute, 1993
- David Buckingham. *Media Education: Literacy, Learning and Contemporary Culture*. Polity Press, 2003:36
- Zeng Yan. *Virtuality and Reality of Louvre Museum*[J]. *Sanlian Life Week*, 2009(2):5
- Lv Shiwei. *China's Strategy of Google Art Project*[J]. *Art Value*, 2014(4): 24-25
- Pack, Thomas. *The Google Art Project is a Sight to Behold*[J]. *Information Today*. 28th. May. 2011:5
- Li Ronghui. *Gigapixel: Artwork in Google's Eyes*[J]. *CBNweekly*, 2012.6:8
- Petrovsky. *General Psychology*, translated by Zhu Zhixian[M]. Beijing: People's Education Press, 1981: 315---317
- Du Wei. *The Theory of Aesthetic Education*[M]. Beijing: Education Science Publishing House, 2014 (2): 192
- Qiu Zhengming, Zhu Liyuan. *Dictionary of Aesthetics*[M]. Shanghai: Shanghai Cishu Press, 2007.4: 69
- Huang Mingfen. *APP Art: New Product in Mobile Internet Era*[J]. *Hundred Schools in Arts*, 2015(2): 84





# Poster Session







# A Study on Improvement of Operation and Revitalization of Multicultural Education Ordinance

*Myounghee Jung*  
*Inha University*

## Abstract

Non-Koreans make up approximately 3.9% of the total Korean population as of 2018. In Korea, laws such as The FRAMEWORK ACT ON TREATMENT OF FOREIGNERS RESIDING IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA (2007), The MULTICULTURAL FAMILIES SUPPORT ACT (2008), The ACT ON THE PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY (2014), and The REFUGEE ACT (2016) have been enacted to aid social integration in response to a growing multicultural society. These laws prescribe various policies guaranteeing education rights for children of international marriage families, and multicultural education that enables Koreans to understand and accept changes in an increasingly multicultural society. In addition, multicultural education is being implemented in at the local government level, in accordance with national policies that afford local bodies autonomy in curriculum development and implementation. To this end, 17 local governments have devised and enacted Multicultural Education Ordinances. The purpose of this study is to analyze and evaluate these multicultural education ordinances.

The content of multicultural education in Korea is stipulated in the Multicultural Families Support Act but not in any of the laws related to education. The first Multicultural Education Support Ordinance in Korea was created in 2012, and by 2018, all upper (local) local governments have enacted similar ordinances. The core multicultural education policies set forth in the Multicultural Education Support Ordinances are 1) schools designated as “multicultural education-oriented schools,” 2) multicultural preparatory schools, 3) Korean as Second Language(KSL) courses, 4) bilingual lecturers, 5) multicultural education support centers, and 6) teachers' multicultural training.

---

In multicultural education-oriented schools, multicultural sensitivity education is offered to all students. In multicultural preliminary schools, there is a program to help middle-entry students and their families to adapt to Korea. If there are more than a certain number students with migrant backgrounds at the school, it will run Korean as Second Language(KSL) courses. It also supports the entry and adaptation to public education of multicultural students by establishing a multicultural education center in the community. It also helps teachers to enhance their multicultural competence and professionalism through teacher training.

However, in spite of this multicultural education support policy, some limitations exist. Multicultural education in Korea tends to be limited to children of multicultural families. Here, a child of a multicultural family is not a migrant background child, but has one Korean parent. The concept of migrant background children is more appropriate than the concept of multicultural family children. A special program is needed for areas where international marriage families are concentrated. In other words, it is necessary to adopt the ordinances or multicultural education policies that reflect regional characteristics. In addition, it is necessary to prepare measures for students who fall short in their studies. For the activation and effective operation of multicultural education, the role of the network of regional multicultural education centers should be emphasized. Finally, it is necessary that multicultural education for all students be more active in accordance with the original meaning of multicultural education.

**Keywords:** local government ordinance, multi-cultural education, multicultural policies, foreign residents.

# A Study on the Relationship Between Factors Child Readers Consider in Selecting Books and Identity: Focused on PictureBooks' Cover

*Seongryeong Yu<sup>a</sup>, Haeju Cheon<sup>b</sup>*

*<sup>a</sup>Eunjung Elementary School*

*<sup>b</sup>Korea University*

## **Abstract**

Personal identity is deeply involved in the meaning making that occurs while reading (Noh, 2008). A person looks at the world with background knowledge and perspective that reflects his existing identity while reading. It also modifies the existing identity through the accumulation of new reading experiences. In other words, reading is a highly cognitive and social act that involves a complex mix of individual schema and identity (McCarthy, 2002; S. Lee, 2017). As child readers start to utilize 'learning to read' and 'reading to learn' together, they try to expand their own world by applying their diverse identity while reading (Martinez, et al., 2000). For these reasons, picture books are typical text for young readers. In selecting a book, the cover of picture books in particular, works as a deliberate element that reveals the characteristic of a book and it has a great influence on the book selection process for children (J. Y. Lee, 2011; H. J. Lee, 2015).

The purpose of this study is to explore factors that influence children's choices on books based on the elements that the cover of the picture books consists. The research questions set up to achieve are: (a) What are the cover factors of picture books that affect child readers' book selection; (b) How does a child reader's identity work in book selection. This study analyzed 44 second-grade students(26 boys, 18 girls)' responses and was conducted largely as (1) sign response gathering test(4 questions); (2) reading attitude test(5 questions); (3) focused students' interviews. For this study, a total of eight picture books were selected in consideration of their diversity in content, format, and published year. Research participants looked at only covers of eight picture books and scaled their preference in a 4-point-scale, and freely described the rationale behind their choice. The main results were obtained using triangular verification through frequency analysis, qualitative coding, and subsequent interviews are as follows.

First, picture books that were affected by book selection factors can be clearly identified by their gender. The cover of the book, which male students preferred most,

---

was the <*The Strongest Slap-Match(ttakji) King*> (N=11) which hold an absolute majority. For boys, personal preference for ‘slap-match(ttakji)’ in the title has had a great impact for book selection as ‘a reader factor’, which include readers’ personal experiences and thoughts about the book. In contrast, female students’ preference on favorite book covers were more widely distributed than compared to the male student and their reasons also varied from a factor of ‘a formal factor’ such as a title and a picture of a book cover, to ‘a reader factor.’

Next, the fact that the most avoided book covers are clearly marked by gender groups shows that various identities of individuals are involved in a child’s book selection criteria. Among the eight picture books, female participants chose <*A Working Car*> (N=9) and male participants chose <*A Friend*> (N=9). The reasons for that was, girls often cited speculative content in paintings such as ‘*I don’t like cars*’ and ‘*seems like boring*’ by ‘heavy machinery pictures and Gothic font designs’ of cover or genre characteristics. On the other hand, 11 boys answered in a gender bias such as ‘*looks like a girl’s book*’, ‘*I don’t like girls*’ and ‘*I don’t like girlish painting*’.

Taken together, child readers are able to identify the individual’s preference for a particular material, as well as the content inference from the combination of ‘pictures’ and ‘letters (titles, subtitle of books)’ that consists the cover. In particular, these positive or negative views were based on personal experience; interest in the material and especially for the child readers involved in this study, those experiences could be identified primarily by gender and the peer group (S. Lee, 2011). Among them, it is worth noting that male participants chose books based on their gender bias rather than female participants. This is an extension of the research that emphasizes the importance of youth and social identity to the selection of books (Finders, 1997; Munson-Warnken, 2017) and shows that there is a need for adequate guidance and emphasis on the ‘diversity of books’ in the book selection process for student readers, including child readers. The results of this study also show that it is essential to emphasize non-biased reading attitudes to child readers on books varying contents and formal characteristics. Moreover, it is necessary to create a reading environment in which one individual can learn to respect the diversity of book choices of others.

**Keywords:** child readers, elementary school students, picture books, identity, peer groups in Korea, gender identity, reading education, diversity agenda.

## A Case Study on the Participation Process of Immigrant Youths in an Art-Narrative Therapy Program

*Youngsub Oh<sup>a</sup>, Geummi Wang<sup>b</sup>*

*<sup>a</sup>Inha University*

*<sup>b</sup>Institute of Eduin Art Therapy*

### Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore therapeutic narratives of immigrant youths participating the Art-Narrative Therapy (ANT) program needed to solve and alleviate their psychological problems. The narrative therapy developed by Michael White and David Epston has been spreading around the world since the 1980s and has been applied to clients with various problems. Immigrant youths have recently received policy attention in Korea for their unique background. Researchers designed an ANT program with 12 sessions and applied it to 3 Chinese immigrant youths attending G high school in I city from May to August 2018.

The research method is case study. This study conducted with-in case analysis and cross-cases analysis. The research results are as follows. First, the ANT program helped to externalize the psychological problems that have arisen from the unique background of immigrant youths. Second, the program helped to discover new stories that could overturn their problematic stories. Third, this program contributed to the psychological change by changing the existing problematic story that controlled their own feelings and thoughts into alternative stories.

Based on the results, the following implications were derived. First, this study shows the possibility of narrative therapy as a psychotherapy for immigrant youths. Second, this study suggests a self-initiative psychotherapy model that immigrant youths can check and take care of their own mind. Third, this study suggests the possibility of convergence therapy combining art therapy and narrative therapy.

**Keywords:** Immigrant Youths, Chinese Immigrant Youths, Multicultural Counseling and Psychotherapy, Art-Narrative Therapy (ANT), Program Development, Convergence Therapy.

---

# An Exploratory Study on Citizenship and Citizenship Education in the Fourth Industrial Revolution

*Yuseong Choi*  
*Inha University*

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to examine what citizenship is required in the coming fourth industrial revolution era and how to orient citizenship education to cultivate citizenship for fourth industrial revolution. To this end, theoretical discussions on citizenship and citizenship education to date have been reviewed and the trend of the fourth industrial revolution era has been confirmed. Through this, this study has examined how citizenship has changed in the era of the fourth industrial revolution and what kind of challenges the school education in charge of citizenship education faces.

In Davos, a small town and popular resort in Switzerland, the World Economic Forum(WEF) is held every year at the end of January. At the Davos Forum held in late January 2016, the world's greatest scholars, including President Klaus Schwab, debated the theme 'Mastering the Fourth Industrial Revolution'. It is the 'Fourth Industrial Revolution' that became known due to the controversy. In March of the same year, the fourth industrial revolution came to an explosive boom, as AlphaGo, an artificial intelligence program developed by Google DeepMind played go with Lee Se-dol, a Korean Go Player.

The fourth industrial revolution, represented by the Internet of Things(IoT), Cloud, Big Data, and Artificial Intelligence(AI), has required many changes in all areas of our society, especially in educational field. In addition, the competence of the citizens demanded by the fourth industrial revolution era is much different from that required in the previous era. The existing citizenship can be divided broadly into liberal citizenship and communitarian citizenship. Liberal citizens mean citizen who decide their own values and practice their own lives, and who can tolerate other's decisions and practices. However, liberal citizenship may be indifferent to society or community and cause conflict and division of society. It is communitarian citizenship that emerged as criticism of liberal citizenship. Communitarian citizenship is understood not as an individual being separated from society but as a living being in interaction with others. In other words, in the communitarian citizenship, the foundation of citizenship is sought from the community, not the individual, and emphasizes the participation of citizenship and citizenship education in community activities. In this study, after recognizing the concept of liberal citizenship, communitarian citizenship, and other various citizenships, it was re-conceptualized as the independent citizenship that emphasizes subjectivity as citizenship

in the fourth industrial revolution.

Also, self-directed learning and cooperative learning were proposed as teaching and learning methods suitable for these changed citizenship education. In the era of the fourth industrial revolution, the concept of lifelong learning that is to be learned over a lifetime is more important than the fixed school education in order to constantly adjust to rapid technological change. In other words, the competence of self-directed learning is important. In addition, in the school education, cooperative learning is needed to solve problems and create new things by teaming with other people rather than the existing individual learning or competitive learning.

**Keywords:** Fourth Industrial Revolution, citizenship, citizenship education, self-directed learning, cooperative learning.

# A Case Study of Korean Language Education for Jumma Refugee Children

*Na Kyung Kang<sup>a</sup>, Youngsub Oh<sup>b</sup>*

*<sup>a</sup>Chadwick International*

*<sup>b</sup>Inha University*

## **Abstract**

Korean society has been interested in minority ethnic groups in Korea, as five hundreds of Yemen refugee have recently come to Jeju island. The purpose of this study is to provide an effective method of Korean language education for refugee children through the case of Korean language education of Jumma refugee children in Korea. As of 2017, there are approximately 100 Jumma refugees who came to Korea from the mountainous region of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. They have been forming an ethnic community in Kimpo, Gyeonggi Province. Korean government recognized them as a refugee group for the first time in Korea.

Two Jumma refugee children participated in the Korean language education program once a week from September 2017 to February 2018. The researcher taught Korean language, reading and writing to the refugee children, and observed and interviewed them. Two participants were not familiar with Korean reading and writing at the beginning of the program. And they did not concentrate on the program. However, after the program, their Korean language ability and their participation attitude have been improved. The study identified the changes before and after the Korean language program in terms of learning habits, writing and reading of the two refugees children who have participated in the Korean language program.

The research method for this study is a qualitative study, especially case study. Eventually, this study presents suggestions for effective Korean language education for refugee children, based on the research result.

**Keywords:** Korean Language Education, Korean language program, Refugee Children, Jumma, Case Study.



## A Qualitative Study on Re-immigration Experiences of North Korean Immigrants

*Sungnam Kim, Gahwan Yoo*  
*Ewha Womans University*

### **Abstract**

With the entry of North Koreans starting in the mid-1990s reaching over 30,000 as of December 2016, the issue of North Koreans' social and psychological adaptation is a challenge and a matter of preparing for reunification. The study was conducted to reflect the experiences of North Korean immigrants who left the country and moved abroad (The United Kingdom, Canada, the United States, and Germany) and returned to the South Korea. The purpose of this study is to explore how they reflect upon themselves and what South Korea meant by experiencing immigration through a phenomenological method. The 6 subjects of this study have a experience of living in foreign country for more than three years and then moved back to South Korea. This study examined in depth the perception of migration and settlement through the experience of immigration, reimmigration, and returning to Korea, and proposed several policy implications.

**Keywords:** re-immigration, phenomenology, North Korean immigrants, South Korean Defector.

---

# Art and Emigrant: A Case Study on Young Artists

*Jinhee Kim, Subin Kwon*  
*Andong National University*

## **Abstract**

Migration is an important issue globally whether legally or not. Especially, people live as immigrants under the protection of their own people are becoming increasingly isolated. In 2017, approximately 1.13 million aliens obtained Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) status in the United States. A total of 54,000 refugees were admitted in Fiscal Year (FY). This study aims to study the micro socio-cultural relations and activities of artists who migrated to the United States by voluntary selection. The research question of this study is as follows. First, what is the meaning of migrant artists' lives in the US? Second, how they are classifying themselves as? Narrative inquiry was used to analyze the results. Data collection was telephone, e-mail, and direct interviews. I also visited the exhibition and made reference to the activities that appeared in the artist's work world. Seven artists were calling themselves "art refugees" who moved to the United States. The reason is the self-portrait which illuminates life of person who is going on the road which does not taken. It is valuable as story material that understands their lives through experience and meaning as art refugees.

**Keywords:** migrant, artist, narrative, voice, intersection.

## A Study on Communication Experiences of International Marriage Korean Women in Germany

*Youngsoon Kim, Hyekyeong Nam*  
*Inha University*

### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to examine the cultural communication experiences of Korean inter-married women. Korean and Germany have a great cultural heterogeneity in appearance and language. This study also aims to see how Korean inter-married women communicate culturally as immigrants in German society. For this purpose, six Korean inter-married women who currently live in Germany were selected as research participants, and the data were collected through in-depth interviews. The outcome of the interview showed three different results. First, there is cultural differences between high contextual society and low contextual society in emotional sympathy and interpersonal relationship. The cultural differences shown in the relationship between Korean inter-married women and their children indicated that the communication between them were not properly conveyed. The Korean inter-married women acknowledged the differences in their language and culture from their husbands and children, and as the results, they experienced emotional loneliness. In interpersonal relationships, Korean inter-married women felt difficulty to interact with others in the German society because they tried to approach to others by collectivistic culture. Second, the personal life of the Korean inter-married women and citizenship were focused in the communication with the German society. Although obtaining the citizenship in German guaranteed convenience in the process of administration for Korean inter-married women, the citizenship was not enough for them to become a part of German society. Korean inter-married women were not identified themselves as a German because of lack of language ability and differences in physical appearance even though they are identified as German. In addition, the Korean inter-married women felt there is no place to settle down neither in Germany nor Korea after their parents in Korea passed away. Third, Korean Inter-married women culturally interacted with German with collectivistic perspective; that was they embrace their counterparts, adopt kindness, and accept them as members of same society. As results, German also accepted the Korean women and their cultural characteristics, and act accordingly. Additionally, Korean inter-married women desired to have different attention from the other immigrant groups, that have negative images in German society. This was a strategy that Korean women tried to secure their position in the major society. As

---

immigrants, Korean inter-married women were expanding their area of cultural communication by strengthening their own identities and understanding both Korean and German culture.

**Keyword:** International-married Korean women, Communication, Cultural Adaptation, High / Low Context Society, Migrants.

## Multi-cultural cases and types in ancient Korean Society Focusing on the 「Samguksagi」 and the 「Samgukyusa」

*Chunyang Li*  
*Inha University*

### **Abstract**

In South Korea, the foreign population will soon reach 3 million. Most experts and scholars share the view that South Korea is gradually entering the cultural society. However, Korean citizens' multi-cultural tolerance is still very low. Rejection of other cultures, prejudice against foreigners and fear of multiculturalism resulted in a negative perception of multiculturalism. In order to improve the concept of stereotypes and multicultural negative perceptions, this study set two research questions. First, What cases and types of Multi-cultural were existed on ancient Korean society? Second, what influence does other cultures influenced the development of ancient Korean society? The results show that the first, multicultural phenomenon is not a recent one, but an unintended consequence already existing in ancient societies. The results of the statistical analysis of the multicultural cases in the history of The Three Kingdoms and the remains of The Three Kingdoms show that there were similar multicultural groups in the ancient society. There were mainly five types of 'refugee type', 'cultural migrator type', 'general migration type', 'marriage type' and 'other type'. Second, The other-cultures had many positive impacts on the development of ancient Korean society technological progress, cultural prosperity, national security and other aspects.

**Keywords:** multi-cultural cases and types, ancient Korean society, Samguksagi, Samgukyusa, other cultures.

# A Study for Process-based Writing Education Strategies of Korean

*Jing Fei*

*Shandong Institute of Business and Technology*

## **Abstract**

In Korean language education, writing education has been paid less attention compared with other fields, serving merely as an auxiliary to grammar. Moreover, the methodological focus has been on giving learners subjects and evaluating their writings in terms of spelling and grammar, rather than regarding it as a literal tool for communication that expresses one's thought through continuous reconsideration over many steps.

The purpose of this study is to improve learners' Korean writing skills and though using process central teaching method to explore and draft Korean writing education programs. The paper shows the most important feature of the process central courses model is that each stage of writing obtains "dialogue feedback" information.

Feedback is the information given to the writer by readers as to where to correct, by which learners are enabled to objectively judge structural defects, poor development, and inappropriate use of words or tense.

This study first chapter elaborates the research programs and its necessity, meanwhile it prior study related to Korean education and process central writing education.

The second chapter also demonstrated the importance of writing education, writing principles and objectives. and shows the phasic activities and intern strategy of the process center. According to the central process writing in the process central education, writing is divided into pre-writing, writing and post-writing stages.

The third chapter shows the model for process central education and course programs. And consists of the discussion on various stages of the course and the feedback among peers and teachers. Peer feedback, which is usually made up of 4 people who read peers' draft to make suggestions to rewriting, gives opportunities for oral communication among learners. Peers learn how to write by analytically reading others' writings. Teacher's comment, in which learners are expected to go over their own writings and to write down the points that require teacher's help. Teachers answer those questions and make comments on what the learners have not detected, asking questions to have them think about it and not giving all the details.

Finally, The four chapter was pursued future research direction by synthesizing the

contents and discussion about this study and by clarifying the significance and the limitation of the research.

**Keywords:** Korean writing, Writing education, Process-based, Feedback.

---

# A Case Study of the Education of Global Understanding

*Ariunbolor Chinges, Jinhee Kim*  
*Andong National University*

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study to explore the understanding of the learners through a subject of education of global understanding which is taught for student of foreign citizens according to who live in Korea. The study involves three instructors from Kazakhstan, Vietnam and Taiwan, 243 students from junior, secondary and high school. We used case study method and collected data observation, interview and open-ended questionary based on education of global understanding. The outcomes of the study found as follow: Firstly, A foreign instructor especially the person who resides at the country is able to understand the similarities and differences of two countries and actively responds to the student reactions. Therefore, the more he acquires experiences he will more likely to make student understand the culture of his own country. Secondly, reactions of the schoolchildren are variable due to of cultural foundations through which she represents her native country and the method of teaching of the foreign instructors. It has been found that if the instructor's cultural foundation and his abilities to represent and to teach are strong, a cross cultural communication for student has been developing intensely. Thirdly, the outcomes of the subjects are variable depending on student's age classification and their capacity to comprehend the subjects.

In case comprehension levels of the subjects of those students are high, they compare the objects from the view of material and resist accepting things as they are now. Therefore, training methods are suitable for students based on their age classifications are needed. It has been observed through the study that understanding foreign culture starting from young age contributes to accept the culture of the country without the view of criticizing. It is effective for the education of global understanding if the foreign instructor not only introduces native country but also understands and delivers the characteristics of the cultures of both countries.

**Keywords:** foreign instructor, instructor, education of global understanding, cross cultural communication.



# Analyzing the influencing factors of self-reflection on teachers behavior through the activities of the global citizenship education leading teachers in China

*Juanjuan Zang, Hyunjoo Lee*  
*Inha University*

## Abstract

Global citizenship education, which emphasizes the critical thinking and responsible practice of becoming a citizen of the world, is rapidly emerging as a major educational goal of the international community. As education achievements and results between countries become comparable, the accountability of the education system has been emphasized more than ever. This global trend demands that schools constantly adapt to change, and countries are investing a lot of resources in revising curricula and implementing new educational policies. How will this effort change the actual school scene?

With the one-belt-one policy promoted by the Chinese government now, all of its students should realize that China's opportunities for cooperation with neighboring countries and the world are expanding gradually. In order to achieve this goal, being in China is key to enhancing the cultural capabilities surrounding the education of cultural diversity, and it is necessary to develop a cultural literacy that finds different meanings in various cultures for all people(郑金洲, 2013: 56). In particular, it is an essential capability for teachers who are responsible for cultural diversity education. Recently, the discourse of teachers has been regarded as agents of change, which is not a person who simply carries out a curriculum and communicates knowledge but reorganizes and practices the curriculum positively (Fullan, 2003). This view is intended to complete the implementation of education policy development and capacity through training of professionalism of teachers, so as to change the face of the school.

This study analyzes the factors that influence the self-reflective behavior of the leader teachers of global citizenship education (GCED) in China, and applies GCED's new educational content to Chinese schools. On the basis of literature research, the self-reflective behavior analysis model of GCED class teacher is constructed to explore the contextual factors that influence their self-reflective behavior. By doing so, this study aims to discover the significance of improving the role of teachers as agents of change in schools.

The research discusses the current status of the education of Chinese global citizenship education on the basis of analyzing the development history of Chinese global

---

citizenship education and it defines the intention of global citizenship education. On this basis, this study is the result of integrated research in that it utilizes both quantitative data through questionnaires and qualitative data through interview surveys. A survey questionnaire was distributed to the teachers who participated in the GCED Lead Teachers program, complemented by a literature review and interviews with four teachers who participated in a consultation meeting on the program.

This study, through the study of the self-reflection of the teacher behavior of the GCED leaders' teachers, how to understand the GCED, a new global education system at the regional level, and how to practice empirical research at the school site.

Researchers make an attempt on understanding how schools that have now incorporated GCED into their academic systems implement GCED and, as much as possible, connect with the leading teachers of the GCED Program to examine the voices and experiences of individual teachers in the field.

First, what is the policy background for implementing GCED at the Chinese education scene?

Second, what methods did the leading teachers of GCED implement in the world of citizen education in such a policy framework?

Third, what are the elements of self-reflection of teachers' behaviors that promote or abolish the awareness of GCED leaders? Personal factors (motivation, education, experience, etc.) that influence the behavioral personality of leading citizens in the world, the structure and culture of schools What is the physical factor?

Fourth, what is the policy improvement plan for promoting teacher behavior and self-reflection for leading teachers of GCED?

This study was conducted to investigate how the theory and policy of global citizen education are realized in the actual school environment. It that attempts to analyze the factors promoting or hindering the behavior of students by recognizing that teachers are participants interacting with the environment in which they are placed by applying the concepts of teacher behavior and ecological approach. Because of this, I think that the meaning of global citizenship through the perspective of a school field teacher can help us better understand the school in the context of diverse theoretical and policy narratives. Not only that, it can also provide suggestions on supporting policies related to international civil education and teacher education.

**Keyword:** Chinese education system, global citizenship education, role of teachers, leader teacher, self-reflection behavior.

# Analysis of Trends of 'An Investigation on Multicultural Families in Korea' at the KOSIS

*Eun-hie Chae*  
*Inha University*

## Abstract

The study helps understand the Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS), classifies and summarizes 1,062 cases that were found when searching [An Investigation on Multicultural Families in Korea] on the website. For 1,062 case, the year was classified into year 2009, 2012 and 2015, and the contents were classified into a total of 12 categories, which is information on marriage migrants, marriage, children, spouse, residence and dwelling, living, economic ability, occupation, education, medical care, social security, and investigation on multicultural families. The classified results showed that the number of data undated in 2009 was much larger than those in 2012 and 2015, but the data updated in 2012 and 2015 had further expanded diversity. However, the facts that there was no statistical comparison between migrant group and permanent resident group and that there was no substantial investigation on diagnosis, incidence or mental health in the 'medical care' category, are considered to be improved in the future. The suggestion of this study is as follows. First, it is a comparison between the migrant group and the permanent resident group of 'children' in the research data. Identifying the relative position of a married migrant family to a permanent resident can provide a very important clue. Also, for other date, comparison of the settled and migrant groups is as important as the 'children'. Second, in the 'medical care' category, we need to add more depth than the surface content. For example, the inclusion of details about cancer diagnosis will determine the incidence of marriage migrants. Such efforts can provide more practical assistance to married migrant families. KOSIS is a very useful site that provides useful site that provides us with a lot of information. In the future, they should be able to use migrant group information more efficiently and be more helpful to them. This is the beginning of a sustainable society.

**Keywords:** KOSIS, Statistics Korea, investigation on multicultural families in Korea, migrant group, permanent resident group.

# An Exploratory Study on the Improvement of Multicultural Sensitivity for Citizens

*Bokseon Lee, Taehoon Kim, Yuseong Choi, Jongchun Ha,  
Inha University*

## Abstract

Korea has long been maintaining the characteristics of a single culture and a single nation, and is now transforming into a multicultural society in which various cultures of ethnics and groups coexist. These social changes require changes in the perception of multiculturalism in our society and in various national policies, and require active discussions about multiculturalism (Kim, Jeong Deok et al, 2011).

In light of this social atmosphere, it is the multicultural sensitivity that citizens of this age must have. Multicultural sensitivity refers to the learner's cognitive or emotional characteristics or behavioral tendencies responding to cultural differences between two or more cultural groups (Korea Multicultural Education Research Association, 2014). In other words, it means an ability not to acquire own cultural knowledge and a flexible and open attitude toward other cultures and its people (Korea Multicultural Education Research Association).

Many scholars have defined multicultural sensitivity. Chen (2000) believed that multicultural sensitivity is understanding the different behaviors, emotions, and perceptions required by various groups, and enabling lively and efficient communication. Chen and Starosta (2000) divided multicultural sensitivity into interaction engagement, respect for cultural difference, interaction confidence, interaction enjoyment, and interaction attentiveness. Mo Kyeong Hwan et al. (2007) defined multicultural sensitivity as the confidence that teachers can teach students to be educated as citizens who are suitable for multicultural society by using teaching methods and learning materials suitable for multicultural environment. In addition, Choi Hyun-jung (2011) also showed that multicultural attitudes are related to cultural differences and diversity, and they are determined by the values or beliefs of teachers about diverse groups and peoples.

The purpose of this study is to explore ways to improve the multicultural sensitivity of various people living in this age and to suggest effective ways. First of all, through the theoretical discussion, the definition of the various multicultural sensitivities presented in the meantime was confirmed, and furthermore, the multicultural sensitivity was re-conceptualized. Then the study explored practical ways to improve this conceptualized multicultural sensitivity. The targets for the improvement of multicultural sensitivity were divided into workers, CEOs, college students, middle & high school students, and ordinary citizens. Based on the researchers' identity and characteristics of easily accessible

objects in the field, they were selected of Korean Resident in China, refugees from North Korea and migrant workers, and this study explored ways to enhance their sensitivity through document research. By comparing and analyzing the various methods explored, several measures were presented that are suitable for the current situation or environment in Korea.

In order to help all people acquire knowledge, attitude, and function necessary for survival in the 21st century, which is advancing into a multicultural society, education that can improve multicultural sensitivity is essential. The present world faces many threats and the survival of the earth itself is at stake. In addition, the border disappears, the concept of a single nation disappears in one country, and multicultural literacy and intercultural functions become essential qualities of future global citizens owing to the widening gap between rich and poor. In this situation, if multicultural education is given to the citizens through correct ways, it will become a more equal and peaceful society.

**Keywords:** Multicultural sensitivity, Conceptualized multicultural sensitivity, Multicultural education, Improvement plan, explore ways.

# Study on the Reality of Checkups Before and After Entry to Korea of Married Immigrant Women

*Suha Jung<sup>a</sup>, Hanghee Yun<sup>b</sup>, Sekyung Jeon<sup>c</sup>*

*<sup>a</sup>Veterans Hospital*

*<sup>b</sup>Gongju National University of Education*

*<sup>c</sup>Gongju National University of Education*

## Abstract

The purpose of study was to explore and suggest the measures that they could have the exact checkups before the marriage for preventing the health-related problems by finding out the solutions on the various problems for which checkups before marriage could occur after it. Therefore, the reality of the checkups before and after marriage migration by ages of the married immigrant women was grasped, which was to recognize the importance of the checkups and health care of them which is connected with the birth of the second generation.

Based on the study results, it can be known that the checkups before they enter Korea have a close effect on the birth of the second generation. Considering the nation, residence period, and Korean ability level, the questionnaire survey was conducted for 102 married immigrant women who resided in Daejeon Metropolitan City from Mar to Apr, 2018.

As a result of study, there are many cases that the married immigrant women get pregnant and give birth within one to two years after marriage, which shows that the recognition and management of the health care in their own country before they enter Korea are very important. Therefore, to prevent various health problems of them and their children which can happen in the future Korean society due to international marriage, it is suggested as follows.

First, Korean government should sign an MOU with the national hospitals and the reliable ones by nations in order to enhance the checkups before marriage migration, operate the ones and directly conduct the checkups for the internationally married people in Korea for enhancing the reliability of the examination.

Second, the cost of checkups for the married immigrant women should be supported by Korean spouses and the government. It can reduce the second social cost nationally beyond the individual level, and the government shouldn't spare the support so that the children of healthful multicultural families can lead the bright future of Korea, and they may play a large role in Korean society.

Third, considering that the special genetic diseases might happen due to defoliants in the countries like Vietnam, Cambodia, and Myanmar, even after the birth of second

generation, maternal and child health needs to be tracked in the long term and specially managed by nations. With various genetic diseases and local diseases in each country, diseases with various genes are found, which increases the risk of diseases. Therefore, people who are aiming at marriage migration need to have a special, follow-up management for a limited time as a solution.

Fourth, it is necessary to educate the married immigrant women and husbands about the awareness of the checkups considering national and regional characteristics.

Even when the result of the checkups in the home country before they enter Korea is normal, it doesn't mean that there is no problem at all. Since they have not received regular medical care in their home countries for economic, regional access, and various other reasons, they need to be managed more after they enter Korea.

Therefore, a nation and a local government should recognize the social responsibility on the birth and child rearing, and actively support to create the proper environment of birth and child rearing such as the protection of maternal and paternal right, health security, etc. In addition, they should provide the information which helps to maintain health family life as much as possible, and establish the information management system about a family life.

Therefore, the legal system should be improved by making the checkup mandatory, not selective, in order to enhance the checkup before marriage migration.

**Keywords:** Multiculture, Health Care, Checkup, International Marriage, Married Immigrant Women.

---

# Research Trends on Chinese Minority Policy

*Long Zhu*  
*Inha University*

## **Abstract**

Geographically China and Korea are close and there is a lot of exchange in history. One of the ethnic minorities in China is 'Korean people'. The Korean people are called 'Korean compatriots' in Korea. In addition, since China is originally a minority country, research on minority policies in China can give good implications for the current status of multicultural society in Korea. So there are many studies on Chinese minority policy in China and Korea.

For example, Park Ji-jung (1993) studied the Chinese minority policy and the future of Korean-Chinese. Kim, Soo-jung (1994) studied the policy of minority ethnic communities in China and spiritual policies of minority government officials. Kim Yong-gu analyzed the trends and currents of Chinese minority language policy and studied the changes of Chinese bilingual education policy and Chinese education in ethnic minority schools (Lim Hyung Jae, Kim Hyo Shin, 2015). One Daedong et al. (2016) studied the preferential policies of Chinese ethnic minority universities. In China, the preferential policies of admission to the same university (Yang Fang, 2010; Yi Kang, 2014); education policy (Zhang Zhenxin, 2010), and the autonomous region policy (Wang Deok-guk, 2012;

Comprehensively, most studies on Chinese minority policy in Korea are mostly related to Korean ethnicity and research in China. In addition, Korean society is changing from a single ethnic society to a multiracial, multicultural, and multilingual society. An analysis of China's ethnic minority policies at different times in China can provide insights into the current status of multicultural society in Korea.

Therefore, this study was conducted to investigate the ethnic minority policies of China with 46 papers (1992-2018.9) on Chinese ethnic minority policies and 60 papers (CSSCI) on Chinese core journals (2010-2018.9) I will analyze the trend of research.

**Keywords:** China, Chinese Minority Policy, the ethnic minority policy, Bilingual education policy.



# A Study on the Adaptation of Immigrant Adolescents in Korea

*Duong Thi Thanh Phuong*  
*Inha University*

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to explore in various dimensions the adaptation process of Vietnamese immigrant adolescents who are starting their new life in an unfamiliar country – Korea. In order to accomplish the study purpose, this study was carried out by qualitative research method and the data collection was conducted through in - depth interviews with 5 immigrant adolescents from Vietnam. The results of this study are as follows. First, most of Vietnamese immigrant adolescents have the both of the feeling of anxiety about unfamiliar immigrant life as well as expecting a new beginning. Second, Vietnamese immigrant adolescents who grew up in their own country were found to have a strong identity as Vietnamese after their arrival in Korea. Third, Vietnamese immigrant adolescents were satisfied with social and school environment in Korea. Fourth, Vietnamese immigrant adolescents are confronted with difficulties in communication, leisure, and academic performance. Based on these results, this study proposes the following suggestions for the smooth migration life of Vietnamese immigrant adolescents. First, it is necessary to support families, schools, and communities in order to provide enough Vietnamese immigrant adolescents with sufficient psychological preparation for migration. Second, it requires family and social support Vietnamese immigrant adolescents to pursue their physical and mental health and to become healthy members of society by experiencing healthy and profitable leisure activities. Third, in terms of education, it is necessary to consider Vietnamese as their mother tongue and develop teaching materials reflecting the characteristics of Vietnamese language as well as support teachers who can speak Vietnamese.

**Keywords:** Viet Nam, immigrant adolescents, adaptation.

---

# The Impact of Multicultural Youth's Development Assets on Multicultural Citizenship

*Wonhee Choi*  
*Inha University*

## **Abstract**

Today, the number of multicultural youth in our society is increasing. They have the unique physiological and emotional characteristics of adolescence and the characteristic of being from a multicultural family. Multicultural youth should overcome these difficulties and grow into healthy citizens of our society. Therefore this study focused on developmental assets that help positive growth of multicultural adolescents. This study examines the effects of the developmental assets of immigrant background youths on multicultural citizenship through regression analysis. The subjects of this study were intentionally sampled 294 migrants from 4th grade or higher and middle school and alternative school. The results of the study are as follows. Among the external assets of developmental assets, positive values, social competence, positive identity, and age among demographic factors were found to be factors affecting multicultural citizenship. Among the factors affecting difference recognition and coexistence are social competence, positive identity, and domestic societal factors. Among the factors affecting intercultural communication ability, support among external assets, social competence among internal assets, and age among demographic factors. This result should be used to enhance the multicultural citizenship of immigrant background youth. Policy, educational, and social interests are needed to enhance support, social competence, and positive identity. In order to develop their potential competencies, it is necessary to approach them in a multi-layered and multifaceted way in the home, school, and community. In order to develop their potential competencies, it is necessary to approach them in a multi-layered and multifaceted way in the home, school, and community.

**Keywords:** multicultural youth, developmental assets, internal assets, external assets, citizenship, multicultural citizenship.

# The Effect of Picture Book Use Instruction on Multicultural Perception and Acceptance of Non-Multicultural Students in Lower Grade of Elementary School

*Lee Wol Yong*  
*Inha University*

## **Abstract**

According to the release of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family Policy in November 2016, the number of multicultural families is estimated to reach 890,000 in 2015 and to increase to 1 million in 2020 by 2020 (Research, 2016). As such, our society is and the number of elementary school students has already exceeded 200,000.

In a society where multicultural phenomenon is rapidly transformed, education for non-multicultural students to live with multicultural students should be given priority in order for multicultural students to adapt well as members of our society. It is important that non-multicultural students understand multicultural differences and cultural diversity so that they have a positive awareness of multiculturalism and an acceptable attitude. The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of multicultural education on the recognition and acceptance of multicultural students.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of classroom instruction on the multicultural awareness and acceptance of non-multicultural students in elementary school.

How does classroom-based instruction affect the multicultural awareness and acceptance of non-multicultural students in elementary school?

In this study, the statistical analysis is conducted using the picture book using class as an independent variable and a change in acceptability of non-multicultural students as subordinate variables.

As the number of immigrants increases, the school scene is becoming internationalized, many students are already experiencing multiculturalism. In order to make a positive change in the elementary school students, we need to improve the recognition and acceptance of multiculturalism, non-multicultural students, and use stereotypes and prejudices about multicultural society.

**Keywords:** Multicultural education, picture book, multicultural acceptance, Multicultural awareness.

# A Case Study on the Effect of Bilingual Education Utilizing the Role-play of Fairy Tales on the Self-confidence of Immigrant Students in Elementary Schools

*JeongSoon Bae*  
*Inha University*

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to examine the effect of bilingual education using fairy tale role play on the improvement of self - confidence among elementary school students who entered the middle. After selecting four children's books for elementary school students in Seoul who came to the middle of the school, they taught fairy tales in a bilingual style for a total of 20 times. Objective observation, in-depth interviews, homeroom teachers and parent interviews were conducted to verify the effect. the results are as follow. First, through the actual survey data of the students, we selected four interesting children's books that fit the age and the level of the students. The four book titles containing the contents of identity, diversity, and acceptability are as follows. 'Seven Blind Mice', 'No! David! ', 'Shiry -Dongdong !, Spider-Dongdong! ', 'Brown bear !, Brown bear !, What are you looking at? ' After that, the class was held 5 times as one book. The stage of the lesson was composed of understanding the contents of the fairy tale through reading in Korean, studying activities, and a story-telling. Next, we learned how to associate images with Chinese words and to speak sentences. Through the booklet making process, students were able to naturally learn Chinese by writing simplified Chinese characters in their vacancies. After the students saw the bilingual script, Instead of the lyrics of songs that students already knew, they were turned into lines and let them sing. Using a small piece of headband and costume, students were allowed to practice the role-play of fairy tales and at the last stage, students made a role play announcement and testimony. Since then, we have provided feedback on the content of the presentation. Bilingual education using the role-play of fairy tale helped to improve the understanding of Korean by connecting the mother tongue and Korean of the students who came to the middle of study, and also learned the simplified Chinese language which was forgotten. Through the process of identifying the characters in a fairy tale with oneself, the diversity and acceptability of the multicultural elements have also increased. As the ability to comprehend Korean became higher, it also helped in the study of the subject. In addition, it helped to establish identity by improving self-confidence and forming a sense of

identity with classmates. Through this study, it was proved that bilingual education utilizing the role play of fairy tales is effective in improving self - confidence, so it can be applied to students who come from other cultures.

**Keywords:** role-play in fairy tales, bilingual education, mid-entry students, multicultural education.

---

# A Study on Communication experience of Uzbek Students in College life

*Firuzza Azizova*  
*Inha University*

## **Abstract**

Studying abroad for an international student does not merely mean the acquisition of knowledge, but the choice of studying abroad is an important experience that can change the course of personal life. It is a revolution and challenge of multi-layered and multi-faceted living that accepts a new lifestyle among strangers. In many domestic kinds of research, the researches explored the problems and difficulties in the student life that they have experienced. Especially, many discussions about strengthening the Korean language ability by seeing the difficulties of college life of international students as a linguistic element were addressed. Although language problems are an important factor, the resolution of language does not solve the issues arising from living in different cultures. In addition, it can be seen that the previous studies have pointed out that cultural adaptation stress has a negative effect on the adaptation process of international students to college life. This study tends to explain the difficulties of studying abroad on the personal level of international students.

In the future, the relationship between Korea and Uzbekistan will continue to develop concerning political, economic and cultural aspects. Exploring ways to overcome cultural conflicts when Uzbek culture and Korean culture are encountered, that is, when people living in one culture encounter other cultures, helps to develop relations between the two countries. Therefore, in this study, we analyse the difficulties and the meanings of communication experience in Uzbek students' university life through qualitative in-depth interviews and propose a plan for a smooth college life. For this purpose, I selected ten international students from Uzbekistan who attended "I" University and conducted in-depth interviews. In order to achieve this goal, we have set up a research question, "What are the difficulties in Uzbek students' college life?" and "How Uzbek students' to do communication experiences?" The results of this study can be used not only as a reference for international students from Uzbekistan in the process of adaptation to college life in Korea but also in helping international students from diverse nationalities to adapt to life in Korean universities will be.

The results of the research showed that there were three categories of relationship with the professor, the language related to the class and the terms on the SNS. First, Korean professors mistakenly interpreted it because of the lack of language skills of international students in Uzbekistan. Also, research participants sometimes misunderstood

the professor by mistaking their intellectuals or jokes, unlike professors' intentions. Second, foreign students from Uzbekistan who studied in Korea studied the Korean language in Uzbekistan, but their Korean language skills were at the level of living conversation. International students from Uzbekistan who entered the university at the level of living discourse were able to confirm that they were experiencing difficulties in adapting to university life because of unfamiliar jargon. Third, foreign students in Uzbekistan were experiencing much trouble when they talked with Korean students on SNS because they were different from SNS Korean and Korean that they learned in their hometowns.

**Keywords:** international students from Uzbekistan, college life, communication experience, unfamiliar jargon, SNS.

# A Qualitative Study on the Experience of Divorced Fathers' Child Raising by the Dissolution of Multicultural Families

*Kyeongjoon Eo*  
*Inha University*

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to provide a qualitative research on the experience of child-rearing as a father divorced by the marriage dissolution of Korean men living in multicultural families by international marriage with a married immigrant woman.

For the purpose of research, the divorced husband who has experienced the demolition of the multicultural family was selected as the father of the child and the qualitative study was conducted by collecting data through the in-depth interview.

In the case of the divorced person, the divorced person in the process of child rearing adapts itself to overcoming the crisis, adapting to the crisis, In order to do so, we paid attention to what is a reasonable and positive experience and internal and external capabilities. In addition, we sought from the perspective of what was the obstacle or negative factor in stable life and child care, and what was the solution.

First, what were the major accidents that the participants experienced during the process of family disintegration through categorizing and analyzing themes? Second, what was the reason for raising a child and what role and beliefs experienced as a divorced father in the process of raising a child? Third, what are the policies and institutions that children want? Fourth, what are the measures and requirements for maintaining a multicultural family as a divorced father?

Although Korean husbands divorced by the demolition of multicultural families have become multicultural families more difficult than ordinary Korean males. but however, they have experienced child rearing with divorce due to various reasons such as cultural differences, unilateral implementation of policies and institutions, lack of understanding between married couples, and children's problems.

Based on the results of the research, it is necessary that the policy and institutional support for the life and child care of the participants after the divorce should be the same as the general assumption. Before the breakup of the family divorce, we aimed to promote mutual understanding and enhancement of mutual understanding and promotion for the multicultural families. In particular, we introduced multicultural family policies and systems, facilities and counseling centered on married immigrant women to Korean husbands in the same system it needs to be introduced.

**Keywords:** the marriage dissolution, divorced husband, father, child rearing.



## A Study on the Planning of the Cultural Content in Jeollanam-do

*Kim dohyung, Lee Seryeon,  
Lee Jeongeun, Yang Siyul,  
Kwak Cheolung, Park Hyeheyeon, Park Jeongmin  
Mokpo National University*

### Abstract

The purpose of the study is to create a film festival in Jeollanam-do of South Korea. For the study, a number of film festivals, including the Busan International Film Festival and the Bucheon International Film Festival, were analyzed. In particular, he participated directly in the Pusan International Film Festival and focused on looking at the atmosphere and trends of the festival.

Previously, I did a deep research on the reasons for the failure of the Gwangju International Film Festival. Unlike the policy on culture of Jeollanam-do, I want to once again revive the cultural policy of Jeollanam-do, which is stagnate.

we also want to change the image of South Jeolla Province that has become Immobilized. Jeollanam-do appeared in movies Unlike facts, showed a lot. This point one of the most focused things.

While preparing for the plan, we found out why the festival failed in South Jeolla Province. The Gwangju International Film Festival screened popular movies. But It showed a passive side of activity. So we focused on diversity films.

The Active programs of action was suggested considering the difficult audience to understand.

We're not going to be able It is aimed at reviving diversity films, and further turning it into an international film festival. If you plan too big from the beginning, it's may fail.

It may turn into a film festival that is difficult to sustain for a long time. We will make an international and sustainable film festival in South Jeolla Province.

Based on this analysis, future research agendas are presented

**Keywords:** Korea's International Film Festival, Film Festival Analysis, Jeollanam-do, Content Production.

---

# A Study on the Success of Local Cultural Festival in Korea

*Serin Yang, Sejun Kim  
Minhyeok Kim, Ahjeong Jeong  
Joeun Min, Junghun Park  
Mokpo National University*

## **Abstract**

Today's festivals are gradually losing important ultimate goals of the festival and noticing these problems. Therefore, we would like to present the problems that 'Jinju Namgang Yudeung' Festival has with local festivals through semiotics analysis and discuss the direction of improvement. First, in today's society, festivals are gradually eroding due to industrialization and secularism. These festivals are meant to be special to the community, or they do not give solidarity, and they discredit the festival's ultimate purpose. The original purpose of the festival is to capture local characteristics through the participation of local people. However, the current festivals are held under the auspices of host organizations rather than by the participation of residents. Therefore, it is difficult to see the result through communication with local people. In the end, this result means that the festival was led only by the host, not by the venue of harmony that was created with the residents. The second is a matter of festival programs. The festival should be centered around programs that fit the original theme. For now, however, more often than not. Since the festival is an event with a set theme, it is important to proceed with the event that fits the topic. Because I can tell people the true meaning of festival through event program. Of course, these days, the festival also has a program that fits the theme. But the reality is that there are more programs that are not related to the subject. Therefore, we will study what the lantern festival needs to find its original value and organize it into a program that fits the topic. The study will provide a way to analyze the 'Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival' in a semiotics way and solve the problems through analysis.

**Keywords:** Festival in Korea, Local culture, Local festival culture, Local festival culture points of improvement.

## Exploring the Aspect of Social–Cultural Changes through Architecture in Modern Period

*Youngseob Lee, Seongha Park,  
Seungjae Na, Bonwook Koo  
Inha University*

### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to explore the changes of social-cultural according to the style of modern buildings. We explored Incheon Metropolitan Museum, related places and collected historical sources, theses and analyzed them. The historical sources and these we used are mainly from the time of enlightenment(1875) to pre-release(1945). Because research materials we used are in modern period, we utilized many photo sources. Because of it, this study could show clear comparisons. Also, it can be used to convey fusion knowledge by applying to the integrated social studies model. We expect that this study can be used in teaching cultural change, the content of social-culture. Moreover, it is expected that this study can be used as a case of forced acculturation, a kind of cultural change. Acculturation is the process of social, psychological, and cultural change that stems from blending between cultures. We consider the space represents the time. By our spatial study, We can teach temporal history for students and they can learn the power of data.

**Keywords:** social-cultural change, architecture, modern period, education, cultural change.

---

# The teaching method of culture change concepts through the Incheon Open Port's Alteration

*Bohyung Kang, Yuna Park, Jinyeong Jang*  
*Inha University*

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to find various aspects of cultural change through creative experiential activities linked with community in social studies class. We research the history of Incheon open port and its local culture in connection with Incheon community. We explain the historical background with geographical, social and cultural characteristics of Incheon, which serves as a gateway to the Korean Peninsula. This study collect data through the method of literature and museum tour. It also shows the cultural changes and modern appearance of Incheon since the opening of the port.

The results of the study can be applied to the teaching and learning methods of theory learning and field learning in the social studies class based on the collected data. In the social and Culture Textbook in the Department of Social Studies Education's Curriculum, there are three types of cultural changes in the Unit 3 Culture and Society. Cultural changes include cultural adoption, cultural fusion, cultural coexistence and they are taught to distinguish their characteristics through group activities.

**Keywords:** Cultural change, Social studies class, Incheon open port, Gateway, Field learning.

# Teaching Method of Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology through Korean Rail History

*Deokyu Seo, Chaeyoung Lim, Gyuhyun Lee, Sookyung Lee*  
*Inha University*

## Abstract

The purpose of this study is to analyze the way of teaching social cultural phenomenon perspective(Functionalism Theory, Conflict Theory, Symbolic Interactionism Theory) through 'Gyeongin' Line railway(constructed in 1899). In particular, We study what kind of teaching and learning method will be used in the social studies class of secondary school. The methods of collecting data are as follows: 1) The historical and cultural geography thesis related to the 'Gyeongin' Line Railway. 2) Data collected after visiting Incheon Metropolitan Museum, Incheon Open-Port Museum.

The Social study using investigating regional culture consists of two sessions in secondary school. In the first session, students can learn Theoretical Perspectives in sociology. And the historical background of the construction of 'Gyeongin' Line and social situation at that time. In the second class, Students will organize learning community and have a discussion based on the first class. Finally, through the cooperative learning, students can develop the ability of critical thinking and multifaceted analysis thinking.

**Keywords:** Regional culture, Social Studies Education, Contents Analysis, History of Gyeongin Line, Cooperation Learning.

# Alteration of Teenager' Recognition by SNS (Social Networking Service)

*Seongbin Kim, Subin Park, Nayeong Lee, Chaerin Jeon*  
*Myeongsin Girls' High School*

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to investigate the alteration of Incheon's high school female students' cross-cultural awareness using SNS and deduct positive change of the recognition of multicultural society by suggesting the method to high-qualify high school students' cross-cultural awareness. The researchers exposed contents of multiculturalism including public service advertisement, interviews of multicultural people, card news to 135 students of Incheon's M Girls' High School second graders and investigated their alteration of cross-cultural awareness. Consequently, students who had not negative and passive attitudes before the exposure did not change dramatically after the exposure. Nevertheless, they were shown to firmly sublate the behaviors treating multicultural people with prejudices. The researchers figured out the possibility for Korean future generations to form positive public opinion in developing into multicultural society. The students who were standing for cultural assimilation existed. This means that students lack the attitude to respect each cultures' diversity yet. Therefore, to draw fundamental change of the recognition, diverse contents should be developed and promotions through SNS are required.

**keywords:** multicultural contents, SNS, cross-cultural awareness, multicultural sensibility, high school students.

## A Study on the Change of Multi-cultural Perception among High School Students

*Yeri Seol, Soomin Kim, Soyoon Park, Hyesoo Won*  
*Myeongsin Girls' High School*

### Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore the experience of participation by students in multicultural programs operated by the Multicultural Family Support Center for regular high school students and propose to promote multicultural programs for high school students. The study conducted in-depth interviews and analyzed the results of 11 high school students who took part in the perilla class program, which is run by the Multicultural Family Support Center in Incheon. First of all, the students who participated in the program had a chance to think again about the multicultural people who came to Korea through video clips. Second, I was introduced to a new culture through various video clips and food experience. Third, through the program, I learned that I have prejudice and discrimination against multicultural people. Fourth, multicultural people became aware that they were not much different from themselves. Fifth, of course, multi-cultural families have become a time to empathize with the real challenges of multicultural families. Sixth, through the program, I recognized that multicultural education should be conducted in more realistic schools through myself. As such, many high school students have yet to confirm that their perceptions of multiculturalism are not well established. To improve this, schools should have more specific and realistic multicultural education. Also, programs that can help understand multi-cultural families should provide opportunities for many students to participate.

**Keywords:** Multicultural Family Support Center, perilla-ban programs, multicultural families, multiculturalism, high school students of Korea.

---

# The Meaning of Volunteer Experiences of High School Students Participating in Talent Donations

*Dayeon Yoon, Jiwoo Kim, Gaeun Yoon, Yunjung Nho*  
*Myeongsin Girls' High School*

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to find out the meanings of high school students' experiences in donating talents for multi-cultural children and suggest ways to stimulate talent donations by high school students. The research period was from May 2018 to September 2018. To collect the data, nine female high school students participated in science talent donations and conducted an in-depth interview to analyze what they meant. The results of the study are as follows. First, for high school students, donating talents came with a feeling different from normal volunteer experiences. Second, it was most important for students to get the right level of activities in the talent donation. Third, donating for multi-cultural students provided opportunities to understand children from multi-cultural families. Fourth, they felt a sense of accomplishment which was meaningful to the donors. These results have changed volunteers' recognition of multi-culturalism as well as made them feel sympathized with multicultural children. They also had positive perceptions of talent donations and found that talent donations were not difficult. In addition, through talent donation they were able to develop the abilities to solve difficult scientific problems more easily and learned how to promote interest in donating talents. This kind of talent donation activity has positive effects on both the donors and the children. Therefore, it is necessary to prepare ways to revitalize high school students' talent donations. In particular, schools, communities, and governments should work together to provide venues for diverse talent donations. Especially efforts should be made to change the negative perceptions of multicultural families through varied and practical experiences, not through one-sided multicultural education.

**Keywords:** talent donation, high school students, volunteer work, multicultural awareness, experience.



# A Study on Program Development for Adult Citizen's Multicultural Sensitivity

*Mihye Kwak, Jinseung Hong  
Youngsub Oh, Hyekyeong Nam  
Inha University*

## Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore previous programs and present effective ways to improve the multicultural sensitivity of citizens. To this end, we studied previous literatures on the multicultural sensitivity programs and the current state of multiculturalism in Korea.

Korean society has already been transformed into the multicultural society, as the rate of foreigners in Korea account for 3.6 percent of Korean population (the Ministry of Justice, 2016). However, Korea's multicultural acceptability index was 53.95 percent in 2015, with only 2.78 percent change compared to 2012. Therefore, it is necessary to improve multi-cultural sensitivity in order to accept immigrants without discrimination and prejudice. Previous researches on multi-cultural sensitivities has been on the rise since 2015, reflecting the actual need for multicultural programs at the educational place. However, multicultural sensitivity programs have been conducted mainly for elementary, middle and high school students, with a small number of studies being conducted on early adulthood and almost no adult programs. Therefore, it is necessary to develop multicultural sensitivities programs for adult citizens. Since most adults exist outside of schools, it can be developed in connection with adult learning programs such as education in workplace, community gatherings, volunteer activities, lifelong education, and citizen education. We need to consider on-site applicability, in-depth theoretical discussion, rigorous research design, and post-verification to develop the multicultural sensitivity citizenship program.

Research questions are as follows: First, how about the multicultural experience of adult citizens? Second, Is there any relation between their multicultural experience and multi-cultural sensitivities? And we will use the two models, including the completely mediated model and the partially mediated model of multicultural sensitivity. About 300 Korean adult citizens as research participants will participate in the multicultural sensitivity survey. Among them, 10 citizens will be interviewed. Therefore, this study will use the mixed research method. Finally, we will provide the implications for adult multicultural sensitivity program.

**Keywords:** Multicultural sensitivity, Adult citizen, Program development, Research trend.

# A Study on the Effects of Middle School students' Multicultural Susceptibility Education Program Using Film Media

*Heynjoo Lee, Jungsoon Bae  
Hyejin Cho, Wonhee Choi  
Inha University*

## **Abstract**

This study aims to test the effectiveness of the program after developing and implementing a program focusing on the multicultural sensitivity of middle school students using film media. We plan to run a multicultural sensitivity program for middle school students at the Multicultural Center in Incheon.

The multicultural sensitivity program consisted of eight sessions. The program will be made up of 20 middle school students. The survey tool will be used for pre - post analysis based on the multicultural acceptance test tool of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family.

The purpose of this study is to analyze and generalize the effectiveness of the program after developing and implementing a program to promote the multicultural sensitivity of middle school students using movies. The expected effects of this study are as follows: First, diversity of multicultural sensitivity programs using movie media will be improved. The expected effects of this study are as follows: First, diversity of multicultural sensitivity programs using movie media will be improved. Third, it will also improve in the universality domain.

Through this study, we can clearly recognize the characteristics of the film media and draw implications for future applications.

**Keywords:** multicultural sensitivity, film media, middle school students.

# A Study on the Budgeting and Operation of the Student-Oriented Unit School

*HeungBok Kim*  
*Gyeonggi Institute of Education*

## Abstract

A student-centered education puts students in the center of starting point and purpose of education, helping students to find meaning and value of their lives by themselves. A student-centered education with certain goal of education should be principle of all education policies, also applying to school education plans and school budget plans. Therefore, through a survey consisting of 21 questions including recognition of school budgets and expert committees, the concept and scope of the student-centered budget were defined, and an integrated and virtuous process model was proposed to link the school education plan with the school budget.

First, for the conceptual definition of a student-centered budget, all budgets that directly affect students' activities, including curriculums, were said to be all budgets that would involve students in the budgeting process.

Second, the scope of the student-centered budget was limited to student welfare expenses and the cost of teaching activities, which directly affected students' education activities, except for labor and institutional operating expenses.

Third, four steps were proposed to integrate the school education plan and budgeting process. Step 1. Evaluate each course. Step 2. Share assessment materials for each course. Step 3. Integrate each process. Step 4. Confirmation on the budget.

The policy proposal emphasized cooperation between the teachers' office and the administrative office. Second, expand opportunities for students to participate in compilation of student-centered budget. Third, they emphasized the need for school organization members to develop their capabilities.

**Keywords:** School Budget, Student-Oriented, School Education Plan, Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education, Budget Composition, Budget Evaluation.

---

# How can participation in the community be competent?

*Miae Kwon, Minjung Kim, Jinhee Park*  
*Inha University*

## **Abstract**

The identity as a competence exists in the trajectory of life and comes from efforts to build relationships with others in social interactions and to find their meaning. Interaction is a social act in that it implies participation and practice and presupposes others. In this study, we will explore the form of identity through community participation and practice through the story of community participation experience of members of the climbing club who share the practice of Baekdudaegan over a year.

To this end, we set the following research problems.

First, what have participants experienced in the course of a year-long joint practice?

Second, what narratives do they share through their participation experience?

Third, how do shared narratives and participants interact with each other?

Fourth, how do participants' experiences be revealed by identity or competence?

The object of the study is the act of the subordinates participating in the activities of the Baekdudaegan climbing club, and it is the purpose of this study to reveal their behavior patterns that occur unknowingly, not the meaning given to their actions. The appropriate method of research for analyzing these contextual activities is contextual reasoning through observation of participation from the standpoint of the actors. This method is not much different from the way we use it to understand others' behavior on a daily basis.

As a result of the research, the members of the club were able to confirm that they were making their identity as a member of the community through participation and practice. In addition, the members of the community were organizing a common narrative and coordinating their practices according to the narrative, giving their experience the meaning of 'Baekdudaegan climbing can not be done alone' and 'practice to speed up the unification of Korea'. The experience of climbing together was always a process of continuous problem solving in a situation that was out of predictability, and it was confirmed that identity and competence were constantly forming each other by throwing themselves in this problem solving situation.

**Keywords:** participation, community, identity, competency, contextual activity.